

AL-ALBAB

CONTENTS

Being Chinese Christian in the Totok Chinese Churches in Surabaya: Continuity and Change of Identities

Linda Bustan, Fatimah Husein, Paulus Sugeng Widjaja

Adat, Islam, and the Idea of Religion in Colonial Indonesia

Mufdil Tuhri, Samsul Maarif, Rikardo Simarmata

Religious Consistency and Commitment to Local Tradition Within the Bawakareng Community in Indonesia's South Sulawesi

Mustaqim Pabbajah

Modern Religious Counseling Model in The Ancient Manuscript of Lontara Attorioloang Ri Wajo

Hesty Nur Rahmi, Patmawati Patmawati, Labi Hadji Sarip Riwarung

Religious Ambience on Social Media: A Case Study in A Pandemic Situation

Paranjoy Bordoloi

Suffering of The Righteous People in The Perspective of Religious Phenomenology

Agustinus Wisnu Dewantara

The Ingenious Citizenship of The Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (PANGESTU) in Indonesia

Laela Fitriani Sahronie

Inter-Religious Tolerance in Indonesia From the Perspective of Pancasila Philosophy

Aufa Fitria, M. Ikhsan Tanggok



AL-ALBAB

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CONTENTS

1. Being Chinese Christian in the Totok Chinese Churches in Surabaya:
Continuity and Change of Identities
Linda Bustan, Fatimah Husein, Paulus Sugeng Widjaja 141
2. Adat, Islam, and the Idea of Religion in Colonial Indonesia
Mufdil Tuhri, Samsul Maarif, Rikardo Simarmata 159
3. Religious Consistency and Commitment to Local Tradition Within
the Bawakareng Community in Indonesia's South Sulawesi
Mustaqim Pabbajah 179
4. Modern Religious Counseling Model in The Ancient Manuscript of
Lontara Attorioloang Ri Wajo
Hesty Nur Rahmi, Patmawati Patmawati,
Labi Hadji Sarip Riwarung 199
5. Religious Ambience on Social Media: A Case Study in A
Pandemic Situation
Paranjoy Bordoloi 217
6. Suffering of The Righteous People in The Perspective of Religious
Phenomenology
Agustinus Wisnu Dewantara 231
7. The Ingenious Citizenship of The Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal
(PANGESTU) in Indonesia
Laela Fitriani Sahronie 245
8. Inter-Religious Tolerance in Indonesia From the Perspective of Pancasila
Philosophy
Aufa Fitria, M. Ikhsan Tanggok 265

BEING CHINESE CHRISTIAN IN THE TOTOK CHINESE CHURCHES IN SURABAYA: Continuity and Change of Identities

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the identities of Chinese Christians in the totok Chinese churches in Surabaya. The Chinese Christians refer to those who arrived in Surabaya from mainland China as Protestant Christians in the 1900s. They established the first Chinese church - the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) in Surabaya. The THKTKH has become two independent synods, namely Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). The totok Chinese churches refer to churches that conduct the church services in the Chinese language or Mandarin (Guoyu). The article examines the culture, language, and origin of the Chinese Christians. After almost a century in Surabaya, there is some continuity and change of the Chinese Christian identity. They still regard themselves as totok, but the meaning of totok has changed. They embrace not only Chinese culture; but also mixed Chinese culture with Western culture and Indonesian culture, which results in the so-called hybrid culture. Mandarin is used in church services, whereas Indonesian language and English are also employed. The originality of the congregations is no longer mono-ethnic, which is Chinese. The Chinese churches have become multi-ethnic churches consisting of various ethnicities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Protestant Christianity; totok Chinese; social identity Chinese Christian.

INTRODUCTION

Chinese Christians have had a long history in Indonesia, existing for more than a century since the Colonial period (Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008). Indonesia's number of Chinese Christians is relatively small, only 1.2 percent of the total country's population regarded themselves as Chinese descendants in the 2010 census (Arifin et al., 2016). Of this number, it is estimated that about 42.8 percent are Christians, with 27.04 percent Protestants and 15.76 percent Catholics (Chong, 2019). Surabaya is the second-largest city with the Chinese Indonesian community in Java after Jakarta, with approximately 5.19% of the country's total Chinese-Indonesian population (Arifin et al., 2016). There is no official data on how many Chinese-Indonesian Christians are in Surabaya.

Even though they have been living in Indonesia for a long time, Chinese Christians face challenging dis-identification, negative perceptions, and stereotyping about their ethnic identity as Chinese and religious identity as Christians. They are regarded as homogeneous, not heterogeneous (Chong; 2016; Suryadinata, 2005; Widjaja, 2010). Last year, I presented about Chinese Christians heterogeneity in an Islamic university in Surabaya. The participants, mostly Muslim lecturers and students, responded to the presentation by stating that they have previously regarded Chinese Christians as homogeneous. In reality, the Chinese population is highly heterogeneous with diversity in dialect, culture, and economic backgrounds. Many of them speak Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochiu, and Hakka. This anthropological evidence shows the dis-identification of Chinese ethnicity. However, the assumption that Chinese is homogeneous still exists today.

In May 2017, the Indonesia National Survey Project (INSP), sponsored by the Yusof Ishak Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) and the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI), conducted a survey with 1,620 respondents from various ethnics, economic, educational, and religious background from 34 provinces in Indonesia. Charlotte Setijadi (2017) presents the result, showing that ethnic Chinese are still negatively perceived in terms of their economic privilege and national loyalty and are suspected of being Chinese loyalists. They are also perceived as being exclusive and distant with indigenous Indonesians. Most survey respondents stated they do not want ethnic Chinese leaders in governmental positions. After two decades of reformation, stereotyping towards ethnic Chinese still exists (Kuntjara and Hoon, 2020). However, racialization has decreased towards those who are ethnically different compared to the pre-reformation era.

Christianization is the biggest obstacle for other religions' acceptance of Christianity (Husein, 2005; Mujiburrahman, 2006). Furthermore, Christianity

has been viewed as a colonial religion due to the memory of the past that the Dutch colonists were Christians and most Chinese were Christians (Husein 2005). The negative perceptions of ethnic Chinese and Christianity make Chinese Christians vulnerable to violence and ‘othering’ in relations with other ethnic groups and religions. Identification and recognition of ethnic and religious identities are essential to building harmony and equal relationships in the context of multiculturalism like Indonesia.

There are limited studies on Chinese Christians, particularly regarding *totok*¹ Chinese churches. The few existing ones were mainly conducted in Jakarta. The term *Totok* Chinese churches refers to those that still have bilingual (Mandarin/Indonesian) or exclusively Mandarin services (Hoon, 2016). Chang-You Hoon (2016) and Susy Ong (2008) researched Gereja Kristus Yesus (GKY, or Church of Jesus Christ), representing *totok* Chineseness, the largest Chinese church in Jakarta. Hoon’s findings show that most *totok* Chinese churches belong to the Evangelical movement, which regards “the promotion of Christian fellowships and to spread the Gospel” as its objective. Susy Ong notes that in the GKY, services are conducted in the Chinese language for the elderly. Meanwhile, for the younger generations, services are held in the Indonesian language because the youth are not fluent in their cultural language of Chinese.

Susy Ong also studied Chineseness in the Chinese church in Gereja Reformed Injili Indonesia (GRII, or Indonesian Reformed Evangelical Church) in Jakarta. Even though Ong (2008) uses the term ‘Indonesian,’ the church’s orientation is more Chinese than national (Indonesian) as its ministry focuses on Chinese culture and language. Despite Ong’s findings, GRII’s focus is also on nation-building through the establishment of the Reformed Center for Religion and Society (RCRS) in 2006 (reformed-crs.org).

Meanwhile, Markus Dominggus L. Dawa studied Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, the Church of Christ the Lord) in Surabaya and Malang from a historical perspective (2017). In his opinion, the New Order regime’s assimilation program failed to change the Chineseness of the GKT either towards being local or towards having an Indonesian identity. Chineseness is still well-preserved in GKT. This paper aims to enrich the currently scarce publications on the subject of Chinese Christians, particularly in Surabaya.

The Chinese Christians who originated from mainland China came to Surabaya nearly a century ago. How have they constructed their ethnic and religious identities in the Chinese church in Surabaya? What is continuous and/or changing in their identities? This paper attempts to answer these questions by

¹ *Totok* refers to China-born Chinese, pure-blood, and speak dialects or Chinese daily (Chong, 2016; Hoon, 2015; Ong, 2017).

examining the culture, language, and origin of the Chinese Christians in the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya. THKTKH is currently breaking into two independent synods,² namely into Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). Some identities of the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya have changed. Others have continued to respond to government policies that have impacted interaction within-group (with other Chinese dialects) and out-group (with Muslims, the biggest population in Surabaya and Indonesia).

It uses the theory of social identity, which is the main idea of Jenkins' 2008 work. It also employs the concept of ethnicity being "with a shared cultural identity, language, and origin" (Kim, 2011). The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with ten Chinese church leaders and activists who are familiar with the history and activities of their churches. They are the first, second, third, and fourth-generation³ members in *totok* Chinese churches. The participant-observation method was used to understand the Chinese Christians' social and cultural contexts. It additionally used magazines and documents published by the Chinese churches as primary sources. Secondary data was gathered from books, journals, and literature reviews from previous researchers on *totok* Chinese Christians. The findings will be explained through a historical overview of THKTKH, hybrid culture, language, and origin – regarding first, second, third-generation in *totok* Chinese churches (GKT and GKA) in Surabaya. This paper uses the terms *totok* Chinese churches and *totok* Chinese Christians interchangeably to refer to Chinese Christians of GKT and GKA in Surabaya.

THE TIONG HOA KIE TOK KAUF HWE (THKTKH) SURABAYA: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Chinese Christians in Indonesia are two groups regarding conversion to Christianity. The first group consists of those who became Christian after they arrived in Nusantara, which was later termed Indonesia. This group was evangelized and ministered by Western, Chinese, and local missionaries (Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008). They founded *peranakan*⁴ Chinese churches, such as the Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI, or Indonesian Christian Church)

² Synod is a council of the church

³ The first-generation is the migrants from China. The second-generation and so forth are those born in Surabaya.

⁴ *Peranakan* refers to local-born Chinese. They have mixed-blood from one side of their ancestors, or their father was from mainland China, and their mother was local Javanese. They are of Chinese

(Ong, 2008; Setiabudi, 1994). The second group consists of Chinese who were Christian before they arrived in Indonesia, the so-called *totok* Chinese Christians (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017).

The *totok* Chinese Christians from mainland China have been present since the 1900s (Dawa, 2017). They originated from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces as the part of the third wave of Chinese immigrants in the early 20th century until the 1940s (Handinoto, 2015).⁵ This first-generation, China-born Chinese Christians were from various sub-ethnics or dialects and church denominations (Dawa, 2017; Pitcher, 1893). They were Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, Hinghwa, and Hakka. In their homeland, they were members of Baptist, Presbyterian-Reformed, Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist, and other denominations.

Ethnicity and religion are important for migrants because they give meaning, identity, and a sense of belonging (Kim, 2011). Nevertheless, ethnic identity is challenged by their being away from their homeland (Yang, 1999). According to the theory of assimilation (Kim, 2011), the originality of culture declines due to assimilation with the host culture. Ong Hok Ham (2017) identifies that migration in groups or individuals either strengthens or weakens ethnic identity. It explains why the *Chineseness* of Chinese in Java is different from *Chineseness* of Chinese in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Chinese immigrants to Java usually came individually or in small groups. As a result, they greatly interacted with the local people allowing them to fuse more easily with the local culture, which eventually depreciated or even removed their original culture. They lost the ability to speak their ancestors' language as they adopted the local culture and married local women/men. This group is referred to as *peranakan*, unlike the Chinese in North Sumatra, Bangka, Belitung, or Pontianak called the Totok. Their Chineseness is stronger than Chinese in Java. They came to those cities in groups and large numbers to work in the farming or mining industries that belonged to Dutch entrepreneurs. With their arrival, they brought along structure and social organization from their homeland. Due to their large numbers, these communities still practice Chinese culture in their groups.

However, the Chinese Christians from mainland China in Surabaya, even though they came in individual or small groups, maintain and even have strong Chineseness. The reason for this was the Colonial government's policy of *Wijkenstelsel* law (1836-1917) which divided the population by race and residential areas by ethnicities. The Chinese lived on the East side of Jembatan

⁵ The first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Surabaya in the early 13th or 15th century till the end of the 17th. The second wave came from the period of the 18th to the end of the 19th century (Handinoto, 2015).

Merah, around Kembang Jepun, Kapasan, and Pasar Atom in the so-called *pecinan* (Basundoro, 2009). The Arabs lived around Masjid Ampel. The Dutch and Europeans mostly lived around Jembatan Merah and Simpang. Meanwhile, the indigenous lived in a *kampung* (village) located behind the tall structures belonging to the Europeans. Thus, their ethnic identity strengthens when they solely interact with members of the same ethnic group.

Instead of losing their religiosity, the first-generation of Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on their dialects: Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (Dawa, 2017). Bhikhu Parekh (2008) notes while significant life changes are taking place, people turn to religion. For migrants who had undergone many changes in life in this new land, religion became especially important. According to Fenggang Yang (1998, 1999), who studied Chinese Christian migrants in the United States, the Christian fellowships were the place where immigrants found social belonging, psychological, and spiritual peace. These places were similar to *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya. Peter (pseudonym) a Hokkien male 81 years old was a first-generation Indonesian, initially born on Gulangyu Island in the Fujian province.⁶ He came to Surabaya with his mother and his four brothers in 1949. His family was a member of THKTKH, where he along with his brothers, joined the church choir. The church was a place he could develop his singing talent and leadership skills as a church activist.

The Hokkien's house of worship developed into a church by the United States Episcopal Methodist Church in 1909. Afterward, the other dialect groups joined the church. It was first joined by the Cantonese (1910), followed by the Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (1918). In the beginning, the services were held in Hokkien. As the number of speakers of each dialect increased, services were held in their respective dialects at different hours. The church is located at Samudra Street, North Surabaya where it is still used in services. In 2009, the Surabaya city government decreed the church building part of the city's heritage.

The United States Episcopal Methodist Church ended their working-term in Java, including Surabaya, in 1928. The world economic crisis in the decade of the 20s and early 30s led the Methodist church to reorganize its mission strategies in 1927 (Daulay, 1996). They closed ministries in Java and Kalimantan, focusing only on Sumatra. The Methodist church mission was replaced by the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (NZG). Nevertheless, NZG tended to ministry among *peranakan* Chinese churches more than *totok*. The Methodist

⁶ Interview with Peter (pseudonym), the first-generation of the Hokkien, a church leader, on February 24, 2020.

church's decision to leave Surabaya was the beginning of the Chinese church's independence. In 1928, the *totok* Chinese church, with the last supporting act from the United States Episcopal Methodist Church, registered the *totok* Chinese church to the Dutch government under the Foundation of Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya. The THKTKH became the first ethnic Chinese church in Surabaya. (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017; Koentjoro, 2013; Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008).

The THKTKH church leaders were chosen based on their respective ethnic groups (Dawa, 2017). They also invited preachers from mainland China. After some time, those preachers went back to China and were replaced by others. They arranged and paid for these religious meetings. This explains why lay-people leadership is still a distinctive characteristic of Chinese-speaking churches today.⁷

The teachings that prohibit the practicing of Chinese traditions, such as ancestor worship, have made Christianity categorized as a Western religion by the Chinese. The saying “one more Christian, one less Chinese” was frequently used to quip converted Chinese-Christians, implying that they are “traitors to the nation” (Hoon, 2013; Yang, 1999). In the United States, tension that regarded Christianity as a Western religion was overcome by many Chinese-Americans through integrating Confucianism into Christianity (Hoon, 2013). Confucian values align with the Weber concept of Protestant ethics or a worldly asceticism, such as success, hard work, being thrifty, and delayed gratification.

In Surabaya, the tension of being identified as Western teaching dissipated when a Chinese preacher, a 38-year-old Hingwa man by the name of John Sung and the son of a Methodist pastor in mainland China, came to the archipelago after receiving an invitation from a local Hingwa community. In 1939, Sung undertook spiritual revivals among the Chinese Christians in Surabaya and several other cities (Batavia, Bandung, Medan, Makassar, and many others) (Sung, 2012). He came to Surabaya four times, with the first visit in 1937. The subsequent visits were in January, September, and November 1939. The attendees who came to these meetings numbered between one to two thousand people. Chinese people were willing to close their shops to attend to the service every day. Bibles in Surabaya were out of stock, and 5000 hymn books were sold out and reprinted. On his next visit, he held a Bible Study Conference and many Chinese converted to Christianity. The numbers of Chinese Christians increased significantly, with about 700 Chinese converts

⁷ The interview with Harianto (pseudonym), the second-generation of the Hakka, a church leader, on May 18, 2019, and February 13, 2020.

to Christianity (Gunawan, 1989). The meetings were held at the *Stadstuin*, the City Theatre and Gardens (today is known as the Bank of Indonesia's building). In his ministry, Sung used the Chinese language and wore Chinese clothes. Sung was an example of the Chinese being Christian while incorporating elements of Chinese culture as well.

Today, the THKTKH has become two independent synods, namely Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). The GKT synod currently consists of ten churches; meanwhile, the GKA synod has five churches in Surabaya. Their number, which was initially only ten people (1909) regarded as probationary⁸ members, increased to 11 people (1911), 47 people (1912), 49 people (1916), 249 people (1925), 315 people (1937), and 434 people (1939). In 1970, adult members of GKT in Malang and Surabaya were 3,399. The data was collected by Indonesian churches in cooperation with the Research and Study Institute of the Indonesia Council of Churches (Cooley, 1977). Not all the *totok* Chinese churches have complete data of numbers of congregations. From the church newsweekly of ten churches of GKT and five churches of GKA in Surabaya, collected on June 23 until July 2, 2019, the adult participants were 6,084.

HYBRID CULTURE

The *totok* Chinese Churches in Surabaya have been influenced by Western culture, Indonesian culture, and Chinese culture. The mixture of cultures has made “in the between spaces... that initiate new signs of identity,” which Homi Bhabha (1994) called a hybrid. Chang-Yau Hoon quoted Laclau (2006) saying, “hybridization does not necessarily mean decline through the loss of identity. It can also mean empowering existing identities through the opening of new possibilities. The negotiation of different cultures creates a characteristic of “neither... nor”, “the same but not quite” (Bhabha, 1994).

Western culture influences occurred when Western missionaries embedded Western culture in addition to bringing religious teaching. The clothing style, musical instruments (piano), and the liturgy of worship, including the choir's formation, adopted a Western-style after being exposed. The hymnbook used is a Western hymn, which is translated into Chinese and Indonesian languages. The hybrid culture can also be seen in church buildings with several former church buildings belonging to Western missionaries (Dutch, Armenian). The Western-style was retained, but Chinese style was added, such as the church's

⁸ ‘Probationer’ is the internal policy of the Methodist church before people could be a full member. The people went through a series of teaching classes, such as discipleship training and being baptized to be a full member (Daulay, 1996).

name “Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee” written in Chinese characters. The building’s inauguration plaque was also written in Indonesian and Chinese language. The church bell’s loud chiming can be heard surrounding the first Chinese church at Samudra Street, indicating the service hour started. Church bells chimed as a sign of the service hour are practiced by many churches in the West. In some churches, pictures of Western missionaries with quotes in English are displayed to encourage the congregation regarding the mission.

Celebration of the Chinese New Year in *totok* Chinese churches showed the hybrid culture. Chinese New Year has been celebrated openly again in churches post-1998 when Abdurrahman Wahid was president (1999-2001). I had a chance to participate in a Chinese New Year celebration in one of the Chinese churches in Surabaya. The service was bilingual in which the Chinese language was translated into the Indonesian language. The worship leader said it was a welcoming spring celebration in China. However, as Chinese descent, they do not fully embrace Chinese tradition. The celebration of Chinese New Year was to express the gratitude of God’s blessings. They asked God to help them be faithful Christians in the following year. They provided empty angpao (red envelopes usually filled with money as a gift). The congregation filled the angpao with money. It was given to the church as a thanksgiving, an offering to God. Most of the congregation wore red clothes. It was not connected to the gods as in Chinese beliefs but as a symbol of happiness. The way they celebrate Chinese New Year has shown that it is “the same but not quite” with authentic Chinese culture.

DIALECTS, CHINESE LANGUAGE AND BILINGUAL

As previously mentioned, the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa dialects. They did not understand other dialects, only their own. For *totok* Chinese, other Chinese dialects were like a foreign language (Nio, 1961). They preferred to use Malay or Indonesian language to communicate with other dialect groups. Further, the Chinese generation born in Surabaya did not fully understand their families’ dialects anymore. For instance, most of the Cantonese children could neither read nor write Cantonese. The Cantonese raised funds to assist Cantonese schools in 1921. However, the school was eventually closed after four years due to the lack of teachers since most of them returned to China (Dawa, 2014).

According to Nio Joe Lan (1961), after the second-generation of Chinese Indonesians, Chinese descendants would lose their ability to speak Chinese. However, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) that was established in Surabaya,

in 1903, helped the Chinese to maintain the Chinese language. The *totok* Chinese mostly studied at THHK. Meanwhile, the *peranakan* Chinese studied at the Hollands Chinese School (HCS) established by the Dutch colonial government (Sai, 2016). When the Chinese language or Mandarin (*Guoyu*) became the “national language” accepted as a lingua franca - a commonly used as a medium language to communicate among Chinese, church services changed the usage of dialects to the Chinese language.

In the New-Order era, the government initiated an assimilation program that forbade the use of the Chinese language in public. Chinese schools were forced to close down in 1966. These policies affected Chinese Christians’ ability to achieve fluency in the Chinese language - especially those born after the 1960s who did not have the chance to study in Chinese schools. As a result, some Chinese Christians continued to study in Indonesian schools. Some of them discontinued their studies hoping Chinese schools would reopen. Usually, the generation who did not studied in a Chinese school could not speak Chinese anymore, as experienced by Maria (pseudonym), a member of GKA.⁹ Afterward, the church services were not only conducted in Chinese, but also translated into Indonesian (Mandarin/Indonesian) post 1970s. The number of Indonesian-speaking congregations increased compared to the Chinese-speaking congregations. Later on, the Chinese churches added fully Indonesian-language services.

Even though the Chinese language was prohibited from being spoken in public, it was still allowed in Chinese churches.¹⁰ To preserve the ability to gain fluency with the Chinese language, one of the Chinese branches, GKA started a Mandarin course in 1973 (Elyonpedia Magazine, 2017). The highest number of attendees in the Mandarin course was 400 participants, consisting of both Chinese and non-Chinese, and Christian and non-Christian backgrounds. Those interested in learning the Chinese language were not only of Chinese descent but various ethnic groups and religions.¹¹ Anybody could learn and speak the Chinese language by taking Mandarin courses. The ability to speak Chinese was no longer exclusive to those of Chinese descent. Even though “language is the most visible marker of identity” (SAI, 2016), however, nowadays, speaking Chinese daily cannot identify ethnic identity as *totok* Chinese anymore. Therefore, for Halim, a *totok* is a person who still knows his Chinese family roots and has a Chinese family in mainland China even

⁹ Conversation with Maria (pseudonym), the second-generation, activist in GKA, on June 28, 2019.

¹⁰ The interview with Surya (pseudonym), 70 years, the second-generation of the Hing-hwa, a church leader, on February 27, 2020.

¹¹ The interview with Halim (pseudonym), 64 years, the third-generation of the Hing-hwa, a Mandarin teacher, on February 11, 2020.

though he or she is born in Indonesia.¹²

Male Harianto (pseudonym) is 73 years old and a second-generation leader in GKA, who is fluent in Chinese. He stated that even though his children took Mandarin courses since they were young, the children preferred to use the Indonesian language when conversing with him. Benny, 24 years, the fourth-generation, a member of GKT, experienced similar. He uses the Indonesian language when conversing with his parents. He stated:

[Saya] pakai agak formal [Indonesia], karena bahasa Surabaya kan lebih agak bahasa gaul gitu. Jadi saya agak kurang enak kalau ngomong sama orang tua dengan bahasa Jawa.

([I] use rather formal (Indonesian) language because my Surabayan Javanese language is somewhat colloquial. I feel it is not appropriate to use when conversing with parents).¹³

Benny has mastered English better than Mandarin. His parents asked him to study Mandarin in China, but he preferred to study another subject in Singapore. However, his interactions with international people opened his eyes to the importance of fluently speaking the Chinese language, so it motivated him to study Mandarin. Halim (pseudonym) a 64-year old man, and third-generation of Hinghwa conveyed the same thing. Even though he is a Mandarin teacher, he and his children use the Javanese or Indonesian language rather than the Chinese language in daily conversation. Furthermore, he said that having a Chinese name or speaking Chinese after taking Chinese language courses cannot identify someone as *totok*. Instead, a person who still knows his Chinese family roots and has a Chinese family in mainland China even though they were born in Indonesia can be categorized as *totok*. For this reason, he regards himself as *totok* although he was born in Surabaya.

The dynamics of Chinese language usage indicate that mastering the Chinese language is no longer a representation of ethnic identity. The importance of the Chinese language is related to globalization, not solely to ethnicity. Albeit, Chinese church services have been conducted in the Chinese language for almost a century; the younger generations are not motivated to master the language. They prefer to perfect English skills instead. English songs are sung in the youth services frequently. Thus, the languages that are used are a mixture of Chinese, Indonesian, and English. The need to learn Chinese

¹² Idem.

¹³ Interview with Benny (pseudonym), 24 years, the fourth-generation of the Hokkien, on March 20, 2020.

has risen when facing the need to use Chinese to communicate in the global community.

MONO-ETHNIC CHURCHES TO MULTI-ETHNIC CHURCHES

The origin of *totok* Chinese churches (GKT and GKA) was mono-ethnic – Chinese – that consist of various sub-ethnics or dialects. They were mostly Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa. Other dialects were Hakka and Teochiu. Among dialect groups, there was a dynamic relationship, stereotyping, and contestation. Stereotyping is not just an individual interaction process, but also a collective process that results in a collective identity (Jenkins, 2008). For instance, Hokkien were regarded with the highest status and non-Hokkien were second in the community (Salmon, 2009). The Hokkien's first-generation brought financial capital to trade. They could trade well, and many succeeded in business. According to Skinner (1979), the southern part of the Fujian province where the Hokkien came from is an important region in China's foreign trade history. However, not all Hokkien were wealthy people, like Peter an 81-year-old Hokkien church adherent. He came to Surabaya with his mother and four brothers at age ten looking for a better life. His relative, who settled in Ambulu village in East Java, encouraged his family to migrate to Indonesia. They were helped by his father's family when they first arrived in Surabaya, as they were not materially wealthy.

Another example is Hakkas are stereotyped as cunning people who like to take advantage of others.¹⁴ Skinner (1979) writes that the Hakka used to live in the non-fertile hills in Guangdong's inland areas. A Hakka informant explained that Hakkas had to work hard to be able to survive in a difficult condition which gave them a bad reputation. Nevertheless, when they first came to the archipelago, not all of them were poor. Harianto's mother was a professional midwife when she came to Surabaya and helped many people give birth safely. His father did some trading jobs. Harianto is currently a very successful entrepreneur who passed on the business to his children. He is an activist in the Chinese Christian community and supports the church and the community in many ways. Stereotyping is just one aspect of cognition and identification. Understanding the moment when the stereotyping started will help us understand them (Jenkins, 2008).

For first-generation Chinese, kinship matters because it helps them survive in a foreign land. Chinese Christian first-generations were helped by their families, who settled in Surabaya first. According to Steph Lawler (2014), the identity of the non-West is based on kinship ties. Consequently, a family name

¹⁴ The interview with Cornelius (pseudonym), a church leader, on June 3, 2019.

is important for *totok* Chinese as it provides a sense of belonging and even passing down business is preferable to those who are related by blood. Lawler quotes David Schneider (2014) saying kinship can go through “the order by blood (children and parents, siblings, cousins)” or “the order by law (spouse, in-laws).”

Nevertheless, for Chinese Christian first-generation Indonesians, the meaning of kinship was not limited to the traditional concept through blood ties, but also tied to people who have given a significant contribution to their life. For those who did not have a family by blood ties in the new land, they were helped by the same dialect group. Surya’s grandparent, the Hinghwa’s first-generation, ran away from the Japanese invasion. His grandparents migrated to Surabaya in the 1930s. They did not have a family or blood ties in Surabaya. His grandfather was helped by the Hinghw and he opened a little grocery store. For Surya and his family, the unfamiliar Hinghwa who helped them became akin to new family.

Furthermore, the first-generation could have two family names, their father’s family name and the given name belonging to the host who adopted them in the new land. During the Dutch rule many hosts accepted newly-arrived immigrants into their families to ease administrative requirements (Oei and Sari, 2012; Wu and Ngo, 2015). The kinship changed in a broader sense to how “people create similarity or difference between themselves and others” (Lawler, 2014) like the first-generation experienced.

Afterward, the congregations of mono-ethnic churches were no longer based on the same dialect groups as they were first founded. The usage of the Mandarin, not dialects, allows interactions among different dialect groups. The inter-dialect group marriages caused the existence of mixed dialect groups in Chinese churches. Not many still belong to pure dialect groups. When the Indonesian language was used in the church services, Chinese churches become more accessible to other ethnic groups.

The church leaders of GKT and GKA estimate their congregations and pastors are 90% from Chinese descent, and ten percent from various ethnicities, such as Batak, Javanese, Manado, Nias, and Sumbawa. The non-Chinese congregations joined the Chinese churches for pragmatic reasons- either living near the church buildings, working at the church, or with encouragement from their Chinese friends.

In Chinese churches, identification of similarity is not by ethnicity but by occupation and roles in the community. Chinese and non-Chinese Christians get along well when they have the same business or the same social status,

regardless of ethnicity.¹⁵ Non-Chinese Christians, although their number is small, do not feel inferior. They can be accepted very well by the Chinese Christians, as stated by Yusuf (pseudonym), a 51-year old Manadonese.¹⁶ Yusuf and his family were members of the Chinese church for more than ten years. A similar experience was shared by 48-year old Sumbawan Ruben (pseudonym)¹⁷ who married a Chinese church member. Ruben experienced that acceptance into the Chinese Christian group is not by ethnicity, but by the same value of life, such as hard work, or politeness toward the elders.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the identities of Chinese Christians in Surabaya cannot be separated from the process of identification they experienced in history. Identity is the result of social construction that never ends, but also by everyday life experiences. For the older generation, ethnic identity is more dominant than religious identity. On the contrary, religious identity is more dominant for the younger generation. It can be known from the election of a wife or husband. The same ethnicity or dialect matters for the older generation. However, for the younger generation, the similarity of religion is more important than ethnicity.

Moreover, they still perceive themselves as Chinese, but each generation gives a different meaning to it. The older generation still carries a strong Chinese identity which is not the case with the younger ones. Their identities are embedded in being Chinese-Indonesian. It can be seen in badminton games between China and Indonesia. The older generation supports China's team, but the younger generation takes side with the Indonesian's. The younger generation no longer emphasizes their ethnic identity because they already experienced global cultural exchanges. This means there is no more depth in meaning regarding Chinese identity among the present generation compared with the previous ones. However, religious identity is still important to them.

There have been continuity and changes of Chinese Christian identities in the Chinese churches, namely the meaning of *totok* Chinese. These are seen from the way they carry out Chinese culture, the usage of Chinese language, and their originality of ethnicity. The meaning of *totok* Chinese is constantly changing, not identified by the place of birth in mainland China, the Chinese

¹⁵ The interview with Simon (pseudonym), 61 years, the third-generation of the Fuzhou, a church leader, on May 18, 2019.

¹⁶ The conversation with Yusuf (pseudonym), 51 years, a Manadonese, a church leader, on May 18, 2019.

¹⁷ The interview with Ruben (pseudonym), 48 years, a Sumbawa born, a church leader, on May 23, 2019.

language they speak daily, or a Chinese name, like Chinese in Manado. A person who knows their Chinese roots, and still has relations with their family in mainland China without a mixed-ethnic marriage, can be considered as *totok*. As an institution, the Chinese churches, though they conduct services in Mandarin, due to the mixed-ethnic congregations and some services usage fully of the Indonesian language, are more appropriately referred to as Mandarin-speaking churches or Chinese-speaking churches rather than the Chinese churches.

The culture embraced by the Chinese churches is not only Chinese culture, but is mixture of Western culture, Chinese culture, and Indonesian culture – a so-called hybrid culture. The process of becoming a hybrid culture cannot be separated from the influence of the Western missionaries who ministered among Chinese Christians. The interaction of Chinese Christians with congregations from other ethnic groups in Indonesia also affect the richness of hybrid cultural development within the Chinese churches.

Languages used in the Chinese churches are no longer based on dialects, but a combination of languages – Mandarin, Indonesian, and English. Likewise, the congregations of the Chinese churches are not only mono-ethnic groups - the Chinese, but various ethnics in Indonesia. Henceforth, the Chinese churches change to be multi-ethnic churches, even though mostly the congregations are Chinese descent.

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ADAT, ISLAM, AND THE IDEA OF RELIGION IN COLONIAL INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Based on some early anthropological accounts, people understand adat as any traditional practice: including visiting graves and forest, belief in supernatural powers, and other rituals and ceremonies. Practically speaking, people have not differentiated between the term adat and the encompassing traditions, customs, laws, and others. However, the discourse of religion has influenced the comprehensiveness of the idea of adat. This paper describes the construction of adat through the colonial period, a time dominantly influenced by the discourse of religion. I argue that the colonial construction of adat has strongly impacted religion in Indonesia. Adat which became a contested term and used by the rulers has declined the religious dimension of adat. The construction of adat and the disposition of adat from religion was influenced by various factors including colonial policies. This paper identified three dominant discourse of adat as political construction in colonial Indonesia: firstly, adat as animism was considered as the practices which are not religious, uncivilized and primitive; secondly, the mainstream of adat law has concerned on the secular aspect of adat while neglected the religious dimension of adat; thirdly, the construction of adat as not religion subsequently strengthened the Islamic identity and stressed the adat as opposed to Islam.

Key words: Colonialism; Adat; Religion; Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Various research has been done on *adat* and religion, however many of these studies have accepted the concept of *adat* and religion without criticism. These studies generally distinguish between *adat*, religion, culture, and tradition (Prasojo, 2013), even though there is no such thing in *adat* and religion as a

lively practice (Bowen, 2003). In the Minangkabau community, people do not distinguish between practices referred to as *adat* and religion. For instance, the modern day practice of *adat* and Islam in Minangkabau shows that they do not even distinguish between the two. How the Minangkabau traditional practice perceive their *adat* includes law, morality, customs, etiquette, ceremonies, dress, art, songs, and dances as well as pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist and Animistic Beliefs (Benda-Beckmann & Benda-Beckmann, 2013). Despite a large number of both historical and anthropological works on the discourse of *adat* and religion in Indonesia, a number of questions remain concerning Indonesian indigenous-state relations. This paper intends to problematize the idea of Islam as religion through historical construction of *adat* in Indonesia. This paper focuses on efforts to trace the idea of *adat* in the colonial political construction that has invalidated the religious dimension of *adat*.

To look at the colonial construction of *adat* and its impact on religion, I will use the genealogy theory of religion, which has been reified through history. The word “religion” is rooted in western essentialism towards the idea of monotheistic tradition. Smith mentions that religion was reified in modern history in the Christian tradition in the West in the 17th century. Historically, what was initially called religious (*religio*) in the first century has been disqualified since the term religion was taken over by Christianity (Smith, 1962). The reification process occurred because of the dominant power in the church that separates the tradition of a perverted Christian community without it being considered heretical. Consequently, whoever practices beyond this limitation will be labeled as a pagan, an infidel, a heathen and so forth. Based on this concept, the world religion paradigm sees religion as a practice which requires the hierarchical relation between God, humans, and nature. In addition, religion is rooted in the concepts of “belief” which become the dominant ideology and simultaneous suppression of traditional cosmology (Asad, 1993). In addition, he conceptualizes religion as a constructive term derived from colonial Europe in order to complement the ideological and political agenda where capitalism could thrive. The product of the discourse of religion is the essentialization of the world religion paradigm.

In the context of Indonesia, the idea of religion as historical construction can be analyzed through the construction of Islam as religion. Based on this theory, I would like to find the historical contingencies of *adat*, where *adat* developed as a conceptual system. *Adat* is neither a descriptive nor an analytical term, but a prescriptive and normative one. *Adat* is a point of contention between different sets of actors. *Adat* just like other folk categories (*religion, din, mana, tao, dharma, agama*) should not be taken as a conceptual tool, but ought to be

the object of analysis instead (Benda-Beckmann & Benda-Beckmann, 2013).

This paper is based on the concept of religion as a way of relating: how human beings relate to their fellow humans including the living and the dead, and other beings: animals, plants, forests, mountains, rivers, and invisible beings such as gods and spirits. I argue that religion is from the perspective of indigenous religion paradigm (Maarif, 2012). Religion includes many aspects of everyday life. As an everyday practice, religion in which people relate to “others” encompasses elements of everyday life including politics, economics, agriculture, rituals, and more (Maarif, 2012; Pati & Ma’arif, 2016). Based on this understanding, I argue *adat* as religion encompasses the cosmological characteristics of indigenous religious practice, which also has an intimate connection between land, sacred places, their knowledge, and also the rituals they continue practicing. Furthermore, from the perspective of indigenous religion, understanding *adat* can be also considered as religion which encompasses whole aspects of practice, habit, and tradition that are consciously practiced in society.

ADAT AS “TRADITIONAL” PRACTICE

We do not know when Indonesian people started using the word *adat* in the sense of “traditional practice” or when they actually chose to label their own traditional practice as *adat*. It seems that *adat* developed along with the beginning of the influence of Islam in the archipelago. As a daily practice, *adat* has been predominantly known by Muslim societies (Crawford, 1820; Marsden, 1811; Pires, 1944; Raffles, 1830).

It is worthily considered that the sources that explain this traditional practice have been noted by Western scholars during the colonial period. Here, I use ethnographic examples from Sulawesi to show where the supernatural/natural distinction misled Europeans trying to understand and portray a pre-colonial Indonesian cosmology. Aragon’s account of pre-colonial traditional practice of the people in Tobaku highlanders is an apt example. As he writes:

“Before Dutch colonial intervention in the early 1900s, the social world of Tobaku highlanders in Central Sulawesi included recently deceased relatives (kiu), deified ancestors (anitu), spirit ‘owners’ (pue’) of resources such as land, and dangerous beings in the forest (seta) who were best avoided or appeased with offerings. These beings, however, were not usually mysterious to Sulawesi people. Villagers could explain their basic habits, specify the human transgressions that elicited retribution, and note empirical signs (sounds, sightings) of their perceived existence. When misfortunes occurred, people usually had a good idea what was amiss,

and who had erred. If there was any doubt, a religious specialist (tobalia) was asked to intercede and determine the causes and solutions. In short, while dead relatives and 'owners' of the land were recognised as different in their abilities from living villagers, they were not seen as transcendent (one Western connotation of 'supernatural') but, rather, immanent and interactive in a seamless cosmos. In the pre-Christian Tobaku cosmology, many powerful entities are understood the way we understand the moon's periodic invisibility. Even though the moon often cannot be seen by day, we still know it is there. Additionally, beings that appear differently to Tobaku people under different circumstances are analogous to our understandings of chameleons, or caterpillars and butterflies, which appear variously according to environment or during different life stages. For example, angry ancestors in Central Sulawesi can appear as rats and consume an entire crop planted by their descendants who transgress ancestral rules of behavior. The transformation of living relatives into ancestor spirits into rats is never portrayed as miraculous or 'not natural'; rather, these transformations are the way of the universe. In short, the natural vs. supernatural distinction corresponds to no indigenous categories in the Tobaku area or, probably, in the entire Indonesian region (Aragon, 2003: 133).

Regarding some of the practices described, it shows that in the past, people had their own practices and traditions. However, various traditions and beliefs as a fixed category referred to as religion, culture, tradition and customs in the archipelago. The traditional practices of the people covering all elements recognized as a daily activity by the community. As stated by Tylor in *Primitive Culture*, all of the human activity or traditional practice of the ancient people considered as culture includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871:1).

It would appear that it has been a long time, the people of the archipelago have practiced their traditional practices. Sometimes, the people had no reference to each category in terms of definitions, perspectives, and as a normative concept until the coming of the western conception long after the period of pre-colonial. *Adat* included any practices of Indonesian society in the pre-colonial period encompassing tradition, custom, and practices developed at that time. People called those as *adat* as well as they called it as tradition, religion, customs, and so forth. In this sense, I argue that such practices of pre-colonial tradition are called traditional practice. However, it does not mean refer to old practice but used as the strategic essentialism to identify the people's practices at that time.

ADAT AND ANIMISM

In the early 1800s, the Dutch held control of almost the entire archipelago. In the beginning, the discourse on *adat* related to the enactment of customary law applied to the Indonesian people. Contextually, such customary law was not contrary to public or social interests (Soekanto and Soekanto, 1981; Sudiyat, 1985; Wiranata, 2005). Between 1830 and 1870, it was known as Forcing Cultivation (*Cultural Stelsteel*). This policy was in the hands of Governor Van den Bosch who was authorized by King Willem. The Dutch colonial and economic policies gained momentum in weakening village communalism in Indonesia and stifling traditional power.

After forty years of colonial occupation in Indonesia, people's lives were significantly impacted, specifically with the decline in social life as a result of economic stagnation, crop failure, livestock disease, and starvation (Gouda, 1995; Kodoth, 2002). As a criticism of previous policy, the Dutch government began to formulate a policy that was oriented towards the private interests of colonists. It was issued as the Liberal Policy of 1870. This policy can be considered as a more moderate policy and began to shine attention on the interests of the colonies. This momentum initiated interest from many Dutch people into local people's lives. They began to require research regarding laws and traditions of the people. On the basis of this interest, the strengthening of colonial attention to its colonies led to the Dutch concern in regulating the laws regarding land. The laws that were quite influential at this time were related to the rules regarding agrarian law.

In 1870, it was known that this liberal period gave the capitalists entry into space in the economic heart of rural farmers (Benda, 1958a). An important moment began with the birth of the Dutch Agrarian Law in 1870. This law adhered to the principle of the *domain verklaring*, confirming state ownership of customary land (Rachman, 2011). The Agrarian Law of 1870 declared that all land that could not be proven to be individual private ownership, based on Western colonial law, was to be considered a domain of the state, called "state land." Based on this law, various concessionary rights for plantation/estates were given to foreign corporations for operation on lands claimed as state-owned property.

Various tendencies gave space to the Dutch to begin intervening in the social life of the community. Entering the 19th century, the deepening of colonial penetration started the first religious mission in the Dutch East Indies. The spread of liberal colonialism in the 19th century prompted the government to deeply introduce more information about the Netherlands culturally and politically. In 1870, new administrators came to power influenced by socialism and idealism, along with

the reorientation of religious-based political parties. In 1888, the position of the old conservatives was replaced by the power of an alliance between the anti-revolutionaries, the Calvinists, and the Romans who were narrower than their old allies, the liberal party, who later formed a new Christian party as the right wing to confront the left-wing secularist group (Furnivall, 1944). This period was later known as the period of Dutch Ethical Policy.

In the early 20th century, Ethical Policy was promoted by right-wing politicians in the Netherlands. Ethical Policy was marked by the victory of the right wing of liberalism in the Central Government of the Dutch East Indies. The Christian party gained power. Around this time, various policies became colored with a spirit of love or religious zeal. The Indies Government also began to position itself as a defender of moral responsibility (Furnivall, 1944). With the spirit of moral responsibility, Queen Wilhelmina conveyed the Dutch debt and ethical responsibility to the people of the Indies in her annual message. This Ethical Policy was then realized in three policies, namely *educatia* (education), *irrigaties* (irrigation) and *emigratie* (migration) (Niel, 1960). The Ethical Policy highlighted the need to make native welfare the main concern.

The importance of *adat* in the Dutch colonial political discourse began to strengthen from the beginning of this Ethical Policy. Various patterns of Dutch politics encouraged the dynamics of the construction of *adat* in this colonial period. This Ethical Policy was closely related to the interests of the Dutch to control their colonies. Francis Gouda has linked Ethical Policy with the emergence of social liberalism along with the social policies which were won by social liberalism in the Netherlands (Gouda and Zaalberg, 2002). Gouda discovered an Ethical Policy as an initial mission to promote culture in the days of the colonial government. At this time, culture became more prominent as a policy field (Gouda, 1995). Beside the cultural policy, religion as a part of people practice also became a more dominant concern.

Several indigenous research projects were initiated at this time. The research on *adat* equips the colonial state with categories and own knowledge that was used in running the government (Jones, 2013). At this time, *adat* was defined in the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies as a habit and practice that guides every aspect of indigenous life: social relations, agriculture, care, sick people, judicial arrangements, ancestral worship, burial of dead people, popular games and entertainment, etc.” At a glance, this concern for colonized people shows that the Ethical Policy was involved in many aspects. This Ethical Policy gave rise to the idea of defining *adat* as part of a cultural project. However, the far-reaching impact of this Ethical Policy also involved other

aspects, especially initiation to manage with a more civilized approach.

The backdrop of this transformation was the Ethical Policy initiated by the Dutch government and carrying the banner for the improvement of native people's welfare, the promotion of Christian missions, decentralization, and the expansion rule over islands outside Java (outer possessions) (Risa, 2014). At that time, Dutch Colonial Administrators nurtured optimism by eliminating the pernicious influence of Islam by spreading Christianity instead. Obviously, the Dutch government looked upon the presence of missions in the Indies with complication. On one hand, European mission societies were permitted to proselytize non-Muslim populations as a means to curb the advance of Islamization. On the other hand, Christian proselytization remained forbidden in Muslim areas, for fear of arousing anti-colonial sentiments.

The inclusion of this religious mission brought new hegemony in the religious tradition that developed from colonial rule in the Netherlands at this time. Religion, as a whole, brought by these missionaries became problematic. New categories began to differentiate the status of the people based on their beliefs and traditions. Here, a missionary and an anthropologist, Albert C. Kruyt has contributed to spread the idea of animism. Through his studies on local people in Sulawesi, Kruyt replaced the pejorative term *alfuru*, previously used to describe the non-Christian, non-Islamic islanders of the eastern half of the Dutch East Indies. Kruyt identified the religion of the highlanders as animism and produced a number of theoretical works that placed it within a wider evolutionary framework. Kruyt differentiated the Islamic coastal peoples from highlanders on the basis of their religion even though they both shared many of the same animistic beliefs. Kruyt's definition of animistic religion necessarily placed Christianity and Islam as its standard ideal of what so called as religion (Kruyt, 1906).

Kruyt's position can be considered as an important momentum in influencing the colonial administrator on understanding of traditional practices of people. Through the idea of animism, Kruyt understands religion as a set of rules originating from the idea of the existence of God. Kruyt's original contribution to the debate was made in a lengthy comparative study called *Animism in Indischen Archipel* (1906), published just after the military incorporation of Central Sulawesi in the Dutch East Indies. It is combined with Wilken's two paradigms, linking the four stages of social evolution to a parallel religious evolution from pre-animism to animism to spiritism to Christianity. Kruyt defines elements of traditional religion as "animism", namely belief in the soul. For animists, like the Toraja people, Kruyt proposed conversion to Christianity as a form of progress.

This generalized view of animism with local beliefs was rapidly strengthening at this time. Not only in Torajam but also in other areas, animism was an increasingly popular term referring to practices that are commonly believed in some contexts of society. Van Dijck states:

“Animistic beliefs were still widespread and shamanism was generally practiced. Also, Buddhist and Hindu notions, introduced from Java, had not lost their attractiveness. Observance of Islamic rules and obligations was low, and, as we shall also observe elsewhere, those religious Islamic officials who did function in Minangkabau society had only a poor knowledge of Islam” (Dijck, 1984:9).”

Therefore, the domination of world religion introduced by Kruyt at this time confirmed the position of *adat* which was increasingly separated from religion. In the dominant discourse, the practice of *adat* was no longer considered to have a religious dimension. Discursively, in the context of the above policy, revitalization of *adat* was thus interpreted as an effort to modernize and Christianize *adat*. Some post-colonial perspectives place Christian conversion in the colonial period as antithetical to the “real” religion of indigenous inhabitants. In this momentum, defining *adat* as secular was needed for missionaries to intervene and Christianize *adat*.

Because of the emerging idea of animism which regards *adat* as primitive, tribal, and uncivilized, *adat* as identical with animism shows no element of religion. *Adat* is regarded as an old tradition that was inherently integrated in society before Islam. Islam was always opposed to *adat*. It also impacted the product of some scholarly literatures which mention the traditional practice of Muslim people. For instance, when *adat* was used as a new category, *adat* basically should be interpreted in other terms which are considered parallel such as *abangan* in Java society. The term *abangan*, on the one hand, it was often categorized as a variant of Islam (Ricklefs, 2012). In Java, according to Ricklefs (2012), in the period of the 19th century, several Dutch historical sources identified differences in the practice of society, including the practice of *abangan* and *putihan*.

ADAT AS NOT RELIGION AND DISCOURSE OF ADAT LAW

Attention among the colonial people at this time was related to legal affairs and legislation which came to be known as *Adat Law*. In an effort to formulate *Adat Law*, colonial administrators faced initial polemics about the relationship between *Adat Law* and religion. The initiator of *Adat Law* in the early days accepted the categorization formulated by Van den Berg, known as his theory

of *receptio in complexu*. Van den Berg and others took an extreme position when they held, “it is generally accepted that the family and inheritance law of the population of Java and Madura who have accepted the Islamic faith is governed by Mohammedan law (*syara'*)” (Berg, 1892). Van der Berg maintains the view of Islamic law with deviations so that it was not “Indonesian law with irregularities.” In this case, the concept of *Adat* Law is the same as religious law.

The polemic context for *Adat* Law above shows initially, there was no clear consensus regarding the connection between *adat* and religious law. In the theory of *reception in complexu*, Van den Berg stated that *Adat* Law was the same as religious law. This meant asserting that *adat* and religion are not separate. *Adat* law was part of the religious law itself. This polemic about *Adat* Law was characterized by problems in defining religion and *adat* that have not been completed. The theory of *reception in complexu* was opposed by Van Vollenhoven. According to him, from the beginning, people had distinguished between *Adat* Law and religious law. Therefore religion and custom were separate. *Adat* that were widespread were then drawn by the legal element. These legal elements are also distinguished from Islamic law. Therefore, Vollenhoven often mistakenly views that *adat* and religion are the same (Vollenhoven, 1918). Vollenhoven believes that the *adat* in question was *adat* which has legal consequences. According to the historical account, Vollenhoven basically continued the tradition of *adat* studies which had been initiated by Snouck Hurgronje in *de atjehners* (Benda, 1958a). Therefore, Van Vollenhoven called this *Adat* Law the term *adatrecht* (Vollenhoven, 1918). The initiative carried out by Van Vollenhoven was caused by the difficulty to separate between *adat* and law. So as to make it easier to find *Adat* Law categories, an attempt was made to recognize *adat* with legal consequences and separate it from *adat* without legal reasons. Van Vollenhoven first initiated the term *adat* in 1901. *Adat* as the science of *adat* Law first began in the early 20th century and when the Dutch government had an interest in carrying out Ethical Policy.

Van Vollenhoven deserves to be appreciated for his efforts to maintain *adat's* legacy. Van Vollenhoven's efforts were commendable and the influence of ethical principles helped, for the *adat* proponents appeared to be more sympathetic to Indonesian discourse of law, and more knowledgeable about local cultures, than those who favored unification (Lev, 1985). However, Van Vollenhoven reduced the comprehensive aspect of *adat*, especially in matters relating to religious dimensions. He only sees *adat* in the view of Law that contains sanctions. While reducing *adat* in relation to the noble beliefs and

traditions of the community at that time. Van Vollenhoven's opinions were based on the concept of Western law, where anyone who violates order or law will be sanctioned. The strong influence of Van Vollenhoven which constructs *adat* was basically also a continuation of the mission of the modern state which threatens local history, imagination and law. Above all, according to Burns, this Dutch colonial policy project had an interest in making customary law in order to conquer the kings of the archipelago at that time (Burns, 1989; Lev, 1985).

The essentialization of *Adat* Law looks at the position of customary rights, namely the legal dimension relating to *Adat* Law. This term was known as *beschikkingsrecht* from Van Vollenhoven and his student Ter Haar (Haar, 1962). This term later emerged as an important part of the talk about *Adat* Law and agrarian law. Separation of religion from *adat* deserves to be traced from colonial times. The dominant perspective that sees *adat* as different from religion gives birth to a twofold consequence. First, it created a new category, "tradition" which previously did not contradict the category of "religion" but was caused by "administration", with reference to that which came under the authority of the colonial state. Second, the explanation above has shown that the first impact of *adat* after being reduced by missionaries was that *adat* will become an old and primitive tradition. It separates *adat* from the nature of its religiosity. *Adat* meaning as the traditional practices that are different from this category of religion, considered as animism. Subsequently, when *adat* becomes a habit, essentially, this habit was reduced again as an old habit. Then, by itself *adat* refers to *Adat* Law that was contrary to religious law.

At this time, the *adat* construction, which increasingly alienated religion in the *adat* category under Dutch Ethical Policy, was mutually related. By strengthening the position of *Adat* Law for the non-Islamic peoples among whom the missions had been granted permission to work, the government worked against mission efforts at religious conversion, since these peoples made no distinction between two. This left the missions with two options: the first, to oppose the policy of indirect rule through indigenous *adat*, would have meant an untenable alliance with Islam. The second option was to embrace *adat* studies as means of defining religion in the East Indies social formation. This second option was adopted by the Ethical Theologians who utilized secular liberal social sciences in the service of missions. Their ethnographic work took place within the common framework established by *Adat* Law studies (Schrauwers, 2000).

By the time the Dutch scholars were involved in the project of religion, many cosmological concepts of Indigenous people such as knowledge, rituals,

practices, spiritualism had been declined. The modernization project of the colonial era that aimed at economic reform, political organization, and rural electrification set the dominant conditions within official religion. Likewise, the colonial construction of the discourse of *adat* was in the colonial interests; it also was conducted for the effectiveness of the colonial administration (Burns, 1989; Lev, 1985). By the time the colonial administrators and Dutch scholars were involved in the interest of *Adat* Law, many traditional centers of power such as courts of kings/ sultans and palaces of port-city princes had ceased to function as seats of government and places of rule-enforcement (Burns, 1989).

ISLAMIC IDENTITY AND THE IMPACT OF SEPARATION BETWEEN ADAT AND RELIGION

Many scholars have contributed to the debate on the notion of *adat* and Islam both normatively and empirically (Abdullah, 1966; Bowen, 1988; Bräuchler, 2010; Budiwanti, 2013; Hanami, 2002; Prins, 1951; Srimulyani, 2010; Yakin, 2014). As a practice, *adat* and Islam as also *adat* and religion are not problematized by people. However, politically speaking, *adat* become more contested in the sense of how rulers perceive Muslim people according to what they practice. This appeared at the beginning of the rise of the politics of religious identity which was used to drive away colonial forces in the early 1800's. Generally, this movement appeared from traditional circles who came from rural communities (Abdullah, 1970; Dobbin, 1977). They sometimes live in non-elite circles. However, they grew up outside the structure of the power elite at that time. They appear as a movement that oppresses local groups which assumed conspiracies to foreign rulers. On the other hand, colonial policies which exploit the natives led them to hang over the new power. Such a movement gradually rose grassroots at that time until the emergence of the early Islamic revival movement.

In the mid-19th century, such movements emerged in the modern period of Indonesia and subsequently became the new people's power against colonialism in several regions in Indonesia. In Sumatra, the Padri War (1821-1838) become a momentum for the contestation between Islam and *adat*. The influence of the Padri War in religion and *adat* in the life of the people in West Sumatra was marked by a restructuring of *adat* and religious governments. The separation between *adat* and religious governments at this time was increasing. According to Benda Beckmann ``religious official, who formerly had been embedded in the organization of the matrilineans, were gradually detached the *nagari* gradually detached from the matrilineans and become religious officials

of the mosques” (Benda-Beckmann and Benda-Beckmann, 2013). During the period of the struggle for independence, from 1945 to 1949, power within the *nagari* shifted again from the *adat* leaders, who had become an essential part of the colonial administrative system, to men primarily belonging to religious parties. The Dutch had previously excluded these leaders from exercising any real political or administrative authority within their communities (Kahin, 1985).

Following this, the strengthening of Islamic identity as part of the forces against colonialism, confirmed the new movement of the people which brought Islamic orthodoxy. In consequence, Dutch administrators consider Islam as a threat to colonial power. Dutch colonists responded through many efforts. In the early 20th century, the Dutch colonialists issued a policy separating Islam and *adat*. Political reasons behind the policy was to respond to rebellions of militant Muslims, based on the advice of Christian Snouck Hurgronje. Hurgronje contributed to constructing a mutual relationship with the Muslim society at that time. Based on his research of Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca, Hurgronje concludes that religion should be separate from *adat*. In his recommendation, Hurgronje stated the threat is not Islam as a religion, but Islam as a political doctrine, both in the form of agitation of local fanatics and in the form of Pan-Islam (Benda, 1958a). As a result of this, Dutch government issued the order to provoke the separation between Islam as political and *adat* as communal force. Subsequently, the community was polarized between Islamic or religious groups and indigenous or *adat* groups. This separation increasingly influenced people’s discourse in the community between *adat* and religion. This led to strong social tensions in the community between Islamic groups and *adat* groups. However, Hurgronje should be appreciated for his effort to provide religious freedom to adhere to people’s respective religions. Hurgronje suggested the colonial policy to promote access to education to local communities. Especially religious education (Maarif, 2012). The so-called “the twin politics” of tolerance and hostility finally had to go hand in hand with Dutch assistance to, and Dutch support for social elements. These elements were little under the influence of Islamic fanaticism, *adat* leaders and rulers outside Java, and the *Priyayi* elite in Java.

The emergence of religious-based institutions participated in responding to the birth of religious contestation in the public sphere in Indonesia. In the early 20th century, Western education developed, but so did modern religious schools (Kato, 1982). At this time, the spirit of Dutch Ethical Policy that provided an opportunity for the establishment of religious education, had an impact on efforts to mainstream religion in the country’s dominant

practices at that time. This opportunity was well utilized by Islamic scholars to introduce Islam as a strict law and rule. Thus, gradually the community has been able to distinguish which are considered as pure Islamic rules or not. Until the beginning of the 20th century, these strict views encouraged the purification of cases that were considered as custom or “un-Islamic” such as indigenous festivals, visits, homage, preparation of food, and more (Feillard, 2011). Religious communities with a modern, orthodox and puritan religious orientation generally consider *adat* as a cultural tradition that could contaminate the pure religion, but religious communities that have traditional-contextual religious orientations tend to accept *adat* not contradictory to the principles of religious teachings. *Adat* enriches religions (Maarif, 2017a; Ropi, 2017). Such polarization strengthens and impacts many social aspects of Indonesian people in general.

In this regard, the dominant discourse of Islam also impacts on other dominant religion such as Christianity. To follow this, it can be relatively considered that Islam and Christianity are the two religions that dominated the population of Indonesia in this early foundational period. These non-religious citizens who were *adat* people became the target of Islamization and also Christian missionaries (Hefner and Horvath, 1997). The contestation of the traditional and modernist groups on religious discourse in this period has increasingly marginalized *adat*. This also led to Islam and Christianity becoming more powerful than *adat* in practice. Thus, these new ideas and teachings dominate the discourse about religion, while *adat* was seen merely as an antiquated element or tradition. When religion dominantly colored the contestation between religious groups, many religious institutions emerged at that time. According to Deliar Noer, the establishment of some modernist Islamic organizations such as Serikat Islam and Muhammadiyah indicated this. On the other hand, as a reaction to the emergence of the Islamic modernist movement, several new organizations were established, such as the Nahdlatul Ulama (Noer, 1982). Deliar Noer also identified several symptoms of the dominance of the Islamists represented by Modernist Islam and Traditionalist Islam (Noer, 1982). Furthermore, it seems to me that such a polarization is between Islam as a religious organization and *adat* as an indigenous organization. Here, the establishment of these religious organizations is essentially as a response to *adat* as traditional institution at that time.

I argue that the presence of socio-religious movements in this period targeted indigenous people. Islamic circles that did not have access to political action resulted in the concentration of religious movements that were more focused on the process of Islamization than against the colonial resistance. Here,

Ricklefs identifies several efforts from mainstream Islamic organizations such as those played by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama who play a role in the Islamization process (Ricklefs, 2012). These organizations were born as a manifestation of religious revival in the space of Indonesian civil society. To some extent, this movement has its own characteristics in their background. In 1912, Muhammadiyah which was called the reformist movement was a group that attempted to purify previous religious heritages such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and all practices that are considered pre-Islamic. At the same time, it also emerged as a reaction to the spirit of Christianization targeting the group (Shihab, 1998). At the same time, the Reformists also proposed to abandon the medieval schools of law (*mazhab*), mastered by only a few learned scholars. For the latter, Nahdlatul Ulama was established not directly as a form of reaction to western colonialism, but rather, a form of reaction to the ulama movement. In other words, as a reaction to attacks on the *mazhab*, in 1926, the non-Reformist ulama which was Nahdlatul Ulama created their own organization (Feillard, 2011). As a matter of fact, although it was recognized that these two organizations have different attitudes towards local cultures where traditionalists are considered more accommodative towards local culture, the establishment of the traditionalist in responding to pre-Islamic traditions was still based on Islamic exclusivity.

Based on this backdrop, strengthening the separation of religion from *adat* was not only caused by external factors, such as the colonists aim to modernize indigenous people, but also the role of local actors who contribute to perpetuate the dominant discourse on religious mainstream (Yamin et.al, 2019). This can be seen from the process of Islamization and Christianization carried out by certain groups and organizations that emerged before independence. Referring to this pattern of Dutch Colonial Policy, it can be concluded that religious movement as an religious activity has been supported by the colonial.

Following the colonial period, there was the Japanese occupation which held a different policy towards religion. Dutch politics related to religious issues was inversely proportional to the Japanese policies on religion in that period. Japanese policies were characterized by a more certain policy of *divide et impera* which results in limited redistribution. Japan provided freer access to the realization of Islamic politics at this time. Japan had no doubts about increasing the position of Islam and giving social prestige and implicitly political prestige to its spokespersons in Java, as was the case everywhere in Indonesia. Finally, Islam became so strong. Japanese policies that organized the period and strength of the educated people at that time became an opportunity for Muslims to take part in formulating state policies (Benda, 1958b).

The rise of religious organizations further strengthened identity politics at this time. The impact of Japanese politics then gave an opportunity to build affiliation with Islamic and urban leaders again. In the early years of Japanese rule, Masyumi stood as an Islamic organization that was allowed to maintain its identity. I argue these Islamic organizations have had an important role in making policies related to Islamic issues on the island of Java. The discourse about the dominance of religion at this time was getting stronger. The climax was that, towards the time of independence, these religious leaders were increasingly trying to influence the formulation of laws and state constitutions.

The essential category between religion and non-religion dominantly continues to influence State policy. With many regulations on religions, the tension between people who claim to be followers of local traditions increasingly loses its religious dimensions. They continue to be the subject of hegemony in the name of the dominant religion. Religion is a very formal, prescriptive, and normative concept. Consequently, state politics began to distinguish between religious and non-religious groups. The emergence of these dominant authorities tries to classify and categorize what is included with *adat* and not. Religion as an identity strengthened in the period leading up to Indonesian independence. While *Adat* became an important attention from the government policies on legal and cultural aspects, the religious dimension of *Adat* was increasingly marginalized, especially with the issues of many laws governing religion for the citizens. Religion at this time was based on religion in a theological sense that made Islam and Christianity as the standard (Maarif, 2017a). As a result of this, the purification movement flourished in the community. This was followed by the coming of Islamic organizations. Religion began to be discussed specifically in some Indonesian constitutional literature. Religion has become a national issue. Compared to *Adat*, the discourse of religion is more dominant.

CONCLUSION

The construction of *Adat* in colonial Indonesia appeared as an initial attempt that degraded the scope of the meaning of *adat* as secular and unfulfilling of requirements necessary to be a religion. Discursively, *adat* in the colonial period also showed that the concept of *adat* is constantly developing. *Adat* began as a marker of the intervention of many powers which subsequently disposed of religious aspects of practices of *adat* people. The construction of Dutch Colonial Administrators regarding *adat* (different from those that developed in the community) illustrate that *adat* was an animist culture that needed to be transformed into religion and modernized. That was the

beginning of the idea of the separation between people practices including *adat* which is regarded as an 'old' traditional practice. Colonialism tried to govern the people through policies.

The idea of modernity as the root of western colonialism penetrated into many aspects of life for the people. For example, there were policies such as Liberal Policy and Ethical Policy that initiated the idea of universalizing the western concept of religion for the people in the colonies. In particular, the world religion paradigm which was the dominant idea, used to define the practice of the people and asking for *adat* to be modernized. That was because of the emerging idea of animism which regards *adat* as primitive, tribal, and uncivilized. On one hand, *adat* is supposed in terms of customary laws. Under the influence of the world religious paradigm, many colonial administrators consider *adat* peoples as an object to be developed in terms of modernity. In a political aspect, *adat* became the arena of power contestation used by various levels of power, including the Dutch Colonial Administrators, local elite, and dominant society to perpetuate its power in their circles. In the context of Islam, *adat* is considered different from Islam. *Adat* is regarded as an old tradition that was inherently socially embedded before Islam. So, at this time, Islam was always opposed to *adat*.

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RELIGIOUS CONSISTENCY AND COMMITMENT TO LOCAL TRADITION WITHIN THE BAWAKARENG COMMUNITY IN INDONESIA'S SOUTH SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

Islam and local traditions have been struggling dynamically as seen in the reality of the social and religious life in the Indonesian context. This study aims to reaffirm the relationship between religion and local traditions by observing the consistency of South Sulawesi's Bawakaraeng community in practicing both Islam and local traditions. This work is based on data collected through observation, interviews, and literature studies with a qualitative descriptive analysis approach. The results of this study show three findings. First, the Bawakaraeng community, represented by some people of Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups, still believes that a local mountain is the center of a ritual to get closer to the creator. Second, the community has not only a strong consistency in the practice of Islamic teachings, but also a high commitment to maintaining local traditions, as practiced by Bawakaraeng community members. Third, religious consistency and a commitment to local traditions are practiced simultaneously through worshiping rituals such as prayers, remembrances, alms, and the pilgrimage activities (qurban-scarification) and tawaf. Thus, the Islamic spirits are being practiced consistently and continuously within the community's local context. This study suggests further undiscovered research on local communities using a contextual approach.

Keywords: Religious Consistency; Commitment, Local Tradition, Bawakaraeng;

INTRODUCTION

Buginese and Macassarese are the two major ethnic groups in South Sulawesi with not only strong consistency in the practice of Islamic teachings, but also high commitment to maintaining local traditions, such as the Ammatoa community in Kajang (Hasan & Nur, 2019; Maarif, 2014), Andaya, 2019; Iman et al., 2018), Maudu' Lompoe in Jeneponto (Rahim, 2020; Yamin et al., 2019), Tolotang in Sidrap (Jubba et al., 2019; Qodir, 2013; Rusli, 2012); Bissu in Pangkep (Adnan, 2018); "Bride-price" in Bone (Juhansar, 2018); Haji Bawakaraeng in Gowa (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012; Palippui, 2016), and other local communities that have maintained their beliefs and traditions since being

introduced to Islam. That research shows how the two ethnic groups commit to not only maintain Islamic teachings but local traditions as well. Databoks (2019) shows the number of the local religion adherents in Indonesia reached seven hundred thousand people¹ or 0.13% of the Indonesian population (270 million people)². Therefore, the existence of local religious adherents, as a minority and the cultural capital of the Indonesian nation, is still needed to study from various perspectives.

Studies on religion and local traditions have been carried out by experts and scholars using various methods. The existing studies can be applied to three trends: first, the dynamics of religious and cultural relations of the local community (Haryanto, 2015; Hasan, 2016; Muallifin, 2019; Muqoyyidin, 2013; Wekke, 2013); second, religious construction of local culture (Lichterman, 2008; Rozi, 2013; Hartney & Tower, 2016) and religious and cultural contestation as well as religious identity contestation (Jubba et al., 2020; Pabbajah et al., 2019; Arifin et al., 2019). Religion and ethnicity play central roles in the identity dynamics of multi-ethnic Indonesian communities (Prasojo et al., 2019); and third and finally, the compromise of the religion and customs of the local community (Aziza, 2017; Roibin, 2012; Solihah, 2019; Jubba et al., 2018). Religion and culture are also seen in the integrative aspect of solving social problems (Indiyanto & Kuswanjono, 2012; Tule, 2014). Indeed, religion and culture have had a long relationship with harmonious contestation within the dynamics of social change.

This study is a response to previous studies concerning religious consistency and the commitment to maintain the tradition of the local community in South Sulawesi. Accordingly, this study addresses three questions. First, what are the motivations of the Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups in the Islamic and local traditional ritual practices at Mount Bawakaraeng? Second, how strong is the commitment of the Buginese and Macassarese people in preserving tradition? Third, how is the influence of religion (Islam) in line with local traditions of Buginese and Macassarese ethnic groups as practiced by the Bawakaraeng community? The three questions will be examined in this study.

This study makes three assertions concerning the consistency and the commitment of the community in religious and local traditions and practices. First, Indonesia as a multicultural country having strong religious beliefs proves the inevitable intersection of religion and local tradition. Second, both religion and local traditions go hand-in-hand according to community

1 databoks.katadata.co.id

2 Kompas.com

consistency and commitment. Third, it is well-known that the Buginese-Macassarese people are identical with their strong religiosity in the practice of Islam; however, some others still have a high commitment to maintaining the practices of local tradition (*attoriolong*). Indeed, these three assumptions are going to be tested in the discussion of this study.

CONSISTENCY IN ISLAM

Consistency is closely related to the self-concept that will influence the principles taken. Someone who holds fast to basic principles is classified as someone with self-consistency. This means the person already has a positive self-concept. One positive self-concept is to apply discipline in one's life (Leonard, 2015). Related to religious principles, someone who embraces a religion has consistency and discipline in carrying out religious teachings. Values of religious teachings are expected to occupy an inner void in each person so that they can then make the right choice of behavior (in accordance with religious norms and teachings) and avoid deviant behavior (Sahrudin, 2017). Likewise, religion becomes a person's social control in behavioral and social interaction. Essentially this proves humans cannot be separated from the social aspects of religion as a social behavior. It is in our nature to be social creatures that synergize with each other. Religion becomes a human need to interact and carry out commands as servants of God (Saputro & Rois, 2016). One example is the evidence of increased social control in dealing with corrupt behavior, guided by religious teachings (Khodijah, 2018). Thus, religious consistency is holding firm to a religious principle and carrying it out in a disciplined manner per social norms.

Religious consistency for Muslim communities in Indonesia can be observed in the celebration of Islamic holidays. These Islamic celebrations in practice are colored by local traditions. Indonesia, as a multicultural and pluralistic nation, shows how its people practice Islamic teachings hand-in-hand with local traditions. (Abdullah et al., 2019). It indicates the existence of dialogue and the "give and take" relationship between Islam and the local culture (Masduki, 2019). Studies on Islam and local culture have been carried out looking at socio-religious adaptation and dialectics (Arifai, 2018; Lutfi, 2016; Muqoyyidin, 2013; Prasetawati & Asnawi, 2018; Sriyanto, 2016). Similarly, religious and local traditions practices are carried out simultaneously (Al-Amri & Haramain, 2017; Sakirman, 2016; Sujati, 2020; Wekke, 2013). It proves that in Indonesia, Islam and local traditions are consistently practiced hand-in-hand and influence each other.

MOUNT BAWAKARAENG: “QIBLA” PILGRIMAGE FOR THE BUGI-NESE- MACASSARESE COMMUNITY

Motivation for Visiting Bawakaraeng

Every human being carries out a job based on certain motives. As human thought develops, human desire does too. The number and type of necessities in life grow with desire. In addition to basic needs of clothing, food, and housing, humans also try to fulfill other life needs, such as recreation, health, security or safety, communication, and/or relationships with others, and more (Nuttin, 2014). Correspondingly, some people of South Sulawesi, view local Mount Bawakaraeng as an important place to fulfill the necessities of life. Thus, at certain times throughout each year there are people visiting Mount Bawakaraeng based on several different motivations.

First, is a tour carried out by many young people, especially nature-loving students from campuses in Macassarese city. This trip is considered an ordinary trip or picnic to see the view of nature from the top of the mountain. The younger generation tends to utilize nature, especially mountainous areas, for physical exercise, recreation, and/or tourism. This can be proven in everyday life, with groups of nature loving students passing through certain roads with complete facilities and equipment in order to climb mountains. Mount Bawakaraeng is usually a favorite destination for climbing. As quoted from an interview with one of visitors:

Our arrival here (Bawakaraeng) is a form of love for nature and this has become a routine activity for nature lover students on our campus. Climbing to the top of Bawakaraeng itself is an achievement that we are proud of when we get to the top and enjoy the beautiful natural scenery (DK, Interviewed in 2016).

From this statement, it can be understood the arrival of students to Bawakaraeng, representing all youth, is a symbol of pride. Although the Bawakaraeng hiking trail is extreme to undertake, the enthusiasm of students to visit is very high. In their view, the journey to the peak is a grand achievement, and there are even some communities that provide certificates for students who reach the top safely.

The second motivation is to find sacred objects in the Bawakaraeng area. This is done usually in shamanic practices that still maintain a mystical belief in the mountain. In a part of the community, there is a belief that Bawakaraeng is a place where spirits live, and consequently has a lot of mystical auras. Among the visitors who come for this reason, are middle-aged people who believe in myths and shamanistic practices. As stated by one of the following visitors:

Bawakaraeng is not an ordinary mountain. There are many relics that can be used for the good of humans. The relics can even be used to cure diseases. If you find an object when you travel to Bawakaraeng, it must be saved later, and it will be of some use because there is someone putting it down (RP, Interviewed in 2017).

The second motivation for undertaking this trip shows that the incentive of some people to visit Mount Bawakaraeng is not for the beauty of nature as the first group's incentive. This incentive is quite relevant to this paper because people maintaining their belief in traditional mysticism has to have been passed down for generations and centuries. Hence, there are still some who believe that Mount Bawakaraeng stores various kinds of mystic relics that can be used for human interests, especially for the treatment of diseases. Likewise, they believe in the ingredients for natural medicines and antidotes can be found here by looking for plants considered to bring fortune and other objects related to a healthy life. Those who travel for this purpose are commonly referred to and recognized by the community as *sanro* or shaman. Their number is minimal when compared to visitors who intend to partake in recreation/entertainment and those who are motivated by worship. They are not bound by time constraints when visiting Mount Bawakaraeng and can thus travel whenever they want. However, some of them have double motivations, in addition to *sanrojappa*, to carry out worship or vice versa. In other words, this trip is closer to the motivation of shamanism. In Buginese and Macassarese languages, it is called *sanro* (shaman).

Third is the motivation to travel as a guide to bring visitors to the top of Bawakaraeng. The journey to the top of Mount Bawakaraeng is not an easy journey, and requires physical and mental readiness. There are several paths or trailheads for hiking trails, where each entry has a guide commonly referred to as *Pinati*. It is stated by one representative of the *Tinggi Moncong* sub-district government as follows:

People who become Pinati, like that, are usually residents who live around the slopes of Mount Bawakaraeng, such as Lembanna, Kanreapia, Manipi, and other villages around Bawakaraeng. They serve more visitors who go on regular trips. They become guides, and they help visitors to bring equipment, such as tents, haversack, food supplies, and so on (GS, Interviewed in 2015)

According to the *Pinati*, visitors who intend to carry out worship are usually members of a congregation. With this understanding, *Pinati* usually tries to find as many members as possible in advance of the trip. Therefore, according

to the *Tinggi Moncong* sub-district head, the congregation of visitors to Mount Bawakaraeng consists of many groups, depending on how many *Pinatis* are with them.

The fourth is a religious trip to the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng. This is closely related to what is being studied in this study. It is related to the beliefs of some people who visit with worship motives. The practice of worship is inseparable from the existence of a teaching or belief in some Islamic communities in South Sulawesi. One visitor who was contacted stated:

People who came for worship between the years 2010-2013 from Macassarese consisted of several groups. Each group has its own interests, for example a group led by Puang Wali from Pangkep of approximately 230 people and other regional groups, such as Bulukumba, Sinjai, Gowa, Maros, and other regions with their respective members. (DJ, Interviewed in 2015).

The role of *Pinati* is very central in the process of worship, in addition to being a guide, *Pinati* must take full responsibility for each member of the group that they guide. Likewise, *Pinati* have a dual purpose. In addition to guiding worshipers, they worship and seek blessings on Mount Bawakaraeng (Pabbajah, 2012). With the practice of worship carried out on Bawakaraeng, it shows the commitment of the community in preserving the traditions inherited from their ancestors, even though the majority have embraced Islam, they clearly still maintain their traditions.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON THE RITUAL TRADITION ON MOUNT BAWAKARAENG

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia has generally resulted in a shift in local traditions. The strong penetration of Islam into local culture has been shown by various studies. In the context of Islam in the Padang Sidempuan of Batak community, for example, elements in *Panaek Bungkulan* that are mystical and superstitious have been deemed incompatible with Sharia rule, and have been ruled to be eliminated. Other ritual elements, if they can be communicated clearly and do not damage the faith, can still be carried out (Harahap, 2015). This is felt by the Bawakaraeng community, which have a tradition of rituals practiced on Mount Bawakaraeng that visibly do not damage the Islamic faith. However, various challenges effectively integrating traditions have been experienced with the penetration of Islam. Followers of the Bawakaraeng tradition are sometimes condemned as polytheists and even apostates. Some of the followers have been arrested and then taken to the local authorities

because they were considered as advocates of a misleading *tarekat*. In the 1960s, this tradition was totally banned by DI / TII, and anyone caught on Bawakaraeng for a ritual or pilgrimage would be arrested. Some of them were even sentenced to death (Pabbajah, 2012). The interviews and observations carried out in this study found three important influences of Islam on the ritual tradition on Mount Bawakaraeng as follows:

First is the historical significance and subsequent construction of Sheikh Yusuf's visit. His adherents are convinced that this is the place where Sheikh Yusuf, the guardian of Islamic propagation in South Sulawesi, lived. Thus, they feel amazed and connected to the greatness of Sheikh Yusuf through mythological stories that are hereditary and passed down through generations, and they practice his teachings on Mount Bawakaraeng's peak. Accordingly, visitors to Mount Bawakaraeng come to the Sheikh Yusuf's *mihrab*, due to their inability to go to Mecca like Sheikh Yusuf. It is said, according to their belief, Sheikh Yusuf represents a true Hajj, if he deemed it important to make a pilgrimage to Mount Bawakaraeng. The desire that drives the subject of the Hajj to Puncak Bring Karaeng comes from the story of the spiritual experiences experienced by Sheikh Yusuf while using pious knowledge to encourage him to the top of Bawakaraeng, then to Mecca. This story is re-translated by Joseph's followers, as a marker in identifying themselves - who are in the pilgrimage phase (Palippui, 2016), as stated by one of the following Bawakaraeng communities;

We went to Mount Bawakaraeng to follow in the footsteps of Sheikh Yusuf, who was the first to set foot on the Peak of Bawakaraeng (DJ, interviewed on 23 October 2016).

Second is the influence of the *tarekat* streams. Along with the process of Islamization, various *tarekat* streams emerge and develop in the community with significance in Islamization. The *tarekat* streams and their development can attract the hearts of the community so that they can spread and be accepted in a wider Indonesian community (Sudarmaji, 2018). The *tarekat* streams are always propped up by Sufism which is an inseparable part of the development of Islam, and one aspect of the teachings of Islam itself (Pujiastuti, 2016). The teachings of Sufism give priority to cleanliness and inner purity, which is needed to arrive at divine truth or absolute truth (Sidqi, 2015; Sirajuddin, 2016). This understanding of Sufism is cited as having been inspired by the way in which the Prophet Muhammad conducted a *khalwat* in the Cave of Hira before receiving God's revelation. After being solitary for some time, the Prophet Muhammad attained purity physically and mentally, and then the angel Gerbil delivered revelations to him (Djamas, 1983: 74).

From that event, various kinds of Sufism teachings have emerged in which their understandings have been manifested in various schools of *tarekat*. On Bawakaraeng Mountain, which is mostly in the area of Tinggi Moncong sub-district, Gowa district, there is a school of *tarekat* called “Barakka Bontolebang and Barakka Balasuka” (Pabbajah, 2012).

ENTHUSIASM IN CARRYING OUT THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

Completing Hajj is one of the pillars of Islam. Hajj is an obligation for Muslims who are capable of carrying it out (Syuhudi, 2019) As part of Islamic teachings, performing Hajj requires material and non-material abilities: mental readiness, self-awareness, religious zeal, sincerity, struggle, and sacrifice (Putuhena, 2007: v). The enthusiasm of the Buginese Macassarese community in carrying out Hajj makes them willing to do anything to effectively complete this worship. In fact, someone is willing to sell valuable assets, for example; rice fields, land, vehicles, jewelry, and other assets in order to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam. It shows in the Hajj, besides religious aspects, there are also social and economic aspects (Ahmad, 2016).

The ritual of Hajj is unique because it often transcends normative boundaries as an exclusive and unique worship (Sulthoni et al., 2013). In some observations, someone is even willing to go into debt to cover the cost of the pilgrimage, which currently amounts to around 37 million Indonesian Rupiah. Likewise, this tends to happen in the Buginese-Macassarese community. Parents bring their children to implement the fifth pillar of Islam, even though they have not reached the age of pilgrimage, and thus are not yet obliged to perform the pilgrimage. This is done with the assumption that all children who have the title of Haji will make the social status of the family more respectable within the community. In addition, the status of the pilgrimage is considered capable of providing a special place in family events, such as marriage, birth, and so forth. With such a strong desire, most of the Buginese-Macassarese people, especially the Bawakaraeng community, are looking for other ways to get this honor. For example, some Buginese-Macassarese people create rival rituals for Hajj on the summit of Mount Bawakaraeng. They assume that their reward is commensurate with the procession carried out in Mecca and Medina. The presence of the Bawakaraeng community that conducts a series of services such as the Hajj certainly cannot be separated from the internal spirit that wants to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam.

In addition to social considerations, there is also the most fundamental problem to directly discuss, the issue of economics. The pilgrimage to Mecca, as previously explained, has significant economic consequences. Therefore, the

Bawakaraeng community prefers to go to Mount Bawakaraeng first to worship before Mecca. It is considered to be more economically efficient and shorter for time. Likewise, worship performed by the Bawakaraeng community can be a form of protest against the difficult and hindering procedures and systems of the Indonesian government for those wanting to undergo the pilgrimage. Among them are the problems of pilgrimage interest that are increasing every year and are not accompanied by an improvement in supporting facilities for pilgrimage: lodging, sustenance, passport, and visa arrangements often hampered by poor bureaucracy, and the separation of operators and regulators in the implementation of the religious journey (Farid, 2019). Hence, some Muslims take alternative paths to successfully embark on the pilgrimage, and there are even pilgrims who must use passports from other countries that have Hajj quotas that are still empty.

CONSISTENCY IN ISLAM AND COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING LOCAL TRADITIONS ON MOUNT BAWAKARAENG

In religious practice, ethnic Buginese and Macassarese tend to show high consistency and commitment. In this case, the teachings of the Buginese and Macassarese religions are consistent with the Islamic faith, but still carry out the traditions practiced in socio-religious activities. Pelras calls it a practical syncretism which shows the mixing of Islamic teachings with traditions and beliefs that were held before the introduction of Islam (Pelras, 1993). In relation to the ritual traditions of the Bawakaraeng community, there are four forms of consistency in Islam and Tradition which are practiced simultaneously.

The first form of consistency is a prayer at the peak of Mount Bawakaraeng. The practice of prayer is done by the consideration that God resides in a high place, so that the corresponding representation on this earth is a mountain. The following interview excerpt from the Bawakaraeng community communicates this point highlights this:

Prayer can be done anywhere, because God is everywhere, if we are at the top of the mountain, it means we are near God because God is in a high place, like this mountain (US, interviewed in 2017).

There is a certain time that the Bawakaraeng community performs more religious activities, particularly during *Eid al-Adha*. At that time, Mount Bawakaraeng receives more visitors than at any other time, especially from groups of people who come to worship. *Eid Al-Adha* prayers here are carried out in the same way as *Eid Al-Adha* prayers are performed by Muslims all

around the world. There are Imams as prayer leaders who usually come from the local village. The only difference is the start of the prayer is preceded by sounding the call to prayer as a signal to begin. It is from this practice that this community tends to practice worship similar to the pilgrimage, so many groups call it the Hajj Bawakaraeng (Idris, 2017; Pabbajah, 2012). Around the peak of Mount Bawakaraeng there is a place to purify or perform ablution before prayer called *buhungbarania*, as a representation of *zam-zam* wells according to the Bawakaraeng community view.

Second, *dhikr* and prayer are carried out during the trip to the top of Bawakaraeng. Chanting remembrance usually said when traveling is repeating the phrase *Laailaahillallaah*. This is done repeatedly until the prayer reaches the summit. In addition, they read the prayers with a mixture of Arabic and Macassarese languages. One person usually leads the prayer and the other one gives permission for it to occur. Likewise, there is a community that chants the *talbiyah* sentence, *Labbaikallaa Humma Labbaik*, like it is sung by the pilgrims who leave for Mecca. This became a part of the observation when the research study was carried out, then confirmed to one community who revealed that:

During the trip to Bawakaraeng, we only pray and dhikr. There is nothing else to expect but the blessing of Allah to be given safety and good health. Remembrance is also done in order to avoid interference from other creatures in the Bawakaraeng residents (KT, interviewed in 2015).

From these observations and statements, it appears that the community visiting Bawakaraeng has the main goal of worship in order to feel and get closer to God. In addition, there is also the construction of the pilgrimage as desire to carry out the fifth pillar of Islam, but with practice of local traditions. This phenomenon has been developed in the global Islamic community, as a Muslim to establish closer to God by praying at the right place and the right time through the right person who can get the blessing of their prayers (though it cannot be denied this phenomenon has caused debate in Islam) (Sani, 2017). Among them are religious incentives, religious tourism, seeking blessings, being careful in praying, refusing reinforcements, spiritual behavior and seeking peace (Mustaghfiroh, et al., 2014). Thus, the consistency of religious and cultural traditions cannot be separated.

Third, is the slaughter of sacrificial animals. This practice is traditional in the history of Islam where the sacrifice of *qurban* was first carried out by the prophet Ibrahim to slaughter his son Prophet Ismail. This annual sacrifice worship by global Muslims is an animal slaughtering ritual when celebrating *Eid al-Adha* (Marlina et al., 2019; Zikri, 2011). Likewise, the Bawakaraeng community

recites a communal prayer. Some community members are able to slaughter sacrificial animals they bring when visiting Bawakaraeng. Animals that can be brought are goats, of course, with a consideration of being easily carried or “dragged”. The animal is then slaughtered after the *Eid al-Adha* prayer at the peak. After the slaughter, the meat of sacrificial animals is distributed to the communities that come. In addition, some meat is given to residents of Kampung Lembanna, especially to those who have given assistance and aid during the rituals at Mount Bawakaraeng.

In the *qurban* tradition of the Bawakaraeng community, there is also a release of animals on Mount Bawakaraeng. The sacrificial animals released are usually chickens or goats. In general, those who bring sacrificial animals to the place do so because of vows. This tradition has been practiced by the Buginese-Macassarese people. It is called *maccera (suguhan)*, a form of devotion to nature; *maccera' tappareng* (Muhajir & Ahmad Gani, 2019; Mustamin, 2017). Likewise, it can function as a reinforcement and as an expression of gratitude and respect for the place and figure who are saved (Lawwarani & Alizah, 2018). In the Javanese tradition they are called offerings (Adam, 2019; Aminullah, 2017; Rizkiawan, 2017) or *sedeqah laut* (Madzhab et al., 2019). Correspondingly, in Hindu teaching, known as a form of devotion to God, this is a must for every religious person. Hinduism explains the teachings of Bhakti in the Bhagavata Purana known as Navavida Bhakti (MPdH, 2019)

Fourth is *Tawaf* and *Sedeqah* which are practiced after the prayer and slaughter of sacrificial animals. *Tawaf* is a series of pilgrimage practices of a Muslim in addition to *wukuf*, and *sa'i*, with certain conditions (Nuri, 2014). In the practice of *tawaf* as part of a series of worship, the Bawakaraeng community surrounds a mountain ridge which is represented as a practice of *waqf* in a series of pilgrimages in the Grand Mosque. This ritual is led by one of the elders or someone who often performs rituals in Bawakaraeng. The mountain ridges that are surrounded are called *Teteanna Anjayya* which means the bridge of the day, or the *Shirathal Mustaqiim* Bridge in Islam. After surrounding the place, they arrive at Post 13 called *Makka Caddia* or Little Mecca. In this place they perform *tawaf* or surround a monument that was first built by the Dutch. This monument is considered the Ka'bah. Then they perform seven rounds of *tawaf* while throwing pieces of coins seven times as well. In each round, they kiss the monument with enthusiasm (Helmi, 1988, Pabbajah, 2012).

After the *tawaf* ritual has been performed, members of the Bawakaraeng community give alms to someone who is deemed meritorious in the preparation, the implementation, and the ending of the worship ritual. One of the most meritorious people is the *pinati* or guide that accompanies each

group. Giving alms is not an obligation, but depends on the ability and sincerity of the individual. *Sadaqah* is practiced as a form of happiness after perfecting worship. Then, with the blessing of giving alms, they will be given health and repelling potential disasters. This health is made from happiness and a feeling of calm when making others happy (Ashar, 2012; Rusdi et al., 2018). Therefore, the Bawakaraeng community gives alms with the hope that blessings and greed be given after spiritual worship and social worship as forms of gratitude to God.

The explanation shows that the Buginese-Macassarese community as represented in the Bawakaraeng community worship practices demonstrates consistency in Islam with a commitment to keeping traditions inherited from their ancestors. In other words, the Buginese-Macassarese community is identical in carrying out Islamic teachings, but is still committed to carrying out pre-Islamic traditions. There are even some traditional practices contrary to the values and concepts of Islamic teachings. Likewise, the acculturation of Islam as the majority religion is inevitable from the influence of local traditions that are still inherent in some communities. This emphasizes that consistency in carrying out religious teachings and maintaining tradition can go hand-in-hand, even though it goes through an ongoing process of adaptation and negotiation.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between Islam and local traditions has colored many of the socio-religious practices in Indonesian society. This study reaffirmed the inevitable relationship of these two elements. There are three important findings as a result of the analysis of this study. First, the Buginese-Macassarese people still have a high commitment to maintaining the traditions inherited from their ancestors, even though Islam has been adhered to and practiced consistently. In this case, there are still some local people who are represented by the Bawakaraeng community in South Sulawesi, although they are consistent in practicing Islam as a religious teaching, but they remain committed in maintaining local traditions. Second, local religion and traditions can go hand-in-hand with the similarity of spirit they have, which is to draw closer to God. Third, the form of religious consistency and commitment to tradition is demonstrated by the practice of worship carried out by the Bawakaraeng community, such as prayer, *dzikir*, slaughter of sacrificial animals, *tawaf*, and alms as a symbol of Islam and local traditions which are carried out simultaneously.

The study is still limited to just one community with the presentation of

qualitative data with the approach of religious consistency concept and tradition in the Bawakaraeng community. Hence, further studies are needed by presenting quantitative data on the number of Bawakaraeng communities who visit Mount Bawakaraeng each year with a contextual and comprehensive concept approach. Likewise, this study recommends that studies on the existence of local communities in Indonesia still require special attention for researchers and policymakers, so that local religious communities' local wisdom can be mapped in a way that encourages progress of a nation. Thus, further studies are still needed in order to explore the local wealth and decentralized knowledge that is still scattered throughout the archipelago, then documented into intellectual property.

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MODERN RELIGIOUS COUNSELING MODEL IN THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT OF LONTARA ATTORIOLOANG RI WAJO

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ABSTRACT

Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo is one of the ancient manuscripts of Bugis found in Sambas, West Kalimantan. This manuscript is a historical source in the form of a document containing the physical and spiritual life of the Bugis people. The study of ancient manuscripts is still infrequently done by historical researchers in West Kalimantan, even though in these texts there are many things can be revealed and used as learning in the life of religion, nation and need. The focus of this study is religious counseling which includes counselors, counseling themes and counseling models contained in the ancient manuscript of Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo. The approach used is a qualitative with a descriptive method, the researchers examine the text to find counselor figures, the themes of religious counseling and sort out the counseling model. The analysis used content analysis. The data obtained from the study showed that the counselors were Arung Matoae (king) in Wajo Kingdom. Religious counseling includes monotheism, leadership, human relations and relationships with the universe. The religious counseling models used are individual and group counselings.

Keywords: Religious counseling, Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is overflowing with manuscripts, spread in several regions, such as: Java, Bali, Madura, Lombok, Bima. Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, South Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, dan Kalimantan Barat. There

are various estimates of the exact number of manuscripts in total; among them 5000 manuscripts (according to Ismail Husen), 4000 (according to Chambert Loir), and 10000 (according to Russel Jones), with some of those manuscripts being found not in Indonesia itself, but overseas, in countries such as Netherlands, Germany, France, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam (Amin, 2012, pg. 50).

As for the manuscripts that can be found in West Kalimantan, they are stored not only in the Historical Museum and Research Forum, but also with various manuscript lovers, common folk, disciples and descendants of the manuscript authors, etc. However, these manuscripts have not been neatly catalogued, unlike the manuscripts in Aceh, Sulawesi, and Java. This is due to several factors, such as the large area of West Kalimantan, the loss of several local thrones, and the historical dark chapter of Bloody Mandor, when numerous intellectual figures of old West Kalimantan, whether from among the royal courts, religious circles, and merchant class were slaughtered by the Japanese occupiers.

The manuscripts present in West Kalimantan have varying origins, some were brought in by diaspora coming from Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Banjar, Acehnese, Pattani Arabs, and various other diaspora migrants, while some others were written by local ulemas, scholars, statesmen (including kings like Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin of Sambas, Syarif Saleh al-Idrus of Kubu, and Syarif Abdurrahman al-Qadri of Pontianak), and disciples of the ulemas. These manuscripts cover various topics, such as religious matters (*tauhid*, sharia, morals, even the stages of death encountered by men), history (chronicles of the Prophets, royal genealogies, and history of the religious orders), art, and politics.

Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo is a manuscript originating from Wajo, an ethnically Bugis region of South Sulawesi. The Bugis are famed as explorers, migrants, diaspora, or *pasompe*, seeking a better life elsewhere. In their journeys, they bring *lontaras* (manuscripts), proving the literacy of the Bugis society. One of the regions visited by these Bugis diaspora is West Kalimantan. Their literary traces in this region can still be found in places like the West Kalimantan Museum, private manuscript collections, such as ones belonging to Abdurrahman Pallogah and Andi Syafaruddin, and manuscripts still in the hands of the Bugis descendants themselves, as in the case of this *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript. Until recently, the exact whereabouts of this manuscript was hard to find, as its owner has passed away several years ago. The researcher only managed to find this manuscript thanks to the help of a speaker and organizer of a manuscript seminar in Brunei, who revealed that

they have this manuscript when the researcher showed a photo of it.

The *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript has been studied by Patmawati and Besse Wahida, studying the history of Wajo written in the manuscript in 2015, then in 2017 they wrote about the communication model expressed in the manuscript, and in 2019 they studied the manuscript, giving rise to the book titled “*Konsep Ketauhidan Dalam Naskah Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo*”. However, these 3 studies has not yet covered the topic of religious counseling found in the manuscript, which includes the counseling model, examples of counselors and counselees, and the religious topics the counseled about.

In general, studies about religious counseling in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript is important to reveal, as part of the national intellectual treasure. More specifically, it is hoped that this study can give some insight in order to develop religious counseling based on manuscripts present in West Kalimantan, thus giving birth to a new generation who knows and are interested in studying the ancient manuscripts they inherited from their ancestors, and are proud of what those ancestors has achieved.

METODE

This research uses the methods of philological research, where the research team translates the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript, then selects the themes related to religious counselin. This concept of religious counseling is then divided again into sub-themes, based on studies included in the text, which includes matters of relationship with God (Dewata Seuwae), relationship with fellow humans, and relationship with nature.

The next step is to collect literatures discussing similar topics, to assist in data analysis. These gathered literature includes history of Wajo, needed to understand the social, economic, and political context of the past when the manuscript was written, and literature concerning religious counseling, used to compare the data obtained from the manuscript with modern theories concerning the subject. After all are gathered, only then the researchers analyze the data, interpreting and describing them. The results are then presented based on their themes, from examples of counselors and counseles in the manuscript, then the themes of religious counseling, and finally the model of religious counseling presented in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manucript.

The Latin transcription of the parts of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript concerning such practices of religious counseling is reproduced in this study, in order to preserve the Bugis language in its diaspora, particularly the West Kalimantan Bugis community, and also to help readers to make corrections

and/or critiques, if there are mistakes in the transcription and/or translation process of the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajomanuscript*.

THEORETICAL BASIS

The history of counseling started on 1908 in USA, marked by the foundation of the vocational bureau by Frank Parsons, also known as the “Father of The Guidance Movement” in America. He stressed that each individual needs help from others to understand their personal weaknesses and shortcomings, and finding solutions to those in order for them to develop into worthy people and find occupations befitting their abilities (Ina, in <https://dosenpsikologi.com/sejarah-bimbingan-konseling>)

The development of counseling is affected by several factors, such as the immigration wave coming to the US in search of jobs, the Christian view of the world as a battlefield between good and evil, but also the appearance of Syekh Ali Mahfuzh's book in 1918, titled “*Hidayah al-Mursyidin ila Thuruq al-Wazh wa al-Khithobah*” (Guidance for those given guidance towards techniques of giving advices and speeches) as the foundation upon which the science of *Dakwah* is built (Aziz, 2017, hal. 71), in which religious counseling, in this context Islamic counseling, is placed as part of *Dakwah*, and finally the rise of psychological inspection movement. As time goes, counseling grows to become a scientific discipline. However, in truth counseling, in this context religious counseling, has been practiced by religions, both Abrahamic and non-Abrahamic, since the very beginning, and these then became the basis for the birth of religious counseling as a scientific study.

According to Amin in Nooraeni (2020, pg. 131), religious (Islamic) counseling can be defined as:

“Study Understanding Religious Guidance Islamic Religious Guidance can also be defined as the process of providing targeted, continuous, and systematic assistance to each individual so that he can develop his religious potential or nature optimally by internalizing the values contained in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah into himself, so that he can live in harmony and in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah”.

RELIGIOUS COUNSELING

The spreading of specific religious teachings among certain target demographics require a personal relation between the counselor and counselee. These religious counselings are oriented more towards solving individual and/or group problems faced by the counselees, with the counselor giving

aid in said problem solving process. Aunur Rahim Faqih in Dulhadi (2017, pg. 144) stated that religious counseling is a process of helping individuals to realize once again that they are creatures blessed by the Divine, and that their thoughts and actions should be always in accordance to God's guidance, so that they can achieve happiness both in this life and the Afterlife.

Religious counseling means the internalization and transmission of religious teachings. Internalization here means that a counselor has to already applies those teachings to themselves before performing their counseling, or in other words, every counselor should start with self-counseling; internalizing those religious teachings in order to realize their human nature in accordance to God's will, leading to self-enlightenment and introspection. Only then can they perform the transmission, delivering those teachings and guiding others, either individually or in small groups, to solve the problems they face (Kusnawan, 2020, pg. 22).

Counselors in religious counseling are demanded to be able to forge strong ties with both God and their counselees; having a comprehensive religious knowledge, living their lives in accordance to that knowledge, and having a sharp empathy in order to understand their counselees (Aziz, 2017, pg. 188). According to Syukriadi Sambas in Cucu, as quoted by Patmawati and Fitri Sukmawati (2018, pg.214) a counselor needs to use both their tongues and bodies, "tongue"referring to what they said to the counselees, while "body" refers to their own morals and behavior.

From the various opinions stated above, it can be seen that a counselor has to first performs *irsyad nafsi*, or a self-counselin, where the person of a counselor and counselee become one, in the would-be counselor. Thus, before giving any counseling to the counselees, the counselor has to match their words with their actions first. The successes of Prophets Ya'qub AS, Isa AS, and Muhammad SAW as religious counselors cannot be separated from their personal striving towardshonor, their fear of committing acts not blessed by God. They preserved themselves from Allah's punishment, both in this world and the Afterworld, and improves their piety, worship, and fear only reserved for the All-Powerful. Thus, the religions they brought to this world (Judaism, Christianity,and Islam) still have many followers even until now.

Without focusing on the specific religious labels, all religious counseling has the exact same goals. They all try to help individuals prevent problems in their religious life, solving problems related to religious life, and help those individuals in preserving, or even improving the quality of their religious life. Thus, the counselees of religious counseling includes those individuals and/or groups who are not yet convinced of the importance of religion, those who

wants to believe in religion, but are still unsure of which religion to believe in, those who starts to doubt their religion, and those who experienced religious conflicts due to incorrect information concerning their religion, or lack understanding of their religion, and those who has not applied the teachings of their religion completely (Dulhadi, 2017, pg. 145-146).

Religious counseling is related to the nature of humanity, because in the person of each individual is a spiritual side which pushes one to be religious, pious, loves good and justice, and hates evil and injustice. It is this drive that distinguishes humans from other creatures. Abraham Maslow stated that this spiritual needs of humans is a natural needs which fulfillment depends on individual personality and maturity (Najati, 2010, pg. 31).

All religions lead humans to love good, forge strong ties with both God and fellow humans, foster the spirit of brotherhood regardless of labels, cooperate in pursuit of *fastabiqul khaerat*, be loyal and build a society based on said loyalty and solidarity, where each feels like they are fingers of one hand. Religious counseling serves to guide humans to develop that universal love of others; prioritizing the common good; be good to other people, the society at large, and to nature; weaken the feelings of hate and anger; eliminate injustice and enmity; and curbs the tendencies of self-aggrandizement and egocentrism. There is no doubt that the ability to love others, whether fellow humans, animals, or nature will cure the feelings of isolation and calms both body and soul. In essence, religious counseling helps the counselees in solving their religious problems, whether related to God, fellow creatures, or nature, both in the present and the future. Religious counseling helps them to develop a healthy mentality, attitude, and behavior.

MODEL OF RELIGIOUS COUNSELING

According to Hafied Cangara in Patmawati and Besse Wahida (2017, pg. 88), model is a systematic and abstract image, illustrating certain potentials related to various aspects of a process. In this context the process meant is the process of religious counseling. The models of religious counseling to be discussed in this study is the models of individual and group counselings.

Individual, or *fardiyah* counseling is a face-to-face interaction between counselor and counselee, in the format of a dialogue, so that the counselee's response to the counselor's message, whether positive or negative, can be found immediately. Shaqr in Kusnawan (2020, pg. 93) stated that *fardiyah* counseling is a delivery of message done face-to-face, which does not necessarily require prior planning.

Furthermore, Shaqr stated that the characteristics of an individual counseling

includes: Private contacts that can be done everyday, everywhere, in accordance to their habits; such private contacts not being restrained by any protocols, free to cover various types of transactions; can be done in secret, thus free from the factors of popularity and *driya*; does not require many facilities; and can be done freely and openly, thus allowing one to express even private problems, in turn making it easier to form psychological contact between counselor and counselee.

In individual counseling, a special, dynamic relationship is formed, because in this relationship, the counselee can feel accepted and understood by the counselor. The counselor accepts the counselee privately, without giving any judgement. The counselee feels that someone can understand their personal problem and wants to help them solve it. Both counselor and counselee can learn from each other, in a special and private relationship (Nurihsan, 2005, pg. 10).

The operational procedure for counselors in individual counseling involves the counselor acting tolerant and gentle to the counselee; appreciating and respecting the counselee as fellow servants of God who has their own feelings and thoughts; inspecting and understanding the counselee's personality in full, along with their psychological and social problems; choosing the most urgent of those problems as priority to solve; stressing the introduction of the truth of religion to the counselee; fostering an atmosphere of equality between the counselor and counselee, avoiding blatant appearances of status difference; avoiding forcing opinions and subjectivity that can burden the counselee beyond their capabilities. The counselor serves to foster the potentials of the counselee, which includes *assam'a*, *al-absyar*, and *al-afidah*; that is, the potential for listening, seeing, and feeling. These three potentials need to be developed to achieve *manunggalin kawulo lan Gusti*.

Meanwhile, group counseling, according to Pauline Harrison in Kurnanto (2014, pg. 7), is a counseling involving between 4-8 counsees with 1-2 counselors. They discuss several problems, such as the ability to forge relations and communication, developing personal abilities and methods to face problems wisely. This small group of counsees is guided to trust, treat warmly, understand, accept, and support each other in the group. Counsees in group counseling can use their interactions in the group to improve their understanding and acceptance of certain values and goals, as well as eliminating unsavory attitude and behavior.

Juntika Nurihsan stated that group counseling is a form of help for individuals in group situation, which serves as either preventive or curative measures, aimed to help in their growth and development (Kurnanto, 2014, pg. 7). This

means that group counseling serves to push and motivate the counselees to change themselves by utilizing all their potential in order to become worthy people. Thus, the information given in group counseling is tailored to help fix and improve self-understanding and understanding of others, accompanied by a change in the counselees' behavior (Nurihsan, 2005, pg. 17).

From the above explanation concerning individual and group counselings, both approaches aim to guide counselees to change themselves to become *insankamil* by finding all the divine potential in themselves. Thus, counseling is more continuous, simultaneous, and intensive, done on casuistic basis, on all aspects of life that affects individual, familial, and social life (Sukayat, 2015, pg.: 23). Counseling can be done through various methods, such as: First, *mauidzah hasanah*, or a good teaching, where the counseling is done without any element of force, hurt, and offense, but done sympathetically, focusing on humanitarian values (Abdullah, 2018, pg. 141). Second, dialogue, a two-way conversation between counselor and counselee, giving a feeling of equality between them (Aripudin, 2011, pg. 126), where the counselor and counselee are the main actors, so that the counseling process can be begun and ended anytime and anywhere. Third, advice, where the counselor gives good advices to the counselee, guiding them to good with kind, easy to accept, and straightforward words, avoiding rudeness and blaming the counselee, so that the counselee can openly and willingly follow those advices. According to Ali Musthafa Yakub in Amin (2009, pg. 100), a good advice is words that are useful to those who hear it, satisfying arguments so that the counselee accepts what the counselor said as truth.

THE MANUSCRIPT OF *LONTARA ATTOIOLOANG RI WAJO* AT A GLANCE

The *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript is a manuscript found by the manuscript collection team from the Research and Community Service Body of National Islamic Academy (STAIN) Pontianak, now IAIN Pontianak. The manuscript was found in the possession of a certain manuscript collector (Mul'am), who is himself a Bugis descendant residing in Sambas region. Then, the manuscript was photographed by the team, because the papers can no longer be photocopied. Those photos were then handed by the team to Yahya Natsir, a Bugis and senior lecturer in STAIN Pontianak. The manuscript was then handed to his daughter and fellow STAIN Pontianak lecturer, Nely Mujahidah, before any study was done. It was from Nely Mujahidah the manuscript was handed to the researchers, at the time as material for doctoral dissertation.

The manuscript consists of 52 pages, written in both Bugis language and script. The manuscript is no longer complete, missing several parts at the beginning and middle, and the edges of the pages are no longer readable. This causes the information contained in the manuscript to be rather incomplete and incoherent. To supplement this, the researchers use literature about the Kingdom of Wajo, particularly in order to understand the figures/counselors and the conditions during the religious counseling.

The text of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* talks about leadership; the Kingdom of Wajo did not trace their leadership based on *To Manurung*, but rather on individual intelligence and capabilities. Since the founding of the kingdom in the 14th century until the 20th, there are 45 Arung Matoae in total who ruled Wajo (Kesuma, 2004, pg. 42), but only 22 are mentioned in this manuscript. Among them, only the ones who practiced religious counseling, either as counselor or counselee, will be discussed by the researchers. They are Arung Matoae IV Lataddampare Puangrimaggalatung, Arung Matoae V Tonampe, dan Arung Matoae XI La Mungkace Toudamang. Also mentioned in the manuscript are Tomaddualeng (Betteng Pola), a king of Gowa referred to as Karaengnge, and Matoae ri Mario.

Besides talking about leadership, the text of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* also contains *pappaseng* (messages), which are messages given by Arung Matoae and Tomaddualeng to their children, their people, and messengers from other kingdoms such as Gowa, Bone and Luwu. These messages are the ones given through the format of counseling, whether individual or group counseling.

DISCUSSION

Counselors of Religious Counseling in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* Manuscript

Religious counselors mentioned in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* manuscript includes the names of Arung Matoae Puang Rimaggalatung, and Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang, alongside Tomaddualeng. Arung Matoae Puang Rimaggalatung was the 4th king of Wajo, ruling for thirty years (1491-1521). In his era, Wajo experienced a territorial expansion, to the point that some neighboring kingdoms annexed themselves into Wajo willingly, such as Timurung, Soppeng, Enrekang, Batulappa, and Larompong, gifted by the Kingdom of Luwu to Wajo. Besides being known as a statesman, Arung Matoae Puang Rimaggalatung was also known as a law philosopher and an economist.

As a statesman, Arung Matoae Puang Rimaggalatung declared the criteria needed for a would-be leader to be elected by the people of Wajo as Arung

Matoae, which are *malempu* (honest), *macca* (intelligent), *Malabo* (generous), and *warani* (courageous). The Kingdom of Wajo did not recognize hereditary succession of offices, even though many children of Arungs became Arungs themselves, due to neighboring kingdoms asking for the descendants of Arung Matoae to become their Arung, as illustrated in the following dialogue found in the manuscript:

“Nasetaung nawwanuwa libukangnge ri lapeneki to marioe. Nauttama ri Wajo milau arung. Naiyya napoada iyyamai kulaoang puang. Ammaseangnga muarengnga seuawwae kialai arung. Naiyya napoada Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung. Arung maneng anakku matoa. Apa iya Tonampe iyae nakuelorang tolawa. Naiyya Wepabbata arung Penrang parigi napolakkai. Nakkeda matoae ri Mario iyamuna mai anetta Tonampe. Nakkeda Arung Matoae nalengngi aga matoa arungnge ri Wajo kuwerekko. Seuwwapi pale anakku tengngarung Lamaddaremeng piyanaro mulao muala arung. Narekko mucaccai gau’na parewekengnga mai anakku. Kuwerekko laingnge arung apa teawa sianre uno anekku. Nakkeda matoae ri Mario. Maukucacca anetta gau’na tekke teai to. Nakkeda Arung Matoae. Iyanaritu adammu matoa nasabbi Dewata Seuwwaemau mucacca gau’na anekku temmutai to. Nakado matoae ri Mario. Nasitinro’na lao surona Arung Matoae to Marioe lao ri Kera malai Lamaddaremeng nawawai ri Peneki napatettongi arung.”

Which means: “A year after Libukkangge to Mario resided in Lapeneki, he came to Wajo asking for a ruler. They said, ‘Our visit here is to beg your willingness, to give one of your children to be our Arung.’ Then Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung said, ‘all my children are already Arungs; Tonampe is the one I have intended to be my successor; Wepabata is married to Arung Pinrang, and Wemallaka is married to Arung Parigi’. Matoae ri Mario said, ‘please give us your son Tonampe’. Arung Matoae then said, ‘Then who would be Arung in Wajo if I give him to you. There is still one of my child who has not become Arung, Lamaddaremeng, he will be the one you will raise as Arung. If you do not like him, then return him to me, and I will give you another to be Arung, because I do not want my children to be enemies.’ Then said Matoae ri Mario, ‘Even if I do not like your child, that I will not do.’ Arung Matoae said, ‘Your words has been witnessed by God the One.’ Then the delegates of Arung Matoae and Mario went to Kera to fetch Lamaddaremeng and bring him to Peneki to be Arung”.

The above dialogue demonstrated that the children of Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung, both sons and daughters, were wanted by other kingdoms to be kings in their kingdom, because the of Arungs in Wajo are paragons to be followed by their people. The people of Wajo would just leave

their lands if they dislike their Arung. According to Brooke, as quoted by Christian Pelras, in Patmawati and Besse Wahida (2015, pg. 229). “All offices of the kingdom, even including Arung Matoae itself, is open to women, and they really have filled important positions in the government.”

Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang was the eleventh Arung of Wajo; the manuscript told a story of Arungs/kings of other kingdoms coming to visit him in order to ask for guidance concerning religion and how to manage a kingdom. Arung Toudamang continued the messages of previous Arungs, such as Arung Puangrimaggalatung's about honesty, courage, intelligence, and economic success. As for Tomaddualeng, he was Datu Renring Betteng Pola who was very intelligent. He was the one who defused tensions with the king of Gowa, who accused Wajo of betraying a treaty between the two kingdoms.

The religious counseling found in the text that were done by Arung Matoae ri Wajo and Betteng Pola, with all the prerequisites they had, are in order with the necessities for religious counselors, which includes *nafsiyah*, a perfect personality, both physically and mentally; *jasadiyah*, a healthy body free from various diseases; and *ijtimaiyah*, perfection in behavior in interactions with others (Kusnawan, 2020, pg. 55-56).

Themes of Religious Counseling in *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* Manuscript

The themes discussed in religious counselings in the text of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* include matters of the oneness of God, leadership, interpersonal relations, and relationship with nature. The theme of oneness of God can be seen in a dialog between Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang and Karaeng matoae ri Gowa; recorded as such:

“Namalasa arungmatoae naengkasi karaengnge matoae muttama ri Wajo. Mitai lasanna arung matoae. Nakkeda karaengnge maserro ritu lasammu ancaji amasseangnga mupoada adangnge seaga majeppu dewata. Nakkeda Arung Matoae seuwwamua ritu dewata suronamua ritu dewata maega. Nakkeda Kaaenge iyyaga dewwata seuwwae tekkeina'na tekke ammana. Nakkeda Arung Matoae iyyamuanariaseng dewata seuwwae tekke ina'ga tekke amma;ga”.

Which means: “The Arung Matoae have fallen ill, thus the Karaeng Matoae came to Wajo again to visit him. Said the Karaenge, ‘Your illness seems severe, thus please take pity on me and pass on to me messages concerning The One God’. Then said Arung Matoae, ‘There is only one God, The One God, and it is only His messengers that are plenty’. The Karaeng asked, ‘Is The One God either begotten or can begets?’ Answered Arung Matoae “The One God is a

God who neither begets nor begotten”.

The above dialog shows that Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang has reached the stage of witnessing the presence of The One God (Dewata Seuwwae), God of all universe. He found his God by relying on his mind. A Muslim philosopher, al-Farabi, in Patmawati and Besse Wahida (2018, pg. 177) stated that philosophy, in the sense of using rational mind generally and widely predated religion, both temporally and logically; temporally, because the beginnings of philosophy can be traced back to the era of Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, far before the era of Prophets Ibrahim and Musa AS.; logically, because all truths of religion must be initially understood and stated through rational means, before the advent of the Prophets.

The message in the religious counseling between Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang (counselor) and Karaeng Matoae (counselee) concerns the matter of God's oneness. The counselor delivers their message to the counselee in accordance to the counselee's problem, here about the counselor's understanding of The One God. This counseling is an example of individual counseling; as stated by Muhammad Surya and Winkel (Cecep Maulana: 2016), the aspects of individual problems that require individual counseling are such as: (a) an individual's ability to understand themselves, (b) an individual's ability to make their own decisions, (c) an individual's ability to solve problems concerning their personal spiritual condition, such as matters concerning their relationship with God.

Religious counseling in matters of leadership can be seen in a saying from Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung, who said:

“Natelloppulo taunna Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung. Namalasana nataro sirina pasipulungngi to wajoe. Nakkeda Arung matoae. Maserro lasakku to Wajo. Rekko matea iyaya muala arung matoae rimunrikku bolaiyengngi gaue eppae. Seuwwani malempue, maduanna maccapi, matelluna malabopi, maeppa'na waranipi”.

Which means: “After thirty years ruling as Arung Matoae, Puangrimaggalatung fell ill, he then gathered the people of Wajo. Arung Matoa said ‘My illness is very severe. If I die, then the one who will become Arung Matoa after me is one who has four traits: firstly, honest; secondly, intelligent; thirdly, generous; and fourthly, courageous.”

This demonstrates that religious counseling is not solely concerned with ritual relations with God, but state matters too. This matter of leadership was also reiterated by Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang when he

gave a counseling to his people in the form of *ofpaseng* (message). In said message, he asked his people to not forget the message of Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung about the criteria needed in a leader while choosing a new leader. This involvement of the common people in the selection of the next Arung shows that Wajo is a democratic society, able to choose their own representation in the government. Thus, even though Wajo is a kingdom, its people do not blindly obey the kings personally, rather they obey their *ade'* (customs), which they have agreed upon among themselves (Kesuma, 2004, pg. 46).

In the running of a state, Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang stated that there are three things that would ruin a state, as expressed in the following saying:

“iyato kupoada-adakko towajo aja’ mupogau solaingngengi tanamu. Telluritu solangi tanae seuwwani dekkua tannia ade’na tanae ri pogau. Maduanna dekkua matau’ki mappaing’e’ ri arungnge. Matelluna arungnge nalao saro mase ri wanuwa laing ri padanna arung”.

Which means: “And I want to tell the people of Wajo, do not commit acts that can ruin your land. There are three things that will ruin your land, which are: committing things in violation of your own customs, fear of advising your Arung, and an Arung begging the mercy of another Arung”.

From the above message, it can be understood that the society of Wajo is a very open society; they are free to travel to any kingdom, watching and observing other lands, but they are reminded to not easily imitate foreign customs that might ruin them, either as an individual, as a society, or as a nation. The highest authority in Wajo society is the people, they choose the best among them to be Arung, one who is capable and able to handle state matters. The king does not shun critiques, rather the people are encouraged to advice the Arung if they are about to commit actions that might harm the kingdom. In the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo*, it is mentioned that a certain *Paddanreng Betteng Pola* (high official of the kingdom) named La Pattedungi Tosamallangi, the third Batara Wajo, was a depraved man, who violated customs by kidnapping someone; at the end he was exiled from Wajo and executed by the people (Patmawati and Besse Wahida, 2015, pg. 225). If an Arung no longer inherited the essential traits to be an Arung, it would lead to the destruction of the kingdom.

The Kingdom of Wajo proudly and doggedly held onto their independence. The Arung, as the highest leader of the kingdom, is discouraged from begging

the mercy of foreign Arungs, because that would weaken Wajo itself. This statement of Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang would ultimately be proven by the history of various kingdoms in Indonesia, who lost their independence after various dependant treaties with colonial powers, chiefly VOC/Netherlands, reducing them to mere vassals and even colonies, no longer free to chart their own policies. This can be clearly seen in the various kingdoms in West Kalimantan, from Pontianak, Sambas, Kubu, Mempawah, etc, excluding the Kingdom of Piasak who stubbornly defied VOC attempts to make them sign contracts. In those vassal kingdoms, the king was only an empty ceremonial throne, with control of politics and economy fully in the hands of foreigners. This is what needs to be taken as a lesson in nationhood, where a great nation is one that can stand on their own two feet, without the support of foreign powers, who ultimately aim to reduce the nation into dependants, even with methods as subtle as “soft”, long-term foreign loans. Once a nation became dependant on foreign powers, their policies would no longer put their own people’s interests paramount, but rather prioritize the interests of those foreign powers instead.

Besides stating those three matters that would ruin a nation, Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang also revealed things that would lead a nation to greatness, such as the following saying: “*Dua to ritu pedecengi tana. Seuwwani tessi attampu’ tampukengnge dekkua sisalai. Maseajing. Maduanna simallaparengnge dekkua purai sisala. Maseajing*” (Two things that would make a land good; not holding grudges against each other and not quarrelling, and forgiving each other after a quarrel cannot be avoided from happening).

This matter of conflict attracted the Arung’s attention, because endless conflict would weaken the social unity and internal defense of the kingdom. One only needs to look at the recent history of Nusantara in general and West Kalimantan in particular for the impact of conflicts. History has recorded no less than 7 conflicts in West Kalimantan since independence, which are: 1952 conflict between Madurese and Dayak, 1967 expulsion of Chinese by Dayak, 1979 Madura – Dayak riot, 1983 Madura – Dayak conflict, 1997 Sanggau Ledo Dayak – Madura riot, 1998 Madura – Dayak in Samalantan, and 1999 open warfare between the Madurese and Malays in Sambas (Saad, 2013, pg. 8). All these conflicts stem from friction due to lack of mutual understanding between the groups, and each incident always ended with only formal apology between the public figures, but no real reconciliation on the grassroots level; thus a new round of conflict can easily restart with just the tiniest of sparks.

Statesmanship in Wajo is deeply linked to belief in *Dewata Seuwwae* (The One God). This can be seen when Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung gave

religious counseling to Tonampe (heir to the position of Arung) and the people of Wajo, recorded as following: “*Aja’ to Tonampe mupegau bicarae tellue. Dodongie tana. Seuwwani bicara gillie. Maduanna bicara rioe. Matelluna arungnge. Apa’ deritu gau tennaita Dewatae, Dettoritu ada tennaengkalinga Dewatae*”(Tonampe, don’t you do three actions that would weaken this land. First, do not insult others; second, do not be arrogant; third, do not rule unjustly. There is no action unseen by God, and no word unheard by God”).

This guidance given by Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung to his son Tonampe and witnessed by the people of Wajo, contains a message of humbleness in running a state. An Arung should have morals befitting of their responsibility, and maintains their relation with God, because all their actions and words are witnessed by *Dewata Seuwwae*. This humbleness should be inherent in Tonampe, so that he becomes a person and leader who is polite, not arrogant, and not prone to insult others (Sukayat, 2015, pg.:104).

Relations between fellow humans is also discussed in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajomanuscript*, as seen in a dialog between Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang and Karaeng Matoae (king of Gowa). When he asked about relations between fellow humans, Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang answered: “*naiya lempue ri padatta tau dekkua nasaalai witaddampe’ngnge tapaolaiwi pangaja*” (be honest with fellow humans; if they do wrong, forgive them, and advice them, as neither wishes evil for each).

In forging relations with other people, Wajo people knows the motto, “*malilu sipakainge, mali siparappe, rebba sipatokong*”(if one forgets, let us remind each other; and if one falls down, let us raise each other up) (Patmawati and Besse Wahida, 2018, pg. 196). This motto is still followed by Bugis people, including the diaspora who has migrated to various lands, including West Kalimantan, thus minimizing conflict in society.

The last theme discussed in this study is the relationship with nature, which still derives from belief in *Dewata Seuwwae*, as expressed in a saying in the text: “*Iya lempue ri Dewata tettagau bawangngi winru’na apa iya tagau bawangngi winruna nagelliwi Dewatae*” (honesty to The One God is not acting cruelly to His creatures; if one acts cruel to His creatures, He would be enraged).

All these themes discussed in the *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajomanuscript* shows the harmonious relations between *Dewata Seuwwae*, humanity as users of the universe, and the universe itself. This harmony was what lead to Wajo becoming a prosperous realm, respected by other kingdoms.

Model of Religious Counseling in *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo* Manuscript

The model of counseling found by the researchers in the text includes both individual and group counseling models. Individual counselings happened between the ruling class, with King of Wajo Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang as counselor and King of Gowa as counselee. The position of counselor and counselee are equal and the counseling takes the form of a dialog, where the King of Gowa expressed his problems, then the King of Wajo answered all the questions given by the King of Gowa. The counseling proceeded freely, with no clear rule on where and when the counseling started and ended.

This religious counseling lead to a brotherhood between Wajo and Gowa. Wajo remained as Gowa's ally during their war against the Dutch. Even the massive migration taking place in the aftermath of Gowa's defeat and the signing of Treaty of Bongaya mostly involved Wajo people who refused to be under Dutch rule, especially after the fall of Tosara (Kesuma, 2004, pg. 58).

Individual counseling also took place with Matoae ri Mario, when they asked Matoae Puangrimaggalatung to give one of his children to be raised as Arung in Mari. This counseling takes the form of dialog, where both counselor and counselee each expressed their opinions.

Models of group counseling found in the text includes the counseling done by Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung and Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang to their people. The counseling here is only one way, with the counselor delivering their advice and the counselees only listening and carrying out the message.

To illustrate the counselors, counselees, themes, and models of the counseling, here the researcher presents a table summarizing them all:

Counselor	Counselee	Thema	Counseling Model
Arung Matoae Lamungkace Toudamang	Karaeng Matoae	Oneness of God Relations with Othe People and Nature	Individual (Dialog)
Arung Matoae Puangrimaggalatung	People of Wajo	Leadership/Statesmanship	Group(Advice)
	Matoae ri Mario	Leadership/Statesmanship	Individual (Dialog)
	Tonampe and People of Wajo	Leadership/Statesmanship	Group(Advice)

Source: Manuscript of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo*

CONCLUSION

Religious counseling can be done directly to the counselee individually or in groups. However, sad religious counseling can also be found in a manuscript, if one translates them accurately, as the researchers have done with the ancient manuscript of *Lontara Attorioloang ri Wajo*, where one finds religious counseling themes covering oneness of God, relationship between fellow humans and with nature, and leadership/statesmanship. In the text, one can find both individual and group counseling models, between the King and his children and/or his people.

For later researchers, they can develop and study instances of religious counseling found on other manuscripts, or other chapters of Islamic history that might yield new inspirations for the development of religious counseling. The research can be studied once more with a clearer explanation including the stages of religious counseling, as well as relating the with newer, more complete counseling theories.

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RELIGIOUS AMBIENCE ON SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY IN A PANDEMIC SITUATION

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ABSTRACT

Social media has been crucially important today in the pandemic situation. This work is rooted in key questions: whether social media consumption increases during a pandemic and does the communicative action of social media target religious ambience? The findings show that the flow of messages has increased on social media platforms during pandemic. However, the communicative action of social media is not targeted toward religious ambience. This work is based on data collected through a qualitative survey in the context of Assam, a state of India. The study concludes the communicative action of social media depends on its users' profiles. Users' profile is perhaps the determining factor regarding religious ambience on social media.

Keywords: Religious Ambience, Social Media, Pandemic, Covid-19.

INTRODUCTION

India has witnessed a unique environment during the initial phase of the Covid-19 emergency. The government of India has to deal not only with the medical threat of Covid-19, but also with intense religious tensions as most of the initial cases were linked to a religious organization. The initial cases were from the participants of a gathering held at the Tablighi Jamaat of New Delhi (capital of India), a conservative Islamic missionary group. The gathering was organized in the third week of March 2020 where Muslim participants came from countries including Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Malaysia. Apart from foreign participants, several thousand Indian nationals also came from different states of the country to attend the function. The situation worsened when infected participants spread out through the country and abroad. More than 30% of the few hundred initial cases of the country were members of the Tablighi Jamaat. The scenario was more threatening in some Indian states such as Assam where around 90% of the initial Covid-19 cases were Jamaat participants.

The tension intensified when the head of the Tablighi Jamaat, along with its

members, could not respond to the Government's call. In April 2020, they did not cooperate with the Indian administration, and hid at religious institutions with the infection instead while behaving rudely towards doctors and health staff. This situation was not only in the capital New Delhi, but also in Indian states including Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and Assam. The behaviour of the Jamaatis fuelled many radical Hindu organizations to mobilize communal tension in the country by spreading anti-Muslims messages. The CNN (Cable News Network) news channel on the 24th of April 2020 aired a report indicating the intensity of the scenario by using the headline: "India's Muslims feel targeted by rumors they are spreading Covid-19" ("India's Muslims," 2020).

When the rumors on religious sentiment began, the traditional medium of mass communication, the Indian Newspaper Industry, was negatively affected due to the spread of rumors related to Covid-19. The rumors spread through social media, especially WhatsApp, that newspapers are Covid-19 carriers. Henceforth, the newspaper vendors did not agree to distribute newspapers to its readers. As circulation of newspapers, one of the major mass communication channels, was negatively affected, readers were deprived of receiving crucial information during the pandemic. The lack of print media also created an opportunity for social media to emerge as an alternative channel of information.

The newspaper industry in Assam was badly affected along with many other Indian states. Nava Thakuria, an eminent media activist of North East India, commented that newspapers published from the Northeast region would not be able to sustain their publication for extended periods (Thakuria, 2020). In many Indian states, newspaper vendor associations came forward towards the safety of their members. The situation became such that the Government of India issued a circular and scientist of the Indian Council for Medical Research (ICMR) Nivedita Gupta who came to reassure people that "Covid-19 is a respiratory infection and there is no risk of catching it through newspapers and packages" (Thacker, 2020). Gupta indicated that the WhatsApp messages and forwards regarding this information was not based on facts (Thacker, 2020). However, the damage had already been done and advertising revenues of newspapers fell drastically. Few Assamese vernacular newspapers and news magazines like Sadhin, Satori, and Prantik suspended their ongoing issues. The scenario worsened within a month as the demand from the Indian Newspaper Society led to the removal of a 5% customs duty on newsprint and a two-year tax holiday for newspaper establishments to face the situation (Roy, 2020).

The discussions highlighted the following consequences, especially in the

context of India which occurred during the Covid-19 initial phase. Firstly, the Covid-19 pandemic posed an immense medical as well as a religious threat in India. Secondly, the newspaper circulation was badly affected, which created a vacuum in respect to the channel of mass communication in the country. People feared receiving the oldest and most reasonably reliable medium of information during the initial phase of Covid-19. Thirdly, the absence of newspapers provided an opportunity for social media to gain prominence in the mass media space. These consequences indeed prepare an interesting topic to study religious ambience on social media during the pandemic. Understanding communicative action on social media in an environment of suspicion and religious hatred is the core theme of this study. It is also important to highlight that the nationwide lockdown started on the 25th of March 2020 and the mobility of the citizens was significantly restricted when people had to stay at home. Perhaps, this gave people more time to connect with social media.

The study selected Assam for the context where 90% of initial Covid-19 cases were linked to the conservative Muslim group. Second, the mass media industry of Assam was affected to a considerable extent due to readers' lack of access to newspapers. The demographic profile of the state also makes it an evident choice since it is a land of diverse ethnic and religious communities. The central thesis of the research is based on the following questions; Does social media consumption increase during pandemics? And is the communicative action of social media targeted towards religious ambience?

The timeline of the research was the first two months of the Covid-19 lockdown in April and May 2020. Before moving into analysis, the concept of communicative action of social media needs to be explained. Communicative action means social interaction through the notion of mutual understanding. Habermas, the chief academic on communicative action, states that it can happen among subjects for interpersonal relations through verbal or by extra-verbal means who are capable of speech and actions (Nah & Chung, 2016). This study examines whether the communicative action, especially the exchange of messages in social media, is religious or not. The communicative action provides a larger social context and indicates that the media functions as democratic communications in a civil society. Social media is a relatively new member of democratic communications and is examined if it is targeted towards religious ambience. According to Habermas, the communicative action is expanded by the use of mass media in the public sphere, and obtains dual status as a sphere both in physical and mediated realms (Nah & Chung, 2016). Introduction of the internet and social media like other mass media

channels receive important status as public spheres in which public opinion forms through open and rational discussions. More importantly, the internet created multiple public spheres by being interrelated and interconnected through the networked public (Nah & Chung, 2016). It would be an immense task to examine all social media tools; henceforth on the basis of popularity and accessibility in India, WhatsApp has been selected.

SOCIAL MEDIA IN MASS MEDIA SPHERE

Social media focuses on social interaction and provides a platform to share information and express feelings, views, and opinions. The sender and receiver of communication are direct in social media where messages are created and shared by users. This is indeed a distinctive feature of social media in comparison to traditional mass communication channels. The responsibility of content within social media lies solely on its users, along with distribution and filtration. The gatekeeper's role is not omnipresent in social media, which is indeed an essential element for print and electronic media. The prudent outcome of the feature gives those whose voices are underrepresented a platform to create materials and be heard. Thus, a group of mass communication researchers views social media as a means of dissemination of marginalized voices even in the most authoritarian states.

Another important element of social media is the potential to depolarize people's opinions through the exchange of messages for mutual understanding and tolerance toward the other side (Lu, et al., 2020). The communicative action on social media enhances an opportunity to transform viewpoints to be more moderate on a given topic after conversing on social media. Madden and Zickuhr's study concluded that 83% of internet users within the ages of 18-29 years adopted social media for interaction with colleagues (Ansari & Khan, 2020). On the other hand, Kabilan, Ahmad, and Abidin found that social media infuses a constructive attitude while also having an educative value too (Ansari & Khan, 2020). The utility of social media in the social sphere received a new limelight during the Egypt Arab Spring (2010) revolution that started from the Facebook page of Egyptian activist Wael Ghonim. This social movement was an enlightening case of social media's unique role to facilitate real change. There have been many episodes where individuals and groups coming together through social networking sites are able to create social protests in countries, and India is not an exception.

On the other side, there were many instances of dark episodes caused by social media. For example, in Assam, on the 9th of July 2012, a girl was assaulted by a group of men in the middle of Guwahati City. It was telecast live by a private

television channel and later the entire footage of the episode was uploaded on popular video social media 'YouTube'. The web availability of the incident allowed national and international media agencies to carry the news of the incident as the 'GS Road Episode of Assam'. The incident itself portrays the growing popularity of social media and its negative consequences for society.

Another aspect that is important to understand is media consumption is not determined ethnically but, rather, socially (Madianou, 2005). The use of mass media and integration in people's daily lives is a complex process and technologies are enabling, offering choice, and allowing people to switch to different languages and broadcasting systems including the use of various social media tools (Madianou, 2005). Although media does not determine identities, it does contribute to the creation of symbolic communicative spaces that either include or exclude, thereby affecting audiences' lives and discourses about their identities (Madianou, 2005). Social media has been blamed for being an incubator of extreme opinions and like-minded echo chambers in this digital age (Lu, et al., 2020). The ease of posting immediate responses on social media can facilitate the expression of extreme opinion. In addition, some evidence suggests that social media algorithms favour pro-attitude news stories over other types of media content (Lu, et al., 2020). Hence, it is conceivable that social media use is likely to polarize people's opinions and like-minded information about the issue. This is an interesting finding to study the religious ambience on social media in an environment when religious tensions are intense in the Indian society.

Since its emergence in the larger media scene, social media has played different roles from informer to the catalyst during health emergencies like Ebola and Covid-19. Tara Kirk Sell, Divya Hosangadi, and Marc Trotochaudin their study on the Ebola crisis informed that social media may increase its effects, serving as both a source of misinformation and a catalyst for its dissemination during health emergencies (Sell, et al., 2020). They indicated that during crisis situations, fear, uncertainty, lack of knowledge, and information-seeking behaviour among the public may increase opportunities for the propagation of misinformation (Sell et al., 2020). However, the result of their study highlighted that misinformation was not a dominant feature but still notably present, and there was evidence regarding the presence of provocative, discord-inducing messages in response to public health measures. On the other hand, David E. Alexander's article on Social Media in Disaster Risk Reduction and Crisis Management points out that social media has provided a remarkably democratic form of participation in public debate and during emergencies (Alexander, 2013). However, its tendency to coalesce opinions (or stimulate

monetary donations) shows the capacity of revealing some aspects of the mental and emotional state of a nation (Alexander, 2013). He added that during a pandemic, social media can also be used to monitor a situation to improve responses.

It is important to mention that in the Japan disaster, 49% of Twitter messages were either positive or somewhat positive in their attitude to emergency preparedness and only 7% were negative (Alexander, 2013). US audiences found that 80% of its general people have shown confidence that it would be beneficial for national emergency response organizers to monitor social networking sites regularly (Alexander, 2013). Researchers note that people caught up in the disaster reported feeling more supported and more optimistic about the future when social media was extensively involved. An American Red Cross survey of social media indicated that 24% of the US population and 31% of the online population would use social media to inform family and friends they are safe (Alexander, 2013). Perhaps the greatest challenge of using social media is that the messages can go viral immediately and reach millions. The future of social media depends on new methodologies to judge the public mood and the utility of information supplied by the public. The theory of social responsibility places stress on the fact that the media needs to keep society's interest a top priority. The sensational and provocative words should be avoided while communicating information. This parameter of needs will be useful to analyse social media in the Covid-19 context.

WHY WHATSAPP?

Among social media tools, WhatsApp has had a unique role in India. In the last few years, the mobile market in India has revolutionized as the numbers of mobile internet users has increased. The use of social media tools has increased and impacted society even in the small and medium level states of India (which is the category Assam falls under). The substantial growth has been witnessed across nearly all social media platforms, with WhatsApp the most popular. Users of this platform have crossed 400 million in the country since 2017.

This popular messaging service has been used to communicate different types of text and multimedia messages between users or groups easily. The 2017 study Kumar & Sharma shows the popularity of WhatsApp has also impacted its users significantly as 66% of adopters believe this platform has improved their relationship with friends (Kumar & Sharma, 2017). The study in a pandemic context shows that informal WhatsApp chats seem to be highly valued and trusted during pandemic situations ("THE ROLE OF A WHATSAPP", 2020).

Even medical information is shared actively daily through WhatsApp. The open and rapid dissemination of relevant findings through WhatsApp groups provide benefits during public-health crises. The study in Pakistan indicates that the participants in the study mentioned using WhatsApp groups as a learning tool. A majority (94.40%) of the 72 members participants in the survey found the discussion in WhatsApp group related to Covid-19 as extremely helpful ("THE ROLE OF A WHATSAPP", 2020). 94.40% members in the survey found their knowledge related to Covid-19 increased through the group communication ("THE ROLE OF A WHATSAPP", 2020).

Understanding its vast reach and impact, WhatsApp has teamed up with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Government of India to disprove myths and share authentic information during the Covid-19 emergency. Significant numbers of fake news, rumors, and hate speech went viral through WhatsApp as highlighted by the Police Department (Minhas, 2020). For example, the police of Maharashtra (one of the largest Indian states) emerged with an advisory for WhatsApp users during the lockdown with the objective to tighten its message forwarding restrictions. The advisory instructs the group administrator to inform all group members about the rules of posting in the groups; warn all members and prevent them from sharing objectionable content, and regularly monitor the content shared in the group. As the company's blog, the messaging service provides the opportunity for its users to chat one-on-one, chat with a group, send attachments, record voice notes, and make voice calls across Android, iPhone, Windows Phone, Nokia S40, Nokia S60, Blackberry, and BB10 (Greene, 2020). Social media is one of the main channels updating COVID-19 information (Gao, et al., 2020). WhatsApp developed a WHO chatbox and MyGov Corona Helpdesk. It also unveiled a \$1 million grant to curb misinformation. Media Scanner, a fact-checking platform, compiled a list of at least 69 fake videos against Muslims and listed at least 28 attacks prompted by online abuse (Jain, 2020). The information or misinformation, keeping this on track, the study produces the following findings.

THE RESULTS:

A survey was conducted among 100 WhatsApp users of the state across different geographical and demographic profiles. A questionnaire was sent to these 100 participants through WhatsApp. For the efficacy of the survey response, participants were asked for consent and requested not to forward it to others outside of the survey (Ameen & Praharaj, 2020). Out of 100 users who were sent the questionnaire, 64 filled out responses and 56 were analyzed.

The researcher admits that as like other online and WhatsApp surveys, there is no way to assess the magnitude of selection bias. However, sufficient attention has been given to the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. The response rate of our study was 64%, proving statistical validity.

The Demographic and Education Profile of the Participants:

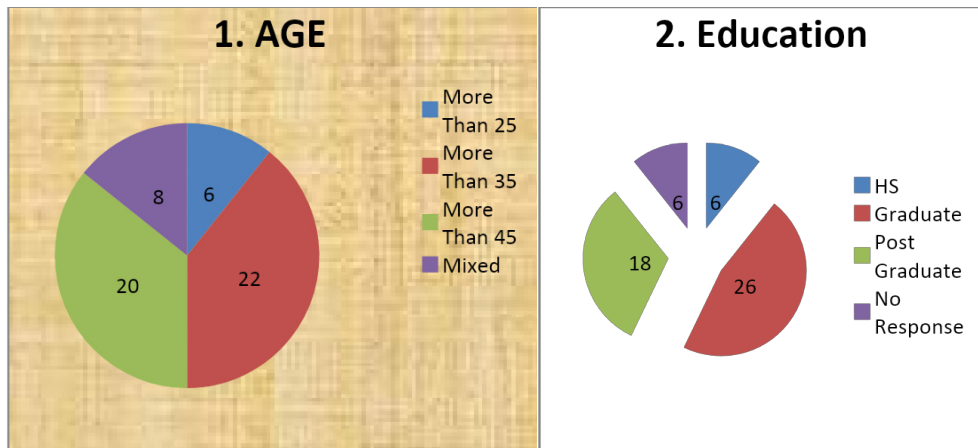
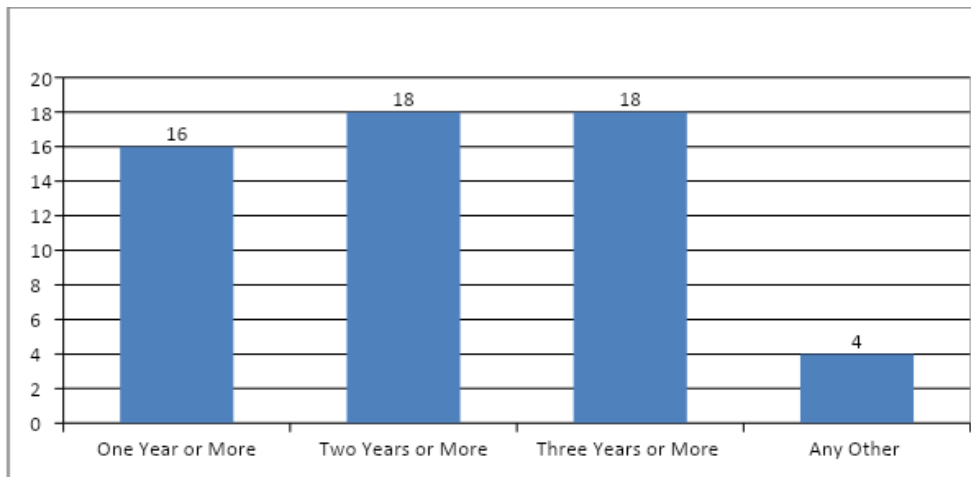
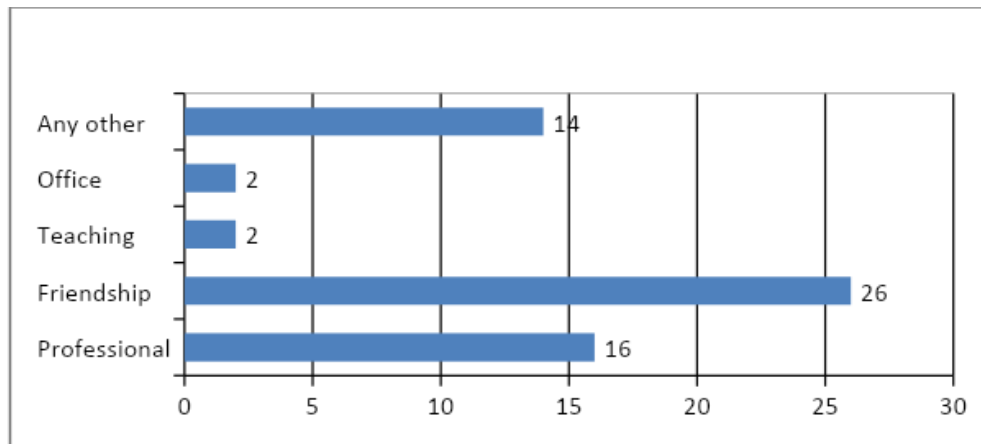


Chart 1 indicates that the number of participants whose age groups are “more than 35” and “more than 45” are higher compared to “more than 25”. However, there are few mixed age group participants as well. Regarding the education profile per chart 2, the graduate respondent numbers are more than the postgraduate as well as the higher secondary (10+ 2). The inference could be made that the survey participants are middle age and educated.



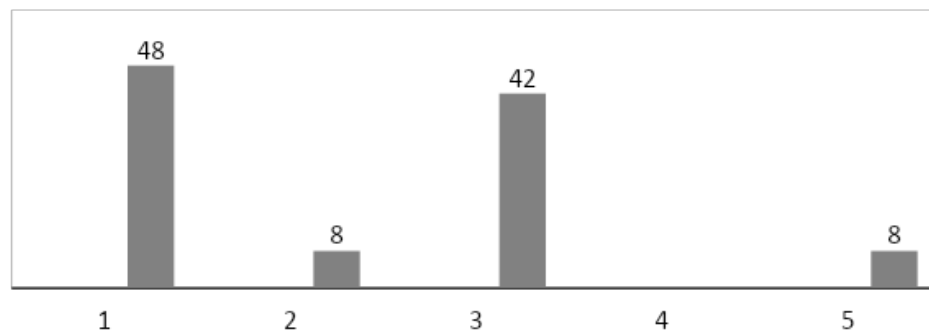
The affiliation with the group is an important factor to understand the nature of the WhatsApp group, which will also impact the accuracy of the responses of a participant. It is interesting to know how long a participant has been associated with a particular group. Here, the findings show participants belonging to groups are the same with regard to different categories. There are

very few participants who are new members of groups. Perhaps, this indicates the participants are well versed with the group's culture and communicative action.

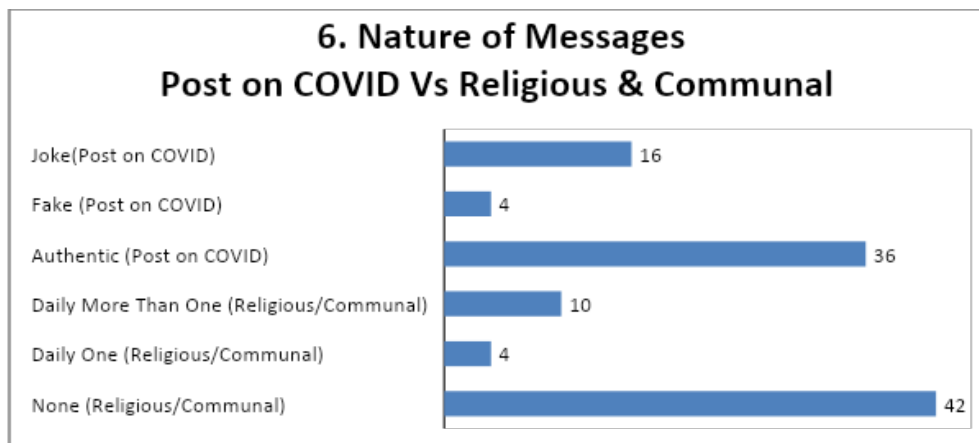


The results show that most of the participants selected their friendship group and/or professional group. It also needs to be mentioned that any other category is also notable in numbers where 14 participants belong to this category, selected either their family or news portal group.

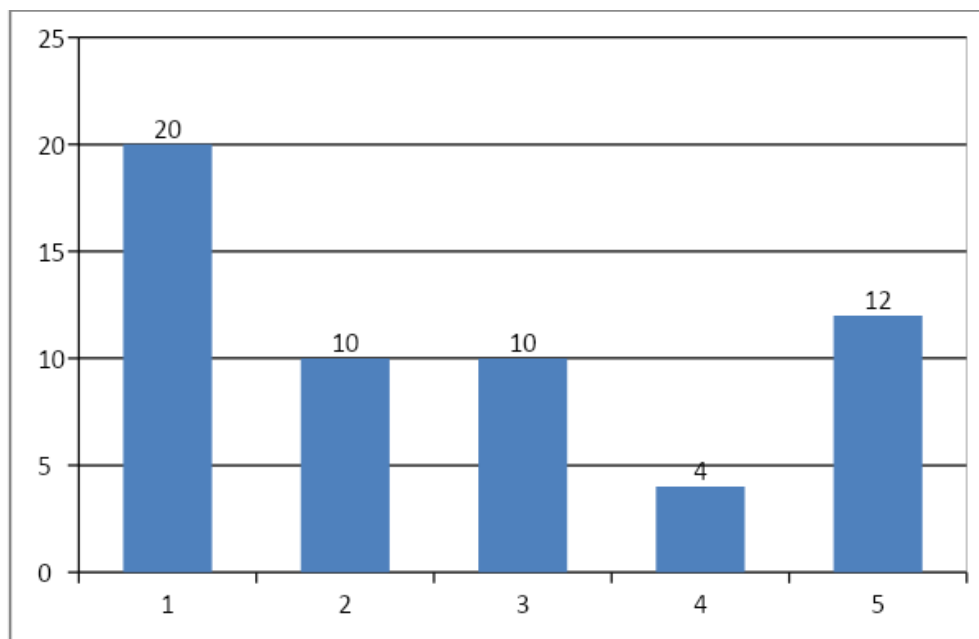
5. Frequency of Messages: General Vs COVID Related



This chart is indeed the core finding of the study. This shows that 48 participants admitted that messages have increased during the initial phase of the lockdown period. On the other hand, 42 participants observed that more than one Covid-19 related post shared daily in the group.



The results show that 42 participants confirm that there are no religious posts in the group and 36 participants informed that the posts are authentic in regard to Covid-19. The finding revealed that communication actions referring to the exchange of posts in most groups are not religious, and rather used to channelize authentic information related to Covid-19.



20 participants said that the group used the member/administrator to delete posts to control fake or religious posts. The next highest responses (12) were made for any other category where the group assigned administrators to approve the post before sharing during the emergency period. However, the group adopted this mechanism after the government, and a WhatsApp appeal could not be clarified in the study. This made it clear that the groups have set up mechanisms to increase the reliability and authenticity of information.

CONCLUSION

This study is an attempt to analyze religious ambience on social media during a pandemic. The finding show that the flow of messages has increased on social media during the pandemic. Interestingly, the study indicated that Covid-19 related authentic information communicated on social media. The data collected gives a picture that Covid-19 information circulated on WhatsApp looks authentic for its members. However, the mechanism through which the users feel the information authentic is not known in the study. In addition, the constant push from WhatsApp and the Government of India to stop the spreading of rumours through social media may also alert the groups to avoid fake news or jokes related to Covid-19. Secondly, the communicative action of social media is not targeted towards religious ambience. Most of the participants in the survey were graduates or postgraduates and their higher education background may result in less provocative religious posts in their groups. This is an indication that the role of social media in an emergency situation may depend on the specific user's profile. Rather than generalizing comments, we may predict users' profiles determine the course of religious ambience of social media.

Thus, this study suggests important recommendations including the following points. First, the communicative action of social media is dependent on its users' profiles. Second, government and Social media joint awareness efforts may help reduce the circulation of fake news or rumours to a tremendous extent. Third, a further study is needed to understand the relationship between user profiles and the communicative action of social media in different situations.

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SUFFERING OF THE RIGHTEOUS PEOPLE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGIOUS PHENOMENOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

Suffering is the reality of religious people, so suffering is an important theme of almost all religions. The negativity and depression involved with suffering invite religions to discuss it. Suffering is the constitutive reality of all humans. All human beings must suffer, but their faith makes them have a different perspective in reacting to it. This paper wishes to examine the theme of suffering in hermeneutic and phenomenology studies. The research model used in this paper is a qualitative model with as much as possible using hermeneutics by comparing several texts and understanding about suffering. The expected goal of deepening this theme is to find a more comprehensive understanding of suffering as a believer, and finally be able to unite spiritual suffering in the light of God. Life is not to suffer and die silly. Life is also not filled with the solitude of suffering merely, because clearly God created man not to make him suffer. Suffering is not sent to destroy the righteous, but it is suffering that will purify the righteous even more. Suffering is the reality of religious people, so suffering is an important theme of almost all religions

Keywords: suffering, meaning, religion, phenomenology

INTRODUCTION

Today various forms of suffering are inherent in everyday human life, whether it is suffering mildly or suffering to the heaviest degree. Isn't it true that Indonesian people are very familiar with a series of burdens of suffering? Even in the last 20 years, Indonesians have lived through the COVID-19 pandemic, earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic disasters, Lapindo mudflow, the Aceh Tsunami, and an AirAsia plane crash in early 2015, catastrophic floods, landslides, soaring prices of basic necessities that oppress the poor, occasional riots, and a series of other forms of suffering that is so inherent in the everyday life of Indonesian people. Frequently asked questions are: "Why do humans have to suffer? Is there no other way to live besides going through suffering? Could the suffering have passed? Or is it possible to have life without suffering?"

One of the goals of religious people is to find the meaning of life to become virtuous, pious, and pleasing to God. Being a virtuous person is not easy, because

humans have to go through many life tests. Suffering is one of the tests of this virtue and piety. When all religions compete to be pious, that is when suffering becomes inevitable. This theme is relevant to be discussed, given the current world situation, plagued by immense suffering due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Various scientific writings often only discuss suffering from a certain religious point of view or a certain philosophical understanding, so this paper intends to examine suffering as a religious phenomenon that often afflicts people who want to achieve the virtue and piety of life.

Suffering is one of the central themes in philosophy and religion, and even becomes a conversation in the Phenomenology of Religion. This paper will examine the theme of suffering using a hermeneutic approach. Etymologically, the word "hermeneutic" comes from the Greek "hermeneut" which means "to interpret". This term comes from a Greek mythological figure named Hermes, an intermediary in charge of conveying messages from the god Jupiter to human beings (Rahardjo, 2020: 54). Hermeneutics is the process of turning something or a situation of ignorance into understanding. Hermeneutics is the interpretation of a text or written meaning (Fanggidae: 2020: 105). So in general, hermeneutics can be understood as the process of extracting the meaning of something (including text) so that the original message can be captured and contextualized in a current context. Basically, hermeneutics deals with language, because humans express their mental treasures through language, both orally and in writing. Every word has no meaning, because humans relate to themselves, other people, and their world by using language. Hermeneutics emphasizes that authentic humans (in Heidegger's language called "Dasein") must always be seen in the context of space and time in which they experience it (Suddick, 2020: 19). Hermeneutics requires the researcher to repeatedly come into contact with the text, try to understand the meaning ('verstehen ') for its creator, and attempt to integrate it with the ability for today's readers to understand.

The interpretation of the meaning of human suffering and religion in the midst of the Coronavirus pandemic becomes a methodical element at this stage. All of these steps eventually lead to a stage of critical interpretation and reflection. The research model used in this paper is a qualitative model using hermeneutics to compare texts and understand suffering in several religions. Humans experience a long process in religion that begins with ancient religions whose religious expression may be different from existing religions. That is the reason why this paper includes archaic culture in a long phase of religious history that is worthy of investigation as well. The expected goal of deepening this theme is to find a more comprehensive understanding of suffering as a religious person. Almost all religions talk about suffering. Christianity (Christianity and Catholicism) even prominently includes suffering at the core of its faith, and is even explicit that Christians must carry the cross as Jesus was also crucified. Islamic teachings also emphasize the importance of patience in dealing with suffering, just as the prophets endured it when experiencing various rejections from mankind. Eastern religions also teach humans how to respond to suffering, and Buddhism in

the Four Noble Truths strictly says that life is suffering itself.

Religion is human reality itself. Religion provides a way for humans to respond to the daily situations of its adherents. It is important to examine the understanding of suffering in this paper, not debating which religion is the most correct, but rather attempting a dialogue which today is very urgent to be echoed. The context of the Covid-19 pandemic is a relevant framework for discussing this problem of suffering, because almost all humans, countries, cultures, and religions experience it. Many people in all religions are suffering from this pandemic. The world seems to be gloomy, so a comprehensive reflection of all religions is needed to further ground religion itself in the midst of suffering humanity.

SUFFERING AS A RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON

Suffering is a human reality. There is not a single human being who does not suffer. Humans certainly want to be free from suffering, but unfortunately, the negative feelings will always repeat themselves. While some sufferings can be overcome, and others cannot. Suffering is an important momentum for every human being. On one hand, resilience in life will grow if humans are able to overcome this suffering, but on the other hand, despair is a natural complication if humans fail to push through the struggles.

Prophets in the Samawi religion are often depicted as people who must suffer for good. All religions also teach the importance of the inner human attitude in dealing with suffering. The right mental attitude will further foster faith in God, while the wrong attitude will lead to being blasphemous, being fatalistic, and blaming fate. Suffering seems to prevent humans from arriving at happiness. If the highest happiness is understood as God, then the reality of suffering often prevents people from reaching God.

This difference in attitude in dealing with suffering causes religious teachings that speak about it to be always subjective in nuances. Suffering is almost always experienced differently by each human being. There is suffering that is communal (for example when the world is experiencing a pandemic like today), but the attitude in dealing with it personally is very subjective. Subjective attitudes lead humans to existential discoveries of themselves. The reality of suffering is thus closely related to the existence of humanity. Humans always try to find meaning in every incident of suffering, so awareness (intentionality) becomes very important to reflect on every painful event. Suffering is thus present before humankind and invites understanding. Suffering is a phenomenon, a symptom, and a reality for which the meaning must be sought. The meaning of suffering is what makes the difference between religious people and non-religious people. The phenomenon of suffering exists

in all religions and invites all religions to answer it.

The Phenomenology of Religion starts with an understanding of various religious phenomena. The context of phenomenology is philosophy, and philosophy itself is a reflection of man and all its dimensions, including his God:

“Philosophy is about people, because the problem of humans is a matter of the world of my life. Philosophy reflects who I am, because the discourse about me as a historical person points directly to the world of my life. And, even then, philosophy conceived of God, because the reflection of the Absolute There fills the world space of my life ...
“(Riyanto, 2018: 134)

Phenomenology (as outlined by Husserl) has the motto “back to the thing itself.” The awareness of phenomenology is intentional to reality itself, and very close to existentialism. Phenomenology explores perceptions and asks an individual’s interpretation of what they experience (Firmanto, 2018: 258). Then what about the Phenomenology of Religion?

The Phenomenology of Religion allows everything about the practice of religion to be critically examined before the researcher. The Phenomenology of Religion describes how the object and all its symptoms appear exactly as they are. Husserl proposed the method of reduction as a tool to understand this, by getting rid of everything subjective, compiling all the researchers’ knowledge about the investigated object, and eliminating the traditions of knowledge possessed by humans (Firmanto, 2018: 258). Husserl (1952:127) asked researchers to return to the object itself so that the nature of the object can be captured intuitively.

Gerard van der Leeuw (1963: 178) then put forward a subjective relationship in understanding objects. The Phenomenology of Religion developed by Gerard van der Leeuw (1963: 180) also examined the relationships between subjects and objects. Van der Leeuw’s approach was not yet complete, because it did not take into account the hermeneutical process for understanding religious life as developed by Otto Friedrich Bollnow and Wilhelm Dilthey (Dewantara, 2019: 112). The hermeneutic process is needed to understand the meaning of religious phenomena more deeply, because this process provides a place for a comprehensive explanation that is historical, sociological, and psychological. Eliade (1969: 58) even said that hermeneutics was needed to explain the form of a sacred encounter between humans and the Divine.

The Phenomenology of Religion then incorporates this hermeneutical process

to open a further horizon of the religious character inherent in all phenomena. The Phenomenology of Religion is not only directed towards outward forms, rites, cults, and/or symbols, but also touches on fundamental and universal questions that have befallen mankind throughout history (Firmanto, 2018: 263). Some basic universal questions existing in all of these religions include: “What is the relationship between human freedom and the fate that has befallen it? What is the relationship between independence and human destiny? Why do prophets and many pious people suffer? The goal of this paper is to immerse itself in the circle of universal problems, namely by examining the suffering of innocent and pious people who have been cultivated by the Phenomenology of Religion. This paper attempts to find and understand the basic structure of the problems of the sufferings of the righteous in one horizon which contains basic lines of thought regarding this matter.

UNDERSTANDING THE SUFFERING OF THE RIGHTEOUS

The development of religion has gone according to the development of human civilization. Since ancient times, humans have always tried to find meaning in their lives, including the suffering they experience. Ancient religious reflections on suffering must have differed from those of more modern religions. This happens because humans have also experienced the development of an increasingly advanced civilization and intelligence. There is an essential understanding that can be eternal, but the reflective prowess of humans that continues to develop in each era certainly produces a more advanced meaning. If in Ancient Greek religion human suffering was almost certainly caused by the deeds of the gods, then the reflection on human independence would certainly be more prominent in more modern times. The following explanation is intended to capture the phenomenon of suffering from the various phases of the emergence of religion in human life. The explanation will then converge to the question: “Why should a righteous person suffer? If God loves His godly people so much, why does God allow Him to suffer too?”

Archaic Culture

Archaic culture generally refers to ancient or old culture and was imposed on native culture before the start of the writing tradition. Human life in archaic culture is largely determined by the fate that befalls it unexpectedly. Fate has powers that are unpredictable and cannot be calculated. An archaic man seeks to secure himself from the grip of fate through a variety of cultural and magical deeds (Dewantara, 2019: 111). There is hardly any discussion about the suffering of godly men in this archaic phase, and there has been no

reflection about such experiences. However, that does not mean that there is no problem with it. The conception of a just and trustworthy order to uphold justice as a human priority has not been thoroughly thought out, even though the structure of socio-economic life is already running. In archaic culture, no concept contains reflexive understandings of an overall order which is used as a tool to guarantee the order of human life.

The character “cannot be predicted and cannot be calculated” on the strength of its fate, precisely overshadows and motivates the lives of archaic people blindly and darkly (Dewantara, 2019: 111). Although blind and dark, the power of fate still plays a role to guide their lives. Archaic humans actually reveal and demonstrate the forces of this fate through mythological stories and certain belief practices. The ancient Greeks recognized Moiren as the goddess of fate that played a role in humans. The Mesopotamian tradition introduces “Me” as a power of fate that is dark and cannot be calculated. The Indonesian archipelago community knows the myth about “Hambaruan” from the Ngaju-Dayak tribe, Kalimantan (Zoetmulder: 1965: 112). Some of these examples present a basic idea that the power of fate is so strong, that archaic humans in this phase must accept it as something natural and not have to question it. If someone suffers, then the suffering must also be accepted as one fate.

Ancient Egypt

Ancient Egyptian history reflects the second phase of human experience, which is already somewhat different. Ancient Egypt was based on a phase of state and community life that followed a single world order law covering all fields of life. In this orderly law, a leader must guarantee the world order which is seen as divine cosmic order. Socio-economic and political relations in society not only allow the growth of myths about the orderly and chaotic cosmos as their opponents, but also enable the development of an understanding of a divine cosmic order law. There is an orderly law which guarantees both the life of the community and the life of individuals. This order is a whole that guides regularly, fairly, and correctly. Justice is identical with the divine cosmic order law. In ancient Egyptian culture, such cosmic order is called “maat” (Dewantara, 2019: 116). People need to practice certain basic teachings to realize “maat” in the world. Parallels of this can be found in Mesopotamian, Zoroastrian, Indian, Taoist, and Old Javanese culture. Complete order in the life of the Mesopotamian people was guaranteed only through the union of the king with “Me”. Zoroastrian followers in Iran recognized the order by the name “Asha”. Indian society names it “Rta” (before the Vedic period) and “Dharma” (after the Vedic period). Chinese Taoism also recognizes the idea

of “harmony and respect” as also exists in Javanese society (Suseno, 2015: 88).

The most important thing in this instance is a basic principle of justice, which is based on cosmic divine order. Ancient Egyptian culture translated this concept into its ethical teachings. The sound of the teachings of Ptahhotep (the city administrator and vizier (first minister) during the reign of Pharaoh in the Fifth Dynasty) for example, is: “Do not commit violence among people, because they will be punished in the same way” (Eliade, 1986: 113). Violence, terror, and murder are various actions contrary to the divine order. The existence of violence indicates that the divine cosmic order does not function properly, because humans do not live it in concrete life. The result is that humans will be punished accordingly for their actions. On the contrary, happiness and justice can be obtained if humans maintain divine order and live it in concrete actions. Divine intervention in human life and equal reward are truly in alignment with human actions. That is the basic idea of justice, which is only reflected in the functioning of the cosmic order law. That principle is known in the Phenomenology of Religion as “*Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*” (The principle of the link between action and its effects).

How can this concept answer the question of righteous people suffering? Suffering is understood as a result of actions that are not in accordance with the cosmic, divine order. There are violations and mistakes, so the perpetrators must make it up through the experience of suffering. People who suffer are those who must bear the consequences of their mistakes, and do not participate in the enforcement of the cosmic divine order. The guilty human must suffer for making amends. In this principle, there is no place for understanding the suffering endured by innocent people.

Mesopotamia: Job of Sumeria

The third phase shows a phase of experience that indicates the malfunctioning of the divine order. The divine cosmic order has been destroyed because suffering is not in accordance with the principle of “*Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*”, or at least, the experience of suffering questioned the validity of that principle again. The history of religion shows several phenomena that reflect this problem. Mesopotamian sources, especially the four sources: the Sumerian Job, the title of bel nemeqi, Theodizea Babylonia, and AO 4462 reflect problems that the concrete experience of suffering proves the existence of another understanding of the principle of “*Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*” as the principle of justice (Eliade, 1986: 66).

The teaching that people who suffer is the result of sin and guilt turns out

to be incompatible, as in the poem about the Sumerian Job. The poem tells of a man who suffered deeply. His suffering was not due to his mistakes, but of the evil power that fell him (Eliade 1986: 89). People in general still hold fast to the teachings of justice according to the principle of *“Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang.”* The public said that the suffering was the result of his mistakes. The most appropriate attitude of the suffering person is to humbly acknowledge the power of the gods while praising the justice of the gods. This poem about the Sumerian Job turned out to show another alternative understanding. The starting point is the empirical experience of the concrete suffering faced with the ancient ideological-dogmatic understanding. Schmid (1966: 90) in his book *“Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit”* shows the possibility of another understanding when talking about the Sumerian Job.

Samawi Religion

The problematic suffering of innocent people in the poetry of the Sumerian Job is sharpened in the story of the Prophet Job from the Old Testament in the Bible and the Holy Quran. Job's concrete experience says that the teachings of *“Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang”* no longer work. The understanding of God's justice has also changed. God introduced Job as the most devout person in the world at the beginning of this book. Job holds the basic position that his suffering is not the result of sin and guilt (Pareira, 2000: 69). Job felt he unjustly suffered (Lasor, 2005: 56). This stance is clearly reflected in his rejection of the advice of his three friends (Job 3-31) and Elihu (Job 32-37) who remained fixated on the principle of *“Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang.”*

Job did reject the arguments of his three friends and arrived at an introduction that with the suffering he was experiencing, new wisdom would emerge. The new wisdom was that Job must accept and acknowledge every cosmic order that could afflict humans any time, any place. The suffering that arose not because of his mistakes apparently cannot be explained rationally. Job was encouraged to see and transcend his narrow understanding of humanity. Schmid (1966: 135) comments that the Book of Job does not focus on healing illness and suffering, recognizing a cosmic law which was then very strongly described theologically at the end when God answers Job (Book of Job, 38).

Job's suffering in verses containing God's answer to Job needs to be understood as God's power that functions to regulate and guarantee cosmic order. The old wisdom principle (*“Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang”*) is thus not a closed, fixed principle (Stevanus, 2019:113). The law of justice needs to be interpreted in a new way based on the empirical, historical experience of a pious person who must suffer though it is not the result of his own sin (Pareira, 2000: 99). In fact,

Job was a very pious person, even though God still allowed him to experience suffering. (Illu, 2019:105).

Eastern Religion

The problem of suffering as experienced by Job is not much reflected in China, but according to Klimkeit (1988: 89), this kind of thing can be traced to the concept of “Tao” in Confucian ethics. Confucian ethics revived the doctrine of “Tao” for the malfunctioning of the cosmic order of the Chou period. “Tao” is understood as a fair ethical code of conduct (Bahm, 2012: 108). One must live the “Tao” by carrying out virtues (Te) that are demanded of him, and carrying out the rites and customs (Li) passed on to him. Justice is achieved through that path, and people acting in this way are called virtuous people. The Book Lun-yu XV, 17 as quoted by Fang (1957: 52) says:

“... virtuous people see justice as essential. He does it according to manners, expresses it with humility, completes it with honesty and sincerity. That is the way of life of virtuous people...”

Virtuous people bring influence to their surrounding environment, including fellow subordinates. Virtuous people are the main pillars of society. Harmony and justice are guaranteed by Him. Harmony will be disrupted and people will suffer if humans do not experience the “Tao” (Bahm, 2012: 115). The conclusion from this point is that justice is not understood in a closed dogmatic principle. The suffering of the pious is a fact that opens up new understandings to free oneself from a principle of wisdom that is no longer suitable from time to time. The whole reality that is full of mystery refers more to a scope that is mutually pervasive, mutually transcends between dimensions (worldly and eschatological), or between immanent and transcendent. This process runs in secret.

The Phenomenology of Religion mentions several religious phenomena that reflect the process of mutual-pervasive between the immanent and transcendent dimensions. The process of breaking through the embodiment of justice in the eschatological dimension and the present dimension is experienced in the willingness to die as a martyr in extreme religious groups. A similar process is also reflected in the teachings of Mahayana-Buddhism. Early and classical Buddhism did not recognize the notion of needless suffering, because all suffering was caused by trials, but Mahayana-Buddhism illustrates a new relationship with suffering through the understanding of “Bodhisattvas.” Klimkeit (1988: 77) explains that

Bodhisattvas take over and endure suffering willingly to free the suffering of others. The problem of justice and the suffering of innocent people in the historical context is understood as the realization of the pervasive reality between the eschatological and present-day dimensions.

RELIGION INTERPRETS THE SUFFERING OF THE RIGHTEOUS

Religion from ancient times continues until now to wrestle the problem of the suffering of innocent people. The justification for the existence of suffering is often associated with the existence of God who is in power to do everything, including allowing godly people to experience negative life situations (Dearbantolo, 2020:78). When observing the symptoms of the world today, the question of justice and the suffering of the righteous is included as a very actual phenomenon. War, conflict, the plague of COVID-19, and violence throughout the world bring casualties to innocent people. Religion in the context of the reality of modern life seems powerless to confront the hedonic arguments offered by the modern world (Sentosa: 2015: 181).

The religious fundamentalism movement actually shows the inability of religion to confront this reality (Zada, 2002, 96). In this phase, it is not a matter of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, etc., but a matter of religious reality which Schmid (1966:78) refers to as a transcendent reality that originates from the opposite world. This transcendent reality is in the process of infiltrating and breaking into the reality of the world today through the revival of religious humanist consciousness to offer salvation or deliverance from the threat of total destruction. The real function of the Phenomenology of Religion is to reflect philosophically on the threat of total human destruction, both threats that come from the negative impact of worldly forces and other sources.

Religious people are encouraged to be more intelligent and to reject total destruction (which arises due to suffering). Desperation was firmly rejected by various religions. The phenomenon of all religions says that God has power over all things, also over human suffering. Humans often silence the suffering experienced by evil people, but often wrestle violently when the same thing happens to godly people. Eastern religion says that this is karma, the fulfillment of the law of sowing, and the like. The suffering of pious people is often questioned. "Why did my father who was a doctor die of exposure to COVID-19 from the patients he treated? Why are innocent babies killed by wars inflicted by evil political power? Why did the prophet's experience rejection? "These are a series of questions waiting to be solved by religion and philosophy.

Religious people are always looking for the meaning of life. Wittgenstein (1979: 74) says: “to believe in God means to see that life has meaning ... and to understand the question about the meaning of life.” Understanding suffering in this perspective also helps understand the deepest meaning of life itself, driven by the belief in God. Nugroho (2015: 136) said that the action to deepen the meaning of life is a very valuable and noble leap, because this is how humans become better at living their lives.

Life is not to suffer and die silly. Life is also not filled with depression and sadness, because God created humans clearly not to make them suffer (Supriyadi, 2016: 79). Even woe to those who deliberately create suffering for others! Indeed, life is surrounded by a great mystery of suffering, and inevitably humans have to cope with it. God’s justice is too narrow if measured only from the point of suffering, even the phenomenon of all religions shows that there are pious figures (eg Buddha, Isa Al Masih, Noah, Job, Daniel) and the prophets (Sitepu, 2014: 78) who voluntarily suggest something that is caused precisely not by their mistakes (Dewantara, 2017: 10). These godly figures embraced suffering consciously, and there was not even a tone of despair there.

CONCLUSION

Suffering is not sent to destroy the righteous, but instead will purify the righteous even more. Suffering is the reality of religious people, so suffering is an important theme of almost all religions. The negative and depressing color of suffering invites religions to discuss it. Various religions do not view it as fatalistic, but consider suffering as a constitutive reality of all humans. All human beings must suffer, but faith makes humans have a different perspective in reacting to it. No human can rise nobly without experiencing suffering. There are difficulties that are born from human error, but there is also depression that also occurs. Relevant questions to ponder are: “Have loads, the Coronavirus, outbreaks, landslides, high cost economics, accidents, earthquakes, and various other misfortunes arisen because of our mistakes or did they just happen?”

If indeed everything happened because of human greed in exploiting nature, it would be a human responsibility to improve it. If the deterioration of the nation occurs because of corrupt behavior, it is a human obligation to take corrective measures. If a transportation accident occurs because of human carelessness, then it is a human responsibility to fix it. But what if everything bad that happened was not due to human error? It is at this point that man’s faith is challenged with a clear resurrection after it occurred, just as Job was righteous but had to experience suffering. All events must have meaning, and the task of religious people to interpret them.

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THE INGENIOUS CITIZENSHIP OF THE PAGUYUBAN NGESTI TUNGGAL (PANGESTU) IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the practice of ingenious citizenship of an Indonesian spiritual group called Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (Pangestu), between their politics of religion (agama) and belief (kepercayaan). With the passing of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 97, 2017, the Indonesian government recognizes belief as another form of religious expression besides religion. Therefore, spiritual groups that are unable to be accommodated by religious or belief institutions have had difficulty accessing organizational rights, as they are considered 'abject' citizens. Even so, Pangestu has emerged as a spiritual group considered 'abject citizens' in the eyes of the state that has managed to survive. This paper will focus on two main questions: 1) How does the Indonesian government regulate citizens through the definition of religion and belief? 2) How does Pangestu respond to limited space for spiritual organizations between the recognition of religion and belief, by practicing ingenious citizenship? With these two formulations, this paper shows the relationship between the Indonesian government as an institution of control, and the spiritual organization of Pangestu as ingenious citizens. There will also be elaboration on strategies and unique tactics practiced by Pangestu to cope with the limited space given by the government.

Keywords: Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal, politics of religion, governmentality, abject, ingenious citizenship

INTRODUCTION

Religion in Indonesia has been used as a tool of political control since the colonial period. It started with the agenda of colonization to divide the people of Indonesia through the dichotomy between religion (*agama*) and customs (*adat*) (Maarif, 2017). After independence, the word *adat* experienced a redefinition. *Adat* no longer was equal to religion, but became something that only represented local traditions, and had no religious elements at all. After narrowing down the definition of *adat*, the Indonesian government, which continued to control the politics of religion of the colonialists, placed the belief (*kepercayaan*) in its polarization with religion (*agama*) instead of

adat. This is evidenced by the use of the term *agama* and *kepercayaan* in the 1945 Constitution as separate categories. Furthermore, to reinforce this polarization, TAP MPR IV/1978 in the GBHN emphasized the recognition of only five religions (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism) as officially recognized religions in Indonesia (Sihombing, et al., 2008: 32). With the issuance of the MPR TAP above, religious groups and beliefs outside of these five official religions experienced discrimination in the service of citizenship administrative rights, such as the management of KTP (Indonesian ID card) and family cards.

In the same year, the government of Indonesia transferred the management of *aliran kepercayaan* from the Ministry of Religion to the Ministry of Education and Culture by Presidential Decree 40/1978 (Picard and Madinier, 2011: 15-16). This decision indicated that *aliran kepercayaan* could not be part of *agama*, and the government did not give *penghayat kepercayaan* the same rights as those of an acknowledged religion. Previously in 1966, when there was a mass massacre of members and sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), *aliran kepercayaan* also became victims because they were suspected of being affiliated with the PKI (Sihombing, et al., 2008: 30). As a result, massive numbers of *aliran kepercayaan* believers were forced to register themselves as adherents of one of the legal religions to save themselves.

In 2009, the central government which was initiated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism issued a Joint Decree (SKB) which recognizes and facilitates the fulfillment of the civil rights of *penghayat kepercayaan*, although they are still unable to formally state their beliefs on identity card (Maarif, 2017). Most recently, on November 7, 2017, the Constitutional Court issued a ruling supporting the fulfillment of the citizens' rights to *penghayat kepercayaan* and acknowledging the equality of *aliran kepercayaan* and *agama*. Since then, *penghayat kepercayaan* have been able to include their belief status in the religious column of their KTP, which simplifies their registration process for marriage, school, employment, insurance and other government processes.

But unfortunately, the Constitutional Court's decision also caused new problems. After the recognition of equality between *agama* and *aliran kepercayaan*, the government made specific requirements and definitions for the recognition process of *aliran kepercayaan*. The requirements being: forming an organization and registering it with the Ministry of Education and Culture, Directorate of Belief to the Supreme God, with identity as an assembly or organization of *kepercayaan*. Before forming an organization, the community also needs to fulfill the essential characteristics of *aliran*

kepercayaan set by the government. These characteristics include belief in one Almighty God, having prophetic or messianic concepts, scriptures, and more, which have been the typical characteristic of world religions. Such an adjustment process mentioned before is similar to what is described by Picard (1992), Asad (1993), Smith (1963), Geertz (1960) and Hefner (1993) that religion has pressed belief groups to conform to their identities.

Departing from the politics of religion and belief, this paper aims to state that the separation of *agama* (religion) and *kepercayaan* in Indonesia is a form of government control over citizens, which is then referred to as governmentality (Foucault, 2007). *Agama* and *kepercayaan* are considered as ideal scripts of religious expression of Indonesian citizens, which later on cause the exclusion of other expressions, including spirituality. Those groups of citizens with different forms of religiosity will have the lack of access to citizenship rights, become apolitical, and invisible, also called “abject” or “nonexistent citizens” (Lee, 2016).

Therefore, regarding the discussion of the abject and the ‘nonexistent citizen’ category, this paper focuses on a spiritual group called Paguyuban Ngestu Tunggal (Pangestu). Pangestu is a spiritual community born in 1949 that rejects the identity of belief (*kepercayaan*, *kebatinan*) and/or religion (*agama*). Its special identity then made Pangestu warrant a different legal status within the ministry. While other *aliran kepercayaan* organizations are generally recorded under the auspices of the Directorate of Belief in God Almighty and Tradition, Pangestu chose to exclude itself from the Directorate in 2008. As previously stated, the government of Indonesia has limited recognition only to *agama* and *kepercayaan*, along with the two institutions that sheltered them, the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture. A spiritual organization such as Pangestu is not recorded in ‘the script,’ and does not have a particular institution to accommodate. But rather than trying to adjust to the government’s standards to become recognized citizens, Pangestu as an abject group chose not to negotiate with one of the identities. They instead sought unique ways to access their organizational rights.

THE PAGUYUBAN NGESTI TUNGGAL (PANGESTU)

Paguyuban Ngesti Tunggal (Pangestu) is one of the spiritual organizations established in Solo, Java 1949 based on the revelations received by Soenarto Mertowardojo. The experience underlying the establishment of Pangestu was Soenarto’s dissatisfaction with Islamic teachings, which he had embraced previously because Islam was taught in the Arabic language which he did not understand. Soenarto then began his spiritual journey, found his way to God,

and fortunately, on February 14, 1932, he received a “revelation” which later inspired him to create a new spiritual community. Before Pangestu was formed as an organization, its members often held meetings that they called “olah rasa” – the process of training emotions and spirituality through preaching and contemplation- under Soenarto’s leadership. The meeting was held as a medium “to exchange their thoughts and experiences about their spiritual life and also to worship or pray jointly. All of this was done with the aim of training ‘feeling,’ making it nobler and more refined” (Indrakusuma, 1972: 32). From these small but frequent meetings, the idea to establish a formal organization emerged.

In terms of teachings, Pangestu tends to be similar to *kebatinan*, which emphasizes mental and soul education, because the soul is the source of all lust and sin. In general, the main points of the teaching of Sang Guru Sejati (the title of its founder, Soenarto) can be divided into three parts, namely: Hasta Sila (Obligation of Eight Cases), Jalan Rahayu (Panca Dharma Bakti) and Paliwara (Five Prohibitions). Hasta Sila first consists of consciousness, which means awareness of the existence of God Almighty and devotion toward Him. The second is the belief in God. The third is to obey all orders and stay away from prohibitions. The fourth is the willingness to surrender all property, rights, and works to God. The fifth is *narima* in the sense of having a peaceful soul by always being grateful for what is owned. The sixth is honesty and keeping promises; the seventh is patience, and the last is *budiluhur* or compassion with others. Furthermore, Paliwara consists of five prohibitions: 1) Do not worship to anyone/anything other than Allah, 2) Do not indulge in lust, 3) Do not eat/drink things which damages the body and spirit, 4) Do not violate state laws and regulations, 5) Do not fight. Those five basic teachings then became the primary source for each lecture held in *Olah Rasa* weekly.

Concerning membership, Pangestu can be identified as an inclusive organization. People can easily join as a member without gender, religion, or social status limitation. Pangestu is also a non-missionary-group, in the sense that it will only accept members who voluntarily have the will, and are old enough to be able to make the decision. To be formally accepted, people who want to join are expected to participate in the seven Enlightenment Lectures (*Ceramah Pepadangan*), according to the needs of each member. The lecture includes an introduction to Pangestu, basic teachings, the biography of Soenarto Sang Guru Sejati, and a brief explanation of the organizational system. Then, after completing the Enlightenment Lecture, members will be appointed to the Inauguration Ceremony of the New Members held by the local Pangestu Branch Management.

AGAMA AND KEPERCAYAAN AS THE ACT OF GOVERNMENTALITY

The word ‘government,’ which comes from ‘to govern’ according to Foucault, has several meanings. “To govern an individual or group means” to act on the possibilities of actions of other individuals, “a mode of action on the action of others” or “to structure the possible field of actions of others (Foucault, 2007). Foucault positions the word “to govern” itself as a transitive verb and places an object after it; an individual or a group means that the government itself needs an object to govern. The meaning of the word also means regulating, controlling, and positioning boundaries or specific spaces for individuals and groups to act. In practice, the government, aside from its function as a servant institution, also presents itself as an institution of community-control that seeks to limit space for movement, especially in matters of religious expression, specifically the topic of discussion in this paper.

Religion in Indonesia is defined, created, and regulated by the state. As has been written by some academics (Sudarto, 2017; Subagya R., 1981; Hefner, 1993; Picard and Madinier, 2011; Maarif, 2017), religion in Indonesia becomes the political product of power from the colonial era to the present. Religion is one of the government’s tools to regulate its citizens, like how the Indonesian government from the beginning made a minimum definition of religion, which originated from a combination of Christian understanding brought by colonizers and Islamic teachings of *ad-diin* (religion). Investigating the history of the state’s governmentality through the politics of religion, Samsul Maarif (2017) saw the inclusion of the word “agama” in the 1945 Constitution article 29 as the beginning of the infiltration of the politics of religion to the state. But if it refers to how the state and the government have a role to “regulate” citizens through various aspects - specifically religion - it can also be interpreted if the state is not only a tool for implementing the politics of religion, but the government itself is the subject of regulation.

For example, the government makes certain religions administratively recognized and has the right to get full right service and make the Ministry of Religion regulate the religious life of citizens. The Ministry of Religion (Departemen Agama) was established on January 3, 1946 to initially function to accommodate, divide the religious section, and control the political movements of religious organizations. But now, the Ministry of Religion also has become a symbolic forum for “legal” religions in Indonesia. The Ministry of Religion provided not only political support for the recognized religions but also financial support for religious activities, such as da’wah, worship facilities, and formal religious education (Bagir and Hefner, 2016: 201).

The presence of the Ministry of Religion also reinforces the polarization between *agama* and *kepercayaan*. Religious expressions that do not fit into the category of *agama* according to the Ministry of Religion fail to receive their recognition and are forced to merge into the category of *kepercayaan* under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Groups that reject fitting in with the standard will remain excluded. But even though *aliran kepercayaan* has received recognition, its status has not been considered equal to religion until the issuance of the Constitutional Court Decision No. 97/2016. The inequality makes it difficult for followers of *aliran kepercayaan* who are not affiliated with any religion to access the principle rights of citizenship such as education, health, employment, marriage, and even death burial. As is the controlling nature of the state, the Indonesian government makes ‘religion’ the basis for the legality of carrying out activities, such as the rules of marriage and burial.

In Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage Article 2 paragraph (1) for example, it is written that “marriage is legal if carried out according to the laws of each religion and its beliefs.” Although the law refers to religion and belief in general, the law still refers to religion defined by the Ministry of Religion and does not provide space for the management of marriage for followers of the belief group (*penghayat kepercayaan*) in its implementation. The law was later strengthened by the issuance of the Circular Letter of the Minister of Home Affairs No. 477/74054 dated November 18, 1978 concerning instructions for filling in the “religion” column in the attachment to the Minister of Home Affairs Decree No: 221a / 1975 concerning Marriage and Divorce Records at the Civil Registry Office (Subagya, 1981: 276; Sudarto at.al, 2017: 38).

Besides marriage, death burial is also regulated according to religion. In 1978, the Minister of Religion issued a circular letter No. B.VI/11215/978 dated October 18, 1978, which was addressed to all governors in Indonesia declaring that “death burial is part of religious concern, so there is no known burial procedure according to beliefs (*aliran kepercayaan*), and even no known for the word “*aliran kepercayaan*” itself (Subagya, 1981: 276). Although the burial rules are only listed in the Circular Letter which can be changed at any time, the issuance of the CL further confirms that the government can use various legal tools to verify the limited definition of religion in Indonesia.

After the Constitutional Court Decision, when equality between religion and belief was recognized, the government has not necessarily stopped its tendency to continue to control. With a vast and varied *aliran kepercayaan* in Indonesia, the government tries to limit the recognition of the belief (*aliran kepercayaan*) by requiring the formation of organizations for the groups

that want to be accommodated. Through the presence of the Directorate of Belief to the Almighty God, the government requires several rules for *aliran kepercayaan* to register, such as including AD/ART which lists the history of *aliran kepercayaan* and the biography of elders and teachings. Furthermore, the Directorate will conduct further surveys of the teachings of the group. If there are several teachings, symbols, names, or other elements that are considered similar to the recognized religion, then the group is expected to adjust and change them according to existing rules.

The Constitutional Court's decision (2017) became a symbol of progress for the recognition of beliefs in Indonesia, though it confirmed the limited definition and categorization of beliefs, as well as the polarization between religion and belief. *Aliran kepercayaan* can be recognized through some requirements that must be fulfilled. Therefore, spiritual groups or other religious expressions not following religion or belief still do not get a place in recognition. Not only marginalized groups outside *aliran kepercayaan*, but also those different versions of *aliran kepercayaan* that do not desire to form an organization and do not want to be recognized also become abject and overlooked from the influence of the policy.

As a follow-up to the implementation of the Constitutional Court, the 2018 Circular Letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs concerning the separation of Family Cards for followers of religions and beliefs also caused new problems for citizens. The separation of the new Family Card format for *penghayat kepercayaan* is carried out because according to Article 28 E paragraph (1) and (2) of the 1945 Constitution, religion (*agama*) and belief (*kepercayaan*) are regulated as separate matters. Following these rules, the Ministry of Home Affairs also places *agama* and *kepercayaan* in separate but equal spaces in regulation and service. With this separation, *penghayat kepercayaan* who affiliate with a particular religion are forced to choose one of their religious identities, which were previously flexible.

In conclusion, I tried to re-examine various kinds of governing practices of the government through the politics of religion in Indonesia. The Indonesian government uses state institutions such as the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Attorney General's Office, and even non-formal institutions such as the MUI as tools to implement the rule of religion. Additionally, various kinds of laws were raised, and the government even used security institutions as a means of controlling the implementation of the rules and regulations. Such government efforts, in my opinion, are in line with what Foucault (2009: 108) defines as a governmentality, namely "an ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, and tactics that allow the use of

specific powers, has a population as a target, political economy as the primary form of knowledge, and security forces as important technical instruments. “

According to Foucault, the government has the power to regulate citizens, although citizens are not objects of government. The government can only regulate directly a country, and citizens are regulated indirectly because as the subject of life in an abstract country (Foucault, 2009: 123). In the case of the definition of religion in Indonesia, it can be understood if the government creates certain rules, definitions, and conditions related to diversity and belief for the sake of creating a sovereign state. But in practice, the government made the citizen as the object of governing, and not the state itself, because as previously written, the definition of religion created by the government has a significant influence on the life and principle rights of citizens related to social, economic and cultural aspects.

PERFORMING INGENIOUS CITIZENSHIP

In his book, Charles T. Lee (2016: 27) explains what is meant by “ingenious citizenship” as “an illustration of how ‘the abjects’ are excluded from the script and have a lack of status, strength, and resources to access juridical rights to that full and social recognition as normative citizens, emerged with original and creative ways to put themselves back into the script.” Lee also called it “nonexistent citizenship” - where the inclusion, belonging, equality and rights are not formally guaranteed or codified. Lee also uses the word “ingenious” to describe “an unexpected agency from an abject.”

According to Lee’s description, the ingenious citizenship practices tend to be carried out by abject groups whose existence in the political sphere is not recognized by the state. Associating with the practice of governmentality discussed before, the state has tried to regulate and control its citizens through rules, written laws, and implementing new policies. Those state rules and definitions became ‘the script’ which serves as a tool of state control. Because the script also functions as a basis of rules, it always has a limiting tendency. For example, in the politics of religious and belief recognition, government texts only recognize these two definitions, especially after the Constitutional Court Decision No. 97 when the beliefs (*aliran kepercayaan*) gain recognition of equality with religion. As a result, other groups outside of religion and beliefs were removed from recognition, while being neglected by administrative services in the government. One group that was eliminated from the script definition of religion and belief was the Pangestu group. As a spiritual organization, Pangestu is not recorded in government scripts, as they are neither *agama* nor *kepercayaan*. The incompatibility of Pangestu’s identity

with the government's script made Pangestu end up as "abject".

Judith Butler, an American philosopher and gender theorist, defines "abject" as a densely populated zone of social life that is "uninhabitable" by those who cannot enjoy the status of the subject (Butler, 1993: 3). In contrast to Lee, who defines the abject as an entity, Butler considers being abject a form of social life, in which those in it do not get complete social rights. Engin F. Isin and Kim Rygel (2007: 181-183) also appear with the theory of "abject space" to show groups that are not considered subjects or objects, and their existence is considered to be non-existent insofar as it cannot be heard or seen. Politically, abject groups tend to "suffer from a form of purity of citizenship that requires them to become silent victims, invisible and apolitical" (Nyers, 2003: 1073-1074). Although the abject can be seen as a condition or an individual, the whole explanation emphasizes it is untouchable, invisible, apolitical, and lacks the status of rights.

Citizens who become politically abject do not have legality and citizenship rights, and their existence is not recorded in the "script". Therefore, these groups are often called those with nonexistent citizenship. In the case of Pangestu, the form of spiritual organization was not recorded as an expression of religiosity recognized by the state, because the state only recognized the existence of *agama* and *kepercayaan*. As a regulating institution, the state presents two ministries as big houses and places of accommodation for *agama* and *kepercayaan*, namely the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The presence of these two institutions indeed functions to facilitate the service, while also becoming a symbol of limitation. As a result, Pangestu, which cannot be institutionalized into the two ministries, became an "invisible" organization in the eyes of the government. Pangestu is thus abject because it is neither known by the Ministry of Religion nor the Ministry of Education and Culture.

For comparison, I will present several examples of citizen groups that became abject in the eyes of the government. Charles T. Lee (2016: 85-90) shows how immigrant housemaids from West India and the Philippines who work in Canada try to build a social life and a sense of belonging by renting apartments with other workers. As domestic immigrant workers, they are often excluded from other groups of workers who work in the public sphere, do not get guaranteed rights and protection from institutions that shelter, and cannot even socialize freely like other citizens. Even though they have not been able to access rights as other workers, they attempt to fulfill their social needs by gathering together on holidays, enjoying a dignified personal existence as individuals by cooking their food, and fulfilling their belonging desire to rent apartments.

Another example is how commercial sex workers (CSWs) have become the object of public abjectification. CSWs are seen as 'dirty' and amoral women who do not deserve to live in the community, so are largely excluded from social life. Not only is their existence abject, but the prostitution itself is also in abject zone, as the work is always seen as lower than other works. Prostitution is work which gives money, but not honors to the workers. Despite being abject, CSWs can produce enough or even much money to survive in a capitalist country. Through that money, they can buy and fight for a 'normal life' for their children and families (Lee, 2016: 107-108).

Not much different from the group of sex workers is the category of transgender people, has also regarded as an abnormal group whose existence is often ignored and exiled. In the standard of heteronormative citizenship, people are still recognized based on their gender identity in general, namely the binary: men and women. Some countries such as India and Australia have indeed acknowledged the existence of a third gender through the mandate of the Constitutional Court, but similar rulings have hardly been replicated in other countries. Donita Ganzon, a Filipino transgender person who lives in the United States, changed her sex from male to female to obtain a 'normal' life. Ganzon is indeed trapped in the binary categorization of men and women, and wanted a heterosexual life like other couples, building families and given birth to children. But by doing a sex change operation, Ganzon received the right to get legal marriage recognition in America, having a 'normal man' husband and enjoying the life she dreamed of. Conversely, if Ganzon naturally had an interest in men but did not carry out transsexual operations, she would live as a gay person who cannot claim marriage rites as she wishes (Lee, 2016: 150-152).

Refugee groups located in border areas, war zones, or refugee camps are also part of the abject communities where they are often considered invisible and do not even exist. According to Engin F. Isin and Kim Rygel (2007: 184), the absence of their existence is not due to their absence, but because they are living in the abject zones. Based on these examples, abjection can occur either purely towards the individual or because of the influence of the existing abject zone.

After reading those examples, I tried to highlight that both the abjection that occurs to individuals or those in the abject zone is caused by the existence of the script. In the context of prostitution and sex workers, for example, the 'neoliberal script' of the market and the world of entrepreneurship suggest that individual entrepreneurs should have the ability to fulfill personal needs and serve their ambitions (Lee, 2016: 128). On the contrary, prostitution is

often considered forced labor, where victims of poverty are ‘forced’ to become prostitutes or simply become money machines and objects from pimps. CSWs are considered to have no personal freedom, low-ranking, and be despicable workers who “sell” their bodies for money, do not have honor, and become a waste of society.

Although in many contexts the CSW group failed to put themselves into the ‘script’ of normal social life, they tried to minimize their abjection in other ways. Sex workers in San Francisco, for example, try to follow the logic of capitalist work by regulating “regular work schedules” like office workers. They try to not only minimize their abjection but creatively attempt to obscure the boundaries between abject and normal by using the advertising strategy of “being a girlfriend” for their sex clients. Doing this allows the sex worker to position herself not as a sex object that can be controlled by the client, but as an entrepreneurial subject who can control the types, terms, and standards of service offered (Lee, 2016: 129-130).

Furthermore, war and border areas are beyond the jurisdiction of the government. As a result, the government cannot guarantee rights to the people in the zone. A refugee camp is also a place where someone’s identity and subjectivity become blurred as most refugees are victims of war or riots who come from other countries to obtain a normal life in the destination country. Engin F. Isin and Kim Rygel (2007: 197) refer to these camps as places where subject rights are temporarily suspended, because the zone is a transition area between one subject to another. Individual refugees are initially subjecting, who can receive full recognition as citizens and rights in their homeland. But the rule that someone’s citizenship needs to be obtained through an official process puts refugees into the abject citizen group, even considered as nonexistent citizens.

THE INGENIOUS CITIZENSHIP OF PAGUYUBAN NGESTI TUNGGAL

As mentioned in the previous section, Pangestu is a spiritual organization that rejects the definition of religion and beliefs provided by the government. Pangestu’s organization was founded on May 20, 1949, in the city of Solo, Java. Initially, Pangestu was only an informal community as a place to gather Sonarto’s students who wanted to deepen spirituality and cultivate their souls and minds (*olah rasa dan jiwa*) to become a better person. As it is inclusive and universal, Pangestu openly accepts members from various religious groups and backgrounds, both Muslims and Christians became the majority during this time, as well as groups claiming to be *abangan* or other religious groups.

For instance, a 1972 report recorded in Dwija Wara magazine shows the list of Catholic members in each branch reached 600 people, although Pangestu was founded by a Muslim.¹ This data validates the claim that since the beginning, Pangestu has been an inclusive organization.

In May 1949, per the words of the Sang Guru Sejati, Pangestu decided to establish itself as a formal organization. Pangestu began to systematize the constitution and bylaws, the organization's vision and mission, and its management structure. Here is the following statement of Soenarto written in Sabda Khusus Peringatan No. 1 paragraph 16 which instructs the establishment of an organization that brings together all subjects: *"Gather all of my students to become familiar, gather the, as it is with the usual ordinances of the organization. As the chairman, decide it for yourself. And regarding your brother Soenarto, you can only consider him as a paranpara (advisor)."*

Apart from that statement, Pangestu needed to establish their organization to gather more diverse members, as their mission was to spread enlightenment (*pepadang*) helping humans better understand and appreciate their religious teachings. Compared to the non-structural community, formal organizations were more suitable for Pangestu to support their teachings. With the organizational system, Pangestu was also able to set up a supporting foundation called Andana Warih that helped Pangestu members collect funds and social support. Although Pangestu was established after Indonesian independence, the city of Solo, the birthplace of Pangestu, was still occupied by the Dutch who banned associations involving more than five people. But voluntarily, seven students of Pakde Narto: Soeratman, Goenawan, Prawirosoeparto, Soeharto, Soedjono, Ngalmi, and Soetardi offered themselves as the first members of the Pangestu community. Based on consideration of the word (*sabda*) and the need to organize, the seven students then formulated the first administrator of Pangestu. Those administrators were, Chief: Goenawan, Secretary: Soetardi, Finance: Soeratman, General Assistant: Soedjono, Soeharto, Ngalmi, and Prawirosoeparto. Soenarto, as the founder, received the position as advisor. The formation of the management structure later became the initial indicator of the establishment of the Pangestu organization.

According to this history, it is evident that Pangestu was born as an organization before the establishment of the BKKI (Indonesian Kebatinan Congress Council) which accommodates other belief and mysticism groups.² Pangestu formed

¹ Soenarto, Sang Guru Sejati and founder of Pangestu is a Muslim. However, due to the limitations of language to study Islam (as Islam is known to use a lot of Arabic), Soenarto tried to deepen spiritualism through other avenues, such as attending *kebatinan* associations, trying various kinds of ascetism, until finally gaining revelation to establish Pangestu.

² BKKI was built on August 21, 1955, precisely at the First Kebatinan Congress in

a formal organization years before BKKI. But after the establishment of the BKKI, Pangestu which emphasized its identity as a spiritual only organization (not belief or mysticism) refused to join BKKI because of several reasons. One of the reasons was because of the political status of the BKKI as part of the Joint Secretariat of GOLKAR (Golongan Karya, the ruling political party in the Indonesian New Order era). That political position was considered not strategic to support Pangestu's future, and being politically neutral is a good strategy to survive, is also identified as one of the ingenious ways practiced by Pangestu.

Not only utilizing neutral preferences in politics, but Pangestu's identity as a spiritual group also became its strategy. In 1966, many *aliran kepercayaan* groups were accused of their affiliation with PKI. Many of them were disbanded and even killed, but Pangestu remained safe, as Pangestu rejected the identity of *aliran kepercayaan* from the very beginning. Additionally, many Pangestu members were part of the TNI (Indonesian Army), POLRI (Indonesian police), and the Prosecutor's Office, such as Lieutenant General I Putu Soekreta Soeranta, Maj. Gen. (TNI) Hendardji Soepandji, younger brother of Hendarman Soepandji, the former General Attorney (9 May 2007-24 September 2010) and Chief of National Defence Agency. During the period 1959-1970, Prof. Dr. Soemantri Hardjoprakoso³ served as the leader of Pangestu. In 1966 when the existence of *aliran kepercayaan* group was threatened by the government, as aforementioned, Soemantri introduced Pangestu teachings to the representatives of Bakorpakem (The Monitor of Community Belief and Religion) of the High Prosecutor Office in Jakarta. By providing various explanations and lectures, Pangestu succeeded in maintaining existence through its clean image despite various threats toward the *kepercayaan/kebatinan* group.

Previously, on July 31, 1962, a delegation from the Ministry of Religion, Ghazali Sulamulhadi, conducted an interview with the Head of Pangestu for Solo Branch, Subroto, regarding the teachings of Pangestu. Before, Pangestu was initially suspected of being a new religious movement. After conducting several dialogues and explaining the basic principles of teaching in accordance with the words of Sang Guru Sejati, the Ministry of Religion decided that

Semarang.

³ Soemantri Hardjoprakoso has been the Chair of the Army Psychotechnical Institute (LPT) since June 15, 1950. He is also the initiator of the establishment of the Faculty of Psychology at Padjadjaran University and chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Faculty of Psychology, Padjadjaran University in August 1961. His name is now used as one of the building names in the Faculty of Psychology, UNPAD. UNPAD Psychology. <http://psikologi.unpad.ac.id/sejarah-psikologi-unpad/>, accessed on 06/16/2019, 10:35 p.m.

Pangestu was not a heretical group that threatened religious life. In response to the restlessness of the Ministry of Religion, the Head of Pangestu issued the Decree of Pangestu Central Executive Board No. Head/08/V/1978 confirming that Pangestu was not a new religion. The decree continues to be issued every year, and eventually became the subject of the Pangestu National Conference which is held every five years.

Besides the Ministry of Religion, Pakem, which is a *kepercayaan* monitoring agency, also continued to supervise Pangestu's activity, particularly in Jakarta, Bandung, and Semarang. However, after conducting several examinations of teachings and articles of association, Pakem stated that Pangestu was not an organization that threatened the integrity of the state nor had elements related to the blasphemy of religion. Pangestu notes that affirming its status to the government is very important, because one of its main teachings stated that Pangestu members must always be loyal to *Kalifatullah* (State Authorities and Laws). As a result, the Central Executive Decree was made as a testament to Pangestu's obedience to the state.

These ideological reasons have also become the consideration for Pangestu to not show direct resistance to the government despite experiencing limited access to rights and recognition. On the other hand, Pangestu tries to creatively utilize the empty spaces between policies that can be used to ensure its survival. Pangestu does not negotiate with the 'script' of *agama* and *kepercayaan* created by the state, but also does not reject it in a confrontational manner. As a solution, Pangestu continues to conduct dialogue and respond to the government without having to change their spiritual identity.

Regarding the status of the organization within the government, Pangestu has also shown a unique way to position the organization. While other groups of *aliran kepercayaan* register themselves in mass to the Directorate of Belief in God and Tradition, Pangestu expelled itself in 2008 after being registered once. Since then, Pangestu is no longer registered under any ministry. Especially for the DIY branch, a permit for organizational activities has been obtained from the Yogyakarta Police with the number No. Pol B/SKEP.13/018/IX/INTERPAM. Until now, this police license has been the only legal principle for the running of the organization's activities.

In addition, Pangestu always tries to build relationships with religious leaders to provide an understanding of the organization's vision and mission. Through this method, Pangestu can avoid the negative stigma as a cult or associations that blaspheme religion. Recently, I find the Pangestu's defense strategy unique because, according to the Law of Staatsblad No. 84 No. 1933, the government requires several rules for a non-legal association to be recognized, and one of

them is “obtaining specific recommendations from the Ministry of Religion (for religious associations) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (for non-religious associations), as well as registered documents by the Ministry of Home Affairs.” As Pangestu was not registered under any aforementioned ministry, Pangestu decided to use internal relations to the attorney, police and religious leaders of every region to access its organizational rights.

For the construction of the Dana Warih meeting building and fundraising as well as social support, Pangestu members collaborated to build the Andana Warih Foundation which was approved by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights in 2008 with the number AHU-3387.AH.01.02. The foundation then handled the building permit management process, as well as supporting the social activities held by Pangestu. Pangestu recognizes that the status of an organization unrecognized by any ministry will lead to limitations in accessing rights. So they tried to establish a legally licensed foundation to deal with the problem, without having to make Pangestu negotiate with one of the identities provided by the state.

CONCLUSION

The definition of religion and belief is a form of Indonesian governmentality to regulate the religious expression of its citizens. Power relations between the government and citizens are established through the formation of laws, limiting definitions and their implementation through policies, especially those related to religion and belief. These laws and policies can be seen from how the Indonesian government created the Ministry of Religion to accommodate *agama*, and the Ministry of Education and Culture as a house of *aliran kepercayaan*. In addition to utilizing state institutions, the government also controls religious expression by creating a minimum definition of religion by the Ministry of Religion, also an ideal characteristic for *aliran kepercayaan* to be legally recognized. As a result, the previously mentioned definition created ‘the script’ as an ideal description of a citizen, and ended up excluding another group of citizens with different religious expressions.

Ingenious citizenship is understood a condition where abject groups are excluded from the script and lack the status, power, and resources to access full juridical rights and social recognition as normative citizens, appearing in original and creative ways to get themselves back into the script. In the context of Indonesian governmentality which is shown through the definition of *agama* and *kepercayaan*, Pangestu is considered as an abject citizen as its spirituality is outside the state’s ideal script of *agama* and *kepercayaan*. Due to being an abject citizen group, Pangestu encountered many obstacles in

accessing several administrative rights, such as permission to construct a meeting hall and making organizational deeds. Additionally, Pangestu could not register itself at the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Responding to the situation, the Pangestu has made various initiative to restore its rights. In anticipation of public suspicion and rejection, Pangestu built relationships with religious and community leaders in each region, utilized internal connection with the police force to permit activities in exchange for an organizational deed, and actively held a dialogue with the Ministry of Religion to maintain a clean image in front of the government. Regarding civil action, Pangestu established the Andana Warih Foundation, which is officially registered at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights as an intermediary for carrying out social activities. By setting up a separate formal foundation, Pangestu does not have to sacrifice its spiritual identity or merge into a religious or belief group as some other spiritual organizations do, but can still fulfill its organizational rights and needs. In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that groups of abject citizens like Pangestu were present due to the limited government 'script' containing rules, regulations, and definitions that are used as a means of control. The abject also appears as a logical consequence of 'governmentality' where the government does not fully see the aspirations of the citizens.

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INTER-RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN INDONESIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PANCASILA PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

Creating peace between religions by building tolerance is required to avoid intolerance. This is one of the ways to respect differences between religions. Indonesia is a multi-ethnic cultural and religious country. Therefore, building tolerance is a must to achieve healthy inter-religious peace as part of the implementation of the Pancasila values. This article aims to explore and keep a record of the perceptions of religious followers, as well as how they are applied in their daily life, especially concerning religious diversity. The ethnographic approach is a method or analysis used to explore and understand information obtained from in-depth individual interviews with religious and community leaders. The findings in this study show that building inter-religious tolerance, especially in Indonesia with its diversity of ethnic groups, cultures, languages, etc., is not easy, but the philosophical values of Pancasila are able to unite them harmoniously and there is no disagreement between religions, which can be seen from the dynamics of community life in Pondok Cabe, Pamulang, with the diversity of religions (Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism) In this place, different religious adherents can interact appropriately and harmoniously. Strengthening the values of Pancasila in building inter-religious tolerance needs to be carried out and promoted. This is one of the suggestions from this study.

Keywords: Inter-religious Tolerance, Peace, Culture, Pancasila, Philosophy

INTRODUCTION

Rebuilding interfaith interactions within the framework of the values of Pancasila philosophy (Mangunsong et al., 2019; Mukhlis, 2016; Sulasman et al., 2014) is an effort to establish tolerance between religions effectively

and appropriately (Sulasman et al., 2014). This is also an important part of achieving peace between religions (Mujtahid, 2017), especially in a country with different religions (beliefs), like Indonesia. According to the law stipulated in Adminduk No. 24 of 2013, Indonesia recognizes 6 (six) official religions, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The 6 religions, representing a diversity of religions or dynamic community beliefs, have historically had a long journey and been full of intolerance (Habermas, 2003). Alternatively, this history has paved the way for peace through inter-religious tolerance, which is now being fostered formally through the educational process (formally) (Yasi et al., 2018; Mu'ti and Koirudin, 2009; Erawati, 2018), as well as informally (socially), through religious activities (Qur'an recitation or the like) and other types of activities that lead to the strengthening of synergy in building solidarity between religions sustainably and flexibly

Collective and cooperative affirmation between communities and related (religious) institutions can be used as a guide to strengthening the sense of unity in religious diversity towards inter-religious harmony (tolerance). In Indonesia, one of the countries that have been able to build a good interfaith interaction, is reflected in mutual respect and mutual assistance. On the other hand, the dynamics of friction between religions still occur (on a small scale), amidst the hustle and bustle of people's lives on the pretext of promoting "the truth in religion or belief". This issue, triggered by fanaticism that surrounds the realm of religious thought in today's society, has led to an imbalance in understanding and exploring the true purpose or meaning of religion itself (Islam, Catholicism, Christianity). It is a fundamental and dynamic issue that continues to reflect religious diversity in Indonesia today and in the future.

The dynamics of diversity in religion at this time have been integrated into the social life of the community so that the values of different beliefs among adherents (of Islam, Christianity, Catholicism) do not lead to destructive and acute disputes or friction. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a picture of how the dynamics of society with diversity in religions can adjust to interfaith interactions in a flexible, adaptive, and dynamic manner. On the other hand, the debate still occurs on a small scale (constructive), this is a dynamic interfaith interaction that must be explored, understood, and evaluated in order to create and build peace (tolerance) between religions.

So far, the study of religion from the perspective of religious philosophy (thought) continues to go through significant changes and developments (Wijaya, 2006). Religion has always been an interesting subject or issue to be discussed comprehensively and integratively. This can be understood and

critiqued philosophically, especially with respect to the dynamics of Indonesian society with religious diversity in a philosophical frame or Pancasila values today and in the future. On the other hand, diversity is part of pluralism (Achmad, 2014), which requires a humanist (religious) education model based on multiculturalism (Susanto, 2006). The term or concept of pluralism, according to Mu'ti and Khoirudin (2019), is understood as a concept that continues to generate the pros and cons, so there is a need for a more concrete, real, and more constructive study in exploring and understanding the concept.

History has shown that religious diversity in Indonesia can represent how religions exist in the midst of a pluralistic community life, which ultimately merges into community life with various diverse backgrounds. This is a portrait of the community life in the area of Pondok Cabe Pamulang. On the other hand, the visionary mission in each religion in both a literal and non-literal sense is quite obvious and can be understood, and indirectly it can trigger disputes in the absence of the implementation of the Pancasila philosophical values in it (Nur, 2019), which should be able to shelter all forms of religious activities, both socially and institutionally.

Therefore, the issues of religious diversity today can philosophically lead to religious conflict filled with the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations). A high sense of fanaticism, with the emergence of the concept of truth, theoretically and empirically may lead to the seeds of inter-religious intolerance. That is part of an interesting study to analyze critically, narratively, and argumentatively based on field data (in-depth individual interviews), literature studies which are then analyzed based on the ethnographic approach. That is an appropriate method to understand the matter critically (Joseph L Graves Jr and Bailey, 2009), in exploring and understanding the dynamics of religious intolerance in a diverse society, such as what happened in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area. In addition, to what extent is the scope of monotheism in the interaction of diversity in religion, which is currently an interesting issue to study comprehensively and integratively, and expected to lead to a synergistic, religious, and dynamic relationship within the framework of Pancasila (Mukhlis, 2016). This is a reflection of religious life and can serve as a guide in shaping a nuance of life, which is tolerant of various aspects, especially between religions.

DYNAMICS OF TOLERANCE IN DIVERSITY

Studies on issues related to tolerance in religious diversity in Indonesia today continue to affect the dynamics of people's lives today and in the future and form a community system that is tolerant, adaptive, and not easily provoked.

This is the concern of all parties, including the relevant agencies (Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs). Building a community system, of course, is a big hope in shaping and developing a more dynamic and flexible pattern of religious interaction, in addition to being part of the implementation of “Harmony between Religions”. Symbolically, it can be seen in one area, especially in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang. As mentioned in the background above, theoretically and empirically, the dynamics of people’s lives (diverse in religion) have led to a pattern of building tolerance in religion which refers to local traditions or the like, as revealed by Zaki M (2019), that the building of tolerance can be adopted and developed from “Regional Traditional activities”, (Widayati, S, 2018) as well as religion, socio-economy, and politics (Zaki M, 2019). This can be represented in how the philosophical values of Pancasila outlined in the First Principle can run well and dynamically, in the midst of people’s lives with various beliefs (pluralism).

These are among the findings which are supported by the results of dialog with certain religious figures and officials (Figure 1). In reality, the facts that describe a dynamic scope of diverse community life in promoting religious harmony with mutual respect and appreciation, lead] to tolerance. This phenomenon has become an interesting issue to explore or discuss in a comprehensive and integrative manner, amidst the hustle and bustle of the dynamics of social life, which are complex, plural, and dynamic. It can be seen how the current dynamics of religious diversity are acknowledged (in Indonesia) and continue to or strive to build mutual understanding. On the other hand, the understanding of religion especially, regarding monotheism, is still filled with dispute or debate, but it is still at a constructive level and is more directed towards humanism. This is a form that is created and built in achieving peace, tolerance, and this phenomenon can be found in the Pondok Cabe area, Pamulang which has been able to implement the values of Pancasila appropriately. This can be seen empirically where places of worship can grow and develop without any threat, and even the dynamics of socio-religious interactions can run well in a spirit of brotherhood.

THE COMMUNITY OF PONDOK CABE AREA AS A MINIATURE

The fundamental truth in religion (belief) states that “God” is one which in essence leads to diversity in perceiving His existence. This can be related to the “Oneness of God” which in reality can lead to debate or dispute. Interactive interfaith dialog as shown in Figure 1 (Kung, Hans, Kuschel, 1999; Muammar, K, 2013) is very much needed in order to achieve peace based on the values of the Pancasila philosophy despite different beliefs. Pancasila can be interpreted

as an ideology and philosophy of life (Mukhlis, 2016), which must continue to be held and preserved based on the common good in building peace based on the values of religious tolerance (Mukhlis, 2016). This can be seen in the dynamics of society in the Pondok Gede area, Pamulang, which is a plural and dynamic community that has been able to create a humanist socio-religious interaction.

Religious interactions (between Muslims, Catholics, Christians) established in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area are a form of building togetherness in preserving freedom of belief (between religious adherents). This, of course, can lead to a shared social system construction pattern. It has indirectly built unity on the basis of “sharing”, “helping each other”, in virtue that leads to unity and solidarity. Differences in beliefs are no longer a barrier in building a pattern of religious diversity based on the philosophical values of Pancasila. It is a development paradigm that can serve as a reference, as well as a reflection for all parties where the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area can be referred to as one of the icons of “tolerance” that needs to be studied and understood comprehensively and integratively. This can be seen from the dynamics of discussion (openness) in a congenial atmosphere based on their beliefs, as reflected in Figure 1 which are well-established and developed and dynamic.

Figure 1 Dynamics of interfaith interactive discussion in “*Participatory research*” (attended by priests)



Source: Author's Photographs, 2020.

The establishment of a pattern or form of socio-religious interaction in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area, (Figure 1), can empirically be understood as a form of awareness of the importance of the implications of tolerance in building shared peace. On the other hand, it can become a trend or model for

building a sustainable society. This is an illustration of the beauty of interfaith interaction that reflects how the people in it are able to implement the philosophical values of Pancasila appropriately, with a peaceful and flexible environment towards inter-religious tolerance.

The journey of tolerance built interactively in the Pondok Cabe area shows a good rhythm in the midst of the rampant issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and inter-group relations) (Heru Nugroho, 1997) in several regions in Indonesia and other parts of the world that have triggered socio-religious conflicts which are vertically and horizontally destructive. This is one of the current religious issues, and in the future where monotheism, according to a study by Aufa Fitria (2020), still exists and continues to overshadow the tolerance for diversity in religion, so there is a need for mediation or a forum that actively responds to religious issues.

Referring to the field study (Figure 1), which was carried out in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area, the results can be described empirically and argumentatively. The rhythm of monotheism can still be brought under control, as shown by the openness in narrating their beliefs wisely and with mutual respect. The concept of truth in religion in the perspective of monotheism is still felt among each religion (Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, Confucianism). It is a representation of religious dynamics that needs to be continuously studied and explored in order to form and build tolerance between religious followers. There needs to be an effort to build unity, where an imbalance in perceiving the Oneness of God, can lead to misunderstanding. There needs to be a nuance of harmony in order to create peace between religions despite the differences. It is expected that humanism in monotheism within the framework of the values of Pancasila can be built (Sulasman and Dewi, 2014).

TOLERANCE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF MONOTHEISM AND HUMANISM

Referring to the study by Aufa Fitria (2020), empirically and theoretically, monotheism can lead to interreligious conflict. The humanist approach is considered more concrete and constructive. The humanism approach is able to bring peace or tolerance between religions concretely and dynamically now and in the future. This is an idealism for inter-religious development, which is expected to be able to bridge diversity in interpreting Deity based on their respective beliefs (Islam, Catholicism, and Christianity) or its relationship with belief in “God” is only limited to the “hereafter” (Mahfud, 2015). There is a need for mutual understanding in building tolerance, which is full of twists and turns, concerning the argument of the Oneness of God, which is

dynamic between religions and symbolically each religion has its own truth. The synergy of religious rhythms is an issue that can represent nuances of intolerance which may lead to inter-religious unity. This illustrates the effectiveness of the philosophical values of Pancasila in it, which formally and informally expect an action described in the prevailing policies or laws, to continue to foster a sense of mutual respect between religions now and in the future by prioritizing harmony and tolerance (Haliim, Wimmy, 2018).

Building and maintaining unity between religions within the scope of Pancasila values is an important part of minimizing or eliminating the seeds of horizontal conflict in the name of religion and its truth (Nugroho, Heru, 1997). Interfaith dialog is a forum for active and effective mediation in creating peace, unity, and of course leading to inter-religious tolerance, which calls for a sense of togetherness in building religious harmony. This is religious tolerance that is formed, built, and developed in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area, which demographically consists of several religions that are believed to have various cultures or ethnicities in it, with a civilization that is considered capable of leading and forming a “civil society paradigm” (Veltmeyer, H, 2008), with all the differences in it, which leads to humanism, where monotheism, when compared to humanism, is more prone to conflict resulting in religious friction based on SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and inter-group relations (Aufa, Fitria. 2020).

Mutual understanding and respect between religions with respect to religious tolerance is an important aspect of building a more persuasive and flexible dynamic of community life. On the other hand, religious differences based on truth in belief are certainly prone to conflict, on the pretext of the truth of their respective religions. This is one of the fundamental religious issues which should be responded to actively in order to create humanism-based tolerance, especially in taking more creative and adaptive approaches.

CONCLUSION

In the midst of the conflicts between ethnic groups and religious followers in Indonesia, which are triggered by the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations), religious tolerance needs to be established with various socio-cultural features. This is the dynamics of community diversity (pluralism) found in the Pondok Cabe Pamulang area which reflects a sense of unity in the dynamic philosophical values of Pancasila with a nuance of harmony. This phenomenon has indirectly led to the establishment of a “civil society” that subsequently forms a more flexible and adaptive religious community which is not easily provoked by the issues of SARA. This is a

religious community development paradigm capable of creating and building unity within the scope of “tolerance” based on the philosophical values of Pancasila. It should be a reference or (an absolute) guideline for different religious followers to achieve a more humanist and dynamic nature of peace and harmony between religions, especially about building peace between religions.

However, regarding the limitations, this article is more oriented towards the aspects of time and place, and the issues still need to be examined more critically. In addition, the exploration of (qualitative) data still needs to be enriched and further research is required in order to present more comprehensive field data (using mixed methods).

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