

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the following chapters I will show how Indonesians, practice the religions. How they convert and practice it shows how local wisdom works as a way of life. In this introduction, I will draw every of works I compiled in this book.

In Chapter II, with title of *Marginal Hinduisms In Indonesia*, I show how indigenous religions such as Kaharingan, Tengger, Baduy religions practiced by the people and how they negotiate for acknowledging them as religions. The governmental perspective is different from the religion owners perspective. Acknowledgment as Hinduism still emerges such confusion in practical ways of practicing these religions. This paper is my work in 2012 on the subject of World Religions offered by Inter-Religious Program Gadjah Mada University.

Chapter III, with title of *Indonesian Marine Rituals and Their Local Wisdom*, consists of small explorative research to describe some marine rituals hold by Indonesians lie down along the archipelago and explore their local wisdom. Here, we can learn not only such values likely religious and social, but also environmental ethics to the nature. I have published this paper in Jurnal Jantra Vol. VII No. 1 Juni 2012 with Indonesia version. For compiling some related papers I have worked, I include this paper here.

Chapter IV, with title of *Wonosadi Forest and the Environmental Ethics*, talks about my research findings in the World Class Research University (WCRU) program hold in 2009 by Faculty of Philosophy Gadjah Mada University. This paper was already published in Jurnal Filsafat WISDOM years ago. This research explored such belief and rituals hold by the people around Wonosadi forest in Ngawen Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta. One of the findings is the environmental ethics hold by the people for sustaining the forest and the ecological environment.

Chapter V, with title of *Dewi Sri Myths: Indonesian Traditional Music and Its Local Wisdom*, explores various version on the Dewi Sri story, how this story related to traditional music, and what local values we can learn by this existence. This article comes from my research I did in 2012.

Chapter VI, with title of *Wong Pinter and Javanese Traditional Healing*, is an article related to my dissertation project in IRS Gadjah Mada University. I have started to explore this theme since my first year in this program (2012) . I have discussed it in many class forums and used it in some theoretical frame works.

Chapter VII, with title of *The Palace and the Imaginary Axis of Yogyakarta: The Structure and Its World View*, is a short analysis using structuralism to draw the Yogyakarta Palace building map and its symbolic values. This article was written

after our field trip on the subject of Social and Historical Study of Religions, offered by IRS in 2012.

This chapter, Chapter VIII, is rather different from the previous articles. With title of *Interpretation of Sacrifice on Abraham Story According to Indonesian Christian and Muslim Perspectives*, I describe how Indonesians now days debating a sensitive topic openly. For my task on Hermeneutics, a subject offered by IRS program in 2012, I explored their reasons why they are different from each others, and how they defend their faith. It is a picture how people behave with their religions.

Finally, here I let the readers conclude by yourselves how Indonesians do their wisdom in many different ways.

CHAPTER 2

Marginal Hinduisms in Indonesia

A. Introduction

Have you heard “marginal Hinduism”? I use this term to recognize religions that considered Hinduism but its existence is still in discourse such as Kaharingan Hinduism, Tengger Hinduism, and Baduy Hinduism. Are they real Hinduism? People have still argued its existence that they are real Hinduism or not. They may also confuse of their existence because the tradition consist of many sources. It may look like Hinduism, Islam, Hinduism, Christian or other. Because of the historical process, they may mix one to others.

Hinduism itself, even all big religions, spreads around the world. Due to the meetings with local religion practices, the development of each religion becomes very different. All of the regions become more specific than its origin. It may characterize more to the elements of the original religion, the others may characterize more to elements of local tradition. The question is when this religion is still considered as religion and when it is considered culture or indigenous religion.

Indonesia has the same problem because there are many indigenous religions, whereas officially Indonesia has assigned only six recognized religion: Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Konghucu. This problem is that

religion should develop on the political tricking or on natural development. Why are Kaharingan, Tengger and Baduy beliefs considered as Hinduism? What problems do arise with these existence? What should we do to overcome these problems? Here, I will discuss it and give other solution to the exits problems.

B. Hinduism as an Official Religion and the Problem of Indigenous Religions

According to Indonesian government regulation¹ at the section of clarification (Penjelasan Pasal Demi Pasal), it is stated that Indonesian religions are Islam, Kristen, Katolik, Hindu, Budha and Kong Chu (Confucius). Although the government acknowledge and allow other religions such as Yahudi (Jews), Zaratustrian (Zoroaster), Shinto and Taoism, the government does not allow any traditional or other beliefs that resemble to the established religions. This rule is emphasized with Undang-Undang Nomor 5 tahun 1969.

There are some reasons of the policy mentioned above. According to the rule, the government considers the possibility of the emergence of splinter sects that may to disrupt religious security. Therefore, the government prohibits the emergence of sects because these religious beliefs are considered tarnishing

¹ “Penetapan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 1/PNPS Tahun 1965, tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan dan/atau Penodaan Agama”.

religions that already exist. This policy becomes questionable because in this case the government does not appreciate the existence of traditional religions that existed long before the arrival of the other major religions. Then, the problem leads to the question of the definition of religion. The definition of religion in the scientist's point of view could greatly differ from the definition of religion made politically by the government.

The problem of officially recognizing is not only faced by the traditional beliefs. According to Reuter², in fact, Hinduism becoming the one of national religions is also the result of the struggle of the people of Bali for the government to acknowledge the existence of those who are mostly Hindus. Until 1962, the people of Bali have not been able to put their religion on identity cards. Then with a petition filed by a group of religious organizations in Bali, the petition is granted, and in 1962 Hinduism was accepted as the official religion. The Balinese Hindu religious organization is Parisada Hindu Dharma Bali which later changed to Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) in 1964. Changing the name Bali to Indonesia is intended to introduce Hindu nationally, and not only to the scope of Bali. It is also likely political goal.

² Thomas Reuter, July 14, 2009, "Kebangkitan Gerakan Agama Hindu di Jawa, Indonesia", <http://ceritahindu.blogspot.com/2009/07/kebangkitan-gerakan-agama-hindu-di-jawa.html>

As I mentioned that the problem now is the existence of traditional beliefs. Reuter states that Balinese's effort to establishing Hindu Bali as an official religion was imitated by groups of traditional beliefs. In the early 70's, Toraja people in Sulawesi took this opportunity to embrace the religion of their ancestors was much influenced by Hinduism, Karo Batak people of Sumatra in 1977 and Ngaju Dayak people of Kalimantan in 1980 also did the same thing. But, until now their religions is known as traditional beliefs, indigenous religion. People do everything as their beliefs teachings, but it is not considered as a religion. Finally, some people embraced Hinduism because Hinduism is considered better religion to accommodate the implementation of traditional religious rituals that they used to perform. It is known the terms Tengger Hinduism, Dayak Hinduism, Kaharingan Hinduism or others.

In this confusing existence, some people call them Hindus while others say no because their existence is quite different from the Balinese Hindu that had been recognized. Teddy Kholiluddin³ and Laurent⁴ states that he government defines religion as a system of belief which is based on the holy

³ Tedi Kholiludin, "Agama versi pemerintah". 2007, <http://indonesia.faithfreedom.org/forum/agama-versi-pemerintah-t21489/>

⁴ Laurent, Wed Jan 09, 2008 7:40, "Agama versi pemerintah", last modified Tuesday, 15 December 2007, <http://indonesia.faithfreedom.org/forum/agama-versi-pemerintah-t21489/>

book, clear teachings, and prophets. Briefly, the religion that was formulated in the 1960s by the Minister of Religious Affairs at the time, must contain elements of (i) have the scriptures, (ii) have prophets as bearers treatise, (iii) believe in God Almighty, (iv) have a religious order and worship for adherents. Based on these definition, traditional beliefs may not be considered as religion. Although, there is another argument that traditional belief, likely Kejawen, fulfill these requirements as Prof. Dr. John Titaley from Satya Wacana Christian University Salatiga mentioned in a certain interview with a local newspaper.⁵ He says that Javanese mysticism that had been adopted by many Javanese can be qualified as a religion. Kejawen believes something absolute, there is a code of conduct which he believed adherent to belief, there is a ritual ceremony, and there are believers and their communities. Simply, Kejawen and other local beliefs which has these requirements may constitute to religion.

But, it is still problematic that Konghucu which is legally as religion then had the limitation based on a new rule in the Soeharto era, based on the Instruction of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 14 year 1967 about Religious Beliefs and Chinese Customs. According to this rule,

⁵ Laurent » Wed Jan 09, 2008 7:43, "SOSOK: Syarat Agama," last modified Friday 16 November 2007, <http://www.wawasandigital.com/index.php ... &Itemid=62>

Confucianism that brings Chinese ritual and tradition should only be done internally and among family. This rule causes complex problem in public administration services. Everything that related to the presence of Confucianism is restricted or even prohibited. Although, legally this existence is not prohibited but the impact of this policy influences the public atmosphere such as on identity, marriage administration and others.

Further discriminatory appears increasingly that was emphasized in Circular (Surat Edaran) Ministry of Home Affairs Decree. 477/74054/BA01.2/4683/95 dated 18 November 1978 which essentially the government recognized five religions are Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Consequently, the adherents of Confucianism is not recognized and forced to convert to another religion. Fortunately, in the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid, Confucianism was again recognized as a religion with rule of Keputusan Presiden (Keppres) No. 6/ 2000, repeal the Instruksi Presiden (Inpres) No. 14/ 1967 tentang Agama, Kepercayaan dan Adat Istiadat Cina and re-enact the six religions which are held by the Indonesian government.

If, as a legal religion Confucianism does not have a proper place, the traditional beliefs existences are also still in confusing. The fate of indigenous religions in Indonesia are still hanging. They really exist but are not recognized by the state. The writer, Laurent, calls the indigenous religions as a “bastard

state" or "*anak haram negara*". She says that adherents of Sunda Wiwitan, Kaharingan, Parmalin, Javanese, Sedulur Sikep, and others are the illegitimate son of the country. It takes the domino effect in which the denial of civil rights, such as the inclusion of the ID card, birth certificate, marriage certificate and others. Many people argue about the fairness that without putting one's religion on identity cards will not be considered as citizens, whereas they are not followers of the six government-recognized religions.

But, Indonesian peripheral religions, traditional beliefs or indigenous religions, and their adherents still have a hope to UUD Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 article 28 (e) Verses 1 and 2 UUD NRI Tahun 1945 the result of amendment that emphasized in article 29 verse 1 and the UU No. 30 Tahun 1999 about Human Rights. Laurent states that the state, Indonesia, guarantees that everyone is free to embrace their own religion and to worship according to his religion or belief. The State guarantees freedom of every person to embrace their own religion and to worship according to their religion and belief and that "the protection, advancement, upholding and fulfillment of human rights is the responsibility of the state, especially the government". There is still an opportunity on changing political power and negotiation. That all of policy is related to who have the power, so the political process may come to the power which will give same position to the local religions.

C. Peripheral Hinduisms in its Confusing Existence

This term may be strange. As I mentioned, I use this term to acknowledge some traditional beliefs that are considered as a Hinduism but in a certain occasion they are different from the mainstream and some people really claim that there are not Hinduism. Peripheral means “at or relating to the edge of something, as opposed to its center, “minor or incidental in importance or relevance.”⁶ Mainstream here is also debatable that may Indonesian say that the mainstream of Hinduism is Bali Hinduism where many people will differentiate the existence with the original Hinduism from India. Peripheral Hinduism may consider to Tengger Hinduism, Kaharingan Hinduism, Baduy Hinduism or may be any other traditional beliefs.

There are many different understandings between observers: common people, the government, and scholars: they are Hinduism, they are not Hinduism but traditional belief or they are Hinduism plus traditional beliefs. These indigenous religions are still in confusing existence. Especially when they have to follow the government policy on religion that administratively all Indonesian have to put their religion identity only based on the official religions: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Konghucu. Some of traditional belief adherents do not feel as the adherent of the six

⁶ Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

religions. Below, I will show some discourses about their existence of these indigenous religions whether they are considered as Hinduism or not.

1. The existence of Tengger Hinduism

Tengger is an area in East Java that is well-known with their old tradition. Simanhadi⁷ explains the Tengger community and its traditional belief. Tengger is a community that live in the mountainous area around Bromo Mountain that lied in four regencies Probolinggo, Pasuruan, Malang and Lumajang East Java. Almost all of Tengger people are peasants. They live with their land. Eetymologically, Tengger means “stand up”, still without moving (Java). Meanwhile, when associated with the belief that life in society, Tengger is defined as “tengering budhi” (Java), that means “ signs or characteristics that give special properties to something”. In other words Tengger means “the properties of noble character ". And, the second meaning of Tengger is “mountain areas”, which is precisely the fact that the state of the Tengger people are on the slopes of Tengger and Semeru. The second meaning figure out their existence that they live around this area. According to the legend, Tengger is derived from the name of the first ancestor that inhabited the region, a married couple namely Roro Anteng and Joko Seger.

⁷ Simanhadi Widyaprakosa, “Mengenal Masyarakat Tengger (1)”, accessed December 2012, http://www.parisada.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=21&id=147&Itemid=121

At that time, they were having trouble of getting offspring, then they meditated for a long time. Eventually they were blessed with 25 of children with the promise of one of his children have to be sacrificed in the crater of Mount Bromo. This sacrifice is done in order to maintain the safety of his all brothers. Finally, the youngest child named Kusuma was sacrificed. Tengger then means calm and fresh, not a lot of behavior and not easily disturbed. It is a hope that they save from any disturbance.

Are they a part of Hinduism? To appreciate the Indonesian political definition of religion, Tengger people think about their existence as a part of Indonesian citizen. The nearest religion that they would convert are Hinduism or Buddhism. What I said above that Hinduism may a religion that most people can adjust their traditional belief although Tengger people also use any ritual that related to Buddhism tradition. Simanhadi says that Tengger religion is actually considered likely to Mahayana Buddhism because any *mantra* (prayer that is offered) starting with Hong, which is usually used by the Tengger as follows:

“Abdi dalem sangep sumpah pandamelan ingkang kapasrahaken, lan andadosaken apisir, nindakaken penimbangan ingkang kalayan leres, pendamelan-pendamelan ingkang katekakaken miturut dateng agami BUDA sarana lisan, inggih punika damel jawab ingkang leres, tampia bra utami boten, kenging dhateng sepinten kemawon”.

According to this passage, it is a proof that Tenggerese people prayer (*mantra*) contains a creed phrase that consciously whatever they do is carried out according to Buddhism. It may likely what it is called *syahadat* (creed as a Muslim) in Islam. According to the beliefs of Parisada East Java, Tengger belief is classified as Mahayana Buddhist by decree No.. 00/PHB Jatim/Kept/III/73, dated March 6, 1973. But, on the other hand, in terms of how to worship and faith is more a blend of Hinduism, Buddhism and traditional beliefs. Ceremonies also have tended to indicate the presence of one of the Hindu religious ceremony, Galungan. Judging from the way of worship and religious ceremonies, Tengger religion is less to show signs of the Buddhism tradition and teaching, except on any spell starting with Hong,

To keep the Tengger community unites, in 1973 some leaders held meetings in the village hall Ngadisari Probolinggo East Java. On that occasion they set themselves Hindus and specifically preserve Hong speech, as there is at the beginning of every traditional *mantra*, for starters greeting. They approved a special greeting “Hong ulun basuki langgeng” which means: "May God continue to give eternal salvation or eternal prosperity to us". Basically they worship the Almighty God, named Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa (as the God in Bali Hinduism), although before becoming organized religion, the Tengger people call God as Gusti, or Gusti Ingkang Maha Agung, The Lord the Supreme God.

2. Dayak Hinduism (Kaharingan Hinduism)

Dayak is the name of tribes in Central Kalimantan. They are divided into sub tribes. They are well-known with their indigenous religion called Kaharingan. Some people claim them as Hinduism.

Are they really Hinduism? Some people aware of the political construction of religion but practically they do their own indigenous religion. Some people agree to convert to Hinduism as an official religion in order to save their existence. But, other people do not agree to convert to Hinduism because they feel that they are not same. They propose to have a new official religion that adapt to their own tradition. Some following sources draw this condition.

Ngurah Nala⁸, from Universitas Hindu Indonesia, shows the holy scripture of Kaharingan Hinduism. Ngurah agree that Kaharingan is also Hinduism, same with Hinduism in Bali. He says that Hinduism is thousands of years old. Estimated to have been around since 5 thousand years ago. Religion was originally adopted by the Indian community along the river Sindu, and then his teachings spread to all corners of the world. As a religion, it has also the holy book called Vedic scriptures. Vedic scriptures are divided into two major groups, namely the

⁸ Ngurah Nala, "Panaturan Kitab Suci Hindu Kaharingan", accessed on December 10 2012, www.parisada.org/index.php?option...id.

Vedas, and Vedic Sruti Smerti. Sruti Vedas are divided into 3 groups, namely group Bible Mantra, Brahmana and Upanishads.

According to Ngurah, the content of Panaturan scripture, the holy book of Kaharingan, is not much different from the contents of the book or papyrus-style Hindu in Bali, or elsewhere. It consists of the implementation procedures of Basarah (worship), performs ceremonies and upakara Panca Yadnya. He gives example, in a human ceremony (manusa yadnya), Nahunan is born ceremony that consists of Paleteng (5 months pregnant), Nyaki Ehet (7 months pregnant), Mangkang Kahang Badak (9 months pregnant), and child naming ceremonies. There is also the marriage ceremony they call Lunuk Hakaja Pating. It is similar to other ceremonies in Dewa Yadnya, Reshi Yadnya, Pitra Yadnya, and Bhuta Yadnya. These all are written in the scriptures Panaturan. But, why then in Indonesia known the term of Hindu Bali, Hindu Tengger Hindu Batak, Kaharingan Hindu, Hindu Toraja, and others?

He argues that this appearance due to the implementation of teaching varies according to the area (village, *desa*), time (*kala*), and humans or the environment (*patra*). Similarly, in the term of God, every community will use their own language. For example Ran Hatalla ying (Kaharingan), or Hyang Widhi (Bali, Java) is the name for God. By using their own language, people feel nearer to the existence of God than using Vedic or Brahman language. It is just the name, but the substance is still the God.

Based on the above perspective, some lecturers at Sekolah Tinggi Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang Palangkaraya Central Kalimantan d a subject of Kaharingan people, Acara Agama Hindu Kaharingan that will be the guidance to educate Dayak students. The substance of the subject is derived from Panaturan scripture.

Although the effort of some lecturer at the Hinduism university mentioned above is looked no matter appears, but another observer still argues another ideas. Jacob⁹ says that many native tribes in Indonesia do not directly believe in one of these six religions, but, instead, believe in their native faiths. He gives example of the Borneo Tribe that practices Hindu Kaharingan. They are in an attempt to keep their cultural identity separate from other Indonesians that are succumbing to the government's religious requests. Although these people are Hindus according to the government, they are not familiar with any Hindu traditions or gods. Their tradition is different from Hinduism tradition that brought from Bali. They are branching out in order to form their own religion that retains ancient ancestral beliefs and traditions and really has nothing to do with actual Hinduism. Trying to build a new religion, especially in Indonesia, brings about serious consequences that make it extremely difficult to accomplish. He argues, that even

⁹ Jackson Jacobs, "Another New Type of Hinduism", modified Tuesday, October 4th, 2011, <https://blogs.emory.edu/rel100/tag/hindu-kaharingan>

Christians seem to be the group giving the Hindu Kaharingan the most likely resistance because they are intimidated by the idea of even more competition entering the religion game. It is very problematic.

Supporting the above confusing condition, another observer, Aubrey Belford¹⁰ says the same thing. Quoting Morgan Harrington, a doctoral candidate in anthropology from the University of Melbourne, who has lived in Tumbang Saan for several years, he emphasize the differences between Kaharingan and Indian Hinduism. “Let’s say you came to this village from India. You would see absolutely nothing that you would recognize as a symbol of Hinduism,” and “There are no swastikas. They do not know who Shiva and Vishnu are. None of the Hindu rites take place in this village.” There is not a symbol of Hinduism.

Some people want to practice their original faith. Aubrey states that they are re-branding, most of the people of Tumbang Saan are now followers of Hinduism, the dominant religion on the distant island of Bali. Only few people could name a Hindu god or even recognize concepts, like karma, that have taken on popular meanings. What exists in Tumbang Saan is a strange compromise, born of the Indonesian religious

¹⁰ Aubrey Belford, “Borneo Tribe Practices Its Own Kind of Hinduism”. Published: September 25, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/26/world/asia/borneo-tribe-practices-its-own-kind-of-hinduism.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

system, where government functionaries play a key role in allocating funding and guiding religious doctrine. As a Dayak people recognition, that becoming Hinduism is a tool to protect themselves. Quote Hartati, who is herself a member of a Dayak group, that if the rules hadn't existed back before 1980 when they integrated with Hinduism, and indigenous beliefs had received legal recognition as a religion, may the term of Hindu Kaharingan probably wouldn't exist. If there is not political action on religion, they may still as Kaharingan belief.

Some people become resistance to convert to Hinduism or even Christian. People say, "Our own people will say 'I'm not Hindu,' even though what they're doing is in line with the teachings of Hinduism". According to Budiana Setiawan¹¹ Dayak community's rejection to Hinduism are also caused by the imposition of the elements of Balinese culture to the Dayak culture. The coercive elements of Balinese culture includes understanding the pantheon system, form of worship, and form of offerings. They felt that their culture is colonized by the Balinese culture. In another case, Hindu Balinization is also happened in Gunung Kidul. When the Hinduism ritual held in Java, it will be strange when Balinese music sound in the ritual procession.¹² They want to return people to their original faith.

¹¹ Budiana Setiawan, "Hindu Kaharingan (2)", accessed 10 December 2012, [www.parisada.org /index.php?option...id](http://www.parisada.org/index.php?option...id).

¹² Ibed Surgana Yuga, "Menjadi Hindu Bali: Mengapa Hindu Jawa, Kaharingan, Tengger, Gunung Kidul harus di-Hindu-

Extremely, some Dayak people have been arguing for a push to create Kaharingan as a separate official religion and also has any civil rights as other religion adherents. They says “We should be free to practice our religion.”

3. Baduy Hinduism (Sunda Wiwitan)

Baduy is a name for a tribe or community who live in the main three villages: Cikeusik, Cikertawana, and Cibeo in Kanekes Leudamar Lebak West Java. They call themselves as Urang Kanekes but they are well-known as Baduy. Baduy community, in general, have a hereditary belief called Sunda Wiwitan which is a traditional belief of Sundanese people that have got influence of Hinduism. Most of Sundanese are Buddhist or Muslim.¹³

Sunda Wiwitan is Sunda Religion that believed by number of people scattered in the District Cigugur, Kuningan, West Java. Religion is also known as Cara Karuhun Urang (ancestor tradition), Sunda Wiwitan religion, doctrine or religion Madrais Cigugur. Abdul Rozak, a researcher of Sunda culture says that this religion is part of the Buhun religion, the traditional beliefs of Sundanese people that converted by many people around West Java area in Cigugur, Lebak, Ciparay Bandung.

Bali-kan?” accessed 5 December 2012, <http://ibedbilabali.blogspot.com/2008/08/menjadi-hindu-bali.html>

¹³ Anonym, accessed 23 December 2012,, “ Corak Kebudayaan Masyarakat Suku Baduy”, annehira.com.

Sunda Wiwitan is also well-known as Madrais belief. Madrais is the founder who established Islamic boarding house but then he integrated the Islamic teaching with the traditional belief of Sunda. In the teachings and rituals, Madrais set according to the calendar date of 22 Rayagung Sunda as Seren Taun feast which is celebrated on a large scale. Madrais also teaches respect for Dewi Sri through religious ceremonies rice cultivation. He also glorifies the Prophet's Birthday and all lowered into the earth¹⁴ Sunda Wiwitan is a syncretism religion between Islam and Hinduism, but most of Baduy people do not convert to Islam. They say the Creed with the ascetic nature preserve, and practice their belief in their life with nature.¹⁵

Although they exist with their traditional belief, they wonder whether the government has not identified them with Sunda Wiwitan in their identity card. They named themselves as Sunda Wiwitan adherents since 1972 to 2009. But, then they are not allowed to write it down in the identity card. Although, Madrais died in 1939, the leadership is continued by his son, Pangeran Tedjabuana, and later by his grandson, Pangeran

¹⁴ Anonym, "Sunda Wiwitan Tak Masuk KTP, Tokoh Baduy ke MK" <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2011/12/04/173369778/Sunda-Wiwitan-Tak-Masuk-KTP-Tokoh-Baduy-ke-MK>

¹⁵ Masykur Wahid, "Sunda Wiwitan Baduy: Agama Penjaga Alam Lindung di Desa Kanekes Banten", an article presented in Annual Conference on Islamic Studies, 1-4 November 2010.

Djatikusuma. At July 11 1981 the established the Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang (PACKU). The followers are now demanding that their religion, that has been embraced by generations, is officially recognized, in accordance with the mandate of Article 29 of 1945 Constitution (UUD NRI Tahun 1945).¹⁶

Beside these three traditional beliefs, Indonesia have many others. As we know, some religious tradition or indigenous religion in some parts of Indonesia., Batak tribe has Parmalin as a religious belief, Toraja has Aluk Todolo, and any other tribe religion. That all may not easy to politically unite to the six official religions. The result is administratively they will convert to one of the official religions although practically people still do their traditional way of life.

D. Open Discourses

Ironically, Laurent¹⁷ states, perhaps many people are no longer aware that before the official religions come into the archipelago, some indigenous religious beliefs have been already established, such as Buhun religion or Sunda Wiwitan

¹⁶ Anonym, "Orang.Baduy.Tuntut.Agamanya.Diakui", <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/10/07/01333829/>, accessed 23 December 2012.

¹⁷ Laurent, "Menanti Pengakuan Perkawinan Bagi Penganut Aliran Kepercayaan ", last modified Wed Jan 09, 2008 7:51, <http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0711/16/nasa.htm>

(West Java), Kejawen (Central Java and East Java), Parmalim religion (Batak), Kaharingan (Kalimantan), also Aluk Todolo in Toraja, and others. For the sense of official religion, that are now recognized by the state, indigenous religions that spread around the archipelago are considered to be the teachings of pagan, worship to rock or just as a cult or *aliran kepercayaan*. She argues that this assessments like this happen because of the limited definition of what a religion, and because the definition is made of people from the official religions.

I agree with Laurent analysis. The definition of religion in Indonesia is very political. Using Faucault term “power”, that the definition is based on the power of politician. Who do define the religion? Because the politician are mostly come from the six (official) religions, it must be true that the definition based on their perspective. The government may open wider definition of religion. In fact, Tedi Kholiludin¹⁸ states that as told by Emil Durkheim in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, the great religions of the world is rooted in the continuation of tribal or local religions. Thus, their existence, certainly cannot be denied or even eliminated through regulation. It can be understood that religion should flow naturally along the human history. He also quotes Cantwel Wilfred Smith ideas, that in religion itself there is a dynamic factor that can move the "cumulative tradition". The cumulative

¹⁸ Tedi Kholiludin, *ibid*.

tradition can be defined as an historical content of religious life in the past. He gives the most concrete example to illustrate the cumulative tradition are the buildings of worship, scriptures, theological systems, dance patterns, legal and other social institutions, conventions, moral codes, myths, and others. This cumulative tradition is something that can be transferred from one person or generation to another person or generation. It also can be observed by historians. He proposes that the government define the religion based on the social categories that are not partial and normative, but more holistic understanding because religion is a social institution.

Answering what Tedi Kholiluddin proposal and considering the power of politician on defining the religion, I suppose that it is better to give same opportunity to the adherent of indigenous religion to voice. Scholars may can be their representative of them so their interest can be transferred in proper way. Also on the writing of religion identity in identity card. Quote Saifullah Ma'shum, a FPKB politician, Laurent states that it is impossible that the religion column blank for those who are religious because Indonesia does not tolerate non religious people. As Saifullah says "While we adhere to divinity Almighty, in the constitution of our religion is mandatory for residents of Indonesia." According to this one of FPKB politician, the state needs to change the perspective about who has the authority to recognize a religion, whether state or private. Saifullah assess that recognition of the religion should

not be done by the state, but on the individual. Solving this case, the government still on discussing with some related departments.

I also propose to make further interreligious dialog between the adherents, as Dunbar argues. Using dialog as methods as Diana Eck or other scholar say to be outsider to observe other religion. The government should open wider discussion to know more about any exist religions established in Indonesia whether they are considered official or not official religion. Indonesian leader and other people should more rational to look the religion's existence. It will make them more tolerant and brings the religions live more naturally than on the political "reification".

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CHAPTER III

Indonesian Marine Rituals and Their Local Wisdom

Abstract

Local knowledge is well worth ideas from the local community, such as: philosophy of life, values, customs, norms, usually symbolized by myth and ritual. Emile Durkheim said that myth is the emotional response to social existence, generating a code of moral and historical reasoning systems. According to Cassirer, symbolic thinking and behavior are the diverse and changing manifestations. These can be seen in the existence of marine rituals that have religious, ethical, and social functions.

The marine rituals expressed the confidence in the existence of supra-sensuous power, gratitude, safety, and conservation efforts to preserve life. Nowadays, there are various forms of the ceremony and in its development emerge as economic and pragmatic orientations with a packed program of cultural rituals such as the scheduled attractions. The last goal obscures the purpose of the ritual itself.

Keyword: marine rituals, local wisdom, conservation

A. Introduction

Indonesia is rich in having distinctive local wisdom that means various ideas of local communities which are full of wisdom and good values embedded and followed by a group of people.¹⁹ Although very meaningful to the community, many of them are endangered to be extinct. Many rituals containing high symbolic values are implemented and developed into big

¹⁹ Sartini, 2009, *Mutiara Kearifan Lokal Nusantara*. (Yogyakarta: Kepel Press), hal. 9.

ceremonies like festivals with diverse excitements and people's market. Their scientific exploration is less considered. The author observes that marine sites have not even been object of study. This is different to similar cultures related to natural sacred sites of mountains. The rituals of buffering communities in mountain/land sites are much explored and examined as related to the Naga tribe society, Baduy, and some other buffering communities' rituals of natural sacred sites.²⁰ Not only nationally, UNESCO also has special agenda in studying the role of culture in environmental conservation. In China, the activity is attended by conservation observers who initiate the idea of natural sacred sites of the world.²¹ The same concern on marine natural sacred sites has not been found. As a maritime country, Indonesia has a range of cultures associated with the existence of the sea as a place of life and livelihood of the fishermen.

As a cultural form, as inferred from Daeng,²² fishermen's life also consists of customs, norms, manners, ethics, philosophy of life and personal ideology that will become their way of life, determining the behavioral system and artifacts produced. Its presence serves as a human endeavor to answer the

²⁰ Herwasono Soedjito, dkk., *Situs Keramat Alami: Peran Budaya dalam Konservasi Keanekaragaman Hayati*. (Jakarta:Yayasan Obor, 2009).

²¹ Proceeding UNESCO, 2003, "International Workshop on The Importance of Sacred Natural Sites for Biodiversity Concervation," Kunming and Xishuangbanna Biosphere Reserve, RRC.

²² Hans J. Daeng, *Manusia, Kebudayaan dan Lingkungan*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), hal. 45.

challenges they face. This challenge can be derived from natural or social environment. According to Andri Adri Arief,²³ for example, cultural marine values produce work ethic of marine fishing communities in Kambuno Island and quite influential on the new social formation. The philosophical context of these social values in the society is always understandable, and implemented so that its existence is maintained to be behavior guidance. This is in line with the opinion of Joko Pramono²⁴ in his book *Budaya Bahari* who said that one of the sea strengths is the culture of coastal communities. Thus, the culture of coastal communities is one of important factors for the existence of the sea. Instead, living together with the sea influences on the culture type and the character strength of the fishing communities.

There are many varieties of cultural patterns of coastal communities found which are related to the existence of the sea and its function. This illustrates how large the value and function of the sea for them. This study aims to present the richness of marine rituals in Indonesia as a cultural and intellectual property of the nation by looking at the symbolic values presented as local wisdom of indigenous communities and as conservation efforts.

²³ Andi Adri Arief, *“Artikulasi Modernisasi dan Dinamika Formasi Sosial Nelayan Kepulauan di Sulawesi Selatan (Studi Kasus Pulau Kampuno Kabupaten Sinjau)”*. (Makasar: Research Report to Faculty of Marine and Fishing Sciences, Hasanuddin University, n.d).

²⁴ Joko Pramono, *Budaya Bahari*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2005), e-book retrieved from <http://budaya.bahari05.tripod.com>, **accessed 27 April 2012**.

B. Various Rituals and Marine Conservation Efforts in Indonesia

1. *Sangal* Custom (*Adat Sangal*) and Conservation Effort in Bajo Community, Southeast Sulawesi

According to Uniawati,²⁵ Bajo community in Southeast Sulawesi is a unique community. There are some interpretations about the history of its origin, such as they originated from Johor Malaysia or the Middle East. In the matter of the sea, the Bajo is an expert. They live in the ocean or in the boat so they are sometimes regarded as a foreign community, isolated and considered unique by the mainland people, although now there is interaction with the mainland people. They are a community that ruled the sea and spread almost all over Indonesia. In some places, the harbors in which they transit called Labuan Bajo are found. They put the sea on top of everything, trusting god of the sea that is essentially good. However, sometimes these deities could be angry so that praises are created to relieve the anger and in order to keep them (The Bajonese) away from the obstacles when going to sea.

Bajo tribe has many traditional rituals. One of the famous rituals is Sangal ceremony conducted during the fish and other marine species lean seasons. At that time, they will release

²⁵ Uniawati, "*Mantra Melaut Suku Bajo: Interpretasi Semiotik Riffaterre*," Thesis, Literature Science, Master Program, (Semarang: Diponegoro University, 2007), pp. 25-30.

the species whose population is declining. For example, they will release turtles when the turtle population is decreasing and they will release the tuna as tuna reduced. This ritual is often performed prior to harvest as an attempt at starting reinforcements.²⁶ Sangal ceremony, as conservation effort is very valuable to maintain balance and preserve the marine resources, especially fish. According to the Bajo people's understanding, even though they earn from the sea, it does not mean they have to deplete the existing marine wealth. They always choose or take a fish whose age is mature or adult and let the fish are still young. They also do not take certain types of fish that are entering the cycle of mating and nesting seasons. It is an attempt to keep the balance of the population and species regeneration. They not only take the sea products, but instead keeping marine life.

Continuing the quote from Mohamad Final Daeng, Bajo people also enter into agreement or rather a movement called Tuba Dikaturuang which means "coral loved". The concept of marine conservation aims to preserve coral reef ecosystem after it was realized that the practice of overfishing has damaged the coral reefs in which fish breeding. The effort to preserve the environment is done by banning fishing in certain marine areas and fostering public awareness with social sanctions. The areas

²⁶ Mohamad Final Daeng and A. Ponco Anggoro, "*Laut dan Karang Bak Saudara, 'Dikaturuang'*", retrieved from <http://tanahair.kompas.com>. 10 April 2012.

which are rich of coral reef even serve as the fish bank and are forbidden to catch fish there. Those people's efforts gained Equator Prize awarded by the United Nations in 2010. Engrafting people's understanding about the philosophy of "The sea is their brother" supported by the role of manager of the Wakatobi National Park and WWF Indonesia, marine conservation is maintained. The following are some provisions in the Bajo tradition which have conservation value as quoted from the writing of Mohamad Final Daeng, namely:

- a. Duata Sangal is a ritual taking some kind of small endangered fish and releasing them into the sea. The released fish is expected to invite other fish so they will come together and live together.
- b. Parika is providing space for the fish to spawn and breed and limit fishing on certain provisions of the agreed time by custom leaders and community leaders in the community.
- c. Pamali means the prohibited areas, that fishing prohibited areas or districts designated by the Bajo Custom Chief. This condition is usually accompanied by sanctions for offenders.
- d. Maduai Pinah, is a ritual performed at the time the fishermen go down to the sea at a location prohibited area (pamali).

2. Mappadensasi in Mandar Ethnic, Southeast Sulawesi

According to Muhamad Alkausar,²⁷ Mappadensasi is a cultural ritual of Mandar ethnic performed before or after going to sea. The ritual is performed by feeding the sea guard (*settasasi*). It is their belief in the mythical ruler of the sea. Although some people understand this activity as a form of cultural attraction alone, others understand the purpose of this ritual is to ask the guard marine safety and to get a lot of fish. They still believe if the ritual is not performed then the opposite is happening. To implement the ritual, the people rely on shaman (*srodro*), a person who becomes a part of their community. The shaman is considered to relate to the spirits of the ancestors that can help protect the Mandar people.

The offerings in the ritual consist of a variety of herbs, rice, eggs, Gambier, incense, goat (*beke*), and chicken (*mannu*). In the earlier times, cows were also used. Some of the animals are used as the offerings to the sea guard (*setassasi*). This activity also has a social function to integrate cooperation and strengthen solidarity.

²⁷ Muhamad Alkausar, "*Keterancaman Ritual Mappadensasi dalam Masyarakat Etnik Mandar Kelurahan Bungkutoko Sulawesi Tenggara*," Thesis in Cultural Studies, Graduate Program (Denpasar: Udayana University, 2011), pp. 9-29.

3. Buang Jong/Jung in Sawang Tribe, Bangka Belitung

Sawang tribe, often called as Manih Bajau (descendants of pirates), refers to as a native of Bangka Belitung.²⁸ They still live in a South Bangka, Belitung, East Belitung. This tribe is considered very unique because prefer staying in the sea or on the edges of the shore and before they preferred to stay in the boat. They also have special customs associated with their presence and life together with the sea.

As written by Dea Anugrah, Buang Jong is usually done before the summer monsoon, when the waves of the sea rose and raged. Anticipating this situation, Sawang tribe holds traditional ritual intended as conductor of the offerings for the god of the sea, and begging the safety and abundance of fish. As a tribute to the ruler of the sea, the tribe makes jong or small boat measuring about one square meter. Jong which is already filled with a wide assortment of offerings will be ready to be released into the sea.

4. Sea Alms (*Sedekah Laut*)

The term of Sea Alms is found in many coastal areas in Java such as Pekalongan, Pacitan, Bantul, Cilacap, Tegal, Juwana and Rembang. The usual way is to float buffalo heads and other crops to sea. Although the name is the same, there is a

²⁸ Dea Anugrah, “*Nilai-nilai Kearifan Lokal pada Tradisi Buang Jong*,” discussion paper in Local Wisdom subject Faculty of Philosophy UGM. (Yogyakarta: UGM, 2011).

distinctive feature in the implementation of the various regions. This paper will describe Sea Alms in Pekalongan and Juwana as the examples.

a. Sea Alms in Pekalongan

According to Sri Widati,²⁹ Sea Alms or Nyadran is a form of cultural offerings floating conducted by the community on 1st Suro (Muharam). The performers in general are the fishermen and boat owners. The Sea Alms is done in the old fish auction. The type and shape of ritual requirements had already been determined. In the midst of the sea, the offerings (ubo rampe) will be discarded (floated) with the hope of salvation and plenty of fish catching for the fishermen as well as proof of gratitude for the abundant good fortune. There is a change in the ritual such as not all the foods are floated but there are also prepared foods to be eaten together as a form of alms (sodaqoh-Arabic). The thanksgiving ceremony on the night before the ritual was filled by sermons. A leather puppet show still remains to be implemented with Badeg Basu story which tells the origins of animals in nature, including fish.

Undergraduate research of Sigit Wahyudi³⁰ revealed more detail about offerings ritual (or rather called cultural activity) whose contents are: a buffalo (*kebo sagluntung*), a 3-

²⁹ Sri Widati, "Tradisi Sedekah Laut di Wonokerto Kapupaten Pekalongan: Kajian Perubahan Bentuk dan Fungsi," in *Jurnal PP* Vol. 1 o. 2, December 2011, Thesis, Graduate School of UNNES, Semarang.

³⁰ Sarjana Sigit Wahyudi, " 'Sedekah Laut' Tradition for in the Fishermen Community in Pekalongan Central Java," in *Jurnal of Coastal Development*, Vol. 14 Number 3 June 2011, pp. 262-270.

meter calico, cone, red and white porridge, flowers, market snack (juadah pasar), fruits and other crops, rice, sugar cane, banana and its tree, bitter sweet coffee and tea, water, tobacco, various art performances (wayang and gamelan), three kinds of fish with the container, a replica of the house, money and fake money, a pair of men's women's clothes, a set of ornate fixtures woman, ivory coconut, ivory bamboo. All items are floated after being prayed. Somewhat different from the first source is the puppet story of Badeg Basu tells the story of Dewi Sri, the goddess of prosperity or wealth. According to this source, all of the offerings describe some symbolic value, the security symbol, a symbol of joy, badge of honor, a symbol of sincerity and the boat symbol (it is possibly as a symbolization of fishermen's life).

b. Sea Alms in Juwana, Pati

Sea alms in Juwana Pati, is usually held one week after Idul Fitri, by floating an offering and its numerous attractions such as shadow puppet show and entertainment. According to an informant, dedicated offerings are among others a buffalo head and assorted *ubo rampe* (offerings). All sorts of *ubo rampe* are floated into the sea by a group of participants, namely the fishermen, boat owners, and the people. Based on Slamet Subekti and Sri Indrahti³¹ research, this ceremony is a representation of

³¹ Slamet Subekti and Sri Indrahti, "*Upacara Tradisi Sedekah Laut sebagai Media Membangun Solidaritas Sosial: Kasus pada Nelayan Desa Bajomulyo*"

local culture with the actual function as a vehicle to build solidarity, character building and to support national culture. Sea alms is intended as a hope of fishing communities to get safety and ease of fortune.

5. Sea Banquets (*Jamuan Laut*) in Malay Serdang Community, North Sumatera

According to Melayuonline site,³² Sea Banquet ritual is a legacy of the past since the pre-Islamic era, and under the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. This ritual is still carried out by adjusting the teachings of Islam. Nonetheless, this ceremony is considered sacred and magical nuanced. Sea banquet ceremony belongs to starting reinforcements by giving offerings to the ruler of the sea, known as Jimbalang or Mambang Laut. In Armen Sofiyan Harahap's research,³³ quoting from Hamid, said that the origin of this ceremony was together with the Indonesian nation ancestors coming from behind Asia, Indo-Chinese who came hundreds of years ago. The ceremony is performed at least three times a year, especially when fish lean season or when there is a lot of marine accidents.

Juwana Kabupaten Pati", Research Report in Center for Socio-Cultural Studies, (Semarang: Diponegoro University, 2006).

³² Iswara N. Raditya, "*Jamuan Laut: Upacara Tolak Bala Adat Melayu Serdang, Sumatera Utara*," retrieved from [Http://melayuonline.com/ind/culture/dig/2679/jamuan-laut-upacara-tolak-bala-adat-melayu-serdang-sumatera-utara](http://melayuonline.com/ind/culture/dig/2679/jamuan-laut-upacara-tolak-bala-adat-melayu-serdang-sumatera-utara), accessed 30 April 2012.

³³ Armen Sofiyan Harahap, "*Peranan Pawang dalam Upacara Ritual Masyarakat Melayu*," Graduating Paper in Literature in Faculty of Letters. (Medan: University of Sumatera Utara, 2010).

The handler is very vital role in this ceremony. The best known ceremony is held at Cermin Coast, North Sumatra, although there is also one in Langkat as investigated by Dicky Fernando, in 2003 entitled " Ritual Ceremony and Meaning of Sea Banquet of Malay Jaring Halus Community, Langkat District".

According to Armen, the handler is believed to protect fishermen in catching fish, and keep the area from outbreaks of disease. The community believes in the sea 8 genies live ruling every corner of the winds. They are: *Mayang Mangurai, Laksmah, Mambang Tali Arus, Mambang Daruji, Katimanah, Panglima Merah, Datuk Panglima Hitam, and Babu Rahman*. Quoting Tuanku Sinar Basyarshah and Syaifuddin in East Sumatra Culture book (2002), explained that the sea handler has magical powers, able to master the spirits and demons that live in the sea. The skill to become a handler is hereditary, up to now. They are generally elderly, knowing village history and the place that will be used for ceremony, as well as understand the prophets to protect fishermen. The handler is also responsible for the continuity of tradition.

The equipment and the symbolic meaning of this Sea Banquet ritual in is as quoted from Umar Mono³⁴ as follows:

- a. Food offerings. Types of food offered include: cucur (bowsprit cake), melaka fruit, sweet lepat, unleavened

³⁴ Umar Mono, "*Makna Simbolik Benda-benda dalam Jamuan Laut*," paper in National Cultural Seminar Etnik III Edition 12, Faculty of Cultural Science, University of Sumatera Utara , 1 May 2009.

cakes, rubiah cakes and hard cakes placed in a tray. These cakes symbolize the ethnic diversity there. All kinds of cakes are made from the same ingredient that represents all the tribes are basically derived from a substance. In particular, the bowsprit cake symbolizes the Keling tribe, melaka fruit symbolizes Chinese ethnic from Malacca, sweet lepat represents Mandailings Batak tribe, and rubiah cake symbolizes Arab tribe.

- b. White rice and yellow rice. White rice symbolizes a sense of sincerity and seriousness in the community, strengthening the prevailing customs and as a link between human and other-than-human creatures in the sea. White rice symbolizes the human basic needs and yellow symbolizes honor of the ruler of the sea creatures. White and yellow rice are made in a dish that symbolizes the unity in diversity of the community and hope to the other-than-human creatures that fishermen get prosperity and peace in earning a living at sea.
- c. Bertih is roasted rice, roasted or fried without using oil. The rice is roasted until separated between lapung (skin) with paddy rice which is fluffy and white. Bertih also symbolizes sincerity and earnestness in society, and a tribute to the guardian spirits of the sea.
- d. Nine mangrove trees symbolize antidote to spirits disorders at sea so as not to damage the mangrove trees (forest) which becomes place for living source and hope

that communities are always maintaining forest sustainability.

- e. Kaffir lime, which is a kind of limes (citrus) is fragrant and often used to wash hair and the water is always used as a fragrance in a traditional event. The kaffir lime symbolizes a custom that has manliness, cleanser for anyone, especially the custom implementer and guardian spirits of the sea.
- f. Slaughtered male black goat. The head and blood are taken as ritual complements, while the meat is cooked and eaten with a meal. The head and blood symbolize rigidity, inter-community union, between the community and the community with nature and community compliance to ancestral wisdom.
- g. Two white chicken are slaughtered and their blood is taken further as the ceremonial offering. White chicken symbolize the appreciation to supreme commander of the sea creatures that fishermen avoid the dangers of sea.
- h. Metal, cups and white clothes, packed into one as the ceremonial offerings equipment. These symbolize the unity and togetherness of clean and honest soul of each member of the community and other-than-human creatures in the sea.
- i. The handler dressed in white, white pants, white headband symbolizes cleanliness not only in physical but also soul and his role model in the community.

- j. Blood, bone and water. Blood and bones symbolize diversity, the nature of God's creatures. Water represents the primary need and life.
- k. Pictures of diverse fish, symbolizes the diversity of marine biota that becomes a hope of community living. Community hopes their catch is adequate.
- l. Incense. The incense burnt by the handler in the beginning of the ceremony symbolizes communication between the handler and other-than-human creatures in the hope that spirits do not bother people when going to sea.

According to Melayuonline.com site, the ceremony is performed with the traditional offerings floating some activities have been modified such as the presence of the Qur'an and adzan, as evidence of the influence of Islam.

6. *Simah Laut* in Sampit, Central Kalimantan

This tradition seems to have not been much studied. According to the tourist information of Central Kalimantan Regional Government,³⁵ explained that usually *Simah Laut* is implemented in Pandaran Coast, Sampit in Central Kalimantan. *Simah Laut* is a hereditary ritual, a starting reinforcement ceremony which is carried out before the fishermen set sail to

³⁵ Tourism Modul (24) Kalimantan Tengah, in uip.ucos.com/modul/kepariwisataan/24. Kalteng.pdf.

sea. The ceremony is usually held 10 days after Idul Fitri. Before the ceremony, the people usually do beach cleanup. The ritual in form of floating an offering to the sea is believed to bring good fortune and abundance of catch for fishermen. Not many adequate studies were found about Simah Laut.

According to other site about Malay tourism,³⁶ traditional ritual of Simah Laut begins with prayer led by religious figure followed by floating or drowning a boat miniature measures approximately 1.5 meters x 0.6 meters into the sea. This boat miniature is made of wood. Its contents are a variety of traditional pastries such as bowsprit cake, apem, wajik, red porridge, white porridge, and egg. Buffalo head is also one element of the offering. The offerings are made in four places and floated at four locations because people believe the natural rulers are in the four corners of the wind direction; west, east, north and south. Hopefully, after offerings floated, the ruler of the sea immediately bestows sustenance and eliminates hazards of ocean waves. In the development, the implementation of this ritual is adapted to religious teachings developed there.

C. Symbolic Meaning of Marine Rituals as Local Wisdom and Their Conservation Aspect

³⁶ Raf, "*Nelayan Sampit Gelar Ritual Laut*", retrieved from <http://www.wisata.melayu.com/id/news/10219-Nelayan-Sampit-Gelar-Ritual-Laut?> accessed 30 April 2012

According to Cassirer,³⁷ symbolic thought and behavior are typical of humans. Human symbolic characteristic is diversity and dynamic, including religious symbols such as rituals. It is very visible in the marine rituals described above. Essentially, the rituals are carried out in the framework of gratitude for the abundance of good fortune; hope the fish harvest is abundant, safety at work and the blessings of fortune. The intended subject and the cause to perform the ritual is called God the Creator, the Supreme Ruler or fear of the other supernatural entities symbolized by Mambang Laut, sea guards, spirits, or other. The rituals are varied depending on the symbolic interpretation and understanding of the people. The offerings should have head buffalo, cow head, goat head, chicken with a certain color, a certain type of food, certain goods, with particular procession as the proof that the symbolic manifestation of the same relative message could appear in the forms of different activities. The intellectual and ethical values that are represented rely on the understanding of cultural buffering community. Their current development is tailored by the level of knowledge and culture that develop in the community. As a cultural form, this ritual is done in order to deal with nature and the environment, and adjusted to the level of knowledge and prevailing development in society. It is what

³⁷ Ernst Cassirer, *Manusia dan Kebudayaananya: Sebuah Esai tentang Manusia*, diterjemahkan oleh: Alois A. Nugroho, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1990), hal. 41, 55, 111.

is called as local wisdom; distinctive knowledge and wisdom which are interpreted by particular community.

Local knowledge of a community is strongly connected to the myth. Unlike the understanding of myth by other thinkers who describe myth as stories about the origin, Emile Durkheim said that myth emerged as an emotional response to social existence, which also produces a code of moral and historical reasoning system. Myth comes from two things which then maintain and renew the moral system, so as not to be forgotten and keep people socially binding.³⁸ It is very clear on the meaning of a ritual by the people. Constructed myths are associated with emotions, historical experience, and manifest themselves in a distinctive ethical behavior. The people will be bound by the symbolic preconditions built upon the myth. This is what happened in the marine ritual buffering communities described above. They build certain myths; have certain emotional experiences, all of which are rooted in the understanding of the origin, which in turn lead to a particular ethical stance.

In the context of conservation, what people do in various forms of marine rituals are efforts to protect the marine environment and marine life that live together with them. Symbolic efforts of ritual and various offerings, even now developed into the festival, are form of cultural conservation

³⁸ Marcel Danesi, *Pesan, Tanda dan Makna*. (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2012), hal.172.

which implicitly relates to the awareness of the existence of the sea for fishing communities. Marine existence is understood to still give adequate living so that its existence should be grateful for.

D. Closure

Marine rituals in some places relatively aim the same, but are differently implemented. Some people perform them at Suro month or Muharram and others implement them after Idul Fitri. In general, it can be concluded that the implementation of marine rituals is still very much influenced by the beliefs to spirits, genie, supernatural powers, the ruler of the sea, Mambang Laut, sea ghost, or whatever kind. This ceremony is an expression of gratitude concerning on the result of fishing and fishermen's welfare. These rituals develop and are internalized in accordance with the local wisdom of the community. The ritual execution containing implicit environmental conservation and cultural elements is the consciousness of the relationship between human and the environment.

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CHAPTER IV

Wonosadi Forest:

Between Myth and Echological Wisdom

Abstract

Ecological perspective is a significant issue nowadays because there are many kind of disasters around us stimulated by ecological disturbance. Actually, we have traditional knowledge and wisdom to sustain the nature and protect it. This point of view is usually melt in mythological scene and traditional ritual. This is also showed in the society around Wonosadi forest. Here, I want to describe the society profile around Wonosadi forest, explain the society view of the Wonosadi forest existence, explore the ecological wisdom, formulate the concept of relationship between man, God and the universe, to reflect the future, and to show this way of life as an organized-holistic concept.

The society around Wonosadi forest, almost of them are farmers, some of them educated, with advanced social organization. Most of them are Moslem; some of them are Hindus, with mythological beliefs. The biggest of the mythological belief is connected with Wonosadi forest existence. This belief supports an ecological wisdom in function and forest sustainability. This wisdom is implied by the society point of view of the relation between man, God and the universe. Man should thank to God by praying and serve a good conduct to the universe. There are all one of the global system that connecting each other. This point of view must be a combination between spiritualistic and rationalistic understanding. This thought shows an organized-holistic point of view.

Key words: system-organized-holistic-rational-spiritual

A. Introduction

Natural events today show tremendous symptoms that cause various experts attention. Experts of earth science, engineering, ecology, and culture take apart. Today's climate change is allegedly caused by man's own works beside naturally as a result of the increasing number of people who ride to live on this earth. More human life needs more space. The need for water, air, and other sources of life must be shared among them. Increasing the quality of human life has created more needs and sources.

Aggressiveness for covering the human needs leads to voracious human behavior in managing the nature. For example, fulfilling the luxuries of human needs is carried out without considering the balance of nature. Life needs will be covered by natural resources; commercialization. Uncontrolled cutting down forests, occupying the buffer zone forest, watershed occupies are the examples of human greed. Furthermore, human beings meet floods, landslides, and other disasters.

Based on the understanding above, it is urgent for all parties that work in the field of scholarly study to play a role in thinking about solving the problems. One of the duties of philosophers, among others, is to explore and learn the wisdom of local communities and explain their worldview. It is also significant to understand the philosophy that emerges from

culture. It is known that the archipelago is rich in understanding, knowledge, and views of the people who actually live viscosly nuanced by concern for the balance of nature. Many ecological wisdom that can be extracted from traditional society. This ecological wisdom has continuously been manifested as a culture to live in balance with nature. If people can elaborate on and practice this concept, the natural environment will be friendly and provide a prosperous life.

The views mentioned above can be seen in traditional societies. *Anak Dalam* tribe in Jambi, Baduy, Dayak, premier communities in Java, Bali, Papua, and others (Sartini, 2009; Agung Wibowo, 2006; Blajan, 2006; Iing Moh Ichsan, 1999; Kumpiady, tt; Sumarsih, 1998; Pujaastawa, 2007). Most of these traditional communities have a concept of the good life with nature. Related to this research study area object, discovered early that this understanding is also found in communities in Wonosadi forest in Ngawen, Gunung Kidul. The latter view is interesting to study because the Javanese community in general has to be said as an advanced society, but in reality they still maintain a balanced way of living with nature. Meanwhile, the view of ecological wisdom is usually closely related to the mythic rituals.

This paper will describe the community profile as custom bearers in Wonosadi, explain people's views on the existence and meaning of Wonosadi forest as their views on ecological wisdom, formulate the basic concepts underlying this

view, explain aspects of possible changes in the future outlook, and describe the concept as an organized-holistic view. This view is understood by some theoretical explanations (Afthonul Afif, 2009; Capra, 2004 Nurma Ridwan Ali, 2009; Plamondon, 1979).

B. The Profile of Forest and Custom-bearing Community of Wonosadi Forest

Custom-bearing community of Wonosadi forest mainly is villagers of Duren and Sidorejo Hamlets included in Beji Village, Ngawen Subdistrict, Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta Special Province. Beji Village consists of 14 hamlets, in addition to the two already mentioned previously, namely: Tungkluk, Serut, Ngelo Kidul, Ngelo Lor, Beji, Grojogan, Banaran, Bejono, Bendo, Tegalrejo, Daguran Lor and Daguran Kidul. Those hamlets scattered among the hills and the land in between huge rocky.

Wonosadi forest area consists of approximately 25 ha of core forest. This land is state land under status of Oro-Oro Land. Forest area is even being proposed to be Customary Forest. The proposal is made to the Ministry of Forestry by the Government of Gunung Kidul Regency. The core forest area is supported by buffer forest area which is a community forest area of approximately 25 hectares (other sources say the buffer forest area is 28.7 hectares) consisting of 15 hectares located in Duren

hamlet and 10 acres located in Sidorejo hamlet. This buffer forest is right land so that the public has the right to farm and manage it though still in coordination with forest managers because its presence strongly supports the core forest. The rest is a community-managed forest production in the form of the land area of 725.88 hectares.

Wonosadi core forest is a hereditary legacy, means that this forest existed since immemorial time. Hence, history had shown that deforestation had occurred when the political upheaval in the past. Incidentally in the period around the year 1960-1965 there was famine. Farmers did not get income because they failed miserably due to continuous rat attack. In addition PKI propaganda organization which accidentally the members were village apparatus at the time allegedly contributed to Wonosadi forest destruction. At that time people were allowed to cut down the forest as part of the concept of joint ownership and under the pretext of an effort to help the people. The logging and deforestation occurred. The people would instantly destroy protected forests and seemed protected by their leaders. The only remains are only Ngenuman Valley which becomes the center of Wonosadi forest. From the lush forests in the past, only five logs remain.

Of events that occur as mentioned above, the consequences are easily predictable. Until those early years, Wonosadi forest still contributed to the prosperity of the people. Abundant water provides prosperity for the farmers living in the

vicinity. Rice harvest can be done three times a year and household water needs are very well provided. After deforestation occurred, the result can be expected. If there was rain, the gravel flood and erosion occurred. Water sources were gone and people suffered from water shortage. Many rice fields were destroyed heaped by gravel. In the dry season, farmers were no longer able to do farming. As political situation changed, in the New Order, the government began to run normally. Forestation activities were encouraged. Elected village officials and the new policy started. The village head made a deal with residents to restore the forest. Furthermore, a group of citizens was formed for forest restoration, named *Ngudi Lestari*. The main objective of this activity is to reforest Wonosadi forest that has been damaged. Society also approved an agreement not to destroy and to revoke timber plants that grow naturally. Not only planting, but the community also works together to secure the forest.

Beji people in general are quite advanced. Most community members are government officials, village and many are educated. On average the least youth are educated from high school level and a small portion of them continue in college. Social activities are well advanced seeing from organized social activities. It can be seen from how people perform various activities that are members of the organization of RT, RW, *Karang Taruna*, recitation, *yasinan*, gathering, group sports

activities, PKK, *dasawisma*, farmer groups, arts groups, and others.

Beji people in general are a pluralistic society with a majority Muslim society, but there are also Christians and Catholics, Hindus as well. In fact, in one hamlet, Bendo, there is a temple which is a worship place of Hindu religion and Hindus number represents the number of majority. This hamlet is a Hindu religious learning center in Yogyakarta. Hindu religion that developed in Bendo hamlet is identified as Javanese Hindu, namely Hindu which is acculturated with Javanese culture and it is related to the history of community that can be a continuation of the Hindu Majapahit society.

Although Beji society is a pluralistic society in general but they live in harmony and have mutual respect. If there is a conflict, they resolve amicably by consultation. This is proven by the absence of turbulence and significant disagreement among members of different faith communities. Residents can work together to help each other in all the difficulties as well as other events which are societal need to involve all residents. Not only the residents who still live in the village, residents who live outside the area also support the collection of funds for village development and in order to support the activities in the village.

People still recognize traditional rituals such as traditional ceremonies of births, marriages, and deaths. In addition, they inherit *Labuh* ceremony which means a ceremony to start planting rice, until the harvest ritual called *Mboyong*

Dewi Sri (bringing *Dewi Sri* - Goddess of Rice from the fields to the house). Another ceremony of harvest feast that is still held up to now is called *Bersih Dusun* (Cleaning Hamlet) or *Sedekah Bumi* (Earth Banquet) or *Rasulan*. The most well-known ritual and is associated with the existence of Wonosadi forest is *Sadranan Wonosadi*. *Sadranan Wonosadi* is widely attended. As the organizers of the event, especially the villagers of Duren and Sidorejo, but the entire village of Beji also participate in the event. Not only Beji people, many residents outside area also participate in *nyadran*. Usually their participation is due to the belief that their wish has been fulfilled. Wonosadi Forest is also known to bring fortune so that there are some people who believe in prayer and wishes can be fulfilled through the 'ruler' of Wonosadi. *Sadranan Wonosadi* also becomes the opening for other smaller village rituals. In those activities, *Rinding Gumbeng* performing art is also played.

C. History of the Community and Sadranan Ritual

Spoken by the resource persons, the origin of the villagers is derived from the war between Demak Kingdom under the rule of Raden Patah and the Majapahit Empire under the reign of King Brawijaya V in the year 1478 AD. Majapahit was lost in the war, so that the king, his family and loyal soldiers fled to the south coast and eventually spread in the area of *Gunung Seribu* that is now known as *Gunung Kidul*. In times of

escapement, King Brawijaya ordered his followers to form groups and find a suitable place to live. The source did not mention how the fate and where King Brawijaya escaped after that.

One of the refugees was a concubine of King Brawijaya V, Rara Resmi (sometimes people called her as Rara Semi) and two of her sons, Onggoloco and Gadhingmas.³⁹ Both of them were former formidable *Senopati* (commander of war). This group continued to the west following the instructions of unseen. Finally, they got in the hills that are sloping to the south. Its peak was not only covered by covert forest but also trusted as the residence of many spirits. In the middle of the forest there was a flowing water source. Nevertheless, the royal group insisted on choosing the region become a place of settlement even they have to fight face the forest ghost. However, the *Majapahit Senopati* succeeded conquering the King of Genie who is known as *Gadhung Melati*. Moreover, the forest dwellers would help the people who occupy their territory, if the *Senopati* allowed the King of Genie and his followers live at the center of the spring in the forest. The request was granted by certain conditions, that *Gadhung Melati* and his followers must not

³⁹ Most community members understand these two sons of Majapahit Onggo and Loco. And others understand that Onggoloco is also Gadhingmas. This happens because the associated legend of Wonosadi forest and Mount Gambar is oral tradition so that less can be verified. Regeneration in the development of society also causes differences in knowledge, understanding and interpretations.

interfere with people's lives around the forest and they are required to help preserve the forest. Based on this story, people believe that the forest is haunted and sacred. The forest is now known as Wonosadi Forest.

The first *Bubak Cithak* (arable land) is Duren Hamlet. This area was covered by a lot of durian trees. For opening settlement, the resident plant mango trees called *Mangga Emprit*. The fruit is small and the way of eating it is by sucking, because the fruit is watery when it is ripe. Although, there are still some *Emprit* trees today but it is difficult to be cultivated. This arable land is called *Kaliendek* that became official residence of Rara Resmi. After opening the first village, other hamlets were built such as Tungkluk, Serut, Ngelo, Beji and others.

Both sons of Majapahit, *Onggoloco* and *Gadhingmas* had a major role in developing agriculture and providing an example for farmers. They were experts in the field of soldiering (*kanuragan*) and religious matters (mystical). They were known as simple and humble, showing the figure of a knight. They were respected by other community members. When Kademangan Ngawen (now is Ngawen sub-district) was conducted by Ki Kertoboyo, those Majapahit's sons supported him and opened soldiering education for youth man in that *Kademangan*. In the center of Wonosadi forest, *Ngenuman* Valley, they established hermitage to educate the youth in the field of military and *kebatinan*. Most of the educated young men

became officers in Kademangan Ngawen or even soldiers of Pajang Kingdom. The hermitage grew until the two leaders got older. The condition was fulfilled by good water condition, fertile soil and good farming.

When the students have succeeded in their life, these powerful old figures (Onggoloco and Gadhingmas) often made gathering. They asked those students to bring their children, grandchildren. The gathering also invited local community in the Ngenuman Valley. This meeting became a 'medium' for gathering, performing arts of *Rinding Gumbeng*, and giving *wejangan* (message of wisdom). The event ended by a mass meal (*Kembul Bujono*). This event took place every year after the harvest on Senin (Monday) Legi or Kamis (Thursday) Legi in Javanese Calendar. The two figures were aged; they were willing to meditate and to attain the level of perfection of life. Finally, they decided to live separately. Ki Onggoloco went to in the Ngenuman Valley and Ki Gadhingmas preferred to meditate in Gambar Mount. There is no information how long they meditated. When it was considered near to the end of his life, at the last meeting Ki Onggoloco gave testament or a message to those who were present at the meeting.⁴⁰

The contents are as follows:

⁴⁰ The source did not say whether Ki Gadhingmas joined them or not. Because at Mount Gambar also hosted the Annual Sadranan, it should be mythological relationship with what is happening with Wonosadi forest.

1. Wonosadi Forest must be maintained and preserved for the future prosperity of all our children and grandchildren. Therefore it is prohibited of destroying forests. Whoever dared to destroy the forest, they will receive a calamity or disaster. Ngenuman Valley is also allowed as a place to meditate / *bermunajat* by the posterity.
2. Wonosadi Forest has a lot of medicinal plants. If there are sick people, so the medicine is available in the forest. This forest is also called *Wono Usodo* (forest for healing).
3. The annual ceremony of grandchildren gathering should continue to connect the togetherness or friendship bonds and the time is decided, after the rice harvest on *Senin* (Monday) *Legi* or *Kamis* (Thursday) *Legi*.

After the last meeting, it is told that the two men passed away. People never found their tomb and they believed that they died without leaving bodies or so-called "*mati muksa*". Most people also believe that Onggoloco is still there today and guards Wonosadi Forest. This view can be supported by a procession of *Sadranan Wonosadi*. One respondent said that when the Sadranan ritual is done, Mbah Onggoloco is usually

invited to *Kembul Bujono* (eating together)⁴¹. The source said that there is a mystical voice but no body, then the wind blew around them. The incident is understood as representing Onggoloco in the Sadranan Wonosadi event. Other events that support the myths will be explained later.

Those three messages mentioned above are obeyed by the decsendent and society. In fact according to the informants, some people still believe that hitherto Ki Onggoloco settled and dominated Wonosadi Forest. Especially the last message on the holding of the meeting at the end of the harvest on Senin (Monday) Legi or Kamis (Thursday) Legi is still organizedly held. Local authorities organize this activity as a model of social communication, with a modern committees and customized themes. The activity called *Sadranan* Ceremony is done in two places where those influential figures mediatate, in Wonosadi forest and Mount Gambar.

In Wonosadi Forest, Sadranan procession started from, Sendang Kali Tengah, Kali Endhek and Ngenuman. Another version states that Sadranan Wonosadi is also intended to remind the role of Rara Resmi in supporting the hard work of his sons in Ngenuman. Rara Resmi always delivered food for her children. This activity is perpetuated as *Sadranan Wonosadi*.

⁴¹ Onggoloco is often called as Mbah Onggo, Mbah Onggoloco, Mbah Guru, Ki Onggoloco.

Regarding the new theme in the implementation of *Sadranan Wonosadi* ritual is mentioned by Mr. Kasno as follows:

1. This ritual is a form of flashback toward the last place of the public role model, Ki Onggoloco and Ki Gadhingmas. Additionally, the ritual is also a means for gathering and eating together. Usually the type of food is determined, among others: roasted chicken, plantains, the water of *tape ketan (badeg)*, and other foods as agricultural product.⁴²
2. The core of this activity is a recall and a prayer to the spirits of their ancestors to get a decent spot on the side of God. In addition, the prayer also requests that they will be given love, prosperity, and well-being by the Almighty God, and be protected from the distress.

What was raised by Mr. Kasno is similar to those presented by other respondents in this study. Some of the things proposed by the research respondents on their understanding of the holding *Sadranan* as follows:

1. Continuing the tradition of the ancestors.
2. Remembering and appreciating the merits of the ancestors.
3. Following (tradition) of the sacredness of Wonosadi forest.

⁴² Another source ((Sudiyo, 2009) says that the food dish in this Sadranan are: rice cone and grilled chicken, or nasi liwet with side dishes the sauce sprawl, gudheg, Pencok and gudhangan / uraban.

4. Intending *sodakoh* (alms, charity) post-harvesting.
5. Appreciating the struggle of the ancestors
6. As a sign of gratitude for the God's grace.
7. The strength of the myth and the desire to preserve the forest.
8. Non-superficial understanding but it contains evidence of forest conservation and environment.

Based on those opinions, we can conclude several things. The typology of forest communities are communities who are still attached to their tradition, myth and the strong belief that there are “mysterious” matters (beyond reason), the strong appreciation to the merits of the ancestors. They also realized that the result of all the ritual is benefits that can be accepted rationally related to the sustainability of environment and productivity of biodiversity.

D. Community views about the existence of Wonosadi Forest

1. Myths in the Society

As explained above, the story of Onggoloco cannot be separated from the existence of Wonosadi forest. Society also believes that the ancestors who opened the forest areas around Wonosadi and produced offspring are a breakout group of Majapahit, Roro Resmi, her two sons and her loyal followers. Ki Onggoloco's magic provided the certain power that made such

‘belief’ in the society. He is a person who is considered to dominate and keep the forest, so the surrounding community is never lacked of water. According to Mr. Kasno there is still a belief that their role model (Ki Onggoloco) is still settled and dominates Wonosadi forest. The death without leaving the body strengthens this belief.

There are some interpretations about Wonosadi name. *Wonosadi* is derived from the word ‘*Wonosandi*’, which is composed of words ‘*wono*’ means forest and ‘*sandi*’ means code/secret. The interpretations of the secret in the forest Wonosadi are among others:

- a) First Secret. Wonosadi forest is from vast natural wilderness. When the Majapahit refugees came looking for the revelation and ascetic live, they decided to choose that region. Forest area is believed to be inhabited by the community of Genie, and lead by *Gadhung Melati*. When Rara Resmi with her two sons found this place, they have to fight the king of Genie. After beating the Genie, the two Majapahit princes lived and guarded Wonosadi forest together. Wonosadi becomes sacred forest for its surrounding community.
- b) Second Secret. Given becoming the home and the hermitage of Majapahit’s loyal family, it is possible that there are Majapahit’s heirlooms in this forest.
- c) Wonosadi forest is known for having large biodiversity. Various types of flora and fauna live here. Therefore it

becomes the center of sciences studies such as biology, forestry, and others. The richness of medicinal plants in this forest has been known by public since long time ago. If someone gave birth or was ill, it is recommended taking medicinal plants here. *Mbah Onggoloco* is known as soul salvation. Due to the efficacy of the herbs, Wonosadi forest is called Wono Usodo (forest of healing). The third secret is the most popular one among the people.

These mythological trinkets are still alive today. The secret of forest is still in questioned. Many interpretations are expressed on the secrets. There is interpretation stating that the secret referred is the richness of herbal medicine. The other interpretation about the secret is the possibility of the property that was taken when the ancestors of Majapahit fled at that time. Others more refer to anomalies that always occur and have been experienced by the communities up to now.

The awesomeness of forest still becomes the important consideration when community members will do things out of the custom. This leads to the absence of members of the society who dare to destroy the forest. The existence of *Ki Onggoloco* and the king of Genie, *Gadhung Melati* provides its own aura to the existence of the forest. Some opinions of the speakers showed that this belief is still growing. It is not only from the parents who relatively get the story directly from their parents, but also the opinions from young generation which are not

different. The following are some beliefs existing in society showing the "strength" of mythological aspect of Wonosadi forest.

- a) The emergence of voice and wind in *Sadranan Wonosadi* ritual as is already described in the section above. This reinforces the belief that there are other creatures that live in the forest.
- b) It is believed that a voice is often heard but there is nobody.
- c) Hitherto, people still believed about the mysterious creatures which often possess the human body and also show themselves in photos that are captured by forest visitors. It is common when the spirit disturb the visitors, researchers or other guests.
- d) It is strongly believed that it is forbidden to use wood from Wonosadi forest for building houses. This will cause weathered wood easily, collapsed or burned. This belief is very firmly held primarily by residents of Duren hamlet. People believe the trees have their guardians.
- e) The sanctity of forest is perceived by people up to now. One source, <http://forum.infojawa.org>, informed that once upon a time, people cut down the acacia trees because they absorb a lot of water so it is presumed that they will dry up the springs around the forest. Unfortunately, when the trees were carried by truck, which six truck tires were exploded and the people also

were injured. It could be explained that the luggage is too heavy, but why the six tires should be broken at once. Believe and not, maybe it is experienced by today's society who thinks it rationally.

- f) Not only taking logs, taking the grass was also believed prohibited. Some of them believe that if this is done, the animal will die. Once upon a time, there were families that have a field area near to the forest. One of them picked fruit in the forest. The mother and her children were attacked by a swarm of bees. Although they have a serious injury, but they did not die. People believe that it is a warning because in particular stage, great bees attack can cause a death.
- g) Wonosadi Forest does not tolerate those who have malicious intense or misbehave in it. For example, once there was a thief who felt safe in Wonosadi forest, but he was even clearly seen by local people. There was also a young couple who dated in the forest area. They apparently entered ("incorporated" by the "authorities" forest) to the area of thorny shrubs and they came out with unwanted condition. People understand the forest as a sacred place including, this forest does "not accept" animal dung manure.
- h) The story about the protection of society. There is a story about the thief who took a cow in Duren Hamlet. After getting a cow, a thief went out the village by holding the

rope. On the way, the cow turned into a white tiger. After that there was no longer a thief who dares to enter the village.

- i) People believe another blessing. When there are people (even from outside the area) who have such a strong desire to have children, to want a job, they can pray in Ngenuman with intermediaries *Juru Kunci* who will be "requested" as the prayers toward Mbah Onggoloco. When the wishes come true, people are required to follow *Sadranan* (termed "*ngluwari*" or "*ngudari*") to show their gratitude to God.

There are still a lot of beliefs in society. People who are still 'backward' may understand this phenomenon as a belief. Nevertheless, this belief is still alive to today's young generation. They say between "believe" and "unbelieve". Later, the society understands more rationally related to the impact of the beliefs and myths in the modern context.

The next section will describe a more pragmatic view associated with the existence of Wonosadi forest. In essence, this view leads to a more ecological wisdom, namely some good ecological values both in the term of management which is believed by the people as the effects of these beliefs.

2. Ecological Wisdom

The people belief continued through Sadranan ceremony gives an important contribution to forest preservation. Ki

Onggoloco's counsel at the last meeting guide the community to conserve the forest continuously. At least, as long as there is continuity of mythological stories, it will add to the strength of the traditional system of forest conservation. On the other hand, reforestation program will provide a more rational argument in the framework of society that would support the existence of the forest. The combination of the mythic power of the forest environment, mythology, history, ancestor will, real experience and rationality about forest conservation will support society to keep forest conservation.

People's belief associated with forest conservation was proven. In the decade of 1965 when the PKI riots happened, there was massive logging in Wonosadi forest. This action lead to some disasters: landslide, gravel flood, dried springs, and drought. The effect of this incident reinforces the belief of the importance of forest conservation. Perhaps, this is considered as distress caused by the people mistreating the forest. When most people cut down trees in the forest for fulfilling their desire of food, then consequently floods, landslides and droughts threaten them. Conversely, when they preserve the forest, it will provide adequate water resources and the various herbal plants that can be used by surrounding communities.

Some benefits that emerge as the result of the persistence of Wonosadi forest which is understood by the public are as follows:

- a. . Forest as the provider of water for daily life and agriculture
- b. Forest as the spring preserver
- c. Forest protects from erosion
- d. Forest keep us from air pollution, air is always fresh
- e. Forest as the provider of medicinal plants
- f. During dry season, the forest provides tubers (*krowotan*)
- g. Forest as green area that supports nature conservation

Hitherto, the existence of Wonosadi forest is influenced by the result of the mythological belief and the impact of deforestation in 1965. In addition, this understanding is further supported by government programs that put forests function as important in natural resources and water conservation. The richness of biodiversity is also a separated driving force from the academic world to preserve it. Increasingly, Wonosadi forest is needed by various parties. In the latest development, Wonosadi forest becomes tourism forest under organized management. Local communities provide a service for anyone who would learn the things associated with this forest.

Wonosadi pioneer forest management, Mr. Sudiyo, provides an understanding of the importance of forest conservation. His views can be described as follows.

- a. Onggoloco lastwill in the last meeting, as already noted, means that the sustainability of forests is not merely for society today. Prosperity of posterity (future) is part of their responsibility. Futuristic view is very supportive for

the awareness of forest conservation. As long as people do not think instant and egoistic, then sustainability can be maintained. Problems may arise when the idealism of society has been turned into instant and thinks only today as when the logging event occurred in late 1965.

- b. How people carry out this testament is to apply the concept of *tekun, taken, tekan*. *Tekun* (persevering) means working hard, diligent and passionate. *Teken* means in accordance with the law (whether positive law or prevailing customary provisions). *Tekan* means that working hard according to the rules will achieve the intended goals. In the context of forest management and conservation, it can be interpreted by working hard, doing forest conservation, following rules that has been outlined; the outcomes will be perceived successfully. The society will enjoy sufficient water, farming can be done three times a year, and there will be no landslide and gravel flood. Society will be prosperous and they will avoid distress.
- c. Humans as sentient beings should know about *sapa sing Paring Urip, sapa sing nguri-urip, sapa sing nguripi*, what is *sambekalaning urip* (who gives life, who started the-turn, who supports living, what is makes life unfortunate). The meaning of *sopo sing paring urip* is who gives human life. God provides the opportunity for people to live and to enjoy life. Therefore it becomes an

obligation for people to gratitude and to pray to Him. *Sapa sing ngurip-urip* is parents, and further are ancestors of the lineage that gave descendants to us. Therefore people must respect and worship them. *Sapa sing nguripi* is mother earth, ground water, where people live. Farmers cannot live without the forest because if the forest is good then it will fertilize the surrounding soil. The crops can be beneficial used by farmers. Therefore people must keep and not destroy it so that Mother Earth will continue to support people who live on it. This relates to the notion of *sambekalaning urip*. Life can be misfortune if people are only concerned of treasures and pleasures. This includes when people are destroying the forest for reasons of comfort and temporary ease living, then the surrounding forests are damaged and people will get unfortunate things. It is a complex thought about how humans live. They should live in harmony with God, appreciate the ancestors, and preserve the environment. Hence, the happiness, well-being and tranquility of life can be maintained.

- d. Human happiness will only be met if people know how to gratitude, appreciate what people have. Greed can cause the destruction of the earth and the environment that actually makes people unhappy. People must understand the consequence of bad behavior as

sambekalaning urip. Human activity would cause or bring on happiness or away from happiness.

It is expressed by Sudiyo completing the understanding of society as has been described previously. Forests which have provided prosperity for the people is the God's blessing that should be grateful for. Furthermore, in the context of a causal relationship, the indifference to forest management can lead to erosion, flooding, and dry springs. Therefore, awareness of the importance of forest cannot be ignored. It shows the circle relationships of human, God and nature becomes the main matter in life.

E. Forest and Basic Concept of Relationship between God, Human and Nature

As already seen implicitly above that sustainable awareness of the existence of the forest is a manifestation of the concept of the relationship between man, God and nature. People understand that when they are born, forests have already existed. Moreover, when Mbah Onggoloco came the forests were already there. Thus, the forest is a blessing given by God the Creator of nature to man. The springs that never dry up, Wonosadi forest which is rich in biodiversity, herbal plants and tubers become tremendous blessing for the community. For these blessings, the people around the forest in particular, must be grateful. The way they gratitude is highly variable. One way

that is done by the community in Duren and Sidorejo in particular and Beji and surrounding communities is to conduct Sadranan Wonosadi. In the ritual, there is a prayer to gratitude to God. There is also sharing their good fortune, giving and receiving. They call it charity, giving to others. For the people who adhere the religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism), conducting worship is part of gratitude to God.

Not only worshipping, people also understand gratitude in a way to be kind to the environment including preserving forest well. For them, gratitude without maintaining forest will be useless. Gratefulness should be in line with the forest preservation. For the community, Wonosadi forest contains many blessings and benefits that they feel obliged to cherish and nurture so that there always be abundant blessing for them. Environment shall be preserved, it is not allowed to cut trees down, to shoot birds, and destroy natural forests so that it keeps sustainable. With sustainable forests, the forests will continue to be useful. Forest does not belong to man now, but they interpret the forest belonged to their children and grandchildren. It is clearly stated in the slogan that is placed at the entrance of the Wonosadi forest. If the current forest is destroyed, then the posterity will feel the consequences (*sambekalaning urip*). Hence, the understanding is expected to be shared by all members of the community and inherited to their offspring.

F. The Future Perspective

Given the views of people who are still good and strong about the existence and management of Wonosadi forest, the future sustainability of the forest can still be expected. In general, respondents' opinions both old and young people deeply understand the importance of Wonosadi forest. They are determined to preserve Wonosadi forest because of its role for preservation of water resources which is abundant throughout the year. Wonosadi Forest should not be destroyed or devastated because they believe that the loss of Wonosadi forest means the loss of livelihoods.

In the latest development, the realization of Wonosadi forest as tourism forest becomes the people's dream. This is because people expect additional income for the community. On the other hand, as tourism village iconic with forest conservation, ecological wisdom in relation to the existence Wonosadi forest will remain intact. In this case, an understanding of sustainable forest functions will be understood by the community. However, in the context of cultural development, the sustainability of mythology developed in the community cannot be guaranteed. Very likely, the spirit of keeping the tradition is still going to take place despite the strength of the mythological beliefs will be further faded and disappeared. Customs would be considered a legacy that will continue to be preserved though not all members of the

community really trust as their parents believe. However the majority of communities who are farmers are likely to lead to a slow change. Custom with its various manifestations will still exist and live in the surrounding communities of Wonosadi.

G. The Organized-Holistic People View

The basic understanding of this concept is to understand reality as interconnected systemic unity as a causal relationship and mutual influence. If each part of the system goes according to function properly and regularly, the relationships among them will run well. Man is not the center and decides everything, but he becomes a constituent part of the system. In the context of organism each natural element becomes part of the overall parts which interact and relate. This concept is supported by Capra (2004) who promoted a new vision in response to the mechanistic development. His view includes a view of life systems, approaches that look at the parts of life as holistic entities relate to each other, a spiritual ecological view, an approach that combines the scientific-empirical knowledge and eastern knowledge.

Both of these views seem similar to the understanding of Wonosadi forest buffering community. From the description above the data shows that human is only a part of nature, and they live together with nature. Human is not in total control of nature but also they live determined by nature. They support each other and influence each other. Human cannot be greedy in

treating nature because then it will bring negative effects for humans. Therefore, people should be kind to nature and it will also provide the best for humans. For the people around Wonosadi, if they do good forest stewardship, the forests would provide a permanent water source for the good and prosperity of the people. The fields will be irrigated with good, and the agriculture will function properly. Otherwise, the event of 1965's with forest destruction and consequences will come again to them.

For the people around Wonosadi, this view is not solely the result of rationalistic thinking and understanding. It is a complicated view with mythological pattern of understanding. Forest management remains preserved until now is a result of the awareness of the importance of forests and the importance of good management. They are well aware of this because of the events of 1965's have already given evidence for them. However, awareness is not merely due to a scientific view of the likely course, an understanding of the existence of the forest with all its mythological series provides support for the preservation of this forest. There is spiritualistic view completing rationality of the importance of forest preservation. When viewed in the context of understanding of Wonosadi people, they are still attached with spiritual understanding and even mythological, but they also have to understand the reason that the mythology is related to a rational understanding of the maintenance and use of forests. It seems that the two must work

together. In the context of the current progress of mythological beliefs that may have increasingly shifted, spiritualistic understanding of the relationship of God and man becomes important. As Wonosadi people's views, maintenance of good forest is part of God's gift of gratitude to god the creator. Basically people have a holistic knowledge of the environment. Environment is not spatial parts but the unity and cohesiveness related and supports each other. In this context, human relationship with God is an important factor.

H. Conclusion

Community stakeholders of Wonosadi forest particularly villagers of Duren and Sidorejo, belong to Beji village, Ngawen subdistrict, Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta Special Region. They still hold cultural activities in Wonosadi forest particularly with holding Sadranan Wonosadi. There are still a lot of myths that live in the community, even now people have started thinking rationally related to the existence of Wonosadi forest.

For the community of Duren and Sidorejo, the existence of Wonosadi forest is supported by their belief in the existence of forces beyond rational reasoning. In addition, adherence to ancestor's message is still held. However they begin to realize the ecological wisdom pertaining to the function and maintenance of the forest behind their beliefs. Their knowledge

of what can't be or less rationalized, in some parts can be understood rationally.

The concept of man's relationship with God and nature is the concept of logical unity between the elements making up the cosmos system. Wonosadi forest communities understand the forest as a gift of God, they should be grateful. The way they are thankful is to pray, to pray according to religions (eg, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity), or they do Sadranan Wonosadi. On the other hand, maintaining good forest is part of what they called gratitude.

Understanding interconnectedness, interrelatedness and mutual influence, natural frame of understanding between the rational mind and readily accepted element of trust is parts of their understanding. As an organized view, between man and nature are part of each other then they should do good things so that the result will be good for them. This view is not only based on the understanding of rationality but also a spiritual issue. The people understanding is still thick with spiritual elements and the growing understanding of the functions of the forest flourished in Wonosadi customary stakeholders will still run well.

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CHAPTER V

The Myth of Dewi Sri: Indonesian Traditional Music and Its Local Wisdom

Abstract

The purposes of this study are to explain the variant myth of Dewi Sri extending in the community, explain the variation of traditional peasant art associated with the myths, and explain the values of their local wisdom, particularly in relation to religious, cosmic and ethical aspects. This study is a library research with a model of philosophical analysis with methodical steps; they are: description, interpretation, deduction, induction, internal coherence and reflection.

The results of this study are: first, there are different variants of the myth of Dewi Sri found in the scripts, shadow puppet story that played on Bersih Desa ceremonies and common stories disseminating in the community. From the several versions of this story, there have been some similarities and difference both in character and plot. Second, there are different variants of art forms that is an implication of the myth of Dewi Sri as fine art sculpture (Cili) in Bali, Rinding Gumbeng in Beji Ngawen Gunungkidul, Seblang Dance in Banyuwangi, Karinding, Tarawangsa, Jentreng and Angklung in West Java. Third, in terms of the value of local wisdom, its religious aspect is quite variable in different groups of people, depending on the strength of a growing religion. This religious aspect affects the cosmic aspects in the attitude of the people for living in harmony with the earth and of the ethical and social aspects supporting the emergence of social cohesiveness in the community.

Key words: Dewi Sri. Myth. Traditional Music. Local Wisdom.

A. Background Study

The initial idea of this study came after conducting the research on conservation and environmental ethics case studies in Beji Ngawen Gunung Kidul (Sartini, 2009). The writer notices that a traditional music called *Rinding Gumbeng*. *Rinding Gumbeng* is a traditional musical instrument of an agrarian society growing in that study area, even up until now. In the earlier days, playing those musical instruments was connected with ceremonies related to agriculture, especially rice. Supposedly, the ritual is associated with the myths evolving on Dewi Sri understood by many Javanese people as the Goddess of Rice. Based on the readings and tracking of various sources, it turns out that there are many variants of music and art done by the farmers in different regions. Besides, there are many versions of the myth of Dewi Sri in some regions in Indonesia. From the initial literature search and reading, it seems that there is a relationship between the myth of Dewi Sri, the arts and or traditional musical instruments in a variety of areas, and other forms of local knowledge in their respective societies. The myth of Dewi Sri as the Goddess of Fertility, evolved in different parts of the archipelago, especially in Java, and even overseas. The case is demonstrated in the literature review. Why this story is quite developed and associated with a variety of activities followed; there must be any something behind it due to be useful and well-regarded by the followers.

This study inventories and explains the variant stories about the myth of Dewi Sri, variants of farmer's traditional music relating to Dewi Sri, and analyzes the values of local wisdom associated within the stories and the music, particularly regarding to religious values (relationship with God), cosmic values (man's relationship with the environment surrounding), and ethical values relating to the value of human relationships with each other.

B. Purpose of Study

The purposes of this study include:

1. Describing the variants of the mythical story of Dewi Sri as the goddess of fertility.
2. Explaining the variants of traditional art in various areas relating to the myth of Dewi Sri.
3. Analyzing the values of local wisdom relating to the aspects of religious value of human relationships with God, the cosmic value of human relationships with nature, and ethical value of human relationships with humans.

C. Literature Review

The myth of Dewi Sri is well known, particularly in Javanese community and even in Indonesia. The study conducted by Trisna Dewi Sri Hartati (2012), in her paper entitled *Peranan Dewi Sri dalam Pertanian Indonesia* (The Role of Dewi Sri in Indonesian Agriculture) explains that in many

agrarian societies there is a belief that the plant comes from the body of a woman. Among other things, citing on the notion of Hidding, in Sundanese it is called Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri, while in Flores, citing on Saren Oti Bao, there was a girl scarifying herself at her request so that from her body grew crops of rice. She is Ine Ine Pane or Mbu. According to Daeng (2008: 113) in Minangkabau, people use the term of Saningsari or Induang Padi while in the ethnic of Tomori Tanah Toraja they use a term of Ineno Pae which both as a guarantor of the flourishing rice. In ethnic of Lio Central Flores they call it Pare Ine. The existence of Dewi Sri is often symbolized and associated with such a variety of ceremonies and traditional art forms made by the farmers. Not only in speech, was the myth of Dewi Sri also included in the text. Various studies on Sri Dewi have been carried out as described in the review below.

At least there are two copies of Dewi Sri as reviewed by Suwardi in the study entitled “The Symbolic Meaning of Myth in Javanese society model Studies of Levi-Strauss Linguistics”. Two copies enclosing the story of Dewi Sri, i.e. *the Origin of Rice* from Banyumas, and *Sri Sadana* from Yogyakarta. These special linguistics studies, among others, revealed that both texts take special concept of the cosmological aspect in Javanese thought. Dewi Sri is highly associated with Javanese thoughts and cosmology, agriculture and the farmers. There are some other Javanese scripts taking the story, such as in *Purwakandha Brangtakusuma*.

The study done by Heru Moerdiyanto (2006) entitled *Philosophical Statue of Loro Blonyo as an expression of Mythical Symbolism of Dewi Sri and Raden Sadono in Javanese Community Belief System* explained that Dewi Sri and Raden Sadana are symbol of fertility (biological humans and plants) and prosperity symbolized in the statue of Loro Blonyo. In Javanese tradition, the statue is installed in front of the middle *senthong* in construction of Javanese house. It is associated with a certain magical functions of that Javanese cubicle houses (Joglo). Now, the symbolism of that statue is often seen to be installed in office as a symbol of hope for prosperity and well-being. A similar study is conducted by Slamet Subiyantoro et al (2009), with the title *The Development Model of Conservation Harmonizing Value in Life System as an Effort of Showing the Resilience of Social Cultural Environment of Javanese Community through Understanding the Symbolism of Loro Blonyo Statue*.

This study traces the existence of *Loro Blonyo* sculpture in the context of the balance of the socio-cultural environment value. *Loro Blonyo* statue is believed to be the embodiment of harmonious pair of Dewi Sri and Sri Sadana as a symbol of fertility and prosperity. This paper also revealed some versions of the story of Dewi Sri. One version explains that *Loro Blonyo* is Dewi Sri and Sadana who both were incarnation of Shiva and Lakshmi or Wishnu and Dewi Uma, being Candra Kirana and Inu Kertapati, or in other names called Kamajaya and

Kamaratih. The symbolism of the statue stated to be a means of balancing the socio-cultural values of Java. *Loro Blonyo* is not just a statue, but considered to be able to align the cosmic. Dewi Sri symbolizes maternity and fertility of plants while Sadana delivers the propriety of fashion and clothing. They say, those are a pair of cosmic balance symbolized by the phallus and yoni.

Sumintarsih's study (2007) entitled *Dewi Sri in Javanese Tradition* explains that in Javanese beliefs there is symbolism of respect towards Dewi Sri. This is apparent in the rite of marriage (*midodareni*), spatial (*building*) and agricultural rites. It is written that in the structure of Javanese thought, the origin of life seeds came from the over world (God) given to the underworld (human). To make the seed of life maintain as a manifestation of relationships between the over and under world then they do the rites. Dewi Sri is conceived as a goddess in charge of maintaining plants.

So far, the myth of Dewi Sri spreading in many parts of Indonesia, and mostly in Java, is symbolized in the form of statues and even connected with the architectural concept, also having its own local moral values. Each community understands the myth with the knowledge of their own particularities. Dewi Sri is much linked to farm with all the rites or ceremonies as well. Of the various ceremonies associated with the myth of Dewi Sri, part of them is related to the artwork held by the public. After all, art growing in a society is a manifestation of the belief barrier. There have been several studies discussing on

the relationship of the myth of Dewi Sri, agriculture and the arts, going to be described in the following passages.

The study conducted by Yuli Handy (2010:29) states that there are several types of dance performances relating to the rice or agriculture such as *Tarawangsa* in Sumedang, *Ngarot* in Indramayu, and *Seren Taun* in Sukabumi. Referring to Bagong Sutoyo, he mentioned that the descendants of Javanese women farmers in Lampung also conduct similar activities. Bagong writes it with the term of *Bikin tereh dan panggil Sri Sedono* (Make Tereh and Call Sri Sedono). Sri Sadana, as usually written, is another character besides Dewi Sri in myths associated with the fertility of the farmers' paddy. This study also shows that, the myth of Dewi Sri originated in Java is still understood by descent of Javanese people having migrated. Certainly, in practice there are some art activities accompanying.

Yuliawan Kasmahidayat (2007:14) conducted a study entitled "Ritual Arts Performance as A Real-Life Mirror of Southern Banten Religious Communities". The study was conducted in Mekar Wangi village Saketi Pandeglang West Java. It revealed that there are some traditional art rising in the area, among others, *Pencak Silat*, *Saman*, *Debus* and *Dodod*. *Dodod* is a typical ceremony of the farmers also often called *Nanen*, i.e. the planting and harvesting rice. The ceremony is considered as a form of cultism on Sang Hyang Dewi Sri (Dewi Sri) or their ancestors Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri. The ritual

performed by the rice farmers consists of *tatanen* (started planting rice), *ngalaksa* (a ceremony conducted when the rice plants grow), and *rasulan* (at harvest time and while storing grain to the barn / *leuit*). The ceremony is concluded as a series portrayal of the life stages of human being.

A study from Cucup Cahripin (undated: 3,7) entitled *The Music Tradition of Tarawangsa in In the Ritual Ceremony of Respecting Dewi Sri in Rancakalong Village Sumedang Regency West Java*, revealed a number of farmers' music evolving such as Sondari, calempung, harp, *tarawangsa* which according to the public perception is a picture of a relationship with Dewi Sri. *Tarawangsa* and Rengkong are interpreted as an expression of gratitude to God and thanks to Dewi Sri.

According to some sources, there have been some music resembling each other played by farmer and of which has a mythological function relating to the existence of Dewi Sri, for example *Rinding Gumbeng* in Gunung Kidul, *BaRinding* in West Java. It is also known as Robe in the ethnic of Ndora Ngada Regency, East Flores (Hans Daeng, 2008: p.113.). Those farmers' music have not been adequately explored either the function or cultural background.

In contrast to the existing research, this study conducts an inventory and description of the variant myths of Dewi Sri that evolved, inventing and explaining various farmers' traditional art associated with the myth of Dewi Sri, and also exploring the values of local wisdom having inside. Particularly,

the ones dealing with the aspects of religious values in the human relationship with God, the aspect of the cosmic value in human relationships with the natural surroundings and ethical aspects of social relationships among the community supporters.

D. Conceptual Framework

Humans are highly related to the arts, such as music. According to Ian Cross (2001:28-42), the music will be different in every culture and it can be identified as a human activity. Music, as having been stated, is a product of biological and social interactions so that it has an integral dimension in human development. Music is even possible to have a central role in the evolution of human thought.

Referring to the notion above, the existence of music is associated with the development of thought and culture, Including in connection with the religious aspects that are part of the culture. Based on Geertz's view (1973: 126), religion is a beam of solemn moral so that in conjunction with religious music, the content and substance of the development of the music is also associated with spiritual and ethical aspects associated with the religious function.

Art is closely related to religion. From some definitions of religion and art, Simatupang (2010:5-6) concludes the relationship of art and religion as follows:

1. Religion requires embodiment in the form of objects and actions, both to express and evoke emotion of

religiosity among the adherents of religious beliefs of a religion, so that religion is quite felt / experienced by humans.

2. The ability of an object or action to uncover or stir religious emotions relies on the symbolic power possessed by the object or action.
3. The symbolic power of an object or religious behavior relies on the existence of the human belief system of the Almighty.
4. The ability of an object or behavior to evoke or express religious emotion basically is in line with the enchantment owned by object or art performance.
5. The enchantment possessed by objects or religious performance / art is the effects of the adoption of a specific technology (technique) to the material.
6. Therefore, object or religious performance is actually overlapped and correlated with the object or art performance.
7. Differences and response shift (transition) towards the symptoms of the object or art / religious performance occur due to ongoing transit i.e. the changes or shifts in the context of the presence of symptoms intended.
8. Such shifts can occur in two directions: from art towards religion, and vice versa; may also be a shift toward a merger that is not mutually exclusive (religion and art as well).

9. These contexts include the communal and individual context.

Hence, it is highly visible that there is a relationship between religion, art, symbolism, emotional expression, both at the individual level and as a group. Including the implementation associated with a profound religious sense. That case is quite obvious seen in traditional societies. Quoting Simatupang, Suardi (2006:1) affirms that in mysticism (the term "mysticism" is used to describe ritual or traditional ceremonies such as *Merti Desa* that still uses the procedures and traditional prayers) art in the cultural side is not the art as an art, but art in context. Further, quoting Redfield, Suwardi (2006:7) tells that art is an expanded experience. Art will load the patterns of imaginative experience. For example, religious art such as a shadow puppet on *Bersih Desa* ceremonies differ with a popular art. The shadow puppet in religious art is a complex art form. Religious art depicts spiritual themes. Thus it can be seen in various traditional ceremonies in the community.

Human beings as living entities in the culture, the relationship of physical, social, cultural, and, particularly, religious life will find themselves on the uniqueness of each community. It became a form of local wisdom. Citing on the conclusions of Sartini's (2009:24), it is written that the local wisdom is a way of life found in a particular local community which constitutes a concept to think about everything. Local wisdom as a form of philosophy in terms of product, contains

the concept of how people position themselves before God, how humans relate to each other, how the relationship with the natural world with their exclusive understanding and experience. As a concept of culture, local wisdom is a way of thinking and adapting to the environment and the history of each life community.

E. Findings and Discussion

1. Various Mythical Story of Dewi Sri

Concluding from the notion of J. van Baal, Syukur Dister and C.A. van Peursen, Daeng (2008: 81) explains that the myth is a story within the framework of a religious system that in the past and now serves as a truth (of religiosity). Science of myth or mythology is a way to present or disclose the divine through symbolic language. Through this knowledge, it allows human to give place to the various impressions and experiences of life. Based on the benchmark given by the myths, humans can be oriented in life; they know where they come from and where they will go. Since the origin and purpose of their lives are described in a myth. Myths provide a handle on life. Myths are stories giver guidelines and specific direction to a group of people. Myth, also awaken people to the supernatural powers. That is what happened to the myth of Dewi Sri.

The story of Dewi Sri considered myth in many regions, particularly in Indonesian archipelago, apparently shows diverse

variations. For example, the relationship of Dewi Sri with Sri Sadana in some writings described as brother and sister, but in other versions they are portrayed as a couple, husband and wife; hence the myth evolving is in associated with fertility. Among those stories, there is an aspect of the wedding but the rest is not clear yet.

a. The Myth of Dewi Sri in Serat Purwakandha Brangtakusuma

This thick manuscript, on some parts, tells several stories of Dewi Sri. Because many are described in the text, the story will be described briefly in this study.

Once while Batara Guru was chatting and looking around at the state of heaven, he noticed something luminous, in which the light shone bright penetrating to the seventh heaven. That news had shocked the state in heaven. Batara Guru was curious about the object and then approached it. It turned out that the light came from the fruit of *kastuba* flower. Guru, then, plucked the fruit, stored and maintained it properly. Miracle happened, the fruit transformed into a flawless baby girl with a beautiful face. The baby was named Dewi Sri. Dewi Sri was well cared for and maintained by Guru. He regarded Dewi Sri as his own child. Dewi Sri grew into a beautiful and famous teenage girl in heaven, beyond compare. She has a subtle countenance and wonderful scent. Anyone seeing her would be certainly fascinated and infatuated in desire. Batara Guru, his adoptive father, not to mention also became interested and wanted to marry Dewi Sri.

The pretension of Guru was hindered and prevented by Batara Narada. If it happened it would lower his dignity as a God. Batara Guru finally followed the advice of Batara Narada that it was not appropriate to marry Dewi Sri, her daughter. Dewi Sri then was entrusted to Batara Surya, his son. Dewi Sri was in seclusion so as not to be seduced by the other Gods, due to the jealousy of Batara Guru. Dewi Sri was not allowed to hang out with her friends.

Further, it is told that there was a youngest son of Batara Guru named Batara Wisnu. He had a handsome face, charming, and very much loved by his father. Wishnu was blessed a heirloom flower of *kastuba* called Wijayakusuma. Once, Wishnu was chatting and looking at the beauty of Kahyangan surroundings and he accidentally met Dewi Sri. Both God and Goddess are mutually attracted to each other and fell in love. Their love was eventually known by Batara Guru. Batara Guru became very angry. They both were summoned and deported to be ordered to go down to earth. They were down to earth precisely in Mendhankamolan government in which was being ruled by the king of Makukuhan.

Dewi Sri looked sad. It is told that when Dewi Sri was sad or angry, it was characterized by the changes in the breasts which were getting to be huge, as big as a pitcher. That was a privilege of Dewi Sri than others. That signs also occurred in her reincarnation women; for instance, Dewi Sumbadra and Dewi

Candrakirana. Gradually Wishnu and Dewi Sri could live happily as a couple on the earth of Mendhankamolan.

It is also told that because of getting failure to marry Dewi Sri, Batara Guru fell in love with the Dewi Tisnawati. According to its origin, Dewi Tisnawati was first discovered by Batara Guru in beads box that emitted light in the bottom of the sea. Dewi Tisnawati was nursed well by Batara Guru. Having grown into a beautiful girl, Dewi Tisnawati made the Guru tempted to marry her. Dewi Tisnawati conveyed some prerequisite to Batara Guru. The prerequisites that must be met were: providing clothes that never tangled, providing the food which once eaten it could make ones full forever, and gamelan kethoprak. Batara Guru told Kalagumarang, the son of Batara Kala, to search for those three prerequisites.

In his journey as the messenger of Batara Guru, Kalagumarang accidentally met Dewi Sri who was taking a bath in the sea of Nilawening. Kalagumarang fell in love with Dewi Sri. He continued to pursue her, even facing to Wishnu, the husband of Dewi Sri, requested him so that Nilawening became his wife. Then Wishnu asked Dewi Sri to slip and run away from the pursuit of Kalagumarang. Wishnu continued to deter the intention of Kalagumarang. Each time Dewi Sri would get caught, Wishnu came to delude Kalagumarang. For instance, he transformed to be root of a tree making Kalagumarang entangled and fell, crawled and cursed into a wild boar.

Due to never meet the prerequisites, Batara Guru could not hold the desire any longer to marry Dewi Tisnawati. Ultimately, he forced Dewi Tisnawati to get willing to be his wife. Dewi Tisnawati attempted to refuse and eventually did suicide and died in the lap of Batara Guru. Then the corps of Dewi Tisnawati was buried in the earth, precisely in Mendhangkamolan. Miracle happened, from her body grew a variety of crops. From her head grew palm trees. From the roots palm uprooted and out casted grew *pete*⁴³, *jengkol*⁴⁴, and *kemlanding*⁴⁵ trees. Banana tree grew from her palms while the papaya grew from the part of her breast. From her teeth grew a corn plant. And from her navel there was an Arcu tree. The sapodilla and Tanjung tree grew from the part of her heart. Then there were rice plants growing from her eyes. It is worth noting that in fact the spirit of Dewi Tisnawati considered to be fused into Dewi Sri so that they are inseparable.

Kalagumarang whom was cursed to be a wild boar kept chasing after Dewi Sri in Mendhangkamolan. He was angry for failing to get Dewi Sri so that in his way, he tried to damage the rice and other crops. In addition, Pritanjala, a guardian God of

⁴³ *Parkia speciosa* (bitter bean, twisted cluster bean, or stink bean) is a plant of the genus *Parkia* in the family Fabaceae. It bears long, flat edible beans with bright green seeds the size and shape of plump almonds which have a rather peculiar smell, similar (but stronger) to the Shiitake mushroom, characterised by some as being similar to natural gas.

⁴⁴ Jengkol (*Achidendron Pauciflorum*) is a typical plant in the South East Asian region. It also has a strong smell such as *pete*.

⁴⁵ *Leucaena leucocephala* is a small, variably shrubby and highly branched (ssp. *leucocephala*) to medium-sized tree.

the eastern part of the sea, was also blasted into a variety of animals such as birds, *walang sangit* (a kind of grasshopper), *menthek*, and so on. Those animals along with the wild boar continue to damage the surrounding plants. They became pests. Wishnu did not stay silent. He follows and protects Dewi Sri as well as the plants from the raging beasts and pests to the present days.

b. Dewi Sri in Wikipedia Adaptation

Popular encyclopedia Wikipedia encloses an explanation of Dewi Sri. Although not a scientific work, this encyclopedia is one of the most frequent sources of literature and even the earliest source encountered by the readers when hunting information on the Internet. Furthermore, there will be cited a story of Dewi Sri from other sources which have greater academic strength.

Dewi Sri in Javanese language is written as Dewi Shri, in Sundanese called Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri. It is told that in heaven, Batara Guru, the highest god of the over world kingdom, commanded all the gods and goddesses to contribute their power in order to build a new palace. Any residents disobeying this commandment were considered lazy and would lose their arms and legs. One of the gods in Khayangan, a Naga god named Antaboga, had no legs and arms. He was anxious and not sure how he could possibly do the job. It made him cry in a deep sobbing. The teardrops of Antaboga falling on the ground miraculously became beautiful shining eggs that looked

like pearls. Then, Batara Narada advised him to offer those pearls to the Batara Guru expecting that the gift would conciliate him and he would give a fair judgment for Anta's disability. Antaboga brought the pearls by sucking in the mouth. With those three pearls suck he could not speak. Thus, when he met a crow and kept silent, he was considered arrogant by his interlocutors. Being angry, the crow attacked him. As a result, two eggs of the pearls in his mouth fell and broke. There was only one egg left to offer to the Batara Guru. Since Bathara Guru knew that the egg was miracle, he asked him to nest the egg. The egg hatched into a very beautiful baby girl named Ny. Ny Pohaci Sanghyang Sri or Dewi Sri. Because of her beauty, Batara Guru started to feel attracted to Dewi Sri. Feared that this scandal could destroy the harmony in the heaven, finally all the gods conspired to separate Dewi Sri and the Batara Guru by poisoning her. The gods felt guilty and scared, then they buried her body on earth, in a far away and hidden place. It is noted that her grave showed a miraculous sign; for at the time of her burial, up grew some useful plants that would forever benefit human kinds such as a palm tree from her head, bamboo and palm growing from other parts of her body. From her navel grew rice. In this source also appeared various versions of the story. Nyi Pohaci considered the supreme goddess in an agrarian society, sometimes is associated with the rice-paddy snakes while Sadhana or Sedana or Sadono is associated with paddy swallow (*sriti*). Rice-paddy snake is a rat predator regarded as

an agricultural pest. In a similar myth, in Thailand, the myth of fertility as the patron is cobra.

c. Dewi Sri in the Story of Shadow Puppet Adaptation in *Bersih Desa Kulon Progo*.

The ceremony of *Bersih Desa* in Prangkakan Purwosari Girimulyo Kulon Progo Special Region of Yogyakarta is always followed by a shadow puppet performance. The performance begins at noon with the story of Sri Mulih (Sri Kondur) as an element of ritual to start the feast. In the evening there will be an all night show with a special story usually associated with the revelation of the Baratayuda, as well as the Revelation of Makutharama, Purwa Sejati, and Gada Inten.

The play of Dewi Sri describes the characters of Dewi Sri and Raden Sadana, a son of Maha Maha Punggung, a king of Medhang Kamulyan. The story tells that Dewi Sri left the palace for the king scolded; Raden Sadana (her sister) then followed the departure of his sister. Long time that they were not immediately met and they traveled to the villages while farming. After long wandering, they finally met each other. Subsequently, Dewi Sri was back to heaven, while Raden Sadana taken as son in-law by the king Wiratha. The story also tells about the return of Dewi Sri to Wiratha. Dewi Sri was also located in a country named Platalaretna ruled by a king Darmasara. Prabu Suryakumara, a king of Guwa Rajeng, also wanted Dewi Sri to be his wife. Dewi Sri became the object of struggle, but then Nagatatnala, a son of Sanghyang Anantaboga (in the previous

version of the story is described as a Naga god), can bring Dewi Sri back to Wiratha by means of Bagawan Abiyasa.

The story of Dewi Sri is considered a symbol of cleanliness, symbolizing the villagers get “*Bersih Desa*” (clean village) in farming. *Bersih Desa* is described as boon fortune because the balance of the macrocosm and the microcosm (or called *jagad gedhe* and *jagad Cilik*).

d. The Myth of Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri In Sundanese Version As Stated By Sumardjo

Jacob Sumardjo is a professor at *Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia* (Indonesian Arts College, STSI) Bandung. His article titled “The Myth of Nyi Pohaci/Sanghyang Asri/Dewi Sri” was quoted by several blogs in 2008, 2010, and 2011. According to him, the myth of Dewi Sri is related to *sangkan paran*, the origin or genesis of Sundanese ecology where ancestors of Sundanese people lived. In Sunda there are various versions of the story, as well as in other areas. The following stories, they say, were taken from three written sources namely Pantun Sulanjana (transcription by Ajip Rosidi), Wawacan Nyi Pohaci (Bandung version), and Wawacan Pohaci Terus Dangdayang (Bandung version). The story is similar to one version of Wikipedia having been written in the previous passages with some different names of the characters.

The story tells that Dewi Sri was not born by anyone but a teardrop from the God, Naga Anta who cried because he could not come immediately to share work in building *Bale Mariuk* -

Gedong Sasaka Domas . Dewa Naga Anta could not carry out the word of Dewa Guru because he does not have hands to work. The eye drops of his grief then were transformed into three eggs and then presented to Dewa Guru. Unfortunately, in the way he was attacked by a hawk because of being considered arrogant. Naga Anta did not answer the greeting of the hawk for carrying three eggs in his mouth. Then the two eggs fell down and took on a creature that later was named Kakabuat and Budug Basu (a kind of wild pig). It was only an egg left to offer to Dewa Guru.

The egg then was hatched by Naga Anta on the order of Dewa Guru. The egg hatched into a beautiful princess named Nyi Pohaci. The baby was breastfed by the wife of Dewa Guru, Dewi Umah. When Nyi Pohaci grew as a teenager and a beautiful girl Dewa Guru had an intention to marry her. However, the unfortunate fate came to Nyi Pohaci; she felt ill and eventually died. Dewa Guru asked the other gods to bury Nyi Pohaci in earth, a habitation of human being. Human habitation is called the center of the world, while the place of Dewa Guru is called as the over world, and the place of Naga Anta is named as underworld. From the parts of her body buried emerged some plants such as palm trees, white rice, red rice, glutinous rice, palm, bamboo, and other grasses. Unfortunately, the growth of these plants gets interference from Kakabuat and Budug Basu. Yang Maha Wenang (Wenang Almighty) then also created Jaka Sdana (Sulanjana), Sri Sadana, and Rambut Sadana

also called as Talimenar and Talimenir. All the three creatures came from three drops of his tears. Jaka Sadana (Sulanjana), Sri Sdana, and Rambut Sadana got an order to keep all plants needed by Sundanese people. Dewa Guru then ordered Batara Semar to breed the plants in the Kingdom of Padjadjaran

That is the story in Sundanese version. The name of Sadana appears in three names i.e. Jaka Sadana (Sulanjana), Sri Sdana and Rambut Sadana. It is unclear whether one of the three is the Sri Sadana or Raden Sadana which in other versions of the story is a man, a brother or a husband of Dewi Sri's.

e. The Story of Dewi Sri in the Version of Madura East Java

In the study of Krobongan as sacred space in Javanese tradition, Rahmanu Widayat (undated: 11) explains the story of Dewi Sri in Madura, East Java. In short, if observed, the plot and characters are relative with a different name from the mythological stories that have been described previously.

The story of Dewi Sri began when Batara Guru created a beautiful daughter later named as Retna Dumilah. She was so beautiful that Batara Guru felt in love. His wish was not conveyed because Batara Guru was not able to meet the three demand asked by Retna Dumilah, i.e. the foods that are not boring, the clothes do not wear out and gamelan that can sound by itself. Because Guru did not meet the demand, when he would touch her, Retna Dumilah suddenly died. The place where Retna was buried then grew various crops such as coconut, rice, palm, bamboo, roots, and other upland rice. The

failure of Batara Guru to meet the demand given by Retna Dumilah was because of his delegate not fulfilling the task well. He met Dewi Sri (Wishnu's wife), felt in love and continued to pursue wherever Dewi Sri went away. The chaser then was cursed into a wild boar. However, even though he had already transformed, he was still chasing after Dewi Sri. When Dewi Sri was no longer strong, she begged to be returned to the heaven. The place where Dewi Sri vanished then also grew the rice plants being able to cultivate in paddy fields. From the boar, grew the crop pests such as locusts, rats, and so on. To overcome those pests, Dewi Sri frequently sends the paddy snake to the earth. Therefore, the farmers usually do not kill the paddy snake.

In the story of this version, the writer does not find the name of Sadana. Indeed, there is a little bit similarity in that story, yet it is relatively mixed with some other versions.

f. The Story of Dewi Srin in Banyumas Version

The story of Dewi Sri in Banyumas is related to Wiji Widayat. Citing Suharto, Rahmanu Widayat (undated: 12) describes the story of Dewi Sri as follows. The story is quite different from some of the other versions that have been written.

It tells that in heaven Batara Guru sent down Wiji Widayat, the seed of life, to all the gods. Still, at that time there was a god named Ramadi not attending because he was working on the manufacture of weapons. Hence, for the lack of a god, the gods were not able to hold and accept the Wiji Widayat so it

dashed to the earth, even up to seven layers. Batara Guru got shocked and ordered the gods to chase after it. It turned out that Wiji Widayat went into the mouth of Nagaraksa Hyang Ananta Boga (in the previous version known as the Naga god) when he was gaping. Ananta Boga was exhausted; and then commanded by Batara Guru, he spit it out. Apparently, after spitting, came two tiny baby boys and girls. The women were given the name Sri and the man named Sadana. They were finally grown up as adopted-children of Batara Guru.

Being an adult, Sadana wanted to marry her sister, Sri, yet Batara Guru did not allow to what he had been hoping for. Then Sadana was condemned to be died. His carcass became the plant pests such as monkeys, wild boars, elephants while the others turned to be the sea animals. Sri felt upset and sad, so she filed a request to get her a wooden gamelan called Gedobrog. She had the same fate as his brother, hit by the curse and death. Batara Guru asked Batara Narada to bring Sri to the world and give Sri to farmers who were meditating to get Wiji Widayat. Narada suggested to the farmers to bury Sri and water it every morning and evening. After seven days, from the grave of Sri arose various plants including rice.

g. Dewi Sri in the Version of Tisnawati dan Jakasudana

The story considered Javanese mythology is quoted from the writings of Suraji (2006: 8). This information is described in his paper about the art of Lenggèr in Banyumas. It is explained that the story of Dewi Sri is originated from a love story of

Tisnawati and Djakasudana. Tisnawati was the daughter of Batara Guru, the king of the gods, while Djakasudana was a human being. Batara Guru got angry because Tisnawati, also known as Dewi Sri, engaged romance with humans, Djakasudana. Thus, she was cursed to be rice plant. Knowing her lover condemned to be rice plant, Djakasudana was getting very upset. He felt quite sad and always sat every day staring at the rice plant. Seeing the situation, Batara Guru felt sorry and finally turned Djakasudana into rice plant as well. Therefore, it is believed by Javanese people that the rice grain starting to be meaty is the marriage of Dewi Sri and Djakasudana. This story inspired people to have dance performance so-called Lenggèr in Banyumas tradition. The dance is held at the event of *Bersih Desa*.

As a concluding note, the story of Dewi Sri evolving in various regions, particularly in Java, turned out to show a high variation. The story usually, is associated with the show of *Bersih Desa* with the puppet story related, also appeared in certain ceremonies symbolized on art.

2. The Myth of Dewi Sri and The Traditional Art of Indonesia Farmers

According to an Indonesian online dictionary, one definition of art is (1) the expertise to make quality work (both in terms of softness, beauty, etc.), (2) work created with exceptional craftsmanship, such as dance, painting, carving;

dance artists also often create beautiful literature. The term “art” here is used commensurate with the art form of dance to, music or other such wonderful works that appear in puppet.

Citing Eliade, Suraji (2006:9) says that the myth became the basis for the social and cultural life of the community. Myth reveals how human being exists in the world or how something happens. Myth is a complex cultural realities; it is difficult to give the myth a definitive boundary. Eliade sees the myth as an attempt of man doing track activities associated with the supernatural into the world. Relation to the art, the people believing the myth, then they will make the prayers, songs, and dances, as a ritual to bring the magical figures in front of them.

Widnyana (2009) in his research abstract art explains that humans and art cannot be separated because they have one linkage that is integrated and crystallized. Humans often need spiritual cleansing through an art, and the art requires human creativity to manage it. Art even becomes linking equipment between man and God, man and nature and man and the other men. The significance of art is one of the motivations for search of identity and the development of art. Hence, the motivation of art coming into being is supported by factors from within and outside of the artist. The within factors constitute the will of the feelings, thoughts, senses, intuition or creativity, taste, intention, to express, to have aesthetic, religious (being spiritual), have communication and practice. While the outside factors are the reflection meaning of the environment or natural reality that

gives a lot of life experience. Thus, it is true when art grows over a certain spiritual instigation evolving and developing in the cultural life and history of its people.

In accordance with the function of art to religion, the art is usually implemented as one element of a particular ritual or certain rituals held in the art performance. There have been some forms of art associated with the myth of Dewi Sri in various regions. Although the data are not complete to reach areas in the archipelago, at least it can give the readers a pictorial map of the art based on the mythical story of Dewi Sri, particularly in Java.

a. The puppet with the story of Sri Mulih Revealed on *Bersih Desa* in Yogyakarta

The ceremony of *Bersih Desa*, a few is found around Yogyakarta and usually associated with a puppet show. It is just stated in a study entitled “The Mythical Transformation of Dewi Sri in Javanese Community”, uploaded in lontar.ui.ac.id/opac/themes/m/abstrak.jsp?id=20277831&lokasi=lokal,

It tells that in Javanese community, the myth of Dewi Sri transformed in the puppet story (purwa lakon) of Sri Sadana and Sri Mulih usually carried out in the ceremony of *Bersih Desa*. Javanese people often call the character of Sri Sadana as Mikukuhan (Mikukuhan Dewi Sri) while the character of Sri Sri Mulih is also called as Boyong. This information is in accordance with what has been disclosed in the literature review, that the puppet play of Dewi Sri is commonly played in

the event of *Bersih Desa* in Prangkakan Kulon Progo Yogyakarta. At *Bersih Desa* in Prangkakan, the character of Dewi Sri, Sri Mulih, Sri Kondur or Sri Kembang are played in the daytime. Meanwhile, in the evening they stage a play of Baratayuda which symbolizes the bad and good traits (Suardi, 2006:7). It is explained that this habitual event is a tradition to clean up the village from the disorders both physical and non-physical one. So far people feel afraid if the tradition is not held by the public. This condition is referred to as a crisis situation. With the implementation of *Bersih Desa*, it is expected that it gives a positive contribution to their farm starting from planting to harvest. This ceremony symbolizes the attitude of resigned ourselves to the power of the Almighty God.

The play of Dewi Sri (Sri Mulih) is also carried out in a series of *Bersih Desa* ceremonies in Ponjong Gunung Kidul (Rizkawati, 2008: 27-33). The cultural setting underlying the story of Dewi Sri, the characters acted and the flowing story the play of Sri Mulih described in this study is relatively similar to what is done in Prangkakan Kulon Progo.

b. *Rinding Gumbeng* in Beji Ngawen Gunung Kidul

Rinding Gumbeng is one of the traditional music of the agricultural community that today is still growing in Gunung Kidul, especially in Beji Ngawen Gunung Kidul. Relating to the existence of the music instrument, there have not any scientific studies discovered. Some resources are derived from the

research data (Sartini, 2009) and some tourist resources in Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta.

According to Sartini (2009: 25), people of Beji Ngawen still recognize the traditional rituals such as traditional ceremonies such as births, marriages, and deaths. In addition, they inherit *labuh* ceremony i.e. the ceremony of starting planting rice to the harvest ritual called "Mboyong Dewi Sri" (bring Dewi Sri – Dewi Padi⁴⁶ from the fields to home). The other harvest ceremonies still held to this day is called as *Bersih Dusun* or *Sedekah Bumi* or *Rasulan*. In crowd of the ceremony, it is often played *Rinding Gumbeng* that characterizes the art of *Beji* community. The music instrument consists of *Rinding* and *Gumbeng* made of bamboo and also reputedly innate artistry of Majapahit. *Rinding* is made of bamboo splinter cut in such a way and given the rope to be pulled. The way to play it is by blowing, much like a harmonica but by pulling the rope. When played together with different tones, it will create a harmonious rhythm. The rhythm can also be used to accompany the modern songs. The music will be complete when accompanied with *Gumbeng*. *Gumbeng* is similar to the rafters and sounded by means beaten. The function of *Gumbeng* is in tantamount to the gong of Javanese gamelan. It serves to close one or several series of tones. To date, the music is still preserved, primarily by Duren Beji village communities.

⁴⁶ Goddess of Paddy

Another source from <http://www.wisatamelayu.com/id/tour/1085-Kesenian-Rinding-Gumbeng/navcat> attaching information of a tour to Gunung Kidul explained as follows. Nowadays, *Rinding Gumbeng* is usually displayed with six players of *Gumbeng* and *Rinding* as well as some female singers (*penyekar*) dressing as ancient farmers, with *lurik* cloth, kebaya and farmers' hat (*caping*). The male players wear a black peasant dress and bonded head. The origins of this art is unknown, very old, and estimated to exist since the surrounding communities were not familiar with metal and still believed in the myth of Dewi Sri as Dewi Padi. *Rinding Gumbeng* was initially played at the first rice harvest. It is presented as an expression of gratitude for a bountiful harvest. The sounds produces is an attempt to make Dewi Sri feel happy so it will always give the best results and abundant rice. In the present day, *Rinding Gumbeng* is not played during the rice harvest, but much more playable in the event of *Nyadran Wonosadi*. *Nyadran Wonosadi* is a major ritual performed by the communities related to the existence of Wonosadi forest having its own myth. *Rinding Gumbeng* is deemed to have social moral values in public life of Gunung Kidul. It symbolizes simplicity, tenacity and the merging of man and nature. Being simple and close to nature can be seen from the material, how to play and to perform. Meanwhile, being tenacious is indicated by the expertise to play that needs to be done to learn seriously because

this instrument does not have a clear notation, rather, uses a sense.

c. *Seblang* Dance in Banyuwangi

This source is derived from the information of culture and tourism entitled “Myth between the Arts of *Seblang* and Dewi Sri” as described in <http://dotcomcell.com/BANYUWANGIONLINE/SEBLANG/>.

Seblang dance existed in Banyuwangi East Java categorized as Javanese art of non-Mataraman. This dance is one of the traditional dances constituting a symbol of gratitude to the fertility of land acquired by a group of people. According to the source, there are many similar dances in Indonesia and even in the world. Meaning of fertility is symbolized by crown of flowers worn by the dancer. *Seblang* dance is usually carried out in the event of Bersih Bumi. In some other areas it is often called “Sintren”, or “tayub”. The symbol of fertility is represented by a beautiful goddess, Dewi Sri which is in Sundanese called Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Asri. Although *Seblang* dance is considered a symbolic expression of gratitude media towards a blessing of fertility, these sources are not sufficient enough to explain how the mythical relationship in the dance. The information explains that the dance media is often used to invoke a mythic figure. In this case, indeed in some dance sequences performed summoning spirits, but it is unclear as a depiction of Dewi Sri personified in the physical body of the dancer.

d. *Tarawangsa*, Jentreng, *Karinding* in East Java

Some studies having been conducted and documented by *Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia* (Indonesian Education University) is generally associated with the art itself, the contents of education and practice of play. Though we can read the description, we cannot find the title and the author's name for the work is not published in a full copy. The origin of art description related to the aspects of value, in fact, was found in some popular posts. To strengthen the data of this study, there should be any research-field to be done so that the data will be more complete and more accountable.

Tarawangsa is one musical instrument played by traditional farmers in Rancakalong Sumedang and some places in Banten. According to information written by Yusandi (2011) in his article entitled *Tarawangsa* (in <http://wacananusantara.org/tarawangsa/>) explained that *Tarawangsa* a musical instrument made of wood shaped like a violin. This instrument is equipped with two strings and played swiped like a violin, the others are plucked with the index finger. This Sundanese traditional musical instrument is relatively old. And according to these resources, even the name of *tarawangsa* has appeared in the ancient Sundanese texts like *Jatiraga* dan *Sewa ka Darma* written during the Kingdom of Sunda-Pajajaran. The truth needs to be the prominent object in further study. According to the spoken version in Rancakalong, this music has existed since the era of the Ancient Kingdom of

Mataram, about 8 or 9 centuries AD. It is said that Mataram, in around Central Java and Yogyakarta, is a rich kingdom with rice plants. There were Sundanese street singers that brought the music such as *celempung* (zither), *rengkong* and *tarawangsa*. The street singers wanted to acquire rice seed and did by taking and hiding inside the instrument so as not to be seen by the people of Mataram. Their efforts repeatedly failed and became successful when being inserted in the hole of *tarawangsa*. After that, Sundanese people started to successfully develop the rice farming. In this information, there is no information about the relationships of *tarawangsa* and other musical instruments to the mythical story of Dewi Sri except as a place to store the rice seeds brought from the land of Mataram.

Tarawangsa is usually played with jentreng. Jentreng is a type of harp or zither found in Javanese community. Jentreng is made of wood with seven strings. Musical sound is produced by plucking. In Sumedang, as a civilized society, the farmers have some unique music and art. However, there have not been found any sources of scientific papers to be explore. Some of the following information was found from the resources of Sundanese cultrure, among others from <http://www.ladangview.com/seni-budaya-sumedang.html>. As like the other areas of Sunda, Sumedang has various musical instruments and art in which some of them are similar to what have been described in the previous section. There are other

musical instruments resembling to *Rinding* in Gunung Kidul. They called it *Karinding*.

Karinding is a wind instrument considered unique, made from palm midrib or bamboo. The sound is determined by the sensitive sense of the blowers due to the absence of permanent tone. The name is derived from the one name of fields insect which has a tinny sound so-called *Karindingan*. This instrument is usually used to ward off the boredom while working and also serves to repel pests. There is no description that this instrument is used for ritual purposes. Another music also not described with special rituals and existing myths of Dewi Sri is the *Seni Beluk*, a kind of a cappella singing as an expression of communication among the farmers and Tutunggulan, carried out when pounding rice into rice (*nutu*), with a distinctive voice strains of punches so as not to get boring.

Gondang art or so-called Gondang Sunda or Tabuh lisung (in Central Java and surrounding, lisung is called lesung). It is mentioned that this art is very distinctive as the art of an agricultural community devoted as an expression of gratitude for the success of their agriculture. The show is usually done when the rice harvest is abundant. Initially, this art was done as a ceremony honoring Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri believed by Sundanese people as the Goddess of Fertility and the Rice Goddess. Commonly, the ceremony is held on the first time pounding rice as an expression of joy after the harvest and

socially as a meeting arena for young men and women got the pair.

Jentreng or *Tarawangsa*, from the other told that those two names are distinguished as two musical instruments. The one (*Tarawangsa*) is a musical instrument shaped like a fiddle, similar to a violin, while jentreng refers to a plucked musical instrument as the harp (in Central Java and the surrounding areas, it is called Siter). However, from the source posted in <http://blogs.unpad.ac.id/surial12/tag/jentreng/>, it states that *tarawangsa* is equated with jentreng. In Rancakalong, Sundanese people whose culture is still strong with *ngahuma* or farming, associate the existence of this instrument to the mythical story of Dewi Sri. The art of Jentreng is done as a media organization of harvest or Nyalin rice ceremony. That magical ceremony is performed as a ritual to honor Dewi Sri in which the society of Rancakalong Sumedang called as Kersa Nyai. With this ceremony it is expected that Dewi Sri will remain in Rancakalong, the implicit goal that brought their grain harvest abundance.

e. Angklung

The tracking from the various sources so far, there is only one source found of the paper research specifically dealing with Angklung Buncis, entitled “The Motion Studies in the Play of Angklung Buncis in Argasari Bandung”. One more information is found on some websites telling about Sundanese culture. Some information suggests that the emergence of

Angklung music and a variety of art performances related with. Within the art performance, there is an association with the mythical story of Dewi Sri. Angklung was originally used in some rituals associated with rice and used as a decoy for Dewi Sri to come down to earth so that the rice plants become fertile. Indeed, the ancient belief is still carried on and existing in myth among the society. The origins of the creation of bamboo music, such as Angklung is based on the life view of Sundanese agrarian people with the source of life from paddy (*pare*) as a staple food. That is the case having delivered the mythical belief towards Nyai Sri Pohaci as a symbol of life-giving considered Goddess of Rice (*hirup-hurip*), as already described in the previous section.

The music of Angklung generally can be said to have originated from West Java. It can be seen from the numerous variations and given the fact that the music is still used in many areas of West Java until now. According to the description in <http://indonesiaindonesia.com/f/90506-alat-musik-tradisional-angklung/>, there are various kinds of Angklung in West Java, they are: Angklung Kanekes, Angklung Dogdog Lojor, Angklung Gubrag, Angklung Badeng, Angklung Bungko, Angklung Buncis, and Angklung Modern (Padaeng). Angklung Kanekes is usually played by Baduy community, while Angklung dog dog lojor is played by Kasepuhan Pancer Pangawinan community, the union of Banten Kidul, scattered around the mount Halimun bordering with Jakarta, Bogor and

Lebak. Angklung Padaeng is developed by Daeng Sutigna. Each type of Angklung has its respective functions, but generally starts from the existence of the farming community. Another type of Angklung's name is taken from the name of the region or the one initially creating it. Another type of division is based on its origin: Angklung Buncis (Priangan/Bandung), Angklung Badud (Priangan Timur/Ciamis), Angklung Bungko (Indramayu), Angklung Gubrag (Bogor), Angklung Ciusul (Banten), Angklung Dog dog Lojor (Sukabumi), Angklung Badeng (Malangbong, Garut), and Angklung Padaeng identical to the National Angklung with diatonic scales, developed since 1938. The type of Indonesian Angklung is originated from development of Sundanese angklung. The following section, there will be a short explanation about the will some kinds of Angklung.

f. Angklung Kanekes

Angklung is used by Baduy people with certain rules; including how and when the drum is sounded. In general, the use is associated with rice. In Baduy Dalam Angklung is tolled profusely while in Baduy luar, Angklung is rung with a certain rhythm. Although the tolling period is more on the ritual, but there is still time to toll Angklung i.e. until three months after planting. After that, Angklung had to be rested for six months and only be sounded after harvest. The storage of Angklung requires a separate ceremony called *musungkeun angklung*, i.e. entrusting or storing (nitipkeun) angklung after theuse.

In the community of Baduy Luar, it is relatively still allowed to toll the Angklung for the sake of entertainment, but in Baduy Dalam, Angklung is only used for the sake of ritual. Angklung makers have to go through certain conditions and only certain people are allowed. People of Baduy Luar will buy Angklung from the people of Baduy Dalam (Tangtu or Kajeroan, which consists of the people of Cibeo, Cikartawana, and Cikeusik).

g. Angklung Dogdog Lojor

This art is still held in the community of Kasepuhan Pancer Pangawinan, the customary union of Banten Kidul scattered around Mount Halimun (bordering with Jakarta, Bogor and Lebak). Its name is taken from one of its instrument; that is dogdog lojor. There is musical instrument of Angklung in the art performance since it pertains to the ritual of rice. This art is held after the harvest and ceremony itself is called *Seren Taun* or *Serah Taun*. The tradition of respecting the rice is still carried out because as descendants they recognized as the Padjadjaran royal officers and soldiers in the ranks of *Pangawinan* (soldier armed with a lance). After the influence of Islam and modernization, now dogdog lojor is not only played for the ritual but also for entertainment such as circumcision and marriage.

h. Angklung Gubrag

The existence of Angklung Gubrag in Cipinong Bogor is associated with the ritual of rice. It is believed that there was

story or events in the past era. One time there was famine; drought caused rice plants did not grow well. People believed the presence of Dewi Sri being depressed due to nothing entertaining making her get mad at humans. The local community then made an effort so that Dewi Sri wanted to go down to the earth to give blessings in order to make their rice crops flourish. Therefore, they gave some offerings and performed some art shows, among others, with the flute and *Karinding* performance. This effort was less successful, and then a young man looked for a bamboo at Cirangsad Mountain. He made the bambo into a musical instrument which is now known as angklung. The making of Angklung is purportedly done by a specific *laku* (condition). This art is later refined, fitted with dogdog lojor and played together by society. After the ceremony by using the equipment of Angklung and dogdog lojor, the paddy and rice then became fertile and pithy. They believe that the Angklung performace can lure Dewi Sri to go down to the earth (in Sundanese called *Ngagubrag*) and give the blessing of fertility. Hence, that Angklung eventually called as Angklung gubrag. The play of the ceremony is held at the end of the harvest, i.e. in Seren Taun. In addition to ritual purposes, Angklung music is now played for a variety of entertainment activities at the time of marriage and others.

i. Dewi Sri and Art in Bali

In Bali, the existence of Dewi Sri is widely found in some ceremonies and art forms such as dance or wayang found

in Java. Quoting Sutawan, Wayan Windia (undated: 1) says that the belief in Dewi Sri is manifested in the presence of Pura Bedugul constituting a temple of worship towards Dewi Sri usually found in the rice fields in Subak system in Bali. According to the tourist info in <http://wisata-bali.com/pura-beji.html>, in Bali there is also a special temple to worship Dewi Sri, i.e. Pura Beji in Sangsit village Sawan district Buleleng. In addition, Dewi Sri is manifested in the form of *Cili*, one of the works of art now widely traded in the form of souvenirs (I Nyoman Sila, 2009). It is clearly described in his research entitled "Cili: A Traditional Balinese Works of Art, An Identity, Continuity, and Changes in Tourism Regions of Gianyar in Bali (A Study of Structure, Function, and Meaning)", that the form of *Cili* is in accordance with the needs as a means of religious ritual Hinduism, its function as a work of Balinese art and culture in the social functions having a symbolic meaning. *Cili* is also as a symbol of Dewi Sri for the rice fertility, while Sri Sedhana is meant for the traders' fertility. This case is also revealed by Harry Sulastianto and his friends, that in the development of art (of sculpture), the symbolism of fertility value and its association with the myth of Dewi Sri still survives to this day in the form of *Cili*.

It can be inferred that in Indonesia, the myth of Dewi Sri is highly extended in Java, and there are a wide variety of sources and interpretations about Dewi Sri. Unlike in Java, Dewi Sri is more than the object of veneration. What is understood by

the society in various regions, in fact, is different from the story evolving in other areas. The script of Purwakandha seems to be the source of some stories in a variety of areas although there are some differences in names and story elements. Meanwhile, some stories very differ from each other.

The myth of Dewi Sri is widely spread in the Archipelago. Some are written texts; others to be the story in the puppet show and the rest is oral storytelling that developed in the community. Mainly in Java, the myth of Dewi Sri even became a crucial event in the implementation of ceremonies or certain rituals then associated with various forms of art.

As a myth, Dewi Sri embellishes the domains of human life which then manifests in a variety of social and cultural activities. In Javanese community, belief in the myth of Dewi Sri appears to be engaged in life community in the form of ritual symbolism. Dewi Sri is not seen as an object of worship, but a representation or a symbol of certain powers relating to agriculture then manifested through the medium of art. An example taken place in Java is the story of Dewi Sri in the play of puppets in the context of *Bersih Desa*. The story of Dewi Sri became one of the prerequisites of a puppet show becoming one of a series of ceremonies in *Bersih Desa*. In this context, Dewi Sri is not directly the object of veneration, but her presence is still valued and respected through the media of puppet art; likewise with the dance of *Seblang* in Banyuwangi, Lengger, Sintren and others. In those dances, it even is not very clear

about the elements of presence and mythological function of Dewi Sri to meet certain contexts as a myth. Personification in the figure of the dancers does not directly provide an overview of the functions of Dewi Sri as the Goddess of Rice and Fertility except as a merely form of dance performances. There has not been found any example yet, for instance, there is a song lyric that accompanies showing the role of Dewi Sri as part of knowledge or understanding of the community.

The myth of Dewi Sri close to the agriculture is more visible in the manifestations of belief and life of the community in West Java. The symbolism appears in various forms of art either as a medium to summon her presence or just to respect her. Meanwhile, in Bali, Dewi Sri is more as an object of worship, so they established many temples, primarily in the rice field area as the place where the rice grows being a significant aspect for her existence. It is not too visible that the existence of Dewi Sri is approached with art activities. We now need to consider why the existence of Dewi Sri in Bali is not manifested in the art performance, since we see that Bali is quite strong with with the culture of art. As an object of worship, a symbolism of Dewi Sri is already found in the realization of art works in the sculpture called *Cili* that now even become a part of the product of tourism industry. The existence of Dewi Sri as a religious object is more visible in some artistic expression in the form of drumming such as *Rinding Gumbeng*, *Karinding*, especially *Angklung* in some areas in West Java. It becomes quite

important to question and explore the reasons why there is a different response when believing Dewi Sri in several of these groups.

4. The Analysis of The Local Values local wisdom values

a. Religious Aspect (The Relationship of Human Being and God)

Religious aspect in this case is intended as the aspect of man's relationship with God or a certain Supra-Natural spirit. When viewed from the religious aspect, the emergence of a variety of art related to the mythical story of Dewi Sri shows the communities' belief in the entity of distinctive deity. Presumably this is quite different to the current understanding of the monotheistic religions evolving in Indonesia.

In Balinese community, Dewi Sri, is the object of worship held in the temples in Bedugul or Uluncarik temple, specially built by farmers to Dewi Sri believed to be the Goddess of Fertility and Prosperity. This shrine is also often referred to *sanggah*, a place for the procession of presenting the offerings. Sanggah Pecatu placed in the field constitutes harmonization of the relationships among the farmers, nature, and Dewi Sri as a manifestation of God. For Balinese people, it is certainly in accordance with the customs and beliefs that prevail there. In Bali, it is also found a special temple of worship towards Dewi Sri resembling to other temples dedicated to be

the place of veneration. One of the symbolisms of her existence is now shown by a statue (*Cili*) having become a part of the tourism production of goods which, in general, has less ritual meaning. There have not been found any symbol as the existence of Dewi Sri in the form of other miscellaneous arts. Hence it is crucial to ask why in Bali there is a lack of symbol representing Dewi Sri through the art media.

Meanwhile, unlike in Bali, the existence of Dewi Sri in Java is not considered the object of worship although the idea of Dewi Sri exists in the shadows of Javanese thought. Even so, both in the form of architectural homes, especially Joglo, it is still vivified the imaginary figure of Dewi Sri as then paid homage to her existence. The function of *senthong tengah* and the symbolism of *Loro Blonyo* becomes the evidence of this. Indeed, though Dewi Sri is not the object to be worshiped but her existence occupies a special spiritual value in the life of the Javanese community. Likewise in conjunction with some form of art as a medium to “ask” for blessing of her fertility or merely express gratitude for agricultural fertility given as a manifestation of God. Nonetheless, it still needs to be questioned and examined how many and how deep people understand and believe in the myth. Especially in West Java, and even more so in the traditional Bedouin society; the presence of Dewi Sri is quite strong. It can be seen from the cult procedures that must follow some conditions surrounding. Every community with a physical environment, social and respective

cultural background will respond and develop it with its own intellectual abilities, including in response to the idea of belief.

b. Cosmic aspect (The human relationship with nature)

The cosmic aspect means that how people build life harmony with the nature. Figure of Dewi Sri, whether it is believed to be a real person there or just a figure of imaginary brings good results in the relationship between man and nature. In Bali, for instance, by constructing temples in the fields shows a good relationship between man, God and the environmental world. By having a good relationship people living with agricultural environment will obviously strive to live in harmony because they feel the similar need to each other. Generally, the society also would practically think of a causal relationship. If humans do not live in harmony with the natural surroundings, the nature will not give them a virtue and prosperity; similarly, when it is viewed in Javanese community with the ritual of *Bersih Desa*. The existence of Dewi Sri is described in the play of Sri Mulih should give particular impact. At least, relating to the functional of *Bersih Desa*, it will then remind and raise their awareness of the importance of good relations with the natural environment in terms of both physical and non-physical. Expressing gratitude to god over the harvest and cleaning of the village from bad influences become an inseparable part from the concept of living in harmony with nature. Likewise with the communities in West Java, it is especially Kanekas community of Baduy Baduy. Customary

provisions that accompany the art in connection with the mythical story of Dewi Sri show the firmness of traditional farming concept based on an understanding of the Supra-Natural entity. Belief Supra-Natural entities will lead to a certain behavior in the natural environment.

c. Ethical aspects(human relationships with other humans)

Ethical aspect here is related to the aspect of inter-human relationships as a result of the religious aspect mentioned above. Socially, the presence of the religious aspect will affect how people socialize with each other. Whether a community group knows or not the reason or purpose of convening a ceremony with all the art followed, it will lead them to a social mobility to participate in the success of the event. Very rarely people still having different rituals but are not socially supported by the community though some people may not have the same understanding of these activities. Such activities, whether in the form of *Seblang* Dance, *Sintren*, *Lengger*, *Bersih Desa*, *Puppet*, *Seren Taun* and others will relatively show and direct that social cohesion remains strong. Therefore, from an ethical function, relationships among members of the community engaging the traditional arts and ceremonies based Dewi Sri give a positive contribution for Indonesian people having a strong collective basis. The willingness of every member of society to participate in and support these events has its own ethical and social wisdom. Each community will show its own way.

F. Concluding Remarks

From the explanation above, we may infer some points as follows.

1. There are various versions of the mythical story of Dewi Sri spread across Indonesia in the form of manuscript text, puppet stories and mythological understanding of the community disseminating as belief and oral literature.
2. Based on the myths evolving about Dewi Sri, most is appeared in the form of arts like puppet on the show of *Bersih Desa* in Yagyakarta, *Seblang Dance* in Banyuwangi, *Lengger*, *Sintren* and others spreading in the island of Java, also on *Rinding Gumbeng*, *Karinding*, *Tarawangsa*, *Angklung* and many others played in the *Seren Taun* ceremony in West Java.
3. Some of the local moral values that can be captured, among others from the religious aspect suggests that aspects of religious communities and socio-cultural background will affect the response to the existence of the mythical story of Dewi Sri. It is shown in the realization of the existence of myths and belief in Dewi Sri which in Bali included in the functions of worship, while in Java more as a central media to the belief in the Supra-Natural concern or simply homage, a tribute to various symbolisms over the existence of the imaginary. In the cosmic aspect, it encourages the attitude of the community to appreciate nature. On the ethical side, it

encourages the awareness of people to live socially in more powerful circumstance.

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Purwakandha Brangtakusuma, diterjemahkan oleh Luwiyanto

CHAPTER VI

Wong Pinter and Traditional Healing of Javanese

Abstract

This article objectifies to formulate who wong pinter is, to explore the practices of wong pinters and theorizing how they perceive the world and their relation to other beings.

A wong pinter is one of traditional healers or helpers in Java. The wong pinters help people to overcome the physical problems using traditional healing. They use herbs and prayers. They also help people for overcoming other problems related to the unseen beings, spirit. Sometimes people ask a help to solve economic, domestic, social problems and othe problems. These practices show how Javanese people, especially in Temanggung, perceive the world and make relation to other beings. Referring to the practices I conclude that they appreciate other human beings and wong pinter with their extraordinary capabilities in account of a medium, "srono" or "lantaran" to come to God and to communicate with other-than-human beings.

Key words: wong pinter - medium - human - other-than-human.

A. Introduction

1. Background

Traditional healers and similar practitioners still exist all over the world. People use their help for various purposes. In Africa, about 60% to 80% of people consult a traditional healer

before going to a primary health care practitioner.⁴⁷ According to a survey conducted by Purohit, in India 90% urban respondents believed that traditional therapies are effective in the treatment of physical and mental illness.⁴⁸ In a research conducted in Magelang Central Java, 55,6% women visited traditional healers help deliver babies.⁴⁹

Indonesia, with many ethnicity, also has various traditional healers with various names and its name usually has its own specialties. Javanese also has many kinds of traditional healers. Many people from every social level such as civil servants, retired persons and highly educated people in Semarang city Central Java come to traditional healers to overcome various problems. They call the healers *wong pinter*. In this research, *wong pinter* includes *dukun*, *tabib*, *ahli kebatinan*, *ahli thariqah*, *ustadz*, *kyai*.⁵⁰ About 60 kilometers to the east, in Demak region, people also know *wong pinter*. Many

⁴⁷ Iise Truter, "African Traditional Healers: Cultural and religious belief intertwined in a holistic way", *SA Pharmaceutical Journal*, September (2007), 56.

⁴⁸ Ajit K Dalal., "Folk Wisdom and Traditional Healing Practices: Some lessons for modern psychotherapies", *Foundation of Indian Psychology*, 30 June (2007), 8.

⁴⁹ Nur Latifah Amilda and Budi Palarto "Factors Related with the Choice of Delivery Assistance by Traditional Birth Attendants", Artikel Karya Tulis Ilmiah, Fakultas Kedokteran Universitas Diponegoro Semarang, (2010), 3.

⁵⁰ Ridin Sofwan, "Peranan Wong Pinter dalam Pengobatan Alternatif Di Kota Semarang", Lemlit IAIN Walisongo, Semarang, (2010).

traders in Demak Bintoro market visit *wong pinter* to support their commerce activities. Indriasuari divides *wong pinter* into two terms: *kyai* and *dukun*. These traders prefer to visit to *kyai* than *dukun*. They think that if they come to *kyais*, they still following Islamic teachings.⁵¹ Implicitly, they argue that the services performed by the shamans (*dukun*) is not in line with Islamic teachings. Understandably, in fact that Demak is the first Islamic kingdom in Java, and now well-known as “Kota Wali”, as a symbol of Islamic preachers city. Almost all people in Demak are pious Muslims. Therefore, they rely on the *kyais* as Islamic leaders and on giving any help than the *dukuns*.

Suparlan also listed 6 *dukuns*: *dukun pijat* (do massage), *dukun sangkal putung* (help to overcome broken bones), *dukun petungan* (help for best day to do something such as wedding party), *dukun* who help someone bitten by poisonous snake, *dukun bayi* (help delivery baby) and *dukun perewangan* (with white or black magic, cure diseases or overcome other problems).⁵² In Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KKBI), *wong pinter* is not defined, but there is *dukun* that related to *dukun beranak*, *dukun calak*, *dukun jampi*, *dukun japa*, *dukun klenik*,

⁵¹ Apita Fikri Indriasuari, “Kepercayaan Pedagang terhadap Wong Pinter dalam Menunjang Usaha Dagang di Pasar Bintoro Demak”, Universitas Negeri Semarang, *Jurnal Solidarity* I (1) (2012).

⁵² Rina Anggorodi, “Dukun Bayi dalam Persalinan oleh Masyarakat Indonesia”, *Makara Kesehatan*, Vol. 13. NO.1, Juni (2008), 9-14.

*dukun santet, dukun siwer, dukun susuk, dukun tenung and dukun tiban.*⁵³ In Yogyakarta, people refer the term *dukun* to such characteristics: helper (*pitulung*), mystic (*ahli kebatinan*), expert in Javanese science (*ahli ngelmu Jawa*), elder (*wong tuwa, orang tua*), smart person (*wong pinter, orang pintar*), para-normal or religious leaders (*ustadz*).⁵⁴

In my hometown, Kemloko Kranggan Temanggung Central Java, people know *wong pinter, kyai*, and *dukun* and people differ them. *Dukun* is similar to *paranormal*⁵⁵. People differ *wong pinter* and *dukun* as Pak Sudiyono said, “Wong pinter, yo beda karo dhukun”. According to Pak Guru Darman, *kyai* and *dukun* learn in school or to someone. A *kyai* studies about religion (Islam). and *dukun* studies to someone about healing and similar helps. Therefore, people may ask about the *dukun*, “*Sopo gurune?*”, or to whom he learns to. A *kyai* can practice as a *wong pinter*, but *wong pinter* cannot be a *kyai*. *Dukun* also can not be a *kyai*. *Wong pinter* usually learns by himself. He improves his ability from previous knowledge that may come from someone, religious teachings, or books on adjusting the patient’s demands. My informant says, “Wong

⁵³ <http://bahasa.kemdiknas.go.id/kbbi/index.php>

⁵⁴ Mark Woodward, (2011), “The Javanese Dukun: Healing and Moral Ambiguity *Jawa, Indonesia and Islam*, NewYork: Springer Dordrecht, 71.

⁵⁵ Pak Henny from Menongso Kemloko in the discussion with Pak Sudiyono, and Pak Darman on Friday, March 28, 2013, 20.00.

pinter kuwi duwe penemu dhewe”. He forms and improves his own knowledge.⁵⁶

When I addressed a question to my informants for listing the *wong pinters* in my home town, there are some persons called *wong pinters*. Pak Guru Darman is one of them. Pak Guru Darman continues his father’s profession. According to him, there are differences on kind of helps (services) and how fulfill the patient’s demands. I think, the differences connect to the history, social, cultural, and religious background of the society. The first and the second half parts of 20th century, the society was different in progress. In the last decades, the society run more advanced, including the development of religions. This progress of the society leads to changes on the demands and the way how to help. It relates to Pak Guru Darman’s view that a *wong pinter* has and creates his own knowledge. He will try to help people who comes even with problems he has not known before.

Related to the religious life, *wong pinter* is usually pious on conducting Abrahamic religious teachings such as Muslims, they do prayer and fasting in Ramadhan, but they also practice Javanese belief such as *slametan* or *kenduren*⁵⁷ and believe in spiritual beings. They begin to do the Islamic pillars but still use

⁵⁶ Interview was conducted on Wednesday, March 21, 2013, 20.00-22.00, in the researcher’s house Yogyakarta.

⁵⁷ It is a communal feast with foods and prayer that usually followed by neighbors.

their local knowledge on believing the local deities and conducting activities related to the existence. This characteristic seems what Ricklefs calls it as a mystic synthesis, as the Javanese religious identity in the beginning of 19th century. This identity represents three characteristics: strong commitment to Islam identity, widespread observation of the five pillars of the faith, and acceptance the local spiritual forces.⁵⁸ On the other hand, a *kyai* is well-known as an expert of Islamic teachings, but *dukun* is considered not to practice religious teachings even though they are Muslims. It is crucial to know their thought in the broader Javanese view. In this research, I address to formulate the *wong pinter*, explore the practices and theorize their existence in the Javanese world view and religious frame work.

Based on these preliminary information, I hypothesize that although people are living in the modern world, traditional healing still holds a prominent role to solve problems in society. There are various terms for Javanese healers, and the *wong pinter* has its own characters that differ to other healers. Here, I am interested in exploring *wong pinter* as one of Javanese healers and practitioners, on how they think and conduct their world view on practicing the healing and social services. I address this research in my hometown in term of restoring and

⁵⁸ Ricklefs, Merle C. (2007), *Polarizing Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Vision*, (Singapore: NUS Press), 11.

documenting local knowledge and for reason of easier access to gaining the data.

2. Literature review

I will relate my topic to the cosmology or world view of Java. I assume that talking about a certain phenomena in a society is connected to the wider cosmological or world view concept of the society. According Robert Redfield, world view is:

“that outlook upon the universe that is characteristics of a people”

“ It is the picture the member of a society have of the properties and character upon their stage of action. ... World view refers to the way the world looks to the people looking out. ... 'world view' attends especially to the way a man, in a particular society, sees himself in relation to all else. It is the properties of existence as distinguished from and related to the self. It is, in short, a man's idea of the universe. It is that organization of ideas which answers to a man the questions: What am I? Among what do I move? What are my relation to these things? ... Self is the axis of the 'world view'”.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ A. Irving Hallowell, (1960/1975), “Ojibwa ontology, behavior, and world view”, in D. T. B. Tedlock (Ed.), *Teaching from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy* New York: Liveright, 19.

I will use this idea to look the existence of *wong pinter*. A *wong pinter* is considered an axis to look into their existence. He relates to other existences, whether the God, other human beings and what Halowell says about Ojibwa as other-than-human existence.⁶⁰

I also consider Geertz's concept of Javanese culture to come to the existence of the Javanese traditional healers especially to my research subject. Geertz describes the society and culture of Modjokuto people. Modjokuto is a small city in East Central Java. Using ethnomethodology, he explores the three main figures of people in Java who are *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. He explores their existences related to their religious life, cultural, social and political activities. Although, this book describes Javanese condition in 1950s, I think, it is a comprehensive source to know the figure of Javanese people in their cultural and social life.⁶¹ As a pattern or general concept, it will bring me to understand my research subject. But, I assume that every community has their own specificities. This concept will help draw my subject as I compare in various phenomena of Javanese society. Geertz does not focus on traditional healers in his research. Related to the traditional

⁶⁰ Hallowell, in *Teaching from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, 21.

⁶¹ Geertz, Clifford (1976), *The Religion of Java*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

healing in Javanese culture, I will explore the research done by Mark Woodward and Timothy Daniels.

Mark Woodward did his research in Yogyakarta and its surroundings. In his book⁶², *Indonesia, Java and Islam*, he tries to answer the question about how Islam is understood and lived out in Java. Using ethnographic method, he observed the circumstances around Sultanate of Yogyakarta and villages around the city. He also provided comprehensive analysis of contemporary and historical Indonesia Islamic texts. He placed Yogyakarta and Indonesia as a conceptual category as a geographical and political entity. In conclusion, he comes to Indonesian and Yogyakarta nationalism, and he says that religion, culture and nationalism are contested today. Supporting his analysis, he explores many aspect of Javanese culture of Yogyakarta such as Javanese communal feast that called *slametan*, Garebeg Maulud, Ramadhan fasting, also traditional healing. In Chapter 2 of this book, Woodward notes that healing is an integral component of local Islam and it is unique to its culture at contexts. It exists in the Javanese health system. Agree with Kleinman's definition of a health care system, Woodward states as following notes.

The Javanese medical system draws on a wide variety of symbols, roles and interactional patterns, none of which may be understood as uniquely medical. Concepts of personhood, cosmology, power and knowledge are melded into a corpus of closely related theories

⁶² Woodward, Mark, *Java, Indonesia and Islam*,. 69-113.

explaining the origins of disease and motivating highly diverse treatment strategies.

Woodward also mentions the term “ambiguity” of the existence. People ask for helping but they are also afraid of the power of the *dukun*. They are sometimes considered dangerous. Woodward urges other healers such as *dukun* that refer to mystical, expert in Javanese science, smart person (*orang pintar*), and also Islamic healers called *ustadz*, *habib*, *kyai*, and *tabib*. He uses Geertz’s concept in the context of analysis, especially in comparison and structure of human body. Woodward also theorizes some aspects in relationship with personhood, power and spirituality.

Timothy also did his research in Yogyakarta area. In his book⁶³, *Islamic Spectrum in Java*, he tries interpret the local culture. He treats public cultural forms as local “metasocial commentaries”. It means how local people interpret themselves and their own society. He uses ethnographically-based description and analysis to interpret public cultural forms, Islam and equalization by paying attention to the historical context. In Chapter 3, he examines variety of healers such as *dukun*, *kyai haji*, and *ustadz*. He explores this ambiguity dimension of local healers that they are dangerous for local people and foreigner researchers, also cultural and political

⁶³ Timothy Danniels (2009), “Dukun, Kyai and Ustadz: Healing Along the Spectrum”, *Islamic Spectrum in Java*, UK:MPG Book, 74-99.

realm in which they operate. He also explains Sufi and Salafi oriented healers. I think, this research will help inform his methodology and analysis. He also mentions the term “orang pintar” or paranormal as other name of the healers. It will support wide understanding on how I will explore Wong Pinter in their specific existence.

Until now, I have not found a spesific research that explore and theorize *wong winter* as one category of Javanese traditional healers. It will give contribution to understand other healers in different place.

B. *Wong Pinter* of Temanggung’s Profile

Based on my preliminary observation taken in January to February 2013⁶⁴, and interview to Pak Guru Darman⁶⁵, I have some information about what people call *wong pinter* and what kinds of help that people can ask to him. The predicate as *wong pinter* itself is determined by society, not by himself. But as a person with special power and abilities, the process of becoming a *wong pinter* may be influenced by heredity, diet, physical exercise, meditation, prayer and ritual.⁶⁶ These rituals as a core of asceticism, including fasting, are personal access that

⁶⁴Collecting data using face book facilities of “Keluarga Besar Kemloko Temanggung” and “Setya Muda Jurang Kemloko”, and interview to Ibu Rusminah and Ibu Sudimah.

⁶⁵ Interview was held on Friday March 28th 2013, 20.00-24.00 in Pak Guru Darman’s house in Kemloko Temanggung.

⁶⁶ Woodward, *Jawa, Indonesia, and Islam*, 73.

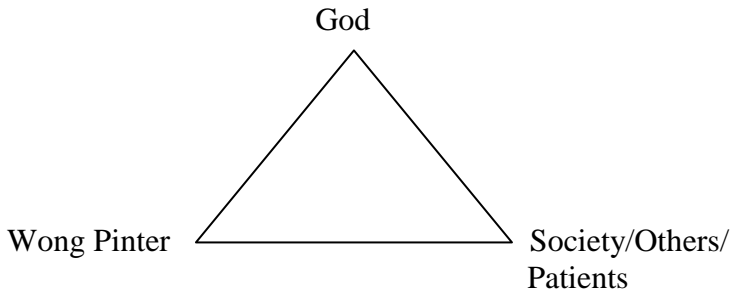
considered a fundamental way to absorb power⁶⁷. Furthermore, he should have appropriate characters and behavior.

As a personal categories relates to the society, people think that *wong pinter* is usually wise, not cocky and show off about his ability. He is a humble and good person, and becoming a best practice of the society. He can lead the family into the good way and God blessed. *Wong pinter* gives help and good paths. He does Islamic piety, practices the teachings but still uphold the culture of Java (Javanese). Pak Guru Darman said, that *wong pinter* should not do wrong way such as criminal or amoral attitudes. If a *wong pinter* conducts a crime or amoral way, people will not call him a *wong pinter*, but maybe *dukun*. I have not found these categories in such literatures about the society's demands of the *wong pinter*'s ideal character and attitude. But, Woodward also gives a clue that human body as a perfect microcosm consists of three components: physical body, spiritual body, and the soul. A *wong pinter* should smartly manages this abilities and behaves properly. It connects to his potent self that because of his meditation and other rituals make his speech takes effect (*mandi*).⁶⁸ He has to control his behavior even his speech. *Wong pinter* here is a part of life cycle in

⁶⁷ Bennedict ROG Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Culture in Indonesia*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 25.

⁶⁸ Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1987), 48.

relation with the God and the society. He should live in harmony to others.



Picture. In everyday life, *wong pinter* lives with other human beings and in relation with the God.

Additionally, Pak Guru Darman supported his reason with comparing the two words “*ngerti*” (understand) and “*pinter*” (smart). People who understand many things may not do and practice the knowledge properly, but *wong pinter* does and practices it in a good way. Pak Guru Darman gives an example about a *kyai* who was also considered as *wong pinter*. He helps people for some problems. But, when the *kyai* conducted an amoral way, he is not considered as a *wong pinter* anymore, even though he may still a *kyai* (because he knows Islamic teachings).

According to my data, a *wong pinter* constitutes as a pious person. Although, a *wong pinter* practice Javanese culture, he does the five pillars of Islam. As a person, he is a good man and he tends to combine the Javanese culture and conduct as a Muslim. On the experience of Pak Guru Darman, prays every day, does fasting Ramadan, give zakat fitrah in Idul Fitri. And

he forms and develops his own knowledge based on his Javanese knowledge and Islamic teachings. He uses some Islamic terms such as the *Bismillahirrohmanirrohim* (in the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate) and believes in the power of the God in practice healing and helps people.

Wong pinter is considered as a person who has a certain spiritual power. People understand that the prayer of *wong pinter* is faster to come to God. He is considered a person who is very close to God so the God will fulfill his proposals. Pak Guru Darman restated what Pak Darwoto (one of religious leaders in my village), “*Ora ono wong cepak karo Gusti Allah, nek ora Pak Darman*”. There is no person close to God unless Pak Darman. It means that people acknowledge the piety of *wong pinter* as a person who can help to ask to God faster than others. People call this function of *wong pinter* as “Srono”. It means a vehicle, mean, media, to relate and accelerate the patients demands to God. Pak Guru Darman stated that it may similar with “*wasilah*” in Islamic term.

In Islamic discourse, there are some meanings related to the term “*wasilah*”. What Pak Guru Darman said is related to what he uses the term “srono” or “lantaran”, he medium that makes the prayer faster come to the God.

Akan tetapi pada tingkat praktis amaliyah dapat diamati dengan jelas. Dari sisi bahasa, istilah itu berasal dari kata yang terdiri dari tiga huruf *waw*, *sin* dan *lam* (ل-س-و). Ia bermakna menjadikan sesuatu sebagai perantara untuk

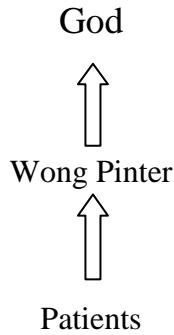
mendapatkan sesuatu yang dimaksud. *Tawasul* dalam berdoa berarti menyertakan perantara dalam berdoa dengan maksud doanya itu akan lebih dikabulkan oleh Allah.¹ Sedangkan *wasilah* (وسيلة) bermakna semua sarana yang digunakan untuk menuju kepada yang dimaksud. Sementara itu Quraish Shihab menjelaskan bahwa *wasilah* berarti sesuatu yang menyambung dan mendekatkan sesuatu dengan yang lain atas dasar keinginan yang kuat untuk mendekat. Istilah ini mirip dengan kata *washilah* (وصيلة), yang berarti sesuatu yang menyambung sesuatu dengan yang lain.² Dengan demikian *wasilah* dalam doa adalah segala sarana yang dapat mengantarkan seseorang sehingga dapat lebih cepat terkabul doanya.⁶⁹

Wong pinter needs special prayers and *laku* in having his speech effectively works, *mandi*. With this capabilities, he functions to close the gap between desire and fulfillment. Persons has this ability, as a King with this strong power called “borrow the authority of God”.

Wong pinter also does not help for money and make a profit. Keeler says, he is a person without selfish interests (*pamrih*) of any sort.⁷⁰ A *wong pinter* believes that fortune comes from the God, including what they help to people is the power of God. Finally, people say that *wong pinter* understands what he does is the only as a *lantaran* (the media) or *srono*.

⁶⁹ Achmad Maimun, “Tawassul”, in [Http://Achmad Mainun.blogspot.com](http://Achmad Mainun.blogspot.com), Kamis, 24 November 2011

⁷⁰ Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, 48.



Picture. Wong pinter as a medium (*lantaran/srono*) in order to successful prayer.

Why do people still come to the *wong pinter*? Answering this question, I interrogated my informants and the answer is that there are some life problems that cannot be solved by doctors, midwives, and other practitioners or scientists. When people lost any goods, it will be silly to come to a police office. When, because of the household problems, a husband wants his wife back home during employment contract, it is also difficult to solve the problem. It is also difficult to make someone more calm in a critical condition. There are many life problems that people considering impossibility to solve it in physical way. But, *wong pinter* can solve this problems. And, people still believe in this rationality. What does make people believe in the *wong pinter*? The quality of *mandi* (his speech takea effect) makes them believe in the *wong pinter*.

C. Becoming a *Wong Pinter*

People do not believe in anyone who do not have certain capabilities. People comes to a *wong pinter* because of this capabilities. But, becoming a *wong pinter* is not an easy way. In any case, It can be hereditary that a person has a potency or potent power from the ancestor to hold this profession. But, it is not enough. The candidate should fulfill such requirements, an asceticism way especially doing special prayers and rituals before conducting as a *wong pinter* and live with suitable paths as I mentioned above. This steps support to become the qualified (*mandi*) *wong pinter*. A *wong pinter* with effective speeches and actions (*mandi*) will invite many patients. This following explanation shows an example in the case of Pak Guru Darman, one of people call *wong pinter*. It informs that someone can not automatically become *wong pinter*.

As Pak Guru Darman experiences, *wong pinter* should do some fasting that can be done in different times, but should be ended on the day of someone's *weton*. *Weton* is the day of birth in the Javanese calendar such as: Jumat Kliwon, Setu Legi, Senin Pon, and so forth. The Javanese fasting here are *Mutih*, *Ngadhem*, *Melek*, and *Ngebleng*. At the end of the fasting (on the *weton* day), he conducts the *Pati Geni* ritual since the Maghrib or *surup* (sunset time) to the next day *surup* in the

evening Rationally, Javanese days start on sunset time. People call it *laku* (step).⁷¹

According to Pak Guru Darman, *Mutih* is a fasting that someone only eats rice, no vegetables, no side dishes and no taste. He also is not allowed to eat sticky rice. *Ngadhem* is a fasting that someone only eats rice and vegetables without taste. These fasting are conducted in six days and ended with one day *Pati Geni*. *Melek* is conducted only in two days and ended with *Pati Geni*. It is the hardest fasting that someone is not allowed to takes a nap. But, he is allowed to eat. *Ngebleng* is a fasting that someone is not allowed to eat and take a nap but usually he cannot sleep. It will be three days or seven days until the ending ritual of *Pati Geni*.

Pati Geni itself is a specific ritual to end the fasting. At the end of the fasting days, someone has to stay in a room, enclosed space, without any light. As Keeler information in the same page, people usually use rise-storage are. As mentioned, he starts in the evening (Maghrib/*surup*/sun set time) and ends in the next day evening. He is not allowed to communicate to others and go outside of the room. He should manage everything inside the room including when he may urinate, defecate, or even do prayer as a Muslim. Someone usually uses the time to memorize the prayers to help people.

⁷¹ Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, 42.

Becoming a *wong pinter* is difficult. It needs personnel readiness, mental readiness to help the community, and spiritual readiness to do some Javanese rituals that not all Muslims agree to do so. The last is still debatable among Muslims as a heresy whether others may claim as a cultural way, not religious (Islamic) practices. It is challenging for the successors. In order to regeneration I theorize the probabilities for the off springs on becoming the *wong pinters*. Changing society influences the inheritance process.

In certain cases, being a *wong pinter* relates to kinship. For example, Pak Guru Darman's father, Mbah Cokro was a *wong pinter*. Rationally, when Pak Guru Darman was young he learned to increase his capability from his father. He conducted special fasting and rituals in his father's guidance. Then, he learned how to cure ailments and started to give a help. The same case I look at his neighbor, Pak Sastro. He also gave a help as *wong pinter* on curing ailment. Pak Sastro's father was Pak Marto, Mbah Cokro's friend. Pak Marto and Pak Sastro gave help as *wong pinter*. But, how about Pak Guru Darman and Pak Sastro's off springs? Will they be the successors?

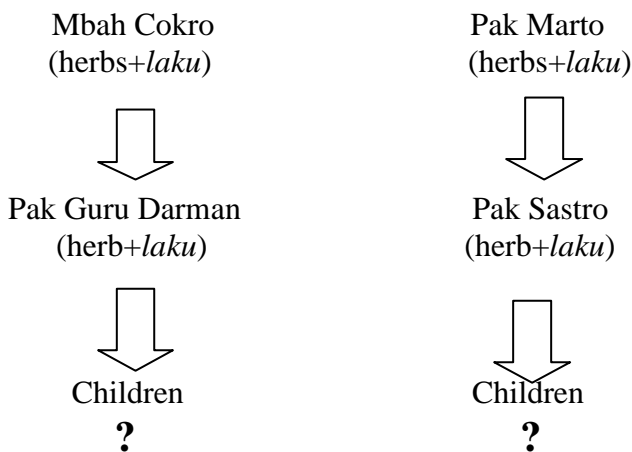
If I learn to the way how becoming a *wong pinter*, children of a *wong pinter* cannot automatically follow this profession. They can learn the knowledge, to make the herbal medicine and cure a sickness, but how about other ailment? A spiritual problem needs a special capabilities as *wong pinter*. Being a *wong pinter* who is considered *mandi*, who has

effective speeches and with all prayers accepted and successful treatment, needs *laku*. In order considering this high capability, the learner must do certain fasting and rituals. In fact, recently I have not found Pak Guru Darman and Pak Sastro's children become the successors. But, if people come and demand of curing ailment they may be forced to increase their capability. As Pak Guru Darman's story, he started to serve as *wong pinter* after his father's death and immediately people asked him for a help. More days, more people came, and he started to increase his ability to give help.

But, nowadays, the village life has changed. People become more educated and some people change their profession. Some of them become civil servant and stay in town. And most of them are not interested in continuing their professional parents as *wong pinter*. The *wong pinter*'s children find difficulty to the requirements especially on doing the special fasting. There are some obstacles of doing this inheritance profession. As an educated, they consider that medical treatment is better and more rational than traditional healing. And, because they stay in town, it means that no inheritance patients know their father's profession come to them. There is a discontinuity of history. As an example, Pak Guru Darman learned as being *wong pinter* since he was young and when his father was dead, people continually come to him as inheritance professional. He was motivated to develop his ability because of the demands. But, Pak Guru Darman's

children come to study in town, and there is not continues history of the practices.

Religious life is also getting better. Becoming more religious people leads them to comprehend the purity of religious teachings. Further and deeper Islamic understanding also influences this practice. Mutih, Ngadhem, Ngebleng, and Pati Geni prayer are not considered as Islamic teaching. People who learn and practice Islam in proper way try to avoid worship that does not relate to Islamic teachings, since this can be categorized as heresy, or embellished. According to this consideration, if the successor intend to continue this profession, they will more follow the Islam teachings and although still practice as *wong pinter*. It seems as *kyai*, becoming *wong pinter merely* by using Islamic prayers. Or, they will stop thinking about succession, and cut the continuing history as inheritance *wong pinter*.



Possibility

More educated, more
religious, stay in village

More educated, more
religious, out of
village

Successor with
practicing Islamic
teaching and or still use
the Javanese rituals.

Not
successor/different
profession

D. The Traditional Healing as the Practices of Javanese World View

Nurit Bird-David tries to criticize the term “animism” as used by modernist scholars. According to him, animistic interpretations are “reasonable” errors that “we can discover only after the fact”. Nurit objectifies to understand the sense of what Nayaka people call *devaru*. Nurit uses the term “super person” for escape from Hallowell alternative term “other-than-human persons”.⁷² Related to my project, this world views can be obtained from the people around the healers and the healer’s world view itself.

Wong Pinter exists as a part of Javanese world view. Using Hallowell theory of Ojibwa community, I will draw the concept of existence of a traditional community. According to

⁷² Bird-David, Nurit, “Animism revisited: Personhood, environment, and relational epistemology: Commentaries and author's reply.” *Current Anthropology*, February 1999, 71.

Hallowell⁷³, the existence of a community relates to this concept.

“ I have pointed the self-identification and culturally constituted notion of this nature of the self are essential to the operation of all human societies and that a functional corollary is the cognitive orientation of the self to a world of objects other than self. Since the nature of these objects is likewise culturally constituted, a unified phenomena held of thought, values, and action which is integral with the kind of world view that characterizes a society is provided for its member.

The most important thing is that the nature is a unified phenomena. It consists of thought, values and action. In the next page, Hallowell states about the evidence that “...supports the inference that in the metaphysics of being found among the Indian, the action of persons provides the major key to their world view”. It means that every part of phenomena is a part of system, world view. And, action conducted by people is a clue to know the thought living in a society. What people do in a society is a form of culture as the definition urged by Edward B. Tylor. The definition of culture is “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of

⁷³ Hallowell, in *Teaching from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, 19-20.

society”.⁷⁴ Therefore, unified phenomena including thought, values and action will emerge on knowledge, belief, morals, law, custom, capability and habits shared in society. Related to my project, there is a relationship among aspects of this culture and health. Health and life problems emerge in case of physical and non physical causes. That the way cure and solve people’s problem figures the world view of the *wong pinter*.

As Hallowell says about Ojibwa’s world view. It is based on the metaphysics of beings. Term “person” is a key concept to acknowledge Ojibwa world view. This term is not only applied for human person but to spiritual beings who are persons of a category other than human. As they use the kinship term “grandfather”, it is a term applicable to certain “person objects”, without any distinction between human person and those of as other-than-human class. Stone and sun are examples Hallowell points to what he means with “a person of the other-than-human class”. Ojibwa people do not perceive stones as animate, but based on their experiences, that stones have been seen to move, and that stones manifest other animate properties⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Anonymous, “Define Culture and Its Features”, in <http://www.preservearticles.com/201102184075/define-culture-and-discuss-its-features.html>

⁷⁵ Hallowell, in *Teaching from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, 20-28.

Eckersley theorizes the relationship of culture, spirituality, religion and health.⁷⁶ He tries to make broad observation about cultural expression of spiritual, especially through religion and how this can affect health. He mentions that human health has multiple sources: material, social, cultural and spiritual. Here, religious belief practices enhance health and wellbeing. These aspects are contested and reciprocal. People have the meaning of life in a various levels: individual, family, society, interest and desires. Psychological wellbeing also relates to physical health. According to him, also history suggests the balance and stability meaning in life of personal wellbeing and social cohesion. But, the complex nature of the relationship between religion, health and wellbeing lies behind a continuing debate among researchers about religion's health effects. Also, not all societies understand in the same way and it is difficult for science to define, measure the role of spirituality. Due to this fact, he argues that in this modern era, materialism and individualism against this spirituality. He concludes that religion serves humanity best when it embodied and expresses the spiritual as purely as possible, with only a limited influence of institutional and public agenda. He is influenced by Durkheim's idea of social integration that most societies reinforce values that emphasize social responsibility and self.

⁷⁶ Richard M. Eckersley, "Culture, Spirituality, Religion and Health: Looking at Big Picture", *The Medical Journal of Australia*, Med J Aust 2007, 186 (10) 34.

Durkheim emphasizes the role of institution in integrating individual into society.

Although Eckersley describes more about physical health and insufficiently to give evidence and data how material, social, cultural and spiritual relate each other in such problem with spirit existence, but it gives a clue that health and other problems connected to culture, the world view of the society. As Harvey says, health, wealth and pursuit of happiness are central concern of religions.⁷⁷ In this following explanation I will show how the world view, the way people understand others influences the way to cure diseases and overcome problems in the society in order on pursuing happiness of life. The story of Mbah Cokro and Pak Guru Darman on helping people as *wong pinters* gives evidence to the way Javanese understand the reality. And, the changing services show the changing how people understand the reality with their advanced knowledge.

In Mbah Cokro's time, the practices used more herbals and it is less various than Pak Guru Darman time (recently). I consider this lacking of Islamic teaching on the prayer used by Mbah Cokro. The beginning of Islamic prayer is usually says "*Bismillahirrohmanirohim*", means "*in the Name of Allah, the Merciful*". But at that time, *Mbah Cokro* mentioned "*Semillah*" for the same purpose. As for burned skin's person, he had his

⁷⁷ Graham Harvey, 2000, *Indigenous Religion A Companion*, London: Cassell, 1.

prayer (*mantra*) that followed by powder medicine. The prayer was:

“Niat ingsun matek ajiku Semar Mendem. Kuwasane nyemplung kawah. Omben-ombene wedang senawah. Adhem asrep adhem asrep. Asrepe seko kersaning Allah”.

Banyu senawah means boiling water, “*banyu mulak-mulak*” or “*umeb*”. He mentioned of using *Semar Mendem* mantra (saying), On the behalf of God’s power, he pretended to go inside the volcano fluid and drink boiling water. He asked for the cold, it came from the God intension.

The similar *mantra* was used to cure people who were bitten and poisoned by centipedes or snakes. It is the prayer.

“Ollohumo sangsang rangrang ono Dewo somo toya ilmumu tan mandi siungmu tan mandi. Isih mandi iduku putih. Mandi seko kersane Allah”.

In the recent Islamic knowledge, the first sentence should be mentioned “Allahuma”. (spelled “Allhohuma”). This prayer was intended to fall down the power of poison. He claimed of his more powerful “*idu*”, his saliva than the poison. This power comes from the God’s intension.

Mbah Cokro helped people with more physical problems. He cured any ailment but usually people called “*loro adhem*” or fever, poisoned, burned, or naughty children (*anak rewel*). Despite using special mantra, he used such as herbal medicine with a specific count. He considered the way of curing and deciding the suitable herbs based on the day (Javanese day) the

patient started getting sick. My informant, Pak Guru Darman said an example if the day was Selasa Wage, its *netu* (symbolic number of Javanese day) is: Selasa = 7, Wage = 7. Mbah Cokro counted the number in certain way. He usually used corns or gravels and drawn the counted mode (*etungan*) on the moody floor. Based on this counting he decided the herb to cure the patients. My informant (Pak Guru Darman) does not exactly know this method and how to decide the herbs.

There were special herbs for such ailment. Commonly, he used herbs: *kali kadhep*, *tapak liman*, *tanganan*, *singkil*, *adas kulowaras*, *lampes*, *jamur impes*, *serahan*, *dheng*, and “*mbelek ulo*” (snake dung). But because the last ingredient usually cannot be found, it was represented by “*enjet*” (limestone that crushed with water). The ingredients specified were crushed and poured on the entire intended body. For such injuries, bitten by centipedes or snakes. he used a cut “male” onion (*bawang lanang*, onion has no more slice), cut crosswise in half, not sliced, then used to rub the wound. For another case, for people who have burned skin or scalded, .he used special ingredient consist of special ointment made from a mixture of baby mice (baby *clurut* – a species like mice) and crushed with limestone. This special ingredient persists for several months. If there are people in need, this concoction will be mixed with coconut oil. This concoction is also used by his son.

The existence of *wong pinter* is because the patient conviction that the *wong pinter* can help and overcome the

problem. Geertz says, it is a concept of *cocok*, fittingness.⁷⁸ Undoubtedly, that the *wong pinter* can help people to overcome physical problems, psychological problems, and spiritual problems. If I list the services addressed by the patients coming to Pak Guru Darman house, it is not fewer than 15 services.

As a *wong pinter*, he helps various problems of the society. People come to ask helping for prayer to treat physical ailments such as stroke, cancer, fire burned or scalded, bitten by venomous animals. When a person is a difficulty going to die, his family also come to ask for his prayer. People also come for help to call a person works out of town, for a crucial reason, to go home. He also help people to find a lost person, help people or children who teased by spirits, helps to pray for better trading. People also come for requesting to calm potent anger person or ask prayer for smooth trip. The point is to help people in good ways.

The patients come any time. They come from many places around the villages, but sometimes the patients come from other regions. When I met Pak Guru Darman on the mid of April 2013, he stated that some days ago, he has a guest from Bantul Yogyakarta. The guest asked a help to cure his child who has a psychological problems. He wondered why the guest does not go to hospital and how the guest know him. He has never publish the services. But, almost every day people come to his

⁷⁸ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 91.

house ask for a help. Because of the limited knowledge of curing people and the prayer, he has to create the prayer as what special purposes asked by the patients. As a *wong pinter*, he will try to manage the prayer based on the proposal asked by the patients. There are more and more variety helps asked to him than his father's time. More complex and advanced of the society, may support more various problems of life. Although, a lot of people come for a help, in my experience, as children we have not asked for certain prayers as his patients. For me, it is his duty to pray for our success life. Comparing to Geertz's idea, a *dukun* is more effective with people who are not acquainted with him.⁷⁹ For the children, Pak Guru Darman is a father, not as a *wong pinter*.

The patients is not always the direct sickness but the one who proposes something. As last two weeks ago, at about 08.00 pm I met Pak Wahno who came to Pak Guru Darman's house and I asked him and Pak Guru Darman about his proposal. Why the patient should go to Pak Guru Darman? Because it was a critical condition when he wanted to come to someone who had already borrowed his money. The patient wondered whether he would meet a good situation or not. For visiting the person and bring back the money, the object-person should not be angry. In order to his objection, he asked a prayer for calming the object-person. At that time, Pak Guru Darman used incense as a media.

⁷⁹ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 90.

Pak Wahno should burn the incense at home. This incense should be burned before he come to his friend's house. It is intended for calming the object-person. In another case, Pak Guru Darman informed that burning incense is intended to send a certain message or permission to the unseen power what he called *danyang*. *Danyang* or a guardian spirits, as *danyang desa*. The *danyang* sometime a man who firstly cleared the place, distributed the lands, and became the leader of the village. The man was buried there in the certain place called *punden*. The spirit continues to watch over his village's welfare.⁸⁰ Pak Guru Darman understands the *danyang* as a person who regulates and holds a certain place but in the unseen world. Incense is usually used as a media for overcoming problems related to the spirit. He argued that "*Danyang ki kaya Lurah utowo Bayan*", leaders of a place such as a village. They may be the one who started to open the village. It also may the spirit who live in *belik* (spring), stones, woods or trees. In his village, people know the Danyang as Kyai and Nyai Kethok.

For him, calling to Danyang usually related to the term that the case or object are related to a certain place. Pak Guru Darman gave example about a service addressed to make someone back home. A male, Rurah (about 35 years old), came and wanted his wife, who had already worked in Malaysia in two years and left her one year of the work agreement. Rurah


⁸⁰ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 26.

wanted her back home because of problems with the household and their children. He had already known the place where his wife stayed, Malaysia. In order to the fix place, Pak Guru Darman conducted the prayer addressed to the God and to ask help and permission of the *danyang* in Malaysia to make and allow the Rurah's wife back home. "To send the message", he used incense as a media. Rurah should burn the incense in front of the main opened-door of the house. Discussing the essence of the incense, I and Pak Guru Darman concluded:

"Dimintakan supaya ada komunikasi antara Kyai dan Nyai Danyang dusun yang bersangkutan dan Malaysia perihal pemanggilan tersebut. Danyang berposisi sebagaimana penguasa suatu tempat tetapi yang berbentuk non fisik."

Completing with *donga Pameling* (the name of the Javanese prayer) and reading 41 times without breathing (*megeng*) the Surah Yasin verse 82, Rurah's wife actually backed home. This verse addressed to rely on the power of the God as following statement.

.1


 إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

(His command is only when He intends a thing that He says to it, "Be," and it is).

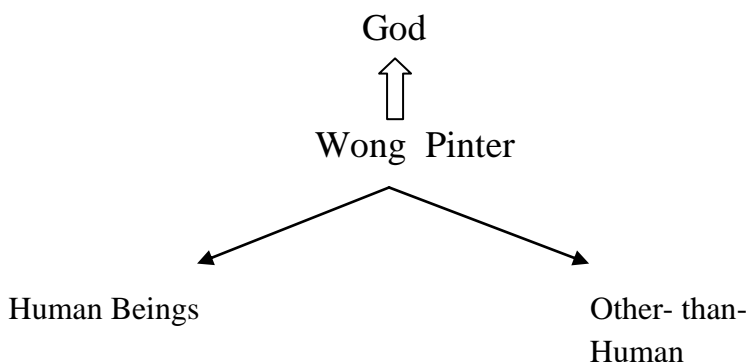
Other problems with the spirit can be found in the case of when a person or a child lost, or go away from home. People in

my country call this case with brought by the spirit (*digondhol Selong*). One day, someone came and told about his lost child before night. The patient wanted his child backed home. Overcoming this problem, Pak Guru Darman reads the special praying what he calls *Mantra Srabat Putih*. It is a special prayer for disturbing spirits. This *mantra* consists of the asking help to the God and ask the spirit not to disturbing. He said the essence of this *mantra* is “*Ojo nggodha*” (Don’t disturb!). Competing to the disturbing spirit, he also reads the Surah Yasin 82 and does *megeng* (not breathing while reading the verse). He asked the patient to burn incense at home. The incense and the essence of the prayer became a media to communicate to the spirit. When the patient went home, Pak Guru Darman said, “*Goleki ning mburi omah, nang wit randu*” (*Look for the child on the Randu tree behind your home*). Fortunately, the lost child was on the tree. According to him, the time before or close to Magrib prayer is called “*rep*”. It is considered “*Candhik Olo*”, the time when bad spirit passing trough (*banyak setan lewat*). Old Javanese people suggests not being angry to child at this time. He argued, when a child being insulted by the parents, he/she usually feels lonely and does not know what to do. It is the time when a bad spirit easy to disturb him/her.

Another example of the spirit disturbing is when a little child or baby continually crying in a long time. People also come to *wong pinter* for this case. As one day, a patient came after he had been called by his daughter in Jakarta. His daughter

had said that her child crying in a very long time and asked for a help of Pak Guru Darman. He prayed with the *Mantra Srabat Putih*. This *mantra* is secret that I cannot write it down. He also gave the patient a piece of incense that becoming media to overcoming the problem.

Here is the scheme how Wong Pinter can communicate to non-human beings.



Relation between a *wong pinter* and other beings can also be found in the case of lost goods problem. Many people come for this case. Because the place is exactly known, he prayed to God, ask for a help, and ask a help to Kyai and Nyai Danyang who hold the place, as a person who has the power of the place, *sing mbaureksa*, in the unseen world. As many same cases, the lost goods then immediately still in the previous place or any places that unpredictable.

Referring to the *wong pinter* practices, I can conclude that in the Javanese world view, especially the world view of the

Temanggung people, people believe in God - the Supreme Being, but they also divide the world becomes the physical and non physical world. They also believe in the world human beings and the other-than-human that the other-than-humans (the *danyang*, local deities, or other spirits) may disturb the human beings' life. Common people cannot communicate to other-than-human beings. They need medium to negotiate the clash between them. The *wong pinter* hold the position in fulfilling the gap. These other-than-beings are considered like human beings who should be asked and appreciated. Human beings should maintain the relationship with them. Although, in case of *wong pinter* practices, the other-than-humans are seemly different from what Ojibwa people perceive, but people in Temanggung still consider the spiritual world take contribution on the life system of human beings.

E. Closing Remarks

Referring to the practice of *wong pinter*, I conclude that people in Temanggung believe that there are at least two world, physical world that consist of human beings and non physical world that consist of other-than-human beings. They influence each other, but not every person can communicate to other human. People should appreciate their existence as a part of reality. Common people can not solve problems with unseen beings, unpredictable evidence, wealth, health and happiness. People need *wong pinter* to communicate or relate the unseen

beings and overcome any problem that cannot be solved by common people even doctors or economist.

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CHAPTER VII

The Palace and The Imaginary Axis of Yogyakarta: The Structure and Its World View

A. Introduction

Yogyakarta and especially the Palace has its own history that related to the deep philosophy and the world view of Jawa. The landscape, map, names of any places related to its history. The existence of the Palace of Yogyakarta consists of symbolical values inside and outside of the buildings. The Palace itself has central role on the structure of the landscape. In this short report, I will explore the existence of the Yogyakarta Palace in the Structuralism approach in order to place the Palace as a center of all surroundings buildings, related places and the world view.

Structuralism, in cultural anthropology, is the school of thought developed by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, in which cultures, viewed as systems, are analyzed in terms of the structural relations among their elements. According to Lévi-Strauss's theories, universal patterns in cultural systems are products of the invariant structure of the human mind. Structure, for Lévi-Strauss, referred exclusively to mental structure, although he found evidence of such structure in his far-ranging analyses of kinship, patterns in mythology, art,

religion, ritual, and culinary traditions.⁸¹ In order to explore the existence of Yogyakarta Palace, I will explain it seemingly related to the mythology and religion (world view) life in Yogyakarta.

B. The Yogyakarta Palace and Its Surrounding Buildings

Yogyakarta Palace was built in 1755 AC. The Palace's landscape is arranged in a certain concept. As Hadiyanto⁸² mentioned that the structure of Yogyakarta city is related to the existence of Yogyakarta Palace. Sultan Hamengkubuwono I and the successors built and then developed the circumstances based on the need of the society and all the activities such as: social, culture, economy, esthetics, ethics and so forth. Physical completeness, facilities, infrastructure, aesthetics, ethics, symbols, and its existence has philosophical-religious coherence with various designs as well as the function and meaning. The characteristics and the meaning is essentially inherent in building elements, the building space, building, group of buildings, as well as the surroundings of the cities. Yogyakarta is unique, specifically having meaningful philosophical-symbolic structure, which is based on an imaginary line (Mount Merapi)-Palace-Tugu-Stage Krapyak-Parangkusumo (The South

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<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/569633/structuralism>

⁸² IE Hadiyanta, "Poros-Imajiner": Identitas Historis Kota Yogyakarta, Kompas, Minggu, 17 September 2000

Sea). The relation of the buildings inside of the palace and the topography of surrounding places is a form of the configuration functions between the palace and community. Map of Yogyakarta and its names has its meaning, even the Palace of Yogyakarta was built intentionally with its philosophy and meaning.

The scheme all of the building draw an integrated values that symbolize the values of life. For example, the existence of Beringharjo market, located near the palace, was built to support the economy life of the society. In 1758 the Sultan Hamengkubuwono I built a trade center to support the economic viability of Yogyakarta. Economic center development is done on a piece of land in the north of the Palace which at that time was still overgrown by banyan trees. The Sultan finally cut down the banyan trees in the hope of bringing prosperity. Finally the market is called "Beringharjo" that is from the word "Beringin" (banyan tree) and "Harjo" (in Javanese Language means welfare). Other buildings close to the Palace is a mosque as a symbol of spirituality, and the Kepatihan (the center of the political power). According to the philosophical values of these tree buildings, palace as symbol of human life (there is its philosophical values), relates to the economical life, spiritual life, and political life.

The journey of the human life is figured on the philosophy of the imaginary axis (will be explained in the following parts), that flows to the North as a symbol of

spirituality (Kahyangan). Reaching to the ultimate goal of life, human beings are offered with market (Beringharjo), and power and political interest (Kepatihan) as temptations. But, there is also a mosque to be considered as a spiritual side to balance the life.

C. The Imaginary Axis (Merapi - Tugu – Palace – Panggung Krapyak/Kandang Menjangan – Parangkusumo)

The landscape of Yogyakarta and its philosophy can be understood on the existence of Mount Merapi, Tugu, Yogyakarta Palace, Panggung Krapyak and the South Sea (Parangkusumo Laut Selatan). People know this relation as an integrated system. We can see the relation and the philosophy of the Palace and Tugu or Panggung Krapyak. We can read it in sequence from the South to the North or vice versa. There are some explanation of these existence about what the imaginary axis is. One source says that in the belief of the local community, the imaginary axis is a Macrocosms idea that connects the South Sea and Mount Merapi. The straight line has attachment points, which are sorted from the South: Samodra Indonesia (Parangkusumo)-Panggung Krapyak-Palace of Yogyakarta-Tugu-Mount Merapi. Merapi within the context of the imaginary axis is a symbol of "phallus", while the South Seas (Laut Kidul) is a picture of "Yoni". For the people of Yogyakarta, this symbol has a very deep meaning. By meeting

and merging of Merapi which symbolizes the phallus and yoni represents the South Sea which will cause blessing of fertility and prosperity.⁸³

A source states that this Imaginary Axis concept is seemingly related to Hinduism of Tri Angga (Parahyangan, Pawongan, Palemahan)/Hulu, Tengah, Bawah/Utama, Madya, Nista). This axis symbolizes the harmony and balance of the human relationship with God (*hablunminnallah*), man and man (*hablunminnas*) and humans with nature, including five constituent elements of the fire (*dahana*) from Mount Merapi, soil (*bantala*) of earth Yogyakarta and water (*tirta*) from the Southern ocean, wind (*maruto*) and sky (*akasa*).⁸⁴

Another source says, philosophically, it is divided into two philosophical aspects, namely Jagat Alit (Microcosms) and Jagat Ageng (macrocosms). Jagat Alit breaks down the process of the beginning to the end of life. The city planning stretches from South to North beginning of Panggung Krapyak, and ended in the Tugu. It emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the Creator and man as a creature (*Sangkan Paraning Dumadi*). And, in the course of human life are tempted by a variety of worldly pleasures. The temptation can be depicted women and treasure in the form Beringharjo. The temptation for power described by complex Kepatihan all of which are located

⁸³ <http://www.thecrowdvoice.com/post/poros-imajiner-kota-yogyakarta-5577977.html>

⁸⁴ <http://lubang-kecil.blogspot.com/2012/01/mengenal-makna-falsafah-dan-identitas.html>

on the right side on a straight path between the palace and monument the White Pal (Tugu), as a symbol of a man close to his Creator (Manunggaling Kawula Gusti).

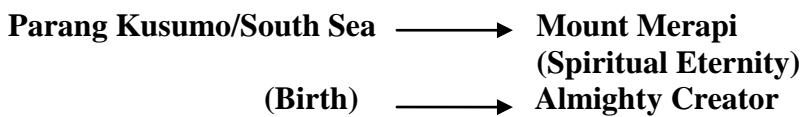
Jagat Ageng breaks down of life and community life, where the community leaders had to make the conscience of the people first and foremost as a wife in order to realize the emotional and physical well-being for the community based on the determination and confidence that only the Almighty creator. The Jagat Ageng (macrocosm) philosophy is described by an imaginary line south of Parangkusuma at Sea - Royal Palaces of Yogyakarta - Mount Merapi. It emphasizes the relationship between the human beings who live in a world where a man must first understand the nature of life and living so as to achieve the perfection of life (Manunggaling Gusti subjects). Mount Merapi occupies an important position in Javanese mythology, believed to be the center of the kingdom of spirits, as "swarga pangrantunan", the way of life depicted groove with the imaginary axis and the line connecting the spiritual eternity of South Sea - Stage Krapyak - Royal Palaces of Yogyakarta - Tugu Pal White - Mount Merapi. This symbol has a meaning of the human life from birth to overlook the Almighty Creator.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ <http://jogjakini.wordpress.com/2007/12/11/poros-imajiner-gunung-merapi-tugu-kraton-kandang-menjangan---parangkusum>

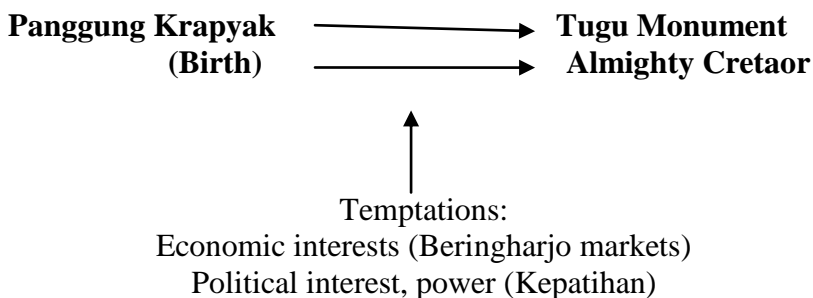


Referring to the explanation, I will draw a simple scheme of these imaginary axis's.

Jagat Gedhe (Macrocosms concept):



Jagat Cilik (Microcosms concept-human life):



D. The Imaginary Axis of Panggung Krapyak-Palace (To the North) as An Integrated System symbolizes the life of human beings ⁸⁶

As quoted from Brotodiningrat, the palace building structure has its own philosophy. He describes the journey of human life from the womb of the mother, grow up, get married to have children.

1. Early life

Visualization of this philosophy is manifested by the presence of Mijen village in North of Panggung Krapyak which symbolizes human seed, tree Asem (*Tamarindus indica*) with the young leaves symbolizing girl named *sinom* or still *anom* (young) always *nengsemaken* (engaging) then always extolled with tree Tanjung (*Musopselengi*).

2. Adolescence/young

⁸⁶ <http://www.belantaraindonesia.org/2011/04/identitas-historis-yogyakarta.html?m=1>

South square (Alun-alun Selatan) depicts a human adult and who has already *wani* (brave) to ask a girl to be married. It is symbolized by the Kweni trees (*Mangifera Odoranta*) and Pakel tree. Youth who have high achievements is visualized with Ringin Kurung that seems like a bow. The future achievements of the young people are represented by the arrow released from the bow.

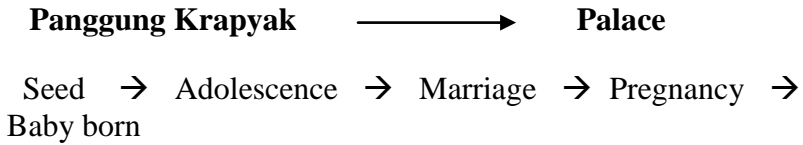
3. Marriage and Pregnancy

In the Southern Sitihiinggil, it is planted Cempora Manggo/Pelem trees (*Mangifera Indica*) and white flowering trees Soka (*Ixora coccinea*) which describes the mixing of red flowering seed of men (white color symbolized) and the seed of the woman (denoted in red). The square of Kamandhungan describes the seed in the womb with vegetation of Manggo/Pelem tree (*Mangifera Indica*), means *gelem* (with the will), Dersono guava trees (*Eugenia Malaccensis*) means *kaderesan sihing sasama* (full of love) and Kepel tree (*Stelechocarpus Burahol*) means *kempel* (tight), merging of seed based on mutual willingness to love.

4. Babies born

Through the Regol Gadhung Mlathi come to Kemagangan, it means the baby born becomes an adult.

This scheme draws the concept of human life process.



E. Imaginary Axis From the North to the South (Tugu-Alun-alun Selatan) as a Way to Peace Life After Death

There is only limited sources mention about this topic. One source states that the seven parts of the Palace read from the North Square (Alun-alun Utara) to the South Square (Alun-alun Selatan) symbolize the seven steps to heaven. Also our Palace tourist guide stated that the death of a person symbolized the building from the North to the South. Here is the seven parts of the Palace. I state here with the original names:

Lingkungan I : Alun-alun Utara to Siti Hinggil Utara

Lingkungan II : Keben or Kemandungan Utara

Lingkungan III : Srimanganti

Lingkungan IV : Pusat Keraton

Lingkungan V : Kemagangan


Lingkungan VI : Kemagangan Kidul (Kemagangan Selatan)

Lingkungan VII : Alun-alun Selatan to Siti Hinggil Selatan

Beside the nine parts, the Palace has nine gates (Sembilan Gerbang: Gerbang Pangarukan, Gerbang Tarub Hagun, Gerbang Brajanala, Gerbang Srimanganti, Gerbang Danapratapa, Gerbang Kemagangan, Gerbang Gadhung Mlati, Gerbang Kemandungan, Gerbang Plengkung Gading) that symbolize the nine holes of the human body. This means that when a person can control this nine human holes of the body, he/she comes to the highest meditation and virtue.

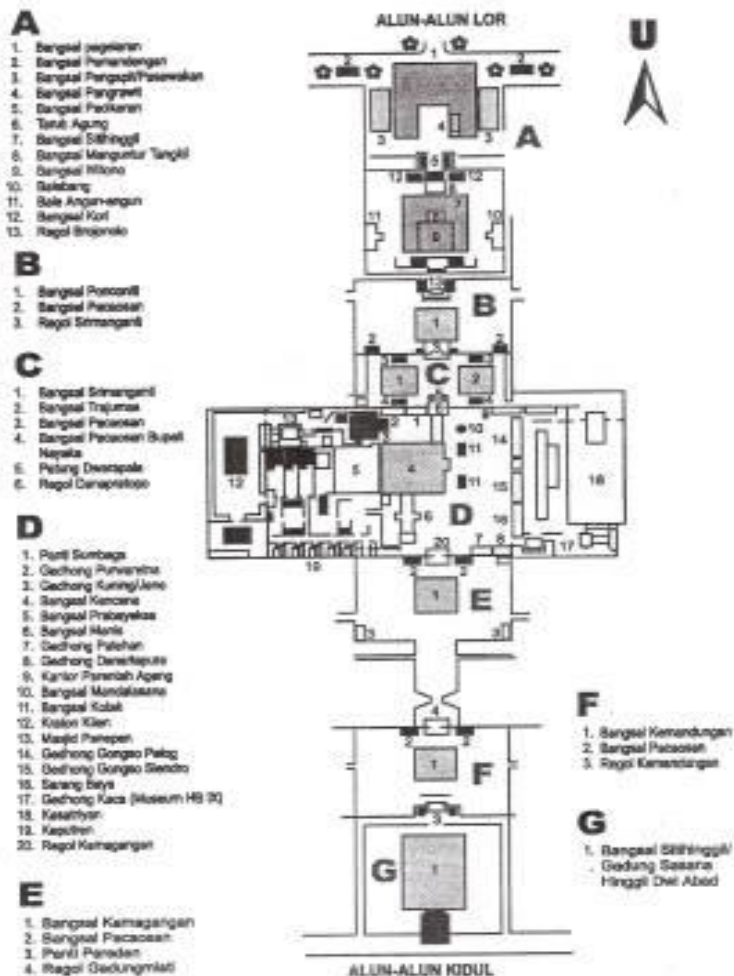
Tugu monument to the South is the way the face the Creator. People walk from the Tugu *Golong Gilig* that symbolizes the unity of creativity, taste and intention (cipta, rasa, karsa) based on purity of heart (white color), through Margotomo street (road to virtue) to the South through Malioboro street (means a torch or guidelines science that is taught by the *wali*/Islamic leaders), they will continue to the South through Margomulyo street (road to glory), then through Pangurakan (repel negative desires). Along the way of Margotomo, Malioboro and Margomulyo streets planted Tamarind trees (*Tamarindus Indica*), means *sengsem* (interesting) and Gayam trees (*Inocarpus Edulis*) means *ayom* or shade.

This scheme draws the way a person back to the Creator.

Tugu Golong Gilik  **Alun-alun Selatan**

Control of the nine holes → the unity of creativity, taste
 and intention → purity of heart → virtue → Glory → repel
 negative desires → interesting and shade

DENAH KRATON YOGYAKARTA



F. Conclusion

Learning from the explanation of the imaginary axis, how this axis be read, how any part of the places related each other, I conclude that the existence of the Palace is not established by itself. The existence of the Palace related to other places that also consist of any spiritual beings. They symbolize the whole life of human beings and the relation between the Palace and the circumstances, the ruler and the citizens, and the human beings and the God or Creator. It is an integrated system of a Javanese world view.

CHAPTER VIII

Interpretation of Sacrifice on Abraham Story According to Indonesian Christian and Muslim Perspectives

A. Introduction

Have you heard the different understandings between Muslim and Christian on the Abraham story of his son's sacrifice? Have you thought that an event can be told, written, interpreted and understood in various ways? This case may happen in the sacrifice story of Prophet Abraham that in fact, this story becomes fierce discussion and protracted conflict among the heavenly religions, especially Christianity and Islam. Actually, sacrifice is a common ritual for any religion. Although, this story is based on one event, why Christian and Muslim have different understanding and meanings.

This article will not focus to explain the possible answers why the story are different but explore how people (Christians and Muslim) especially in Indonesia understand the story, how they negotiate to their own scripture and another (vice versa), and how then they take the meaning of the verses for the current situation. In this small research, I will base on the literal data. I use many sources, books and articles, to know the reasons why they are different each other. To know how people

interpret and understand the texts, I use internet sources (articles and blogs) that consist of discussion about this problem. To understand (as my method) how people interpret and understand the text, I use Ricouer approaches. Ricouer acknowledges his main hermeneutical approaches to understand text in the terms of “distanciation” and “appropriation”. He also argues about the important role of validation to connect the text to the current situation.

B. The Existence of Sacrifice in Religions

Initially, I will explain the existence of sacrifice ritual in some religion. Erwan⁸⁷ states that all religions recognize this tradition. In Hinduism, normally the sacrificed animals are goats, sheep, and sometimes cattle horses are also used as sacrificial animals. Sacrifice was primarily intended as a way to please the gods for good fortune from them. Jews and Christian have sacrifice in order to penance (remission of sins or *penebusan dosa*). Although, the goals are same but they are different. In Jews, sacrifice will be done if someone do mistakes to God. It will be differences in the offerings and ordinances when the guilty are priests, religious leaders, or ordinary people.

⁸⁷Erwan, 20 December 2007, Korban Dalam Islam dan Agama Lain, <http://studiislam.wordpress.com/2007/12/20/korban-dalam-islam-dan-agama-lain/>, accessed 3 January 2012

The guiltiest (human beings) do the sacrifice. Erwan quotes the sacrifice verse in the dictionary Al-Kitab (Bible):

"Offerings to the God to glorify Him (meat offering and a drink), to maintain fellowship with Him (burnt offerings, peace offerings and sacrifice of praise), to redeem the sins and mistakes (sin offering, the guilt offering). At the time of ordination of priests was waved and special offerings. Thus the situation in Israel".

Furthermore, Erwan says, in Christianity, the sacrifice is also very popular and becomes the basis of their theological dogma. The goal is the same as the Jewish religion, as a penance, but in Christianity, who doing sacrifice is the Lord Himself, by sending His only begotten Son as the sacrificed lamb, as stated in several passages in Bible.

On the other hand, Muslim do the sacrifice ritual related to the story of Prophet Abraham. Sacrifice is one of the worship that is prescribed in Islam. This teaching is based on a worship ever run by Prophet Abraham to slaughter his son, Ismail, before it was replaced with a *kibas* (sheep) by Allah SWT. This sacrificial worship is actually a form of submission to God's servant to draw closer to Him. The word "sacrifice" comes from the Arabic, "Qaraba", which is a form of *isim mashdar*

'*qurbanan*', which means "close". Therefore, the purpose of sacrifice is to draw closer to Allah (*taqarrub ilallah*).⁸⁸

Although, Jews, Christian and Islam are Abraham religions, as stated above, they understand it in different meanings. Especially among Christians and Muslim, Abraham story and the sacrifice are hot issues,. There are different stories and interpretations between Muslim and Christian traditions even they are both based on the same event when Abraham took a message from God to sacrifice his beloved son. Christian believes that Abraham's son who was sacrificed is Isaac, while according to Muslim's believe the Abraham's son who was sacrificed is Ishmael. The problem is why the stories are different. Another problem is that the both stories become a part of holy book, Bible and Qur'an. Christian and Muslim adherent believe in them. How do they interpret and understand the verses? Even, that the Christian and Muslim adherents are not homogeneous. Based on this condition, it must be various interpretation of these text between the Christians, Muslims or among them. It is interesting to explore how people interpret the story, understand the meaning, and use the advantages of the story for their current daily life.

⁸⁸ Anonym, "Sejarah kurban untuk hari Idul Adha", accessed 29 December 2012, <http://safirasafitriaulia.blogspot.com/2012/10/sejarah-kurban-untuk-hari-idul-adha.html>

C. Methodological Approach

Alison notes that according to Ricouer, the role of hermeneutics is unraveling secret and cultural meanings. It is said that a text is not static.⁸⁹ It means that a text needs to be interpreted, to be understood, and to be useful to the interpreter. But, the problem is that there will be different interpreters along the history. It will be various interpretations of a text. Ricouer says that a text is addressed to someone and for anyone who can read. It must rise many subjectivities of who trying to understand the meaning. But, Ricouer states that to understand does not mean to project oneself into the text, but to receive an enlarged self from the apprehension of proposes worlds which are the genuine object on interpretation. Ricouer uses the terms “distanciation” and “appropriation” to draw how an interpreter should try to understand the meaning. He says that the dialectic of distanciation and appropriation is the final figure which the dialectic of explanation and understanding must assume.⁹⁰ He also develops his theory of interpretation by taking account of language, reflection, understanding and the self. It can be inferred that the objective of all interpretation is to overcome the distance between the past cultural situation in which the text

⁸⁹ .Alison Scott-Baumann (2009),Ricouer and the Hermeneutics of Suspicion, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, p. 90, 94.

⁹⁰ John B. Thomson, (1998), Paul Ricouer Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences, Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 182-183.

was created by the author and the interpreter himself (present cultural situation). Interpreter makes distancing but also do appropriation.

Distancing means that the interpreter has to consider its meaning to himself as 'far/foreign/unfamiliar', whereas appropriation means that an interpreter has to make the text 'near/known/familiar'. That the interpreter makes it his own but, on the other hand, the interpreter should know others. Interpreter should objectify the text, but at the same time trying to get into what is meant by the text. It is a dialectical way of interpretation, to approach it and walk away and the interpreter do many times to achieve a better understanding. Therefore, hermeneutics is a dialectical processes between distancing and appropriation. It is the way how an interpreter go far and near to the text to avoid or reduce subjectivity, and to gain a keep going and better meaning.

D. Verses of Sacrifice : the Story of Abraham in Bible and Al Qur'an

It is recognized that the presence of Christians and Muslims is the evidence of existing conflict between the religions of Abraham. If there are differences, there will not exist the followers of Moses and Jesus, and the next are the people who will be the follower of Prophet Muhammad. One of the conflict is on the problem of sacrifice that based on the Prophet Abraham story. Although, at the end of the story, the

Abraham's son was replaced by a lamb, it is different who the sacrificed son according to Christian and Muslim. According to Christian the Abraham's son who was sacrificed is Isaac, while in Muslim's perspective, the sacrificed son means Ismail (Ishmael). Below, I will write the story of sacrifice stated in Bible and in Al Qur'an and then in other parts I will explain how Christians and Muslims understand and discuss their understanding. Christian and Muslim justify their beliefs that, I think, ultimately lead to problems of maintaining the credibility of their own holy books.

1. Isaac was sacrificed in Bible

Christians believe that Isaac was sacrificed because the name of Isaac stated perfectly in the Bible verses. This statement of the Bible is usually used by Christian to counter Muslim's argument that the son of Ibrahim who was sacrificed was Ismail. Christian argues that Bible explicitly indorses the name of Isaac, whether Al Qur'an does not state the name of Ismail in Al Qur'an, even the name of Isaac. This is what the Bible says on Genesis.⁹¹

- 22:1 Now after these things, God put Abraham to the test, and said to him, Abraham; and he said, Here am I.
And he said to him, Take your son, your dearly loved
22:2 only son Isaac, and go to the land of Moriah and give him as a burned offering on one of the mountains of

⁹¹ <http://www.o-bible.com/cgibin/ob.cgi?version=bbe&book=gen&chapter=22>

- which I will give you knowledge.
- And Abraham got up early in the morning, and made ready his ass, and took with him two of his young men
- 22:3 and Isaac, his son, and after the wood for the burned offering had been cut, he went on his way to the place of which God had given him word.
- 22:4 And on the third day, Abraham, lifting up his eyes, saw the place a long way off.
- Then he said to his young men, Keep here with the
- 22:5 ass; and I and the boy will go on and give worship and come back again to you.
- And Abraham put the wood for the burned offering on
- 22:6 his son's back, and he himself took the fire and the knife in his hand, and the two of them went on together.
- Then Isaac said to Abraham, My father; and he said,
- 22:7 Here am I, my son. And he said, We have wood and fire here, but where is the lamb for the burned offering?
- And Abraham said, God himself will give the lamb for
- 22:8 the burned offering: so they went on together.
- And they came to the place of which God had given him knowledge; and there Abraham made the altar and
- 22:9 put the wood in place on it, and having made tight the bands round Isaac his son, he put him on the wood on the altar.
- And stretching out his hand, Abraham took the knife
- 22:10 to put his son to death.
- But the voice of the angel of the Lord came from
- 22:11 heaven, saying, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I.
- And he said, Let not your hand be stretched out against the boy to do anything to him; for now I am
- 22:12 certain that the fear of God is in your heart, because you have not kept back your son, your only son, from me.
- And lifting up his eyes, Abraham saw a sheep fixed by
- 22:13 its horns in the brushwood: and Abraham took the

sheep and made a burned offering of it in place of his son.

According to these verses, the son was Isaac, but Isaac did not know what offering would be done by Abraham, even that he was intended to be sacrificed. Abraham also did not tell anything about the kind of offerings to his son. We will look the different story if we look into Al Qur'an.

2. Ismail was sacrificed in Al Qur'an

Although, Al Qur'an does not state the name of Ismail, Muslims believe that Abraham's son who was sacrificed in the story is Ismail. Muslims base the arguments on the rules of Arabic language that commonly used in the Al Quran. I will show both reasons built by Christian and Muslim to defend that the son is Isaac, or Ismail in another position.

Here is the verses believed by Muslim, stated in Al Qur'an Surrah As Shafat (37):100-113.⁹²

37:100 My Lord, grant me [a child] from among the righteous."

37:101 So We gave him good tidings of a forbearing boy.

37:102 And when he reached with him [the age of] exertion, he said, "O my son, indeed I have seen in a dream that I [must] sacrifice you, so see what you think." He said, "O my father, do as you are commanded. You will find me, if Allah wills, of the steadfast."

37:103 And when they had both submitted and he put him down upon his forehead,

37:104 We called to him, "O Abraham,

⁹² <http://quran.com/37>

37:105 You have fulfilled the vision." Indeed, We thus reward the doers of good.
37:106 Indeed, this was the clear trial.
37:107 And We ransomed him with a great sacrifice,
37:108 And We left for him [favorable mention] among later generations:
37:109 "Peace upon Abraham."
37:110 Indeed, We thus reward the doers of good.
37:111 Indeed, he was of Our believing servants.
37:112 And We gave him good tidings of Isaac, a prophet from among the righteous.
37:113 And We blessed him and Isaac. But among their descendants is the doer of good and the clearly unjust to himself.

In these Al Qur'an verses, there is not an explicit name of Isaac who is intended to be sacrificed. But, based on the Islamic knowledge, the son was constituted to a specific profile, the Prophet Ismail. Another difference is that Prophet Abraham here tells his son about the prophetic dream of sacrifice him for offering and democratically ask to his son about this dream.

E. Christian and Muslim in Dialectical Process:

Different Perspectives

Conflicts between Christian and Muslim is supported by some different teaching, verses, and understanding of the scripture. Also, it is about the different reasons between Christian and Muslim of who was sacrificed in the story of Abraham. Here are Muslim reasons why the person who was sacrificed is Ismail.

1. Christian's perspective and Muslim's rebuttal

a. Christian's perspective

One of the Christian views of the story of sacrifice is written by Ingrid Listiati.⁹³ She explores her ideas in a written text on an online question and answer forum in [Http://katolisitas.org](http://katolisitas.org). I quote her explanation.

Pada saat pertama kali Tuhan memanggil nabi Abraham dan berjanji kepadanya bahwa Allah akan membuatnya menjadi bangsa yang besar, itu adalah saat Abraham (sebelumnya disebut Abram) berumur tujuh puluh lima tahun (lih. Kej 12:1-4). Namun setelah sekitar sepuluh tahun Abraham belum memperoleh keturunan, maka istrinya Sarai mengusulkan kepada Abraham, agar ia menghampiri hambanya Hagar, agar melaluinya Abraham dapat memperoleh keturunan (lih. Kel 16:2). Usulan ini diterima oleh Abraham, sehingga akhirnya Abraham mempunyai anak dari Hagar, yang kemudian diberi nama Ismael (lih Kel 16:15). Ismael lahir ketika Abraham berumur 86 tahun (lih. Kel 16:16).

Namun pada saat memberikan janji bahwa Abraham akan menjadi bangsa yang besar, sesungguhnya Allah bermaksud memberikan keturunan kepada Abraham dari istrinya sendiri. Sehingga pada waktu Abraham berusia 99 tahun, Tuhan menampakkan diri dan mengulangi janji-Nya tersebut kepadanya (lih. Kej 17:1-8). Sebab bukan melalui anak Hagar, Allah akan memenuhi janji-Nya; namun melalui anak dari Sara, yaitu anak yang kelahirannya menyatakan kuasa Tuhan- sebab ia dilahirkan di saat Sara sudah lanjut usia, saat rahimnya telah tertutup (lih. Rom 4:19), suatu yang nampak

⁹³ Ingrid Listiati, "Anak yang Dikurbankan Abraham: Ishak atau Ismael?", [http://katolisitas.org/ 5915 anak-yang-dikurbankan-abraham-ishak-atau-ismael](http://katolisitas.org/5915-anak-yang-dikurbankan-abraham-ishak-atau-ismael), accessed 2 January 2013,

mustahil di mata manusia. Maka Sara mempunyai keterlibatan yang langsung terhadap pemenuhan janji Allah, dan karena itu, ia-pun diberi nama yang baru oleh Allah -menjadi Sara, sebelumnya adalah Sarai. Pemberian nama yang baru kepada Sara ini -yang tidak terjadi pada Hagar- menunjukkan bahwa 1) kepada Sara-lah Allah memenuhi janji-Nya, dan 2) Sara mempunyai kepribadian yang baru yang diperolehnya dengan mengambil bagian secara langsung dalam rencana keselamatan Allah, melalui peran keibuannya.

Dikisahkan dalam perikop tersebut, bahwa Abraham tertawa -demikian juga Sara pada bab berikutnya di Kej 18:12-14- yang menggambarkan keheranan mereka terhadap pemakluman janji Tuhan ini. [Demikianlah, kemudian anak itu dinamai Ishak, yang secara etimologis berarti "ia mulai tertawa (*she began to laugh*)", yang kemudian diinterpretasikan sebagai, "Tuhan telah membuatku tertawa/ bahagia."] Namun demikian, pada saat menerima janji tersebut, Abraham masih berpikir bahwa yang dibicarakan Allah adalah Ismael (lih. Kej 17:18). Allah mengoreksi pikiran Abraham ini dengan berfirman, **"Tidak, melainkan isterimu Saralah yang akan melahirkan anak laki-laki bagimu, dan engkau akan menamai dia Ishak, dan Aku akan mengadakan perjanjian-Ku dengan dia menjadi perjanjian yang kekal untuk keturunannya.** Tentang Ismael, Aku telah mendengarkan permintaanmu; ia akan Kuberkati, Kubuat beranak cucu dan sangat banyak; ia akan memperanakkan dua belas raja, dan Aku akan membuatnya menjadi bangsa yang besar. **Tetapi perjanjian-Ku akan Kuadakan dengan Ishak,** yang akan dilahirkan Sara bagimu tahun yang akan datang pada waktu seperti ini juga." (Kej 17:19-21). Dari firman Tuhan ini, kita ketahui bahwa walaupun Ismael tetap akan diberkati oleh Tuhan sehingga dapat menjadi bapa bagi kaum Ishmaelite, namun Allah tetap pada rencana-Nya untuk memberikan keturunan kepada Abraham melalui istrinya Sara, yang akan dinamai Ishak. Ishaklah anak yang menandai perjanjian Allah dengan

Abraham, dan karena itu Allah menyebut Ishak sebagai “anak tunggal” Abraham (lih. Kej 22:2), meskipun Allah mengetahui bahwa sebelum Ishak telah lahir Ismael, yaitu anak Abraham dari hambanya, Hagar.

From the description above it can be concluded into several points of Christian beliefs:

- 1) Single child in question was Isaac, as explicitly written in the Bible.
- 2) The child was the son of God's covenant with Abraham before having children and repeated after Abraham had Isaac when God promised to make a great nation.
- 3) Abraham and Sarah were considered incapable of capturing the promise of God, cannot wait to have children of their own, so they took Hagar (slave from Egypt) as his wife so that they get Ismail.
- 4) God's covenant is evidenced by the birth of Isaac, Sarah age who are very frail so it is considered a miracle.
- 5) Finally, Christians believe that nothing is sacrificed, or in Isaac Ishmael, because the Lord has been replaced by a sheep. They believe that God bless them both.

In my opinion, this Listiati view is normative, referring to what is described in the scriptures which she believes. There is no attacking views and insistence defense. If we track to Christian and Islamic discussions on various online media, we will meet some cruelty discussions. It seems that Christian trying to hold opinions and even attacks the different views

(Muslims arguments) in irreverent terms. The Muslims do so. There are also progressive, argumentative views but also the way the ideas express in blindly, less conciliatory mood.

Nevertheless, the fact that sacrifice is also a part of the Christian worldview. This I found out from one of the comments in a similar discussion. A comment in Rinaldi Munir⁹⁴ article states that there is a sacrifice in Catholic tradition in order to celebrate the sacrifice in Abraham story. The differences is that the sacrifice use goods or money, not goat, camel or cows.

Another Christian source⁹⁵ tries to understand the sacrifice in longer interpretation. That of Christian means with the great sacrifice is the sacrifice of human, Jesus, to penance the human sins. I will note this further information. A large sacrifice stated in the Al Qur'an is interpreted equally by Christians as a human sacrifice. According to Christians, a large measure of human piety is if sacrifice is replaced into humans. In the worthy presence of God, the real sacrifice is a human sacrifice. The man means a man who is holy, that is never referred to men mentioned in the Holy Book because the men

⁹⁴ Rinaldi Munir, 28 November 2009, "Ismail atau Ishaq yang "Disembelih" oleh Nabi Ibrahim?", <http://rinaldimunir.wordpress.com/2009/11/28/ismail-atau-ishaq-yang-disembelih-oleh-nabi-ibrahim/>, 29 December 2012.

⁹⁵ Anonym, "Rahasia Berkah Idul Adha", <http://www.isadanislam.com/kepercayaan-orang-islam/rahasia-berkah-idul-adha>, accessed 29 December 2012

are sin people. In that case, Christian referred to some verses in the Qur'an as follows performance.

Jelas, harus manusia suci, tanpa dosa, dan dikirim Allah. Beberapa orang berpendapat bahwa semua nabi tidak berdosa. Benarkah demikian? Al-Quran mencatat: Adam dan Hawa berdosa (QS 7:23); Nuh berdosa (QS 11:47); Ibrahim berdosa (QS 26:82; 14:41); Musa berdosa (QS 28:15-16); Harun berdosa (QS 20:93); Daud berdosa (QS 38:24); Sulaiman berdosa (QS 38:32,35); Yunus berdosa (QS 21:87); Muhammad berdosa (QS 48:2; 47:19).

Bagaimana dengan Isa Al-Masih? Tidak ada ayat dalam Al-Quran yang mengatakan Isa Al-Masih berdosa. Sebaliknya Al-Quran mencatat: **"Sesungguhnya aku ini hanyalah seorang utusan Tuhanmu, untuk memberimu seorang anak laki-laki yang suci."** Kata "suci" hanya ditujukan kepada Isa Al-Masih. Kedatangan-Nya disebut ajaib karena Dia satu-satunya yang dilahirkan oleh seorang perawan (QS 21:91; 66:12), juga memiliki Kebesaran (QS 3:45; 4:171) dan disebut "*Kalimat-Nya* dan roh dari pada-Nya".

According to the previous views, they conclude that the so-called great sacrifice was a human sacrifice, Jesus. He is believed to be sacrificed for the sins of mankind. Finally, there is a relationship between the sacrifice of Isaac and Jesus in the Christian view. Only Jesus becomes a great sacrifice, and he is supposed to be a sacrifice to save mankind, while Ibrahim did it as a form of obedience to God.

Seperti halnya kurban yang harus terlebih dahulu hidup lama sebelum siap dikurbankan, demikian juga Isa Al-Masih. Ia hidup cukup lama sebelum mengurbankan diri-Nya sebagai tebusan. Kematian-Nya di kayu salib telah

membuat darah-Nya tertumpah. Dia adalah lambang tebusan Allah seperti yang dikatakan oleh Nabi Yahya, anak Zakaria: **“Ini adalah Anak Domba Allah, yang akan dikurbankan untuk menebus dosa-dosa dunia.”** Kematian-Nya telah memberikan hidup kepada manusia. Ia membangkitkan orang dari kematian sebelum Dia sendiri mati. Dia, yang tidak berdosa telah menyerahkan diri-Nya bagi orang berdosa. Dan menjadi tebusan serta memberi hidup bagi orang berdosa.

Christians justify their arguments using Qur'an verse that says “Kami tebusi anaknya itu dengan sembelihan yang besar (seekor domba)” (QS 37:107), while Muslims believe the verses is that describe the sacrifice of Prophet Ismail and there is no relation to the story of Jesus, Isa Al Masih.

b. Muslim's rebuttal

Muslims do not believe in the Christians' arguments. Essentially, because Muslims believe that partial contents of the Bible used by Christians today have a lot of human intervention. It is highly believed to God because it is clearly explained and written in the Qur'an. Muslims believe in the Qur'an as the truth because since the preparation of arranging the *musfah* of the Al Qur'an. Muslim believe in the validity and originality of the Al Qur'an..

Taken from blog sources, some Muslims argue in some interesting points. They ask about the questionable validity of the Bible, the credibility of Bible. There is inconsistent information as this following arguments.

Pertama: kalimat “*yakni Ishaq*” pada susunan tersebut adalah mubazir, karena kalimat tersebut telah sempurna justru bila tanpa “*yakni Ishaq*” :

Ambillah anakmu yang tunggal itu, yang engkau kasihi,

Dengan susunan tersebut tentu nabi Ibrahim sudah paham siapa yang disebut sebagai anak tunggal yang dikasihinya. Apa mungkin seorang ayah tidak tahu siapa anak tunggalnya?

Kedua : Kalimat “*yakni Ishaq*” kontradiksi dengan kalimat sebelumnya yang menyatakan :

Ambillah anakmu yang tunggal itu, yang engkau kasihi

Karena ketika itu, Ismail telah lebih dahulu lahir sebagai anak nabi Ibrahim, penyebutan Ishaq sebagai anak tunggal dalam ayat tersebut tidak sesuai dengan sejarah dan itu berarti mengingkari Ismail sebagai anak sah Ibrahim.

"Inilah keturunan Ismael, anak Abraham, yang telah dilahirkan baginya oleh Hagar, perempuan Mesir, hamba Sara itu." (Kejadian 25:12)

Tentu saja menyebut Ishaq sebagai anak tunggal berarti mengingkari Ismail sebagai anak Ibrahim, mengingkari Ismail sebagai anak Ibrahim berarti mengingkari ayat-ayat dalam Bible itu sendiri.

The next view is about the claims of the Christians who say that Isaac was the only child. This was questioned by Muslims because in the Qur'an and the Bible, Ismail is also mentioned as a child of Ibrahim.

“Maka tatkala anak itu sampai (pada umur sanggup) berusaha bersama-sama Ibrahim, Ibrahim berkata: “Hai anakku sesungguhnya aku melihat dalam mimpi bahwa aku menyembelihmu” (QS.As-Shaffat:102)

“Berkatalah Sara kepada Abraham: “Usirlah hamba perempuan itu beserta anaknya, sebab anak hamba ini

tidak akan menjadi ahli waris bersama-sama dengan anakku Ishak.” (Kejadian 21:10)

Another reason is about Israel’s dignity as a chosen community. This view is argued by Muslim as the Israel’s arrogance. It looks rather subjective but some sources have discussed about this topic. Related to the questionable point of the originality of the Bible, it completes the curiosity of Muslim to authenticity of Christian point of view about Isaac as the only son who was sacrificed.

Orang-orang Israel sangat bangga atas kesukuannya, sangat mengagung-agungkan nenek moyangnya, mereka menjunjung tinggi nabi Ishaq tetapi merendahkan nabi Ismail, karena Ishaq adalah nenek moyang mereka yang berderajat tinggi dan berdarah murni sebagai keturunan nabi Ibrahim dengan Sarah yang berasal dari satu bangsa dan sebagai seorang majikan, sementara Is-mail adalah nenek moyang bangsa Arab dari keturunan nabi Ibrahim dengan Hajar yang berdarah koptik (campuran) antara Israil dengan Mesir dan Hajar adalah budak dari Sarah. Menurut mereka bangsa Israel adalah bangsa yang lebih tinggi derajatnya daripada bangsa Arab.

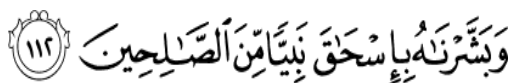
2. Muslim reasoning and Christian’s rebuttal

a. Muslim’s perspective

One of reasons that reinforce Islamic views and beliefs that the sacrificed children of Abraham in the story was Ishmael, is based on the evidence verses in the Qur'an itself. Although not mentioned explicitly, there are some logical reasons to be aware of, pertaining to key phrases. This key sentences that based on

the rules of the Arabic language suggest that the figure who is meant by God to be slaughtered was the Prophet Ismail.⁹⁶ These reasons are the following explanation.

- 1) As stated in the Al Qur'an Surrah As Shaffat verse 112 Allah says:⁹⁷



And We gave him good tidings of Isaac, a prophet from among the righteous.

In this beginning verse, there is a letter □ (*wauw*) '*Athf litartibi litisholi, wa*. This letter *wauw* functions to connect two different events, according orderly sequence/order of time, which is the first event on the slaughter of children of Abraham who has grown the Prophet Ismail ace and continued with the second event, the birth of Isaac. It means that the story tells that Prophet Ismail has already became a child, and he is who was sacrificed. The story is continued to the story of the birth of Isaac.

⁹⁶ Menjawab Berbagai Fitnah FaithFreedom, on Tuesday, June 14, 2011 at 12:37pm , "Siapakah anak yang dikorbankan Ibrahim? Ismail atau Ishak?" , http://www.facebook.com/notes/menjawab-berbagai-fitnah-faithfreedom/siapakah-anak-yang-dikorbankan-ibrahim-ismail-atau-ishak/160773607322278?comment_id=1531969&offset=0&total_comments=27, accessed 2 January 2013.

⁹⁷ <http://quran.com/37>

- 2) The basic view that the child is Ishmael is *عليه*, the sentence in paragraph 113

وَبَرَكْنَا عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَىٰ إِسْحَاقَ وَمِن ذُرِّيَّتِهِمَا مُحْسِنٌ وَظَالِمٌ لِّنَفْسِهِ
 مُبِينٌ ﴿١١٣﴾

And We blessed him and Isaac. But among their descendants is the doer of good and the clearly unjust to himself.

The sentence *عليه* said here is addressed to Prophet Ismail and not addressed to the Prophet Abraham. This sentence is continued by sentences of: “Dzurriyati Hima” that this *dhamir* (pronoun) *ها* belongs to Ismail and Ishaq, because they are paternal brothers. The children and grandchildren who called by God, not the descendants of Abraham and Isaac, because they are child and father, but the offspring of Abraham, from his sons, Ishmael and Isaac.

Emphasizing to this belief, some scholars also argue that considering the child's answers to Prophet Ibrahim was about to sacrifice in verse 102 that the son use the sentence *ألا صد بري ن من* that means steadfast, patient. They argue that only three Prophet are given the characteristic of “ألا صد بري ن من”. They are Prophet Ismail, Prophet Idris and Prophet Dzulkifli. Let see the following verses.

37:102 And when he reached with him [the age of] exertion, he said, "O my son, indeed I have seen in a dream that I [must] sacrifice you, so see what you think." He said, "O my

father, do as you are commanded. You will find me, if Allah wills, of the steadfast."⁹⁸

21:85

وإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِدْرِيسَ وَذَا الْكِفْلِ كُلٌّ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ ﴿٨٥﴾

*And [mention] Ishmael and Idrees and Dhul-Kifl; all were of the patient.*⁹⁹

These verses were strengthen by the following verses that tells the Prophet Ibrahim dialogue with Ishmael of the slaughtering, and they both managed through the real exam with great patience, and the God replacing Ismail with a momentous sacrifice. After Al-Qur'an tells the story of the prophet Abraham and his son, in the next verse that QS. As-Shaffat: 112 Al-Quran tells that Allah gave the good news of the coming of a child again named Ishaq. "And We gave him the good news of (the birth) Ishaq, a prophet among those pious".

Sacrifice is a ritual that believed by muslims. This is stated in Al Qur'an that actually sacrifice ritual has been done by all Apostles in order to do Allah commandment.¹⁰⁰ Al Qur'an Surrah Al-Hajj/Pilgrimage [22] verse 34 says as follows.

⁹⁸ [Http://quran.com/37](http://quran.com/37)

⁹⁹ [Http://quran.com/21](http://quran.com/21)

¹⁰⁰ Anonym, "Sejarah kurban untuk hari Idul Adha ", accessed 29 December 2012, <http://safirasafitriaulia.blogspot.com/2012/10/sejarah-kurban-untuk-hari-idul-adha.html>

“Bagi tiap-tiap umat telah Kami syariatkan penyembelihan (kurban), supaya mereka menyebut nama Allah terhadap binatang ternak yang telah direzekikan Allah kepada mereka. Tuhanmu ialah Tuhan Yang Mahaesa. Karena itu, berserah dirilah kamu kepada-Nya dan berilah kabar gembira kepada orang-orang yang tunduk patuh (kepada Allah).”

This verse is translated in English as followed:

34. We have appointed a rite for every nation, that they may commemorate God's name over the livestock He has provided for them. Your God is One God, so to Him submit, and announce good news to the humble.¹⁰¹

Muslims believe that the story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son, Ishmael, is a great event to measure the faith of Prophet Ibrahim. The story is then followed by Muslims as commanded by God in several verses of the Qur'an. These following information is some verses and hadist¹⁰² that then become a guidance for Muslim to do sacrifice in order to imitate the sacrifice of Prophet Ibrahim and learn his patience. I quote some and translate it into English.

As (We have perfected favor unto Us) We sent unto the Apostle of you who read our revelations to you and purify you and teach you the Book and Al-Hikmah, and will teach you what you do not know. (Al -Baqarah 151).

¹⁰¹ <http://www.clearquran.com/quran-chapter-022.html>.

¹⁰² Anonym, November 16, 2010. “Kumpulan Ayat Al Qur'an dan Hadist tentang Berqurban”, <http://berita.disuka.com/education/islam/kumpulan-ayat-al-quran-dan-hadist-tentang-berqurban/>, accessed 29 December 2013.

"And be steadfast in prayer as your Lord and the slaughtered animals qurban." (Al-Kauthar:2).

... "And We shall give to you the camels were part of the greatness of God, you get a lot of merit to it, then call it by you when you kill God's name in an established (and has been committed). Then when it is collapsed (dead), eat some of it and give people who are willing to eat what is available to him (which is not to beg) and the person asking." (Al-Hajj: 36)

In addition, Muslims then talk about the status of sacrifice in Idul Adha. A part of Muslims say that it is obligatory but other do not agree. But, a lot of Muslim agree that doing sacrifice is obligatory for Muslim who are capable, they have the sacrificial animal or have money to buy it. People then discuss about the advantages of doing sacrifice such as: to thank God of a good life, commemorate Abraham's good conduct, remind the Abraham's patient as a proof of his devotion to God.

There are also other hot discussions that have done among Christian and Muslim as showed by Armansyah¹⁰³. Some people urge to do deeper research to the Holy Book and put it as an object. But, at the end of the discussion he said that it is very hard to clarify what the scriptures say, and may a lot of Muslim (and also Christians) do not agree that the their scripture is treated as a matter of scientific inquiry.

¹⁰³ Armansyah, "Jawaban untuk Artikel Abd Moqsith Ghazali "Ismail atau Ishak?", lintasagama.muslim-menjawab.com/2008/12/ismail-atau-ishak.html, accessed 3 January 2013.

b. Christian's rebuttal

In a question and answer rubric, Ingrid Listiati¹⁰⁴, a theological scholar from University of Ave Maria - Institute for Pastoral Theology, Amerika Serikat, gives answer about the Christian beliefs of Isaac that is different to Muslim's perspective. I will explain the main arguments below.

Although, Islam is equally as Christians, believes in the sacrifice of Prophet Ibrahim event but according to Islam, the son who was sacrificed was Ishmael. According to her, Muslims understand "young single son " as stated in Genesis 22:2 as Ismail. This is because a child Ismail Ibrahim during 13 years and later Isaac was born. Instead, Christians believe that the sacrificed son was Isaac, as stated in a few Bible verses. The basic understanding is different.

According to Christian belief, the child promised by God to Abraham was Isaac, the child born to Abraham's princess named Sarah. According to her, the Quran never mentions Ishmael as the child of promise. It also said that the offspring will inherited the land of Isaac already mentioned in the Bible verses. For this reason, Christians believe that the child in the question was Isaac. This view is reinforced by several different opinions from different Muslim scholars about who sacrificed. Although, Listiati quotes that in the past a lot of scholars do not believe that the sacrificed son was Ishmael, later most Muslim

¹⁰⁴ Ingrid Listiati, *ibid.*

scholars believe that the son in question was Ishmael. But, Christians still believe that the Bible has mentioned explicitly the name of Isaac, and he advocated the investigation of the history that the origin of the descendants of Arab people is Ishmael.

The opinions above represent the views of most Christians. When we track this theme into Christian Muslim dialogue medias, we will find a variety of reasons trying to justify their arguments and to stand on the credibility of their scriptures by using both verses of the scriptures, Bible and Al Qur'an. It may be unanswerable questions.

F. Validation: Understanding Holy Verses for Current Situation

1. Christian perspective

Helenika C. Putri,¹⁰⁵ says that based on the conclusions of a research study, done by Prof. Leven and Prof. Jeffry and David Larsen, 50% of people who read the Bible regularly will reduce the possibility of heart or lungs disease, hypertension, depression and other diseases. From this quotation, it is understood that in the Christian view, reading of the Bible is not merely comprehended as a means of worship but there are

¹⁰⁵ Helenika C. Putri, "Manfaat membaca Al Kitab" <http://remahari-ini.blogspot.com/2012/09/manfaat-membaca-alkitab.html>,

pragmatic reasons even related to health and daily life. Related to the story of the Prophet Abraham's sacrifice, what advantages can be taken by the Christians?

Answering that question, I do not see that the story of Abraham's sacrifice becomes central to the Christian faith. It is very rare information that explains how Christians interpret the story of Abraham's except a lot of arguing to maintain their confidence to their scripture.

One source¹⁰⁶ describes how Christians to emulate the story of Abraham is mainly attributed to the following leadership. Abraham Characteristics gives the example of how to be normatively powerful and influential leader for the transformation of society, namely: have the vision, courage and confidence, caring people and have the sense of justice, humility, charisma, bravely sacrifice, willing to sacrifice for the sake of faith, dared to be different and change agents. It is said that transformational leaders like Ibrahim's charismatic should have willing to make sacrifices for the sake of their organization. Leaders of this change-leaders also motivate followers to sacrifice their self-interest for the greater good. Therefore, they will become a respected leader. At the conclusion, Christian use it as a legal philosophy: "love your

¹⁰⁶ Anonym, "Abraham Pemimpin Perubahan", http://lead.sabda.org/abraham_pemimpin_perubahan, accessed 3 January 2013.

neighbor as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18). Philosophy of Abraham could be a paradigm or touchstone for successful leaders today.

2. Muslim perspective

There are some advantages that Muslim learn from Abraham story. One is related to the Idul Adha ritual. Idul Adha is a ritual to commemorate the sacrifice event of Prophet Ismail, the son of Abraham. Rochmat Wahab,¹⁰⁷ explains three important points in the Idul Adha event. Firstly, it is hajj or pilgrimage. Pilgrimage is obligatory for Muslim who have capability. Capability here is usually considered physically and economically. A person who wants to pilgrimage should have a good condition, good health. Also, he or she have to wealthy enough to spend a lot of money to Mecca. People who really fulfill this requirement and do not go pilgrimage, it means that they are in debt. When they die before go pilgrimage, they are still in debt and it is a big sin. They become great sinners. Pilgrimage also means to purify themselves and increase their devotion. The second is the command to sacrifice, get closer to God and to fellow human beings. The third is faith affirming. In conclusion, the meaning of celebrating Eid Qurban is that humans do not divinize besides Allah, keep the Muslim brotherhood, brotherhood between human beings, willing to

¹⁰⁷ Rochmat Wahab, "Idul Adha", *staff.uny.ac.id/...rochmat-wahab.../iedul-adha.pdf*, accessed 29 December 2012.

sacrifice of life, property, time, and to strengthen vertical and horizontal relationships.

Another article¹⁰⁸ says that Idul Qurban, slaughtering the sacrifice is a symbolic act of how we can bow, master and control the trend of animal tendencies that resides in every human being. It means that this ritual will remind Muslim to conduct in a better way for human life. Nowadays, In Indonesia, celebrating sacrifice ritual in Idul Adha becomes common event for Muslim even for student, as the news that student of elementary school campaign to celebrate the sacrifice of Ishmael. They said, "Berkurban itu Menentramkan", "Berkurban Bukti Iman", and "Berkurban Bentuk Kepedulian". It can be translated into these sentences: "Sacrifice is reassuring", "Sacrifice is Evidence of Iman", and "Sacrifice shapes Concern to others".¹⁰⁹

Ironically, although it is not contra productive but it seems strange when we look t the cruelty discussion among Christians and Muslims as I explored. Someone else comments in a blog pragmatically, in a web blog discussion states:

¹⁰⁸ Miftah, 26 October 2012 12:00, "Refleksi Idul Adha di Tanah Papua", <http://politik.kompasiana.com/2012/10/26/refleksi-idul-adha-di-tanah-papua-498600.html>, accessed 29 December 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Anonym, 24 October 2012 09:47, "Ratusan Siswa SD Berkampanye Kurban", [http://www. antarane.ws.com/berita/340271/ratusan-siswa-sd-berkampanye-kurban](http://www.antarane.ws.com/berita/340271/ratusan-siswa-sd-berkampanye-kurban), accessed 29 December 2012.

Selamat pagi,: sebenarnya tdk perlu diperdebatkan siapakah yg di dikurbankan Abraham: Ishak atau Ismael? Karena Alkitab mencatat : Kejadian 22:13 Lalu Abraham menoleh dan melihat seekor domba jantan di belakangnya, yang tanduknya tersangkut dalam belukar. Abraham mengambil domba itu, lalu mengorbankannya sebagai korban bakaran pengganti anaknya. Jadi yg dikurbankan sebenarnya “Domba jantan”.

(Good morning,: actually not have to debate who is who in the sacrifice of Abraham: Isaac or Ishmael? Since the Bible records: Genesis 22:13 And Abraham looked up and saw a ram behind him, which his horns caught in a thicket. Abraham took the ram and sacrificed it as a burnt offering instead of his son. So who exactly sacrificed is "ram".)

It means that it is not fruitful to discuss seriously whether people do not take the practical advantages or message of the story. It can be conclude that debating is not more useful than doing something that are practically give advantages for people better life. But, may someone the use this topic into very practical interest, politics. Nowadays, do sacrifice (slaughter animal in Idul Qurban) also becomes a political commodity. It is not merely Muslim activity, but for someone willing to compete on Pemilu as Cornel Simbolon did last day. He sacrificed a cow in Idul Adha celebration, give it to the committee of a mosque, and give the meat to Muslim people. It must be political agendas than the religious consciousness itself. What do you think with this Simbolon's activities? Did he try to understand religiously the meaning of real sacrifice?

G. Conclusion

Christians and Muslims condemn their beliefs in discussing the story of Abraham's sacrifice, especially who the child was sacrificed. In my opinion, the real spirit of the major interpreters is to show the holy book is right and who is more credible. They connect between verses in both holy books and break their opponent's arguments. They both inquiry whether their opponent arguments are weak and this scripture is considered more consistence, more credible, but not a lot who discuss its relevance to current situation. Not a lot of them discuss of the more important points, about how to learn from the story of Abraham's sacrifice whereas finally no one was sacrificed.

Muslims take heed of this story as a form of obedience to God that must be emulated by Muslims as people of faith, the patience of Prophet Ibrahim to accept something ordeal, the obedience of Prophet Ismail to parents and God, and a willingness to share as part of a human race. While Christians interpret it as an example of sacrificing a leader, and willing sacrifice for the sake of faith, in addition to the implementation of the love for fellow human beings. In conclusion, in fact it is not easy to change the conviction of people. Every people have arguments to strengthen their beliefs. Therefore, throughout the ages, perhaps this conflict will continue. It will not be easy to reconcile this beliefs because

when they meet, they will be in one religion. The important thing is how to understand the useful meaning of these verses for present life. I am sure, no one is arguing deliberately to sacrifice their conviction.

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CHAPTER VIII

CLOSING REMARKS

The way people practice religions is different each other. In one side, people practice religions flow away as the flow of natural life. They follow the natural laws growing along the history, follow the society's activities, and they look for the life that is in harmony. It is showed by the traditional people, who live with the abundant examples of local wisdom. They prove how they believe in God in such rituals, they may combine the custom and the religious values based on a religion such as Christian, Islam, or other. They fatherly highlight how to live together than to indicate disagreement with each other. Social cohesion is more a part of their lives rather than blindly defend a belief. This way of life is rather different from how now days-modern-religious people practice their religions. Two of my articles tell about this problem.

My first article about "marginal Hinduism" shows how having religions recently is a kind of religious problem. Religion relates to a belief, and in this case a belief should adjust to a political condition and construction. Religion, as a belief, is not hold by people because of what they believe in to, but of what the powerful institution and people want to do. Also, my last article about recently debate of who the Abraham's son on the sacrifice story. These discussions show how Christians and Muslims each maintains their belief roughly. It is quite different

from the way which traditional religious communities live and practice religions. May modern people are far away from wisdom? Have their local wisdom changed with the flowing the history? May we have to redefine what we claim with wisdom and the local wisdom.

GLOSSARY

(under construction)

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