ISSN: 1411-3775 E-ISSN: 2548-4729

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin



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Esensia Terindeks:













Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

Vol 18, No. 2, Oktober 2017

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The **ESENSIA**: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin was launched in February, 2000 by the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. This journal was once accredited by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Decree of the Directorate General of Higher Education, No. 52/DIKTI/Kep/2002.

Currently, The **ESENSIA**: Jurnal llmu-llmu Ushuluddin has been accredited based on the Decree of the Director General of Research and Development Research and Development of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia, No. 36a/E/KPT/2016.

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The Face of Mountainous Islam: The Dynamic of Islam in the Dieng Mountains Wonosobo, Central Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article elaborates Mountainous Islam in the Dieng Mountains. Today Dieng is a Muslim society. However the historical accounts about the way Islam entered Dieng are still debatable. It becomes more difficult since there is no any support data that is quite reliable. Based on oral history and Islamic phenomenon, there are three important finding showed. First, the history of Islam in the Dieng Mountains is provided clear information that Islam entered to the Dieng not merely by the acculturation process as commonly understood, but also colonialization. Second, the Islamic tradition in the Dieng Mountains is the result of the negotiation of Islamic traditions and Hindu-Buddhist that first grew in Dieng, and present traditions that come to the Dieng Mountains. Islam Dieng creatively adopts and adapts new traditions in line with the improvement of society's economic condition. Third, Islamic expression displayed by the Dieng community is a portrait of a mountainous Islam that is adaptive, dynamic, and open to change. Their religious expression will continue to change along with the development of creativity that is influenced by economic development, educational attainment, their encounters with outsiders, and the natural vulnerabilities they face as people living in active and often life-threatening mountains

Key words: acculturation, colonialization, mountainous Islam, religious expression

Abstrak

Artikel ini menguraikan Islam Pegunungan di Dieng. Hari ini Dieng adalah sebuah masyarakat Muslim. Namun catatan sejarah tentang cara masuknya Islam Dieng masih diperdebatkan. Ini menjadi lebih sulit karena tidak ada data pendukung yang cukup andal. Berdasarkan sejarah lisan dan fenomena Islam, ada tiga temuan penting yang ditunjukkan. Pertama, sejarah Islam di Pegunungan Dieng memberikan informasi yang jelas bahwa Islam masuk ke Dieng tidak hanya dengan proses akulturasi seperti yang biasa dipahami, tapi juga kolonialisasi. Kedua, tradisi Islam di Pegunungan Dieng adalah hasil negosiasi tradisi Islam dan Hindu-Budha yang datang pertama kali ke Dieng. Islam Dieng secara kreatif mengadopsi dan menyesuaikan dengan dan menciptakan tradisi baru seiring dengan membaiknya kondisi ekonomi masyarakat. Ketiga, ekspresi Islam yang ditampilkan oleh masyarakat Dieng merupakan potret sebuah agama Islam pegunungan yang adaptif, dinamis, dan terbuka untuk berubah. Ekspresi religius mereka akan terus berubah seiring dengan perkembangan kreativitas yang dipengaruhi oleh pembangunan ekonomi, pencapaian pendidikan, perjumpaan mereka dengan orang luar, dan kerentanan alami yang mereka hadapi sebagai orang yang tinggal di pegunungan yang aktif dan sering mengancam jiwa.

Kata Kunci: akulturasi, kolonialisasi, Islam pegunungan, ekspresi keagamaan.

Preface

The Dieng Mountains today is a Muslim socity. However the historical accounts about the way Islam entered Dieng are still debatable. It becomes more difficult since there is no any support data that is quite reliable. Most of the data is merely an assumption built on oral stories circulating in Dieng society. The story is then associated with the old sites that their reliability is still subject to verify, such as the story of curly-haired children that is strongly related to the myth of Kiai Kolodete. In the treasury of the knowledge of the Dieng Mountains, the life of the Kiai Kolodete is considered a crucial phase of Islamic development in the Dieng. He is believed to be a Hindu ruler who later converted to Islam after the presence of Muslim priests sent by the Sultanate of Demak. Unfortunately, this notion is not supported by any convincing historical data. However, this does not mean that the story developed in society cannot be trusted at all. Such stories are valuable information that can be understood only by using local people's worldview. There is a truth wrapped up in these stories.¹

Tracing this further, it is not only the history of Islam in Dieng that is still vague, the origin of Islam in Java is also still in debate.² That means that there is no consensus. The historical debate about how Islam entered Java will never be complete, for there is no single reliable data providing information about that process and particularly the contact between the two: Islam and Java.³ Many say that by the end of the 14th century, Java already had Muslim communities. In fact, the Muslims already existed in the kingdom of Majapahit.⁴ According to Chinese

sources, Muslim communities existed at the beginning of the 15th century. The existence of communities mentioned in Chinese sources is very interesting to explore further because the existence of a community may not arise suddenly. Moreover, according to Woodward, the process of transition and conversion of Central Java's population to Islam was gradual, uneven, and continuous. If the community mentioned in the Chinese record is an Islamic community under the rule of Demak Bintoro Kingdom, then Islam might be present in Java long before the Demak kingdom. In other words, Islam entered Central Java long before the establishment of this Islamic kingdom.

It is very difficult to make a single conclusion upon which all academicians agree on the coming and establishment of Islamic communities in Central Java. One of the most important factors one could pay attention to in this process is the traders crossing the Indian Ocean. The traders might try to run their religious beliefs during their activity. They make a place of transit to run their religion. Such things can be seen from the existence of the Masjid Keramat (sacred mosque) in Singaraja seafront area, which is not far from the Masjid Agung Jami Singaraja Bali. This mosque was made by merchants who want to run commerce to the area of Lombok, to rest and fulfill his religious obligations. ⁷ Similarly, in the process of Islam entering Central Java, the traders initially made places a stopover. These

¹ Paul Thompson, Suara dari Masa Silam: Teori dan Metode Sejarah Lisan (translated by Widu W Yusuf), Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012.

² Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative Versus Kebatinan (translated by Hairus Salim HS), Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2012.

³ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 84-85

⁴ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.*; see also S Robson, "Java at the Crossroads:

aspect of Javanese Cultural History in the 14th and 15th centuries," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde 137,* 1981, 259-292.

⁵ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 84; see also S.F Dale, Islamic Society and the South Asian Frontire: The Mappilas of Mallabar 1498-1922, London: Oxford University Press, 1980; MC Ricklefs, Yogyakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792. A History of the Devison of Java, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, 2.

⁶ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative, 2012

⁷ Ahmad Salehudin, Revitalisasi Identitas Komunitas Masjid Dalam Perubahan Budaya Global: Studi Pada Komunitas Masjid Saka Tunggal Banyumas, Masjid Al Fattah Ambon, dan Masjid Agung Singaraja Bali, Research Report, 2015.

places eventually gave birth to an established and solid community. As the community was being built, they bring religious teachers to meet the new religious community's needs.8 Thus, the existence of traders is closely related to the early process of Islamization of Central Java. Of course, the conversion process of this period did not go massively, because the traders did not put the spread of religion on their primary purposes. It is rather the derivative impact of their trading activities.

The history of Islam is not merely a process of conversion into Islam gradually as can be traced from the opinions of experts, but also relates to the status of Islam as a national religion.9 The latter makes the conversion process into Islam fast, systemic, massive, and structured, as is the case with Hindu-Buddhist communities in the Dieng Mountains. It is impossible that the Hindu-Buddhist people in Dieng --most likely the religious leaders---- will leave Dieng right away or make a total conversion unless there was a specific system, such as the state of Islam, which suppressed them. However, this assumption is not supported by convincing written data. As the consequence, the entry of Islam into Dieng will remain in mystery.

In general, information about the entry of Islam into Indonesia has five sources of reference, namely Arabic, European, Indian, Chinese, and domestic.¹⁰ First, Arab sources. Arab traders had come to Indonesia since the reign of Sriwijaya kingdom (7th century AD) that controlled the trade shipping lanes in the western part of Indonesia, including the Strait of Malacca at that time. The relationship of Arab traders with the kingdom of Sriwijaya is proved by the Arab traders known by the royal population of Sriwijaya as Zabak, Zabay or Sribusa. This opinion was put forward by Crawfurd, Keyzer, Nieman, de Hollander, Syech Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, Hamka and Abdullah bin Nuh. Second, Europe sources. The notion comes from Marcopolo in 1292 AD. He was the first person to set foot in Indonesia, precisely when he returned from China to Europe by sea. He was assigned by the Chinese emperor to deliver his daughter as a present for the Roman emperor. Once he stopped in northern Sumatra. In this area he discovered the existence of an Islamic empire, the kingdom of Samudera Pasai. Among the historians who adhered to this theory are C. Snouch Hurgronye, W.F. Stutterheim, and Bernard H.M. Vlekke. Third, India sources. This mentions that Indian traders from Gujarat have an important role in the spread of Islam as religion and culture in Indonesia. The Gujarati traders in addition to doing commercial activities also teach their religion and culture to every society they encounter, especially to the people located in the coastal area. This theory was born in 1883 AD, popularized by C. SnouchHurgronye. Proponents of this theory are Dr. Gonda, Van Ronkel, Marrison, R.A. Kern, and C.A.O. Van Nieuwinhuize. Fourth, Chinese Sources. This is known through a note from Ma Huan, a journalist following the journey of her admiral Cheng-Ho. He stated through his writings that since about 1400 there have been Islamic merchants who reside on the north coast of Java. T.W. Arnol said that Arab traders spread Islam in the Nusantara when they dominated the West-East trade since the early centuries of Hijra or the seventh and eighth centuries. In Chinese sources it is mentioned that, in the 7th century CE, an Arab merchant became the leader of a Muslim Arab settlement on the coast of Sumatra (called Ta'shih) (Edyar. ed., 2009: 187). Fifth, local sources. There are sources from

⁸ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.; see also S Robson, "Java at the Crossroads: aspect of Javanese Cultural."

⁹ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.

¹⁰ D Supriyadi, Sejarah Peradaban Islam. Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2008, 191. See also Badri Yatim, Sejarah Islam di Indonesia. Jakarta: Depag, 1998.

within the country that explain the growing influence of Islam in Indonesia, such as the rock written in Leran (Gresik), which uses Arabic letters and writing about the death of a woman named Fatimah Binti Maimun (1028); The tomb of Sultan Malikul Saleh in North Sumatra who died in Ramadhan year 676 H or 1297 AD; and the grave of Syech Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik who died in 1419 AD.¹¹

sources are very useful vet complicating in reconstructing the history about the coming of Islam in nusantara. An account saying that in an area there has been an Islamic community does not show that Islam came at that particular time. It instead points out that Islam has come a long way before. Likewise is the existence of Nisan Fatimah Binti Maimun in Gresik. It simply indicates that there have been Muslims buried there, rather than the entry of Islam. If we agree that Islam in its early stages developed gradually, it is likely then that Islam entered long before the existence of those written evidences. However, the existence of these texts is very useful to reconstruct the understanding of Islamic Nusantara in broad sense, and Javanese Islam in particular.

What we have as sources hitherto are only the written stuffs. We need to expand it then by looking at the elements of the Islamic advocates of Indonesia and compare it with other Islamic traditions. In this way, we can reconstruct the history of Indonesian Islam, including when and from where Islam Indonesia came. In the context of Javanese Islam for example, we need to consider the supporting elements to trace its origin. Javanese Islamic culture is generally built on two elements, namely Kerala (South India) tradition that is heavily influenced by Arab tradition and the Deccan Islamic kingdoms of northern India- dominated by the religious and political order of Indo-Persian. Javanese culture combines elements of both traditions. The

architecture of the mosque and the tradition of the Syafi'i school generally embraced by their people are inherited from Kerala, while the Islamic state, the ritual aspects of the sultanate, and the Sufi tradition are shaped by the royal tradition of Indo Persia.¹²

Islam in Kerala in South India has similarities with Islam in Southeast Asia. Therefore the both might have historical relationships. Kerala is a cross-point for trade since the Roman Empire. At the beginning of the first century, this area consisted of Jewish, Arabian and Christian populations, as well as indigenous Hindu communities.13 Kerala is a major source of pepper, and is an important channel for trade relations between Arabia and India, and generally Southeast Asia. As trade routes, including Arab traders, Islam may have existed in South India at the time of the Prophet Muhammad's life.¹⁴ Muslims in Kerala mostly come from Arabia and the Persian Gulf.¹⁵ They are Shafi'ite in *figh*. Kerala is a haven for merchants from Sumatra, Malaya and China.¹⁶ If you look at the flow of this trade, it is clear that there is a historical relationship between Kerala and Indonesian, especially Java Islam. In other words, Kerala Islam has an important role in the Islamization of Java.

According to Woodward, there are at least four similarities between Islam in Java and Kerala, namely mosque architecture, mystical traditions, socio-religious organizations, and religious rituals.¹⁷ *First*, the architecture of

¹¹ D Supriyadi, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*; See also Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Depag, 1998

¹² See Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 85

¹³ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative*. 85-86; see also S.F. Dale, *Islamic Society and the South Asian Frotire: The Mappilas of Malabar 1498-1922*, London: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.12.

¹⁴ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 85-86

¹⁵ S.F. Dale, Islamic Society and the South Asian Frotire: p.26

¹⁶ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative*. 85-86; see also S.F. Dale, *Islamic Society and the South Asian Frotire*: p.26.

¹⁷ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.

mosques in Java and Lombok has similarities to that in Kerala, which is wood-based and three-tiered, resembling Hindu temples of East Asia. Such architecture can be seen in the Great Mosque of Demak which is considered as the oldest mosque in Java, Yogyakarta Palace mosque located in Kota Gede, and Imogiri tomb. 18 Second, the common mystical tradition. The mystical traditions that developed in Java have similarities to those in Kerala. Kerala is a transit area between Mecca and South Asia. This greatly enables the mystical tradition that flourished in Kerala to also be found in Java. As mentioned in the cebolek, a mystic text of the 18th century, that after Kiai Mutamakkin was put on trial for being accused of heresy, he was sent back to his master in South Yemen to increase his knowledge of Islamic law.¹⁹ Third, the similarity of social and religious organizations. The Javanese and Kerala Islamic societies share similarities in social and religious organizations, which are oriented towards the ulama. In the tradition of traditional Javanese and Kerala Islamic society, scholars and their ideologically descendants both (teacherstudent) and biologically enjoyed prestigious social status. Pesantren, both in Java and Kerala, is an important institution in the social, educational and political fields. In addition, the pattern of teaching and the way traditions maintained within pesantren in Java and Kerala are the same, oriented to the memorization of Arabic texts and respect for the awliya (saints). Wali, ulama, and kiai have important roles and enjoy honorable positions in the life of both Javanese and Kerala communities.²⁰ Fourth, the similarity of religious rituals. Java and Kerala share similarities in ritual as well, such as fivetime prayers, Ramadan fasts, pilgrimages to the sacred tomb, reciting the Quran, and dishes eaten together after the process is completed. This kind of ritual is called slametan in Java and Nercha in Kerala. In other side, the dishes served are also the same, namely panganan, made from rice flour, and called Apem in Java and Appem in Kerala.21 Based on these four similarities, Woodward considers that Kerala is an important source for the process of Islamization in Java. It becomes stronger when it is associated with Kerala's position as a transit area between Mecca and South Asia.

Despite of being an important source of Javanese Islamization, Kerala does not significantly provide information on the system of government, for there is no kingdom in Malabar Coast. That is, if some periods later Islamic kingdoms were established in Java, the Kingdom of Demak Bintoro, Pajang Sultanate, and Mataram Islam to mention some, there must be other sources influential. The kingdom systems in Indo-Persia became a model for the formulation of Javanese Islam. Thus, it is an alternative theory, being counterpart of a notion saying that Persia affects the tradition of religious rituals in Indonesia --- as seen in the rituals of commemorating the Prophet's birthday, and the festivities of Muharram to harass the martyrdom of Hasan and Husein, sons of Ali. It also affects the Islamic state system, as are the Islamic sultanates of Java, such as Demak, Pajang, and Mataram Islam.²²

The first Islamic empires of Java were on the North and East Coast. The existence of these kingdoms shows the existence of Muslim communities in Java before the fall of Majapahit Kingdom-the largest Buddhist Hindu kingdom in Java. In fact, King Brawijaya V, the last king of Majapahit, has converted to

¹⁸ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 86-87.

¹⁹ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 87; Soebardi, the Book of Cebolek: a critical Edition With Introduction, translation and Notes. A Contribution to the Study of the Javanesse Mystical Tradition, Den Haaq: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, 33.

²⁰ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.

²¹ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 88-89.

²² Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.

Islam. Indeed, the data explaining the existence of early Islamic kingdoms in Java is quite a bit. That makes the reconstruction of the data far from being convincing. Nevertheless the existence of the Great Mosque of Demak can be important information for the existence of democratic kingdom, and the important role of the scholars (Muslim Clergy), especially called *wali* or Javanese pope.²³

The establishment of Islamic empires in Central Java and Islamization of Java are of highly complex phenomenon. The conversion of massive Hindu-Buddhist societies left behind some questions that tend to be avoided, whether the conversion process to Islam is peaceful or wrapped in violence. This important question is being raised considering that the conversion process proceeds quickly and evenly in all areas of Java, as is the case in Dieng area. Beginning with the collapse of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit, Hindu-Buddhist religious communities and textual traditions associated with them were destroyed or fled to some areas, such as Tengger and Bali. Although some small Hindu kingdoms still existed in East Java until the 18th century,24 the royal palace and literary form of old Javanese culture had been obliterated in Central Java before the founding of Mataram kingdom.25 Throughout Demak reign, Javanese scholars were the main political and religious figures so that they controlled the local kings and nobles.²⁶

The origin of Islam in Dieng

Serat Centini²⁷ informed that in the Dieng Mountains at that time, i.e. around 1736 AD when Keraton Giri in East Java defeated by the Sultanate Mataran Islam, has inhabited by the Muslim people. However we could not find any written data explaining convincingly about the introduction of Islam to the region, the center of Hindu-Buddhism at the time. The explanation of the entry of Islam into the Dieng area can only be based on the oral story circulating in the community. Some of the stories relate for example old graves to Islamic propagators commonly known as awliya of Dieng and Babad *Kedhu*. First, according to the story circulating in rural Java, (Islamic) civilization in Java began with the arrival of Syech Shubakir and Syech Jangkung, both were sent by the Turkish sultan to Tidar area in Magelang. Java was held to still be a jungle inhabited by the spirits. People in Magelang and surrounding a reas believe that there is a tomb of Syech Shubakir, while Syech Jangkung is buried at the foot of Dieng Mountains, particularly in Kreo village, district Kejajar, Wonosobo, along with other great priyayi such as Kiai Pido Ibrahim, Kiai Bangkit, Kiai Ageng Gribig, Kiai Bela-Belo, Kiai Bontot, Kiai Jagang Joyo, Nyai Poniem (Princess Kanjeng Roro Ayu), Raden Kertosari, Kiai Keramat (Kiai Karim), and Ki Ageng Serang.²⁸

Second, the first Islamic scho lars' tombs in Dieng. In village Candi (now called village Candiroto, Mojotengah sub-district, Wonosobo district), there is a tomb be lieved to be the tomb of Syech Abdullah Qutbu din, a Sufi scholar who came from Iran and spread Islam with the Naqsbandiyah Sufi or der. Candi is believed to be the first Islam village in Java.

²³ See MC Ricklefs, Yogyakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 17; Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative. 90.

²⁴ See Mark R. Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.* 91; see also T. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, Den Haaq: Martinus Nijhoff, 137

²⁵ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative.

²⁶ Mark R. Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normativ, 91; see also Mudjanto, The Concepts of Power Javanesse Culture, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986, 15-16

²⁷ Pakubuwana V., *Serat Centhini Dwi Lingua*. (Book 1. Transleted by Sunardian Wirodono). Yogyakarta: Yayasan Wiwara, 2011.

Nurul Mubin, Islam Bumi Kahyangan Dieng: Potret Akulturasi Islam, Hindu, dan Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Dataran Tinggi Dieng. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Prisma, 2010, 208

According to Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Syech Abdullah Qotbudin established a pesantren in Candirejo Village, but because he had no children, his pesantren was eventually destroyed. In addition to the grave of Syech Abdullah Qutbudin, in Kalilembu Dieng there is also a tomb that is believed to be the tomb of Syech Abdullah Selomanik, Muslim preacher in Wonosobo and beyond. Syech Abdullah Selomanik and Sayid Hashim bin Idrus bin Muhsin Ba'abud are believed to have originated from Hadramaut (Yemen) and are still descendants of Prophet Muhammad SAW. They came to Dieng in 1791 AD or the late 16th AD. Before preaching in Dieng, the descendants of the Sayyid lived in Batang and Pekalongan. After 'Islamizing' Batang, they continued their journey to the southern region, the Dieng Mountains which at that time was the center of the Hindu-Buddhist community. They then descend to the southern region which is now called Kauman (Wonosobo). This village is used as a place to live as well as the center of their activity. They built *langgar* as the forerunner of al-Mansur mosque which is the place of religious teaching and taught the Alawiyah and Syariah sufi tradition.

Third, the Serat Babad Kedhu. This serat informed about the efforts of the awliya who were building the sultanate of Demak Bintoro to eliminate the influence of Hindu religion that was still deeply entrenched in the community. Dieng which became the center of the Hindu-Buddhist civilization at that time became one of the goals of the mission of Sunan Bonang. Therefore, Sunan Bonang sent Kiai Karim and Kiai Walik to carry out Islamization of Dieng area. To conduct Islamization of Dieng, Kiai Karim and Kiai Walik use Lengger dance art which means *Elinge Ngger* (remember, boy). More and more people are attracted to Islam, but they faced obstacles because the ruler of Dieng, namely Kiai Kolodete (Kaladitya), was

reluctant to convert to Islam. Then Kiai Karim fought against Kolodete. The war was finally won by Kiai Karim. Kolodete then accepted Islam, and was called Kiai Kaladete.

If we see three sources of information on the entry of Islam into Dieng, it turns out that there is no conclusive data capable of giving a definite conclusion about when Islam entered the Dieng Mountains. Therefore, the interpretation of these three sources of information becomes urgent to construct a new understanding of Islam Dieng. In addition, the three sources of information will be useful to know the origins of Islam Dieng. Indeed the process will be constrained because of the lack of written data. But the existence of oral stories helps a lot to understand the history of Islam Dieng. It may not always be accurate as written data, but oral stories can be an important source of information to uncover the condition of society before the writing era. The Kiai Kolodete story of Hindu-Buddhism, for example, who later converted to Islam after being defeated by Kiai Karim, who was a Sunan Bonang delegate from Demak Bintoro Sultanate, provided clear information that Islam entered Dieng not merely by the acculturation process as commonly understood today, but also colonialization. By using the perspective of colonization, it becomes clear why there are no Hindu people at all in Dieng.

Similarly, the story of Syech Abdullah Qutbudin from Iran whose grave is believed to be in Candirejo and Syech Abdullah Selomanik from Yemen whose grave is in Kalilembu could be a source of knowledge that Islam developed in Dieng originated from Iran and Yemen and hence tends to be mystical. Because it tends to be mystical, then Islam in Dieng tends to be friendly to the tradition of Hindu-Buddhist who had experienced the heyday in Dieng. From the story of KiaiKolodete and the existence of the tomb of Syech Abdullah Qutbudin and Syech Abdullah Selomanik we

can argue that Islam in Dieng turns out to be supported by two relatively different Islamic traditions, namely formalistic Islamic tradition derived from the Demak Bintoro kingdom, and the essentialist one originating from Indo Persia. In its development, it is pretty obvious that formalistic Islamic groups are displaced by the arrival of an essentialist Islamist group that is more adaptive to local culture. The portrait of Islam which tends to be essentialist and adaptive, it currently becomes the mainstream of *Islam Dieng*.

Religious expression of Dieng Muslim

It was late afternoon, nearing Maghrib when I visited one of the informants, a very exciting young kiai. The house of this young kiai is next to the mosque. To get to his house, I had to pass through the small alleys among the houses that were lined. It is typical of houses in Dieng. The closely built house gives warmth to everyone inside. This is also what I feel when meeting with the young kiai. I was invited to go and sit lesehan (on the floor, without chair) in a room that is not too spacy, with a carpet that looks worn for old. In the room, he with a middleaged man enjoys a cigarette. Apparently he was talking casually to prepare for the event called akhirussanah (from Arabic word; akhir is end, and sanah is year) Taman Pendidikan Quran (TPQ) on the next day. Shortly thereafter, two cups of black coffee still puffing up the smoke are coming. An elderly mother, the one who brings them then said "enjoy the coffee, Gus. Don't let it get cold," she said in ngapak accent.

Preparing *akhirus sanah* is an annual routine of every TPQ in Dieng. This activity is done not only as marking the end of the school year (as the name suggests) and the evaluation of the learning outcomes, but also to appreciate all the activities that have taken place during that year. This activity usually requires a lot of cost because it brings *kiai* from outside. The cost for

such activities is usually borne jointly by the parents of the *santri*. However, sometimes the parents with high economic status donate more to support the event.

The ritual named akhirussanah seems to confirm the opinion of the anthropologists studying the Javanese society, that slametan is the heart of Javanese religion.29 Slametan is a very important factor in the system of ideas and social behavior of the Javanese. Slametan, a meal ceremony consisting of offerings, symbolic foods, formal greetings and prayers, is a simple event yet has certain rules and symbolic density. Slametan is a communal phenomenon, but it does not define the community explicitly; slamaten takes place through a long verbal expression in which everyone agrees, but the individual audience does not necessarily agree with its meaning.30 According to Durkheim, the fundamental element of religion is belief and ritual, in which there are supernatural and mysterious things.31 Beliefs are related to representations of hope, and rites are the way to realize those expectations.32 In this context we can understand the importance of ritual for the Dieng society.

In addition to the final ritual, in the Dieng Mountains, as can easily be found in rural agrarian societies in general, we will get an interesting phenomenon, namely no day without *slametan: slametan* will meet the whole process of life of Dieng people. On the basis of information from one of the resource persons and of observations during the study, rites of passage are rituals performed since the people's early life in the world until death. When a

²⁹ See Andrew Beatty, the Varieties of Javanese Religion, Princenton: Princenton University Press, 1999, 39; see also Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of culture. Basic Book, 1977, 11

³⁰ Andrew Beatty, the Varieties of Javanese Religion, 35-36

³¹ Emile Durkheim, the elementary forms of religious life, New York: the Free Press, 1995 (1912), 24-42

³² Ahmad Salehudin, Satu Dusun Tiga Masjid: Anomali Ideologisasi Agama atas Agama, Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, 2007, 83)

woman is four months pregnant, they perform a ngapati ritual; seven months pregnant they held a ritual of mitoni; so also when the baby has been born, got a name, got off the ground, circumcised, married, and died, there is always a certain ritual accompanying. In fact, death is not the end of the ritual. They held rituals on three, five, seven, forty, a hundred, and a thousand days from the day of death. Furthermore, those with high economic status will still held annual rituals, called hauls.

Not only rituals associated with rites of passage, rituals are also performed by the community to sustain their lives as farmers. The agricultural activities they do during nandur (planting) and harvest period, are also accompanied by slametan. This nandur and harvest ritual is usually a prayer along with serving food to others consisting of rakan, snacks, bucu and golong or rice in the form of tumpeng, and rounded rice.33 Some will view the rituals wrong if they only look at the appearance of ritual, particularly in prayer and eating together, as well as presented offerings. The ritual of eating together before the d-day of planting tobacco for example, by outsiders who do not fully understand the ritual, is often regarded as an offering to the ancestral spirits or the spirit of The God Who Plant. Rather, the activity of eating together is a sodagoh. That is, in the beliefs of the people of Dieng, a plea to God that their crops be thrown out of calamity and obtain abundant crops.34

Since Dieng farmers gained economic success through planting potatoes, religious rituals have intensified. Not merely rites of passage and rituals associated with their position as farmers, but also new rituals introduced by the younger generation who enjoyed pesantren education.³⁵ Those who experience the heyday do not hesitate to send their children to the existing pesantren in various cities (Yogyakarta, Jepara, Magelang, Purworejo, Jombang, etc.), in hopes of improving religious skills. Thus in less than a decade, the booming potato economy was followed by the explosion of the santri generation. Those who have completed their study at the pesantren will return to the village and fill up a new elite layer centered in mosques and prayer rooms, replacing old religious figures dominated by elderly people who have never attended pesantren education. The santri generation will then introduce a new religious tradition derived from pesantren.³⁶

As the sun begins to sink, and the adzan magrib begins to shout marking the time of prayer mangrib, practically Dieng life changed 180% of the daytime life. During the day Dieng people meet the surface of Dieng agricultural land, whether flat land, as well as steep cliffs. at night all gathered in mushalla, mosques, and boarding schools to follow various rituals religion, such as *barzanji* (praise to the Prophet), sima'an (reciting Quran in circles), yasinan (reading Yasin together), pengajian (religious lectures), Simtudduror (praises accompanied music); shalawatan (praise to the Prophet), and so forth.37

Children's activities are relatively different. They go to school in the morning till noon, and get some rests for about two hours after school. They begin to drown in religious learning activities in TPQ, diniyah (religious education), madrasah, mosque, and langgar/mushalla. They studied al-Quran and figh (Islamic law). Not a few of these children memorize the quran. There is an annual competition of tahfidzul Quran (memorizing al-Quran), starting from juz 30, 5 juz, 10 juz, 20 juz and 30 juz. In terms of learning the Quran they have also adopted the latest innovative learning method, the qiraati. It is said that by using such methods, beginner

³³ Nurul Mubin, Islam Bumi Kahyangan Dieng. 135-137

³⁴ Nurul Mubin, Islam Bumi Kahyangan Dieng. 137

³⁵ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi: Ketika Mikanisme Pasar Bias Spekulasi. Yogyakarta: Disertasi, 2015.

³⁶ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi.

³⁷ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi. 228-229

learners will be able to read the Qur'an in a very short time. One of the *santri*'s parents proudly recounted his son who was only fifth grade elementary school already memorized *juz amma* (thirtieth juz of al-quran), and had several times read the Quran in full.

In addition to learning and memorizing the Quran, the students also learn the *fiqh*, the science of worship and socialization. The science of worship involves a method of purification of a *hadas saghir* (which leads to the obligation to perform ablution before pray) and the *hadas kabir* (which causes bathing, due to body relations, menstruation, puerper, crazy, wet bath, etc.), kinds of water, and of prayer, zakat and variety, and pilgrimage. In terms of *muamalah* they learn about how to "interact" with others in accordance with the rules of Islam. If you look at the phenomenon, it is true that Dieng religious construction has been done early, not only culturally, but also structurally.

On the basis of the observation, there are generally three ritual models that developed in the Dieng Mountains, namely special, general, and very special rituals. First, special rituals are ones performed by certain persons grouped by age (teenagers, children and parents), gender (male and female), social status (hajj, village apparatus), interests (mass), and rites of passage. Given these specific ritual criteria, it is certain that this ritual is not followed by all villagers or, in other words, limited, followed only by certain groups. Pengajian (public preaching) for men will have attendees of adult men only, as well as pengajian for mothers. Pengajian Haji will also only be attended by those who have ever performed the pilgrimage. With this clustering pattern, the intensity of ritual in the mountains becomes very dense.

At least every night we will see various groups engaging in all the rituals held in mosque, mushallas and houses. This ritual usually begins after the mosque prayer activity is finished, around 8 pm, and usually will end at 11 pm. Thus, every night a resident of Dieng who have grown up will follow a religious ritual, outside the five-time obligated prayer. For certain people who belong to the elite category-such as hajj, kiai, and village apparatus, the involvement in religious rituals can be more than twice every night. Two officials of one of the villages (village head/kades and head of village development affairs/kaur) who were "escaping" from his village due to the completion of the RPJMDES (Village Development Plans) said that they could not attend regular pengajian and tahlilan at the home of one just passed away. According to them, as village apparatus, every night they have to follow the activities, including the existing studies in the community. "we often attend more than two rituals in half a night, right?", said the kades to the Kaur who was next to him.

Second, the general ritual. This type is called a general ritual because it is followed by all members of the community, ranging from children to parents. There are at least two general rituals, namely the TPQ and the pengajian Salapanan on Saturday pahing-the last performed in turns by four villages (one of the villages do pengajian salapanan on Sunday Wage). TPQ or akhirussanah ritual, as the Dieng people call it, is a village-owned ritual that costs extremely, between 70 and 110 million. The amount is certainly not small, let alone must be issued every year. But for the Dieng community this amount is not a problem. They recounted the "expensive" ritual with the usual intonation and gestures. They seem to be more proud when the cost to spend this year is more than that in previous year.

The amount of costs required for TPQ is usually known a few months earlier, precisely in the meeting between TPQ management, *santri* parents, and the community. They scheduled any event that will be displayed, including who

the kiai will be invited. The invited kiai sometimes comes from Wonosobo, but more often from out of the town. The invited kiai shows the prestige of the event: the further the kiai origin is, the higher the prestige of the event. The amount of budget for the final implementation of TPQ is usually also reserved for invited kiai. "For kiai from out of town, we usually give 12 million rupiahs. It is also an expression of gratitude because he was pleased to visit us at the top of the mountain, "said one of the interviewees in Banteng village.

Once the required amount is known, the residents then determine the amount of contributions they have to pay. For those whose children are graduated because they already memorized juzamma (juz 30), ten juz, 20 juz, or 30 juz, the fee will be more expensive. For them, it is a pride that their son is graduating. Therefore the amount of dues to be spent is not a problem. Moreover, some of them believe that by memorizing the Quran, God will take care of their families, and later they will reside in heaven. The magnitude of public fees depends on the economy of each family. For those who fall into the rich category, contributions are usually larger than those in the non-rich category. "Wes podo ngerti kudu nyumbang pira (already know how much to donate)", said one of the respondents whose children will be graduated.

Pengajian Salapanan Sabtu Pahing is also a general and costly ritual. It is called Salapanan Sabtu Pahing because it is held every 35 days (this cycle is called *salapan*); carried out by turns in and by five villages in Dieng Mountains, namely Parikesit, Patak Banteng, Kalilembu, Dieng, and Sikunang. The village of Sembungan which is the highest village on the island of Java held pengajian salapanan own, namely on Ahad Wage. According to the information I get, the fee for organizing the salapan is very expensive, much more expensive than the akhirussanah.

Financing component consists of two things, namely the cost for the activities at the venue, namely pengajian and entertainment, and treats that must be prepared by each family.

For the mass preaching and entertainment, the required cost ranges from 80-120 million, almost equal to the total cost of akhirussanah. The cost is shared by the villagers, depending on the economic capacity of each family. In the end those who are had low economic capacity pay 250 thousand and those who are rich pay 500 thousand. 500 thousand will be a problem for those who only work as farm laborers. However, the not-rich people will be very eager to contribute according to the decision of the meeting. As expressed by one of the respondents, the money spent for pengajian will ultimately be for themselves, namely in the form of rizki. The rupiahs they got from debt are believed to soon be paid. "Rizki will come from anywhere." One possible thing they might have in mind is for example more people would hire them to work on potato farming. Using a material profit and loss perspective, what the poor farmer experiences is a loss, since the money they earned is not used for productive purposes.

Expenditures for Salapanan Sabtu Pahing become larger because they also have to provide food services in their houses. In this ritual, there will be many families, relatives or colleagues from outside the villages or areas to come to visit. Those who visit must get the best treats and services, especially with regard to food. According to one informant, they will try to provide the best for their guests, as they will also provide the best when their village becomes the host. The amount of cost each family needs to pay depends on how many people visit their home: between 1.5 million and 3 million. The amount is actually very large for people who work only as a farm worker with an income of only 50 thousand a day. However,

as one respondent noted, we will not be able to calculate the "conformity" between income and expenses for pengajian. For example someone who only earns 50 thousand a day, it would be difficult to meet such a large cost. If there are no deposits at all, they will be indebted to the left-right neighbors who have higher economic capacity. Surprisingly, not long later they will be able to pay the debt. "Iki sing jenenge berkah pak. Le' dihitung-hitung yara masuk akal. Tapi awak dewe sing ngelakoni yo cukup, iso bayar hutang barang. Ra usah khawatir, Allah iku maha kaya" (this is what we call blessing, sir. If you calculate it, it is not reasonable. Yet we have enough to survive. We have nothing to worry about for Allah is Rich), said one of the respondents. Indeed there is a story circulating among the people, that every time before the ritual salapan in a village, there will be a crime in the community. Many steal, not only wood in the forest, but also agricultural crops. "Perhaps the number of this theft phenomenon is also associated with the amount of cost to spend in the salapan," said one community leaders who is active enough to assist recovery efforts in Dieng.

Third, a special super ritual. It's called a special super ritual because the ones who are able to perform are special people. The ritual that belongs to this category is Hajj. For Muslims, Hajj is everyone's dream. The Hajj became one of the requirements-to be ableto perfect his Islam. This is also what we can find in Dieng. Implementing Hajj is the dream of every potato farmer in Dieng. For Dieng people, Hajj is not only a form of obedience to Allah SWT, but also a symbol of success. 1996 is a period people of Sembungan would never forget. At that time, Dieng became the largest contributor of pilgrims in Wonosobo; 70% of the total Wonosobo pilgrims. In fact, at that time, there was an interesting phenomenon. One of the villages in Dieng had to ask for help to the police to guard the area when the villagers brought their relatives to perform the pilgrimage. Out of 100 heads of households (about 350 people), 40 people have adapted the Hajj. The village became deserted because most of the people deliver his brother to perform the pilgrimage.

Because the Dieng pilgrims benefit from potatoes, they are usually also called with potato hajj. Farmers with an economic surplus do not hesitate-even like competing-to invest some of the profits for the pilgrimage. This is certainly different with the logic of capitalism or, say, with Weber's theory-both of which suggest profits to be reinvested so that business continues to grow.³⁸ The theory presented by Weber does not seem to be able to be used to read the phenomenon in Dieng.

The passion for performing Hajj emerged in addition to being driven by improved religious awareness, as well as by the Dieng community's view in general. Farmers who have been deemed successful but have not left for pilgrimage will be regarded as disobedient. As a Muslim, his identity will be questioned. Various negative designations, such as miserly, "Javanese chinese", *cethil* (stingy), and so forth, will be attached to them. Of course, the titles will be avoided by many people. That is why during the heyday of potatoes in 1980-1990s, people liked to compete one another to be able to do Hajj, although some of them have to sell some of the land.³⁹

However, the hajj boom as it did in the 1990s until the 2000s is now beginning to fade. In the last ten years, the wave of potato pilgrims began to recede. This occurred along with the production crisis in the villages that had been the central production of potatoes. The ability of mountain peasants to pilgrim is receding. The failure of the crop often experienced by potato

³⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (translated by Talcott Parsons). London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

³⁹ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi.

farmers makes them now face various economic difficulties. Hajj is no longer a priority as it was in the 1990-2000s; not because their Islam is eroded so that it is reluctant to haji, but rather because of economic things. Every respondent I meet is always dreaming to perform the pilgrimage.

Masjid and Musholla: Righteousness and **Success Manifested**

In addition to potatoes, high mosques and musalla are common things to see for anyone visiting Dieng area. Some of the mosques that look magnificent, either because of large building with many floors or beautiful ornaments, can be seen directly for they are located on the edge of the main road Wonosobo-Dieng. Some others only show their dome, which obtrusively comes up over buildings. On the other hand, the musalla is smaller, and is owned by individuals or small communities in a particular place. The musalla commonly has three stories with a loudspeaker at the top, so anyone can recognize that building as a musalla. In addition to size, the most crucial difference between the mosque and the musalla is in terms of function: the mosque is used for Friday prayers while the *musalla* is not.

About so many mosques in the mountains of Dieng, Santoso gives the following illustration:

"Along with the economic explosion of potatoes in 1990s, mosques and musalla in Dieng had mushroomed and flourished. Entering the mountainous region, besides the expanse of potato plants, we will also soon enjoy another striking sight, namely the magnificent mosques storied long on along the streets. Directing from Dieng to Batur, 12 km distance, on both sides of the road I get at least 29 large mosques with striking domes and towers soaring. Along the road connecting Dieng Wetan and Dieng Kulon we too can get at least 4 large mosques that are each less than 1 km distance." 40

In general, massively construction of mosques was carried out simultaneously with the economic explosion of potatoes in Dieng in the 1990s. Ever since they enjoyed the potato's economic glory, the old mosques built in the 1970s of the tobacco and cabbage profits suddenly seemed narrow and ancient. Economic success makes them freer to express the spirit of religion, especially in material forms, such as mosques and mushallas. The phenomenon of rebuilding mosques can be found in all the villages in Dieng. According to one informant, Tafrikhan, since the early 1990s, throughout Dieng there is no small mosque, with terraced, tower. All district, and even villages, built mosques; the old mosque without minarets and pyramid, not to say Java, architecture soon get replaced by the new mosques with high tower and modern architecture. Such mosques are now flourishing in almost all the slope villages over Dieng Mountains (Santoso, 2015: 224).41 Furthermore, mosque facilities are also more complete, especially the use of thick carpet covering the floor. The rugs in addition to showing the luxury of the mosque, also seems to help reducing the cold weather that often freeze the Dieng Mountains, especially in the dry season.

The multi-storied, domed, and modern mosque is a commonplace that can be easily encountered when visiting the Dieng area. Each village has a huge mosque with billions of rupiahs to spend. It is not to mention the place of worship in the form of langgar and mushalla. In Sembungan for example, which is the highest village in Java, there are some mushalla, in addition to one big mosque. The mosque in Sembungan will be easily seen by anyone who visits the village, and even before entering the village area. The potato mosque, as they call the mosque, was built in 1996 and finished after 10 years, i.e. in 2006. The total cost already spent on the mosque is more than 2 billion.

⁴⁰ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi. P.224

⁴¹ Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi. P.224

Adding to the mosques, *musalla* also began to be built. The artistry of the *musalla* is not too complicated and large, but it is good enough to be the place of a RT community to perform some rituals. In Sembungan there are 4 *musalla* in each RT. Like the mosque, the mushalls are also equipped with carpets or rugs that are thick enough, so that people will feel warm enough in the winter. In the *musalla* those who are in the RT do activities together, such as praying five times a day and night, learning to read alquran, and many other religious rituals.

Financing for the construction of the mosques is fully borne by the villagers. Each head of the family contributes to the construction of the mosque. Initially these donations are voluntary, based on the economic capacity of each family. However, ultimately the population was indirectly forced, by cutting 2.5% of the profit in potato harvest for both the rich and the poor. This potato-cutting policy is implemented by almost all mosque building committees. Pretty good, Santoso describes the fundraising process of building a mosque in a village in Dieng as follows:

"The fundraising for the restoration of the old mosque in Puncakwangi was initially carried out proportionately: rich farmers are required to contribute more funds than poor farmers. Thus there is a sense of justice in it. But such a mechanism cannot work properly. Funds cannot be collected as expected. The wealthy farmers objected, that they are levied greater than the levies imposed on other farmers. Therefore the mosque (re)building committee then changed the fundraising mechanism: the amount of the levy is based on the percentage of the number of potatoes sold. Every farmer, regardless of their economic level, is charged 2.5% of every bag of potatoes sold. Although the new mechanism is not fully approved by small farmers, it can in fact be well run."42

Since the potatoes booming, mosques and musalla became a new identity in Dieng. If Dieng was previously known as the center of Hindu-Buddhist civilization because of the temples it has, then the existence of the mosque now seems to be an identity that wants to show that Dieng have turned into the center of Islamic civilization. In Dieng, located in District Kejajar, Wonosobo, there are 47 mosques, and 81 musalla. This number will increase if added to mosques located in other subdistricts in Wonosobo which is still part of Dieng, or located in the district of Batur, Banjarnegara district. The existence of the mosque and musalla - borrowing the term from Berger (1967) - is the momentum of Dieng society to externalize the values believed in the objective sphere. The mosque and the musalla are self-representations in the objective sphere.

The existence of magnificent mosques with all towers and complementary ornaments, as well as *musalla* are an objectivication that they have changed now; no longer a community of *ngiwa* (poor, remote and backward), but an advanced and rich society. In other words, the buildings of the mosque and the *musalla* are an objective reality in the Dieng Mountains, which may not be found elsewhere that have different socio-cultural settings and natural conditions. Of course, the models and forms of mosques and *mushallas* resulted from learning (internalization) from other places that are absorbed and understood by worldview to nature and god.

If we recognize mosques and *musalls* as sacred symbols, then, they are a frozen ethos of Dieng society. In the mosque and *musalla* are stored values that are believed and practiced by the community Dieng. There are at least three values we can know. First, the symbol of piety. The existence of a magnificent mosque and *musalla* shows that the religiosity of the mountain communities Dieng is now better. Improvement of living standards economically has an effect on their passion in religion. Second,

⁴² Hery Santoso, Bertani itu Berjudi. P.222

economic success. Only people with good and established economies will be able to build magnificent mosques with all the ornaments and features. Before enjoying the glory of potato, the community had few places of worship (mosques and mushalla) that are simple in architecture and small in size. Third, mosques and musalla in Dieng Mountains indicate that society is quite dynamic and adaptive to changes. They have turned into an advanced and prosperous Islamic society.

Conclusion: the Face of Mountainous Islam

Having presented all the above explanations, I could say that there are at least three important things to say. First, the history of Islam Dieng is the result of the dialectic of two models of the face of Islam; coastal Islamic models (manifested in the Islamic model of Demak sultanate) and inland Islam (represented by the sultanate of Islam and Persian Islam). Islam at the time of the Sultanate of Demak is Islam which is in the process of forming the state⁴³ by doing the process of de-legitimization against Hindu-Buddhist tradition taking form of Majapahit kingdom. Therefore, what Islam did at the time of the sultanate of Demak was to abolish the Hindu-Buddha tradition. The destruction of the Majapahit kingdom by the sultanate of Demak soon succeeded, then the kingdom disappeared completely without a trace after a period of glory for centuries. The community has only two choices; converted to Islam or withdrawing to areas not yet occupied by Demak, such as the Tengger mountains, and Bali.44

In the context of the Dieng Mountains, as it is written in Babad Kedhu, in order to successfully Islamize the land of Java, they must eliminate the influence of Hinduism, with Dieng as one of its centers. Therefore, SunanBonang sent his santri named Kiai Walik and Kiai Karim to memorize Dieng mountains (read: Islamize). The attempt to Islamize Dieng, as it is written in Babad Kedhu, is generally successful, yet imperfect. This is because the Dieng rulers, Kaladete or Kaladiya, have not yet converted to Islam. Kiai Karim then met the Kaladete to compete. In Kedhu was mentioned that the war was won by Kiai Karim, so Kaladete was pleased to convert to Islam and called Kiai Kaladete. However, the interesting thing about entering Islam is Kiai Kaladete is because after entering Islam he did moksa (disappeared), and left a message sapa wongè duwé anak rambuté gèmbèl kuwi kudu direksa amarga bocah kuwi isih tedhak turuné Kiai Kaladité (anyone who has child with dreadlocks should be treated carefully-because the children are descendants of Kiai Kaladete). The term moksa used to describe the end of Kiai Kaladete's Islamic life is interesting; because in Islam there is no moksa term (disappeared without needing to be buried). Thus, in my opinion, Kaladete mentioned in Kedhu refers not to a person or individuals, but to Hindu-Buddhist communities who are ultimately lost without a trace (moksa) because they are defeated or destroyed by Demak Islam.

The second Islamic model that influences Islam in Dieng is the Islamic Mataram sultanate which tends to be adaptive to the local culture, as we can see in various rituals performed by Dieng people. About the presence of Islam in the Mountains, many say that it happened during the time of the sultanate of Islamic Mataram. In the development of the sultanate of Islamic Mataram, there are three kiai who visited the Dieng and surrounding areas, namely Kiai Kolodete, Kiai Karim, and Kiai Walik. Kiai Karim spread Islam in Kalibeber, Kiai Walik in Wonosobo, and Kiai Kolodete in the Dieng Mountains. 45 It is said that in addition

⁴³ Mark R Woodward, Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normative Versus Kebatinan. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2012

⁴⁴ Robert W Hefner, Geger Tengger: Perubahan Sosial dan Perkelahian Politik (translated by A Wisnu Wardhana & Imam Ahmad). Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1999, 14-15

⁴⁵ Nurul Mubin, Islam Bumi Kahyangan Dieng, 96-97

to spreading Islam, Kiai Kaladate also struggled for the mountainous community in Dieng to get prosperity. He swears that he will not cut her dreadlocks until the people in the Dieng Mountains are prosperous. As long as the prosperity has not been felt by Dieng people, the dreadlocks will go down to their offspring. In other words, the dreadlocks children the haircutting of whom is a part of the tourism agendas of Wonosobo and Banjarnegara, are descendants of Kiai Kaladete who must be respected and comforted. Whether the dreadlocked children are descendants of Kiai Kaladete or not, in my opinion is interesting enough to be studied. Before having dreadlocks the children usually experience great fever. However, there is also a thought that the appearance of dreadlocks is due to hair hygiene factors. Regardless of how we view it, Kiai Kaladete's story in the context of the Dieng Mountains greatly influences the Islamic pattern of the Dieng mountain people, adaptive and accommodating to the growing local traditions. This is recorded very clearly in the ritual of hair-cutting of dreadlock-haired children which hitherto is still in circulation.

Second, the Dieng's people Islamic tradition is the result of the negotiation of Islamic traditions and Hindu-Buddhist ones that first grew in Dieng, and present traditions that come to Dieng area or society that actively and creatively searches for new traditions they need. The ritual of haircutting is a very beautiful and sweet manifestation of how Islam negotiates with pre-Islamic traditions that have flourished in the Dieng Mountains. Tradition of ruwatan that developed in the society Dieng is the result of acculturation between elements of animism, dynamism, Hinduism and Islam. The past Dieng community was Hindu-Buddhist embracing local faith. The Ruwatan is said to have existed since the time of Majapahit, so it is logic if the elements of Hindu culture is inherent in the tradition, among which is offerings. However, after the Dieng community gradually embraced Islam, the *Ruwatan* experienced Islamization process, taking form of recitation of Arabic prayers and al-Quran. In addition, from some information that I get, the procedure of *Ruwatan* varied spatially. Joining the ritual of *Ruwatan*, Muslim communities in Dieng usually do readings barzanji or solawat prophet. Yet this is different from the implementation of *Ruwatan* facilitated by the local government in the form of festivals that also aims to support the tourism agenda.

Speaking of the ruwatan ritual, we need to present Geertz's opinion on the typology of Islam.46 According to Geertz, devout Muslims, called santri, are concentrated on the north coast, in rural areas where traditional Islamic schools existed, and among urban traders. What he meant by abangan is the majority of peasants, who nominally are Islamic, yet are tied to Javanese animism and ancestral traditions. The priyayi are respected people, both traditional and urban, who are nominally Muslim, but practice the mysticism originating from Hindu-Buddhism that developed before the advent of Javanese Islam. 47 All three variants of this Geertz get very sharp criticism. Some show that priyayi groups are social classes or special groups, not subcultures that can be equalized with the other two variants; besides, there should also be a further review whether the term abangan and santri indeed refers to religious groups or mere categories.48

Using Geertz's notion, the Dieng Muslims peasants belong to *abangan*. According to him, they are less Islamic for they are tied to Javanese animism and ancestor tradition. This view is actually no longer relevant to see Javanese Islam, especially if the parameters used are solely the rituals they perform resembling tradition before

⁴⁶ Clifford Geertz, the Religion of Java, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.

⁴⁷ Andrew Beatty, the Varieties of Javanese Religion, 40.

⁴⁸ Andrew Beatty, the Varieties of Javanese Religion, 40.

the existence of Islam in the very place. To assume that the true Islam is the one practiced by santri, the textual way of practicing Islam and particularly Quran and hadith, is clearly unfounded and oversimplifies the problem of positioning Islam as an object that should not change and mix with local traditions. In fact, as presented by Woodward,49 ritual or slametan is a manifestation of the interpretation of Islamic texts and is a model of action with which Muslims are familiar and in agreement. In other words, Muslims continue to perform the Ruwatan because they assume that the ritual is not contrary to their belief.

Islam Dieng also creatively and adapts new traditions in line with the improvement of society's economic condition. Potato farming that significantly improves the economy of the Dieng community inspires them to more creatively express their religiosity. Religiosity becomes the mode of thought by being a system of ideas in responding, accepting, rejecting the change. Religiosity also becomes a dynamic force in guarding every social change. In other words, the religiosity of society becomes a value system that influences people's behavior to reinforce the ongoing capital of economic production while simultaneously guarding change.

The increase of the prosperity in Dieng gives them the capital to creatively express their religiosity, both material and non-material. The construction of magnificent mosques costing billions of rupiah is an expression of the adaptation of the Dieng community to 'new' things. Likewise with new rituals that developed after santri who study religion in the pesantrens both located in the area Wonosobo and other areas in Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, and West Java, return. The newly arrived santri bring new traditions related to Islam, such

as the implementation of religious rituals that they had not previously performed. Similarly, the rampant implementation of madrasah diniah and TPQ is also a creative manifestation of the economical booming of potatoes they live with. According to Hefner, economic change is a material and moral process. This impacted not only in terms of income and production, but also in identity, aspirations, and authority.⁵⁰

Third, a unique portrait of the face of Islam Dieng. Islamic expression in Dieng is a manifestation of their understanding and appreciation of God. The expression is a sacred symbol which, according to Geertz,51 serves to synthesize a people's ethos-the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood-and their world views. Seeing the Dieng religious expression, we will know how they perceive the God. The diverse rituals run by the Dieng community are a manifestation of their understanding of religious texts. They may understand religious texts differently than those outside Dieng. It should be emphasized that it does not mean that they understand it wrong; they understand it with the worldviews they have. As the consequent, it may be different from other groups. The Sabtu Pahing ritual that takes place every 35 days on a rolling basis, costing millions of rupiah, would be very difficult to understand by those outside the Dieng Mountains. It will be more confusing if we try to understand the phenomenon of ritual sabtu pahing using the perspective of Weber, which emphasizes on investment. But if we delve deeper into the phenomenon, we will know that their rituals are perfectly reasonable and fully grounded in their obedience to God.

The architecture of mosques in Dieng will give rise to an understanding that these mosques are not merely intended to show the

⁴⁹ Mark R Woodward, The Slametan: The Textual knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam, Chicago: History of Religion, 1988, 62

⁵⁰ Robert W Hefner, Geger Tengger: Perubahan Sosial dan Perkelahian Politik 1

⁵¹ Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of culture. Basic Book, 1977, 89-90

level of prosperity of the Dieng community, but also the manifestation of their cosmology about nature and their view of their God. The towering mosques are not merely to be easily seen, but also signify that their Lord is above and to reach God man must go through certain stages. This religious view is very typical of mountain communities. So is the case of magnificent mosque that is generally better than their homes. This shows a common character for Dieng people who see religion as more important than everything else. This can be seen from two general trends occurring in Dieng, their enthusiasm for carrying out costly and economically burdensome religious rituals, and the option of sending their children to the study of religion rather than the general sciences.

Islamic expression displayed by the Dieng community is a portrait of a mountainous Islam that is adaptive, dynamic, and open to change. Their religious expression will continue to change along with the development of creativity that is influenced by economic development, educational attainment, their encounters with outsiders, and the natural vulnerabilities they face as people living in active and often lifethreatening mountains. It may well be that their religious creativity is different from the Islamic tradition growing elsewhere. The diversity of Islamic expressions shows how Islam can be understood in different ways. In the context of the Dieng Mountains, we can conclude that Islam Dieng is a characteristic of mountainous Islam.

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ISSN 1411-3775 (P)



E-ISSN 2548-4729 (online)











