

HALAL BI HALAL, A FESTIVAL OF IDUL FITRI AND IT'S RELATION WITH THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIZATION IN JAVA

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Abstract

In this paper I will discuss three topic: the origin of Idul Fitri, the halal bi halal tradition and the history of Islamization in Java. Based on Robert Redfield's notion of great tradition and little tradition, I want to argue that the festival of Idul Fitri in Java is more happy, cheery, and merry rather than in the origin country because in the past the intellectuals who propagated Islam did not try to change radically the local traditions, however they preferred to recontinue the ancient traditions with a new religion from great tradition, Islam. It was a very smooth and smart movement because they revive the ancient traditions by Islamizing the ancient tradition.

[Dalam artikel ini saya akan membahas tiga topik: Idul Fitri, tradisi halal bi halal dan sejarah islamisasi di Jawa. Berdasarkan gagasan Robert Redfield tentang tradisi besar dan kecil, saya ingin mengatakan bahwa festival Idul Fitri di Jawa lebih menyenangkan, ceria dan menggembirakan daripada di negara asal karena di masa lalu para intelektual yang menyebarkan Islam tidak mencoba untuk mengubah secara radikal tradisi lokal, namun mereka memilih untuk melanjutkan-tradisi kuno dengan agama baru dari tradisi besar Islam. Itu adalah gerakan yang sangat halus dan pintar sebab mereka menghidupkan kembali tradisi kuno dengan memadukannya dengan Islam.]

Keywords: Halal bi Halal, Idul Fitri, Islamization in Java

In this paper I want to discuss the development of the great tradition¹ and little tradition in Java. Actually, in my opinion, Java is a unique laboratory in which three great traditions that is Indian civilization², Islamic civilization³ and Western (Dutch) civilization⁴ have had mixed. In Java there are many Hindust-Buddhist monuments, two Javanese-Islamic palaces, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, which still maintain its traditional power, historical and traditional mosques in coastal cities and old traditional Islamic boarding schools in hinterlands and the Dutch

¹ In this paper I refer to this concept from Robert Redfield who said that great tradition has characteristic of urban, smart, powerful in social and political and economic position. However, in this paper I prefer to interpret great tradition as a great civilization of Indian, Islam, and Western. These civilization, actually, have strong concept on social, politics, and economic system and also literature.

² In the fourth till fifteenth centuries in Java, there were Hindust-Buddhist kingdoms. Majapahit is the most famous kingdom and also the last Hindust-Buddhist kingdom in Java. Majapahit bequeathed many temples and great legends. In recent times, the new Republic of Indonesia has been maintaining the memories of the glorify of this kingdom. And, the state also has been maintaining the history of Majapahit in its national history. It usually said, in the national history book of elementary, junior high and senior high schools and universities and government institutions that the Republic Indonesia is a reincarnation of Majapahit Kingdom. It is really interesting because the nationalist regime and Islamist factions in 1950s truly admitted that their ancestor were Hindusts and Buddhist. Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya bagian 3 Warisan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Konsentris* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2008), p. 177.

³ In sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, in Java there was a great Islamic Kingdom, Mataram. The Mataram as an Islamic kingdom bequeathed many kinds of rituals, dances and literatures and some traditional political systems which still used in recent times such as bupati, camat, and lurah. The Mataram kingdom declared Islam as the state religion and sponsored the Javanese-Islamic rituals, *Gerebeg*, and appointed the Islamic religious officials called *penghulu*. Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), p. 91; M.C. Ricklef, *Yogyakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792 A History of the Division of Java* (London: Oxford University Press, t.t.), p. 122. Interesting stories about the Islamic communities and the role of penghulues in Mataram traditions see chapter two in Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Diponegoro and the Ends of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), p. 101.

⁴ In nineteenth and twentieth century, Java was conquered by the Dutch colonial. In this era, the Dutch introduced modernization like irrigation, railway, modern street and western civilization like education and bureaucratization. Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa...*, p. 79.

buildings like schools, government institutions and other public buildings.

However, I want to focus to discussing the festival of *Idul Fitri* and its relation with the history of Islamization in Java to find out how this great tradition from the great Arab-Islamic civilization becoming a gala party and an important local tradition of Javanese ethnic. It is commonly known that the festival of *Idul Fitri* in Java is very different with the festival of *Idul Fitri* in the origin country and Arabic countries. *Idul Fitri* in Java for many centuries till recent times has been becoming a gala party, mixed with local traditions, and in modern times *Idul Fitri* has changed in a unique party called *halal bihalal*.

The Origin of *Idul Fitri*

In this part, I will describe shortly the origin of *Idul Fitri* to understand how come, why and when this festival is exist. From Syed Ashraf Ali, former Director General of Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, I find that, originally, *Idul Fitri* was not a religious festival of Islam but it was an Arab version of an great festival of Zoroastrian, *Mibirjan* festival.⁵

Idul Fitri, was not known to the Moslems till the Prophet Muhammad did Hijrah to Medina in 622 AD. After his Hijrah to Medina, the Prophet found the people there regularly celebrating two festivals of Persian, the *Mibirjan* on the nights of the full moon of spring and, the *Nauruz* on the nights of the full moon of autumn. The people in Madina made Arabic versions of these two great festivals of the Zoroastrians.⁶

Both *Nauruz*, the Festival of the New Year, and *Mibirjan*, the Feast of *Mithra*, used to last six days. The number was based on the six Persian gahanbars. The first day of the new year was called *Nauruz-i-Amma* (of the people) or *Kucak* (little) and the sixth day was *Nauruz-i-Hasa* (noble) or *Buzurg* (great).

It was the custom of the Persian that the King opened the *Nauruz*

⁵ <http://www.mombu.com/culture/bangladesh/t-eid-ul-fitr-origin-and-celebrations-3058325.html>[1], accessed in 19th October 2015.

⁶ *Ibid.*

festival. He then proclaimed to all that he would hold a session for people. He also bestow benefits upon them. On the second day the session was for men of high rank, and for the members of the great families. On the third day the session was for his warriors, and for the highest *Manbadh*, Priests. On the fourth day it was for his family, his relations and domestics and on the fifth it was for his children and clients when sixth day came, he had done justice to all of them, he celebrated *Nauruz* for himself and conversed only with special friends and those who were admitted into his privacy.⁷

As in the case of *Nauruz*, the first day of *Mibirjan* was known as *Mibirjan-i-Amma* and the last *Mibirjan-i-Hasa*. This festival also lasted six days. But at one period it spread over thirty days. The first five being, according to Al-Biruni, was feast days for the princes, The second was for nobility. The third was for the servants of the princes. The fourth was for their clients. The fifth was for the people and the sixth for the herdsmen. Thus, instead of each of the six *gahanbars* being represented by only one day of the festival, it was at one time honoured both at *Nauruz* and at *Mibirjan* by a period of five days. Both *Nauruz* and *Mibirjan* were originally New Year festivals. The Avesta year originally began about the time of the autumnal equinox, during the closing years of the reign of Darius I (522-486).⁸

The Arabs used to celebrate *Nauruz* and *Mibirjan* from the night of the full moon of spring and autumn respectively. It was almost in the same way as the Persians celebrated *Nauruz* and *Mibirjan*. These two festivals were of great honour and significance. It is well illustrated by the following saying of Salman al Farsi as cited by Al-Biruni:

In Persian times we used to say that God has created an ornament for his slaves, of rubies on *Nauruz*, of emeralds on *Mibirjan*. Therefore, these two festivals excel and other days in the same way as these two jewels excel all other jewels.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

The general scheme of celebration of *Nauruz* and *Mibirjan* laid emphasis on the differences between rich and poor. It normally led people to drunken orgies, frequently ending in brawls and bloodshed. Even the Kiyan, the women practicing dancing and singing, whose immorality was proverbial, used to command wide respect during celebration of these festivals. Even the great chieftains used to pay public court to them during these festivals. The Prophet was literally shocked and reported to have observed: “Allah has given you two days better than these days, the days of *Idul Fitri* and *Idul Adha*.” The age-old practice of celebration of *Nauruz* and *Mibirjan* festivals were stopped.⁹

Then Moslems started celebrating the two auspicious Id days. Days in the mornings of which are the Moslems supposed to say a two-*rakaat* special congregational prayer. The word *Id* in Arabic means “joy” and *Fitri* stands for “break of Fast” and symbolises “Return to Normaly”. Since then, *Idul Fitri* stands for the joy of breaking of fast of Ramadan. Ramadan is the nine month of Islamic calendar in which in this month all Moslems do fasting and self-restraint. In Ramadan, Moslems do intense some important rituals such as *taramwi*, *itikaf* and *reciting Qur’an* and give some kind of food to breakfast to Moslems and give zakat (Islam obligatory alms) to poor people.

Riyaya: The Javanese *Idul Fitri* Festival

Most information about *Riyaya* i get from Clifford Geertz’s book, *Religion of Java*. Geertz describe the *Riyaya* as a beautiful story or a beautiful ethnography, however unfortunately he did not give a deeply historical explanation. He just told that *Riyaya* is a main and important part of Javanese tradition in which all group/faction, *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* celebrate it.

According to Geertz Javanese have a special name for *Idul Fitri* that is *Riyaya*. It is the holiday that becomes a gala climax of the Fast month.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Geertz calls it the most syncretic of public festivals because he found somewhere *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*; ardent nationalist and subdued traditionalist; peasant, trader and villager in *Rijaya*. *Rijaya* is the sort of symbol congenial to them. Geertz also stresses that this syncretism, this easy tolerance of religious and ideological diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Javanese culture. *Rijaya* is a kind of master symbol for Javanese culture.

According to Geertz the central ritual act of *Rijaya* is a personal, individual begging of forgiveness patterned in terms of status differences. The child ask forgiveness of his parents, the young of the old, the worker of his boss, the tenant farmer of his landlord, the politician of his party chief, the former *pondok* student of his *kiai*, the cured patient of his *dukun*, the mystical student of his *guru*. Each of these relatively lower status goes to the home of the higher status one, where he is received, usually with tea and snacks, where he formally begs the pardon of the host.

The most common phrase, in high Javanese, is *nuwun pangestipun sedaya kalepatan kula, lair batin*. I request your pardon for my faults, inside and outside. The meaning of this act is that the petitioner whises the host to forgive from the depths of his heart any injuries, intended or unintended, which the latter has done to him in the past year, so as to lighten the weight of his sins. Having theoretically expiated his sins in the Fast, he now asks those against whom they were committed to forgive him for them. *Santri* sometimes say that this pattern is mildly heterodox, because only God can forgive sin. But it is probably the most universally practiced ritual in Modjokuto. Even many Christian do it even though, strictly speaking, the holiday is Moslem.

Because of the inherent relatively status, the celebration usually must spread over several days. In any case higher status people tend to remain at home so as to receive petitioners until toward the end of the period, when they journey out to the few people who outrank them. Very high individuals, such as the doctors or the District Officer, may

make very few if any visit. The village chief in the semi-urban village in which Geertz lived spent three wearying days receiving guests in his home without going out at all.

Despite the normally religious aspect of the forgiveness ritual, the visiting is for most people a gala, quite unserious business. Everyone almost inevitably buys new clothes for *Riyaya* and prepares the best food he can for his guests. The visiting pattern is thus as much an opportunity to display one's clothes and one's fancy food as it is a sacred ritual, and the day is both holy and holiday. The people move in colorful throngs through the streets and roadways, passing from house to house, stopping at each only fifteen or twenty minutes, so covering a dozen or so in the day, sometimes even two dozen.¹⁰

There are other more explicitly religious rituals, mass prayer are held at dawn in the town square and in the mosque. *Santri* organizations give out the *zakat fitrah* religious tax to the poor. There is also a special *slametan* on *Riyaya* as well as one five days after.¹¹

Halal Bi Halal

In recent times, an official tradition in the festival of *Idul Fitri* is *halal bi halal*. There are no information, documents, and stories of the origin of *halal bi halal*. It is also difficult to find who is the first people celebrate it, when and where the first ritual was conducted. *The Ensiklopedi Islam, 2000*, just give a very little information about it that this tradition was begun in an official religious ceremony since the last 1940s and it has developed widely after 1950s.

Halal bi halal, literally, means legal by legal, rightful by rightful, permitted by permitted. *Halal bi halal*, especially, means permitted asking forgiveness each other. It is true that *halal bi halal* is Arabic words, however, this sentence in Arabic grammar is not appropriate. It does not make a

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 379.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

sense. In the era of the Prophet Muhammad, the Umayyad Dyanasty, the Abbasid Dynasty and the Turkey Ustamany Sultanate, this festival did not known. And, in recent times, there is no the *halal bi halal* tradition in Arabic countries and other Islamic countries like Turkey, Iran, India. So, it can be said that *halal bi halal* is a truly Javanese/Indonesian term and tradition. I have an argument that it is almost possible that this tradition really related to the Javanese tradition of *sungkeman*. *Sungkeman* is showing respect by kneeling and pressing his faces to his parent's knees.

The main act of *halal bi halal* is shaking hand each other, asking forgiveness each other, and eat together. A simple purpose of this tradition is to change *haram* to *halal*. This ceremony is usually conducted in the government offices and schools in the first day of working days, after a long holiday *Idul Fitri*.

The arrangement of this ritual in the government offices includes a welcoming party by a head of the office, listening some verses of Qur'an, listening a short religious preaching from an *ulama* and then shaking hand with giving forgiveness each other and eat together. In national and religious schools, the arrangement of *halal bi halal* includes students and teachers come together in a school square. All students form themselves in some lines according to their class. The first activity is listening a short preaching from an Islamic religious teacher. The second is all students form a long line and one by one they go forward on slowly to all their teachers to give respect by shaking hand and asking forgiveness of their faults.¹² Geertz observed and called *Halal bi Halal* a secular party:

In the more urbanized circles one often finds a replacement of the individual visiting pattern by a kind of secular party. One high *priyayi* held a party of *rijaya* at which beer was served and this party was called a *halal bi halal*, Arabic for a mutual begging of pardon which both simplifies the ritual almost to the point of disappearance and strongly emphasizes its festive aspect. Perhaps the final stage in this secularization process is the increasingly popular custom more so in larger towns than in Modjokuto,

¹² <http://pajagalan.blogspot.com/2007/11/silaturabmi-halal-bi-halal.htm>, accessed in 19th October 2015.

where it is confine to the highest status levels, of not actually making the pardon-begging visit but merely sending a small card like a Christmas card with the pardon request printed on it in Indonesian.¹³

I want to show two cultural realities that showing how the festival of *Idul Fitri* has had been a main part of Javanese tradition/culture,¹⁴ by looking at personal websites of two Indonesians who has been staying for many years in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. And, of course, they followed the festival of *Idul Fitri* there. The most interesting observation given by Dina. She give nine items which do not exist in the the festival of *Idul Fitri* in Arab Saudi these are:

1. *Bedug*, or a siren which usually used to sign a time of *imsak*, (predawn, time that the fast must begin). So she was often startled because, suddenly, the *azan* had been summoning.

2. *Takbiran* (laudations in the form of such recitations of *Allah Akbar*, Allah is Great, at the night of last day of fasting month) from loudspeakers of mosques, with conducting a small party of skyrockets and firework. She was so upset and was not feel the *Idul Fitri* because there was no the *takbiran* from mosques in Saudi Arabia.

3. *Kuliah Subuh*, a short preaching conducted in the morning after *Subuh* praying in most mosques in Indonesia.

4. *Pasar Kaget*, traditional and informal markets which usually held in streets and usually selling cheaper goods in Ramadan.

5. *Ngabuburit*, it is from Sundanese word and has become a popular activity in the Fasting month of Ramadan. It means seeking amusement and distractions while waiting for day's fast to end. In Arab Saudi most of people go home very quickly so the situation of streets is dreadful, lurid, and hair-raising when sunset praying has come.

6. Traditional food such as *Lontong* (food consisting of rice steamed in a banan leaf), *Rendang* (meat simmered in spices and coconut milk),

¹³ Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*..., p. 380.

¹⁴ http://dyaneethamr.multiply.com/journal/item/17/Ramadban_dan_Lebaran_di_Arab_saudi, accessed in 21st October 2015.

Opor Ayam (meat or chicken dish cooked with coconut cream and various spices).

7. *Maaf-maafan*, shaking hand with asking forgiveness each other.

8. A special agenda to visiting the home of all neighborhoods and all families and kinsfolk.

9. Preaching before the *tarawih* praying.

She told shortly that the only special tradition in *Ramadan* and *Idul Fitri* in Arab Saudi is most people giving food for free for breaking of fast, such as fresh *Kurma*, yogurt, juice, bread and pure water. In Mecca there are so many food, a huge number of foods.

A similar observation comes from Yasir Maqosid. He stayed in Egypt in 2004 till 2006. In his opinion, the unique tradition in Egypt, that is, there are many *Maidaturrahman*, a place that provide many foods for free for people to breaking of fast Ramadhan. *Maidaturrahman* literally means foods provided by God Most Gracious. Most peoples in mosques and streets give foods for free. However, in the festival of *Idul Fitri*, Moslems merely conducting *Idul Fitri* praying and, after that, there is no religious activity like *Silaturrehmi* or *Halal Bi Halal*.¹⁵ In Cairo, after *Idul Fitri* Praying, the situation in the city was lonely. This situation has already happened in the night before because there is no a tradition of *takbiran* (recite of laudation, God is great in the night of last day of fasting Month) like the tradition in Indonesia. The takbir was summoned only in a short time after *Maghrib*, *Isya*, and *Subuh* Praying and toward *Idul Fitri* Praying.¹⁶

Similar with Dina's opinion, Jaya Suprana, an Indonesian-Chinese and medical-herb entrepreneur said that in the festival of *Idul Fitri* in Arab Saudi, there is no sound of boom from *Bedug*, Fireworks, *Ketupat*, *Rendang*, *Gulai*, *Kolak* to celebrate and to enliven the festival of *Idul Fitri*. In *Ramadan*, he regularly gives free ticket, by providing many buses, to most *bakul jamu* in Jakarta to assist them going home (*mudik*) to their

¹⁵ <http://yasirmaqosid.multiply.com/journal/item/51>, accessed in 21st October 2015.

¹⁶ <http://karodalnet.blogspot.com/2008/08/tradisi-lebaran-di-mesir.html>, accessed in 21st October 2015

home town in Central Java to celebrate *Idul Fitri* there. He told a historical argument that Wali Songo created a special and unique Islam in Indonesia. He also quoted Gus Dur's idea that Islam does not mean Arab and also Arab does not mean Islam.¹⁷

Islamization in Java: a Short Explanation

To understand why the festival of *Idul Fitri* in Java is more merry rather than in the origin country and why the festival of *Idul Fitri* becomes a local festival of Javanese culture, I have to come back to the history of Islamization in Java. And, in discussing the history of Islamization in Java, I have a basic question that is how far Islam removed successfully the ancient traditions that had existed long time before. Did Islam eliminate these ancient faiths or, did Islam accept these ancient faith by adapting them?

The answer for these questions is so complicated. Islam in Java comes upon the stage in many faces.¹⁸ Some kinds of Islam in Java have ability in finding their land. Yes, it is true that Javanese Muslims are the follower of the *Safii* school. But, it must be noted that, in social and cultural reality, there are many different tracks of Islamic schools such as the remains of *Shiit*, the strong influences of Sufism and the very old mystic of *tarekat* like Tijaniyah. Even, there have been resonances of Wahabism. Thus, it must be regarded that that reality, it means so many kinds of Islam, making difficult to a group who call themselves an orthodox Muslim because, in one side, they have to fight to local Islamic traditions and in other side, they have to fight other Muslim groups who have similar features like them, that is, also refer to imported models of Islamic teachings.

¹⁷ <http://news.okezone.com/index.php/read/2009/09/26/58/259893/lebaran>, accessed in 21st October 2015.

¹⁸ About the variety of Muslim organizations in Indonesia and their conflicts in early twentieth century see Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 123.

According to Denys Lombard, a French historian, there are three important stages of Islamization in Java.¹⁹ The first stage is a Folklorization, religious assimilation, in the fifteen and the sixteen centuries in which Islam had interacted to the local faith of Javanese coastal people or to the *dharmma* ascetics' faith. The second stage is Islam as a state ideology of Mataram Kingdom, in the seventeen and the eighteen centuries in which Islam had interacted to the Majapahit court's ancient rituals which were revived by the Mataram Kingdom. The third state is a stage of Arabization in the nineteen century till recent time in which there are many Moslem intellectuals in Java often make contacts to Mecca and Egypt and tried to introducing Arabic traditions of Islam in Java or Indonesia.

In the first time of the Islamization, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, happened a religious assimilation or Folklorization. But, unfortunately, there is a little description of the detail information from this era. Most of the information is stories of *wali* (Javanese Islamic saints) who rarely using violence except in attacking Majapahit and Pakuan and they were rarely relied on a logic gate. The great stories about them were created in beautiful legends and stressed on miracle to show their divine power. Sunan Giri who was attacked by infidels when he was writing a religious book, trowed his quill pen. By rotating, the pen changed to a *keris* and these intruders run away. Since then the *Keris Kalam Munyeng* (the rotating words *keris*) had been maintained carefully in Sunan Giri's heirloom. Move to the west in Semarang, Sunan Kalijaga, according to the famous legend, could changed a handful of gold-ore to make sure a local ruler. Sunan Giri and Sunan Bonang had divine power so they could walked in the water or rivers. Sunang Gunung Jati could healed lepers.

In this era it can be said that many ancient faiths which continued and even revived. One of these faiths was *wayang* (Javanese leather puppet). According to Javanese chronicle, *wayang* was utilized by Sunan

¹⁹ Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa...*, p. 34.

Kalijaga to spread and to propagate the new religion, Islam.²⁰ Sunan Giri has been known the inventor of *Wayang Gedog* who had specialize on the stories of *Panji*. Sunan Kudus has been known the inventor of *Wayang Golek* who had specialize on the stories of *Menak* it means the stories of Amir Hamzah.

However, none of these documents can clarify the truth of these facts. But, it can be interpreted that, it is the best possible, in the Demak Kingdom's era people more prefer to emphasize a continuation rather than an alteration.²¹ And, there was an strong faith in the past that it was not far from the Demak Mosque there was the Yudistira, the first-born of Pandawa. And, the story goes that before his death this hero had entrusted a sacred amulet text called a mysterious name *Kalimasada*. Moslems often interpret it *Kalimat Syahadat*, the confession of faith of Islam, (there is no God other than Allah and the Prophet Muhammad is His messenger).

It must be stressed also that the new Islamic order accepted some ancient faiths of the structure/concept of spaces. A theme of a cosmic mountain was adopted. The nine of *wali* lived and entombed in the hills in *Gunung Giri*, *Gunung Jati* near Cirebon, *Bayat* near Klaten. The theme of pure water which develop in the era of Hindust-Buddhist kingdoms based on an irrigation system mingled with the theme of a sacred water that exist in Islam. So, it is not surprising that around mosques in the past there was an admirably water channel to provide water for *wudhu*, (ritual ablution before payers in Islam). Even around some special mosques there was a ring-shape pool. Even, a mosque in *Tamansari* in Yogyakarta was

²⁰ About the tradition in relation with the role of Wali Songo in Wayang look at J.R. Brandon, *On Thrones of Golds, Tree Javanese Shadow Plays* (USA: Havard University Press, 1970), p. 6-7. See also Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java...*, p. 219.

²¹ Woodward give an interesting explanation about the relation between the Javanese *wayang* and the Sufism tradition in Java. In his book, page 219, he said that Islam had profound impact on the meaning of the tradition (*wayang*). It also suggests that the Moslem, and particularly the Sufism, who carried their faith to Java would not necessarily have seen whatever form of *wayang* existed at the time as *shirk*.

built under a wonderful water-castle. About sacred tombs, even though showing an important mutation of a concept of individual/personal and a concept of death/mortality, there is still a basic question how far does these sacred tombs continue the tradition of the derivation of death.

The last is about the structure of first mosques which might be adopting a roof style of *meru*, a pagoda of Hindu temple, Hindu microcosm, or a Chinese pagoda. According to Uka Tjandrasmita the early stage of Javanese Moslem architecture generally getting inspirations directly from Majapahit. The motif on the Bentar Temple, now becoming specific design of Balinese architecture, was found in front of the old mosque *Sendang Dumur* in the sixteen centuries and this motif had been existing at the palace of Cirebon Sultanate in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Then in the next era that is in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these efforts of the religious assimilation going well continued by the powerful aristocrats. Aware of the power of the new ideology, the Mataram kings utilized it. They incorporated Islam as a state cult. They tried to revive the ancient ceremonies of Majapahit and connected them to Islam. Thus, Islam had to adopted themselves. So, Islam had to adopted the concept of a king as the axis of the world and had to accepted the cult of *Ratu Laut Kidul*.

Mas Rangsang, the third king of Mataram, known Sultan Agung (1613-1645), was strongly adhere these syncretism.²² In 1633 he declared to use the moon calender consist of 354 or 355 days with the result that in the future the cadence of the traditional festivals could be in line with the Islamic calender. But, he did not decided to use the computation of year based on *Hijriah*. He did maintained the Javanese year as the original year of *Saka*. Since then, the amount of days in a year becoming shorter ten days and some great celebration/festivals had been deviated from the

²² About Mas Rangsang see H.J. de Graaf, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram: Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Pustaka Grafiti, 1989), p. 67.

sun calender. Known that his enemy, Prince Banten, getting the title of Sultan from Mecca, he hastened sending an envoy to the Holy City. The envoy came back in 1641 with a letter of declaration by which he waited so long. Since then, he get the titled, Sultan Agung. The last, to perfect the court's rites he decided to chose the hills in *Imogiri (Ing Maha Giri)*. Since then, all his descendants both Yogyakarta Palace and Surakarta Palace entombed there with Islamic rites.

One of the best example of the synthesis Islam with the ancient traditions was the arrangement of spaces of a round of *alun-alun* (square) that till today has been a monumental heart of all cities in Java or the center of a local government. A court or a *bupati's* residence in *kabupaten* was built in southern, so the king or *bupati* could rule by looking towards the north according with the ancient cosmology. But, recently in the western there was a Great Mosque with *Kauman's kampung*, the home for religious officials called *Penghulu*. They were incorporated deeply in the system of government of the kingdom. But, originally, this arrangement of spaces appeared recently in Yogyakarta Palace and Surakarta Palace which founded after the *Giyanti* Agreement in 1775 and it is difficult to certain whether this notion already exist before.

The third period was begun at the nineteenth centuries till the recent times. The early stage of this period was signed by the decline of the Islamic ideology of the Mataram Kingdom. The Mataram's power was declining continually since the Java War in 1825-1830.²³ The authority of Islamic state of the Mataram also declined. However, the contact between Javanese Moslems and Hijaz and Egypt often conducted because the communication and transportation were made easier through the Hindia Ocean.²⁴ The Haj pilgrimage was raising and many students went

²³ About Java war and the Role of Santri see Peter Carey, *Asal Usul Perang Jawa: Pemberontakan Sepoy and Lukisan Raden Saleh* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004), p. 131; Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Diponegoro and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), p. 86.

²⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Jakarta: Penerbit Kencana, 1998) and M. Saleh Putuhena, *Haji*

to Mecca and Al Azhar, Cairo. Returned from there, they also brought the Islamic mode of Mecca and Cairo, in which they argued that these Islamic model more correct rather than local Islam. They strengthened the Moslem reformist groups, intending to change the custom law with the Islamic law and destroying all kind of local Islamic traditions resulted form the loose compromise between Islam and old traditions.

The first supporter of Islamic purification movement was the *Paderi* from Minangkabau.²⁵ They brought the seed of Wahabism to West Sumatera. They sponsored the *Paderi* War to destroy the Minangkabau's matrilineal law. They conducted the true social revolution. Perhaps, some of their notions influenced Prince Diponegoro so the Prince fought the Yogyakarta's court because he regarded it as a lecherous court.²⁶ The second supporter of the Islamic purification movement was the *kiai* who had a tradition to continue their study of the Islamic studies in Mecca. It seems that then these *kiai* absorbed and then propagated and spread the Muhammad Abduh's notions (1849-1905). And, the early sign of the first and total reformation happened in Jawa by the founding of Muhammadiyah in 1912.²⁷ One of Muhammadiyah's purpose is to purify Islam from all kind of dirtiness (local traditions).

Without criticizing all kind of the *Kraton's* rituals (this is really strange and perhaps it is because the founder of the Muhammadiyah was the son of the great *penghulu*, great religious official of the Yogyakarta Palace), the reformist criticized and attacked the old traditions such as eating *sirih*, cock fighting, and all kind ritual of syncretism that for many

Indonesia: Suatu Kajian Sejarah tentang Perjalan dan Pengaruhnya pada Pertengahan Abad XX (Yogyakarta: Disertasi IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2003), p. 123.

²⁵ About the Paderi War, see Christine Dobbin, *Gejolak Ekonomi, Kebangkitan Islam, dan Gerakan Padri: Minangkabau 1784-1847* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008), p. 76.

²⁶ Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy...*, p. 122.

²⁷ Ahmad Adaby Darban, *Sejarah Kauman: Mengungkap Identitas Kampung Muhammadiyah* (Yogyakarta, Tarawang, 2000), p. 151. and, M. Alfian, *The Political Behaviour of a Moslem Modernist Organization* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1989), p. 144.

centuries had been adopted by Islam.²⁸ They criticized *abangan*'s ritual accurately. Muhammadiyah criticized strongly the role of the sacred tombs that encourage Moslems praying not to Allah directly but to intermediaries or Moslem saints. The reformists also criticized *tarekats*, in which in some areas *tarekats* had become a main part of a local community, by issuing the fully contradictory and confusing formulations of fatwa. The reformist intended to remove *zikir* and *manakib*. But, it seems that they had to move carefully concerned with their criticisms. The last, an important sign of the reformist indication was the mosque's styles. The reformist abandoned mosques with a three-roof style and changed it with a dome. *Bedug*, that for long time used to used to call Moslem to praying was abandoned. Then, came into scene the minaret and also a loudspeaker. Actually, there are many signs of Arabization such as carpets with oriental design/motif, tambourine and in the Fast month in *Ramadhan* people eating imported *Kurma*.

Conclusion

In this conclusion, again, I want to say that Javanese people celebrate the festival of *Idul Fitri* in different way, more merry, joy and happy rather than in Arabia, because the Islamization in Java did not destroyed the old tradition particularly the Hindust and Buddhist traditions. Instead, the Moslems or the intellectuals who carried Islam in Java had tried to recontinue or revived these ancient traditions by Islamizing these tradition.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p.132.

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