

# Refleksi

JURNAL KAJIAN AGAMA DAN FILSAFAT

**“Relasi Teks Keagamaan dengan Realitas Lokal”**

## WACANA

**Achmad Ubaedillah**

**Takwil Tradition in Malay Literary Works:  
Islamic Spiritual Insights in Danarto’s  
Nostalgia**

**M. Ikhsan Tangkok**

**The Cult of the Dead in Chinese-Hakka  
Family and Society in Singkawang-West  
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**Nawiruddin**

**Masyarakat Madani: Sebuah Keniscayaan**

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**Pemilihan Presiden dalam Islam**

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## RELASI TEKS KEAGAMAAN DENGAN REALITAS LOKAL

**P**erkembangan sosial tidak selalu selanggam dengan kehendak agama, begitu pun sebaliknya. Itulah sebabnya dialog dan komunikasi menjadi tak terelakkan untuk kepentingan eksistensi masing-masing entitas, baik entitas agama maupun sosial. Dialog dan komunikasi menjadi penting pula karena setiap realitas memiliki ciri lokalitasnya yang menjadi pembatas dari realitas-realitas lainnya. Itulah sebabnya tafsir atas agama dan teks-teks sosial lainnya tidak bisa dilepaskan dari konteks lokalitasnya. Agama pun hadir melalui media lokal dengan misi universal.

**Refleksi** kali ini menurunkan wacana seputar dekonstruksi teks sosial keagamaan dengan melihat keunikan lokalitasnya. Lokalitas di sini di samping mengacu pada konteks wilayah, juga dalam konteks interpretasi teks-teks keagamaan dalam langgam yang khas dan lokal. Seperti tulisan Achmad Ubaedillah yang menelaah ekspresi spiritualitas seorang seniman kenamaan, Danarto, yang memakai medium lokal. Tidak seperti kebanyakan seniman muslim lainnya yang memakai medium keislaman universal, Danarto menuangkan pengembaraan spiritualitasnya melalui simbol-simbol Hindu-Jawa. Hal ini terlihat jelas dalam karyanya berjudul “Nostalgia” yang memakai tokoh-tokoh Hindu seperti Mahabharata, Arjuna, Kresna, Bisma, dan Abimanyu. Ini tidak lepas dari pengaruh sosial-budaya Jawa yang telah ikut membentuk Danarto.

Fenomena lain yang menunjukkan realitas lokal keagamaan adalah upacara kematian masyarakat Cina (keluarga Hakka) Singkawang yang memiliki peran yang sangat signifikan. Seperti ditulis oleh M. Ikhsan Tanggok bahwa signifikansi upacara kematian tersebut tidak hanya terkait dengan emosi keagamaan, tetapi juga menjadi momen pertemuan keluarga untuk membicarakan masalah ekonomi maupun politik. Ia juga berfungsi sebagai mediator antara keluarga sebagai penyembah dengan yang meninggal atau nenek moyang sebagai yang disembah. Dengan ritual, keluarga yang masih hidup dapat membangun relasi dengan cara mengirimkan doa untuk nenek moyangnya dan meminta bantuan keselamatan bagi kehidupannya di dunia nyata.

Telaah fenomena sosial dalam konteks realitas lokal terlihat dalam analisa yang disajikan oleh Ahmad Abrori. Ia melihat relasi tradisi lokal dengan kemungkinan perwujudan *civil society*. Dengan mengambil kasus jawara Banten, tulisan ini mengupas dominasi jawara Banten (yang berakar pada tradisi lokal) terhadap perangkat-perangkat modern semisal birokrasi, organisasi massa, partai politik dan lembaga berorientasi bisnis. Sebagai kajian sosiologi-politik, studi ini mengungkap bagaimana peran jawara dalam berusaha memperoleh dan mempertahankan dominasinya di daerah Banten. Dengan menebar semboyan “Bela Diri Bela Bangsa Bela Negara” kepada masyarakat, mereka ingin menggambarkan tentang pengetahuan, keyakinan, dan sistem nilai yang mereka anut yang menjadi referensi bagi perilaku mereka di masyarakat. Dalam kacamata *civil society* (masyarakat madani) kenyataan tersebut merupakan potret buram yang bisa menenggelamkan nasib *civil society* itu sendiri.

Sikap dan ekspresi keberagamaan tidak bisa dilepaskan dari metode penafsiran terhadap teks-teks keagamaan. Lebih spesifik lagi, penafsiran itu diwarnai oleh sosok sang mufasir sendiri. Oleh sebab itu, untuk memahami model penafsiran bisa juga dilacak melalui pemahaman terhadap sang mufasir. Dari sana akan ditemukan latar belakang corak keilmuannya sehingga memunculkan warna tafsir tertentu. Itulah yang ditulis oleh Lilik Umami Kaltsum dalam menelaah sosok al-Jashshāsh pengarang kitab *Aḥkām Al-Qur’ān*. Menurut Lilik, al-Jashshāsh berupaya memasukkan paham-paham mazhabnya, mazhab Hanafi, pada ayat-ayat yang dibahas sehingga penafsirannya meluas dan melebar dari ayat pokok bahasan serta terkesan sebagai kitab fikih Hanafiyah.

Cara lain untuk memahami teks keagamaan adalah melalui pemahaman latar belakang pewahyuannya. Ulasan ini ditulis oleh Rifqi Muhammad Fatkhi yang menelaah al-Qur’an sebagai media tekstual ketuhanan yang pewahyuannya terkait dengan konteks historis. Klaim tentang al-Qur’an sebagai teks yang universal yang relevan sepanjang zaman (*shāliḥ li kulli zamān wa makān*) patut dipertahankan secara rasional. Oleh karena itu, agar al-Qur’an mampu menyapa setiap pembacanya secara kontekstual, maka diperlukan telaah terhadap latar belakang sosial (konteks historis) al-Qur’an, yang dalam skala mikro dikenal dengan istilah *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*.

**Refleksi** kali ini juga menurunkan dua tulisan yang terkait dengan fenomena politik kontemporer. Ada dua telaah yang mengupas fenomena

kontekstual, yaitu tentang *civil society* dan pemilihan presiden, dengan melacak benang merahnya pada khazanah klasik. Tulisan Nawiruddin mengkaji relasi *civil society* sebagai sebuah keniscayaan dalam kehidupan yang demokratis dengan konsepsi-konsepsi Islam masa lalu. Menurutnya masyarakat madani merupakan suatu masyarakat yang otonom yang mampu mengimbangi kesewenang-wenangan elite yang mendominasi kekuasaan negara. Oleh karena itu, keberadaan masyarakat madani atau *civil society* merupakan sebuah keniscayaan atau *condition sine quo non* bagi sebuah negara demokratis. Demokrasi dan masyarakat madani atau *civil society* merupakan dua entitas yang korelatif. Demokrasi hanya bisa tegak dalam masyarakat madani dan masyarakat madani tidak mungkin terwujud dalam masyarakat yang tidak demokratis. Di dalam masyarakat madani terdapat nilai-nilai yang menjunjung tinggi persamaan, keadilan, melindungi dan menghormati hak-hak warga negara, baik hak-hak politik, sosial, ekonomi, maupun budaya. Hal inilah yang tercermin dalam masyarakat Madinah yang dibangun oleh Rasulullah.

Sejatinya agama menawarkan banyak konsep yang bisa diterapkan dalam berbagai level kehidupan, termasuk kehidupan politik. Dalam konteks ini Agus Nugraha menyajikan telaah khazanah pemikiran Islam terkait dengan pemilihan presiden dalam Islam. Kontekstualitas tulisan ini terletak pada eksistensi masyarakat Indonesia sebagai penduduk muslim terbesar di dunia yang untuk pertama kalinya melaksanakan pemilihan presiden secara langsung pada Pemilu 2004. Hal ini tentu akan menjadi referensi bagi negeri-negeri muslim lainnya dalam memilih pemimpinnya. Dalam konteks ajaran Islam, pemilihan presiden bisa mengacu pada praktik pemilihan pada masa Khulafa' al-Rasyidin, dan pemerintahan Islam berikutnya. Walaupun dalam al-Qur'an dan Sunnah tidak secara tegas memberikan pola dalam memilih pemimpin, namun para pemikir Islam telah menawarkan konsep-konsep tentang bagaimana cara umat Islam memilih presidennya. Secara umum ada tiga pola pemilihan presiden dalam Islam, yaitu pola penunjukan, pola musyawarah para tokoh wakil rakyat, dan pola pemilihan langsung oleh rakyat.

Pada rubrik *Book Review* kami menyajikan tulisan Edwin Syarif yang mengulas buku karya David G. Myers berjudul *Intuisi: Fungsi Insting dan Naluri untuk Meraih Kesuksesan*. Buku ini menjelaskan adanya dua aliran pemikiran yang sangat berpengaruh sampai saat ini, yaitu rasionalisme yang menekankan pada rasio dan empirisme pada indrawi. Keduanya telah



melahirkan disiplin-disiplin ilmu pengetahuan yang berbeda. Rasionalisme dengan metode deduktifnya melahirkan ilmu-ilmu pasti sedangkan empirisme dengan metode induktifnya melahirkan ilmu-ilmu alam. Kedua aliran pemikiran tersebut-Rasionalisme dan Empirisme-telah mewarnai cara berpikir Barat selama tiga abad dan telah menghasilkan kemajuan sains dan teknologi yang luar biasa.

Selain akal dan indera, hati juga menjadi sumber pengetahuan dalam epistemologi Islam. Penamaan pengetahuan ini ada yang menyebut dengan pengetahuan intuisi, sementara Nasr menyebutnya pengetahuan *'irfan* dalam pembahasan tentang epistemologi Mulla Sadra. Sebagian dari ilmuwan modern, di antaranya adalah Pascal, seorang ahli matematika yang cukup terkenal, William James, ahli ilmu jiwa dan filosof terkenal berkebangsaan Amerika, Alexis Carrel dan Bergson, menganggap hati sebagai sumber pengetahuan sebagaimana akal dan indera.

Sebagian tulisan yang tersaji dalam **Refleksi** kali ini merupakan rangkaian upaya untuk menemukan kembali aktualitas dan kontekstualitas ekspresi keberagaman melalui penafsiran terhadap teks-teks agama, baik secara langsung maupun melalui realitas historis sang penafsir. Selamat membaca.

Jakarta, Desember 2004

*Redaksi*

## THE CULT OF THE DEAD IN CHINESE-HAKKA FAMILY AND SOCIETY IN SINGKAWANG-WEST KALIMANTAN

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**Abstract:** *This paper tries to show the Chinese cultures and traditional religion in Singkawang, particularly practices connected with ancestor worship, like the burial ritual and rituals before and after burial. This paper also tries to show that life after death (unreal world) in Chinese-Hakka belief is still in connection with world life (real world or dunia nyata).*

**Keywords:** *Culture, Tradition, Rituals, Deceased, Tionghoa-Hakka Community, West Kalimantan.*

**Abstrak:** *Artikel ini mencoba menunjukkan budaya Tionghoa dan agama tradisional di Singkawang, khususnya praktik-praktik yang terkait dengan penghormatan kepada leluhur, seperti ritual pemakaman dan ritual sebelum dan sesudah pemakaman. Artikel ini juga mencoba menunjukkan bahwa kehidupan setelah kematian (dunia tidak nyata) dalam kepercayaan Tionghoa-Hakka masih terhubung dengan kehidupan dunia (dunia nyata).*

**Kata Kunci:** *Budaya, Tradisi, Ritual, Orang Mati, Masyarakat Tionghoa-Hakka, Kalimantan Barat.*

## **Introduction**

When I went to West Kalimantan in 2002 to study ancestor worship in Chinese family and society, I decided on the Singkawang region, a Pemerintahan Kota (urban municipality) in northern West Kalimantan, as an excellent location for research: with about 400 Chinese temples (big and small, old and new temples), six Yayasan Kematian (Chinese Burial Association or Death Foundations), six Chinese cemetery locations, there are about 55.000 (55%) Chinese-Hakka people among the population of 100.000 in Singkawang. Most of them still practice their ancestor cultures and traditional Chinese religion (a mixture between Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Folk Religion). Other Chinese in Singkawang are Catholics and Christians.

Singkawang is located about 145 kilometers from Pontianak (capital city of West Kalimantan), and also was located about thirty kilometers from the mining headquarters, Monterado, the center of Thaiong Kongsi since it began in the eighteen centuries until 1851 (Heidhues, 2003: 66-67). Although all of the Chinese-Hakka in Singkawang were born in Singkawang, but their culture is still oriented to China. In daily life, particularly in family and society, their culture mixes with local Culture, for example Dayak and Malay culture.

### **1. Ancestor Worship**

The Chinese ethnic group may be called an ancestor worshipping ethnic group, because almost all Chinese, mainly those who still maintain the tradition of their ancestors, still practice the worship of their ancestors. According to Nio Joe Lan (1961: 89), this ancestor worship is not only an axis in the Chinese ethnic group, but also in other ethnic groups, particularly in the eastern world, who still practice ancestor worship. She also

claims that the Westerners cannot free themselves from ancestor worship; especially those people who visit the graves by decorating them those with all kinds of flowers may also be grouped as ancestor worshippers (1961: 89). Even the Japanese (Smith, 1974), the Tallensi in Africa (1959), or the Bukit people in the hinterland of South Kalimantan (Radam, 2001) practice the worship of their forefathers.

In Chinese society, ancestor worship is not only practiced at the homes of Chinese families, but also outside of their houses, particularly at the Chinese temples and tombs. Besides that, the ancestor worship of Chinese society may be carried out in houses of worship or small temples or “ash houses” (*rumah abu*), at funeral ritual, when a member of the family passes away, at certain festivities as well as *tahun baru Imlek* (Chinese New Year), etc. Ancestor worship outside the house always follows similar patterns or rules to those that are valid at home. These regulations are oriented toward the kinship system they have, namely a patrilineal kinship system (following the father’s line of descent).

The role of ancestors in Chinese community is considered to be most central, as is known from an inscription quoted by Creel (1990: 13) where a noble man states that his deceased ancestor has been so kind-hearted to open the way for his descendants on earth. Thus, the ancestor worship tradition which has developed in the religious life of the Chinese is quite old, and existed even before Confucius (551-479 BC) was born. At the same time a most important concept was developed in the thought of the Chinese people, namely that of the tradition to advance the family. The importance of the position of the family can be seen in the poetry quoted by Creel from the book *She King or SuSi* as follows:

*Not even one thing is as important as a sibling (saudara kandung)*  
*Inside they quarrel,*  
*Outside they agree,*  
*However, close a friend may be,*  
*However great their number, they cannot come to the defense.*

In another piece of poetry written long before Khonghucu lived, we also can see expressions which emphasize the importance of the family, as follows:

*Not even one person is proper to be honored,*  
*Like honoring one’s own father,*  
*Not even one person can be relied upon*  
*As one can rely on one’s own mother*

According to traditional Chinese belief, a person's spirit, after death, lives on in a world of spirits. Beliefs about this afterlife vary from indefinite notions of an eternal, but shadowy, existence to very concrete pictures of a series of courts of justice and diabolical, torture, chambers for the condemned. But whatever the concept of life in the hereafter may be, it is assumed that the welfare and happiness of the spirits of the dead depend to a very great extent upon the attentions of the living. People with traditional belief feel a strong obligation to their ancestors, and this obligation is fulfilled partly by the regular carrying out of the prescribed ritual duties of ancestor worship. These include the following:

- a) Providing as elaborate and expensive a funeral ritual and grave as the family can afford.
- b) Observing prescribed rituals of mourning.
- c) Visiting and cleaning the graves and performing ancestor rites before them, at least during the Ching Bing (*Qing Bing*) or the festival of clean family grave in early April and sometimes also at the New Year or other times.
- d) Maintaining a family altar and performing major ancestor rites before it, including offering of incense, prostrate bowing, and elaborate food offerings, on at least four or five annual festival days and on the anniversary of the death of a deceased parent.
- e) Performing less elaborate ancestor rites before the family altar on the first and fifteenth day of every month (Willmott, 1960: 199).

The traditional Chinese society in Singkawang or traditional family altar is supposed to have the tablet of the ancestor or ancestor in the in male line. About a foot high and three or four inches wide, these tablets are made of wood, with dragons or other figures finely carved upon them. In addition to the names and honorific titles of the deceased, a tablet usually bears the name of the reigning dynasty at the time of the death and the name of the person, usually the eldest son, who erects it. Each tablet is made of three pieces. Recorded in black ink on an inner surface are such details as the dates of birth and death of deceased and the name of all children. Actually, there are relatively few ancestor tablets in Singkawang. The tablets of the parents and ancestors of Totok families, and of some Peranakan families, are kept by relatives in China. Where there are no tablets, one or more pictures of important ancestors or over a landscape painting

are used instead. It sometimes put on the wall of their house, particularly on the wall of room where guests are received.

In each society or family, it is the exclusive right and duty of the eldest living son to provide and maintain the family altar, to care for the tablets, if any, and to see that the proper rites are observed, both at the altar and at the graves. His sons and his younger brothers and their sons are expected to participate in as many of the major rites as possible. If the eldest son dies, responsibility for the maintain of the altar is given to his younger brother or son.

Worship in Chinese society is not only performed for family Spirits, like parents, grandfathers, and grandmothers, but also do for sprits who are not related to the family. According to Ter Haar (1998), Chinese people in China, particularly in the Jiangxi-Northern Fujian region, not only worship their ancestor, but also worship non-ancestors, like the spirits of their teachers. Ter Haar said that the teacher pupils had to pay their respects (*bai*, often translated as “to worship”) to him and pay some money in exchange for the knowledge that they received during they study with their teacher. The teacher-pupil relationship is, of course, one of the most important non-kinship relationships in pre-modern Chinese society. In some cases, we not only meet this in China, but also in Chines villages around Singkawang.

In Indonesia, especially during the New Order period, ancestor worship by the Chinese was considered by the government to impede the process of assimilation proclaimed by the government. Therefore, a certain M.F. Liem Hok Liong (ethnic Chinese), Head of the Section of the *Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa* (LPKB) or the Institute for National Unity Building in East Java-Indonesia, attacked or disagreed with the practices of ancestor worship and suggested to the military to prohibit symbols of foreign culture (symbols of Chinese culture) in the *kelenteng-kelenteng* or Chinese temples. He also proposed to the military to eliminate ancestor worship in the Chinese temples which were still oriented toward the ancient country or *negeri leluhur* (Coppel, 1994: 208). Here we have seen that ancestor worship as part of the religion and culture of the Chinese was not only disliked by the New Order government, but Chinese of the LPKB group also joined to disagree with ancestor worship practiced in the daily life of the Chinese themselves, particularly ancestor worship at Chinese houses. Therefore, during the New Order era not only ancestor worship

practices were spotlighted, but other Chinese cultural aspects as well, like the *barongsai* and *liong* (dragon festival) shows, which were considered to reinforce Chinese feelings of the Indonesians of Chinese ethnic origin. These were also limited and could not be exhibited in public.

Ancestor worship can be practiced in a simple form (at home) and also more elaborate way (outside the house), usually at funeral ceremonies, where sacrifices are presented to the dead, in a larger amount, depending on the economic status of the deceased. The organization *Tionghoa Hwe Koan* or Social Chinese organization or (THHK), which was established at the beginning of 1900, and pioneered the rise of the Confucius religion or *agama Khonghucu* in Indonesia, criticized the tradition of Chinese who organized elaborate and excessive funeral ceremonies. According to them, excessive funeral ceremonies held by Indonesians of Chinese origin did not conform to the Khonghucu teachings and were more of a squandering character (Tanggok, 2000: 138). The criticism of THHK of Indonesian of Chinese origin on the implementation of elaborate and excessive funeral ceremonies was in the framework of purifying the Chinese culture which they thought was much influenced by local traditions. This effort apparently did not succeed, because Chinese religion and culture in Indonesia is much influenced by local culture. Therefore, funeral ceremonies practiced by Chinese in China will be different from those held by Indonesians of Chinese origin outside China or in Indonesia. The same goes for funeral ceremonies held by Indonesians of Chinese origin, which will differ from region to region, although still in the range of the Indonesian archipelago. This is because the culture of the Indonesian of Chinese origin itself is much influenced by the local cultures of the place where they live.

According to the Chinese these elaborate funeral ceremonies cannot be called squandering and superficial, but should be viewed from stand-point of worship the dead, like the honor given to them when they were still alive. To worship the dead means to strengthen the deceased's social status. To strengthen the social status of the deceased means to solidify the social family status and its group of kinship. The same goes for the funeral ceremony of the Toraja people. According to Suparlan (1999), the very expensive funeral ceremonies as practiced by the Toraja, must not be considered as non-economic or squandering actions, but should be looked at as a form of worship to the dead, like honoring them when they were still alive.

Based on the above explanation I felt it necessary to carry out research on the Ancestor Worship in the Chinese Community in Singkawang, because most of Chinese people, particularly the Hakka people in Singkawang still practice the ancestor worship. This study focusses on the meaning of ancestor worship for the life of the Chinese people, mainly its religious, social, economic and political as in rural areas, especially in the rural area of Singkawang, in the region of West Kalimantan.

One of the most important of the ancestor worship in Chinese Singkawang is burial ritual or the ceremony of death. It connected with ancestor worship. There is no burial ritual do not connect with ancestor worship. The ancestor worship in Chinese society begins with burial ritual and continues after burial of the deceased.

## 2. The Cult of Dead or Burial Ritual

The ceremony of death of Chinese society particularly in Chinese-Hakka society in Singkawang or burial ritual have been viewed as an important part of Chinese social and religious life, particularly for ancestor worship. In the house or land where such reverence is displayed to the departed soul, the religious and customary rites connected with the dead are therefore of primary importance to the Chinese community or Chinese-Hakka community in Singkawang City, West Kalimantan or West Borneo. However, the ceremony of death or burial customs among the Chinese community vary from one to another group. For example, the ceremony of death varies between Chinese-Hakka and Chinese-Teochiu, Chinese Hokkien and Chinese Cantonese and others differ, one from another. Thus, is due to the fact that the ceremony of death or funeral ritual are part of folk religion and oral religion without a fixed set of dogmas, doctrines or a powerful priesthood. These ceremonies are syncretism religious system drawing from many religious traditions including Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, local religions, and indigenous beliefs. However, despite the variations, there is a standardize set of ritual behavior which the Chinese from different clans performed within the same frame work of rituals, like any Chinese clans in Singkawang, West Kalimantan or Borneo.



## **Death of Parent**

Death of parent here, means a father or a mother. As soon as the parent dies, one of the members of their family will consult an astrologer (*Sinsang* in Hakka language) about what the family has to do. This is to ensure that the deceased will find no obstacle in the other world. According the Chinese-Hakka in Singkawang, an astrologer or monk has a important position as mediator between the family and the parent who was died. An astrologer is believed to know what their parent needs to live in the other world. Notices are consequently posted on the wall to warn relatives, friends and members of the family to avoid unfavorable hour (s) when the spirit will leave the body as a visible vapor. It is considered a bad omen should anyone Witness the passage of the dead to the next world or other world. The Hakka Chinese in Singkawang believed that life in the other world is not different from the real world. If someone in the real world need something to eat, and after he or she dies, he or she also needs something to eat in the other world.

After the death the body is washed with water or a wet cloth by someone from the family of the deceased. Sometimes, the family calls a Taoist priest or Confucius or Buddhist priest to wash the body. After the body of the dead person is washed, it is dressed with clothes, pants, shoes, or the best clothing of deceased. If someone during life like to wear a hat, and sometime the corpse is also wearied with a hat. If someone during life liked to wear a watch or ring, when he or she dies, their corpse is also dressed with a wrist watch or ring. According to Chang (1993) the Chinese society in Sarawak-Malaysia believe that if there is someone has died, the cats in the house if any, must be locked in a cage so as to prevent their jumping over the corpse. It is believed that in the event that any cat may jump over the corpse, the dead may leap to life and attack human beings. This believe is also find in Chinese-Hakka society in Singkawang.

After the corpse is cleaned with water and is not bathed, and after dressed that corpse in laid down on the mattress and covered with a white mosquito net. After that the Taoist or Confucian priest puts a table in front of the corpse and on the desk, he put a black and white photo of the deceased, incense (*hio*), two white candles that are burned, fruits, two glasses of tea, other food liked by someone when he or she was alive. After praying of the table (altar) is prepared, all food needed and also equipment

to pray have ready on the table. The Taoist or Confucian priest led to the children and grandchild of dead to pray for his or her parent.

A Confucius priest or Taoist priest and sometimes a Buddhist priest is engaged to carry out various traditional ceremonies for the dead. Before the corpse is placed in the Coffin (Hakka language is *Kongsoi*), the priest will call upon the spirit of the deceased to depart for the next world and a horoscope is cast to find out whether the spirit will visit the family and what form the spirit will take in the next world. The body is then placed in the coffin together with a few valuables for use by the deceased in the next world. Before the coffin is completely sealed, the children of the deceased will give a ceremonial last supper for the deceased. Other ceremonies take place when the children or family will bring the deceased to the grave (Chang, 1993, see also Ahern, 1973). This ceremony is called as last ceremony before the family and helpers bring the deceased to the grave. Sometime it is done at the house and sometime at the *Yayasan Kematian* (the house of Chinese death organization or Chinese death foundation or burial association).

The sealed coffin will then be taken outside the house while the children, relatives and friends of the deceased present pay their homage and last respect. Foods are offered, like rice, a cup of tea, oranges, apples, pig or pork, sheep or mutton, and other foods according to the family needs and are displayed on the altar. Sacred papers are burnt beside the coffin, white candles and incense sticks are lighted on the altar during prayer for the deceased.

It is to note that mourning cloths (white cloths) should be worn by the children and relatives of the deceased. For traditional Chinese, generally there are three grades of *pakaian berkabung* (mourning garments). White garments together with sack clothes are worn by the children of the deceased and their son's in-law or daughter's in-law (see also Ahern, 1973). Blue shirts and trousers are worn by the grandchildren. Yellow shirts and black trousers are worn by their great-grandchild. Besides, shirts and black trousers are worn by their great-grandchildren. Besides, all of them have to wear mourning pins (as a sign of xiao sign or sign of filial piety) from between the first day of the funeral until 100 days (or sometimes just 49 days) after burial depending on the wishes of the deceased's family. The other relatives can wear any clothing as long as it is not red in color or flowery in design.

## **Funeral Procession**

Starting from the house or the *Yayasan Kematian* (Chinese death foundation or burial association), a team of Buddhist musicians will lead the procession with the Buddhist songs and music. This music is played by two or more Chinese Hakka people from Singkawang. Before the funeral rites, these musicians team play their music at the house of the bereaved family. It is believed that the music and songs will drive away evil spirit on the way and around the house and funeral site. Paper images that are replicas of things for use of the deceased in the next world are carried the cortege or funeral procession and all will be burnt at the graveside. According to Baker (1979: 73) the paper images or paper money (unreal money) are believed to be able to be used by their parent (or parent's spirit) in other world to buy something for their life. For the Chinese, the after-life was seen as in many ways a duplicate of this real world.

In the procession, the deceased which have in packing into coffin are being carried by helper (Hakka people from Hakka death organization). At intervals along the route, particularly at cross roads and bridges, paper moneys. two bar incense is putted down on the bridges in order to request permit from spirit to passing it. Hakka people belief that if we do not request permit from the spirit who live in bridges, he will bother the spirit of someone dead.

Immediately behind the cortege with placed the coffin, are the children and relatives of the deceased standing in front of the coffin and doing worship to the deceased. In Singkawang, funeral processions will walk for a short distance as a final gesture of farewell and then board vehicles to proceed to the graveyard. Behind this come the numerous banners proclaiming the virtues of the deceased, which are often contributions by the funeral associations and other Chinese organizations. Beside of relatives of deceased, the Representatives of the Death Associations also take part in the procession and give small money.

## **Journey to the Grave**

When arrival at the grave, the coffin is lowered into the grave which was dug by a group of helpers a day before the burial ceremony. Before the coffin is covered with earth, the monk or priest invites the relatives and the family to satisfy themselves of its right alignment and suitability. With

talk in Hakka language a monk take rice from a small sack together with coins are being sprayed over the mourners. Whatever rice and coins are collected are brought back by the mourners for safe keeping. After the last respects, each member of the family throws a handful of earth onto the coffin. All weep and wait, taking leave of the deceased. Before leaving the grave is filled with earth by the helpers, the mourners are warned not to call anybody by name and not to look back to the ward grave while leaving the cemetery. If anyone breaks the rule, the evil spirit around may do harm to the person whose name is mentioned and the departed spirit may disturb the one who looks back. After all, since the deceased is departing for the other world, it is advisable that the soul not prolong its stay in the human world.

As the mourners return home and after the helpers have filled up the grave with earth, the ceremony is ended at the cemetery. All relatives and helpers are given red threads or white packets to ensure a safe journey home. They are supposed to leave quietly without saying good-bye to family of the deceased and go home to their houses.

### **After the Funeral**

The completion of the funeral rites marks the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor of the family. The picture of the deceased and the urn with ashes of incense sticks are taken home and placed on the ancestral altar. A memorial service is held and an ancestral shrine receives the spirit tablet of the deceased on which is written the name, age and place of birth of the deceased. Normally, the memorial service is held each week after the death of the deceased until the seventh week. After the 100<sup>th</sup> day, the last memorial service is held after which all lanterns and everything used for the service are burnt, including the sack-clothing worn by the children and other family.

A similar tablet will eventually be put up at the tomb when the grave-stone has been erected by their family. The grave is normally well looked after by the children of the deceased on each anniversary of his death and also during the Ching Ming Festival, sometimes called All Souls' Day. On these occasions, food and drinks are offered at the grave, joss sticks and candles are lighted and paper money burnt for the deceased (Chang, 1993). The meaning of burning of the paper money is to send it to the

other world, to provide for the need of ancestor spirits for their life in another world.

## **Conclusion**

Funeral rituals have been viewed as an important part of Chinese social life, religious life, and worship for ancestor spirits. Not only funeral rituals, rituals before the deceased are brought to the grave, and rituals after the funeral, including annual rituals are viewed as an important part of ancestor worship. The cult of the dead in Chinese family and society is an important part of Ancestor worship. There is no ancestor worship without death. The Chinese Hakka family and society in Singkawang view the cult of the dead not only as religious ritual but it also as place to collected the family in one place. In this place, the family not only worships their parent spirits but also can talk about family economic and political matters. Well-being of ancestor in afterlife means well-being for the family in this life.

Funeral rituals or ceremony of death of Hakka people in Singkawang, not only as rituals for deceased, but also function to mediator between family as worshiper and spirit of the deceased as worshiped. With ritual, someone or the family who still life in the word can send prayer to their parent or ancestor, request something to the spirit of their parent, and also request helping, protection, for their life in the real world.

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