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## The Islamization of Central Java: the Role of Muslim Lineages in KaliOSO

**Abstraksi:** Cerita sejarah yang telah menjadi pandangan umum tentang Islam di Indonesia adalah bahwa penyebaran agama Islam di Jawa dilakukan Wali Songo, atau Sembilan Wali. Para wali dipercayai mempunyai pesantren, tempat para santri menelaah ajaran Islam, dan di sekitar pesantren mereka membangun komunitas Muslim. Pada awal abad 16, persekutuan negeri-negeri bandar di pesisir utara Jawa yang dipimpin Sembilan Wali itu berhasil mendirikan suatu kekuatan politik di Demak. Selanjutnya, dari kesultanan Demak itulah proses pengislaman secara lebih luas dan terencana terhadap masyarakat Jawa dilakukan.

Pertanyaan yang patut diajukan adalah bagaimana proses pengislaman masyarakat Jawa di tingkat komunitas lebih kecil, kecamatan atau pedesaan? Pola apakah yang dipakai dalam proses pengislaman yang berlangsung di tingkat komunitas-komunitas itu, terutama di Jawa pedalaman? Benarkah penyebaran Islam di desa-desa juga berjalan secara politik, seperti berdirinya Kesultanan Demak, ataukah mengambil jalan yang lebih kultural?

Artikel ini membahas kecenderungan pola pengislaman masyarakat Jawa pedalaman yang dilakukan sebuah keluarga keturunan Muslim lokal di KaliOSO, Jawa Tengah, pada akhir abad 17. Menurut kajian-kajian antropologis seperti tercermin dalam upacara ziarah tahunan di desa itu, keluarga dan keturunan mereka pertama kali membuka perkampungan (babad alas) Muslim di pedalaman Jawa. Keluarga tersebut semuanya berkerabat dengan para bangsawan Jawa tradisional, melalui perkawinan atau keturunan. Dengan garis silsilah keluarga tersebut dipercayai memperoleh legitimasi kultural dan mendapat 'restu' untuk membangun perkampungan di pedalaman Jawa.

Proses pengislaman bermula dari sebuah "wangsit" yang diterima Abdul Jalil I, alias Turmudi, di pinggir sungai Cemara sesuai menunaikan shalat, agar ia membuka sebuah perkampungan di hutan Grasak, sebelah utara sungai. Sebab, sebelah selatan sungai itu merupakan tempat bersemayam Bethari Durga; tokoh fiktif yang ada dalam kisah pewayangan. Orang percaya bahwa Abdul Jalil adalah mubaligh Islam pertama di pedalaman pulau Jawa di sebelah barat Surakarta, dan bahkan diceritakan sebagai keturunan ketujuh raja Majapahit terakhir, Brawijaya, melalui Nitimenggolo adipati Grobogan. Susuhunan Surakarta di kemudian hari menjadikan daerah ini sebagai perdikan. Dari Abdul Jalil lahir banyak mubaligh yang secara turun-temurun meneruskan proses pengislaman masyarakat di pedalaman Jawa.

Para mubaligh itu mempunyai tempat atau wilayah dakwah masing-masing, termasuk tempat para santri mereka menelaah ajaran Islam. Mereka memang bukan hanya menyebarkan agama Islam, melainkan juga merintis berdirinya komunitas santri di daerah pedalaman.

Menurut silsilah keluarga Kalioso, sepeninggal Abdul Jalil, Muhammad Hadi membuka pemukiman Muslim di sebuah hutan angker di Grikusumo, sebelah selatan Semarang; Ia diikuti oleh Bagus Murtadho yang kemudian dikenal sebagai Haji Muhammad Korib, yang mempunyai misi membuka pemukiman di tengah hutan yang dipercayai sebagai tempat Bethari Durga. Missinya berhasil, dan ternyata daerah itu membuka jalan persaudaraan antara pemukiman santri di sekitar sungai Cemara dengan istana Pakubuwono IV di Surakarta. Susuhunan daerah itu kemudian memberi nama Kalioso.

Beberapa sumber sejarah menyebutkan, penyebaran Islam di lingkungan istana Susuhunan sudah berlangsung sebelumnya. Akan tetapi, penerimaan resmi istana terhadap komunitas santri terjadi ketika keturunan Nitimenggolo di sekitar sungai Cemara berhasil membuka hubungan baik dengan Paku Burwono IV. Hubungan ini diikuti dengan kerjasama antara pemukiman santri di Jawa dengan istana. Sebuah dokumen menyebutkan, para kyai mengemban tugas-tugas keagamaan kraton: mendoakan keselamatan dan kesejahteraan Susuhunan dan keluarga istana; memimpin shalat Jun'at; mengajarkan agama Islam dan membaca huruf Arab kepada para santri dan pegawai istana; serta bertindak sebagai penghulu keraton apabila diperlukan.

Sejarah lokal pengislaman masyarakat Jawa, memang sulit dikonstruksikan menjadi teori umum yang pasti. Ia memiliki tingkat variasi yang tinggi, bahwa masing-masing tempat memiliki keunikannya sendiri. Namun demikian, sebenarnya ada petunjuk di mana seorang peneliti bisa menelusuri proses awal peralihan suatu komunitas kecil di Jawa dari masyarakat yang berorientasi kepada agama Jawa ke masyarakat Islam.

## انتشار الاسلام فى جاوه:

### دور اسرة مسلمة فى 'كالي اوسو' (Kalioso)

ملخص: من القصص المروية التى اصبحت رأيا سائدا حول الاسلام فى اندونيسيا ان الفضل فى انتشار الاسلام فى جاوه كان يرجع الى الاولياء التسعة (Wali Songo)، وينتهى الدارسون الى القول -استنادا للوثائق التاريخية الجاوية المكتوبة- بأن الاسلام قد أتى به اولئك الدعاة التسعة المعروف عنهم بالصلاح والولاية، وكان لكل واحد منهم معهد (تراثى\Pesantren) يدرس فيه التلاميذ التعاليم الاسلامية بينما يحاول كل الدعاة بناء مجتمع اسلامى فى البيئة المحيطة بالمعهد؛ وفى اوائل القرن السادس عشر الميلادى استطاع اتحاد البلاد الساحلية شمالي جاوه بقيادة اولئك الاولياء التسعة ان ينشعوا قوة سياسية (متمركزة) فى "ديمق" (Demak)، ومن خلال سلطنة ديمق القائمة تم التخطيط والقيام بنشر الاسلام على صعيد اوسع ليشمل المجتمعات الجاوية.

والسؤال الذى ينبغى طرحه هو كيف كانت الدعوة الاسلامية تجرى فى مستوى اضيق مجالا على المستوى القروى او الريفى؟ وما هي الاسس التى تبنى عليها الدعوة الاسلامية وسط تلك المجتمعات الصغيرة فى القرى او الارياف؟ وهل سارت على نفس المنوال السياسى الذى ادى الى قيام سلطنة ديمق ام ان لها طريقا آخر اقرب ما يكون الى الطريق الثقافى منه الى الطريق السياسى؟

إن المقالة (التي نحن بصدد تلخيصها) تحاول أن تلقى الضوء على الاتجاه الاساسى لدعوة المجتمعات الجاوية فى الارياف الى الاسلام التى كانت تقوم بها اسرة مسلمة فى "كالى اوسو"، "كلاجن" (Klaten)، جاوه الوسطى، واخر القرن السابع عشر الميلادى؛ فطبقا للمصادر الاثروبولوجية التى تنعكس فى الاحتفالات السنوية المقامة فى تلك القرية كان اجدادهم واسلافهم يقيمون أول الأمر قرية اسلامية بها وكانوا اسرة يتصل نسبهم الى الامراء الجاويين القدام سلالة او تصاهرا، وبفضل هذا النسب يعتقد انهم منحوا -بالوراثة- صلاحية وتفويضاً لإقامة قرى فى ارياف جاوه.

لقد كانت البداية ان اشارة (باطنية) وردت الى عبد الجليل الواحد الملقب بالترمدى وهو (يجلس) على شاطئ نهر "شميمارا" (Cemara) بعد أدائه الصلاة يأمره بإقامة قرية فى غابة "جراساك" (Grasak) الواقعة شمالي النهر حيث يقيم فيها (اي فى الغابة) الـ"بيطارى دورجا" (Bethari Durga) الشخصية الخيالية فى القصص المسرحية الشعبية ، ويعتقد الناس ان عبد الجليل هو الداعية الاول الذى كان له الفضل فى انتشار الاسلام فى الارياف الجاوية الواقعة شمالي "سوراكارتا" (Surakarta) بل يحكى انه ينتمى الى الجيل السابع فى سلسلة نسب الملك (الجاوى المعظم) "ماجاباهيت" (Majapahit)، وهو "براويجايا" (Brawijaya) وذلك عن طريق "نيتى مينجولو" (Nitimenggolo) رئيس منطقة "جروبوجان" (Grobogan)؛ وفى وقت لاحق قام ملك سوراكارتا بجعل تلك القرية ؟؟؟، ولعبد الجيل هذا ابناء يصبحون دعاة يتوارثون خلفا عن سلف مهمة الدعوة الاسلامية فى الارياف الجاوية؛ وكان لكل منهم مقاطعة خاصة مع معهد (تراثى) يدرس فيه التلاميذ التعاليم الاسلامية؛ حقا، ان جهودهم لم تكن من أجل نشر الاسلام فحسب انما ايضا لبناء مجتمع اسلامى فى الارياف.

وطبقا لتاريخ اسرة "الكالى اوسو" فإن محمد هادى الذى خلف عبد الجليل بعد وفاته قد أقام قرية اسلامية وسط غابة بـ "جبرى كوسومو" (Giri Kusumo) جنوبى "سمارانج" (Semarang)، ويليه باغوس مرتضى (Bagus Murtadho) الذى يشتهر فى وقت لاحق باسم الحاج محمد قريب والذى كان عليه ان يفتح قرية اسلامية وسط غابة اعتقدت بأنها مستقر الـ "بيطارى دورجا" ومقامه، وكان ناجحا فى ذلك حيث ظهر ان القرية هي التى مهدت الطريق للعلاقة الاخوية بين المناطق التى يقطنها المسلمون الملتزمون Santri حول نهر "شيمارا" وبين القصر الملكى لـ "باكو بوونو الرابع" (Pakubuwono IV) بـ "سوراكارتا"، وتفضل الملك فيما بعد بتمسية تلك القرية باسم "كالى اوسو".

وتذكر بعض المصادر ان عملية نشر الاسلام فى القصر الملكى قد تمت قبل ذلك ولكن الاعلان الرسمى لترحيب القصر بتلك المجتمعات الاسلامية لم يتم الا بعدما نجحت اسرة "نيميمينجولو" القاطنة حول نهر شيمارا فى توثيق علاقتهم بـ (الملك) "باكو بوونو الرابع"، يعقبها توصل الى عقد اتفاقية تعاونية بين المناطق الاسلامية فى جاوه والقصر الملكى؛ ووردت فى احدى الوثائق ان الشيوخ كانوا يقومون بمهام دينية فى القصر: الدعاء لسلامة الملك مع الاسرة الملكية وسعادتهم، وامامة الصلاة فى يوم الجمعة، وتعليم التلاميذ وموظفى القصر التعاليم الاسلامية وقراءة الحروف العربية، والقيام بمهمة القاضى فى القصر كلما دعت الحاجة اليه.

ان التاريخ المحلى للدعوة الاسلامية وسط المجتمعات الجاوية، كما عرضه صاحب المقالة، على الرغم من الصعوبات التى تواجهه من يروم تحليله وتركيبه من اجل الوصول الى نظرية او نتيجة حاسمة لما فى (عناصره) من درجة عالية من التنوع حيث تكون لكل منطقة خاصية تميز بها، إلا ان هناك دليلا يستطيع به الباحث ان يتابع المراحل الاولى لتحول مجتمع صغير فى جاوه من متزغ دينى جاوى (وثنى) الى مجتمع اسلامى.



### Preface: The Question of the Context

Islamization has been present in Java for some three hundred and fifty years and, in other parts of Indonesia, for even longer. Should an historian study this as a process of conversion or as an acculturation, that is to say a cultural "impregnating" involving both deliberate and involuntary adaptations by successive generations of Muslims?

Given the paucity of data this choice is often not left open to us. The conversion perspective, while perfectly legitimate, leaves little role for the ethno-historian. They will always try to find acculturation at work, for that view allows a diachronic dimension to be introduced. Even then, we are often forced to rely on comparative data from other countries. This methodological option consists in consulting the existing studies on, say, the Islamization of India,<sup>1</sup> which has lasted a thousand years.

Assayag (1995: 29) claims that, in India, Muslims generally preferred commerce over proselytism, which forced them to adopt both local culture and languages. That is also purported to be the case in Java (Pigeaud & de Graaf 1976). It is impossible to consider Islam as a foreign or imported religion, if the customs and the usages of both Javanese Muslims and non-Muslims are cut from the same cultural cloth. The isolation of Muslims from the rest of Javanese society would only occur as an internal political and economic evolution. Such factors as Dutch colonial distrust of the anti-Western strains in certain nineteenth century Islamic movements or ideological tendencies of separatist Muslim movements of the 1950's provoked isolation. What, of course, distinguishes Java from India in this comparison is that the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist tradition disappeared as a state-supported, if not an organized religion in the seventeenth century with the fall of the kingdom of Majapahit, while ninety percent of the Indian population continued in the Hindu tradition.

Nonetheless, popular religions are practised pragmatically everywhere. Assayag says that in the state of Karnataka in south-western India, the differences between Islam and Hinduism appear in the more sober approach of the their respective devotee to his god(s), while the more ecstatic approach used in the cults for liberation from demons, displays a greater similarity of religious forms between the two.

*"Whenever it is necessary to combat illness or affliction, the religious affiliations only superficially modify the cognitive universe common to evil, its actiology and its therapy ..."* (Assayag 1995:77-76)



In Java the cults practised around the graves of holy men, the friends (*wali*) of God who possess a spiritual jurisdiction (Arabic, *walāyah*; Javanese, *wilayah*) differ on the surface through the rituals practised there from other pilgrimage sites, bearing traces (*patilasan*) of sacred powers (*kramat*, *sakti*) found in holy trees, rocks, etc. (Chambert-Loir & Guillot 1995:235-266). However, in general the hagiography of Javanese holy men show mutual influences: great Javanese heroes borrowing from Muslim hagiography and Javanese Muslim saints displaying the traits of the pre-Muslim figures. Since there is only one language to describe such holiness and since the Arabic vocabulary has completely impregnated these semantic fields in Javanese, displacing most older Sanskrit words, it could hardly be otherwise.

In India the grave of a holy person is served by his followers or family, but venerated locally by a broader clientele. The cemetery and the nearby mosque is owned by these descendants or dependants and it serves as a identity pole for the guild or community that maintains it (Assayag 1995:110), but is frequented by a larger greater public. The management of certain kinds of holy graves in India does not resemble that of the *trah* lineages clearly restricted to the descendants of the families buried there. In Indonesia such organizations have been called "worship communities" (Chabot 1950).

In Java further research may well show that worship communities have been potent forces for grass roots Islamization over the centuries. These communities were sometimes pioneering agricultural communities as well as religious ones. Eaton (1994:219, 305) has discussed the relation between the Islamization of Bengal and pioneering Muslim agricultural communities clearing (= suffix *-kâthi* in Bengali place names) forests. In Java this agricultural expansion is also sometimes linked to the spread of Islam in the countryside through the foundation of new *pesantren* (Muslim schools).

What of the rural shrines not related to Muslim saints? These could nonetheless be poles of attraction for Muslims. In India, demons only exist in as much as they are opposed to the gods (often their younger sibling). Assayag (1995:100) found that in Karnataka this juxtaposition had been taken over by Islam:

*"As the goddess, symbol of the centrality of the king, needs her troop of demons, the axis (Arabic, quthb) of holiness has meaning only to the extent that a cohort of jinn lays siege to her and continually menaces the order of the world."*

The difference in their organization of social space according to Assayag lay in the fact that:

“...the sanctuaries of the universal goddess singularizes the place names while the mausoleums of the saints are valued as so many intercessions to a God who for being one is indeed far away.”

In Java the royal cults of the goddesses Durga at Krendawahana, north of Surakarta, (Durga is both queen of the demons and an aid to the king) and Lara Kidul on the southern coast were integrated into the *wayang* and ultimately the Purânic opposition of the warring gods and the demons transposed to the continuing struggle between the Pandawa and the Kurawa that constituted sovereignty. It is important to notice that while the Javanese king dealt with only a limited pantheon (one or two goddesses and Siva or Buddha) and the popular shadow puppet theatre mythology reflected this, the countryside was filled with little “insignificant” shrines where the common people dealt in their own manner with spirits. These sites, with little history, some mythology and ambiguous identity, often played a creative and evolutive role in the negotiation of relations between Islamic and indigenous religious traditions.

The mythological landscape of both Java and India was shaped both by the creation of biographies for the grave sites of local little-known heroes, holy men or Muslim saints. Sometimes these played a thoroughly partisan role. As Assayag says of the Muslim witnesses (1995:207):

“The work of memory which gave the saints the attributes of soldiers of God, clothed in the sacrificial garment of the martyr, took charge of the defence of this internal frontier- indifferent to any physical boundary of the territory- by which the community symbolised both its social cohesion and its religious identity.”

The transformation from a pagan (*dâr al-harb*) to a Muslim land (*dâr al-Islâm*) takes at least two forms in Karnataka. “Memory-places” exist where a full historical tradition forces the present to repeat the past (Assayag 1995:208). They differ from sites where the absence of any permanent historical memory permits, with the passage of significant events, the creation of a manner of re-memorization dictated by present events and needs. The heavy anchor linking the *litterati* to the past is an obstacle to manipulations of recent events, while the warrior, marabout, or sufi can be drawn, indeed redrawn by recent events. For Assayag (1995:172, 213) a biographical *topos* can become an affirmation of iden-

tity despite borrowings from neighbors of "a different religion". Devereux (1975:283), cited by Assayag, claimed fifty years ago that there is a dissociative acculturation operating by differentiation. There the adaptation of a segment of a culture does not involve the adoption of the underlying culture. These *ulamic* or *maraboutic* approaches negotiate social textures between differing lineages and social solidarity.

The saint (whether by *jihād* or by the *sharī'ah*), is a mirror of the prophet who is a mirror of God, and brings heaven closer to earth. While esoteric scriptural religion is interiorized (*bâtin*) and universal (sanctifying a local figure), popular religion remained esoteric (*zâhir*) with its own form of particular devotion, limited by its frontiers. For Assayag (1995:212), there are two stylizations of the collective memory of groups; one is less historical than semiological, less chronological than genealogical. In either case the relationship between Hinduism and Islam in India has, and in some areas still does, constitute a cultural system.

If tradition is not an inheritance, patrimony or ethnicity, but a rivalry or competition between social partners, then Assayag claims that at many different levels of society, agents will debate over what constitutes the links that unite them and forms their identity. The intensity of their interaction is a tribute to the agents ability to attribute meaning to these interactions: thus there exists a dialectic of reciprocal assignations. The symbolic apparatus produced by their social life is a relatively coherent system, but profoundly unstable. The variability of the interactions creates free spaces for inventiveness or at least normal dissent. For Assayag (1995:220):

"everyone lives...from compromises which he invents and contradictions which he manages...For these are the ways we reuse for our own ends the imposed order...guaranteeing...the 'fragile flowers of difference'(Lévi-Strauss)."

This discussion of Islamization in India opens new perspectives toward Islamization in Java. Here we have adopted the following perspective: a process of acculturation in Java under the influence of Islam occurred over the last three hundred years and it involves an historical evolution of a cultural system that included both Javanese religion and Islam. This process has not yet been interrupted, as in India, where the violent political battles of communalism have recently separated out the religious communities. In Java, Islam is, more than ever, the principle religious metaphor for the expression of social and cultural preoccupations of every order.

### The "Genealogy of the Noble Ancestors of Kalioso" (*Silsilah<sup>2</sup> Leluhur Kalioso*).

Visitors to the Palaeolithic site of Sangiran on the Cemara river or the Javanese on pilgrimage to Durga's offering site at the sacred forest of Krendowahana (just to the south on the other side of this tributary of the Solo river) do not notice that this area contains a significant and well orchestrated recent history: that of the introduction of Islam into this region. The local Muslim lineages are responsible for its development. Prior to having met and interviewed Pak Digo (near the grave and mosque of Kyai Yahya), Haji Abdullah Usman (from the *kauman*, that is Muslim quarter, in Solo), who in 1995 was overseeing the construction of a minaret at the Kalioso mosque on behalf of it's lineage (*trah*) and Kyai Haji Idris (alias Suratmo), former headman or *lurah* (village chief) of Sambiredjo, who compiled a vast lineage on behalf of the Kalioso genealogical committee, it was also easy for me to ignore the importance of the Muslim reading of the sacred landscape of this area and to concentrate exclusively on the cult rendered to Bhatari Durga.

But the Muslims have their own cadaster for the religious geography of this area. As the lineage book containing the genealogy of the "Great Family of the Descendants of Nitimenggolo" (*Silsilah Keluarga Besar Kalioso Trah Nitimenggolo*) indicates, some three thousand members are identified today with this area and its graves and mosques. This genealogy, published by the *trah* of Kalioso sometime in the early 1970's, and the data given in it, as well as oral information given by people associated with the *trah*, provides a valuable source of an essentially oral history. Summarized with the help of the intricate genealogical lists used in the four-hundred page book, the data represents an oral view of history from the contemporary perspective of a local religious corporate group. Shortly before the book's publication, in 1969, Badruddin Hongowongso founded a *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Kalioso Jeter Krangpung. By 1983 it claimed to have 38 teachers and 655 *santri*. Kyai Haji Badruddin Hongowongso is the first name mentioned in the publication's list of advisors (*penaséhat*). He obviously had a vested interest in developing Kalioso's reputation, since his school was located there. Unless otherwise indicated all information comes from the four sources mentioned above.

Over a period of two hundred years (1790-1990) in three successive villages in Surakarta (to wit Mondongan, Lawéyan and Prabon) numerous Muslims were linked by lineage ties to the cemeteries of

Kalioso. This apparently began when Pangeran Hadipati Monduroedjo (Bupati of Grobogan, and later of Pathi, who finally ended his days in Lawéyan, Surakarta) was buried on the banks of Mondongan, as was his son Kyai Ageng Ketib (preacher) Lawiyan and grandson Kyai Gulu (who was a *penghulu*, i.e. a Muslim official).

The grandson of Kyai Gulu was Kyai Nitimanggolo (or Kerti Manggolo; several spellings are current). He is considered the apical figure of the Kalioso *trah*. Most of his ten children by his three successive wives are buried in Kalioso. His name (the "ordering of auspiciousness") resembles that of a pre-Islamic religious functionary, but the dictionaries do not confirm the existence of any title such as this. In any event the genealogy considers him to be an eleventh generation descendent of the last king of Majapahit Prabu Brawijaya (a very common claim in such genealogical texts). His sixth generation ancestor is said to be Kyai Ageng Jurumartani (uncle of Senapati Mataram (reigned c. 1584-1601; cf. de Graaf & Pigeaud 1976:156), alias Mondoroko I (a prime minister and confidant of Mangkurat II r.1677-1703). There seems to be some confusion as to generation here and the identification has yet to be established. In any case, he is a half-way point between the next ten generations of descendants and the previous ten generations which separate him from the last king of Majapahit Brawijaya V. This last king of Majapahit is commonly the source person for these lineage's.

It is with the third child (and second son) of this Nitimenggolo, Kyai Abdul Jalal I (alias Turmudi), that the Muslim history of Kalioso begins. Abdul Jalal I's elder brother Kartotaruno is said to have left Mondongan, Surakarta for Gathak Padan near Klatèn. Then his younger brother, Abdul Jalal I, followed him, before going to study at a Muslim boarding school (*pondok pesantren*) in Surabaya. From there Abdul Jalal I went to study at the *pondok* of Maja Badheran<sup>5</sup> (to the west of Tegalondo), presumably with the father of the famous Kyai Maja. The introduction to the genealogy claims that it was this teacher that sent him to "spread Islam" in the area some fourteen kilometres north of Surakarta, straddling the Cemara river.

This seems a somewhat anachronistic reading of the situation, as the spreading of Islam in the area may have occurred earlier. Nonetheless there do seem to have been ties between the descendants Nitimenggolo and these two *perdikan* (tax-free) villages to the north of Delanggu. Abdul Ngarip (alias Kyai Badheran the senior) was made *ketib imam* (sermongiver, prayer rider) of the freehold of Badheran

by P.B. IV. Although this ruler died only five years before the Java war broke out (cf. Carey 1981:261-262),<sup>6</sup> one imagines that the *perdikan* of Badheran was created earlier. The *kyai's* tasks were:

1. to pray for the welfare of Surakarta.
2. to hold religious services on Friday.
3. to instruct the *santri* (strict Muslim, or member of *pesantren* community) of the village (de Steurs 1833:15 claims there was a large library of Arabic books in this village).
4. to go to Surakarta whenever the *penghulu* called a meeting there.

Kyai Badheran (according to Sagimun's data, 1981) was married to R.A. Mursilah, a daughter of Adipati Murtoningrat, himself married to a daughter of Hamengko Buwana (H.B.) II, R.A. Mursiah, sister of H.B.III, and aunt of Dipanagara. The family of Kyai Badheran had numerous contacts in both the Surakarta and Yogyakarta courts. Carey (1981:262) explains that this is why many of them followed Dipanagara in the Java war.

Kyai Badheran's son, Kyai Maja, the main religious advisor to Dipanagara during the first part of the great anti-Dutch holy war (*jihâd* of 1825-1830), is supposed to have married R.A. Mangkubumi, the divorced wife of Dipanagara's uncle (Sagimun 1980). The Nitimenggolo genealogy claims that Abdul Jalal (III)'s wife was from Maja. Several other children according to the Kalioso genealogy were married to a close relative of Kyai Maja. Thus Mangu Rejo, son of Haji Moh. Korib (Kyai Murtodho), was married to a daughter of Kyai Maja, and Kyai Maja's elder brother Wirapatih (alias Kyai Baهران II) would have married his daughter to Abdul Jalal II from Kalioso.

The excursus just now concerning the milieu of Kyai Maja<sup>7</sup> to the south-west of Kalioso is justified by the publicity given in the early 1980's to the so-called 'national hero' Sinuhun Banguntapa (P.B.VI) who is connected both to Kyai Maja and to Kalioso. This king is described as having met in 1824 with Pangeran Dipanagara and Raden Ayu Sumirah (= ? Sérang) in order to give them the Surakarta *pusaka* (heirloom) with Kyai Maja as witness. The place (i.e. Krendawahana near Kalioso) is that of the kingdom of Kalayuwati, the invisible kingdom of Bathari Durga.<sup>8</sup> This is one of the twin forests that straddle the Cemara river, the one to the north of the river being the former forest named Jaga Patèn (=the guard of death).

To step back from the village level perspective, and look at Java as a whole permits one to realize that the milieu of the *kyai perdikan*



(*pradikan* or tax-exempt village territory) was not the same as that of the *kyai* or *santri kraton*. Carey (1981:248 note 51) translating *santri* as a collective plural, as “religious communities” describes three kinds:

- *kraton santri* “...members of Islamic hierarchy in the palace towns, mosque officials (*penghulu*, *ketib*, *marbot* and *modin*)”.
- *pradikan santri* “...religious teachers and caretakers (*juru kunci*) who lived in the tax-free villages”.
- independent religious teachers (*kyai*, *guru*) who thrived as local teachers of spiritual disciplines and mysticism in country areas.

Their instruction was very heterogeneous and could vary from bestowing magical charms (*jimat*) to orthodox instruction in Qur’ân exegesis. Often there was bitter rivalry between the last group and the *kraton santris*, those with official positions. Thus when they migrated to the area north of Surakarta, the children of Nitimenggolo came with a whole network of links to the varied world of the Javanese Muslim leaders.

Now to return to the our genealogy, the *Silsilah Leluhur Kalioso*, Abdul Jalal I arrived at the Cemara river and began to pray (the five *sholâh*) on a rock, *watu soye*, in the middle of the river. It was there that he received the revelation that Allah would have him implant a mosque at Grasak on the north bank of the river. This forest, which is still called the Jaga Paten, was to be cleared by Abdul Jalal I’s students. He continued to receive intuitive teaching (*ilmu*; Ar. *‘ilm*) from his communion (*munâjab*) with Allah, through his prayers and ascetic feats, not the least of which was to enter this evil area dominated by devils and other invisible evil spirits. This haunted (*angker*) forest is one of a pair; for south of the river in Krendowahana is the forest of the “odour of cadavers”, Gandamayit, where Durga has her offering ground.

The tradition of clearing (*mbabad*) new lands in forests, sacred or otherwise for *pesantren* or Muslim schools seems to have been widespread from the end of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. It followed older patterns of settlement by the Hindu-Buddhist *mandala* communities. As late as 1880, K.H. Muhammad Hadi, shortly after returning from Mecca, opened up for cultivation an *angker* forest at Girikusumo, 25 km. south of Semarang.

The next event widely recounted in oral tradition and reproduced in writing by the genealogy, occurred sometime during the reign of Paku Buwana IV (reigned 1788-1820) when he went hunting in the



sacred forest of Krendawahana for the deer meat which his pregnant consort craved. He disappeared,<sup>10</sup> as if swallowed by the forest. None of his suite could find any trace of him and finally they turned to the local Muslim leader, Kyai Abdul Jalal, who suggested that his elder sister's third son, Bagus Murtojo (or Murtolo/Murtodho;<sup>11</sup> later Haji Mohammad Korib) would be able to confront the evil spirits associated with this haunted forest (*alas angker*). The forest is famous not only locally but also in the wayang for being the center of Durga's invisible kingdom. Murtojo's mission was successful and so began the link between the palace of P.B. IV and the area of Kalioso that gave it some modicum of recognition in the outside world.

The grateful king then named this area Kalioso.<sup>12</sup> The tale above may form the background for its etymology (linking the river (*kali*) Cemara to Durga?), but to date this toponym has defied convincing explanation.<sup>13</sup>

The Susuhunan of Surakarta is then said to have given Abdul Jalal the land north of the river as a freehold (*perdikan*) for a mosque to be built there. For this he supplied both the hand-carved doors and the *mimbar* (preaching pulpit) which are still there today, as a well as a sacred *kris* and a spear (the *tombak* Kyai Ronda) conserved as precious heirlooms (*pusaka*). Finally he took Bagus Murtojo as an adoptive son.

This last association of Haji Mohammad Korib (alias Murtojo, Murtolo or Murtodho) with P.B. IV raises the question, for the while unanswerable, if he is not the same personage as the one who served as *penghulu* by P.B. IV and by whose hand three letters have come down to us dated circa 1783 (cf. Fokkens 1886:489-497). The contradiction of the sources is one of dating; it seems to lie in the fact that a *penghulu* of this name came from Surakarta seven years before our Kalioso documents would have him receive his appointment to do so. While, Fokken's chronology is uncontroversial, since these manuscripts are dated, their signatory's name written Murtolohojo is ambiguous. Is this the same figure as our modern Kalioso documents refer to? This could explain the hesitations in its spelling where the consonant combination (in Latin letters: vowel + L + H + vowel) is unstable. Guillot (1985:144) in a recent article on the Panaraga *perdikan* villages does not identify this figure, designated by his court title as Kyai Tapsir Anom Adiningrat. The three letters we have of him concern the appointment of the eldest son of Ilyas (died circa 1800; head of the Surakarta *perdikan* of Tegalsari, south of Panaraga).<sup>14</sup>

What remains of this nineteenth-century implantation of a group of Muslims from Surakarta and the Maja region? Around Kalioso today there are several mosques and graveyards that bear the names of these founding fathers and above all the *trah* that unites this lineage into a worshipping community focused on the burial grounds.

### Lineages, Koranic schools and Islamisation.

On the level of its sub-prefectures (*kecamatan*), the history of the islamization of central Java is often difficult to construct. It seems to have taken place in many different ways. In the sub-prefecture of Gondongrejo, north of the palace city of Surakarta, the introduction of Muslim lineage's around mosques, cemeteries and later Qur'anic schools (ie. *pondok pesantren*) was coterminous with the opening of a *pesantren* and indeed with the very settlement of this forested land. The spiritual geography of this area, with its historically important offering site (*pundhèn*) to Bathari Durga, provides data on the potential for lateral expansion using networks founded on grave place, Islamic school (*pondok*) and genealogy (*trah*). How are they cadastred or bounded (*wates*)? We will begin by describing the Javanese form of social organisation translated here as lineage (*trah*). Our presentation here in large part summarises the research done by Sjafrî Sairin.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Javanese trah, Kin-based social organisation.*

Koentjaraningrat established forty years ago that the Javanese have two kinds of bilateral kinship groups:

1. *golongan*, i.e. kindred, based on nuclear family and
2. *alur waris*, Javanese lineage-based and ancestor-oriented ambilineal occasional kin group.

It is important to note that this ambilineal kin group is strictly genealogical, whereas the corporate groups called *trah* are open to spouses and non kin.<sup>16</sup>

Sjafrî Sairin (1982) considered the *trah* as an association and a corporate group, rather than as a kinship group, characterised by common ownership of property, common system of authority, perpetuity and collective responsibility. It might also be qualified as a "house" for religious communities.

After the Dutch policy of "forced deliveries" was discarded by the V.O.C. at the end of the eighteenth century, the "cultivation system" (1830-70) completely redefined the basis of traditional Javanese

social organization. In the principalities this had been grounded on the appange system in the eighteenth century; henceforth during the nineteenth century the conditions were gradually assembled for the appearance of modern political and social organizations administered like the Budi Utomo (1908) and Muhammadiyah (1912). Later in the twentieth century a further evolution occurred in the traditional aristocratic palace *trah* enabling them to be used outside the palace to develop social identity and gain prestige. This was due to downward mobility of the aristocrats (*priyayi*) following independence in 1949, the upward mobility of the common people (*wong cilik*) and the continuing horizontal mobility of the *santri* or migrating *priyayi* (cf. Sjafrî Sairin 1982:86). The relation of organisational structures and symbols to those of the *kabathinan* groups developing in the 1950's and earlier political groups remains to be explored in detail.

For *trah*<sup>17</sup> a "naive" definition would claim that it: (1) maintains kinship feeling; 2) enhances status through social and economic interaction. In Javanese it occurs in such expressions as:

*trah ing kusuma rembesing madu* = decent from a royal family (literally: descend from a flower seeping with honey);

*X trah-tumerah manggon ing desa* = X lived in the village generation after generation.

One also uses the metaphor of ashes (*awu*) to establish one's generational ranking in a lineage. Thus *tuwané awu*, family ranking by age of parent's generation, as in the expression: Whose "ashes are the older ones?" (*awuné tuwa sapa?*). More simply one can ask: "Do you have a lineage?" (*sampéyan gadhah trah ?*). However amongst *santri* (strict or puritan Muslims) the Arabic word *bani* (= sons or children) is often used instead of *trah*. *Bani* includes "near and far siblings" (*sedulur cedhak lan adoh*). One can say that so and so is still "consanguineous" (*isih mukrim*) from the Arabic word *mukrim*.

To describe these groupings, educated *priyayi* use the Indonesian term *ikatan keluarga* or *keluarga*, whereas the *santri*, affiliated with religious schools, tend to use *wong putihan*, *wong sudagar* (Muslim traders), or simply *wong santri*. Marriage alliances between nobles (*ndara* and *priyayi*) in the past pushed descendants to consolidate their positions as "near nobles" by establishing these *trah* lineages. Tracing of genealogies is a tradition among *ndara* and *priyayi* groups, so recruitment is obvious. Even if you don't want to participate you are registered. Surprisingly enough now that the palaces no longer have any political power, these aristocratic *trah* are still flourishing. Note

that in the sub-prefecture of Gondongrejo, Kalioso *trah* uses the same written system of notation for descent as the palace genealogy (*silsilah*) of the Mangkunagaran in Surakarta.<sup>18</sup> So far no Christian *trah*<sup>19</sup> have been documented, although Muslim Chinese *trah* are known.

More *priyayi trah* and *santri trah* have been established since independence than ever before. Sjafrî Sairin (1982:34) asks the question whether a “religious” leader is necessary for the apical ancestor of a *santri trah*? His answer is that to found a *trah* one needs: 1) an “appropriate” ancestor, with a prestigious name or one linked to a famous place. 2) to formulate a common interest for the members 3) an active group of founders. This contrasts very clearly with the limited genealogical knowledge of commoners or *wong cilik*, sometimes called genealogical amnesia. The peasants tend to pray to their guardian spirits, the fictive kin placenta and amniotic fluid<sup>20</sup> or at their parents’ graves since they have no *trah* graveyard.

Distant kin are recruited as close kin through marriage. If you marry a *nak-sanak* (first cousin), it is hard to change it into an in-law relationship for it is already so close. Whereas a *misanan* (second cousin) or a *mindonan* (third cousin) is ideal. In reality all members of the nuclear *kulawarga* (“my family relatives”) are lumped together and three kinds of membership allows for extraordinary and honorary members to be included.

“To bring together the separated bones” (*balung pisah*) is usually done through monthly meetings. For instance in the *trah* Sinduprojo, they hold mutual forgiveness meetings after *puasa* (*halal bi(l) halal* or *syawalan*)<sup>21</sup> and friendship or reconciliation meetings (*silaturahmi*). These annual meetings after the Muslim fast (*puasa*) usually bring 30-50 people together. What is the relation between these and the *saranan slametan* held in the month of Sadran (eighth month) in the mosque or on the grave the last Friday before the fasting month of *puwasa*?

It is specific to the Muslim lineages, sometimes called *bani*, to make *qabîlah*, a first generation segmentary group, which branches in the form of descent groupings from the children of the founder often corresponding to different regions. Some *bani* hold monthly recitation and prayer sessions (*pengajian*). *Santri trah* sometimes state as their goal intermarriage through a *Lajnah Munâkahah*, or councils for marriage set up to resolve quarrels and encourage arranged marriages.

*Holy sites, Qur'anic schools and lineages.*

Muslim *kyai* regard the family as the fundamental institution of the Muslim community.<sup>22</sup> It transmits a certain knowledge called *ilmu laduni* (gnostic knowledge). Hopefully one's *gus* (from *si bagus*), admired sons (or grandsons), will be recognized as having inherited your *ilmu laduni* and thus the *pesantren* which is your private property will continue to be recognized as fulfilling a public interest.

Most *kyai* are interrelated. There is a stratification system among the *kyai* of major *pesantren*, distinguishing them from those of secondary *pesantren*. This means that running *pesantren* became the interest of particular, but not unrelated kin groups. So *kyai 'ulamâ'* are only a part of the *santri* community, their distinguished members (*wong mulya*) and leaders. Under the Javanese sultans they had exclusive authority to decide on property, marriage, divorce and inheritance. Their reputation before the bureaucratization of their posts under colonial and palace control was very good. Thus the *Serat Cabolèk* (1975:42), composed around the beginning of the nineteenth century, says, "In their hearts,...the '*ulamâ*' are the best people of the world." The most famous and powerful associations (*krabatan*) of Muslim leaders come from XVII-XVIII century networks of '*ulamâ*' linking Indonesia and the Middle East, who practised strategic intermarriages.<sup>23</sup> Kuntowijoyo states that by the beginning of the 19th century the Surakarta court had incorporated the *penghulu* and the *naib* into the class of *priyayi*.<sup>24</sup> By the Dutch colonial government's 1882 decree, the Priesterraad (a kind of Majelis '*Ulamâ*' or Council of '*Ulamâ*') was made part of the Landraad. This is the period of the secularization of the *priyayi*, and the palace Islamic officials. It is because of this that Pijper remarks that the rural religious teachers had more prestige than the *penghulu*.<sup>25</sup> The topological reflection of these networks is still partially visible in the cemeteries of these families, to which their descendants regularly go to pray.

The practice of *ziarah* or religious visitation (usually to a tomb) was Javanized over the centuries, when holy sites were used as offering grounds (*pundhèn*), some very ancient like that of Durga in Krendawahono, qualified as tombs.<sup>26</sup> In this particular case, the steps leading up to the tree led to the invisible door opening onto her spirit kingdom. Resting places (*pasaréan*) near sacred trees etc., houses (*pasanggrihan*) of important personages are where one makes an offering at a family grave (*nyekar* or *nyadran*) during the month of Sadran (or Saban i.e. the eighth month of the Islamic calendar, also called

*arwah*=soul). These chosen sites in traditional Javanese spiritual geography are often found on top of hills or on the coast, at sites providing water; springs for ablutions and holy water. Since night is day for the dead, one often went there to pray at the beginning of the night.

Sometimes these cemeteries and, or *pesantren* were to be found in freehold (*perdikan*) villages of which there were three kinds: those for the care of graves, of mosques and/or of *pesantren*.<sup>27</sup> Villages with important Muslim figures would sometimes solicit privileges certified by the king. These differed from the Muslim quarters or *kauman* that surrounded the mosques in most towns where the *bupati* or king had what were called favoured (literally "selected") individuals (*mijèn*).

Karel Steenbrink (1984:168) claims that by far the most common *perdikan* were those in charge of graves, for instance the grave of Senapati at Kotagedé. This small town<sup>28</sup> had a formal "feudal" social hierarchy, according to Van Mook,<sup>28</sup> yet many cottage industries sprung up in Kotagedé which later became a nursery of Muhammadiyah leaders who opposed feudal customs. In fact only a very few *perdikan* freeholds were there to care for *pesantren*, while many were in charge of the graveyard that lay behind or to the side of a *mesjid* (mosque). Kalioso conforms to this pattern for the prior existence of mosques and graves of the descendants of the original *kyai* which predated by around a century and a half the establishment of the first Qor'anic school.

*"Worship communities"<sup>29</sup> and lineages: a comparative perspective from Sulawesi and Sumatra*

The term "worship communities" was invented to describe the Bugis (southern Sulawesi or Celebes) organization of ancestor worship. This area has been the object of several studies concerning lineages and religious practice which can put the Javanese *trah* in comparative perspective. Starting out from the Bugis, Shelley Errington has concluded that the "(h)ouses of insular South-East Asia are better regarded as worship communities unified around the *pusaka* (heirlooms) they hold rather than as kinship groupings."<sup>30</sup>

Chabot, the first to use this nomenclature (1950:81) defines a "worship community" as groups of relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose. He links ancestor worship to kinship in the following manner: "In practice an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with



which he lives." One's choice of worship community is determined to a great extent by the social standing of one's kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

Our conclusion is of the same order, namely that the Javanese *trah* in Kalioso does for Muslim descendants of famous *kyai*, what the ruler of the former Javanese kingdoms used to do for their own extended family;<sup>31</sup> unite them around a single apical ancestor. By uniting a large group of descendants who thus participate in a corporate center of local Islam, the *trah* provides a social axis for giving regional Islam local roots and influence.

As J.J. Fox has shown,<sup>32</sup> sharing of origins is socially-defined and always circumscribed in the Austronesian world. A shattering of initial unity as in the myth of the origin of man; destruction of cosmic tree; breaking of the universal egg; separation of a primary couple. The introduction of new origins (Christian, Muslim or Buddhist and Hindu) have enhanced rather than obliterated these preoccupations. Marshall Sahlins in *Islands of History* (1985) has described the stranger king, or Muslim saint, or Brahman in the Austronesian world who often appears as the main figure in a myth of the origin of man from this shattered primordial unity. In the same way the Javanese myth of Jaka Samodra (founder of a Muslim principality of the apostle saints of Gresik on the north coast of Java), is washed ashore in a box and raised by a pious widow.<sup>33</sup>

If source, root, base, or trunk are metaphors for specific ascent groups, they are often accompanied by myths of origin, narrative and journey. Fox claims (1995:221) that "path" is a common Austronesian metaphor for social relationships. Descent and marriage, he says, are not the principle criterion for typifying Austronesian societies. Origins are a prime marker for social identity. Fox identifies:

1. Systems of lateral expansion: found from Hawaii to Madagascar, these societies are bilateral, usually on large islands that have areas for potential expansion (Luzon, Mindoro, Borneo, Madagascar, early Maori, historical Hawaiians). There the principle mode of social differentiation was relative age (older/younger). Younger often moves away to establish a new center for local precedence.
2. Systems of "apical demotion"; a more exclusive mode of predatory expulsion found initially on smaller islands, and coastal mar-



gins (trading and raiding). The appearance of apical demotion is dependent on demographic density (i.e. pressure on land and water) as in Java. It displays a single source in their narrative of origin and exclusive genealogies. In any given generation only one line retains status and ultimately one individual. This is a dynastic device of an elite (rulers, kings, *raja*, sultans, sacred chiefs). Here genealogies preserved the names of both marriage partners; for status derives from both sides. In the central eastern part of Austronesia the brother/sister pair is stressed, the cultural ideal being that this pair or their lines of sibling differentiation should be united in their offspring (Fox 1995:224). In the eastern part of Austronesia this is stressed to the extent that father's sister's line are important to the calculation of status.

Systems of lateral expansion have narratives of origin which focus on place. Systems of apical demotion have narratives of origin that focus on person (genealogies, relations of high persons and the transmission of status).

Thomas Reuter (1992:514) poses for Sumatra, with its systems of lateral expansion, a general question. Is there greater emphasis on territorial origin and genealogical openness in groups when there is a shift towards uxorilocal marriage and genetrix derivation of membership? In Rejang, Gayo and especially Minangkabau, matrifocal genealogical origin groups are less exclusive than their patrifocal counterparts elsewhere.

For Reuter (1992:516) genealogical origin and territorial origin are two closely interwoven forms of precedence; both are based on a common ideology of precedence and origin upstream from any distinction between patri-/matri-lineal. These questions of precedence and origin are at the center of Sumatran ideas of status and identity, which is what concerns the Javanese *trah*. In Sumatra, place, "post-marital residence of a couple within a particular social unit (is considered as) more crucial in determining the membership status of children than the gender through which ancestry is normally traced." So also in Java the members of a *trah* rely on ancestry to create a social unit in one place where the pathways to that place are the construction of their historical migration. They form a metaphoric tracer for the expansion both of Islam and habitable space at the expense of forests.

The importance of topogeny in Sumatra (Reuter 1992:516) is to be linked to the expansiveness of the societies. A series of foundation

events produces an order of topological precedence. Such a socially constructed 'topogeny' is often, but not necessarily, interwoven with tales of ancestral origins. Thus Thomas Reuter (1992:490):

"Lineages' were regarded as things rather than as a way of constructing identity by focusing on ancestry." This is born out by topogeny. Among the Batak one has "historical sequences of affinal ties, conceptualized as a 'flow of life' (cf. Fox 1980:12-13) and embodied in a chain of women."

"The ideology of precedence not only serves to interpret, but also to produce events...to maximize status.(1992:493)" Here status is construed as having precedence in terms of ancestry and topogeny.

Reuter asks (1992:493), does the concept of precedence fail to distinguish between the levels of ideological principles and social structure? "A necessary distinction is one between a 'principle of precedence' and an 'order of precedence'... While there is a set of logical principles (asymmetry, recursiveness, transitivity) which is summarized by the term 'precedence', there are several categories of socially defined events to which it can be related in order to construct different 'orders of precedence'." So here, what people do are not treated as individual acts incorporated into a serial of events but processes structured from their very onset by a higher social logic.

The reactivation of the cult of Durga in Krendawahana in 1979,<sup>34</sup> did nothing to raise the prestige of the palace aristocrats among the Muslims of the nearby villages and probably very little to raise their own status as the palace no longer ruled as a kingdom. In Kalioso the *trah* now has deep local roots; it represents more than four thousand people, both present locally and linked to Kalioso from afar. Although many are willing to participate in the Surakarta palaces' efforts to jump start neo-feudalism on the basis of an ancient cult to Durga, they could not reverse local networks of Muslims. The sociology of Islam has escaped the *priyayi* aristocrats vision of social hierarchy. Now there are clearly several kinds of *trah* in Java. Other lineages were written in the landscape of the area's graves and mosques, and over Durga's tertre. Despite the continuing annual *ziyarah* on the occasion of the buffalo sacrifice (*maesa lawung*) for the anniversary of the king's coronation, the invisible kingdom of Durga meant less to the local inhabitants than the assembling of the bones of their ancestors buried there. The force behind this was as much the sociological work of the *trah* as the preaching (*dakwah*) of the Muslims.

## Endnotes

1. Cf. for an up to date bibliography, Jackie Assayag, *Au Confluent de Deux Rivières. Musulmans et Hindous dans le Sud de l'Inde*. Monographies EFEO no. 181. 1995, EFEO. Assayag's discussion has inspired much of the reflections in this preface.
2. The word translated here as "genealogy" is the Malay-Javanese word which in turn is derived from the Arabic, *silsilah*. It is used in Sufi brotherhoods or *tarekat* for the "chain" of transmission of spiritual authority and may derive from the classical Greek word for "chain", *'alusida*, which in religious literature, has the same meaning.
3. Cf. *Nama dan Alamat Pondok Pesantren Indonesia* (Proyek Pembinaan dan Bantuan Kepada Pondok Pesantren; Direktorat Jendral Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam; Dept. Agama R.I., 1982/83).  
 In the province of Central Java there are, according to this list, 609 pondhok: more than thirty are found in each of the *kabupaten* (prefectures) of Semarang, Kendal, Demak, Pathi, Cilacap, Wonosobo. Boyolali has 9, Sragen 5, Karanganyar 4, Sukoharjo 3, and Surakarta 7. In the *kabupaten* of Sragen one finds:  
 Kalioso Jetis Karangpung Kalijambé Sragen; founded by K.H. Badruddin Hongowoso in 1969 with (in 1983) 38 teachers (*guru/ustadz*) and 655 *santris*. This village is the fourth, going east from Purwadadi road on the north side of the river Cemara.  
 Karangmojo Andong Boyolali; founded 1906 by Haji Djumeri HS.; 10 *guru/ustadz* and 150 *santris*. It has a big new white two-storey mosque and is now called pondok al-Qur'ân.
4. Kyai Kartotaruno is said to be from Pajang, but in the genealogy of the *Silsilah* the second child of Nitimenggolo I is listed as Nyai Kartotaruno, i.e. a woman.
5. In fact there are two separate *pondok*, here elided into one; cf. Carey 1981:262-1.
6. cf. P.B.R. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara. An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War*. (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, monograph no.9, Kuala Lumpur 1981. Cf. also Tim G. Babcock, *Kampung Jawa Tondano*. Gadjah Mada Univ. Press, Yogyakarta 1988.
7. Maja is a place name that here designates a famous *kyai* from that place.
8. Sunar Tri Suyanto, *Pahlawan Kemerdekaan Nasional RI Sinuhun Banguntapa*. Tiga Serangkai Solo 1984:66; cf. also Headley 1980.
9. cf. Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah di Indonesia*. Mizan, Bandung 1992.p. 156.
10. On the disappearance of P.B. VI (reigned 1823-30) from the middle of the Krendawahana forest, cf. Sunar 1984:68. Cf. also *Serat Rajaweddha* where it is Pangéran Natakusuma, a son of P.B. IV, who disappears. However the late local headman, Sastrodiwiryono and Kyai Digo both tell of the disappearance of the king P.B. VI. This is probably a confusion with P.B. IV due to the recent proclamation of P.B. VI as a national hero.
11. Cf. for possible identification the letters circa 1800 from the *penghulu* Moertolhojo to the brother of Kyai Maja (?; cf. genealogy above in note 2), Kyai Hasan Basri, cited p. 497 par F. Fokkens "Vrije desa's op Java en Madoera" in *Tijdschrift van de Bataviaasch Genootschap* (T.B.G.) XXXI, 1886. The *Silsilah Leluhur Kalioso*, p. 8-9, hesitates between Bagus Murtojo and Murtolo under P.B. IV. The rapprochement of both date and name is not conclusive but highly suggestive of an historical identification.

12. Adiwidjaja *Pustaka Jawi* no. 6- 1927:55: "Tegešipoen Kalijasa angsal-angsalng pemanggih dalemipoen sang wadya Bathari Durga. Krendawahana namung kanggé prabat ngantosaken ing bab anggen kula negesi Kaliyasa: mila irahipoen harangan(?) mungel tegešipoen Kaliyasa, boten Krendawahana." (It means that the origin of Kalijasa, in its first discovery, is the house of Bethari Durga. The [term] of Krendawahana is only used as a bridge to explain the part I called Kaliyasa: therefore, its genuine name is as I spelled above, means Kaliyasa, not Krendawahana).
13. Cf. Natawidjaja pp. 21-25 & P.A. Adiwidjaja pp.55 in *Pustaka Jawi* no. 6-1927; and R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka "Mengeling" in T.N.I. (*Tijdschrift van Nederlands Indië*), vol. ??? (1940), pp. 291-293
14. The only other descendant from Kalioso itself, to have occupied a notable place in the Solo court was Kyai Haji Yahya who was the advisor (*penasihat*) and director of the Association of Indonesian Haji under P.B.X (private conversation with Radèn Ibnu Pradigdo 56 years old, Sambireja, Kalioso; 27.V.95)
15. *Javanese Trah. Kin-Based Social Organisation* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1982), passim.
16. Wife's membership ends with divorce, but not with death, unless she marries a non-*trah* member. Some *trah* have youth organizations whose members are not yet full *trah* members. Adoptive children may also qualify, but not a step-child. The term for pseudo member is *anggota cangkakan*.
17. cf. Sjafrī Sairin, 1982. According to the dictionary of Gericke & Roorda 1901, the word *truh* (rain, water or blood: flowing from high to low) is related to the word, *trah*, through these meanings:
  1. to descend cf. *tedhak*, (krama inggil) *turun*.
  2. blood relatives ; social group, (*krama inggil*) *asli* or *gotrah*.
  3. descent (Dutch *afkomst*, *afstameling*).
 Other related words:
  - truh* = fine rain, i.e.(ngoko) *udan riwis*;
  - convalesce, *tirah* ;
  - remaining, *turub* ;
  - small flow of water (*turub*);
  - to pour water over hands, wash a kris with arsenic, infect with a disease (*nuruh*).
18. Cf. *Pratelan Para Darah Dalem Soewargi Kangdjeng Goesti Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkoenagara I hing Soerkata Hadiningrat. Asalsilah* . djilid I, 1936/updated edition 1973; privately edited by the Mangkunagaran household.
19. Cf. *Pangunuban Trah R. Tumenggung Secodiningrat Yogyakarta, Buku Riwayat dan Silsilah*, edited by Purwosugiyanto; 41 pp.; second edition 1985.
20. Cf. S.C. Headley "The Body as a house in Javanese Society"; and "The Idiom of Siblingship" pp.133-142 and pp.209-218 in *De la Hutte au Palais: sociétés "à maison en Asie du Sud-Est insulaire*. textes réunis par Charles Macdonald. Paris, Editions CNRS, 1987.
21. *Syawal* is the tenth Arabic month, the month of fasting not to be confused with the eight month *ruwah* or *Saban* (or in Arabic *syabān*), when one *nyadran*, i.e. makes an offering. The main annual pilgrimage to the grave of one's ancestor for the Javanese just before and after the ninth month of *Puwasa*. The word *sadran* comes from the Sanskrit *śrāddha* which for Pigraud is basically a Tantric Buddhist ritual, cf. *Nāgara-kertāgama* ch. 9 and Pigeaud's reflections (vol. IV, 1960-63:424).

22. The following is based on Z. Dhofier, "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai" in *Indonesia* no. 29, 1980.
23. For the nineteenth century background see Zamakhsyari Dhofier's *Tradisi Pesantren; Studi Tentang Kepandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), p.64 & p.86.
24. "Serat Cebolek dan mitos Pembangkangan Islam: Melacak Asal-usul ketegangan antara islam dan birokrasi" pp.123-137 in *Paradigma Islam. Interpretasi untuk Aksi* (Bandung; Mizan, 1991).
25. G.F. Pijper 1985:72, *Studi tentang Islam Indonesia 1900-1950* (Jakarta: Penerbit Univ. Indonesia, 1991), cited by Kuntowijoyo, p. 126.
26. James J. Fox, "Ziarah. Visits to the Tombs of the Wali, the Founders of Islam on Java" pp.19-38 in *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context* edited by M.C. Ricklefs. (Monash Univ., Clayton, 1991).
27. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nasihah-nasihah C. Snouck Hurgronje semasa kepegawaiaannya kepada Pemerintah Hindia Belanda, 1889-1936*. Seri Khusus INIS, jilid V, Jakarta 1991."ch. IX. Desa Perdikan" pp.771-780 advisiezen dated 7.III.1895. This criticizes of Fokkens' 1886 study. Cf. also Karel A. Steenbrink *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 165-172. "Lembaga Perdikan dan Fungsinya dalam pengembangan Islam", The Dutch historian and sociologist B.J.O. Schrieke (1975) had attacked the Dutch view that the Javanese king had immanent domain on all land. Although villages like the one in the deed (*piagem*) of the year A.D. 939 became *perdikan* villages directly dependent on the king, even these were eventually taken by their headmen as their own lands. In any event Schrieke didn't consider such village freeholds had any important function in the spreading of Islam. For the ritual networks of the Majapahit period cf. K.R. Hall 1996.
28. H.J. van Mook, "Koeta Gede", in *Kolonial Tijdschrift* no. 15 (1926), pp.353-400.
29. The term in Dutch is "*vererings gemeenschap*" (cult from *vereren* = honour, venerate). Cf. H. Th. Chabot, *Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid-Celebes* (Groningen & Jakarta, J.B. Wolters', 1950. The chapter on Worship Communities (pp. 61-66) and the chapter on "ornament" or worship communities, pp.67-77.
30. Shelly Errington, "Incestuous Twins and the House Societies of Insular South-east Asia" *Cultural Anthropology* no. 2(4) 1987, pp.403-44.
31. Cf. the 1994 journalistic account of *Mangkunagaran. Apa yang Terjadi?* (Solo 1994) which describes what happened when the M.N. *krabatan keluarga besar* tried to make their association into a foundation (*yayasan*).
32. James J. Fox "Austronesian Societies and their Transformations" in *The Austronesians. Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Peter Bellwood, James J. Fox and Darrell Tryon. Comparative Austronesian Project, ANU, Canberra, 1995 pp. 214-228.
33. Perhaps to be identified with Pinatih, foster mother of Iskak of Blambangan, first Sunan Giri (near Gresik, east Java). In the beginning of the sixteenth century there were two Sunan Giri (Pigeaud and de Graaf 1976:15).
34. Cf. 1979 "The Ritual Lancing of Durga's Buffalo in Surakarta and the Offering of its Blood in the Krendawahana forest." in *Between People and Statistics, Essays on Modern Indonesian History presented to P.Creutzberg*. Royal Tropical Institute. The Hague. M. Nijhoff. Cf. also 1980, "Recyclage Rituel au Centre de Java: Le "re-lancement" du Buffle de Durga". *Cheminevements, écrits offerts à Georges Condominas. Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien*, vol. XI, no. 1-4.

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