Cosmopolis Conference

The Making of Religious Traditions in the Indonesian Archipelago: History and Heritage in Global Perspective (1600-1940)

Keynotes

Dr Ronit Ricci (Australian National University)
Reading a History of Writing: heritage, religion, and script change in Java

Scripts are sites of religious, cultural and political power. Although scripts are often viewed solely as technical devices in the service of meaning, the particular histories of scripts' coming into being, their uses and sometimes disappearance can tell us much about shifting religious agendas, memory and forgetting, and attachment to community and place. In my talk I explore the history of writing in Java, including the story of the letters' creation, to think about cultural and religious transformations, the relationship of foreign to local, and the powerful hold certain texts have on the imagination.

Prof. Emeritus Merle Ricklefs (Australian National University)
Repetitions in the History of Islamisation in Java: Looking for Causation

The history of Islamisation in Java from the 14th century to the present is sometimes well documented, sometimes less well, but over the entire history we have enough evidence to identify a series of repetitions. A major case of this is the way in which Sultan Agung's reconciliation of courtly Javanese and Islamic traditions in the early 17th century was repeated with supernatural books by Ratu Pakubuwana in 1729-30 and then her efforts at mobilising supernatural powers were repeated again in the 1740s and 1790s. There are other such repetitions in the history, other efforts to revive a past moment, which connect the history of Islamisation across periods of interruptions in the process. Looking at these patterns gives us tools to address the question of causation, always a central concern of historians. We may ask ourselves what were the necessary and sufficient conditions for the progressively more profound Islamisation of Javanese society and culture. We may hope thereby to shed light on the question of the extent to which Indonesian religious traditions were independent of and/or shaped by the wider contexts of the Islamic world.

Cosmopolis and Vernacular

Prof. dr Ben Arps (Leiden University)

Religious Culture Displaced: A Comparative-Historical View of Javanese World-Making Overseas

What happens to localized religiosity when it is forcibly dislodged, taken in exile, in migrancy, in diaspora? In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century several hundred thousand young people were transported from Java to work as indentured labourers in other islands of the Netherlands East Indies and more distant parts of the world, especially Suriname in South America (whence many migrated to the Netherlands prior to Suriname's independence in 1975), the Malay peninsula and Singapore, and New Caledonia in Melanesia. Not a few stayed on. Other cases of migration away from Java include the banishment of

individuals and small groups to northern Sulawesi, Sri Lanka, and the Cape that began in the VOC period, and recently the individual domestic workers who live for years in the Middle East, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

In this programmatic paper I regard these historical cases of migration away from Java as relocations of religiosity. They demanded relocalization of religious culture and formed the beginning of necessarily recontextualized—and thus re-made—traditions and trends. The different dynamics in each case shed important light on the forces at play in religious world-making. To give these abstract theoretical contours empirical substance I examine two interlocking realms of religious culture for the nature of recontextualization over the long term. One realm is that of transitory and mobile practices of world-making. I focus on cultural performance, referring to (1) explicitly Islamic genres in the various sites of migrancy, (2) the markedly Javanistic tradition of trance dancing in Suriname, the Netherlands, and Singapore, and of course (3) the adoption and adaptation by newcomers of performance genres already established in the new place of residence or brought later, shading into (4) the creation of manifestly new genres of cultural performance. Graves and built places of worship, on the other hand, stand immobile in particular locations. While their permanency is relative, the material fixity of keramat and mosques abroad helps to root religious culture firmly in the new environment.

Abdur Rahoof Ottathingal (Leiden University)

Vernacular Islam in Trans-Formation: Arabi-Malayalam and Jawi compared

Arabic language and script have been an everyday presence in the religious and cultural life of Muslim communities of the Indian Ocean littoral. Arabic language influenced these communities in shaping their religious practices and identity, and structuring their cultural habits in multiple ways. Writing local speeches in Arabic script was one feature of this cultural mediation. It involved primarily the activity of transliteration, and also translation, along with many other meticulous activities which developed a complex textual culture. This mode of linguistic mediation, coupled with the locally responsive religious practices, invite us to consider the local and trans-local religio-cultural intermediations which can be viewed as 'vernacular Islam'. In Malabar, a rich textual culture of Arabi-Malayalam worked as a crucial component of Islamization, with deep Sufi influences, and generated and reflected the cultural locale of Islam in the region. What needs to be explained, however, is that these localized transformations took place in connection to the dynamics in other Islamic communities around the globe. Trade, scholarly and literary networks and migrations mediated these dynamics on the one hand, and the linguistic-textual culture (Arabi-Malayalam) on the other.

Significantly, there are several similar cultural practices connected to and comparable with Arabi-Malayalam, sharing both an early modern formative phase and a present-day threat of extinction. The African Ajami ketabs (Timbuktu, Senegalese, Wolof, Utenzi etc.); the aljamiado (Arabic-Spanish) of Iberian Peninsula; Arwi (Arabic-Tamil/Sinhalese), Arabic-Bengali, Arabic Punjabi etc. of South Asia; and Jawi and Melayu of Southeast Asia help us stretch the map of Arabi-Malayalam far broader and more global. In this context, this paper attempts to elaborate the historical formations and later transformations of Arabi-Malayalam comparing it with the contexts of Jawi. The paper will focus on the aspects of Islamization, religious and cultural mediations by Arabic script and language, and the identity transformation that Arabi-Malayalam and Jawi underwent in the 19th and 20th century especially in the wake of a new wave of 'Islamic reformism'. It will also be engaging with the framework of 'Arabic Cosmopolis' and the literary, religious and socio-historical matrices of vernacularizations. A major concern of this paper will be to explain the nature of transformations of 'vernacular Islam' in South and Southeast Asia, placing Arabi-Malayalam

and Jawi as markers of an endangered multiplicity and the socio-religious dynamics which involved multi-directional process and multi-vocal actors, playing local and trans-local.

Mahmood Kooria (Leiden University)

Transmission of Islamic Legal Ideas across the Indian Ocean: Indonesian Engagements with a Malabari Text of the Sixteenth Century

In the historiography of Islam in the Indian Ocean rim, the spread and existence of the Shafi'i school of law are limited to mere passive references. If we ask why and how this school of law spread among the Muslim communities of the Indian Ocean coastal belts and became predominant in the early modern centuries, the usual historiographical rhetoric connects it to the spread of Yemeni scholars—a case that is not quite true. The prevalent argument among Islamicist historians (mainly Hamilton Gibb, Bernard Lewis, and Joseph Schacht) is that Islamic law was 'dead' after its classical phase (900-1100 CE), and was nothing but imitation and repetition of earlier works and thoughts until the late nineteenth century. Haim Gerber has questioned such judgments and argued quite convincingly that Islamic law continued to be dynamic and flexible in later centuries too, though his focus is primarily on Hanafi school of law in Ottoman Empire between 1600 and 1840. Against such a background, I ask how the Shafi'i school of law developed into a full-fledged legal practice in South and Southeast Asian coastal townships, where Muslims were remarkably active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This paper takes a sixteenth-century Shafi'i legal text Qurrath al-Ain, written in Malabar by Zain al-Din bin Gazzal al-Malabari who was educated in Mecca and Cairo. This text followed the longer tradition of Islamic juridical writing that started in the thirteenth century. Qurrath al-Ain not only added to the long tradition of Islamic legal thought in a traditionalistic way, but also advanced it by a) criticizing many methods and arguments made by its intellectual predecessors, and b) generating a non-Middle Eastern alternative discourse of the Shafi'i school of law. While the former approach led to its acceptance among Middle Eastern jurists, the latter steered to its reception in Shafi'i centers of South and Southeast Asia. The latter part of this paper focuses on its Southeast Asian acceptance by focusing on two glosses produced in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and one commentary written in nineteenth century (Nihayat al-Zain fi Halli Alfazi Qurrath al Ain by Muhammad Nawawi al-Bantani). These glosses and commentary, all written in Java, were more than elaborations of what Qurrath al-Ain had put forward centuries ago. Rather, they engaged with, criticized, and contextualized many of its arguments by situating themselves in the longer tradition of Shafi'i legal thought as much as in their present contexts.

Magic and Metissage

Prof. dr Romain Bertrand (CERI-Science Po, Paris)

Religious Innovation in the Spanish Philippines. Folk Filipino Witchcraft, Renegades, and the Inquisition in Post-Conquest Manila (c. 1577-1625)

The Grand Narrative of the "Spanish Conquest of the Philippines" posits European priests and missionaries as the sole agents of religious change in late 16th century Manila. Thereby endowed with a purely negative agency, local Filipino people would have had no choice but to enter into forced interaction with Counter-Reformation Catholic dogmas and rituals – whether to repudiate, subvert, or selectively adopt them. Peering through the Filipinas files of New Spain Inquisition, one nevertheless gets a very different picture of the religious field in post-Conquest Manila. Whether they belonged to the tiny realm of high officialdom or to subaltern occupational groups – whether they were rich encomenderos, powerful oficiales

reales, or impoverished gente de mar y guerra –, the Spaniards often dealt at their own risks with a densely populated local invisible world. In a high-profile case, the wife of a high ranking Crown officer hired the services of a servant who happened to be a local ritual specialist to hold a "devilish ceremony" in which she invoked the diwatas in order to kill at a distance the lover who disparagingly repudiated her. Rank soldiers who spent their time playing dice at the Parian Gate had Filipino, Chinese, or Malay "sorcerers (hechiceros)" craft invulnerability or love potions and turned to local "healers (curanderos)" rather than to medics. Even college students often fell prey to Chinese soothsayers. Soldiers taken as captives on Borneo or on the Sulu Islands in the wake of failed "military journeys (entradas)" adopted "Moorish faith and customs" and became "renegades". The files of the Holy Office bear testimony to a polycentric and hybrid religious field, in which Christian teachings and local Filipino ritual practices did mix to the point of giving birth to a whole new spiritual underworld. Manila Inquisitors acted both as the arch-enemies and as the meticulous ethnographers of this unseen realm.

Dr Ryan Crewe (University of Colorado at Denver)

From the Moluccas to Mexico: Religious Geopolitics and Global Mestizaje in the Transpacific Inquisition Trial of a Moluccan Soldier, 1580-1650

In 1643, in the multicultural Manila barrio of Binondo, a Bengalese woman named Ynés de Lima and María de Lima, her Creole slave of African descent, approached the local comisario (agent) of the Holy Office of the Inquisition to make a stunning accusation. Together, they denounced Ynés' husband, Alexo de Castro, a mestizo veteran from the Moluccas who boasted a long record of serving the Hispanic Monarchy throughout Asia, of secretly practicing Islam and spreading anti-clerical ideas. After a preliminary investigation, the comisario became suspicious of Alexo de Castro's complex biography: although a baptized Catholic, his Moluccan origin associated him with a tumultuous world where political expediency seemed to dictate religious affiliation. Moreover, Alejo's genealogy and kinship was global in scale. Suspecting that Alejo's cosmopolitanism and mestizo background had allowed him conceal an inner Muslim identity and heretical views, the comisario placed him on the Manila Galleon bound for Mexico, where he was found guilty. Based on trial and administrative records from Philippine, Mexican, and Spanish archives, this paper presents a microhistory of the Castro trial, connecting Castro's transits across seventeenth-century Asia with the geopolitical and religious anxieties of Manila's inquisitors, who represented the distant Mexican Inquisition's frustrated efforts to police this porous transpacific frontier. This study connects these two broad contexts to the circumstances of the Castro household in Manila, which was riven by domestic abuse and property disputes. Despite the Inquisition's ineffectiveness as a transpacific institution, it was nonetheless an effective tool in the hands of Ynés and María, who successfully associated Alejo with Spanish anxieties regarding the Muslim frontier and mestizaje. In this way, the Castro trial connects the global histories of seventeenth-century Hispano-Asian Pacific World through this local story of conflict inside one household in Manila.

Deepshikha Boro (Leiden University)

Spinning the Web: Guy Tachard between Diplomacy, Mission and Republic of Letters

'Go-betweens' are one of the most fascinating phenomena in the history of trans-local connections. Historians in the past century have remained attracted to the characteristics of individual agents who constructed a comprehensible space for communication and exchange in the intra-Asian middle-ground. But how typical or unusual is the go-betweens and his

position? What are the larger processes that define the historical matrix within which the path of such an individual can or should be read, and how meaningful is to insist on the importance of such men? This paper explores in what contexts such agents can be identified as crucial. Instead of focusing on the cosmopolitan experience of merchants, soldiers, travellers, administrators, or traders – groups that continue to capture the imagination of the historian – it places missionaries at the centre of historical agency.

Emphasizing the plurality of trans-local interaction, this paper distinguishes between the position and negotiating power of the French in relation to the Siamese crown in the 17th century, and the position of the missionaries who created new systems of meaning and exchange. The latter is teased out from a case study of French Jesuit missionary Guy Tachard, who was an important figure in the interaction between the French and the Thai. He was spinning webs of connection, which leads us to interpret the cultural dialogue between these two different cultures at multiple domains: mission, diplomacy and the Republic of Letters. However, the role of Guy Tachard has been poorly interpreted by recent studies. Interventions by his contemporaries render the debate even more complex: many of his associates in the missions loathed him. It would seem that this refers to the self-presentation or self-fashioning that he celebrated. He was a man who could do all and dared to do all and who had no measures but himself. At once a scholar, diplomat, and missionary, there is a basic historical and contextual contrast that underwrites his character as a shape-shifter.

Ariel Lopez (Leiden University)

Politics and Religious Conversion in Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow and the Sanghir Archipelago, c. 1830-1900

This paper examines the process of Islamic and Protestant religious conversion in three northernmost regions of Sulawesi: Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow and the Sangir islands. It places the process of religious conversion in the context of an expanding, and often competing, Dutch colonial and (arguably less defined) Islamic economic-political networks in the archipelago. It focuses on the role of the local ruling elite in the process of conversion and examines their relationship with the Dutch colonial officials, European Protestant missionaries and Islamic hadjis and traders. By doing so, it intends to historicize the increasingly crucial role of religion in the socio-political life of a colonized society.

Dr Isaac Donoso (University of Alicante) Steps towards a Philippine Islamic Identity

Modernity has triggered a conundrum identity for Muslims in the Philippines, considered the major center of Christianity in Asia. From armed conflict to new conversions (Balik Islam), Filipino Muslims have struggled to define a coherent history in the context of Asia. We will analyze in a broad sense the capital elements towards an Islamic identity in the Philippine islands, in order to have a synopsis that can reconcile Philippine Islam within the history of Islamic civilization. Accordingly, we will describe the cultural and historical phenomena from the so-called Ahl al-Bahr ("People of the Sea") to the end of the 19th century. The contact with the Spaniards and the legacy of Islamic Spain will prove an essential element in defining Islamicity in the Philippines. Hence, the concept of Bangsamoro sums up the richness of this cultural process that has influences from the East (Eastern Asia) as well as from the West (al-Andalus), shaping the Philippines as the meeting place of both edges of the Islamic world.

Performing Religion and Ritual

Reflective of their own time and locations, religious traditions are also the result of an active conversation with their environment. In this presentation I will focus on the shaping of Islamic (Shi'i) 'Āshūrā' performances here in Sumatra; these are commemorations for the martyrdom of Husayn, grandson of the prophet Muhammad, and traditionally re-enact the battle of Karbala. Identifying three different waves of inter-Asian transnational connections, the paper illustrates how "globalisation" contributed to the formulation of characteristically localised performances in the cities of Bengkulu and Pariaman, and it will conclude with a reflection on the relation between "local traditions" and religion, and the process of reinventing traditions.

Yemenis and Persians were amongst the first and most assiduous traders to reach the archipelago in the 9-13th centuries: what started as commercial connections rapidly evolved into religious and cultural exchanges, also affecting ritual practices. I here focus on one specific aspect of this transmission, that which helped the diffusion of pre-sectarian devotion towards the ahl al-bayt - i.e. the immediate family of prophet Muhammad.

In the 18th century, piety for the "people of the house", and ritual performances marking the period of 'Āshūrā', were imported to Sumatra by South Asian sepoy soldiers and convicts, under the brief era of British rule there. The drums, hymns, and performative structure that is still today revived in Pariaman and Bengkulu find their roots in North India. Thirdly, in the past decade, the archipelago has experiences a rise in commemorative events for 'Āshūrā' inspired by rituals developed in the greater middle eastern region, and more specifically Iran.

Yulianti (Universitas Gadjah Mada/Leiden University) Considering the Role of Buddhist Women in the History of Buddhism in Indonesia (1930-40)

Scholars working on the history of Buddhism in Indonesia scarcely discuss the roles of women in their narratives. Instead, the account is heavily centered to famous figure, for instance Kwee Tek Hoay. Nevertheless, some sources indicate that women were not only interested in learning and practicing Buddhism but also played crucial role. It is recorded in one of the sources that a woman named Mrs. Tjoa Hin Hoay was one of the key figures to make contribution in the establishment of Buddhist association in Batavia, later known as Java Buddhist Association in Batavia in 1934. Other evidence shows women participated in Bhikkhu Narada's lectures during his visit in 1934. In one of the occasions, Narada gave a lecture at klenteng Thoeng San Toeng where the audience composed only of women who belonged to the Chinese group called Khe (also known as Hakka). From a few evidences here, I presuppose that women also took important part and engaged in the process of the institutionalization of Buddhism in Indonesia in the early 20th century.

This paper attempts to locate the women position in the historiography of Buddhism in Indonesia. Therefore it is aimed to understand how Buddhists women took part in the process of institutionalization of Buddhism in the archipelago. The time frame discussed in this paper will cover starting from 1930-1940.

Ghamal Satya Muhammad (Universitas Indonesia) Widjojo Koesoemo Flower Between Tradition and Science, 1830-1939

In the present Javanese society, the sacred flower Widjojo Koesoemo is considered to be a myth with no reference on the once-existed court tradition to obtain the flower for Javanese

king. In this paper, I demonstrate the role of Widjojo Koesoemo flower in Surakarta court during the period of Dutch occupation. As an important tradition that has traits from old Javanese mythology, both the flower and the mission played central role for the legitimacy of Surakarta kingship, a conception that is similar to Javanese *wahyu*. After coronation, the new *sunan* would send a mission to obtain the flower in a rock island of Bandung, South Coast of Java. *Juru suranata*, the court ritual leader, and *kyai* from Masjid Agung of Surakarta were the members of the mission. The reason was due to the spiritual circumstance of this mission. The proximate encounter ensued when the Dutch scientist "demystified" the flower into Linnaean taxonomy. I argue that the "silent" rejection of the Dutch finding and continual mission to obtain the flower are evidenced of Javanese cultural resistance. From this tradition, the king's rightful authority over the kingdom of Surakarta remained unchanged even in its political subjugation to the Dutch colonial government.

Dr David Kloos (VU Amsterdam)

From Acting to Being: Expressions of Religious Agency in Aceh, ca. 1600-1900

From acting to being: Expressions of religious agency in Aceh, ca. 1600-1900

This paper deals with the early modern tradition of Acehnese epic poetry. It argues that the Acehnese hikayat contain evidence for the formation of an individualized Muslim ethics. In the eighteenth century, a protracted decline of Acehnese royal power initiated a process of political and economic fragmentation and decentralization. This shift coincided with the emergence in rural areas of religious specialists (the ulama) as an influential social group. In the wake of these changes, the Acehnese poetic tradition reveals a shift from a dominant cosmological model of divine kingship based on ritual hierarchies to a paradigm of reflective ethics based on individual responsibility to God. Making comparisons with West Sumatra and Java, I posit that the intensity of colonial violence in the late nineteenth century contributed to the framing of Acehnese ethno-religious identity in scripturalist (rather than, for example, pluralist or syncretist) terms.

Power and Islami(ci)zation

Prof. dr André Wink (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Sea Power and Islam in the Indian Ocean and the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago

This paper explores the rise and development of Muslim maritime empires or thalassocracies throughout the Indian Ocean and Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. While it aims to deal briefly with virtually all such empires, most attention will be given to a comparison between the early modern maritime empires of Aceh and Sulu in the Indonesian Archipelago and that of Oman in the western Indian Ocean. A common argument has been that it was the autonomy from the rural hinterland elite that allowed the coastal city states of maritime empires to sanction Islamization or Islamic reform. By contrast, it will be shown in this paper that the commercial elites of maritime empires did not operate in isolation from the landed nobility or the hinterland states but that a conjuncture of commercial elites and state power as well as relative autonomy from the landed nobility was needed for Islamic reform movements to succeed. The paper will also give some attention to European mercantile and colonial expansion and its impact on religious developments in these maritime empires, and how it brought about their ultimate demise.

Simon Kemper (Universitas Gadjah Mada/Leiden University)
War-bands on Java: Mandala and Military Labour Markets described in VOC-sources

In 1677, the Central Javanese polity of Mataram was in dire straits. Militias ravaged East Java and ransacked the capital. The only bright spot was the support gained from the Dutch East India Company to counter the 'insurgence'. Speelman - victorious against the Makassarese ten years earlier- was assigned as Admiral for the campaign against the opposing warlord; Trunajaya. In the elaborate report he wrote at the end of his mission, he mentions the ways in which Trunajaya attracted his troops and how his peers used 'devilish false prophecies' to distract the 'general people' from 'their required obedience'.

I take up descriptions like these and reflect on what they expose of a Javanese military labour market. Kolff described how such markets were used by both Mughal emperors and 'Indian' warlords to gather a mingled and diverse crowd. By doing so, they generated new socio-religious identities. A careful look at the Javanese military history shows similar processes to have occurred there. Islamic legends as that of the Wali Sanga were used to construct warrior cults that appealed to a motley group of warriors. I wonder whether the Company men were able to comprehend such underlying discourses and intricacies of martial demand and supply. Similarly, I attend to how this affected their view on the realm or 'mandala' as a whole.

Close cooperation with Mataram entrenched the Company in a war that equally required them to draw in as many troops as possible. The reports and letters on the campaigns between 1677 and 1680 thus reflect a lot on new coalitions joining the march. However, since the VOC entered a labour market unlike European ones, misinterpretations were commonplace. This makes it necessary to consider the authors that penned the sources down. Questions are asked on their background, occupations and preconceptions. Subsequently, the epistemic character of their writings is judged upon. Having found the limits of the VOC's scope, clues can be derived on a larger Javanese military endeavour that was not understood by the Dutch, yet indicated by their writings. Beyond the 'devilish false prophecies' lay religious notions that even the VOC depended on to muster their forces.

Adieyatna Fajri (Universitas Gadjah Mada) Royal Pilgrimages in Seventeenth-century Java and North-India

For religious man, space or landscape is not homogeneous; they are qualitatively different from others. In this regards landscapes are covering both of sacred and profane which resulted from binnary opposition system of human language and thought, in which two theoretical opposites are strictly defined and set off against one another. For the Javanese, mountain has long been perceived as a sacred place inhabited with unseen world which may pervade great mystical power. Within the new Islamic era, saint's tombs become another characteristic feature of sacred mountain of Java. For the Javanese rulers, the Islamic saints presence on the mountain appeared to enhance their authority by legitimizing them. Through examining Hindu-Buddhist inscriptions, traditional Javanese sources and Dutch archives, this research try to reveal the importance of Javanaese mountain which is reperesented by Mount Jabalkat along with Sunan Tembayat's tomb as a source of religious authority particulary in the reign of Sultan Agung from Mataram in the 17th century. Furthermore, this research also discuss the relationship of the idea of Javanese sacred landscape in the Indo-Islamic context. In conclusion, Within naturally diversed political faction, mountain along with its saints appeared to be a potent of religious power which should be propitiated properly or it could otherwise ignite religious insurgences toward the royal court.

Reform and New Traditions

Dr Nico Kaptein (Leiden University)

A Maker of Islam in Indonesia: Sayyid `Uthman (1822-1914).

Born in Batavia in 1822, Sayyid `Uthman spent from 1841- 1862 in Mecca and Hadramaut, the land of his forefathers, for deepening his knowledge of Islam. In 1862 he returned to his native town, where he became active in teaching, writing, preaching and publishing until his death in 1914. During his lifetime he was consulted permanently on all kinds of issues by many Muslims from the Archipelago, who regarded him as *mufti*. Although Sayyid `Uthman is primarily known for his cooperation with the famous Dutch scholar of Islam and government advisor, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), in this paper I will deal with his contribution to the making of Islam in Indonesia by going into a number of his writings.

Oliver Crawford (Cambridge University)

Mediation of Islamic Modernism and Minangkabau Tradition in the Thought of Tan Malaka

Tan Malaka's vision of politics was filtered through his upbringing in early-twentieth-century West Sumatra, a site of intense religious debate generated in large measure by the region's connections to the Middle East and the staging posts of the Hajj pilgrimage. Yet, as a student of Dutch schools in both Sumatra and the Netherlands, his was also a highly Westernized intellectual formation. Exploring how he negotiated this contested religious landscape, and sought to integrate aspects of Islamic modernism and Minangkabau tradition into an anticolonial political theory (which drew much inspiration from European political thought) ought to shed light not just on the political thought of Tan Malaka, but also on late-colonial anti-imperialism more generally, since other prominent political activists like Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir emerged from the same context.

Dr Nyoman Wijaya (Universitas Udayana, Denpasar) *Bali and the Invention of Hinduism*

The purpose of this study is to discuss the relations of power in the history of the Hindu religion in Bali. The concept of power relations refers to the concept of Power and Discourse of Michel Foucault, while the term "invented religion" is a development of Invented Tradition Eric Hobsbawm. Because it was "invented religion" in this study is defined as a invented the practice of Hindu religion, constructed, and was officially manifested, and religion practice that emerged in a relatively short time, that in a few years be regarded as an established religion. Based on the concept of Power and Discourse of Michel Foucault, I argue that there are relations of power that shape and sustain the practice of "invented religion." I will try to find the power relations in a worship God discourse in the temple in the Samuan Tiga and Jagatnatha temples. There are two research questions that I asked of the argument, namely how and why these two discourses emerge and thrive in contemporary's practice Hinduism? The answer to both questions will be sought at the present organic intellectual thought. Then assessed using the Genealogy Method of Michel Foucault. My conclusion is the presence of two discourse greatly influenced by the monotheism of Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia.

Dr Henk Niemeyer (De Corts Foundation, Jakarta)

Colonial Features of a Protestant Ecclesiastical Order in Indonesia: The Protestant Church of the Netherlands Indies, 1933 – 1942

The last decade before the Japanese occupation, the Protestantsche Kerk van Nederlandsch-Indië (PKNI, henceforward Indische kerk) had proudly presented itself in press communiqués as the oldest and largest Protestant Church in the Asia-Pacific region. The Netherlands Indies at that time comprised some 2,2 million protestants, and approximately 850.000 of them belonged to the Indische kerk. The other 1.350.000 were member of a labyrinth of protestant churches and missionary stations active throughout the archipelago; from the large Batak church in northern Sumatra to the first fruits of the Pentecostal churches that became first active in East Java in 1921. Yet, despite of the comfortable situation of the PKNI as a dominant, state-sponsored colonial church, the first cracks in the old Calvinist parchment had already become evident. In this article I would like to analyse five characteristics and issues of the Indische kerk in the decade before the Archipelago was finally taken by the Japanese army during a few fatal weeks in February and March 1942. These five subjects that I have selected all point at one major weakness within the church, which I call 'colonial paternalism'. This concept will be further explained in the conclusions at the end of this paper. The grand meeting of all Reverends in 1933 and the subsequent administrative seperation between Church and State in 1935 marked the beginning of a new era. The 1930s showed the beginning of a transition from an authoritarian, fully centrally led church closely connected to the colonial government, to a more presbyterian, decentralized and more modern church.

The decade before the Japanese Occupation shows the two faces of the Indische kerk very clear. On the one hand a European-dominated church in Western Indonesian where the clergy copied typical forms of Dutch ideological and religious 'pillarization' into (Indo)european society, and on the other hand strong emancipatory movements in 'volkskerken' or popular churches in Minahasa (North Sulawesi), the Moluccas (in particular the government of Ambon) and Timor. In the analyses I explore the archives of the Indische kerk which have been recentely made accessable. Apart from the Notules of the Central Church Board in Batavia, I also consulted a specific type of documents produced by the *predikanten* or ministers working in a certain church resort in a certain region. It became obligatory in the 1930s for ministers when they were replaced to write a report about the situation in their church resorts and the local community of believers. These reports were called *Nota's van Overgave*.

Religious Renewal in Education and Media

Dr Hilman Latief (Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta) Islamic Renewal, Philanthropy and Citizenship in Indonesia

This project concerns the impact of Islamic renewal on the proliferation of philanthropic associations among Muslims in 20th and 21st century Indonesia by analyzing Muslim discourse on the notion of *ummah* (Islamic communities). A number of Muslim organizations founded in the early 20 century, in fact, have used the term *ummah* as a key concept to underpin their social welfare-oriented activities to create the ideal 'imagined' Islamic communities. This project, in particular, analyzes the way in which Muslim thinkers and organizations reconcile the notion of the *ummah* with the idea of citizenship in a nation-state era and its consequences for the rise of Islamic philanthropic organizations active in both national and international arena. This project deals with the following questions: how has the idea of the *ummah* justified Islamic social activism among Indonesian Muslims, what is the impact of Muslim discourse of the idea of the *ummah* on the nature of NGOs in Indonesia,

and how are the rights of the citizens conceived by Muslim social activists and philanthropic organizations in Indonesia's religious and cultural diversity?

Sander Tetteroo (Universitas Gadjah Mada/Leiden University)

State Relief and Private Philanthropy in Colonial Indonesia: The Case of the c. 1900-1904 Famine

The purpose of this presentation will be twofold: first, I will briefly present the main topic of my PhD project 'Humanitarianism and religion: philanthropy in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia (c. 1890-1965).', as part of the project *The Making of Religious Traditions in Indonesia*. In this project I will investigate the roles of religious and humanitarian thought in philanthropic action in response to famine, natural disasters and warfare. I hope to include Christian, Islamic and other perspectives in this research.

Second, I will present my previous research into philanthropy and tie this to my PhD project. For my MA thesis I studied a famine that struck large parts of Java and some of the Outer Islands during the timeframe of roughly 1900-1904. Though demographic evidence is inconclusive regarding death tolls, the severity of the crisis is shown by the volume of state relief funds and anecdotal descriptions of people's suffering in colonial media. State expenditures totaled over fl. 4.000.000, a massive sum for the time. This presentation will primarily focus on the Residency Semarang. First, the long-term and direct causation of the famine are summarized. Then, focus will shift to the responses of the colonial state, private secular initiatives and Christian missionaries to the famine. The core of the state's relief efforts, begun in 1900 after much bureaucratic delay, were relief works: public employment at work sites where hard physical labour was demanded in exchange for a small wage. Several private initiatives were begun in 1902, most prominent among which was the hospital financed by a commission spearheaded by famous editor and publicist Pieter Brooshooft.

Finally, missionaries provided food, shelter and healthcare to the poor at their posts, while in 1902 a prominent poor colony was founded at Salatiga by the Van Emmerik family, aided in this by the Semarang government. Missionary efforts were not always appreciated though. By contrast, in Cirebon residency a conflict arose between the local government and the whistleblower missionary C.J. Hoekendijk over the occurrence of famine in the region West-Indramayu.

Dr Su Lin Lewis (University of Birmingham)

Patches of the World Elsewhere: Schools, Media, and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in Southeast Asian Port-cities

This paper examines the role of education and the media in multi-ethnic port-cities in colonial Malaya, Siam, and Burma in fostering cosmopolitan identities in the 1920s and 1930s. It examines multi-ethnic educational environments as well as Asian-owned English language newspapers. It focuses on new experiments in both religious and secular education, while also examining the role of roving teachers, news editors and press networks around the region in creating vibrant, pluralist intellectual cultures, particularly among the young.

Johny A. Khusyairi (Universitas Gadjah Mada/Leiden University) Forming Urban Javanese Christianity in Colonial Java

The late colonial Java was an era of producing new Javanese elites, priyayi, simultaneously as colonial government's responsibility and interest. Being well-educated generation, they were employed in colonial administration and other fields of new urban modern works opened as

consequences of colonial modernity. Idiosyncratically, they were the products of modernity who glorified Javanese traditional cultures, the priyayi values, which were to a certain extent distinct to the western cultures. Religiously speaking, the orientation Javanese culture was more or less closer to the Javanese religion (agami Jawi). Thus, many of them who embraced Islam practically acculturated with their Javanese cultures which subsequently resulted their Islamic-Javanese traditions. These kinds of priyayi were mostly inhabited in the interior and around of the Javanese cultural center, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, and generally in some areas of the Central and East Java. By their "lack" of Islamic faith, some of them were attracted to convert to Christianity. At this point, it is remarkably interesting to observe the priyayi's Christianity as a result of their further acculturation. Conceiving theirselves as the guards of the high Javanese traditional culture, they most probably kept maintaining their culture in their Christianity. This paper is an introductory or hypothetical frame to the unspeakable history of urban colonial Java which perhaps unconsciously coloured Christianity of the present Java. For this reason, I focus primarily on secondary literatures in order to create conceptual frame of the phenomenon.

Colonial Rule and the Making of Religious Heritage

Dr Abdul Wahid (Universitas Gadjah Mada)

Fiscal compromise or religious tolerance? Colonial Taxation Policy and Religious Practice in Java. 1850s-1920s

The Dutch colonial state in Java was not as strong as historians suggest. Composed by a tiny foreign ruling elite, it was always haunted by fear and anxiety that the ruled native majority would rise to resist its political establishment. Cautious, therefore, appeared as one of basic characteristics of the colonial state administration. This was clearly seen in the fiscal sector, where cautious approach characterized almost the entire policy-making of taxation and its application. On Java, where majority of population adhered to Islamic teachings, the colonial government introduced several fiscal compromises, such as exemption of many taxable objects or activities that thought to have certain relations with the religious practices of Javanese Moslem in order to avoid conflicts and popular discontents. By examining the introduction of tax farming and its replacement system to Javanese Muslim society, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: What were the actual reasons of those fiscal compromises? What were financial and institutional impacts they had on public revenue and the taxable capacity of the colonial state administration? And to what extent did this policy represent the Dutch perception of Islam and their religious politics on Islam in this colony?

Sanne Ravensbergen (Leiden University)

"Potong tangan": The Ritualization of Islamic Legal Advice in Colonial Java, 1807-1918

At the beginning of the 19th century the Dutch colonizers appointed the Penghulu (mosque administrator) as an adviser in regional colonial courts (Landraden) in Java. During court cases, the Penghulu shared his knowledge of the indigenous "religious laws, traditions and customs", which were assumed to be predominantly Islamic. However, applying Islamic law in criminal cases caused problems for the colonial government. Mutilating punishments in particular were disapproved of by the Western world. Therefore, colonial regulations prescribed that religious laws had to be executed as long as they were not in conflict with the "general principles of equity and justice". Confused by this vague description most judges in colonial courts did not take the advice of the Penghulu into account at all anymore. Soon, a

stereotypical image of the Penghulu emerged of an old official who hardly spoke Arabic, fell asleep during court sessions and always advised "potong tangan" (to cut off a hand). Already in 1864 a colonial journal called the marginalized role of the Penghulu in criminal cases "a mockery of the Islamic commandment". However, an analysis of the few preserved criminal cases from the 1820s and 1830s shows that during the early colonial state era the Panghulu provided much more substantiated advices than the stereotypical image of the Panghulu as a 'colonial puppet' later on in the 19th century suggests. This paper traces back the considerations behind appointing the Penghulu as an adviser in criminal cases and describes the development of the position of the Penghulu in the Landraad during the 19th century. In this paper it is argued that a ritualization of the advice of the Penghulu took place during the 19th century which weakened the position of the Penghulu, not only as an expert of Islamic law, but also as a legitimate representative of the Javanese litigants.

Prof. dr Charles Jeurgens (Leiden University)

Heritagization of Religion? Collecting Practices in the Nineteenth-century Dutch Indies

Heritagization of Religion? Collecting Practices in the Nineteenth-century Netherlands Indies In the 19th century many civil servants, scholars, missionaries and artists in the Dutch East Indies made a 'tour on Java' to get a better understanding of the local circumstances. Civil servants and administrators wanted to obtain detailed information on local rule, scholars were looking for scientific data, missionaries wanted to make converts and artists found inspiration in the landscapes and in the indigenous communities. Most of these 'tour'-ists had in common that they collected cultural artifacts. Sometimes this was done out of pure personal curiosity but it could also be part of an organized undertaking in which artifacts were collected on request by for instance the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, scholars and collecting institutions in the Netherlands. In this way a 'fund of historical objects, an archive' (Crane, Collecting: 37) was created, which could be translated into the narrative of the colonial state.

In this paper I want to focus on the mechanisms of collecting in the 19th century Dutch Indies and I will pay particular attention to religious artifacts. The mere act of collecting can be regarded as a form of meaning making and in that respect fundamental for the kinds of narratives that may be constructed. This assumes interaction between the intended narrative and the appraisal of artifacts to be collected. How was this connection established? The central questions I want to answer in this paper are: Who were the collectors of religious artifacts and what interests did they serve? What kinds of 'archive' did they create and how were these used? Did these collectors in any way take into account the interests of the communities the artifacts belonged to?

Dr Marieke Bloembergen (KITLV)

Indonesia in the Light of India. Heritages, Scholars and Religious Revivalism across Borders, 1920s-1970s

Scholarly, spiritual and religious revivalist networks, operating at local, inter-Asian and global levels, have, since the late nineteenth century, spread the fame of the material and intangible remains of Indonesia's Hindu-Buddhist past (temples and objects, texts and stories, and religious practices – in short 'sites'). The interests in these sites vary, and they are of individual, associational and institutional nature, but they are bound by a fascination for what was (and is) considered to be these sites' Indianized quality, their cultural legacies and their presumed origin – 'India'. This paper, part of a new research-project, aims to gain

understanding in the role of these networks in the situating of Indonesia in what I call moral geographies of Greater India (in reaction to the notion of 'Indic cosmopolis'), and on their impact on processes of inclusion and exclusion. Taking the eighth century Buddhist shrine cum heritage site Borobudur as a starting point, the paper analyses how scholarly and spiritual knowledge networks helped re-sacralizing these historical remains into sites of Indianized heritage, of Indianized universal art and of religious revivalism – in ways that went beyond the interest of the state or state-supported institutions. It will focus, in particular, on the site-related engagements of theosophical and Hindu-Buddhist revivalist associations. This will be the anchor point to explore, albeit preliminary, connections, continuities and discontinuities between scholarly and spiritual knowledge networks over time and across space, from the theosophists and Hindu-Buddhist revivalists in the 1920s to the hippie trail of the 1970s.