

## **INDONESIAN RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION: Applying Bellah's Theory in Indonesian Context**

Achmad Murtafi Haris<sup>\*)</sup>

### **Abstrak**

*Religious adherents usually pay no attention to the evolution of religions. They believe in religion as a matter of taken for granted without considering the historical aspect which in the end becomes his believed religion. Robert Bellah has clarified the historicity of religion and found the evolutionary process of religions which are similar to the evolution of human civilization. His research finally ends with the conclusion that religions evolve and develop from the simple entity to the complex one.*

*Bellah has classified religious evolution into five periods. Firstly is the period of Primitive Religion which is then followed by Archaic Religion, Historical religion, Early Modern Religion and comes in the end the period of Modern Religion. Each period has distinct characteristic which is coincident with the phase of human civilization of the time. Having paid attention to Bella's insight upon religious evolution this paper tries to implement the theory in the context of Indonesia. Some of paper's invention discloses the different way of religious participation among modern Indonesian Muslims who are no longer dependent on religious institutional interpretation.*

**Key Word:** religions, evolution, civilization, Indonesia.

### **Introduction:**

*"Religion as a symbolic system tends to change systematically over time in direction of more differentiated, comprehensive and rationalized formulations which relates to other variety of other dimension of change in*

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<sup>\*)</sup> Direktur Center for Social Research and Advocacy (CeSRA)

*other social sphere that defines the general process of sociocultural evolution.” (Robert N. Bellah)<sup>1</sup>*

Robert Bellah in his “Religious Evolution” (1964) classified religions into primitive, archaic, historic, early modern and modern. This classification is based on evolutionary development in human civilization that appears in human mobility and the development of survival ability in encountering life demand. How mobile someone or certain group in his life, the grade of civilization will be decided through. As human civilization grows up, the religion also grows up in the direction of more differentiated, comprehensive and rational. Religion develops from compact to complex; from simple to comprehensive; and from mythical to rational.

Although the direction is clear concerning the religious evolution, the big question remains there in determining who come first, the religious evolution or human evolution? The answer can vary depends on who is answering the question. People in different disciplines may come with different answer than others. The theologians may believe that religion is the fundamental value that influences the human change. Therefore religious evolution must come first before human civilization. Unlike theologians who seem to have the same response upon the question, the Social Scientist may answer in various. According to Emile Durkheim based on his normativism it is expected that the answer will be the religion come first; other answer from Karl Marx, based on historical materialism, may put human evolution as the trigger of religious consciousness which therefore it come earlier than the religious evolution. Meanwhile, other sociologist Max Weber with his multi-dimensionalism approach is expected to put both religion and human civilization in the Symbiotic Mutualism relationship which allows each other to influence without necessary to determine someone come first than other.

Looking at the history of the birth of Protestantism, using the approach of Weber, it is uncovered that Protestantism as the reformed Christianity has moved toward deconstructive movement during the huge social change occurrence that needed new social value to go toward new destination. Assumed that Martin Luther has a big role in generating European revolution and assumed that France revolution was the triggering milestone of European revolution, let’s scrutiny which one was older: the Luther criticism against Catholics Rome policy or the France revolution which in the end led to the ouster of the King. This effort is to know the further participation of religion in European revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Bellah, *Religious Evolution, beyond belief: essays in religion in post traditional world*, R.N. Bellah (New York: Harper and Row, 1970)

Martin Luther began to criticize church in 1516 in case of indulgence by which Rome Catholics sold the sin indulgence to gain money for their income. This church policy finally raised Luther fierce criticism. On the other side French revolution occurred in 1789 with the mission of overthrowing the old tradition and hierarchy which were supported by monarchy, aristocracy and religious authority. This old tradition was intended to be replaced with the new idea of Enlightenment principles of equality, citizenship and inalienable rights. It is clear here through temporal scrutiny that Luther movement came first before the French revolution. It can be concluded that religion has proven his effectiveness in bringing people toward social change.

### **Theoretical framework**

According to Bellah, there are some elements that religion evolves based on its relation with human evolution which appears in class system, culture, power political system, livelihood, and socioeconomic condition. In bringing Bellah's Evolution to the Indonesian context, I use the unit of analyses taken from Bellah's explanation and correlate it with Indonesian history of civilization. The way Bellah show the example of certain religion for his classification, I try to compare it with what Indonesia has and had through the time. The use of analogy becomes the prominent method in comparison between Bellah's example and Indonesian's example.

There are two analogies being operated here, the analogy of human evolution and the analogy of religious evolution. In further operationalization of Bellah's evolution, the lecture of Farsijana Adeney-Risakotta has contributed the profound insight that between material fact and ideological fact there is a kind of reciprocal relation. This reciprocal effect shapes the model of ideology of the human. Ideology and religion are bundle of values with the former is related with the power and later is much related with human morality. Since human are varies and live in scattered places, the way they maintain lives are varies too. The element of the time also determines human mobility which influences evolution typology of human and religion.

### **Primitive religion**

Firstly, Primitive religion lives at the beginning of human life. Their lives mobility is very limited. They did few encounters as they lived in certain space where foods are available in nearby place and the demand of life still very little even buried. There was no class system in primitive civilization. It is back to their simplicity of the life. Nothing in that time required organization that emerges social classification. That why human lived in dual function as a leader and

ordinary people. This kind of life raised the sort of simple religion resembles to their simplicity of life.

Although it is recognized by primitive religion by Bella, it is categorized as an evolutionary advance in religiosity due to the fact that before this there was no religion on the earth surface except the religion that might belong to animal and vegetation.

In order to survive human can only passively endured suffering and subdued to all limited conditions. Primitive religion offers transcendental solution that present in human life in kind of capacity for symbolization as manifestation of life suffering. This way of expression gives certain degree of freedom that was not present before. It was the first time human in touch with transcendental matters before there was no symbolization at all in human life neither in joyful nor suffers.<sup>2</sup>

Within primitive religion mythology becomes foremost and deeply embedded in many aspects of life. Religious activities are part of participation in the unit of mythology which is inherent in that entails no separation between religion and human activities as both are part of myth even human also conceived as mythical being. Durkheim scrutinized the social implication of primitive religion within primitive people and finds the impact in relation between young and social solidarity by which gives little change in surrounding world.<sup>3</sup>

Primitive people lived in harmony with the nature. As long as they could not evolve capability in making some tools to develop life, their life fill be unified with the nature. It does not mean that they were dependent very much to the natural sources as the human population was very little so to say depends on nature is not relevant in time when every basic need can easily gotten. Only the wild animal and the wild climate that sometime comes became problem for their life survivals and disease were the biggest problem that might push them evolve to treat those life hindrances. Their simple life makes the sequence of their life goes and back from the beginning again and again for the long time. They lived in a kind of cycle as they still did not know cultivation. Their merely activity was animal hunting and survive the extreme climate condition.

### **Indonesian Primitive Religion**

According to religious evolution in Indonesia we find animism and dynamism as the oldest religious history in Indonesia. It might not quite perfect to represent the primitive religion as describes by Bellah and Farsijana lecture on religious evolution of Bellah, but it might the closest one to the typology of

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/ency/evol.htm>

primitive religion used by Bellah. Why I firstly say this, because evolution is related with civilization. Primitive religion is assumed as religion belongs to primitive civilization. The fact is that up to now, there are still many people embrace animism in this era of modernity. It remain about 7,5 million people in Dayak community in West Kalimantan believe in animism in current days. It seems that they are among those who grip strongly the ancestral heritage and are not interested in modern myth to replace their myth; or might be the live in the forest that sterilizes their life from outside influences.

Animism has existed since Indonesia's earliest history, around the first century before Hindu culture arrived in Indonesia. Animism comes from the word Latin anima or spirit is belief to the existence of spirit in all things on the earth. Primitive people believe it and mostly represents in the thing that gives such impression the seer such as big stone, high tree, cave and others that can make human "submit" to that thing. The spirit which exists in those things assumed capable to help human in his life. Therefore they routinely come to it for some requests of having better life, more wealth and not disturbed by anything in his life. They also believe that those spirits may disturb them in their lives if they don't perform a kind of ritual offering. Being afraid of spiritual anger rise from those "supernatural" things, they do rituality.

Animism also believes that spirit of death person can enter the animal body such as in Nias tribe; they believe that the mouse that usually back and forth to the house is the spirit of the death woman has children. His oft-coming might assumed as visiting the house and looking at children. The spirit also may enter the pig body or tiger that one day may come back for revenge to his hostile. This belief is different with the concept of reincarnate in Hindu or Buddha which the spirit is reincarnate to a kind of animal. Meanwhile in the animism the spirit enter to the living animal not the death man live again in animal kind.<sup>4</sup>

Besides animism there is also dynamism which worships the spirit or invisible matters. They believe that the spirit of ancestor is live in certain place like in the tree or cave or mountain. Their spirits often asked by his descendent to helping their matters by putting their spirit into certain heirloom media such as black stone or ruby. The difference with animism is that animism worship the thing because of belief of the spirit existence behind. Meanwhile, dynamism is to worship spirit of the ancestor might exist in certain place.<sup>5</sup>

This religion or belief assumed to have come to Indonesia before the coming of what so called the official religion in Indonesia which contain of Hindu, Confucius, Buddha, Islam, Christian and Catholics. I can certain that it is

<sup>4</sup> <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Animisme>

<sup>5</sup> <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dinamisme>

the primitive religion or at least it was the religion of Indonesian primitive. Primitive is the oldest civilization and animism and dynamism is the oldest religion so there both converges in the same quality of oldest institution in Indonesia history.

Other reference says that Indonesia has not yet developed cultivation during this period of primitive. Their livelihood was hunting animal whereby they can invite many people to eat when they are in overwhelming food. The party that they made seems to be the generosity which many people will remember it. Up to now this kind of condition still we find it in Papua where many people have farmed pigs, chickens, and dogs for their food besides hunting. They still don't develop cultivation or agriculture. Usually it begins to arise when the population rises and needs more vegetation than just what is available in nature. According to the characteristic of primitive they are supposed to be prior to cultivation era.

Animism and dynamism were their religion when they live in simple life and united with nature. They don't have a class system and only the leader and the member that they have on classification. Both beliefs are appropriate with the characteristic of primitive people. The belief in spirit existence behind certain things is common among people who live in merged life with nature in which primitive people live in that way.

### **Achaic Religion**

The religion then develops into Archaic Religion by which religion introduces a true cult in many kinds of gods, priests, worships and sacrifices. The myth and the ritual in the primitive religion were developed in archaic religion with the new ways. They more clearly show the religious symbol system in their religious characteristic. It is in some extent merged with other social structures leads to the multiplication of cults. They live in similar to the primitive religion by which individual and society merged in the natural divine cosmos but with the distinction between the men as the subjects and the gods as the objects are much more definite than before.

Archaic religion usually rises within society has two-class system of domination such as in agriculture. The archaic religion develops religious caste in dealing with certain need. This raises hierarchical insight of the world. This kind of religion emphasizes communication via worship and sacrifice. Religion is fused in social structure with privilege as an elite group of religious authority directly or subordinately. Archaic religion did almost no change in society development due to the belief that what they perform in worship and cult is the will of God.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Comparing to the primitive religion seems that archaic religion more complex since there is hierarchy as the consequences of social class led by the religious leader. The cult and worship found its form while it was not there in primitive. The sacrificial worship within ritual activities is related to the livelihood or bread and butter to gain worthy harvest and more wealth.

By this explanation we can sum up the characteristic of archaic are: the emergence of organized religious gathering (cult); the rise of working system within cultivation. In this matter religion has ritual offering to God; this era marked by the distance between super human and human. There is medicine specialist, healer and religious leaders that give much privilege and high position that pays them to be religious leader. It is even the most prestigious position in archaic community; they have direct causal relation between religion and material benefit by which they think that climate condition and the good harvest and the land fertility are manifestation of religious ritual acceptance or rejection by god; finally, their social class give the leadership opportunity only to clan or decided by clan and it is inherited to the heir.

Furthermore, I may say that archaic religion is identical with the indigenous people with some assumption I refer to Burger (1987, 9). The evolution category is related so much to the livelihood of the people in existing time. Using Burger criteria, indigenous people are the original inhabitants of territory; nomadic and seminomadic; shifting cultivator, hunters, herder, gatherers, using agriculture labor that produce little surplus; don't have centralized political institution like country; they organize in level of community; they make decision on consensual basis.<sup>7</sup>

### **Indonesian Archaic Religion**

Using Bellah's theory about archaic religion and Risakotta explanation over Bellah's in the context of Indonesia, I find some example that may categories as the archaic belief in Indonesia. I can't say religion because what I find is some ritual offering usually performed during certain event of cultivation. I concentrate on Indonesia agriculture and what rituals that related with cultivation. It is referred to the explanation above that primitive era is prior to agriculture. Beginning from the agriculture and farming livelihood is the subsequence period after primitive.

Although it is still practiced until now in the modern era, some rituals in accordance with the existence of goddess Sri that gives fertility to plantation and land still performed. It might remain merely tradition among cultivators to do that without really belief with goddess Sri existence. Or it is just a good

<sup>7</sup> R.H. Barnes, "Being indigenous in Eastern Indonesia" in *Indigenous People of Asia* (Michigan: the Association for Asian Studies, Inc., 1995), pp. 311.

opportunity to invite many people in gathering and giving food to many of people. Especially among Muslims tradition like to hold what so called Selamatan or safety request ritual that mean positive because nobody letting danger comes to his life. In this case people like to hold in certain time seems to match his coming need of having a good harvest or such. So the difference between archaic people in long time ago in doing such ritual with the people in the modern time is the object of God. Long time ago they hold ritual offering to Goddess Sri meanwhile for now days they perform it not as ritual offering but as prayer gathering to Allah for purpose of successful harvest or others. It is understandable because in Islamic tradition there is not ritual offering so Muslim keeps the tradition by doing some adjustment coinciding with the Islamic theology.

The cult that represents the most characteristic of archaic religion also manifest to the tradition of Earth Giving or which is known among Javanese by Sedekah Bumi. Ridwan Saidi the social leader of Betawi said during the seminar held by Jakarta Islamic Center within early December this year of 2011 in title "Islam in Betawi and its support to Cultural Tradition Conservation" said that Earth Giving was the tradition of the Javanese in offering something to Goddess Sri who believed as the decider of the harvest. If goddess Sri represents the land goddess there is other goddess also known as Nyai Roro Kidul who represents the goddess of the sea and the Giant in the forest.

In doing the offering ritual to Goddess Sri in event of Earth Offering which is usually held during Dzulhijjah or Rabiul Awwal, Yahya Andi Saputra the other speaker in the seminar explained that offering ritual is done by burying the head of water buffalo in four places precisely in four direction of the compass in the border of the reign. Besides those four buffalo heads, there is one more head buried in the center of the reign. It is what so called Papat Kalima Pancer which means four positions and the fifth is in the center. Because it is very expensive to buy the water buffalo so it is now replaced by the head of goat.

For offering ritual to Nyai Roro Kidul, usually is done by sweeping the offerings and the buffalo's head on the sea which so called among Jogjanese with Nyadran. Saidi said this kind of ritual was performed before coming Islam and after its coming, Betawi people embrace Islam and monotheism but still respect to those "local gods" or can be categorized as what so called Monolatrim which means the recognition of the existence of many gods, but with the consistent worship of only one deity.<sup>8</sup>

Looking at above explanation and refers to what Ridwan Saidi said that it is rooted to the pre-history religion or belief we can category this as the archaic.

<sup>8</sup> <http://islamic-center.or.id/khasanah/islamic-learning/betawi-corner/828-sedekah-bumi-di-bulan-haji.html>; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monolatrim>



We know this from the cult to the goddess. Secondly it is related with cultivation culture in which cultivator does the offering ritual to the god related with the cultivation. Thirdly, there is the religious leader to perfume cult ritual that was really appreciated as has different class with common people. If in the primitive religion there is no special religious leader and was united into one body of tribe leader as whole, in the archaic religion there is special leader for it usually placed by the medicine specialist, healer or shaman.

### **Historic religion**

Later on in religious evolution of Bellah is Historic religion. It is different with the previous one but still shares in transcendentalism and hierarchical system. The supernatural existence is dominant in both worldly and hereafter life. If the primitive and archaic religion concern on this life, the historic religion has addition in hereafter life with either immortality or everlasting life. This kind of eternity consists of many teaching some of them about heaven and hell that people should prepare for during his life in the world besides other teaching of salvation that decides whether someone among those who are fortunate and become heaven inhabitant or infortune and becomes hell inhabitant. The social implication of the historic religion is implicit in human life change from negative to positive; from reactive to solemnity. For example in the Buddhism, every human is assumed at the beginning as a greedy that make him must escape totally from material temptation. The Hebrew says that human's sin is not because of wicked deed but it is found from heedlessness of God and only totally obedience can be acceptable to the lord. In Islam someone should be grateful to the God by submitting His order for salvation.

The historic religion emergence represents a critical turn in human history. It began at the first millennium B.C.E. in ancient Greece, continued to the rise of Confucian in China, Buddhist in India and Jewish in ancient Israel that later on spawned the later historic religions of Christianity and Islam. The core teaching of historic religions is about the conception of other domain beyond reality that transcends current worldly life and its superior hierarchy of the prophet and his successors.<sup>9</sup>

The distinct characteristic of historic religious symbolism is the symbolic dualism erected by this transcendental boost and refusal or at least devaluation of this world. Salvation becomes the ultimate goal of religious performance. Symbolic dualism between sacred-profane, finite- infinite, mortal-immortal entails the split between the political authority and religious authority with later gains autonomous from political authority. These developments entails to social

<sup>9</sup> [http://faculty.smcm.edu/ccraney/restricted/PDF/Religious\\_Evolution.pdf](http://faculty.smcm.edu/ccraney/restricted/PDF/Religious_Evolution.pdf)

implications in sort of duty separation between different two worlds based on concentration.

The mobility of the people in the historic religion begins to increase and creates class system within society. Though industrialization did not appear yet in this time but the manifold livelihood begin varied. The religious institution gained privilege and construct religious system that manages relationship between religious leader and his adherent. The strong influence of the religious submission over adherents lead to the religious institution to the power and builds theocratic country. The unifying two power of sacred and profane sphere in one hand of religious institution makes them totalitarian ruler with huge and massive authority in his hand something that later on causes to the people suffering from church atrocity and tyranny which continued one millennium of year of the dark age. Everything then changed after people wake up and common consciousness is shaped to rebel the king and the church and toppled them down from the power. It marked the end of historical religion that after grasping political power becomes source of human suffering for very long time.

Comparing to the primitive and archaic religion, the historical religion come with the prophet as the messenger of God. Their coming to this world brought the teaching through holy book to be the guidance of human to live straight on right path. Prophet accepts God revelation which by God interfere human history. Until here we can discover the secret of the beginning of human history. The secret is that it just only began after God's interference to human life order. Without His revelation it seems human will live in pre-history and never take off to the history era forever.

### **Indonesian Historic religion**

The history began in the first century. Robert Bellah has mentioned the names of religion endorsed in this historical category such as Hindu, Confucius, Buddha, Jew, Christian and Islam. It is interesting that history begins in the first century but Bellah mentioned Hindu, Confucius, Buddha and Jew as the historic religion although they arise many centuries before century. It seems that the beginning of human history can be debatable but the most important is that historical era marked by the beginning of human consciousness waked up, crawl and make progress gradually to many parts of the world.

In the context of Indonesia we can say that Hindu and Buddha have those signs in bringing people toward historical achievement. Both came to the country in about second and fourth century when many traders came from India to Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi with their culture and religion with them. Hindu began dissemination in Java Island in the fifth century with the caste of Brahmana that worship Siva. They also disseminated Buddha in century later.

Both influenced much the rich kingdoms of Kutai, Sriwijaya, Majapahit and Sailendra. Buddhist temple which is the biggest one in the world Borobudur has been founded in mostly the same period with the building of Hindu temple of Prambanan. Prambanan temple was built in the era of Majapahit was ruled by Sanjaya dynasty in sixteenth century when Islam has begins spread. The peak of the glory was in fourteenth century when Majapahit extent his territory to cover the whole of Southeast Asia or what so called with the golden age of Indonesian history.

Indonesian Hindus differs with Hindus in many parts of the world. In Indonesia it is usually called by Hindu Dharma which never implements caste. The epic of Mahabrata which contains story about big war of Bharata descendent and the epic of Ramayana or the story of Rama become very important tradition among Indonesian Hindus which manifests in puppet and dance shows.

They have five philosophies called Panca Srada. It includes the belief in the almighty god; The belief of revenge or karma which someone will gains punishment caused by his fault; The believe of reincarnate that embodies cycle of human life; The to the ancestral spirit existence; and the much attention to the art and ceremony than to the holy book, teaching, law and faith.

Hindu fellow is in about 6,5 million in 2006 or about 1.8% of Indonesia population. This number is disputed by Indonesian Hindu representation Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) that claims to eighteen million adherents in Indonesia. About 93% live in Bali and the rest spread in Sumatera, Java, Lombok and Kalimantan. In the central of Kalimantan the population of Hindu is many. For about 15,8% of them is Hindu Kaharingan which merges the local belief into Hindu religion.

Buddhism is the second oldest religion in Indonesia after Hindu. It came in the sixth century has the tied relationship with the Hindu history. Many Buddhist kingdoms were built in the same period with the Hindu kingdom such as the kingdom of Sailendra, Sriwijaya and Mataram. Buddhism came through silk route between India and Indonesia.

Following the falling of Soekarno, in the mid of 1960s when Pancasila contains with belief to only one God and drive all Indonesian to believe in God, Indonesian Buddha through the founder of Indonesia Buddha Union (Perbuddhi) Bhikku Ashin Jinarakkhita initiates the existence of the only one of the highest God, Sang Hyang Adi Buddha. This idea backs to the historical background of Indonesian Buddha in the long time ago which written in the ancient Javanese text and is inspired by the Borobudur temple architecture that

shows the highest stupa in the middle and it is only one stupa that can be inferred as the only one God worshiped by Indonesia Buddhist.<sup>10</sup>

The glory of Buddha civilization embodies in the existence of Borobudur temple in Magelang Central Java. This creation implies the high civilization achieved by the Javanese within Buddha's culture. Someone said that Borobudur is not built by Javanese but by Buddhist India. This allegation is untrue due to some disclosure that Javanese in time of Borobudur founding was society with existing civilization. They were organized society performing the livelihood of cultivation and farming and trades. They made poetry, clothe, and work bronze and gold. They grew rice and other crops using a complex system of terraces and irrigation. They craved statue, built religious sanctuary and had an organized system of government. It proved that Javanese who built Bodobudur not the India. The architecture of the temple combines between India architecture with the Javanese architecture that imply that Javanese culture parallel to but not identical with those of India.<sup>11</sup>

The third religion endorsed into historical category is Javanese beliefs or what so called in Javanese by Kebatinan or Kejawen. It has principles embodying a search for inner self but at the core is the concept of peace of mind. Although Kejawen is not strictly a religious affiliation, it addresses ethical and spiritual values as inspired by Javanese tradition. It is not a religion in usual sense of the word, like Islam, Judaism, or Christianity. There are no scriptures such as the Bible or the Qur'an, nor are there prophets. There is no emphasis on eschatology such as life after death, heaven or hell, devils or angels. They teach such kind of psycho technic which believes there is in the mind the real freedom where by human will experience the real happiness.<sup>12</sup>

Javanese spiritualism entails a never ending search for wonder and surprise. It has some foreign influences. The Javanese tend to be flexible and pragmatic as far as one's spiritual life is concerned. The complexity is perhaps the result of Java's complicated cultural background and its myriad cultural influences. But basically, Javanese spiritualism is individualistic in approach, something typically Javanese. The approach is person-to-person or person-to-

<sup>10</sup> According to national census in 2000, there about 2% of Indonesian is Buddhist or for about four million mostly living in Jakarta and other provinces of Riau, North Sumatra and West Kalimantan. The number tends to be more than reality because in that time Confucius and Taoism were unconsidered officially as religion that cause to its merger into Buddhism.

<sup>11</sup> John Miksic, *Borobudur Golden Tales of the Buddhas* periplus edition (Jakarta: c.v. Java Books, 1996), pp. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Drs. L. Tarigan, "Macam-macam Agama dan Kepercayaan di Indonesia" in *Pendidikan Agama Kristen* (Yogyakarta: Taman Pustaka Kristen, 1994), 9.

guru or one on one. Kebatinan commandment: "God is within you. God is everywhere. But do not say you are God.

I include those three religions into historic religion for the reason has emphasis on the civilization building have made. Actually Confucius and Taoism are among this category but I prefer to limit in this three for my easiness. Buddha and Hindu came to Indonesia since the beginning of the century. It grew rapidly and built a big kingdom fourteen existence in area. It is the longest time in Indonesian civilization. How long Islam and Christian can stay and dominate Indonesian belief until now does not equal the half time of both existences in Indonesia. Both inherit much values and teaching embed profoundly into Indonesian culture. This is the reason behind the endorsement of Aliran Kejawen or Javanese belief into historic religion and not into the archaic one, because it rises as the influence of both religions in modification with local culture. Aliran kejawen is also obviously full of philosophical teaching with complexity inside. Although it was told above as have no holy book and prophet but actually they have in lower category than both. They have guidance book like Gatoloco, Dharmo Gandul, Primbon, etc but not in the level of holy book. They also have such a prophet but in the lower level of Wali in Islam. With this fact, due to the Aliran Kejawen has a system of belief and teaching we can indorse it into historic religion.

The deep influence of Hindu – Buddha in Indonesia as it is manifested in the local religion, shows us how both religions has been the most meritorious part of Indonesia civilization building. We even cannot imagine this vast territory of Indonesia without firstly achieved by Majapahit during his prime minister of Patih Gadjah Mada. This is the source of Indonesian national consciousness begins and shapes. And it was happened during the Hindus System of Majapahit. Buddha has earlier great achievement through the kingdom of Sriwijaya in the seventeenth of century. In that time it was one of the three biggest kingdoms in the area other than India and China.<sup>13</sup>

The relation between the Buddha and the Sriwijaya kingdom can never be separated. The kingdom can gain no rapid advance without the influence of the religion. Through it he found their other counterpart with the same culture in different area. Hindus and Buddha were vaster than the kingdom itself. It is limited with the political territory while religion crosses those borders. Sriwijaya ruler has very good relationship with India because of religion. They even build special place in India in the era of Balaputra Dewa for the Sriwijaya religious leader studied religion there. They even build the temple named

<sup>13</sup> Yahya Wiryadinata M.Min, "Sekilas tentang Agama Buddha Nichiren Shoshu Indonesia" in *Peninjau* tahun XIV, 1, majalah badan penelitian dna pengembangan PGI (Jakarta: 1989), pp. 96.

Cudamaniwarman Vihara and the local government of Cola in India served for that purpose a village in 1005. Sriwijaya also gave tribute to the ancient China ruler for protection and giving the name to the temple and bell that will be built in Sriwijaya.<sup>14</sup>

As Bellah has endorsed Christian and Islam in category of historic religion, in case of Indonesia I prefer also to endorse it. In spite of the different presence of time between Christianity appeared in the Europe longtime ago before coming to Indonesia. Christian also seems to be nonindigenous among Indonesian. It was colonial religion and even colonial didn't want it to come in order to smooth colonialism purpose. Christian therefore was not the culture brought by and support colonial especially Dutch. So Christianity still didn't show himself as part of civilization building in Indonesian context. And to come to the historic religion category needs to show his role in the beginning of national root building otherwise it is not historic. This can be proved by the existence of kingdom which attaches religion, such as Hindu with Majapahit and Buddha with Sriwijaya and Islam with Demak, Pajang and Mataram. Despite of Christianity attachment to colonialism become the common perception among indigenous people with majority of Islam adherents, in the eastern part of Indonesia Christianity spread during Portugal coming into eastern part of Indonesia. He was Franciscus Xaverius who firstly disseminated Catholics and baptized thousands people in Maluku in 1546-7 when Portugal came as the first European opened the trade line to the Indonesia. In the same century Catholics spread in Manado, Flores and Timor.

Portugal conquest over Malaka sultanate in 1511, he then followed by the coming of Dutch and Spain who encountered Portugal in the Malaka. Dutch defeated Portugal and took over Malaka from Portugal in 1641. On the other hand, Spain bounded to Philipina and began to colonize the country in 1560. What Spain has done is immortalized by the name of the country 'Philippine' that refers to Spain King in that time of conquest Philip II.

There is interesting information the other version of the coming Catholics into Indonesia. It is referred to Prof. Dr. Sucipto Wiryo Suprpto that said that Catholics firstly came to North Sumatra in seventh century in the place name Pancur which is now known as Barus. The source of the information got from the classic history of Egyptian Christian written by Abu Salih al-Armini (Armini means the fellow of Armani Christian which mentions the data of 707 churches belong to certain Egyptian denomination which spread in Egypt, Middle East, India and Indonesia.

When Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) ruled Indonesia, many Catholic priests were detained because of their affiliation to Portugal the

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 97.

opponent of Dutch in mastering Southeast Asia. Catholics was officially banned by Dutch in 1605.<sup>15</sup> The really infected by this policy is Manado who later on converted to Protestant before they were Catholics. The discrimination against Catholic just ended when the younger brother of Napoleon Louis Bonaparte who was Catholics appointed to be the king of Dutch in 1806. By his order the Catholics began allowed to disseminate freely in Hindia Belanda.

Besides those universal religions have been disclosed above, Islam is one of those historic religions Indonesia. Same with Hindu and Buddha which have kingdom based on those religious ideologies, Islam also built the Islamic kingdom and began to use the term of sultanate in time of Sultan Agung (1613-45) ruler of Mataram. It was interesting History by Sri Margana during his lecture at ICRS which mention the story of Sultan Agung the third king of Mataram, he said that after his defeat from Dutch in the war (1629) to occupy Batavia or Jayakarta from VOC, he visited the Sunan Bayat tomb. During his visit he unconsciously napped and dreamed with sound telling him about many things that after his wake up he got new paradigm of life that leaded him to be more closure to the Islam. He then declared the use of Javanese Calendar based on Islamic calendar; he begin to use the title of Sultan and every Friday prayer he said to pray in Masjidil Haram through imagination or really flied up by the supernatural power to arrive Makah nobody knows the truth. Anyway it disclose the secret behind why the Sultan of Mataram none of them goes for pilgrimage. Might be they can make it through other way which is different with ordinary people.

Islam came to Indonesia beginning from Samudera Pasai and then descent to Java Island especially the north cost.<sup>16</sup> From the East Java then went to South Kalimantan or Banjarese. That why the typology of Islam among Banjarese is close to the East Javanese santri tradition which close to the mysticism. In 1292 Marcopolo came to Pasai and found many Muslims there. Ibnu Bathutah did the same in 1345 that in Aceh there were Muslim with performed Shafi'i school. The oldest Muslims grief is found in Gresik which mention the name of Fatimah Binti Maymun died in 1082. She was assumed as the nonlocal people but from Arabs country visited Java Island.

The rapid spread began in time of Wali Songo or the Nine Saints of Islam in fifteenth century. Their success preaching ended in the establishing of Islamic kingdom in Demak under the control of them. Their ability to preach Islam

<sup>15</sup> "Agama di Indonesia dalam Perkembangan" in *Monitor* no. 5 / tahun IV / Oktober 1981 (Jakarta: Pusat Pengembangan Etika), pp. 5

<sup>16</sup> Dr. J. Garang, "Peranan dan Hubungan Agama-agama Masyarakat dan Negara Menyongsong Abad ke-21 di Indonesia" in *Peninjau* tahun XI, 1+2 (Jakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan PGI, 1984), pp. 159.

within the Majapahit palace family led to their significant successfulness in following rapid spread of Islam. In that time, Majapahit was in decline. Many Javanese and all other Indonesian people who embraced Buddha and Hindu change to Islam.

Some story said that Islam has come to Indonesia in very short time after the death of Prophet Muhammad in about 20 years later His death. It is said that khalifah Uthman bin Affan the third Islam leader after Abu Bakar and Umar bin Khattab sent delegation to Chine ruler in that time for introducing Islam and the new country establishment. In long trip within four years they arrived to Sumatera and in the period of Umayyah dynasty ruler definitely in 674, they build the sea harbor in the west cost of Sumatera.<sup>17</sup> This is the beginning of Indonesian introduction with Islam since then many Arabs came in trade and buying the natural sources from the green fertile island. Thomas Arnold in *The Preaching of Islam* said that the coming of Islam not as conqueror like Portugal and Spain. Islam came to Southeast Asia without sword and without overthrowing the existing ruler. Islam really came with persuasive and cultural approach.

### **Early Modern Religion**

The historic religions which dominate most of the world part currently and called as the "Universal Religion" has developed internally in accommodating the huge social changes demand in Europe which began in sixteenth century. Religion that adopts such internal change is called, according to Bellah, by "Early Modern Religion". The example of this religion is found in Protestant reformation. The distinct tone of this religion is marked by the collapse of the hierarchical structure in dealing with both nowadays and hereafter life. Also the salvation understanding is not done through withdrawal from the world life but in the contrary, it is achieved through the work in midst of worldly life. It implies the contrast understanding upon salvation within historic religions before it was salvation attained by participation in sacramental system, performance of mystic and submitting religious law. These procedures in purpose of salvation, in some extent, divert people from encountering the world.

The early modern religion also concentrates on the direct relation between individual and the transcendent reality throwing away the hierarchical

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<sup>17</sup> When I was in Egypt the story of about caliph Othman dispatched delegation to China is information I have known about it. But to continue the trip to south which means descending along way until arrived at Sumatera is a matter needs critical scrutiny historically. The data that I got does not mention the reference of his information. see [syafii.wordpress.com/2007/05/11/sejarah-islam-di-indonesia](http://syafii.wordpress.com/2007/05/11/sejarah-islam-di-indonesia).



mediation to the God and conceiving religious action not only related to the ritual ceremonial religious activities but did relate with the daily life in the world.<sup>18</sup>

Early modern religion insists to differentiate between religious realm and the political real which historic religion mix it in one hand of religious institution. Many of the historic religions endeavor this kind of differentiation, but it only worked institutionally within Protestantism. Instead of separation from the world, early modern religion demands engagement in this-worldly action to achieve salvation by rising individual role in salvation. Religious symbolism now focuses on individual believers' direct access to the divine and all worldly life becomes important religious action, through what Weber called ethical striving in a vocation. Religious organization was also deconstructed through rejection of the concept of salvation mediated by religious specialists, in favor of direct salvation by individuals. The key social implication of early modern religion is its contribution to the growing of voluntary association as the basis of social action in all part of life which results to the development of modern democracy and science to the rise of Europe revolution.

The early modern religion marked by the class system and division of labor. Industrialization grows rapidly in that time and created the division of labor within industrial society. Myriad problems rise within this era as people encounter new life in new different space. The rise of capitalism that comes together with the industrialization demanded new model of religiosity in order to make the basis of theology in match with the growing capitalism. Calvin was among that Christian theologian who laid down many new interpretation of Christianity for the running of capitalism. The separation between the sacred life and profane life is definite since that of time. The way people think is not based on theology anymore but based on rationality marked the beginning of the science rules over the world. The rationality bring the religious understanding and teaching to be as rational as possible unless the people will has their own interpretation upon religion independently.

### **Indonesia Early Modern Religion**

Early modern seems to be the beginning of human critical response toward backwardness and unsatisfied expression from the existing condition. If

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<sup>18</sup> During the rise of modern ideologies of liberalism, democracy, socialism, communism and fascism, Roman Catholics church have been moved to from position of hostility toward liberalism and democracy to policy of accommodation and active support especially in response to the totalitarianism of communism and fascism. See Donald E. Smith, "Emerging Pattern of Religion and Politics" in *South Asia Politics and Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 21.

in Europe it emerged in the post of France revolution that marked the beginning of the new era of human life leaded by the ratio and secularism in which the rebellion against the establishment of the religious power begins taking place, in the context of Indonesia we can find this in history of the rising some religious organization which represents common consciousness in doing much different much progressive much creative in favor of the progresses of Muslim society.

The exact example as a response to the backwardness of the Muslim religious people is the rise of Muhammadiyah (1912) as the predecessor of the Modern movement within Muslim society. The founder of the organization in the beginning saw the education which is held in formal school by Dutch government was interesting and seems to be the best way in running education. Ahmad Dahlan then imitated the Dutch school to be implemented in Islamic teaching. It was the beginning of modernity being introduced to the religious Muslims society.

Dutch was really impressed with the way of Ahmad Dahlan organized Islamic teaching by using the modern way until he later appointed to be the court official to the Kraton Yogyakarta. The purpose of establishing Muhammadiyah organization as the modern Muslim organization gained positive response from Dutch and even got subsidies from Dutch government. Nurcholis Madjid during his presentation in executive religious course (2000) held by PWNUE East Java said that Muhammadiyah was really beloved by Dutch until Dutch made Muhammadiyah stamp or postage. It denotes that Muhammadiyah really modern organization that deserved adoration from the government. Dutch attention to Muhammadiyah must be seen positively as the successfulness Muslim made modernity inside their selves. Modernity in that time was rarely known by many Indonesian. But the experience of Dahlan in studying in Saudi Arabia introduced him to modern thought of Muhammad Abduh from Egypt, Jamaluddin al-Afghani and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab that known as the founder of Wahhabi the predecessor of puritanical movement in Saudi Arabia. Muhammadiyah followed the idea of purification and moved forward toward the anti-syncretism in the Muslim religious practices.

In 1925, two years after the death of Dahlan, Muhammadiyah only has 4,000 members with 55 schools and two clinics in Surabaya and Yogyakarta. After Abdul Karim Amrullah introduced the organisation to Minangkabau dynamic Moslem community, Muhammadiyah developed rapidly. In 1938, organisation claimed has 250,000 members, managed the 834 mosques, 31 libraries, 1,774 schools, and 7,630 clerics. ulema. The Minangkabau Merchants spread organization to the entire of Indonesia.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadiyah>

Besides Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) seems to be the other early modern religion in Indonesia. Unlike his counterpart Muhammadiyah, this organization has traditional background and likes to keep their traditionalism as part of cultural movement. Unlike Muhammadiyah which stands strongly against Javanese syncretism, this organization prefers to modify that cultural traditional heritage in accordance with Islamic teaching. The background where the NU community lives which is agricultural shapes the way of applying Islam in community. Meanwhile Muhammadiyah born and develop in the city which rational and modern approach which coincides city culture.

The cultural approach made by Nahdliyyin (the call for Nahdlatul Ulama fellow) involves them in many traditional ceremonies such as Earth Giving or Sedekah Bumi which is now enthusiastically arise again after long time of disappearance. Of course there some people of Nahdliyyin who prefer staying away from such traditional ceremonies but some of them prefer to involve and contribute some Islamic collaboration. Hence we can see the cultural collaboration tendency as the paradigm of NU.

NU is endorsed in early modern because they try to develop their service to community via modern organization and modern management. They build formal education Raudlatul Atfal (kinder garden), Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (elementary school), Madrasah Tsanawiyah (secondary school), Madrasah Aliyah (high school), College, Universities and hospitals that embodies modernity. Of course what they reach not as modern as Muhammadiyah which was born and spread within cities people but it remains the way to adapt and adopt modernity as the real challenge in social change.

NU and Muhammadiyah (east Javanese usually precede NU first, and Yogyanese usually forward Muhammadiyah first) were in dispute so many times longtime ago because of the high tendency of purification and anti-syncretism and adopt the Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia as the result of Ahmad Dahlan studied there. But for now the dispute is narrow they altogether involve in the same national agendas in battling corruption for example as representative of religious community.

Unlike Muhammadiyah which never shift to political party, NU has experience to become political party in 1955 and gained third rank in the most votes of national election and resign from political practice in 1984.<sup>20</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid when was the head of NU struggled in democratic movement against the New Order of Soeharto who applied float mass strategy in politics. This caused to shadowed democracy and annihilates the government transparency and public accountability which constitutes the rampant of corruption, collusion and nepotism in state administration. Wahid with other

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.nu.or.id/page/id/static/13/Dinamika.html>

counterparts were successful in bringing the Indonesian toward democracy, freedom and human right advocacy.

Looking at the spirit of renewal and the modern approach via religious social organization and how they contributed in paving the way toward Indonesian independency though struggle physically and paradigmatically, there are both categorized as the early modern religion manifestation. There are other religious movement may considered as part of category but is less appropriate due to insignificance influences in national scale such as al-Wasliyah in North Sumatera, Tarbiyah Islamiyah in West Sumatra, Nahdlatul Watan in West Nusa Tenggara are belong to ahlussunnah wal-jamaah tradition and others cannot endorsed due to the quality of political party that attach to certain religious organization such as Masyumi and Sarekat Islam whose Islam name but represent national political movement rather than religious movement. Sarekat Islam (1912) used Islam as identity that acceptable among mostly Indonesian in cross-islands before the name Indonesia appeared. It is national identity rather than religious movement founded by Cokroaminoto.<sup>21</sup> Islamic identity is also relevant in that time in resistance against the Dutch "Christian" government. Their religious affiliation, their grip over Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and their urban western culture are subjects to raise anger to Indonesian indigenous people.<sup>22</sup> Despite his strong character in using Islam as the identity power in confronting Dutch it is national movement rather than religious movement. Therefore I insist to not endorse it in early religious movement.

### Modern religion

Modern life is characterized by the division of labor and the international market as the continuity of the industrialization. The individual agency has taken a lot of space in modern society thereby individualism arises and the collectivism as a part of traditional system declines. It raises the last evolution of religion, according to Bellah named the modern religion. This sort of religion started by the collapse of religious orthodoxy and marked by the raise of people

<sup>21</sup> Yudi latif in his seminar on "Straightening History" held by the Sarekat Islam East Java support the change of national awakening not base on the birth of Budi Utomo which was dominated by Javanese than covering whole Indonesian in cross island. Since it covers the little part of Indonesia it is not considered as national awakening. But Javanese remain the most Indonesian population that must be accounted in national movement effectiveness too.

<sup>22</sup> Else Ensering , "Afedeling B of Sarekt Islam, a Rebellious Islamic Movement" in *Conversion, Competition and Conflict, essays on the role of Religion in Asia* ed. Dick Koolman et. al (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, n.y.), pp. 99.

demand on religious institution to involve concretely in solving social problem. The search for an adequate material standard on religious teaching which is relevant to the modern people maturity is priority. Someone's assertion such as "my mind is my church"; "I am a sect myself" by Thomas Jefferson is the expression of the religiosity in current time. The rise of private religiosity which is independent from the living religious doctrine institution becomes trend that everybody able to choose and to separate any item of religious teaching based on his own sake. The clear example of it is Deism that had been carried out by European leaders in the post of European revolution in building new religious institution which is compatible with the rapid growing need of the modernity and capitalism. New religion based on what people rationally think as a good to be endorsed he endorses unless he leave it in favor for the other fitter teaching even from different religious institutions.

Some debates arise upon the characteristic of the modern religion. I can sum up some opinion about it in accounts primarily characterized by the extinction of dualism of religiosity in both teaching and institution. Religious trend is moving toward worldly orientation of religious teaching where by religion is measured by how much it contribute for the betterment of human life. Since this critical thinking arose, the religious institution then must give more service to his adherent in more concrete way in social and educational merit unless the adherent will find his own way to choose what he thinks is good for his children. There are many school and public services built and carryout by "secular" institution, the religious adherent has many alternatives to choose between those educational institutions.

The other character of modern religion is the self-independency in understanding and interpreting the religious teaching. The need to have special teacher or spiritual leader is eradicated profoundly. The belief to religious organization is unlike before. The tendency of individual to learn independently by himself is high something that make everybody if he wants he can which book about religion he prefer to buy, regardless his lack of understanding the map of Islamic group or school that imply to the different teaching of Islam. Sometimes it is good to see someone has independency in understanding religion that make religious understanding not monopolized by certain group of religious people but is distributed to many adherents independently. Nevertheless on the other hand, this kind of religiosity may drives to certain kind of right understanding of religious teaching; in this case the independent study has positive assessment. The other result is the wrong understanding about religious teaching due to his lack of elementary knowledge about religion that makes him tries to understand by himself some material supposed to ask to someone cleverer than him. Or this kind of individual learn will caused to

arrogance by feeling that he has known so much about religion but actually he just know little things. In this case the learner loses control upon himself and impact to the judgmental mentality. He becomes easily condemn the other just because he does not find it in what he has read. This kind of simplification in understanding something is ruthless and dangerous sometime.

### **Indonesian Modern Religion**

What Bella has explained about modern religion that accentuated the individual freedom in interpreting religion has the example in Indonesian context. Kunto Wijoyo has written a book entitled "Muslim Tanpa Masjid". This book talks about how the young generation of Islam has separated from the religious institution which is represented by the mosque. Pak Kun (the way people usually call Kunto Wijoyo) inspired by the time of Soeharto get down from the presidency, he saw in that time all of student demonstrators bowed for thanking God for helping them in throwing down the regime. Pak Kun was astonished seeing those students doing such religious rituality looks like if there are religious student at all. Not long after that occurrence, Habibi who represent Islamic politics power in critical position to continuing his presidency. Those students who bowed after Soeharto getting down suddenly turn direction in confronting Habibi. Remembering there bowing they supposed to be among religious student that should in side of Habibi as a Muslim representation. What happens is contradictory and finally Habibi must finish his position and following his position Abdurrahman Wahid as fourth president of Indonesia.<sup>23</sup>

Pak Kun scrutinized that phenomenon and interpret that young Muslim generation tend to have his own individual understanding about religion. There separate religion from its institution in which he can be Muslim without attachment personally to mosque. For Pak Kun this phenomenon is ironic in the current situation due to his prediction that there will be soon religious wave that involve religious institution take placing in coloring society. Muslim hoped to be inalienable with mosque institution.

This phenomenon which embodies Muslim disbelieve to religious institution actually has been rooted since long time ago during old order when the conflict between ideological groups in Indonesian community in very sharp opposition especially between Communist and Islamic party. Those communist in saying about religion always refers to individual authority in understanding God and religion. Clifford Geertz write in Religion of Java the interview with communist member conveying their standpoint of religion by saying that religion is placed in heart. And God is in the heart not in those institution and

<sup>23</sup> [http://lutfimustofa.blogspot.com/2009/08/muslim-tanpa-masjid-kecenderungan-baru\\_27.html](http://lutfimustofa.blogspot.com/2009/08/muslim-tanpa-masjid-kecenderungan-baru_27.html)

attribute that seems to bar religion truth itself. That means that they hate so much to the religious institution and the institutionalization religion. Religion should be the value that can immerse and permeate into any institution without directly involve institutionally to politic that encounter other contestant mostly from Muslim adherents. Their hatred to the Islamic party like Nahdaltul Ulama was so deep in the level that they routinely humiliate santri tradition using any kind of song and anecdote and other art expression performed by their artist.

Of course it is not the same case with what Pak Kun wrote in his book. There was ideological conflict background in during old order era and not for the era when Soeharto toppled down from his position. But the anti-religious institution remains the same with much more extreme in the 1950-1960s than in current phenomenon.

Nurcholis Madjid also wrote in the mass media that rose controversies concerning religious institution disbelief. He entitled his article "Islam Yes, Partai Islam No!" which showed his disagreement in using religion as political symbol. His idea is about the same with many people in his thought that Islam is value not need to feature his self in political contest. If it is done there will be much turbulence in relation with other Indonesian Muslims that only the Islamic Party is really Islam and the other is not or even against Islamic teaching.<sup>24</sup>

Bahtiar Effendy wrote in *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, describing there some intellectual effort has been done by young productive Muslim scholar in elaborating modernity and rationality within Islamic thought. That innovative thought can be sum up into theological renewal in term of desacralization, reactualization and indigenization 1970s. What mentioned above from Nuscholis Madjid is endorsed in desacralization category. Reactualization means giving new interpretation which is more contextual to the modern need. The use of academic term rooted to the western academic can be considered as the reactualization from the perspective of structuralism. Meanwhile the "Indigenization" remains the original thought of Abdurrahman in his writing entitled "Pribumisasi Islam". In his thought he reminded Muslim scholar in the necessary of Islamic contextualization within local culture tradition using local language by which Islam as the universal religion can profoundly embedded into the heart of Indonesian tradition.<sup>25</sup>

Coming back to the current phenomenon that separates religious institution from his adherents because of the rise of individual right in expressing conscience, belief and faith independently. The collapse of religious institution as the media of religious relation with God, raises the other related

<sup>24</sup> Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2003), pp.75.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp. 66.

phenomenon of practicing spirituality which referred to other religious teaching to be part of his regular spiritual exercise. Yoga is the teaching of Hindu by which many Muslims, Christians and other non-Hindus attract to practice it. It doesn't matter for gymnastic and body language but in further step could lead to meditation practices that embodies Buddha rituality may effect consequently to double and multiple religious belonging.

I have experience with my housemate in ICRS guesthouse couple months ago for pre-Ph.D. program when each of us introduce to other he said that he is "Buddhist Christian". It was the first time I heard someone mention two religions in one person. After running time, I understood that he really embrace both not just one as the primer and other secondary. He is Christian but he like more Buddhism. He experiences later without putting away the former. He said that it does not matter at all someone has hair, skin, body and language with different origins. It does not matter Indonesian with blonde hair and it does not matter European with the black hair and wearing traditional cloth of India as many people now live in hybrid.

This kind of religious phenomenon rose after growing spirituality as trend of human life style. Currently, people find spiritual enlightenment from any sources satisfying him. Usually people conceive Religion as institution not as spiritual teaching. Religion has character of density meanwhile spirituality has character of liquidity which can permeate to other religious adherent.

This is a challenge to Christianity or Islam to do effort in building a package of spiritual teaching which is convincing sufficiently to his adherent spiritual need. Muslim and Christian must dig and bring out their spiritual teaching that supposed to be available more than enough there.

All religion has part of mysticism. In Islam there are some mystical group called Tarekat that focused on deepening spirituality through reciting and contemplation and what so called suluk as the period of meditation to reach the closest relationship with the God. Tarekat group focuses on efforts to "see" the God. And if you don't see Him, be sure that He sees you. The way to see God theorized in term of Mushahadah by Sufis or Muslim spiritual leaders. Jalaluddin Rumi has shown his successfulness in bringing Islamic Sufism goes cross cultural boundaries. We need more other Rumi in innovating such spiritual exercises that can feed the hunger of spirituality oh modern people.

This double and multiple religious belonging may become the next religious trend in Indonesia following what is happening in America where many people perform Buddhism as part of their life style. Yoga has been growing in Indonesia. So far there is no problem of religiosity rises from this activity. As long as the Yoga participant can control his self in keeping the faith, it doesn't matter. Malaysian Religious cleric has officially released prohibition on



practicing yoga due to theological consideration. In any way, this is religious phenomenon in modern era when religious institution loses his grip over his adherent.

## TABEL BELUM DIMASUKKAN

### Conclusion

Bellah's theory on religious evolution has correlated directly with the human evolution. It remains questionable which one come first religious evolution or human evolution. The way Bellah relates religious evolution to the human civilization implies that religion follows human civilization and adjusts to social change. Meanwhile in Indonesia, we find religion really fundamental in building human civilization. Indonesian glory was began by the large kingdom attach and shaped by the religion. It is obvious from the historical heritage that actualized in religious symbol such as temple of Borobudur and Prambanan.

By using analog it is found that Primitive religion in Indonesia is represented by animism and dynamism. The archaic religion represent in some ritual that still performed in current days. Like Sedekah Bumi or Earth Giving, Nyadran and Selamatan that backs to cultivation tradition. Historic religion represents in universal religion which are exist in Indonesia such as Hindu, Buddha, Islam, Christian. Early modern is represented in the birth of Muhammdiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. The last typology is modern religion which is represented in religious dynamic phenomenon such as "Muslim without Mosque", "Islam Yes, Partai Islam No!", and practicing different religious spirituality.



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