

THE ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF ISLAM KALANG COMMUNITY TOWARD SOCIAL CHANGES: A Case Study in Gemuh Kendal Central Java

Sulaiman

Office of Religious Research
and Development,
Ministry of Religious Affairs Semarang
blasulaiman@gmail.com

Paper received: 27 February 2018
Paper revised: 01 – 21 June 2018
Paper approved: 16 July 2018

ABSTRACT

Islam Kalang is Muslim community that still preserves indigenous traditional Javanese values. This study aimed at figuring out adaptive strategies of the community in social changes. It used a qualitative method and employed observation, in-depth interview, and documentation as techniques for data collection. The findings were that Islam Kalang has something in common Javanese society in a way that they are inclusive and open towards their surroundings. This community can be grouped into two types; the active group represented by santri, and the other one is not active as performed by abangan. The two groups perform Kalang traditions, though they are active in doing religious prescriptions, five-time prayers, alms, fast, and pilgrimage. It is due to the fact that they have strong beliefs in doing their traditional rituals. For the community, their primary duty is to do rites inherited by their predecessors, i.e., when they perform obong mitungdino, and obong sependhak. They have undergone changes and shifts because of da'wah Islamiyah and marriage with other groups. It means, therefore, the community has adaptive strategies in order to survive in the midst of society. The strategies include strong trust, endogamic marriage, and accommodating attitude. By these strategies, the community can embed and practice Kalang traditional values.

Keywords: *Islam Kalang, traditional values, adaptive strategies, social change*

INTRODUCTION

Religion and culture are two important elements in society that affect each other. When religious teaching come into a cultured community, there will be an interesting appeal to religious interests on the one hand and cultural interests on the other (Noviani, 2016: 155). The relationship between religious and cultural interests is ambivalent, because each has their own independence and often has overlapping terrain. Nevertheless, that fact does not preclude the possibility of the manifestation of religious life in the form of culture.

Religion, as understood by anthropologists and/or sociologists, is a system of beliefs and actions embodied by a group or society in interpreting and responding to what is perceived

and believed to be supernatural and holy. In this sense, religion is part of the culture of society because the term culture actually relates to the system of ideas or values held by the community, so that religion can be said as part of the cultural manifestation. Koentjaraningrat (1986: 187) says that culture is the whole system of ideas, actions, and works of human beings in the framework of the life of society that made human self by learning.

In the context of Islam, religion (Islam) that is passed down amongst Arab society has had tradition from generation to generation. Therefore, the propagation of Islam by the messenger of Allah should always consider the cultural aspects of Arab society at that time. The process of adaptation between the teachings of

Islam (revelation) and the condition of society at that time can be seen from the a number of verses that have *asbâb al-nuzûl*. *Asbâb al-nuzûl* is an explanation of the cause or causality of a doctrine that is integrated and set into force in the social environment. *Asbâb al-nuzûl* is also evidence of a negotiation between the text of the Qur'an and the context of society.

Islam is theologically a system of values and teachings that are divine and transcendental. As a sociological aspect, Islam is a phenomenon of civilization, culture and social reality in human life. The Islamic dialectics with the reality of true life is a continuous reality that accompanies this religion throughout its history. Since the beginning of its birth, Islam has grown and developed in a state that is not empty of culture. Recognized or not, this reality has a significant role in delivering Islam to its such development so that it comes to a civilization that represents and is recognized by the world community.

The relation between Islam as a religion with local custom and culture is very clear in the study of religious anthropology. In this perspective, it is believed that religion is the embodiment of a cultural system. Based on this theory, Islam as a celestial religion is considered to be the embodiment of the cultural system of a Muslim society. Islam as the world's major religions, cultures and civilizations have entered Indonesia since the 7th century and continues to grow until now. It has contributed to the diversity of the culture of the archipelago. Islam is not only present in the great tradition but also even enriches the plurality with the Islamization of culture and indigenization of Islam that in turn gave birth to the little tradition of Islam. Therefore, various colors of Islam appeared in the society, such as Acehese Islam, Minangkabauese Islam, Sundanese Islam, Sasak Islam, Bugis Islam, and Javanese Islam.

In Java, the idea of Islamic acculturation with local culture and/or religious (Islamic) relation with local values also emerged in society and resulted in different religious features (Islam), such as *Aboge Islam* and *Islam Kalang*. The first is

an Islamic community based all its activities on the calculation of *Alif Rebo Wage* (Aboge) calendar in Banyumas District. The Islamic community can be divided into two groups, the *Aboge* Islamic community which is *santri* (Islam "nyantri"), and the *Aboge* Moslem community that is not *santri* (Islam "nyandi"). They continue to recognize Islam as a religion, not as the "penganut kepercayaan" (Sulaiman, 2012: xi) while *Islam Kalang* is an Islamic community which is still carrying out Kalang rituals strongly.

Islam Kalang spread out in various rural areas of Java, including Kendal Regency, Central Java. In this area, the community of *Islam Kalang* is located in seven villages of three sub-districts, namely Montongsari and Teratai Mulyo (Weleri Sub-district), Lumansari, Poncorejo, and Krompakan (Gemuh District), Wono Tenggung and Sendang Dawuhan (Rowosari District). The *Kalang* Muslim Community in this area is well-known as "Wong Kalang" (*Kalangnese* people). There are some differences in the origin of the *Kalang* as quoted by Sholeh (2005: 83) that in essence, the *Kalang* is not an ethnic separated from the Javanese. They are the Javanese tribes of the past who lived in teak forests in the Kendeng mountains. They then were excluded from Hinduism which highly regards four castes while the *Kalang* were the lower castes (*pariah*).

Islam Kalang as a Moslem community in the Java society gets a high attention of of researchers, such as Muslikhin and Abdul Khaliq. Muslikhin (2011) conducted a reaserch on *Wong Kalang* and their culture in the historical perspective. This study explained the development of *Wong Kalang* in the changing times. *Wong Kalang* in the Hinduism was not treated aqually as other ethnics, while in the time of Dutch Colonial, they got special recognition as working ethic. Khaliq (2013) searched *Islam Kalang: Political identity of a sub-Javanese ethnic in Kendal*. This research explains the politics of identity applied in socio-cultural life of *Wong Kalang*. The meeting between two cultures "Islam" and "Kalang" in the social system caused waning of *Kalang* identity.

During its history, the Kalang Muslim community faces global challenges that bring about changes in a more dynamic and competitive lifestyle. Changes can occur in every layer, whether in a wide range or in a narrower environment due to some factor: external or internal. Gillin (in Soekanto, 1985: 307) explains that social changes are a variety of accepted ways of life, caused either by changes in geographic conditions, material culture, population composition, ideology, diffusion or new discoveries in society.

This research will explain the religious life of *Wong Kalang* in Kendal District, Central Java. Although this community faces a global challenge, the community is still alive and keeps growing in society. What are their their adaptative strategies in dealing with socio-cultural changes? The research problems can be formulated into 1) What are the principles of Islamic teachings the Kalangnese adopted and developed? and 2). What are their strategies to adapt and cope with various changes?

RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative research which produces descriptive data and provides systematic, factual and accurate description of the observed phenomenon. The research target is the community of *Islam Kalang* which has been surviving and developing in Gemuh Subdistrict, Kendal District, Central Java Province. In this area, they inhabit in three villages, namely Lumansari Village, Poncorejo Village, and Krompakan Village. The main consideration for researching the sites is due to fact that they still live, survive and even develop until now in such places. Moreover, they have noble values and originate in cultural and religious traditions in the midst of majority culture. Despite the social changes in society, they are able to adapt to their surrounding environment.

The main sources of data were words and actions by the community. Therefore, the main sources were indigenous figures, community leaders, religious figures, and the community of *Islam Kalang*. The secondary ones were written

documents or manuscripts held by the community, such as local history and community customs, district monographs, and research books on local religions, especially *Islam Kalang*. Data collection techniques include interviews, observation and document reviews. Interviews are conducted on the relevant parties or informants selected purposively (Purposive or Judgmental Sampling) based on a certain criteria that is expected to have accurate information (Endraswara, 2006: 115).

The observation was done to see the activities of *Wong Kalang* directly, particularly their belief system, ritual system, and custom in everyday life. Document review is aimed to obtain documented data, such as activity reports, decree letters, laws and regulations, classical texts, and so forth.

To test the validity of collected data, this research also employs a triangulation technique, that is the technique of examination of data validity by comparing data among various sources and inter-method so that the credibility of data can be tested. The results of the data collection will be analyzed by a qualitative descriptive technique, which involves data reduction, data presentation, and data conclusion (Moleong, 2000: 190). Data reduction is the process of selecting, focusing attention, and extracting rough data from the field. The presentation of the data is a set of arranged information that gives the possibility to draw conclusions and take actions. Then, withdrawal conclusions are also verified during the study (Miles and Hubberman, 1992: 19).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Religion and Local Culture

Religion belongs to a social institution that has a universal character, but its form interchanges greatly. In a sociological perspective, religion is understood not as something transcendent but profane based on social reality. Parsudi Suparlan (in Robertson, 1998) defines religion as a set of rules and regulations that govern man's relationship with the unseen world, especially with his God, governing human relationships with others, and regulating human relationships with his environment.

Religion becomes important for its adherents both individually and collectively because one of its importance is its potential to form individual moral responsibility of the adherents to meet the demands of the society. Durkheim (1965: 62), in "The Elementary Forms of The Religious Life" mentions that religion is a system of unity of beliefs and practices relating to sacred matters, (i.e., everything that is avoided or forbidden), beliefs, and practices that teach and imposes high morals into a community.

Although there are various ways of understanding and defining religion, there is one thing important as emphasized by Canon (in Arifin, 2009: 7) that all religious traditions emphasize a religious practice that requires the involvement of adherents in depth so that they can develop a closeness to what is believed to be the Ultimate Reality. This is what Joachim Wach (1985: 39) calls as a religious experience, a response to what is lived as the Absolute Reality. The religious experience can be realized within three dimensions; religious thought, religious worship or ritual, and social community.

In this context, the symbols can unite two realities that have different characteristics. Many scientists therefore view the symbol as one of the cores in the religious system. This is seen in the definition of religion formulated by Geertz (1973: 90) as follows:

"Religion is a symbolic system that acts to solidify the powerful, thorough and enduring feelings (moods) and motivations of the human person by formulating conceptions of a commonly accepted order of things concerning existence (human), and enveloped these conceptions with a certain aura that reflects reality, so that these feelings and motivations seem to be in themselves unique."

Symbols in religion consist of understanding as a media of meaning that produces a match for the adherents. The system of religious symbols is inherently embedded and attached to certain meanings, which then form a tradition for the adherents. Thus, humans do a closer relationship with the Absolute Reality through symbols that are deemed to have certain meanings. Therefore,

religion can be understood as a unity of the belief system and rituals held by a group or society in interpreting and responding to what is felt and believed to be supernatural and holy.

This understanding leads to mark a local religion as a set of ideas or ideas that serve as a doctrine to conduct in everyday life. This local religion is not a school of theology as it is fostered by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and not even the great religions. Yet, it is belief or beliefs that had existed long time ago and still survive until today since it is adopted by a group of people in the local environment. The local religion in this sense can be regarded as a *religi*.

By using the term *religi*, Koentjaraningrat (1974) distinguishes three meanings: (1) being used to refer to all officially recognized religions in our country: Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hinduism and Buddhism, (2) it refers to systems that are not or haven't been officially recognized yet, such as Confucianism, Seventh Day Advent, Pinkster Church, and local religion and movements, etc., (3) belief that has a unique meaning, that is, the second component in each religion (belief system that consists of all human beliefs and images of God's attributes, being from unseen world, supernatural, and all values, norms and teachings of the religion concerned).

On that ground, religion is part of the social cultures since culture actually relates to the system of ideas or values adopted by community/group. Thus, it can be said that religion embodies from local culture which is in local term is called as "budaya". The term "budaya" comes from the word "budhayah" which is the plural form of "budhi" which means mind. It then turns into the term "kebudayaan" which can be interpreted as matters related to mind and reason. Some scholars say that it derives from the word "power and mind" in the form of creativity, taste, and intention; and the result of the creation of taste and intention.

Koentjaraningrat (1986: 187) says culture is the whole system of ideas, actions, and works of human beings viewed from their social lives

achieved through learning. This means that almost all human actions are cultural since there is few things acted without learning. For example, people walk like what has been practiced by a model, a soldier, a grandfather, and so on. In addition, the way of eating is learnt so people can eat politely and courteously unlike animals, and so on.

Each tribe in Indonesia has reference of norms originating from their respective culture, known as local wisdom or local genius. For example, the Javanese folks have their jargon “mangan ora mangan waton kumpul” (either you eat or not, gathering is the most important thing); the Balinese have the concept of “menyama braya” (being peaceful, close no dispute); Sasak tribe has the concept of “Patut Patuh Patju” (kind, obedient and dilligent); The Dayak tribe has the concept of “home of betang” (togetherness in diversity); Timorese have an “okomama” (openness, respect and partnership) tradition, and so on. Local wisdom is specifically related to a particular culture that reflects the way of life of a society.

Local wisdom is a set of rules that becomes the reference of society covering all aspects of life: 1) rules concerning relationships among human beings, for example in social interaction between individuals and groups; 2) rules regarding human relationships with nature, such as animals, plants, that are aimed at nature conservation; 3) rules concerning human relationships with the unseen, such as God and supernatural spirits. In this case, the aspects of this study focuses on the social interaction between individuals and groups, especially in social and religious life.

In the communal life, local wisdom cannot be separated from cultural custom because cultural custom is a system related to the ideas or values adopted by community/groups. It can be claimed that it is the embodiment of local culture. Even according to Gustav Klemm, cultural custom can be defined as custom itself (Winick, 1977: 225). Customs are a symbol of cultural differences, and most ethnicity often justifies their customary

which conducts their unique sources of identity. The diversity of meaning embodied in custom ranges from the taste of food, architectural design, fashion style, speeches with a particular dialect, as well as various ceremonial knacks. For example, indigenous traditional houses refer to public buildings where advisory people and ordinary community leaders organize meetings. The traditional party is a traditional ceremony, traditional clothing is traditional clothing, while traditional marriage is a traditional marriage ceremony (Budiwanti, 2000 : 47).

Thus, every culture has its own cultural framework that entails a system of values, ethos, religion, and ideology and at the same time determines one’s thought. It is indeed in this cultural framework that everything in this world can be understood and assessed so that human behaviors can be practiced and properly described. The behaviors of humans and society can be assessed through various experiences or observations made by person (Kuntowijoyo 2006: 47).

Social Changes, Adaptive Strategies, and Acculturation

Every society undergoes changes, either minor or major changes. There is nothing new about the fact that life constantly changes and requires reinterpretation (Mulder, 1996: 84). Changes occurring in society will be found out when one compares the structure of a certain communal life at a given period to another period of another communal life. These changes need quiet sometime, so it takes a certain period to explain the process of the changes.

Social changes in society can be either broad or narrow, and sooner or later. They enclose social values, social norms, organizational behavior patterns, institutional structures, layers in society, power, authority, social interaction and so on. In essence, they refer to changes in social structure and social organization. They are frequently interpreted as fundamental changes that take place in

social structure, social system and social organization. These factors encourage the process of social change because of either internal factors or external factors (Purwasito, 2003: 70).

The escalation of social change in human life makes change as an inevitable necessity. Then, the community chooses adaptation strategies to be able to stay in their environment. The word "strategy" means a careful planing for activities to achieve the specific target. In the anthropological dictionary, Winick(1977:5) defines that adaptation is the process by which an organism adjusts to its environment. This term is usually applied to changes in the physical organism, In the study of cultural ecology, adaptation can be understood as a coping strategy by humans in responding to their environmental conditions. Therefore, adaptation can be seen as an effort to maintain living conditions in the face of changes in society. It is expected to make people able to survive to the point that they can adapt themselves with the environment and or adjust the environment with them. If they are not able to adapt to changing conditions, the existence will become certainly extinct (Sobur, 2010: 530).

The adaptive strategy can be interpreted as plans of action by human beings both consciously and unconsciously, explicitly or implicitly in response to various internal or external conditions (Iskandar, 2009: 209). According to Magatta (2016) adaptive strategy is an effort to be done by individuals or groups in the hope of sustaining their lives and doing activities easily. Human effort in maintaining his life must be able to adapt to the natural environment and his social environment. This process must be faced by a person in the face of his environment, so that it can create harmony in his life.

Afterwards, changes of tradition in a community can be looked upon from the perspective of cultural change. The process of acculturation in a particular society can lead to cultural change. Acculturation can be defined as a self-adjusting process in accordance with

the nature of its culture (Hadi, 2006: 33). Acculturation comes into existence when a human group with a particular culture copes with the elements of a foreign culture that is gradually received and cultivated in its own culture without causing the loss of cultural personality (Koentjaraningrat, 1985: 48).

Acculturation as a cultural change is characterized by a nexus between two cultures or an encounter between two mutually giving and receiving cultures. Acculturation is figured out by the name of cultural contact, a process that appears in a particular social environment because it faces some foreign cultural elements. The elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed in accordance with the wishes of culture. Bee (1974) provides the parameters of acculturation understanding. First, acculturation alludes to a kind of cultural change that occurs when two cultural systems meet; second, acculturation refers to a process of change differentiated from processes of diffusion, innovation, and invention; and third, acculturation is understood as a concept that can be used as an adjective to designate a certain condition, for instance the condition of one culture group that is more acculturated than another.

Several interrelated acculturation studies can be distinguished among others: some cultural systems; nature of relationship; harmony among the various cultures; and cultural process life due to the existence of such system relationships. Cultural systems comprise relationships or contacts of certain properties, each of which the system may survive and endure as a free unit. Such enduring nature is called enduring limit mechanism, internal structural flexibility, and self-correction mechanism. The relationship condition links up to another set of variables that have a strong influence of ecology and demography from the acculturation context. A harmonious relationship implies cultural survival when they establish a relationship. This relationship has a main aspect, it is a structural aspect or cross-cultural role network. This cross-

cultural role turns to several types of relationships that occur between different cultures (Muslikhin, 2008: 20).

Cultural process denotes cultural process activities due to systemic relationships. There are three different steps in the acculturation process: first, diffusion, it means the acculturation process must be the transmission of some ideas or characteristics. Second, evaluation by the recipient; some ideas or characteristics are transmitted through perceptual and interpretative selection. Third, integration of various selected and accepted ideas or characteristics, must be integrated into cultural system (Bee 1974: 98-108)

Daeng (1989) clarifies that in an exchange or cultural integration, some foreign elements will be accepted easily if it shows the similarity between the foreign and the original. In the process of acculturation, individuals or agents of acculturation carrying various elements of foreign culture, must understand the principle of similarity. It should be understood that in every society there are still old-fashioned individuals who reject new things. But there are also progressive and receptive ones (Koentjaraningrat, 1980: 268-269). In contrast, Kroeber (1952: 402) says that an element of indigenous culture can not be easily replaced, without being integrated into existing cultural principles.

The development of *Kalang* traditions is also inseparable from the attraction between indigenous culture and new culture coming from outside. *Kalang* community living in the midst of society is impossible to maintain the purity of their tradition. The process of acculturation has finally become a necessity and an answer to the tradition that goes along with times. Introduction of *Kalang* tradition with Islam has given birth to the pattern of cultural adaptation. In this case, tolerant Islamic culture gets together with the culture of *Kalang* which is an animism-nuanced. The acculturation makes *Kalang* society more able to open and to change themselves from their indigenous culture to the form of social and

cultural communication with the outside world comprising the modernization that brings a lot of changes to the traditional form of the *Kalang* community in Gemuh District, Kendal.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

An Overview of Research Area

This research is located in the district of Gemuh. The district is one of the 20 districts located in Kendal Regency, Central Java, Indonesia. The total area of this district reaches 38.17 km² and the total population is 50,829 people, consisting of 25,026 (49,23%) males and 25,803 (50,77%) females. Viewed from religious adherents, there are 50,685 (99,71%) Muslims, 71 (0.14%) Christians, 70 Catholics (0.14%) and 3 (0.01%) Buddhists. Therefore, the places of worship are mostly of Islamic engagement, there are 31 mosques, 176 *mushalla* (smaller mosques), and 1 church (BPS, 2014).

Gemuh District consists of 16 villages. They are Sojomerto Village, Triharjo Village, Cepoko Mulyo Village, Galih Village, Pamriyan Village, Jenarsari Village, Poncorejo Village, Gebang Village, Krompakan Village, Sedayu Village, Gemuh Blanten Village, Taman Gede Village, Lumansari Village, Johorejo Village, Tlahab Village, Pucungrejo Village. Three out of 16 villages are inhabited by *Wong Kalang*. They are Krompakan Village, Poncorejo Village, and Lumansari Village. Only does the development of indigenous the community of *Wong Kalang* vary from one to another.

In Krompakan, there are only 5-10 people of *Wong Kalang* because this community has undergone shifts. As the result, the development of the number of adherents decreases. In Poncorejo, the community base is in the hamlet of Wanglu Krajan. In this area, the community is quite strong because there is a leader known as "the shaman of *Kalang*". According to Muslikhin (2008:62) there are 812 Muslim *Kalang* in this area consisting of 390 men and 422 women. Nevertheless, *Islam Kalang* adherents in this area have experienced shifts and changes. It is

estimated that only 50% of them practice their traditions. In Lumansari village, the community is still strong enough, especially in Lumbu hamlet because most people still maintain their traditions, especially in the ceremonial tradition of death. In general, this tradition is carried out by burning replicas or dolls of people who have passed away (Rianto, March 21, 2014).

The History of Islam Kalang

The term “Kalang” in the Indonesian dictionary means “circle, arena, environment” (Suharso and Ana Retnoningsih, 2005: 214). In the dictionary Gericke Roorda, as quoted by Poncosutirto (1971: 7) mentions that the term “Kalang” is defined as *kejaba*, something placed outside or separated from others. Similarly, T. Altona in Poncosutirto (1971: 8) says the term Kalang comes from the word *kepalang*, which means “closed” because it is outside a door and closed from inside. Furthermore, Poncosutirto (1971: 31) also cites the opinion of Stutterheim, Dr. WF who argues that the term “Kalang” means a village official who has the duty to maintain and manage a building (in Hindu era) as a place of cockfights and of dances that include religious ritual ceremonies.

Sholeh (2004: 80) defines the term “Kalang” as a scope of Kalang people who were arrested and gathered in certain areas by *hulubalang* troops because they considerably endanger the kingdom’s royalty in the Sultan Agung government in Mataram. Therefore, Sholeh said that the word Kalang may derive from the word “Kalangan”, which is a certain area covered with strong fences. In the reign of Sultan Agung Mataram, this area was used as a settlement for the arrested people. This area is known as the “village of Kalangan” because it is the residence of the “Kalang” people. In fact, there is a “village of Kalangan” in the city of Surakarta, formerly a residence of “Kalang” housemaids of the sultanate.

The Kalang people are actually not certain ethnic groups because they belong to Javanese tribe. They live in teak forests in the mountains of Kendeng, whose main job is wood logging,

wood carrying, and even wood carpenting. As maintained by Kresti, Maha (1993: 9) Kalang people live in Java, especially in the southern parts, such as: Petanahan, Kebumen, Gombong, Adipala, Cilacap, and some parts of Solo and Jogja. They are influenced by the growing Hinduism culture in society, seen from their worship ceremonies to the ancestral spirits that still exist today. The rituals are called as *obong mitungdino* and *obong sependhak*.

According to Rafles (1978: 327-328), Kalang people are also scattered in the areas of Kendal, Kaliwungu, and Demak. This account is mentioned in the book *History of Java*, as follows:

“..... it may not be inappropriate to introduce in this place a short digression, containing an account of some of the costumes peculiar to the people termed Kalang, and to the inhabitants of the Tengger mountains. The former are said to have been at one time numerous in parts of Java, leading a wandering life, practicing religious rites different from those of the great body of the people, and avoiding intercourse with them; but most of them are now reduced to subjection, are become stationary in their residence, and have embraced the Mahometan faith. A few villages in which their particular customs are still preserved, occur in Kendal, Kaliwungu, and Demak, and although the tradition of the country regarding their descent from an unnatural connection between a prince of Medang Kamulan and a chief who had been transformed into a dog, would mark them out as a strange race, they have claims to be considered as the actual descendants of the aborigines of the island”.

In the Kendal area, the Kalang Muslim community thrives and develops, especially in Gemuh. This happened in 1970 - 1980s, but this community keeps decreasing in line with the development of Islamic *da'wa* in this area. There are three versions of story used as a reference on the origin of Kalang people in this area; the story of Sangkuriang Bandung, the story of Roro Jongrang, Prambanan, and the story of Sultan Agung Hanyokrokusumo, Solo. The three versions of story, in essence, tell the origin of the Kalang people who are descended from “a dog” as human manifestations. The change of a dog is due

to “sabdo” or curse of parents. A dog as a human (male) manifestation is married to a beautiful woman and the woman gives birth to an ordinary human being. In turn, the marriage will give birth to the offsprings called as “wong Kalang” or “Kalang”. For that reason, some people think that the Kalang people are tailed or have a tail like a dog (Kesti.1993: 10).

Based on the description, some people believe that Kalang people are the offsprings of a dog (human manifestation), and some of the descendants of Sultan Agung in Mataram. Consequently, they are not allowed to work as government employees, they work as diligent farmers and tenacious traders. These two would be considered as the ancestors of the Kalang people. Meanwhile, there is another opinion that in this area there is a certain area covered with a strong fence to dispel the Kalang people caught by the sultan. Therefore, in the Surakarta area, there is a place called as “Kampung Kalangan”/ Kalangan village (Sholeh, 2004: 81).

The myth is supported by the notes of Ketjen (1883), as quoted by Muslikhin (2008: 101):

“The Kalang people lives in Ulujami district which is the district of Kalang under the head of the native people with the title” Demang Kalang “. The Kalang people who reside in this district are those from Pekalongan, Tegal, and villages located in Kendal. In this area, The first village with the most populated Kalang people is Ploso village “.

Based on that account, some figures of Kalang are very confident that Ploso village located in Kendal Regency is considered to be the forerunner of Kalang people in this area. Additionally, the village of Ploso is known as Kalang Village, whose administrative status becomes one of the hamlet in Pandes Village, Cepiring in Regency Kendal. The hamlet is regarded as being the first place to disseminate Kalang traditions by Demang Kalang, so many families of Kalang people reside in this area. In its development, the dissemination of Kalang traditions expands to other areas, such as: Krompakan, Kamal, Wanglu, Wonotenggang, Montong, Terate, Sendang Dawuhan, Gondangan, and so forth. Nowadays, the people of Kalang in

the area still hold the traditions of their ancestors strongly although they have experienced shifts and changes.

Nonetheless, public does not know the exact data of Kalang people in a number of regions, especially in Kendal District. P.J. Veth, as quoted by Muslikhin (2008: 100) who argues that the total population of Kalang in the colonized territory is more than 2000 families spreading out in various regions, such as in Surabaya, Pasuruan, Kendal, Pekalongan, and Tegal. In addition, there are Kalang people living in Cilacap, Adipala, Gombong, Ambal Karanganyar, Petanahan, Solo, Tulungagung, and Malang.

In Kendal regency, the data is progressing, although it has been experiencing many shifts due to the influence of modernization and globalization and the inducement of Islamic propagation. According to Suroso, Kalang people in Kendal mostly live in Gemuh area. They are around 7,288 people. The number does not scatter in every village, but only in three villages; Lumansari village as many as 2200 people, Poncorejo village as many as 3,189 people, and Krompakan Village as many as 1899 people. If it is observed further, Kalang people in these three villages only reside in certain hamlets. In Lumansari Village, Kalang people are mostly in Lumbu hamlet. In Poncorejo Village, they live mostly in Waglukrajan Hamlet. In Krompakan Village, they are only located in the western village of Semoyo River (Suroso, April 4, 2014).

In this region, the Kalang people are not distinguished between the male lineage and female lineage. They all have same treatment and respect; *obong mitungdino* ceremony or *obong sependhak* ceremony. In addition, the Kalang people are also physically not different from the Javanese community in general. However, Kalang society is non-physically often characterized by tenacious and diligent nature in their works and activities. The tenacity of their works manifests in the proverbial form: “*digaruka, dilukua, suket grinting tetep mendeles*”, which means although injured by rakes (sharp agricultural tools) and

plow, grass will stay alive and survive. This proverb means that the Kalang people's personalities are strong and responsible (Mak Kubro, April 10 2014).

Rituals of Islam Kalang

Essentially, ritual is the main element in *religi* performed by humans as religious adherents because of human interrelation with certain power beyond their capacity as human beings who possess limitations. Turner (1965: 12) states that ritual is a belief in the existence of a supernatural power, which often manifests in the offering, supplication, and sacred songs. Van Gennep (in Koentjaraningrat, 1984: 74) reveals that rituals and religious ceremonies universally serve as activities that reinvigorate the spirit of people's social lives. For the people of Kalang, the rituals performed include *ewuhan*, *obong mitungdino*, and *obong sependhak* or *mendhak*. The three rituals are still preserved by Kalang community until now.

Ewuhan Ritual

For Kalang community, *ewuh* or *ewuhan* is an obligation that must be performed during their lives. The term *ewuh*, according to Sapan comes from Javanese literature. The word is equivalent to the word "*angel*", which is difficult to understand. This is as being mentioned in the Javanese "*ewuh oyo ing pambudi*" which means difficult to understand something. In this case, Kalang people find it difficult to understand symbols in rituals that have a very deep meaning. By the contrast, Jonah said that the word *ewuh* means bother because the community is very busy with activities to prepare rituals and ceremonial materials, such as sticky rice, banana ayu, eggs, veggie salad with coconut, flowers, and so on (Jonah, 17 April 2014).

Kalang people have an obligation to perform the ritual at least 4 times in a year. They perform this *ewuh* ritual on Tuesday *wage* and Friday *wage*. In a year, they perform this *ewuh* ritual twice on Tuesday *wage*, while another twice on Friday *wage*. They believe that their first ancestor was born on Tuesday *wage*, while the second

ancestor was born on Friday *wage*. The four rituals of this *ewuhan* can be divided into two groups, i.e., *ewuh* performed twice in five months (5-2) and another twice in seven months (7-2).

In order to know this ritual, the community has no particular calendar system. However, they just base it on what they are convinced. When it is close to the event, there is no single person who reminds the community. Yet, they are reminded of performing the rituals by themselves based on the last ritual. Though there is no calendar, they seem to have a coordinator to do it. Eventhough they live in various regions, they can perform it massively. It is due to their uniformity in their Javanese calendar system which is different from other general calendar systems.

The calendar calculation model on *ewuh* ritual they have developed so far is as follows:

"If the last ritual falls on Tuesday *wage*, the next ritual will be on Friday *wage*; If the last ritual falls on Friday *wage*, the next *ewuh* ritual will be on a *wage* Tuesday *wage*. The distance between Tuesday *wage* to Friday *wage* takes about 80-82 days; otherwise the distance between Friday *wage* to Tuesday *wage* takes about 120-125 days. Typically, people already know by themselves to the point that they practice in their own homes. Therefore, this *ewuh* ritual cannot be determined or ascertained in a particular month "(Mbah Warsini, May 2, 2014).

Before conducting *ewuh* ritual they will prepare it well. They go to traditional markets to search for materials commonly used for offerings in the ritual ceremonies, such as plantains, bananas, chickens, eggs, flowers, and so forth. Then, they are busy cooking it, like making traditional meals; *gemblong*, *bothok*, *kuluban*, *kinang*, and *sekulbucu*. In time, the meals are served in their respective homes. Nonetheless, some are given to neighbors, relatives, and/or others who are not Kalang. This kind of activity is generally only done in the community of Lumbu people (Lumansari Village) and Wanglu Krajan (Poncorejo Village).

The practice of the *ewuh* ritual is usually led by the oldest woman who is appointed as the one who will pray in such ritual. She recited a

prayer and or mantra addressed to the ancestor, Demang Kalang. The recitation of prayer aims to gain goodness, serenity, and peace, whether in the life of the individual or of his family. In addition, this ewuh ritual is intended to be a form of homage to Demang Kalang as their ancestors. By carrying out this ritual, the Kalang people and their antecedents certainly have a good hope for life in the future, which is hoping for the spaciousness and success in life.

Obong or Bakaran Rituals

In essence, obong ritual is a customary ceremony of death for the people of Kalang. This ritual is aimed to be a refinement of the ancestral spirits and or as the mandate of the ancestors. It means that the grandchildren of Kalang people perfect the spirit of his ancestors. This is based on a belief of Kalang people which says that every child is obliged to obey and serve their parents. This obligation is not only performed during their lifetime, but until the end of their lives for parents have sacrificed a lot for and raise them up to become successful people, such as businessmen, officials, and so forth. To repay their good deeds, every child is now obliged obey and serve them, such as maintaining their graves.

For the people of Kalang, one of the ways to respect their late parents as their ancestors is to hold *obong* ritual. In this ritual the corpse burned is not their main bodies, but their replica in the form of wooden puppets called *puspa* or *golekan*. This kind of ritual is almost identical to the one performed by the Tengger Hindu community in Probolinggo and its surroundings, known as *entas-entas*, which is an event performed to purify the atman or soul of the deceased by using “petra” or puppet (Vina, 2003: 98). The only difference is that the Kalang community perform *obong* rituals in the first year after their death, known as “mendhak pisan” or “*sependhak* pisan” while the ritual *entas-entas* in Tengger Hindu society is performed on the 1000th day after the death.

Of course, this is also different from Balinese Hindu community who perform *obong* rituals by burning corpses, called as “Ngaben” ceremony.

According to Iga (1988: 56), Ngaben ceremony is managed to be a purification and a restoration of the physical elements to the *Pancamahabhuta* (five essential elementary forms) in the universe. Thus, Tengger Hindu is not in principle equivalent to Balinese Hindu, because Hindu Tengger belongs to Hindu Mahayana, while Hindu Bali belongs to Hindu Dharma. In contrast to this, Sumyanto argues as follows:

“The Hindu Tengger and Balinese Hindus are the same, but they differ only in the local genius. This is because in Tengger there is a hila-hila area (holy land) so it is exempt from tax from the government. Therefore, in this region there is no wet ngaben as in Besakkeh Bali because there is Pure Khyangan Jagat.Sementara, in Tengger there is ceremony of entas -asas considered the same as Ngaben ceremony in Bali. Only, in Bali there Ngaben directly after death, while Ngaben in Tengger is only “petra” or puppet.” (Sumyanto, March 26, 2013).

In Gemuh area, obong ritual can be divided into two kinds, namely obong *mitungdino* ritual and obong *sependhak* ritual. The first obong ritual does not use puspa or stuffed material, but only the clothes of the deceased. While the second does. Puspa is a wooden or board statue as a symbol of the body of the deceased. The two kinds of rituals take in a series of ceremonies of death, like the Javanese community in general, such as: “sur tanah” (first day of ceremony), nelungdino (third day of ceremony), *mitungdino* (ceremony of the seventh day), matang puluh dino (ritual after forty days) nyatus (ritual after one hundred), mendhak pisan (first year of the death), mendhak pindo (second year after the death), nyewu (ritual after thousand days).

a. Obong Mitungdino Ritual

It is familiar that *mitungdino* is a ritual on the seventh day after the death. According to Kalang community, during seven days the spirit of the deceased still roam around their house. In order to get out of their house, the ritual *obong mitungdino* has to be performed by the family and or relatives. By this ritual, the journey of the spirit of a dead person becomes easy, and there is no disturbance whatsoever to go to heaven. In

the performance of this ritual, they not need to use *puspa* or doll as a replica of the real human body, but only “*sandhangan*” (old clothes) that previously became the late’s favorite.

In the process of performing the ritual, the atmosphere becomes very mystical since nobody dares to speak except the shamans who are reading the mantras. In fact, the ritual participants carrying materials of offerings were not allowed to speak, even if someone asks him to speak. For if they dare to answer the call of people talking, something bad will happen. Under these conditions, Kalang people believe that shaman is interacting with the spirits of the deceased. According to Kalang people, if the shaman looks moody, it means that something unexpected by the spirit of the dead person or the spirits of the ancestors. Conversely, if the shaman looks happy, it means that the soul of the deceased and the ancestor have been happy, and they have a good place (Innarotuzzakiyah, 2011: 86).

In the process of burning replicas and other materials, none of the participants of the ceremony are permitted to take the goods or materials of offerings without the knowledge of the shaman. If there is someone who takes these things, they believe that there will be something bad, such as sick or crazy. The firearms against the goods in obong rituals are meant to melt the sins of the deceased, so their souls’ journeys do not experience obstacles to go to heaven. The fire in this burning symbolizes the behavior of the deceased. Muslikhin (2008: 120) says that if the fire is burning white then this is a sign that the deceased’s deeds are good and accepted by God.

Thus, the burning in the ritual *obong mitungdino* denotes the journey of the deceased soul from the natural world to go to the afterlife. As Kalang community believes that at this time the deceased’s spirit is still dwelling around the house. In order for the spirit to enter the afterlife, the obong ritual has to be performed so that he/she can gather with his ancestral spirits without being separated from the public (Kesti.1993: 49). To be more perfect, the Kalang community holds a

ritual obong *sependhak*. It is the ritual performed on the day after a year. In the Javanese language, this death ritual is called *mendhakpisan* (a day after the first year of the death).

b. Obong Sependhak Ritual

In principle, *obong sendhak* ritual is similar to the obong *mitungdino* ritual. The only dissimilarity is that the first a replicas or dolls as substitutes for the bodies of people who died while the later does not. Usually, the *obong sendhak* ritual is performed royally, like a party by slaughtering a goat or buffalo. It therefore requires a very large fund. This is different from *obong mitungdino* which is performed very simple because the atmosphere is still close to condoling and mourning over the death of a person.

The ritual of *obong sendhak* is meant to appeal to God to forgive all the mistakes acted by the ancestral spirits when they were alive. The ritual is to perfect their spirits in the afterlife and to make the family safe and happy. Sholeh (2008: 101) asserts that this ritual aims to purify the spirits of the ancestors, fathers, mothers, families, and relatives who have passed away. However, this ritual is basically aimed at pleading the salvation of God and the other supernatural powers. For people left, the ritual is to prevent diseases and other dangers, while for the deceased, it is aimed to obtain expeditious journey to the unseen world.

As the peak of this ritual, there is burning replica or doll of people who died. In this case, Kalang shaman or shaman *sonteng* plays a very important role. The first is woman who has special knowledge about the practice of *obong* ritual. She knows all kinds of offerings and or all the equipment that should be provided in the ceremony. The position as a Kalang shaman cannot be handled by any woman, except based on the offspring of Kalang shaman. Therefore, person who is not the descendant of Kalang shaman is not allowed to perform the *obong* ritual. If she does so the way she leads will experience obstacles, even the abandoned family will get disasters.

Although the burning *puspa* has been done,

it does not mean the obong ritual is finished. The *mendhak* ritual seen as the stage of *entas-entasis* already completed, if the shaman has closed it with supplication. Typically, the ritual is only followed by relatives who perform the ritual. At this time, the shaman *sonteng* leads a prayer of gratitude with Javanese language because the *entas-entas* stage is finished, and all participants hope that the soul of the deceased can be calm before God. The procession usually provides white rice, noodles, side dishes, porridge or *jenang* as a form of festivity for those present. A week after the ritual, there will be “Mbrubah Kajang”, it is a place used to store wooden puppets and offering materials. However, the leader of prayer should not be done by the shaman *sonteng*. Everyone who is considered capable of leading it can handle. With this ritual stage, it means that the ritual has been completed for the deceased person.

Sapendhak ritual in this area has been colored with a very high Islamic style. This is due to the fact that the supporters of this ritual tradition are mostly Kalang people who have become Muslim *santri*. They already perform the prayers, paying zakat, fasting, even some have done the pilgrimage. In addition, they also have a lot to follow the activities of *pengajian* (sermon) or religious groups, such as *tahlil* and *yasinan*, *solawatan* or *berjanzi*, and so on. Therefore, the pattern of Islamic community conducted by the Kalang tends to traditional Islam like what has been developed by Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). The traditional Islam like practiced by NU still appreciates traditions or customs of good culture. This religious ideology is different from that of Muhamadiyah which strictly prohibits the existence of heresy, so that the Kalang people do not like the religious pattern as developed by Muhamadiyah.

In fact, the Kalang people are absolutely Muslim and they all recognize Islam as their religion, but some of them are active in Islamic law and others are less active in it. Therefore, when there is wedding or ritual of death, they read supplication and Islamic prayers led by

kyai, *modin*, and or other religious men. Some even invite a Islamic preacher (muballigh) to lead the obong ritual. Of course, the preacher will explore the wisdom of death with the Islamic version. In the past, wedding and ritual were only led by a *shaman* only. Now religious leaders have an important role in the performance of Kalang rituals.

The Adaptive Strategies

Although Kalang Muslim community in this area has undergone changes/shift, the community is still evolving and surviving until now. Of course, this community has adaptive strategies. They are ways to adapt to changes in the environment. The adaptive strategies can be interpreted as plans of action by human beings both consciously and unconsciously in response to various internal or external conditions. Therefore, the adaptive strategies undertaken by the Kalang Muslim community are as follows:

Strength of Belief

As the customary traditional conducts of the Javanese in general, Kalang people also practice the rituals of death. They hold ceremonial rituals, for instance, the first day of is called “nyur tanah”, the third day is called “druni”, the seventh-day is called “*mitungdino*”, the fortieth day is called “matang puluh”, the 100th day is called “nyatus”, the day after a year of death is called “*mendhak* or *sependhak*”, and the 1000th day is called “nyewu” (Kesti, Maha 1993: 24). From these rituals, there are two rituals different with the Javanese in general, namely *mitungdino* and *sependhak* because there is a special ritual known as “obong *mitungdino* ritual” and “obong *sependhak* ritual”.

They believe that the two rituals are a symbol of the journey to the afterlife. In Islam, this may be described as a journey to heaven. This kind of belief is in accordance with the Javanese principles which are rich with symbols, so that the values developed by the Kalang are similar to Javanese cultural values. Therefore, the living principles developed by Kalang people are the principles of Javanese culture. The beliefs of the

people towards death are described by Sarwan:

“Within a week, the spirit of the deceased still dwells in the house. Therefore, the Kalang people perform the ritual of obong *mitungdino* for the spirit to get out of the house. Then, the spirit travels to the afterlife, but has not been accepted by the Ultimate Power (God) because of incomplete infrastructure. In order for this spirit to be received by God, the Kalang people perform the ritual of *obong sependhak*. With these rituals, then the journey of the deceased soul into the afterlife is straight and has no obstacle. The journey is done through the incense smoke that has a high speed so the spirit can quickly get to heaven. (Sarwan, March 23, 2014).

It implies the journey of a servant to his/her Lord in the afterlife, God the Almighty. Since their understanding is basically Javanese, the values nuanced are Javanese. For Kalang people, humans have two main principles, namely reasoning (mind) and feeling (spirit). Yet, the more important thing of human life is the spirit. That is why the journey of the spirits is symbolized by various materials of offerings and ritual processes, such as incense smoke, *nyangoni* ritual, and ending with burning *puspa*. By means of the ritual of *sependhak*, the journey of the soul will be fluent and subtle without any disturbance until it meets and unites with Sang Hyang Widhi as The Ultimate Creator.

Until now, the two *obong* ritual ceremonies are still performed in vibrant and royal ways by the Kalang community in Kendal, especially in Gemuh district. In this district, there are two areas which are known to be very strong with the traditions of Kalang, Lumbu (Lumansari) and Wanglukrajan (Poncorejo). They believe that the two kinds of rituals are the heritages of the ancestors that must be preserved by their offspring and as obedience of the children toward their parents. If not practiced, there will be fear of something unwanted, such as illness, difficult life, and so on. This is as told by Sarwan, as follows:

“..... there are stories about the practice of *obong* rituals that are not proper. For example, when the shaman recites mantras, the shaman is possessed and tells the secrets of the deceased that no one has ever known, such as having a stash of money and or a mistress. When the things of-

ferred are perceived less, the shaman will mention the materials less and relatives will immediately fulfill them. In fact, when someone is cynical in the presence of a shaman when reciting a mantra, that person becomes a change of face (*perot*), and in turn it frightens the atmosphere of Kalang (Sarwan, 19 March 2014).

This fear underlies Kalang community in this area to maintain and preserve the traditions of Kalang. For the community, this is known as “ora elok” or “pamali”, customary rules that should not be violated by adherents or “anak putu” (offspring). If violated, the possibility of something bad comes into their life, such as: sick, physical and non-physical sufferings, and so forth. This term is also known as the term “kualat” (accursed) which is seen as a spiritual sanction which is bad for someone because he/she it is not in accordance with the customary norms. This is, as Koentjaraningrat (1984: 442) illustrates there is a natural force that alludes to Javanese saying “tiyang sepuh punika malati.” (old men/parents/predecessors can lead you to be accursed).

Endogamous Marriage

Marriage among Kalang fellow can maintain the preservation of the traditions of Kalang. Such marriage in anthropological terms is called as endogamy marriage, which is a marriage between ethnicity, clan, tribe, or kinship in the same environment. In this marriage system, a person is required to seek a mate in his or her own social environment, eg in relatives, clans, a social class environment, or a very close relationship of kinship. Koentjaraningrat (1985: 91) says that the term endogamy actually has a relative meaning that needs to be explained within its boundaries. If it is a village endogamy, persons always marry one another from their own village and never find their mates outside their village. If it is a caste endogamy, a folk gets married with another of the same caste, like caste endogamy in India, caste endogamy in Bali.

This kind of marriage system is practiced in Kalang’s own family environment, for example marriage between cousins. In this marriage, the role of parents is very important, especially in

finding a match for boys with women from their own kinsmen. As for the girls are usually a little loose, they are allowed to marry with men outside the environment. To avoid the things that are less good, typically their fellow parents engage their children. In other words, a Kalang family agrees to marry off for their immature children. There are some motives in doing such thing: 1). the wealth of the two relatives does not move from their own relatives to others; 2). the purity of blood of Kalang is preserved as the inheritance of their ancestors; 3). To tighten the familial relations (Kesi, 1993: 21).

In the Kalang Gemuh community, this kind of marriage is still widely found, especially for older generations. However, this marriage begins to shift from marriage between family/relatives towards the endogamous understanding/ideology, i.e., they seek mate not based on the relationship of blood or relations of relatives, but on relationships among fellow Muslims Kalang. They do this kind of marriage though from different villages.

In general, those who marry fellow Kalang are aged people (about 60-70 years old). They are mostly people who are still strong in practicing the Kalang tradition. These are the ones who will continue and carry on the Kalang tradition, such as the *ewuhan* and *obong* rituals. In this way, the people of Kalang can maintain the traditional sustainability of Kalang and survive until now. On the contrary, if the Kalang practiced marriage with non-Kalang people, this would mean that the Kalang traditions are threatened to fade forever. This means that the traditions of Kalang are increasingly changing, even disappearing completely.

Thus, the endogamy of fellow Kalang can strengthen the preservation of the Kalang tradition in this area. They understand each other and keep each other's ancestral cultural heritage, and they are aware of the bad consequences when leaving it. Those are the people who can continue the traditions of Kalang during their lives. Only this kind of marriage is a huge obstacle in the era

of modernization and globalization. In the age of global tendency, this kind of marriage system is difficult to maintain, because young people of Kalang are very liberated and unlimited. Many of Kalang people who marry with people outside of their community (exogamy). Therefore, many of Kalang descendants no longer have a moral duty to maintain their ancestral traditions.

Accommodative Attitudes

The real Kalang people do not close themselves to the surrounding environment, and therefore they do not reject other cultural elements on a frontal basis. In fact, since Islam entered the land of Java, they gradually become Muslims. Now, Kalang people have changed a lot, even have a lot of active in practicing *shari'a*, such as prayers, zakat, fasting, and social activities, such as *tahlil* and *yasin* and Qur'an recitation. In fact, some Kalang people have been able to perform the pilgrimage. However, they still carry out the Kalang tradition inherited by their ancestors, such as *obong* rituals or burning *puspa* (wooden puppets). This is as argued by Warsini in her following statement:

"Kalang people also practice *shari'a*, such as prayer, fasting, charity, and pilgrimage. They distinguish religion from cultural customs. Performing *shari'a* like prayers, zakat, fasting and pilgrimage is the behavior of Islamic conducts, while doing customs and *obongs* is a tradition, Islam is a religion, while Kalang ritual is a tradition inherited by ancestors. They can not be equalized or united. Therefore, it should not be surprised if many Kalang people who even have done the pilgrimage, still keep their ancestral rituals." (Warsini, March 25, 2014).

Kalang people are able to adjust themselves with their local circumstances. Consequently they can maintain the development of Islam and locality in their environment. Also, their neighbors are influenced to join religious gathering and rituals such as *pengajian*, *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *solawatan*, etc. to support the religious programs, they build places for worship in their village. It in turns influences the practice of their predecessors'

traditions, particularly obong *mitungdino* ritual and *sependhak*. Prior to this ritual, the so-called “*walimahan*” (party) is celebrated, praying for the deceased to get God’s grace and a glorious path by God. This *walimahan* is led by a religious figure (modin or kyai) using Islamic prayers.

The relationship between Islam and the traditions of Kalang in this area seems to go harmoniously hand in hand together. It is taken into account that Kalang people do not consider these rituals to as *shirk* (associating God to others), even though they are devout Muslims and *haji*. Besides, the kyai or religious figures never question it, even they often give a religious or religious lecture on the occasion of alms and wedding party. They keep silent in the matter of persisting rituals in the community because they are aware that the Kalang people only preserve their traditions or customs and respect the teachings of their ancestral heritage, but what matters is that their *aqida/faith*(theological stance) does not change. Therefore, they recognize that they are Muslim, but they still respect the spirits who are considered as they ancestors.

The customary ceremonial ritual of death is a pre-Islamic tradition in honoring dead people. In this region, Islamic preachers dare not to remove or forbid it, even they let it go. Yet they try to color it with Islamic elements. It is due to the fact that Islamic character is, to some extent, mystical, tolerant and accommodating to local beliefs and cultures. On the one hand, this has a negative aspect, that is, the occurrence of sincretization between Islam and local culture. On the other hand, it also contains a positive aspect, i.e., to facilitate the Javanese (Kalang) community in accepting Islam. According to Darori (2002: 94-96), these principles have made easier for Islamic pesantren to know and understand Javanese thought and culture (Kalang) to the point that they will find easy to teach and preach Islam to them.

CONCLUSION

The community of *Islam Kalang* has experienced shifts, especially in the implementation of rituals and the number of adherents. Nevertheless, the community is still

growing and surviving until now. Adaptation strategies include three things, namely: strong belief, endogamy of marriage, and accommodative attitudes. With a strong belief, Kalang people have fear to leave the traditions of Kalang for it is bad. With endogamy marriage, fellow members of the community can maintain their sustainability as they understand each other and preserve their ancestral cultural heritage. With an accommodative attitude, Kalang people do not close themselves to the surrounding environment so that relationship between Islam and the traditions of Kalang can operate together. They do not take these customary rituals as *shirk* (associating God with others) because they are only principled in preserving tradition, respecting the teachings of their ancestors and letting it alive for the religious figures also never question them for they are not harmful for their beliefs.

REFERENCES

- Arifin, Syamsul. 2009. *Studi Agama Perspektif Sosiologis dan Issu-issu Kontemporer*. Malang: UMM Press
- Bee, Robert L. 1974. *Pattern and Processes: An Introduction to Anthropological Strategies for the Study of Sociocultural Change*. New York: The Free Press A Division of Publishing Co. Inc.
- BPS. 2014. *Kecamatan Gemuh dalam Angka*. Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kendal
- Budiwanti, Erni. 2000. *Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*. Yogyakarta: LKiS
- Daeng, Hans J. 1989. *Upaya Inkulturasi Gereja Katolik di Manggarai dan Ngada Flores*. Yogyakarta: UGM
- Darori, M. 2002. *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Gema Media
- Durkheim, Emile. 1965. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.
- Endraswara, Suwardi. 2006. *Metode, Teori, Teknik Penelitian Kebudayaan, Idiologi, Epistemologi, dan Aplikasi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Widiatama
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of*

- Culture*. New York: Basic books. Inc
- Hadi, Y. Sumandiyo. 2006. *Seni Dalam Ritual Agama*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka
- Iga, Mas. 1998. *Panca Yadnya*. np: Yayasan Dharma Sarathi
- Innarotudzakiyyah. 2011. "Pelaksanaan Adat Kalang Obong: Perspektif Dakwah Lintas Budaya". Unpublished Under Graduate Thesis for Dakwah Faculty IAIN Walisongo Semarang
- Iskandar, Johan.2009. *Ekologi Manusia dan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan*. Bandung: Program Studi Magister Ilmu Lingkungan, Universitas Pajajaran
- Kesti, Maha. 1993. *Upacara Kalang Obong di Gombang*. Yogyakarta: Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional
- Ketjen, E. 1883. *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Kalangs op Java*. TBG XXVIII
- Khaliq, Abdul. 2013. "Islam Kalang: Politik Identitas Sub Etnis Jawa." *Harmoni*. 12 (1): 116-129
- Koentjaraningrat. 1974. *Kebudayaan, Mentalitet dan Pembangunan*. 6th Edition. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia
- Koentjaraningrat. 1985. *Beberapa Pokok Antropologi Sosial*. 6th Edition. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat
- Koentjaraningrat. 1986. *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. 3rd Edition. Jakarta: Aksara Baru
- Kroeber, A.L. and Kluckhonn.1952. *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. New York: Ventage Books Alfred A. Knoff. Inc.
- Kuntowijoyo. 2006. *Budaya dan Masyarakat*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Magatta, Baihaqi Hendri. 2016. "Strategi Adaptasi Tukang Becak dalam Kehidupan Sosial Ekonomi". *Holistik Journal*. IX(18): 1-22
- Miles, B. Mathew and Hubberman, A. Michhael.1992. *Analiisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber Tentang Metode-Metode Baru*. Jakarta: UI Press.
- Moleong, Lexy. 2000. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya
- Mulder, Neils. 1996. *Pribadi dan Masyarakat Di Jawa*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- Muslikhin. 2008. "Kalang Dalam Perubahan Jaman: Strategi Masyarakat Kalang Mempertahankan Tradisi Di Wanglukrajan Poncorejo". Unpublished *Thesis* for Graduate of Semarang State University.
- Muslikhin. 2011. "Orang dan Budayanya: Tinjauan Historis Masyarakat Kalang di Kabupaten Kendal." *Paramitha*. 21(2): 164-178
- Noviani, Nur Lalili. 2016. "Peran Sugesti Bagi Orang kalang dalam Melestarikan Tradisi Kalang di Lumansari, Kendal." *Jurnal Smart*.2 (2): 155-166
- Poncosutirto, Sularjo. 1971. *Orang-Orang Golongan Kalang*. Yogyakarta: Fakultas Hukum UGM
- Purwasito, Andrik. 2003. *Agama Tradisional Potret Kearifan Hidup Masyarakat Samin dan Tengger*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Raffles, Thomas S. 1978. *The History of Java*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press
- Roland, Robertson. 1988. *Agama dalam Analisa dan Interpretasi Sosiologis*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press
- Sholeh, Agus. 2004. *Upacara Obong: Studi tentang Agama dan Budaya pada Masyarakat Kalang*. Semarang: Pascasarjana IAIN Walisongo
- Sobur, Alex. 2010. *Psikologi Umum*. Bandung: Penerbit Pustaka Setia.
- Soekanto, Soeryono. 1985. *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar. New Edition*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo
- Suharso and Ana Retnoningsih. 2005. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Jakarta : Widya Karya
- Sulaiman. 2012. *Islam Aboge: Persinggungan Antara Islam dan Budaya Lokal di Banyumas*. Semarang: Akvi-media
- Turner, Victor. 1965. *The Forests of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Itaca Cornell: Whivatcity Press

Vina, Salviana. 2003. *Modal Sosial Masyarakat dalam Menjaga Tatahan Sosial dalam Agama Tradisional*. Yogyakarta: LKiS

Wach, Joachim. 1985. *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama: Inti dan Bentuk Pengalaman Keagamaan*. Jakarta: Rajawali.

Winick, Charles.1977. *Dictionary of Anthropology*. New Jersey: Littlefield, Adam & Co