



Kyai Modjo

(Portrait signed "Capt. de St. 1828" in F. V. H. A. de Stuers,  
*Mémoires sur la Guerre de l'Ile de Java, de 1825 à 1830*  
[Leiden: Luchtmass, 1833], pp. 128-29.)

MUSLIM MINAHASANS WITH ROOTS IN JAVA:  
THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUNG JAWA TONDANO\*

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In the middle of the regency of Minahasa, almost a thousand miles away from Central Java lies Kampung Jawa Tondano. Founded by a small group of Javanese Muslims exiled for political reasons by the Dutch, it has now been in existence for just over 150 years. In spite of its name, and its origins, its inhabitants do not today speak, and indeed for many years have not spoken, the Javanese language. And although its chief founder is a semi-official national hero, whose name is a household word all over Java, the community does not think of itself as Javanese. Yet it remains sharply demarcated from the surrounding society, with a strong sense of corporate identity, not Javanese but Islamic. Why, over many generations, this community was not assimilated into the larger society of Menadonese North Sulawesi, and why it lost its Javanese-ness while maintaining its Islamic-ness, are the questions to which this essay is addressed.

*The Founders: Background of the Javanese Exiles*

The leader of the group of Javanese who founded Kampung Jawa Tondano was Kyai Modjo. Born in about 1792, Kyai Modjo had been an influential religious teacher (*ulama*) from the region of Pajang near Delanggu, Surakarta.<sup>1</sup> His father was also a well-known *ulama* on whom had been successively bestowed the *pradikan* villages of Baderan and Mojo, both near Pajang.<sup>2</sup> At his father's death, Kyai Modjo

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1. See Peter B. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara: An Account of the Outbreak of the Java War (1825-30)* (Kuala Lumpur: Art Printing, 1981), pp. 261-62, endnote 110. A genealogy gathered in Kampung Jawa in 1919 traces Kyai Modjo's ancestry through eight generations of *kyai* back to the empire of Majapahit. This genealogy was enclosed in a letter of a descendant of Diponegoro, dated Manado, December 15, 1919, a photocopy of which is in the Leiden University Library Oriental Collection.

2. *Pradikan* villages were ones in which taxes did not accrue to the ruler but

himself received the *pradikan* of Mojo, whence the title by which he became widely known.<sup>3</sup> The large family of religious teachers to which he belonged was apparently well known in both Solo and Yogyakarta, and students from the Solo court studied under him at his *pesantren* in Mojo.<sup>4</sup>

At the outbreak of the Java War,<sup>5</sup> Kyai Modjo had responded to Diponegoro's appeal for support and brought with him relatives and many other followers from his home region of Pajang. Not long after, he contracted a dynastic marriage to R. A. Mangkubumi, the divorced wife of Diponegoro's uncle, Pangeran Mangkubumi.<sup>6</sup> Despite Diponegoro's high regard for Kyai Modjo, there were long-standing disagreements between the two men which eventually led to a political break.<sup>7</sup> The most serious of these concerned their respective roles in leading the anti-Dutch struggle. Diponegoro apparently wished to retain broad authority over both temporal and spiritual matters, whereas Kyai Modjo desired a strict division of powers.<sup>8</sup>

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rather were allocated to such things as the maintenance of sacred tombs or Islamic religious institutions. See Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, endnote 101. I have adopted the practice of writing place names to the best of my knowledge according to common current Indonesian usage, and personal names, particularly those still currently used as surnames in Kampung Jawa, as their bearers do today (i.e., usually in pre-Ejaan Baru style).

3. According to oral history, he was originally named Bagus Kalifah. He is also referred to in Kampung Jawa as "Mbah Guru," and as "Kyai Guru" in contemporary sources, such as the list of men captured with him by the Dutch which appears in the Nahuys van Burgst private collection (portfolio 11, part 11) in the Leiden University Library [hereafter NvB1828].

4. During the British interregnum he had also been involved in politics, when he was sent on a secret mission to Bali by the Sunan of Surakarta. The British imprisoned him for this action. See Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, endnote 110.

5. On the events of this period, see Peter B. R. Carey, "The Origins of the Java War (1825-30)," *English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), pp. 52-78, and his *Babad Dipanagara*.

6. This information is contained in notes prepared for the Governor-General by Lt. J. H. Knoerie, when he accompanied Diponegoro to Manado in 1830. Document No. 391, in the J. van den Bosch private collection, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague [hereafter Kn1830].

7. Peter B. R. Carey, *The Cultural Ecology of Early Nineteenth Century Java* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974), p. 21.

8. Information on the disagreements between the two men appears in a document [henceforth referred to as the KJT MS] at least part of which seems to have been written down in Kampung Jawa, possibly as early as 1833. This document tells of Kyai Modjo's relations with Diponegoro during the Java War and of his subsequent arrest and exile by the Dutch. Reflecting the perceptions and views of Kyai Modjo and his close associates, it lists a series of complaints against the Prince, who is blamed for the split between the two leaders. While several words in the MS are unclear, it states that not only did Diponegoro still seek worldly goals (Javanese: *nedi 'aradl dunya*), but he also continued to violate Islamic law (*syarak*). Further, he no longer trusted Kyai Modjo, and was pressuring the Kyai to take the position of *pengulu* (senior religious official). (According to Carey [*Cultural Ecology*, p. 20], this was an attempt by Diponegoro to place strict bounds on Kyai Modjo's ambitions.) The KJT MS, written in Javanese in the Arabic (*pegon*) script, is currently in the possession of the Modjo family of Jakarta. A photocopy of it, kindly

By 1827 and 1828 Kyai Modjo had independently initiated peace negotiations with the Dutch. His precise motivations are not entirely clear, but he may have concluded that the Dutch would sooner or later be victorious, and that it would be wise to hasten over to their side.<sup>9</sup> The KJT MS, however, states that he made a settlement with the Dutch for the benefit of the "servants of Allah," for the well-being of the country, and for the preservation of Islam.<sup>10</sup> The Dutch, according to this account, had already given assurances on the latter point. Whatever the reason, on November 12, 1828, Kyai Modjo was taken into custody, together with some 500 of his followers, at the village of Kembang Arum, north of the city of Yogyakarta. Whether they were captured, surrendered, or, in fact, defected to the Dutch side remains unclear.<sup>11</sup> Escorted by Dutch troops, Kyai Modjo and his men marched into Klaten, two days after their supposed capture, singing "religious songs from the Qu'ran" rather as victors than as vanquished.<sup>12</sup> Initially taken to Surakarta, he and seventy-two of his followers were then sent on to Batavia. Detained there for more than a year, Kyai Modjo was persuaded to use his "good offices" to try to win over a number of other Javanese leaders, but his attempts were unsuccessful.

In early 1830 Kyai Modjo and most of his fellow prisoners were exiled to Sulawesi Utara, perhaps as many as sixty of them ultimately reaching Tondano, where they founded Kampung Jawa.<sup>13</sup> These "followers" were no ordinary men. According to the Resident of Surakarta, "more than 60" of the men who were separated from the 400 "lesser" prisoners in Surakarta were "*hoofden*" ("chiefs").<sup>14</sup> A sizeable number of them bore titles bestowed by Diponegoro for particular bravery or for their military leadership qualities: there were a half-dozen *tumenggung*, a *di-pati*, as well as a number of *basah* and *dullah*. Many, or most, of them appear to have been "*putihan*" or strongly Islamic. Some two-thirds of the group bore titles

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supplied by Ir. Anwar Pulukadang of Jakarta, is in the Echols Collection of the Cornell University Libraries, together with a transliteration done by Nurcholish Madjid of the University of Chicago.

9. He may, as Carey suggests (personal communication, 1981), have hoped to be treated the same way Pangeran Serang and Natapraja had been the previous year, when they had been granted lands and privileges upon their surrender. The Dutch, however, treated *priyayi* leaders, such as Serang, much more leniently than captured religious leaders.

10. Javanese: "*amrih mashlahatê kawulaning Allah sedaya sarta amrih karaharjané negari lestariné agami Islam.*" De Kock's report of his meeting with Kyai Modjo on November 18, 1828, also mentions that the Kyai said his sole desire was for government support for Islam on Java. See "Letters concerning Kyai Modjo," Jogjakarta Residency Archive, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia [ANRI], Jakarta [hereafter *Djokjo Brieven*], 18.

11. See E. S. de Klerck, *De Java Oorlog van 1825-30*, 4 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1905), ch. 10, for much background material on this period.

12. Report of Nahuys van Burgst, November 17, 1828, in *ibid.*, p. 617.

13. Of those seventy-two men sent from Solo to Salatiga en route to Batavia, listed in NvB 1828, some forty-five or so can be identified with greater or lesser certainty as having reached Kampung Jawa. It is probable that even more, in fact, ended up in Kampung Jawa, for, according to oral historical tradition in the village, and to Knoerle, the early group of settlers numbered about sixty, while the KJT MS includes a list of fifty-seven names.

14. Letter of Nahuys dated November 17, 1828 in de Klerck, *Java Oorlog*, p. 619.

or names suggesting Islamic identity; well over half bore Arabic-derived (or mixed Arabic-Javanese) personal names; four were *haji*; one, Suronoto, was probably a member of the Suranatan regiment of "religious" bodyguards and "chaplains" at the Yogyakarta court; and perhaps thirty-five or more bore the title *kyai*.<sup>15</sup>

There were no women in the first group of exiles. For a time, Kyai Modjo's wife remained in Java, closely watched by the Dutch, but on March 12, 1831, the Governor-General, perhaps influenced by reports from Resident Valck of Kedu,<sup>16</sup> ordered her exiled too.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Development of Kampung Jawa*

#### Why Tondano?

At the time of Kyai Modjo's arrival, Tondano had only recently been "pacified." When the Dutch had driven the Spanish out of Manado in the mid-1650s, and begun to exploit Minahasa as a source of food, armed resistance had come first from the Tondanese, who then, as now, had a reputation for ferocity. It was against the Tondanese, too, that the Dutch fought their last campaign, finally defeating them in a year-long war ending in 1809.<sup>18</sup> Only after 1830 did more than a handful of Tondanese convert to Christianity.<sup>19</sup> Thus, at the time Kyai Modjo and his followers arrived, there was already a Dutch military contingent in place in Tondano which could be used to keep an eye on the exiles.<sup>20</sup> The Dutch probably also favored Tondano because of its relative isolation on an inland plateau, and perhaps because of the fierce reputation of the surrounding population, who could be ex-

15. Information on men bearing the title *kyai* derives from the two contemporary lists mentioned above (n. 3 and n. 13); from oral historical material gathered in Kampung Jawa; and from Carey, "Origins," Appendix VIIb (as revised). On some of the reasons why such people joined Diponegoro, see Carey, *Babad Dipanagara*, XLV-XLVI. It is likely that the term has been applied retrospectively to a certain number of these men by later generations in Kampung Jawa.

16. Letter of F. G. Valck, February 12, 1831, in *Djokjo Brieven*, 17.

17. See letter of J. van Sevenhoven to the Commissioners for the Principalities, in *Djokjo Brieven*, 12. According to Sagimun, and certain Kampung Jawa traditions, one prominent member of the first exile group was Kyai Ghazali, Kyai Modjo's son. (See Sagimun Mulus Dumadi, *Pahlawan Dipanegara Berjuang* [Yogyakarta: Kementerian P.P. & K., 1957], p. 80.) The Modjo family today claims direct descent from Kyai Modjo through K. Ghazali. Although Dutch historical sources frequently refer to two men named Kyai Ghazali, there is no mention of either being Kyai Modjo's son. At least part of the KJT MS appears to have been written by one of these two men (both of whom, I believe, were exiled to Kampung Jawa), but, again, there is no indication of a family relationship between this Ghazali and Kyai Modjo. Perhaps, as so frequently happens in Indonesia, Kyai Modjo informally adopted Ghazali as a sign of their close personal relationship.

18. F. S. Watuseke, *Sedjarah Minahasa* (Manado: Pertjetakan Negara, 1968); Girot Wuntu, *Perang Tondano (1660-1809)* (Jakarta: n.p., 1963).

19. J. F. Riedel, one of the first (Protestant) missionaries to work intensively in Minahasa, did not arrive in Tondano until mid-1831. See Watuseke, *Sedjarah*, p. 40.

20. Letter of Resident Pietermaat of Manado to the Governor-General in Batavia, dated Manado, July 3, 1830 [hereafter DFWP 1830] (ANRI, Jakarta, Besluit, Exhibit. 12/02/1831, No. 25).

pected to restrict any untoward activity by the Javanese. Furthermore, since the exiles were expected to farm,<sup>21</sup> the availability of land must have been taken into account. Perhaps the Dutch calculated that the Javanese, experienced wet-rice farmers, would be able to convert the swampy, underutilized land near Tondano township into more intensively cultivated sawah.<sup>22</sup>

By the time Lt. Knoerle visited the men in mid-June of 1830, not only had houses and outbuildings been built but also land had been newly opened for rice fields.<sup>23</sup> Through the good offices of Resident Pietermaat, who accompanied Knoerle on this visit, the settlers were also given two coffee gardens (which Knoerle inspected)--part of the new Dutch policy of forced cash crop cultivation. In a letter to the Governor-General in July, Pietermaat reported that 76.20 florins had been spent on spades, mattocks, axes, and machetes (? "pedakken") for the exiles.<sup>24</sup> According to an 1846 report, the settlers had a square *paal* (roughly 2.27 sq. km. or 227 hectares) of land converted to sawah,<sup>25</sup> which is close to the current size of the village (2.5 sq. km.). Natural features and adjacent villages have long prevented this area from expanding.

Today, the people of Kampung Jawa, as well as other Minahasans, express the view that the Javanese exiles introduced wet-rice cultivation on bunded sawah into Minahasa. The reliability of this tradition is not wholly satisfactory. For example, according to Wigboldus, "simple wet fields" had been found, especially along Lake Tondano, at the time of early European penetration of Sulawesi Utara.<sup>26</sup> This term, however, most likely refers to the cultivation of swampy fields watered by flooding from Lake Tondano.<sup>27</sup> But plows, at least, seem to have been "popularized" by the Javanese. A report of 1846 states that plows had only been introduced some twenty years before, and that there were currently thirteen in Kampung Jawa,

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21. "Minutes of a meeting of the Governor-General in Council," Batavia, January 29, 1830 (ANRI, Jakarta, "La A" No. 1).

22. No contemporary record of Dutch thought on the matter has been located. A commentator in 1840 wrote: "*Tonsea-Lama* lies 15 *paal* [22.6 km.] from the nearest coast and in the middle of the most thickly populated part of Minahasa, so that there is not the least fear that the exiles will run away, which indeed would hardly be in their interest, as they would only with difficulty find a more suitable abode elsewhere." Anon., "Statistieke Aanteekeningen over de Residentie Menado," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* [hereafter *TNI*] (1840), 1, p. 153 [my translation].

23. Kn1830, p. 52.

24. DFWP 1830.

25. "Kommissaris voor Manado 1846" [a report located in the Arsip Nasional, Jakarta], p. 107.

26. J. S. Wigboldus, "A Promising Land: Rural History of the Minahasa, about 1615-1680," Paper presented to the second Indonesian-Dutch Historical Congress (Ujung Pandang, June 26-30, 1978), p. 19.

27. Cf. A. S. Bickmore, *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago* (London: Murray, 1868), p. 370; also A. J. F. Jansen, "De Landbouw in de Minahassa van Manado, in 1853," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, 10 (1861), p. 223, who records that in 1853 there were no "true sawahs" in Tondano, not even on the land cultivated by the Javanese exiles. It was not until some years later, I believe, that the Tondano River was deepened to reduce flooding and to enable the development of sawah.

compared with seven belonging to the native population--in all of Minahasa! <sup>28</sup>

The familiarity of the Javanese with blacksmithing, mentioned so frequently in village tradition, would have been a necessary and integral part of their wet-rice agriculture. Until recent times, Kampung Jawa blacksmiths held a virtual monopoly over this craft in the surrounding areas, though today they have largely given it up. Then, as today, agriculture in Kampung Jawa could more properly have been described as mixed farming rather than simply as sawah cultivation. From the beginning, dry fields would have been important for the production of corn, tubers, and a wide variety of vegetables and fruit trees. Perhaps from the outset fish were taken from the lake, and forest products (e.g., rattan, palm sugar) would have been collected, as they are today.

Finally, it is likely that the villagers in Kampung Jawa soon became involved in trading. As outsiders they were in a good position to fill this role, as they do today, with great success, and would certainly have had market experience in Java. Graafland, writing in the 1860s, reported that the people of Kampung Jawa brought large quantities of produce to Tondano, Kema, and Manado to sell, and vied with the Tondanese in the transport of produce (in carts) on the Manado-Tondano and Kema-Tondano routes. <sup>29</sup>

#### *New Population Components*

Since the initial group of exiles were all male, many of them eventually married local Minahasan women. According to oral history, at least a third of the founders, and possibly more, married Minahasan women, some marrying more than once; many children (and later descendants) of these unions also married Minahasans. <sup>30</sup> The women, who were unlikely to have been Christian, were converted to Islam. <sup>31</sup>

While there were no women in the first group of exiles, half a dozen came in a second group which arrived a few years later. In 1839, when the Dutch decided to restrict the size of Diponegoro's household in Makasar, a party of twenty-six, including seven Javanese men, half a dozen Javanese women plus two local wives, and a dozen children, were sent to Sulawesi Utara, via Ambon, and joined Kyai Modjo's settlement. There is a certain amount of anecdotal and documentary detail on some of these people, and in the village today they are generally included among the founders.

In addition to intermarriage with local women and to natural increase, during the nineteenth century the number of people in the village grew with the arrival of several other groups of exiles, of other Muslims from elsewhere in Indonesia--and even of two Chinese.

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28. "Kommissaris voor Manado 1846," p. 139.

29. N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, 2 (Rotterdam: Wijt, 1869), pp. 209-10.

30. Some of these marriages took place quite soon after the founders' arrival: Haji Thajeb had already married a Minahasan woman by the time of Lt. Knoerle's visit (Kn1830, p. 51). Resident Pietermaat reported in January 1831 that eight of the men had married local women. Letter to the Governor-General, January 13, 1831, in ANRI, Jakarta (Besluit, Exhibit. 12/04/1831, No. 11). According to village tradition, a few Javanese wives (and children) eventually joined their husbands in Tondano, but I have no corroborating evidence for this, except with regard to the wife of Kyai Modjo, who appears to have arrived in 1831.

31. Anon., "Statistieke Aanteekeningen."

The first recorded exile subsequent to the arrival of the founders was Kyai Hasan Maulani, who probably arrived in the mid-1840s. The kyai, whose story has been told by Drewes,<sup>32</sup> had become extremely popular in the Cirebon area of West Java through his propagation of an innovative type of *selametan* ritual, and the Dutch were fearful that he would become the focus of an uprising. In 1848 a certain Pangeran Ronggo Danupoyo, a grandson of Pakubuwono IV, was exiled to Kampung Jawa after being implicated in a series of disturbances, and suspected of murder, at the Surakarta palace.<sup>33</sup> He married in the village, and his descendants still live there.

In the late 1880s a small number of people arrived from Banten, exiled after the suppression of their Islamic and messianically colored revolt against the Dutch.<sup>34</sup> All members of this group of Bantenese have been positively or tentatively identified as haji, and their home area had long been strongly Islamic. They and their descendants intermarried with the village population, and their descendants today are indistinguishable from their fellow villagers except by their family ties.

Another small group of settlers, perhaps exiles too, came from Padang in West Sumatra. Although I have little information on their historical background, it is interesting to note that two of them reportedly bore the title *malim*, a Minangkabau equivalent of kyai, while another was a haji. It is claimed by some that these exiles introduced the Malay/Sumatran martial-art form, *silat*, into the village, though it is no longer practiced today; various magical feats are also attributed to them.

Finally, in the last decades of the nineteenth century there arrived a Pangeran Perbatasari and his brother Gusti Amir, related to the royal family of Banjarmasin,<sup>35</sup>

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32. G. Drewes, *Drie Javaansche Goeroe's* (Leiden: Vros, 1925).

33. Letter of the Resident of Surakarta, July 24, 1848, in ANRI, *Ikhtisar Keadaan Politik Hindia-Belanda Tahun 1839-1848* (Jakarta: ANRI, 1973), p. 48. Bleeker, visiting Tondano in 1855, mentions there being two princes from Surakarta in Kampung Jawa. See Pieter Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa en den Molukschen Archipel* (Batavia: Lange, 1856), p. 91. I received no information about a second prince during my fieldwork. A prince Suryaningrat of Surakarta was exiled to Manado before 1840, but there is no indication that he spent any time in Kampung Jawa (Anon., "Statistieke Aanteekeningen," p. 147).

34. As with Kyai Modjo's group, we are fortunate in being able to compare oral historical information on these people with the definitive work on the Cilegon revolt by Professor Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966). In Appendix IX Sartono lists the exiles, their places of banishment, and other information about them. In 1903 van Kol, describing a recent visit to Manado, recorded meeting some Javanese from Banten in the local jail. (H. van Kol, *Uit onze Kolonien* [Leiden: Sijthoff, 1903], p. 301.) He said they had been accomplices in the "horrible murders" in Cilegon, and were serving sentences of fifteen years hard labor. It is possible, but not certain, that these were the same individuals, and they moved to Kampung Jawa only after their release from jail.

35. In late 1884, a pretender to the Banjarmasin (Kalimantan) throne, Mohammad Saman, had established himself at the mouth of the Menawing, a tributary to the great Barito river, where his cousin, Perbatasari, supplied him with weapons to struggle against the Dutch. At one point, however, Perbatasari, on a trip to Kutai to buy weapons, was handed over to the Dutch by the local Sultan, and was banished to Tondano. (H. T. Colenbrander, *Koloniale Geschiedenis*, 3 [The Hague: Nijhoff, 1926], pp. 202-3.) Van Kol (*Uit onze Kolonien*, p. 311) mentions his recent



an Acehnese military leader,<sup>36</sup> and a haji from the small Moluccan island of Saparua. These appear to have been the last of the long line of people whom the Dutch banished from distant parts of the archipelago to Kampung Jawa Tondano.

The most outstanding single group of newcomers to the village, however, were not exiles, but voluntary migrants: namely, the Assegaffs of Palembang who arrived in the late nineteenth century. The head of the clan, a man of Arab or mixed Arab descent,<sup>37</sup> came to wield considerable influence in Kampung Jawa, particularly in religious matters. Although many say he was banished to Kampung Jawa for anti-Dutch activity,<sup>38</sup> others, probably correctly, contend that he was simply an energetic entrepreneur. He may well have arrived via the Arab community in Manado, perhaps by way of the Moluccas, where many Arabs were involved in the spice trade and where the Assegaffs still have relatives today.

Assegaff had a Dutch (or Eurasian?) wife, Nelly Meijer,<sup>39</sup> who, according to villagers today, was the former wife of Pangeran Tjotrodiningrat, a son of the Sultan of Palembang.<sup>40</sup> Nelly Meijer's son by the Pangeran, Raden Nguren/Nuren, apparently also accompanied his mother to Kampung Jawa, together with one Sa'id, said to have been a student of Assegaff's. It is not recorded where and when Nelly Meijer married Assegaff, but she bore him a number of children, including a son with the impressive name of Raden Sarif Sayid Muhammad bin Abdullah Assegaff.<sup>41</sup> Assegaff was also given a wife in the village, by whom he may have produced at least seven more children. His descendants are colloquially given the title *Wang* (from *tuang*, the local form of *tuan*) if male, and *Ipa*, short for Sarifah, if female.

It is frequently said that Assegaff introduced the sewing machine into Kampung Jawa and taught people to make jackets and other garments. If this is true, then he may be credited with introducing a skill practiced profitably by perhaps a major-

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meeting with a "legitimate heir to the throne of Banjarmasin" living in poverty in Kampung Jawa and suffering from leprosy.

36. Van Kol also mentions an Acehnese *panglima* (military leader) resident in Kampung Jawa, doubtless captured during the long Aceh War in the later nineteenth century.

37. On the Arab community in Palembang, see L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dan l'archipel Indien* (Jakarta: Impr. du Gouvernement, 1886), pp. 106-9, 119.

38. J. H. Carpentier Alting (*Regeling van het Privaatrecht voor de Inlandsche Bevolking in de Minahassa-districten der Residentie Menado*, 1 [Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1902], p. 140, n. 1) mentions an "exile" from Palembang in Tondano who, it seemed, wished to "revive" the Islamic "spirit" among the "Javanese." This was probably Assegaff, or his son.

39. One village source described her as the daughter of the Resident of Palembang.

40. Pangeran Tjotrodiningrat was indeed the son of a Sultan of Palembang, and brother of the last monarch, Sultan Najamuddin II. The Palembang Sultanate was dissolved in 1825, and Najamuddin was exiled to Banda (in the Moluccas); he was subsequently moved to Manado, where he died in 1844. According to Dutch sources, the family's straitened circumstances led to unspecified trouble-making and finally to the murder of one of the sultan's brothers on July 18, 1836. Those responsible were four other brothers, including Tjotrodiningrat, and all four were banished to Banda. ANRI, *Laporan Politik Tahun 1837* (Jakarta: ANRI, 1971), p. 25; Colenbrander, *Koloniale Geschiedenis*, 3, p. 215.

41. The name was recorded on his tombstone in the village cemetery.

ity of males in Kampung Jawa today and for which they are known throughout the region. But he was probably also a "religious entrepreneur." Taking advantage of the awe felt by pious villagers for an Arab supposedly descended from the Prophet, the relatively sophisticated Assegaff apparently earned considerable income, directly or indirectly, from religious teaching. He seems to have purveyed a relatively stricter view of Islam than was then current in Kampung Jawa. As well as introducing new prayers and suggesting the erection of a new mosque, it is said that he tried to persuade the villagers to give up certain practices considered "un-Islamic," heretical, or superstitious. Yet his innovations were still rather conservative, in that they had more to do with practice than understanding. He introduced the "*selawat melayu*" (known also as *hadra rodatan*), praises of the Prophet sung in the Arabic language but in a Sumatran style, as opposed to the Javanese-style *selawat* ("*selawat jowo*") brought by the founders.<sup>42</sup>

Assegaff's son Raden Sarif is also credited with several innovations, particularly the establishment of the Dutch-style "Dames Club," an organization of unmarried girls whose main function was to entertain brides on the evening before their weddings. The girls met to practice songs, one of which was the Malay-language *Allah Tuhan Kami* (Allah Our Lord), a very Protestant-sounding hymn still popular in the village.

Respect for Assegaff and other members of his family was so high in the village that they were considered to be *keramat* (magically potent). (Miraculous deeds are associated with Assegaff himself, such as the ability to appear simultaneously in Sumatra and Tondano.) The large roofed section of the cemetery, where he, his wife, and other family members are buried, was earlier considered to rival the grave of Kyai Modjo in "power." But, since Independence, the family's prestige has apparently declined somewhat, and become secularized, and their special part of the cemetery, on a high knoll a little way from Kyai Modjo's, is now considered less important and magical than formerly.

In summary, it seems fair to suggest that the Assegaffs contributed to a strengthening of Islamic identity, encouraged organizations for various segments of the population, and introduced economic innovations.

In addition to the exiles and the other settlers discussed above, there were other sources of population growth. Although probably most village marriages have always been endogamous, Christian Minahasan women have continued to marry into the village, though at a steadily declining rate. A few Minahasan men have also occasionally settled there, usually to earn a living, most converting to Islam and usually marrying village girls. Thus today families with "Christian" Minahasan family names like Tombokan, Karinda, and Supit live in the village. People on both sides of the religious line freely acknowledge their relationships even after the passage of several generations; they like to cite attendance of all sides of the family at funeral or wedding celebrations as evidence of tolerance and harmony.

More numerous in later times, however, have been men, and sometimes women, from Muslim populations elsewhere in Indonesia who have married into the village. Some villagers today, for example, are descendants of immigrants from Gorontalo, Sulawesi Selatan, Kalimantan, and Maluku. Muslim traders, government officials, and military men posted to Tondano, and other Muslims in the region, gravitate to

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42. Also from Sumatra the Assegaffs introduced the *samrak* or *danadana*, a type of *joget* dancing done by pairs of males to the accompaniment of a lute, a violin, and a small drum, and sung verses, usually of a secular nature. Currently, at least, it is claimed that the intent was to counteract the attractions of mixed dancing popular among the Christian Minahasans.

Kampung Jawa in search of accommodation, friendship, and a place of worship, and many have married into village families.

The limited statistical data on Kampung Jawa population growth is drawn together in Table I. These figures, however, underestimate the rate of growth, for not only have people continued to move into the village, but much larger numbers have moved out and settled elsewhere. Population pressure on the land must have been felt in Kampung Jawa for most of this century, for the first recorded movement of villagers to another site occurred before 1920. Today there are at least half-a-dozen daughter villages, in Bolaang Mongondow and Gorontalo kabupaten to the west, in Minahasa itself, and even on Halmahera in Maluku province. Some of this movement was self-initiated, some government-sponsored; the new villages, with the possible exception of the one in Maluku, are all flourishing. Smaller groups of people from Kampung Jawa have settled elsewhere in Minahasa, particularly where there are other Muslim communities.

Table I: Kampung Jawa Population Development

Year	Population Size	(Sources)
1830	60+ men	(see above, p. 77)
1846	273	(63 men, 55 women, 67 boys, 88 girls; "Kommissaris voor Manado 1846," p. 55)
1854	315	(Bleeker, <i>Reis</i> , p. 31, referring to Tolimambot district)
ca. 1902	±1,300	(Carpentier Alting, <i>Regeling</i> , p. 135; van Kol, <i>Uit onze Kolonien</i> , p. 311 gives a figure of roughly 1,000 for the same date)
1965	2,015	(data from Tondano Kecamatan office, supplied by Usman Wonopatih)
1970	1,821	"
1975	2,105	"

In recent times Kampung Jawa has increasingly been incorporated into the local socioeconomic and administrative system, and has achieved the formal status of a regular Minahasan desa. It is today a relatively prosperous community, in the eyes of its inhabitants, of its neighbors, and of the government.<sup>43</sup> Living in an area of fertile soils and good communications, most of the people have some involvement in agriculture,<sup>44</sup> but yet they also practice a wide variety of trades and are active in a range of commercial endeavors, from running tiny *warung* to futures-

43. Kampung Jawa at least since 1977 has been one of only three villages in the kecamatan to have reached the *swasembada* or highest level on the village development scale used by the Department of Home Affairs (information from local government sources).

44. See Sulawesi Regional Development Study [SRDS], *Final Report*, 5 vols. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1979), vols. 1 and 5, for details on physical and socioeconomic conditions in the province. Agricultural patterns in Kampung Jawa consist of various combinations of farming rainfed sawah, dry fields (*ladang*), hillsides (for fruit trees and cloves), and home gardens; most produce is for village consumption, but some is sold.

buying (*ijon*) of cloves on a massive scale. Educational levels are relatively high, and the village is well known for the numbers of teachers it has produced. Another relatively large group from the village have become lower- or higher-level bureaucrats, several of whom have been elected to the kabupaten and provincial legislatures. Geographical and occupational mobility appear high, too.

### *Kampung Jawa's Cultural Identity*

Their diverse cultural origins have provided the inhabitants of Kampung Jawa with a wide variety of potential ways in which they could define their sociocultural identity. We will examine here the choices they have made among these possibilities, and then attempt to define the contours of this identity.

#### *The Ethnogenesis of Kampung Jawa*

At least six significant features distinguished the founders of Kampung Jawa: they were from Java; they spoke Javanese; they were mainly males; they were apparently strongly Muslim; they possessed wet-rice agricultural skills; and they were defined by the Dutch as rebels. These features by themselves, however, may not have been sufficient to ensure long-term separation from the society around them. It had only been twenty years before the exiles arrived that the local Tondanese themselves ceased their fight against the Dutch, and they may have thus felt some solidarity with their new neighbors. Differences, such as those of religion, posed little difficulty to intermarriage. The flexibility and changeability in group identity common in Southeast Asia would have permitted the newcomers to assimilate.<sup>45</sup>

The newcomers' separateness, however, was enhanced by several other factors. First, the Dutch themselves treated them, and their descendants, as a separate category of people,<sup>46</sup> doubtless keeping a close watch on them and closing certain avenues of endeavor to them. Meanwhile Christianity also became increasingly important to the identity of local Minahasans; being exclusivist in nature, it soon conceived of itself as opposed to Islam. The arrival of the second group of Javanese from Makasar in 1839, including at least six women and a number of children, is likely to have strengthened for a while the preservation of distinctive Javanese cultural features. In subsequent years, competition for land and for a share of local trade, or at least local resentment at Kampung Jawa villagers' success in economic activities, probably reinforced the latter's sense of separation from the surrounding society.

It is difficult to say at what period the people of Kampung Jawa no longer identified themselves as Javanese.<sup>47</sup> The process of attrition of their Javanese culture, began, of course, the moment they departed from Java, when they left behind the

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45. Minahasans, including people of Kampung Jawa, seem to have little difficulty in absorbing individuals of even such physically and culturally distinct groups as Chinese, Europeans, and Moluccans of Melanesian appearance.

46. As late as 1902 Carpentier Alting (*Regeling*, p. 140) still referred to the people of Kampung Jawa as Javanese.

47. Apparently they continued to refer to themselves as *jowo* up to the time of the coming of the (Javanese) Brawijaya Division in the late 1950s to suppress the Permesta revolt. Yet by this time, I am told, the word had largely come to indicate "Muslim." Thus, Kampung Jawa people discussing a newcomer would inquire whether he was "jowo" or "serani," i.e., a Muslim or a Christian.

whole artistic complex, centering on the *gamelan* orchestra and the shadow plays, which epitomized the Javanese world-view. Reading of the Javanese language probably began to wither with the second generation,<sup>48</sup> cutting the people off from such culturally central items as the *primbon*, or Javanese-language divining manuals, and compilations of traditional lore.<sup>49</sup> In the spoken language, the fine distinctions in status embodied in the encoded speech levels would have died first, followed later by the rest of the language.

What was eventually left from the Javanese heritage were attenuated forms of the ritual cycle, some vocabulary items, certain foods, some clothing styles; little else, other than some notions of a special past. Yet even fewer particular characteristics could in theory have been employed by the villagers to retain an identity as Javanese. And in recent years they could have redeveloped a Javanese consciousness by renewing their connections with an all-powerful Java. Yet they have not done so.

A partial explanation for this can be sought in particular historical circumstances. The arrival and complete assimilation of small groups of staunch (non-Javanese) Muslims from Banten, Padang, and elsewhere doubtless helped place Islam in a central position in village identity. In addition, the post-Independence governments of Indonesia have attempted to downplay the importance of local or regional identities, while many official policies, and certainly recent politics, have led to the increasing differentiation of society along religious rather than ethnic lines.

Although the people in Kampung Jawa fought for Indonesian independence, alongside many of their Christian Minahasan neighbors, they have on several occasions subsequently been the object of the latter's ill will.<sup>50</sup> With major grievances against the Javanese-controlled central government, Christian Minahasans have frequently equated the people of Kampung Jawa with Javanese,<sup>51</sup> occasionally perpetrating acts of violence against them. The suppression of the Permesta revolt by the Brawijaya Division from East Java and the influx of Javanese civil servants and police officers has further fueled feelings of antipathy. Economic resentment, too, has continued. Local people now consider the "Javanese" as "dangerous" as the Chinese, the other visible, economically dominant group. Thus, the people of Kampung Jawa have the misfortune of being defined as a distinct group in terms ("Javanese") which no longer have much relevance for them; their suffering because of this has reinforced their sense of distinctiveness but it has been defined in their own terms: as largely the consequence of their religion.

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48. Carpentier Alting wrote that in 1902 only a few old people could speak Javanese, while most villagers spoke Malay and "Alfoersch," i.e., Tondanese. Carpentier Alting, *Regeling*, p. 140.

49. Relative isolation from Java, of course, sharply reduced the opportunities of obtaining such material. Literacy was maintained in Arabic, however, and some Javanese- and Malay-language material was available in Arabic script.

50. For example, during the unrest surrounding the activities of demobilized soldiers (the Pasukan Pembela Keadilan) in the early 1950s; during the Permesta (see Barbara Harvey, *Permesta: Half a Rebellion* [Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1977]); and during the 1965 coup attempt and its aftermath.

51. Indulging in the Indonesian penchant for acronyms and abbreviations, local people sometimes semi-seriously refer to Kampung Jawa villagers as *JaTon* (Jawa Tondano), on the pattern of *JaTim*, *JaTeng*, etc.

### *Identification with the Village Founders*

"Our grandfathers were exiled here from Java," say the people of Kampung Jawa today, referring to the founders of the village. Village history is not recalled in any detail, nor is any aspect of it explicitly celebrated in ritual. But the reconstructed tradition of its distinctive origin, recalled in Kampung Jawa's name, is a significant component of local identity now demarcating the villagers from their Christian Minahasan neighbors. It explains to them, in part, why their village exists, why their ritual is distinctive, and why they are successful in their economic activities. Their distinctive origin is today positively valued, for it links them with a crucial event in Indonesian history and is seen in somewhat nationalistic (anti-Dutch, pro-Independence) terms. Kyai Modjo's renovated tomb and his local status as an Indonesian hero visibly manifest this connection.

It should be pointed out, however, that villagers' reference to their Javanese origins seems rarely to focus today on anything essentially Javanese, nor, as mentioned, do they capitalize on connections with Java as the current locus of political power. Rather, the presence of Javanese military men and bureaucrats in Tondano makes amply clear to villagers their almost total lack of familiarity with current Javanese culture other than a modified part of the ritual cycle.

Kampung Jawa traditions of origin, then, serve to state villagers' distinctiveness from their neighbors, yet also allow the possibility of *not* identifying as Javanese. As the people of Kampung Jawa say, "Our grandfathers married Minahasan women,"<sup>52</sup> whose descendants can and do from time to time identify as Minahasans. Genealogical connections between Kampung Jawa and other Minahasan people are traceable, remembered, and frequently spoken of in connection with the Minahasan status of Kampung Jawa people.<sup>53</sup> Thus, while always referring to themselves as "people of Kampung Jawa," the villagers sometimes say they are Minahasans (*orang Minahasa*) or its partial equivalent frequently used when outside the province, Manadonese (*orang Manado*). This identification is only partially locational, referring to the kabupaten of which Kampung Jawa is a part; in addition, it refers to elements of common origin or descent with the autochthonous population of the region.<sup>54</sup>

### *Language*

Like traditions of origin, language, too, can express both distinctiveness and similarity. The people of Kampung Jawa speak Tondanese<sup>55</sup> as their chief language

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52. Alternatively referred to as "local women," "Christian women," or "Tondano and Tonsea women." Note that in such discussions as these, the local bare-bones version of village origins omits any reference to the subsequent groups of exiles.

53. The use of surnames by both groups facilitates this recall, as more particularly does the presence in Kampung Jawa of several well-known "Christian" Minahasan surnames.

54. Villagers only occasionally call themselves Tondanese, though they speak the local language and reside in the kecamatan of Tondano. "Tondanese" is an alternate designation for local (Tondanese-speaking) Christians, more generally referred to simply as "Christians."

55. Tondanese is a Minahasan language of Austronesian stock; for a modern treatment of Minahasan languages, particularly Tondanese, see J. N. Sneddon, "The Languages of Minahasa, North Celebes," *Oceanic Linguistics*, 9 (1970), pp. 11-36,

of daily communication. A reflection of their geographic location and of their Tondanese ancestry, their use of Tondanese as a first language allows Kampung Jawa people to identify as local people. Villagers frequently cite their inability to speak Javanese as the reason they cannot be considered Javanese. Similarly, virtually all villagers also speak Manadoese Malay, for centuries the lingua franca in Sulawesi Utara and adjacent areas.<sup>56</sup> Commonly employed in discourse where one of the participants is not a Tondanese speaker, it is also increasingly used with young children in the village. Through using Manadoese Malay and standard Indonesian villagers are able to express their identity as Minahasans, as Indonesians, and, more generally, as educated, progressive (*maju*) people.

But the people of Kampung Jawa have also developed their own dialect of Tondanese, used largely within the confines of the village, which emphasizes their distinctiveness. The dialect diverges from the Tondanese of Tondano town largely in terms of vocabulary.<sup>57</sup> The "deviant" Kampung Jawa vocabulary consists almost entirely of Javanese (including Javanized Arabic) items, of which I have collected some 170. For heuristic purposes this vocabulary may be grouped into seven categories: religion (70 items), food and cooking (28 items), kin terms and titles (24), household items (9), agriculture (6), nature (8), and miscellaneous (23). Almost half of the special vocabulary, then, deals with religion, referring to objects, concepts, and rituals which for the most part have no obvious (Christian) Tondanese equivalents.

The retention of much of the remaining special vocabulary, however, is not so easily explained. Food items, of course, are excellent boundary markers, and Kampung Jawa people frequently point with pride to various traditional foods they claim are "only found in Kampung Jawa." A few of the other terms may have had, or still have, ritual or magical overtones (e.g., the words for "pregnant," "earthquake," "full moon"). But why do people retain the Javanese words for "muddy," "bee," "blanket," "wet," and "rag," for example, when common Tondanese equivalents exist and are generally known by Kampung Jawa people? Probably these words exemplify a common pattern whereby out of an immense range of possible items in the cultural sphere (e.g., language), people make an apparently arbitrary choice of a small number to express identity and distinctiveness and to act as boundary markers, which then come to have metasymbolic value in addition to expressing their basic meanings.<sup>58</sup>

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and idem, *Tondano Phonology and Grammar* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975).

56. Standard Indonesian is also spoken to varying degrees, but in general is limited to formal occasions such as speeches, sermons in the mosque, in school, in correspondence, and with some outsiders.

57. The other obvious difference lies in phonology. Kampung Jawa people retain nasals before intervocalic voiced stops (e.g., *tambelang* for "bamboo," *sumendot* for "moon"). According to Sneddon (*Tondano Phonology*), people of Tondano town under forty years of age had probably completely lost this feature by the early 1970s. I detected no such process of loss in Kampung Jawa, where people stated that this feature was an absolute difference between the village dialect and the town dialect. Sneddon makes no reference to the Kampung Jawa dialect in his discussion of Tondanese dialects. The only work I know of dealing specifically with the Kampung Jawa dialect is a brief paper by Tallei ("Kreole atau Dialek?" [Manado: Proyek Pengembangan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1976]).

58. A few of these words are said by younger people to be "old fashioned" and

## Religion

It is their religion that not only provides an absolute identity for the people of Kampung Jawa<sup>59</sup> but, equally prominently, serves to distinguish them from the mass of Christian Minahasans among whom they live. But their identity as Muslims is more complex than this: it not only links the village people with the wider world of Islam but, paradoxically, serves from time to time also to express their commonality with Christians. In the literature on Malay-Muslim groups Islam is usually characterized simply as a key symbol of identity, with little attempt at systematically breaking the symbol down into its component elements. Here I will examine more closely some of the particular aspects of this multi-vocal symbol, or set of symbols, that define identity and separate or unite groups of people in the context of Kampung Jawa Tondano.

*Islam as an Absolute Identity.* First of all, on one level Islam constitutes an identity that is complete in itself and does not require structural or symbolic opposition to other identities (e.g., Christianity) in order to be completely meaningful. It provides a great part of the villagers' world view, defining concepts of individual and community as well as of the other-worldly realm. Indeed, what I have labeled village-wide "calendrical rituals" give concrete expression to the idea of a community of Muslim believers. The mosque, the locus of most of this ritual activity, is itself the prime physical symbol of Islam in the village. In daily prayers at the mosque, in the Friday Service, and during the Fasting Month, *communitas* is expressed in varying degrees of intensity. The five daily prayers are probably performed by most older men, by many older women, and by others to varying extents. *Selamatan* rituals for one purpose or another are an almost daily occurrence, and calendrical and individual-centered rites are anticipated, prepared for, and celebrated with enthusiasm. Learning to recite the Qu'ran, and weekly performances of the religious-based *selawat jowo* and *selawat melayu* occupy still more time.

*Islam as a Symbol of Separateness.* Islam is the prime symbolic cluster expressing the distinctiveness of Kampung Jawa people vis-à-vis their Christian Minahasan neighbors. Indeed, apart from their self-identification as "people of Kampung Jawa," their most frequent linguistic expression of identity is "Muslims" (Tondanese: *tou selam*), in contradistinction to their neighbors, "those Christians" (Tondanese: *se serani*). To give expression to this distinctiveness, a few particular aspects of Islam have been selected to act as boundary markers.<sup>60</sup>

On a general level, Kampung Jawa people point out that Muhammad is the last, the "Seal," of all Prophets, including Jesus, and thus Islam is the culmination of world religious development and cannot be surpassed by any other creed. They also insist that Muslims maintain a higher standard of personal morality than the

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dropping out of use. There is no reason to suspect, however, that a small "hard core" of this distinctive vocabulary will not be maintained indefinitely.

59. Ethnographic description and analysis of Kampung Jawa religion is presented in the author's dissertation. In brief, Kampung Jawa religion resembles rather closely the traditionalist ("kolot") *santri* pattern of Javanese Islam described by Clifford Geertz in *The Religion of Java* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960). Javanese ritual symbolism and practice has been somewhat attenuated in Kampung Jawa, while a certain amount of local elaboration of ritual has also taken place. While Kampung Jawa people seem to approximate more closely reformist behavior in extrareligious activities (e.g., in stressing secular education), they have not permitted reformist Islam to gain a foothold in their village.

60. The discussion below does not purport to be a complete listing, merely a record of commonly mentioned expressions.





The Alfalah Mosque  
Kampung Jawa Tondano

average Christian (Minahasan). The latter are felt to be sexually promiscuous, and Kampung Jawa people point to the frequency of premarital and extramarital pregnancies in Christian Minahasa, claiming that such things do not occur in Kampung Jawa. In this they are largely, though not entirely, correct.<sup>61</sup>

The various specifically Islamic rituals provide vivid images for the people of Kampung Jawa of their separateness from their immediate neighbors. Circumcision itself, almost totally unknown among Christians, is not only essential to the definition of an adult male Muslim, but is also a frequently mentioned symbol distinguishing Muslims from Christians (or non-Muslims in general).<sup>62</sup> They insist that in-marrying males who convert to Islam be circumcised before the wedding ceremony.

Islamic dietary prohibitions are particularly potent boundary markers. Because pork is widely consumed by Christian Minahasans (as well as other local delicacies, such as dog, bat, and field rat), and because Muslims of Kampung Jawa will not eat meat from animals such as buffaloes, cows, chickens, or goats slaughtered by outsiders, commensality with non-Muslims is rather restricted.<sup>63</sup> With regard to alcohol, however, a Minahasan staple in its many forms, Kampung Jawa people are relatively relaxed. Although alcohol is never served to guests in the village, and not often consumed in the home, beer can be bought in village stalls (*warung*), and it is chiefly Minahasan drunkenness, rather than the alcohol per se, that seems to offend Kampung Jawa people. Drunkenness is rare, but not unknown, in Kampung Jawa itself.

Dress habits also to some extent relate differences in religion to distinctive identity. The black *songkok* or *ketu* cap is frequently worn, especially by older village men, and despite its official promotion as a nationalist symbol, it is still viewed by both Christians and Muslims as primarily a symbol of Islam. So, too, to a lesser extent, is the *jareq*, the ankle-length cloth worn by village men (largely within the village and especially on religious occasions) and rarely worn by male Christian Minahasans. Village women, too, wear the *jareq* far more frequently than Christian women, who usually view it simply as the uniform of various national organizations. The *kudung*, the woman's garment covering the head and body while saying prayers, is of course worn only by Muslim women.

*Commonality with their Christian Neighbors.* In a nation where primordial (including religious) sentiments have often aroused people to revolt, rebellion, and war, peace and harmony among the component groups are among the highest explicitly propagated national values. Harmony among the major, officially recognized religions is enshrined in the Pancasila as the belief in a unitary God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*). In Tondano, the Pancasila is taught in school, sung about on radio and television, and referred to in almost every public speech; villagers are quite aware of it. It is in part through the Pancasila, which stresses the equality of religions, that Kampung Jawa people can express the characteristics they share with their Christian neighbors. "All religions have the same goals," say the peo-

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61. Other stereotypical perceptions, not strictly religious in nature, also enhance villagers' feelings of superiority and distinctness vis-à-vis their Christian neighbors. Kampung Jawa people feel their neighbors are less industrious and less thrifty than they themselves, and thus less prosperous. They also state that Christian Minahasans are prone to excessive drinking and to violence.

62. One local Christian Minahasan was said to be circumcised. So important is circumcision as a distinguishing feature of Muslims that this anomaly was well known and publicly discussed.

63. Islamic practice prescribes that the animal be killed with a short prayer and by slitting the throat. Christian Minahasans are not so fastidious or humane in their methods of slaughter.

ple of Kampung Jawa over and over again. "They only differ in their forms."<sup>64</sup>

When Kampung Jawa people wish to stress the basic unity of Muslims and Christians, they select a variety of features, including some which in other situations express differences. In the first place, both religions claim to believe in the same God, and emphasize similar moral behavior on earth with the promise of rewards in heaven and punishment in hell. They share many of the same prophets. Births, deaths, and marriages are celebrated by both with rituals similar in function if not in form, while Kampung Jawa people also draw parallels between less obviously similar rituals such as Thanksgiving as practiced by Minahasan Christians and the Muslim Maleman rituals preceding Idul Fitri, and between baptism and circumcision. Since much Christian religious vocabulary in Indonesian derives from Arabic/Muslim sources, similarities in theology and ritual are even more readily identifiable.

*Solidarity with and Separation from Other Muslims.* A final, and less explicitly elaborated, manner in which Islam informs Kampung Jawa identity is in relation to other Muslim communities. Solidarity with other Muslims is frequently alluded to, and it forms the basis for much social interaction beyond the village boundaries. *Communitas* in certain religious events, such as the Fast, may refer to the community of Muslims wider than the village, while the Pilgrimage to Mecca, as well as the village celebration of it, explicitly propound a pan-Islamic solidarity. Local, regional, and national Qu'ran-reading competitions give further expression to solidarity with other Muslims. The village mosque, which Muslims from Tondano town also frequent on Fridays and holidays, and the adjacent (Muslim) Religious Affairs Office, a part of the national bureaucracy, are physical reminders of the oneness of Kampung Jawa villagers with their coreligionists.

To complete this picture, we must note that Kampung Jawa people also perceive differences between themselves and other Muslim groups. Some of these differences, particularly in ritual style and the presence or absence of various rituals, are evaluated neutrally. The fact that Kampung Jawa people celebrate Bakdo Ketupat, for example, while Muslims in Manado do not, is sometimes said to be merely a difference in *adat*, custom or tradition. Occasionally, however, negative evaluations will be made, for example, concerning the relative laxity of some Javanese in their religious practices or the self-perceived moral superiority of certain "Arabs" in the past. People are also aware of the rather sharp differences between their style of Islam and that of Muhammadiyah or other reformist organizations, in which the villagers have so far shown little sign of interest.

The traditionalist pattern of Islam in all its aspects--ritual, belief--is religion for the villagers. Besides fulfilling the basic functions of religion, it very crucially (and fairly successfully at the moment) defines their identity. There is, thus, no need, or stimulus, to reform the religion. Indeed, it may even be dangerous to attempt to do so. As Dieter Bartels has suggested for Ambon in Maluku province,<sup>65</sup> introduction of reformist Islam would have caused far more internal conflict and disruption than people were willing, or could afford, to bear.

For Kampung Jawa, village solidarity has been a *sine qua non* of survival, in an area where the position of its people has always been anomalous, problematic, and at times resented.

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64. "Semua agama tujuannya sama, hanya caracaranya yang berbeda." I am not making a claim here that Kampung Jawa people "really" feel much commonality with Minahasan Christians or Christianity; I have already stated their general feeling of the superiority of Islam. Nevertheless, statements of commonality are frequently made and, I would say, "believed in" to various degrees in various situations.

65. Dieter Bartels, "Guarding the Invisible Mountain" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1977), p. 132.