Understanding Islamic Harmony in Indonesia: Tracing the Relations of Religion, Power and Tradition in the Moluccas

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Abstract

In the region of Maluku during the 17th-19th century, Islamic kingdoms emerged as robust centers of Islamic influence. The convergence of Islamic and local cultures presents an opportunity to explore the relationship between Islam and indigenous customs as part of the evolving traditions within the local community. This research reveals that the positions of local governance contribute significantly to the dynamic interplay between religion and customs within the local society. Through observation of ritual practices, in-depth interviews, and the use of supportive research instruments, this study demonstrates that the relationship between Islam, tradition, and traditional governance constitutes a process of institutionalizing the role of Islam as part of the heritage of ancestral values. This realization creates a harmonious coexistence of Islam, customs, and authority in the socio-cultural fabric of the society. To this day, the preservation of ancestral cultural values serves as a link that integrates Islam, traditions, and traditional governance as a cohesive system and a social-cultural construct within the community.

Keywords: *Harmony, Islam, Maluku, Power, Relations, Tradition.*

Introduction

In the socio-cultural dimension of society, the terms "adat" (local customs) and "tradisi" (tradition) are challenging to separate and distinguish (Funk and Wagnalls, 1984). In Islam, tradition is perceived as an expression of sacredness, eternity (external), immutable truth, and perennial wisdom that evolves to suit the context of time and place. Therefore, "Islamic Tradition" is a set of divine principles descended as a divine message that is "holy" and deeply rooted in integral reality, and with its radiant light, human beings will always remain within its existential circle (Otta, 2010, p. 390). In the context of Maluku, pre-Islamic culture still thrives and evolves within the framework of Islamic tradition.

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The encounter between Islam and local customs continues to flourish and colors the everyday practice of Islam (religious patterns) in Maluku society. Identifying Islamic characteristics integrated with local customs can be traced through various rituals they perform, including celebrating significant Islamic occasions. This serves as a vital indicator in understanding the existing relationships within the socio-cultural system in the Maluku region. At a broader level, three prominent aspects interconnect within the social-cultural system of Maluku society: religion (faith), tradition (customs), and institutional power (government). Customs, as a cultural and social institution, have long existed and persisted in Maluku society. The presence of Islam does not eliminate customs; instead, they are mutually integrated.

Several studies conducted by experts, both Western researchers such as Geert (1983), Woodward (2004), Beatty (1999) and Indonesian researchers such as Nur Syam (2003, 2005), Muhaimin AG (2001), Erni Budiwanti (2000), Sumanto Al Qurtubi & Kholiludin (2023), almost unanimously state that the religious attitudes of Muslim communities consistently assimilate (harmoniously merge) with the socio-cultural values of the local community that have been deeply rooted in traditions long before the arrival of Islam. The plural and complex relationship between customs and religion cannot be separated from their interplay. While religion claims to be a divine product or "made in" God, the reality is that many religious norms are derived from or integrated into the existing customs practiced by the community where the religion emerged. For instance, Islam has significantly absorbed (exhibited various resemblances with) the cultures, traditions, and customs of different societies living in the Arabian Peninsula at that time, including Jews, Persians, Nabateans, Nestorians, and Bedouin Arabs. Examples include marriage practices, circumcision, hospitality, dressing customs, patriarchal systems, social charity, and trade systems (Sumanto Al Qurtubi & Kholiludin, 2023).

Another example is research on Islam in the Jalawastu community, which expresses an acculturative Islam (Islamic culture). In this place, there has been a modification between the existing culture and Islam as a new culture from outside the Jalawastu community. Ultimately, these two cultures undergo social contact, resulting in cultural acculturation. This study focuses on the Jalawastu traditions that the community still maintains while adapting Islamic values to local culture. Moreover, it examines the community's spirit of preserving cultural acculturation (Asrawijaya, 2022). There are numerous developing studies on the relationship between Islam and local culture, particularly in religious moderation. One emphasized issue is how Islam can harmonize with local culture. In this study, the theoretical construction refers to Islam and local traditions. The dialectics of Islam and local traditions are best examined using a culturally-based perspective approach (Kasdi & Kasdi, 2018, p. 324).

For studies in Maluku, works by Yance Rumahuru (2009, 2012, 2014) are a few comparative religious studies that discuss the phenomenon. Similarly, Manaf Tubaka (2018) states that Islam in Maluku is also part of religious practices rooted at the local level with teachings that align with its uniqueness (i.e., culture). Additionally, research on a religion based on local customs in Kei, Southeast Maluku, has been conducted (Sabara, 2023). Strengthening this perspective, Handoko (2012, 2014, 2021) through archaeological data that in the former Islamic Kingdom regions in Maluku, the practice of Islam shows a strong continuity of pre-Islamic traditions, which persist until today. Archaeological data can directly interpret syncretism and Sufism practices in Maluku (Handoko, 2012).

Religion presents many faces; it not only regulates the relationship between humans and the creator but is also a part of the culture, as it governs human behavior and becomes a part of human behavior or culture (Susanto, 2016, p. 18). Islam does not appear with an exclusive face that rejects compromises with local beliefs and spiritual traditions. As Taufik Abdullah mentioned, Islam has gone through a process of "domestication," making it more readily accepted in the Nusantara (T. Abdullah et al., 2002, p. 2). Among the studies on the accommodation of religion and customs, all of them emphasize how religion and customs are integrated without considering the role of local governance in that context. Geertz (1983) indeed sees religion, customs, and government as social entities, but in different social

categories and tends to place them in opposing entities or what is commonly known as the abangan, santri, and priyayi trikotomy.

This research examines from a different perspective and aims to offer a new concept of how the relationship between religion and customs can be constructed with the involvement of local government or power structures. In this context, the encounter between religion and customs finds its relevance when the role and function of government are included, serving as a political legitimacy accepted by the local community. This study seeks to explain that the relationship between religion and customs also involves the relationship between the roles and functions of local government structures. It is a power relation that becomes an integral part of the relational unity with religion and customs, aiming to ensure the creation of social harmony and order.

Within the context of cultural systems as functional relationships between institutions or structures of society as a unified system, it is methodologically necessary to explore the interdependence that, in a broader context, forms the basis for developing cultural process theories (Kaplan & Manners, 2002, p. 76). Thus, ritual functions are repeatedly constructed in a context that serves not only the individual's connection with transcendent forces beyond oneself but also as a means to build social relations. From this perspective, Peter L. Berger (1990) ideas on the construction of social reality appear relevant to be associated with the same perspective. In the context of cultural systems as functional relationships between institutions or structures of society as a unified system, it is methodologically essential to investigate the interdependence that, in a broader context, provides the foundation for developing cultural process theories (Kaplan & Manners, 2002, p. 76). As a result, ritual functions are repeatedly constructed in a context that serves not only the individual's connection with transcendent forces beyond oneself but also as a means to build social relations. This perspective seems to align with Peter L. Berger (1990) thoughts on the construction of social reality.

Method

This research was conducted in a village (locally referred to as "Negeri") called Kaitetu on the island of Ambon, Maluku, between 2016-2017. This location was chosen because the village represents the Muslim community in the Maluku region, historically bound by the institution of the Hitu Kingdom, one of the centers of Islamic civilization in Central Maluku. Additionally, the research is based on the argument that Kaitetu is a region where the Muslim community of Maluku still holds onto local traditions or preserves local culture as a form of inheritance from their ancestors.

This study is heavily supported by ethnographic methods, as Spradley (1997) described. It mainly involves collecting cultural data, analyzing cultural data, examining field notes to identify cultural symbols, and establishing connections between these symbols through observations of various Islamic ritual practices in the research location. In this context, the researchers conducted observations through the participant observation approach and complete observer observation. Two methods of observation were used: direct observation, which involved observing 1) the conditions of the research site and the community's activities, including social aspects and mutual relationships with the surrounding environment, and 2) observing or witnessing religious and traditional ritual practices. Data analysis involved several steps, including data reduction, presentation, verification, and validation.

Results and Discussion

Islamic Rituals: The Form of Relations between Religion, Power, and Tradition.

This section will depict Islamic ritual processions that integrate with local customs and involve

government structures. It will also elaborate on the symbolic meanings of Islamic rituals, which can explain their relationship with local customs and the functions of the village's government structures. Human ceremonies express what is in their minds (involved in them), enabling us to uncover societal values that are difficult to observe in ordinary life (I. Abdullah, 2002). Dhavamony distinguishes ritual actions into four categories. First, magical actions are associated with using materials that work due to mystical powers—second, religious and ancestor-worship actions. Third, rituals express social relationships and refer to mystical concepts. Finally, rituals that enhance productivity, power, or purification and protection (Dhavamony, 1995; Rumahuru, 2009, 2012) This research finds that the relationship between Islam and local customs, as manifested in Islamic ritual activities, is understood as a form of tradition or cultural inheritance.

In the practice of rituals, the three elements, namely customs, religion, and government authority, are realized in the form of religious Islamic ritual processes and practices in Maluku, particularly in Kaitetu Village, Ambon Island. There are at least three forms of Islamic rituals that accommodate customary practices and involve the role of government structures in their implementation: the Ritual of Eid al-Adha, the Ritual of Malam Satu Suro (Night of Suro), and the Luma Ana Ritual (Ancestral Calling Ritual). These rituals, handed down by ancestors, demonstrate the integrated relationship between religion, customs, and government authority.

Eid al-Adha Ritual (Ritual of Sacrifice)

In the Muslim community on Ambon Island, the celebration of Eid al-Adha and its accompanying ceremonies are almost similar from one village to another. Any differences that exist are due to the interpretations of the celebration. For instance, in Tulehu village, a cultural parade called "Budaya Abda'u" is held before Eid al-Adha. The Abda'u celebration is a core tradition in all Eid al-Adha festivities. This tradition involves the offering of three sacrificial goats (haul) that are paraded around the village, accompanied by the performance of "Hadrat" acts or dances by a group of young men chanting the name of Allah (Armain, 2011; Rauf, 2013).

In Kaitetu Village, the location of this research, the ritual procession begins with the adornment or dressing of the sacrificial animals, a task specifically carried out by a designated individual known as "Mae Biang". The *Mae Biang* is a village shaman whose status is also based on hereditary lineage and who belongs to the Lumaela clan. After the animals have been adorned, they are led in a procession towards the *Hena Lua* Mosque along with other goats and cows to be sacrificed. This Mosque is considered a representation of the "Soa" clans, namely *Soa Lumaela* (Government Clan) and *Soa Nukuhaly* (Religious Clan). Finally, the animals are brought to the ancient Wapauwe Mosque, symbolizing the *Soa Hatuwe* (Customary Clan). During the procession, the sacrificial animals are carried on their shoulders. They are accompanied by a parade with dancing and prayers, reciting the greatness of Allah and sending blessings to Prophet Muhammad (*shalawat*), led by local religious leaders and government officials.

The Malam Satu Suro Ritual

The Malam Satu Suro (Night of the First of *Suro*) ritual, for the people of Kaitetu, takes place from sunrise to sunset, one day before the first day of the month of Muharram. This ritual accommodates local customs through the ritualistic slaughter of four chickens representing the Ruler, *Tukang Ela*, *Tukang Ayoul*, and *Tukang Muli*. Therefore, the community commonly refers to them as the Chicken of the Ruler, the Chicken of Tukang Ela, the Chicken of Tukang Ayoul, and the Chicken of Tukang Muli. This context also implies the inclusion of the customary governance structure. The four chickens hold multiple meanings, representing the four elements of life: fire, air, water, and earth. They also symbolize the primary compass

directions: north, south, west, and east. In Javanese tradition, the New Year's celebration in the Javanese or Islamic calendar is observed on the first Suro or the first day of Muharram. This ritual is conducted from the evening of the first of Suro until the evening of the same day. The celebration consists of various rituals performed by Muslim, Javanese, or Tridharma groups (Ayu, 2015, p. 14).

The Ritual of *Malam Satu Suro* is not familiar in the Maluku region. Still, the community of Kaitetu is one of the Islamic communities familiar with this tradition. Among all the Malam Satu Suro ritual processes, the intriguing traditional procession is undoubtedly the ritualistic slaughter of the four chickens representing the Ruler, Tukang Ela, Tukang Ayaul, and Tukang Muli. The Ruler symbolizes both the leader of the government and the leader of the tradition. Tukang Ela, as the head of artisans working on mosque-related tasks, often assumes the role of the head artisan in various traditional ritual processions. Tukang Ayoul represents the craftsman of balance. The dynamic changes, developments, and daily work carried out by the village's inhabitants must consider the balance between the cosmos and humanity. Tukang Muli, as the craftsman of prayers, represents safety, signifying that all human efforts are ultimately surrendered to the Almighty. The ritual illustrates a sacred process that places symbolic significance on each of the four chickens according to their respective functions. The Chicken of the Ruler encompasses the well-being of the entire village, while Tukang Ela includes the spirits of the ancestors. Tukang Ayoul is intended for protection from calamity and misfortune, while Tukang Muli encompasses prayers for safety. Therefore, the Malam Satu Suro ritual is an Islamic ritual interwoven with local customs, meant to seek protection from all adversities on that sacred day.

Ritual Luma Ana

Ritual Luma Ana is, in essence, a ritual intended to seek protection from ancestral spirits. The inhabitants of Kaitetu highly respect their ancestors, who are believed to be the village's guardians. They believe that any difficulties and hardships in the village can be overcome by seeking help from the ancestral spirits, which can be summoned at any time. The Luma Ana ritual is, in fact, a sacred pre-Islamic ritual that continues to this day. The villagers refer to the small 4x4 meter house used in the ritual as Ruma Kakehang.

Although the Luma Ana ritual's prayer process has changed with the introduction of Islam, the pre-Islamic ancestral beliefs still influence the procession. The strong traditions and beliefs in the ancestral spirits have shaped their perspective on events within the village, seen as signs or messages from the ancestral spirits to the villagers. Among the numerous pre-Islamic cultures that persist and can be observed in our current religious life is the veneration of the ancestral spirits (first founding ancestors). One of the processions during every Islamic celebration in Kaitetu is the ritual of "doa selamat" or prayer for safety. This ritual can be compared to the "slametan" ritual widely practiced in the Javanese region. Slametan is believed to be a spiritual means to overcome crises and bring blessings. The object of veneration in the *slametan* is the ancestral spirits believed to possess magical powers. It is also a means to exalt, respect, and commemorate the ancestral spirits, the ancestors.

In the contemporary context, the Luma Ana ritual focuses on paying homage to the ancestors. It is not held regularly like other rituals but is incidentally performed when needed. The decision to conduct the ritual is made based on the villagers' request, followed by an agreement among the elders and the approval of the Ruler. The community of Kaitetu is a devout Muslim community, so during the prayer process of the Luma Ana ritual, Islamic prayers are still used. Only a member of the Hatuwe clan, which is the ruling clan, can perform this sacred ritual. In the past, the ritual was conducted before going to war, and only the Kapitan Hatuwe had the authority to perform it. Today, only the direct descendants of the Kapitan Hatuwe, like Husein Hatuwe, can perform the ritual.

During the ritual, the people communicate in the local language, summoning the spirits to assist in war

or, in the past, when the village of Kaitetu was asked to send delegates or messengers to assist in the war. The Luma Ana ritual is intended to grant the ancestral spirits the mystical power to support or protect the messengers during the war. The ritual involves burning incense and saying prayers for safety. The Islamic prayers signify that the participants should remember that the primary purpose of prayer is to ask Allah. At the same time, the ritual of summoning the ancestral spirits is a way to honor their presence. In essence, the Luma Ana ritual is a summoning of the ancestral spirits to aid the village inhabitants in significant undertakings, accompanied by prayers to Allah according to Islamic teachings. It is an ancestral ritual intertwined with Islam, involving the role of the traditional governance structure, led by the Ruler, the leader of the local government and the traditional leader.

Table 1. Types of Rituals and Forms of Relationship between Islam, Tradition, and Government.

No	Types of Ritual	Forms of Relationship		
		Islam	Tradition - Custom	Government
1	Idul Adha (Eid al-Adha or the Feast of Sacrifice) is celebrated with a central ritual held at the Mosque, preceded by a procession starting from the king's residence. In this context, the Mosque also symbolizes the three clans: Soa Lumaela (the Governance Clan), Soa Hatuwe (the Religious Clan), and Soa Nukuhaly (the Customary Clan).	a. The celebration of Eid al-Adha adheres to Islamic teachings, where all prayers are conducted following Islamic prayers. b. The Eid al-Adha prayer and sermon are held at the Mosque before the ritual of animal sacrifice. c. The animal sacrifice (Qurban) is performed by the Mosque's Imam, preceded by an Islamic prayer. d. During the procession of sacrificial animals to the Mosque, people recite prayers and chant praises to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and glorify Allah (Takbir).	a. The procession of adorning or grooming the sacrificial animals is carried out by Mae Biang (from the Lumaela lineage). b. The ritual of purifying and bathing the sacrificial animals in the river is conducted by the Mosque's leader. c. The ritual of parading the sacrificial animals from the House of *Raja* Lumaela to Henalua Mosque (symbolizing Soa Lumaela and Soa Hatuwe) and from the House of Soa Nukuhaly to Wapauwe Mosque (symbolizing Soa Nukuhaly). d. Rubbing money onto the body of the sacrificial animals is done as a sign of gratitude and seeking blessings. e. Bringing the sacrificial animals inside Wapauwe Mosque, placing them in the middle of the Mosque's space, while the King, the *Tukang 12*, the Mosque's leader, and other elders sit around, encircle the animals, and recite prayers led by *Tukang Muli* (prayer leader).	a. The role of the King (Raja) accompanies the procession from the beginning to the end of the ritual. b. The ritual commences at the house of *Raja* Lumaela. c. The role and function of the Tukang 12 (Executive Institution of Customary Government) in providing prayers and involvement in every stage of the ongoing ritual activities. d. The involvement of the clans in the entire ritual procession (Clans Lumaela, Hatuwe, and Nukuhaly).
2	Ritual Malam 1 Suro (1 Muharram) Central Activites at the Mosque	a. Islamic ritual that also serves as a local tradition, as Muslim communities commonly practice this ritual in the archipelago. b. Prayer ritual, using Islamic prayers such as gratitude, blessings, remembrance of Allah, proclaiming His greatness, and reciting the *tahlil*.	Traditional rituals are performed by sacrificing a chicken, symbolizing the four elements of life: water, earth, fire, and air.	Sacrificing a chicken, a traditional ritual, symbolizes the legitimacy of the traditional government, namely the chicken's king (*ayam raja*), Tukang Ela, *Tukang* Ayoul, and *Tukang Muli*.

3	The Ritual of *Malam 7 Likur* (Lailatul Qadar) Central Activites at the Mosque	a. The Islamic ritual of odd-numbered nights in the month of *Ramadhan,* is considered as the night of Lailatul Qadar, the sacred night whose virtues are equivalent to worship performed for 1000 months. b. Engaging in Tadarus Al-Quran (recitation of the Quran). c. Prayers, blessings, takbir, and remembrance (dhikr) by Islamic teachings.	a. Commemorated or performed a ritual every night on the 27th of Ramadan (night of 7 Likur). b. Each family presents "Ketupat Jiwa" (a symbolic offering) to the Mosque. For Masjid Henalua, it is offered by the residents of Soa Lumaela and Hatuwe, while for Masjid Tua Wapauwe, it is offered by the residents of Soa Nukuhaly.	a. The position of the Raja as a protector and guardian is evident through his presence in the ritual process. b. The role of the king, as the protector of the land, is symbolized by the land's prosperity through the offering of local agricultural produce during the ritual of *Malam 7 Likur* in the Mosque.
4	Ritual Luma Ana (House of Kekehang) Central Activity at Luma Ana (House of Kekehang) which commences its procession at the House of Soa Hatuwe.	The Ritual procession that begins and concludes with prayers according to Islamic customs.	The ritual of summoning ancestral spirits led by Soa Hatuwe, a direct descendant of Kapitang.	The position of the king who requests, approves, or agrees to the implementation of the Luma Ana ritual serves as a form of government legitimization towards the execution of the traditional ritual.
5	The Coronation Ritual Centers around the Baeleo, Commencing at the house of Soa Hatuwe and the Mosque	Before the coronation, the king enters the Mosque to perform oluntary prayers	The traditional Pasawali procession, The coronation and inauguration take place at the Baeleo	The coronation of the king aims to affirm oneself as the chosen head of government and leader of the traditional community.

Distribution of Roles and Functional Relations of Islamic Institutions, Tradition, and Government

Negeri Kaitetu, as a region of great geopolitical importance in the Kingdom, has an institutional structure that does not differ much from the institutional structure in the Hitu Kingdom. This is because Negeri Kaitetu, in its demographic history, is the original community of Hitu. Leirissa (1975) explains that the native community of Tanah Hitu consists of the Tomu, Hunut, and Mosapal groups, as well as Essen, Wawane, Atetu, Nukuhaly, and Tehala. They are accommodating towards immigrants. Therefore, when Islam arrived, along with the four preachers of Islam, they came together to form a new community structure known as "Uli Halawan," which is famous in the history of Tanah Hitu. The Islamic influence strongly marked this governance, although traditional positions were retained. Additionally, new positions with Islamic characteristics emerged and dominated the governance, such as Maulana, Imam, Qadhi, Hukom, Khatib, and Modim (Leirissa, 1975). These positions had significant influence in the Islamic Kingdom of Hitu. For example, when the Portuguese caused unrest, and the people of Hitu wanted to kill the Portuguese, Perdana Jamilu, who held a high position in the Kingdom, sought a fatwa (religious ruling) from the Grand Imam or Qadhi at that time (Manusama, 1977).

In Desa Kaitetu, the positions of the traditional institution and local government are closely integrated based on the institutional structure of the local government and tradition. Within the structure of the traditional institution, Islamic, traditional, and governmental bodies have never changed and have become one entity. In contrast, within the local government institution, though there have been changes resulting in differences between the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods, the traditional institutional

elements are still positioned within it and continue to coexist alongside existing traditional institutions. The governmental and traditional structures are almost indistinguishable because, within the local government structure, sometimes there are elements of traditional structure, although with more dynamic functions and roles. The main difference is that the governmental, institutional structure undergoes changes and dynamics, while the traditional structure remains static or unchanged. The traditional institutional elements consist of *Upu Itu* (King) as the head of government and head of the tradition, *Tukang 12* as the executor of traditional tasks or the executive, and Amaumenhaha as the advisory council or legislative body.

In the development of the local government structure, the positions of the traditional institutions are integrated with their roles and functions within the local government structure. Besides serving as the head of government, the Raja also holds the position of the head of tradition. Amanumenhaha, in its development, also functions as the *Lembaga Kewang* (Council of Elders) within the local government structure. *Amanumenhaha* consists of *Sahuema* (Forest Elders), *Lepalu* (Land Elders), and *Lopeh* (Sea Elders). Meanwhile, *Tukang Husa Lua* (*Tukang 12*), within the contextualization of the Mosque, can also be described through the traditional message regarding their position. *Tukang Husa Lua* is a part of the traditional institutional structure with responsibilities in the mosque establishment process, but they also play a role in various traditional activities. Besides functioning in their position within the institution that manages all the work in the Mosque, led by Tukang Ela (Head of Mosque), and appointed based on hereditary lineage, they also have roles in traditional activities such as the coronation of the king, ritual roof replacement in the Mosque, baeleo, and other traditional houses.

As an institutional religion, Islam is a part of the societal structure that is institutionalized to bind the community. That is why, in the traditional system, the appointment of Imams, Khatibs, and Modhins is done according to traditional practices, and, in the past, they were appointed based on hereditary succession. Although in contemporary times, their positions can be carried out by trusted individuals capable of fulfilling their duties. However, these institutional tasks must be reaffirmed through traditional means within the traditional structure. For example, Imam Ela (Head Imam) or commonly known as Imam, who comes from the Hatuwe lineage (Soa Agama), is a hereditary position in the traditional context and can only be filled by someone from the Hatuwe lineage.

It is interesting to note the position of the Imam within the traditional context. Based on interviews, data shows that the position of Imam is a traditional post. It is held by Soa Hatuwe, representing Soa Agama (the religious lineage). This is further supported by historical sources, indicating that the first Imam of Masjid Tua Wapauwe was Imam Arikupelessi, in the 15th century AD, who came from the Soa or Hatuwe lineage and was also a descendant of the Kapitang. It seems that the interpretation of the position of Soa Hatuwe, as a descendant of Kapitang, entitled to perform the Luma Ana ritual, shows the continuity of institutional traditions that place Mauweng or Muela (the spiritual leader) in the governance structure of Kaitetu, as described in Pattikayhatu's notes (2007). The position of Imam Ela or Head Imam in Desa Kaitetu may be a continuation of the Mauweng institutional structure, although this institution is no longer known in contemporary society. The Mauweng structure was a pre-colonial institution (refer to (Pattikayhatu, 2012, p. 44)).

As a result, the position of Imam Ela, as the sole religious leader in Desa Kaitetu, responsible for religious matters and leading the congregation in prayers, even after the entry and development of Islam, is still held by the Hatuwe lineage. Therefore, the fact that the Luma Ana ritual in Desa Kaitetu can only be performed by Soa Hatuwe explains that, besides being descendants of Kapitan, they also have a role in the traditional institutional structure as the Imam Kepala or Mauweng, which has continued as Imam Ela within the Islamic institutional structure. This data and interpretation can explain the position, roles, and functional relationships between the traditional and Islamic institutions as an inherited legacy, and

the position of Islamic institutions cannot be separated from the traditional institutional framework, as both are forms of ancestral heritage.

The Islamic institution, tradition, and government's distribution of roles and functional relations are genuinely reflected in their positions within the Mosque and baeleo. Inside the Mosque, in addition to the space for the Imam as the prayer leader positioned in the mihrab, there is also the Khatib as the sermon speaker with a place on the pulpit, and the Modhim, who occupies the central space in the Mosque, all playing significant roles in the Islamic ritual process (ibadah) within the Mosque. Nevertheless, the Mosque also accommodates the traditional and governmental structures, namely the king (*Upu Itu*) as the head of both government and tradition. Inside the Mosque, the position of Amaumenhaha is also arranged, serving as the legislative body or advisory council to the king. In the Mosque, the *Tukang 12*, king, and *Amaumenhaha* occupy their respective positions. On the left side of the pulpit is the position of Tukang 12, as the executive institution within the traditional structure, overseeing all types of work within the Mosque and also functioning in traditional activities such as the coronation of the king, ritual roof replacement of the Mosque, baeleo, and other traditional events, similar to ministers in a cabinet of Negeri's development.

Similarly, the positions of the traditional institutional structure within the Mosque also apply to the Baeleo. The Baeleo, being a traditional building, houses the traditional institutional structure found in the Mosque. Thus, the social space within the Mosque and Baeleo demonstrates that the roles and functions of all three institutions - Islamic, traditional, and governmental - are equally balanced (equal). They complement and integrate. Though the Baeleo lacks a specific space designated for the Islamic institutional structure - the Imam, Khatib, and Modhim - it shows an accommodation of tradition towards Islamic regulations concerning the position of Imam, Khatib, and Modhim as religious performers within the Mosque. Besides, the position of the religious institution within the Baeleo is already represented by one of the Tukang 12, namely the Tukang Sufi, who is responsible for religious affairs as an executive institution within the traditional government structure. Thus, the representation of the traditional institutional structure within the Mosque and Baeleo reveals that the Mosque as a symbol of Islam and the Baeleo as a symbol of tradition both serve as social spaces accommodating the traditional governmental structure, as inherited from ancestors to create social order.

The social space represented by the position of the traditional institution within the Mosque and Baeleo is understood by the community as a form of accommodation and respect for the position of tradition and government. The Mosque, as a symbol of Islam, accommodates and respects the positions of both the government and tradition, seen as a form of religious respect (Islam) towards the positions of government and tradition since Attorang mandates that religious matters are closely related to the duties of the government and cannot be separated from the position of tradition. This is because religion and tradition are part of the inherited traditions passed down from ancestors, as explained in the earlier part of this chapter. Furthermore, although the Mosque accommodates space for the positions of government and tradition, the community does not perceive this as a form of social stratification, as Islam does not recognize social class distinctions.

On the other hand, in the Baeleo, the social space for the positions of traditional institutional structure and government is understood because the Baeleo itself functions as a traditional house, serving as a place for traditional deliberations and as a representation of social integration. The existence of Baeleo is a significant cultural icon among the people of Maluku. According to Cooley (1987), Baeleo is where village elders consider issues related to the welfare of the village, similar to a city hall used by the village council for meetings that involve all heads of households in the village. Baeleo, as a traditional house, is a physical manifestation of traditional unity (Cooley, 1987). Thus, because of their interdependence,

Islam, tradition, and government institutions are elements that form an institutional system. The interdependence of these three elements functions as a support system for one another, contributing to the system's overall integrity.

The Relationship between Islam, Tradition, and Customary Governance as the Attorang System (Rules)

The facts in Kaitetu, Ambon Island, reinforce the notion that tradition is a guardian of life's continuity, especially in this modern era. Traditional Islam emerges as a middle path to establish the function and role of tradition in social life (Otta, 2010; Waldman, 1986). The local customary system in Kaitetu, Ambon Island, is the Attorang system. This system is translated as a set of rules governing all aspects of community life, established and agreed upon by the ancestors. The role of the king, as the traditional leader, is to protect the Attorang while each structure performs its respective functions. The integration of Islam and tradition becomes a strong tradition. The institutional integration of religion is involved in various Islamic rituals. This condition arises because religion, institutionally, becomes part of the relationship between tradition and local governance. Both customary and governmental institutions are ancestral legacies that must be preserved. The people view the Attorang as an inherited system that must be obeyed, as failure to do so is considered a violation of tradition and may lead to calamities for the land and its inhabitants.

From a historical perspective, the acceptance of Islam was a consensus among the ancestors and became the official religion when the government institution declared its recognition. Hence, the Attorang represents the fundamental understanding and guideline of the Kaitetu people's way of life, based on religion and tradition, while respecting the government as the protector and guardian of the community. This context can also be depicted in the traditional practice of coronating the king. The king is coronated following the rules and laws of tradition, but the institutional aspects of Islam also coexist. For example, the king is initiated through Islamic teachings, starting with a prayer at the old Mosque. This demonstrates the process of institutionalizing tradition alongside the institution of Islam. Subsequently, the king is sworn in at the Hatuwe ancestral house, signifying the authority of the king as a ruler closely tied and interdependent with the institutionalization of tradition, especially as the king is later paraded as a symbolic representation of the journey of the ancestors to the land they now inhabit, representing the institutionalization of tradition. Thus, this ceremony has an evident interplay between Islam, tradition, and local governance. In the context of Christianity, Frank Cooley's study (1987) also explains the relationship between village governance and religion, particularly concerning the position of the Maluku church congregation (Cooley, 1987, p. 357).

In the context of the relationship between Islam, tradition, and local government in the locality of Kaitetu Village, the research observes that the relationship between Islam, tradition, and customary governance is a perspective to recognize or view their interrelation within the institutional framework. The structures found in religious, traditional, and governmental institutions form an integral unity, each interrelated and mutually dependent as a cohesive whole to ensure the functioning of each structure as a unified entity. These values are referred to as Attorang, which are believed to have been established as cultural agreements by the ancestors to preserve the existence of ancestral culture. Attorang, in this sense, is understood by the community as a set of established provisions that have been institutionalized since ancient times, where the forefathers made unwritten agreements passed down from one generation to the next, and the people of Kaitetu Village now perceive it as a way of life. Attorang has become a collective agreement resulting from a lengthy process based on religious principles (Islam) inherited from the ancestors and incorporating customary rules involving various customary elements and structures.

In Islam, tradition and customary governance are interrelated components forming a cohesive unity that

produces the so-called Attorang. The systems of religion, tradition, and government merge and integrate. Hence, Islam has become the foundation of communal life, accepted by ancestors and passed down through generations. In this perspective, Islam becomes the guiding principle of life due to its cultural acceptance by the ancestors. On one side, Attorang represents customary provisions that predate the arrival of Islam and were accepted as a public religion. Attorang is the customary regulation established by the ancestors, a cultural consensus of the founding ancestors of the land. Therefore, Attorang is understood as an embodiment of tradition itself. It is inherited from one generation to another, safeguarded and preserved as the way of life for the inhabitants of Kaitetu Village. The preservation and perpetuation of Attorang are embedded in the customary structure of Kaitetu Village. The customary government also plays a role in ensuring the continuity of Attorang. Thus, Attorang is viewed in the context of the cultural system, where everything is interconnected. Each element or part of the system complements and protects one another, ensuring that Attorang remains a vital part of the identity of the inhabitants of Kaitetu Village.

Adat is practiced in the Mosque, as stated by Benda-Beckmann (1988) when describing the Mosque's function, which is not only related to religious matters but also has social functions (von Benda-Beckmann, 1988, p. 344). Despite this, the community also utilizes Baeleo or the traditional house, for traditional activities. Benda-Beckmann's statement explains that the Mosque, as a symbol of Islam, also represents traditional values. This provision illustrates that the Mosque, as a symbol of Islam, and the Baeleo, as a symbol of tradition, both functions as social spaces that accommodate customary governance, as inherited from the ancestors to create social order.

Conclusion

Sociologically, Islam is a socio-cultural phenomenon. In the dynamics of space and time, Islam, which initially functions as a subject in real-life situations, also acts as an object and is subject to various social laws. In this position, the relationship between Islam, tradition, and government forms a cohesive unity that constructs the social reality of the inhabitants of Kaitetu Village. Through a series of field observations and conversations with the villagers, supported by various references, this research can at least conclude several essential aspects of the religious life of the people in Kaitetu Village. This modest village firmly adheres to the teachings of their ancestors. The research concludes the following aspects: Firstly, the encounter between the local inhabitants of Kaitetu and Islam does not negate tradition, as the process of accepting Islam becomes part of cultural inheritance. Secondly, this research also concludes that there is a meeting point between Islam and tradition as an integrative unity because the community perceives Islam and tradition as processes that construct their social identity. Thirdly, the cultural consensus that places religion, tradition, and government as a functional relationship in which their components are interconnected as a cohesive unity. Moreover, the integrated relationship between religion, tradition, and governance is part of the cultural consensus understood by the Muslim inhabitants of Kaitetu Village, Pulau Ambon, as a system of rules (Attorang). Islamic rituals are a means to immortalize obedience to Islam, belief in ancestors (tradition), and respect for the government, represented through the figure of the King.

Thus, a more comprehensive explanation of the relationship and integration between Islam, tradition, and institutional (government) is obtained. The forms of cultural integration within the community also explain the relationships and social constructions that emerge, clarifying the connections between clans, their functions, and their positions in perpetuating and enlivening Islamic traditions and local culture, as manifested in various rituals. Consequently, this research has described integrating these three aspects to understand the actual social construction within the local community in Central Maluku.

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