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The focus of this journal is to provide readers on understanding of Indonesia and International affairs related to religious literature and heritage and its present developments through publication of articles, research reports, and books reviews.

Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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THINKING ABOUT RELIGIOUS TEXTS ANTHROPOLOGICALLY

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Abstract

This paper addresses the conference themes by asking what contribution anthropology can make to the study of religious literature and heritage. In particular I will discuss ways in which anthropologists engage with religious texts. The paper begins with an assessment of what is probably the dominant approach to religious texts in mainstream anthropology and sociology, namely avoiding them and focussing instead on the religious 'practices' of 'ordinary believers'. Arguing that this tendency to neglect the study of texts is ill-advised, the paper looks at the reasons why anthropologists need to engage with contemporary religious texts, particularly in their studies of/in the modern Muslim world. Drawing on the insights of anthropologist of religion Joel Robbins into what he called the "awkward relationship" between anthropology and theology, the paper proposes three possible ways in which anthropology might engage with religious literature. Based on a reading of three rather different modern texts on or about Islam, the strengths and weaknesses of each of the three modes of anthropological engagement is assessed and a case is made for Robbins's third approach on the grounds that it offers a way out of the impasse in which mainstream anthropology of religion finds itself, caught as it is between the 'emic' and the 'etic', i.e. between ontologically different worlds.

Keywords: *religious texts, anthropology, sociology, contemporary.*

Abstrak

Tulisan ini mengikuti tema konferensi dengan pertanyaan apakah kontribusi antropologi dapat memberi kontribusi untuk khazanah keagamaan. Secara khusus saya akan mendiskusikan cara-cara antropolog terlibat dalam teks-teks agama. Tulisan ini memulai dengan sebuah asesmen tentang pendekatan apa yang mungkin dominan untuk teks-teks agama dalam mainstream antropologi dan sosiologi, yaitu memfokuskan pada praktek agama dari pemeluk agamanya. Menjawab kecenderungan pembicaraan studi terhadap teks, tulisan ini mengungkapkan alasan-alasan mengapa antropolog butuh terlibat dalam teks-teks agama kontemporer, terutama dalam studi dunia Muslim modern. Menggambarkan pandangan antropolog, Joel Robbins, dalam apa yang disebutkannya "hubungan terbelakang" antara antropolog and teologi, tulisan ini menawarkan tiga cara antropolog dapat terlibat dalam literatur agama. Berdasarkan pada salah satu bacaan dari tiga teks modern tentang Islam, kekuatan dan kelemahannya pada setiap tiga model tersebut telah dinilai, dan kasus untuk pendekatan ketiga Robbins yang menawarkan sebuah jalan keluar dalam mainstream antropologi agama itu sendiri bermakna antara etik dan emik, yakni antara dunia ontologis yang berbeda.

Kata kunci: *teks-teks agama, antropologi, sosiologi, kontemporer*

Introduction: Anthropology and the Study of Religious Literature

In asking what contribution anthropology can make to the study of religious literature, it needs to be acknowledged that religious texts have in fact quite rarely attracted much attention from anthropologists and sociologists. There are a number of reasons why this should be so, perhaps the main one being an inclination in both disciplines to privilege ‘practice’ – as against ‘theory’ and/or ‘ideas’ – as the proper object of study.¹ Combined with a widely shared assumption that texts belong to the realm of ‘theory’, in other words that they are ideational phenomena, one can see why they might be neglected in mainstream anthropological analyses of religion.

A clear illustration of this tendency to steer clear of ‘ideas’, and to privilege practice for the purposes of research and analysis, is found in the recent work of the prominent sociologist of religion, the late Martin Riesebrodt who, introducing his general theory of religion, argues that to focus on religious ideas in their own right would be a waste of time. This is because, in his view, “systematized religious ideas are quite unknown to religious practitioners” and because the assumption that even though unconscious of these ideas, laypersons

are nonetheless mysteriously guided by them, is “metaphysical” (Riesebrodt, 2010: 80-81).

I will have more to say later on about the consequences of a methodological commitment to ‘practice’ in the social sciences. Suffice it here merely to point to some of the reasons why anthropologists and sociologists would do well to pay particularly close attention to religious literature, especially in their research on the modern Islamic world.

First and foremost, of course, is the fact that Islam (like Judaism and Christianity) is a religion of the book (*kitab*), i.e. it is an explicitly textual religion, as most Muslims are quick to point out. However, I am not here advocating for direct engagement with the foundational texts of Islam, not least because, as Daniel Madigan has cautioned, we should not assume that the meaning of text is the same in all of the Abrahamic religions, much less that *kitab* has the same meaning as our modern term ‘text’ (see Madigan, 2001).

Instead, in arguing for engaging with religious texts, I am thinking of the great variety of newer (modern, postmodern?) textual forms – ranging from books of prayer and religious instruction; to school and university textbooks; to novels, poetry, magazines, and self-help books; to films, television programs, YouTube videos, the lyrics of popular music; to a constantly growing and extremely diverse web-based literature, Facebook pages, tweets, etc. – which circulate widely and more or less freely, and are being accessed by an ever-widening circle of Muslim practitioners in places like Indonesia where literacy rates – including rates of computer, internet and smart phone literacy – are high. It is these modern (and postmodern) textual forms that I have in mind when I call for greater anthropological engagement with religious literature.

Even if it were true of religious literature in the past, it is impossible to argue that the ‘ideas’ that circulate in these textual forms are “unknown” to ordinary “religious practitioners” today. And this is true even though there are, of course, those who are either unable to read or to access them. This is because religious attitudes and practices today, even of those who, either because of illiteracy or lack of resources, cannot access texts directly, are nonetheless shaped by them because the religious teachings upon which most ordinary

practitioners are reliant for their own religious understandings are themselves often derived from, and inscribed in texts. The failure on the part of mainstream anthropologists and sociologists to attend to them is in all likelihood due to the same factors cited by Robbins for the neglect of theology, i.e. “a still lingering reluctance” on the part of social scientists “to study elites—a reluctance that leads us away from studying the work of the theologians who influence, however indirectly, the [religious] communities we study. It probably also follows from a paucity of models to draw on in thinking about how elite intellectual work and writing contribute to popular thought in most places, though we should be able to get help in this regard from the rapidly developing anthropological study of knowledge and expertise as cultural phenomena” (Robbins, 2006: 286) .

A further reason for paying particular attention to the reading and writing of religious texts, indeed for treating religious text-making as an especially important object of anthropological enquiry, is that this is an activity that anthropologists share most directly with (some of) their research subjects. After all, whatever else it is, the practice of an ‘anthropologist of Islam’ involves reading and writing of texts about it. Moreover, in my own research into contemporary forms of Muslim spirituality in Indonesia, I have encountered a large number of spiritual leaders, teachers, intellectuals, students, artists, poets, novelists and musicians, all of whom are avid readers, and frequently also themselves writers, of various forms of religious text, something to which the rise of social media, blogging etc. has been a major contributor. It is distinctly odd that an activity that is so closely shared with (a growing number of) their interlocutors is precisely the one mainstream anthropologists seem most keen to ignore.

Having made a case for the importance for anthropology of engaging with modern religious texts, I want now briefly to summarise three examples of such texts in order to ground the discussion that follows.

Three Texts on Islam

The assessment of the different ways in which anthropology has dealt (or might deal) with religious literature will be based on a reading of three modern texts on or about Islam:

1. *Soumission: roman (Submission: a novel)* by Michel Houellebecq, official publication date the 7th of January 2015 (the English translation is due out later this year, ironically the day of the Charlie Hebdo massacre)
2. *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam* by Louis Massignon, a two-volume doctoral thesis completed in 1922, later published in four volumes in French (1975) and in English translation (1982, Princeton University Press) (a 2 volume abridged English version appeared in 1984).
3. *Jack & Sufi* by M. Luqman Hakim, published by Pustaka Populer LKIS in Yogyakarta in 2004.

At first glance, this may appear to be an extremely diverse, even arbitrary, selection. Moreover, there will doubtless be those who object to including them in the category of religious literature at all. My responses to these objections will become clear in the discussion that follows.

Soumission

The first, and perhaps the most controversial of my selected texts is *Soumission*, a novel by Michel Houellebecq, former winner of the prestigious Prix Goncourt for literature and thought of by some to be “France’s most important contemporary novelist” (Lilla, 2015). Apart from writing novels (*Whatever*, 1994; *Atomised*, 1998; and *Platform*, 2001), Houellebecq has also been a filmmaker, poet and biographer (of paranormal writer H. P. Lovecraft).

Soumission is set in the year 2022 when “an Islamic political party com[es] peacefully to power in France”. Marie le Pen, still the leader of the anti-immigrant/ anti-Muslim National Front, wins the first round of the Presidential election. The “Socialists and the conservative UMP don’t have enough votes between them to defeat her. So they decide to back” moderate ‘Muslim Brotherhood’ candidate, Ben Abbes, who wins the runoff by a narrow margin.

Coming to power “Ben Abbes decides to let the other parties divide up the ministries, reserving for [his party] only the education portfolio. He, unlike his coalition partners, understands that a nation’s destiny depends on how well it teaches young people fundamental values and enriches their inner lives. He is not a multiculturalist and

admires the strict republican schools that he studied in, and that France abandoned.

“Except in the schools, very little seems to happen at first. But over the next month’s François begins to notice small things, beginning with how women dress. Though the government has established no dress code, he sees fewer skirts and dresses on the street, baggier pants and shirts that hide the body’s contours. It seems that non-Muslim women have spontaneously adopted the style to escape the sexual marketplace that Houellebecq describes so chillingly in his other novels. Youth crime declines, as does unemployment when women, grateful for new family subsidies, begin to leave the workforce to care for their children”. (Lilla, 2015).

These events are seen through the eyes of François, “a mid-level literature professor at the Sorbonne who specializes in the work of the Symbolist novelist J.K. Huysmans”. François “lives alone in a modern apartment tower, teaches his courses but has no friends in the university, and returns home to frozen dinners, television, and porn. Most years he manages to pick up a student and start a relationship, which ends when the girl breaks it off over summer vacation. He doesn’t understand why his students are so eager to get rich, or why journalists and politicians are so hollow, or why everyone, like him, is so alone” He believes that ‘only literature can give you that sensation of contact with another human spirit,’ but no one else cares about it. His sometime girlfriend Myriam genuinely loves him but he can’t respond, and when she leaves to join her parents, who have emigrated to Israel because they feel unsafe in France, all he can think to say is: ‘There is no Israel for me’. Prostitutes, even when the sex is great, only deepen the hole he is in”.

“François thinks he sees a new social model developing before his eyes, inspired by a religion he knows little about, and which he imagines has the polygamous family at its center. Men have different wives for sex, childbearing, and affection; the wives pass through all these stages as they age, but never have to worry about being abandoned. They are always surrounded by their children, who have lots of siblings and feel loved by their parents, who never divorce. François, who lives alone and has lost contact with his parents, is impressed. His fantasy (and perhaps Houellebecq’s) is not really the

colonial one of the erotic harem. It is closer to what psychologists call the ‘family romance’” (Lilla).

The Passion of al-Hallāj

My second example of modern religious literature is *The Passion of al-Hallāj*, a study by the French ‘orientalist’ Louis Massignon of the life and teaching of a tenth-century Sufi mystic and martyr best-known for his mystical poetry and for the fact that he was executed for heresy on the orders of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Muqtadir. The charges arose out of al-Hallāj’s pursuit of a mystical union with God, which was (and is) seen by Muslim critics as equating himself directly with God, as for example in the following verse:

I saw my Lord with the eye of the heart
I asked, ‘Who are You?’
He replied, ‘You’. (*Wikipedia*)

Louis Massignon “was a Catholic scholar of Islam and a pioneer of Catholic-Muslim mutual understanding. He was an influential figure in the twentieth century with regard to the Catholic church’s relationship with Islam ... [and] for Islam being accepted as an Abrahamic Faith” (*Wikipedia*). He was a scholar of great genius who spoke 10 languages fluently, including Arabic (and who read many more),

The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam is the dissertation that he submitted for his doctorate at the Sorbonne and was based on some fifteen years of research and travel in the Middle East. In the dissertation, Massignon describes not only the life and ideas of al-Hallāj “but also the whole milieu of early Islamic civilization”,² “from history to literature, from theology to philosophy, from archaeology to contemporary issues... The biography of Hallāj [thereby] reconstituted the entire social and political milieu of the period” (Gude, 1996: xi). As a result much of the work might appear at first sight to be is dry, factual and excessively ‘academic’. As one contemporary admirer acknowledges, the *Passion* contains “hundreds of excruciatingly technical discussions of Persian banking practice, caliphate histories, and Islamic theology” (Kripal, 2001: 100).³

Although he published literally hundreds of articles on Islam, and “his last nineteen years ... were progressively given over to social activism, explicitly religious writing, and public demonstrations

against French and European atrocities committed against Muslims during the Israeli crisis and the Algerian War” (Kripal, 2001: 102), the work on al-Hallāj was his most abiding passion. At his death Massignon was working on a second edition of the *Passion* and he is probably best known even today for the seminal work on this little-known (outside Sufi circles) Muslim mystic (Gude, 1996 xi).

Massignon’s writings on al-Hallāj “advanced two major thesis, both of them new to their days”: 1) “that Sufism is based primarily on the Qurān and cannot be read as a foreign importation” and 2) “that Hallāj was the summation and crystallization of the Sufi tradition before him ... which ... went into gradual decline after Hallāj, particularly in the aesthetic and speculative metaphysics of Ibn al-‘Arabī and the Persian school”. A third project involved. The approach was influenced by Massignon’s philological training (Gude 1996: x), which, combined with his mysticism, has led Jeffrey Kripal to speak of a third project implicit in the text, namely “the development of what can only be called a mysticism of language” (Kripal, 2001: 114)

Born into a wealthy family in Paris in 1883, Massignon was a child of an agnostic father who was member of an artistic circle that included sculptor Auguste Rodin and the French “decadent novelist” and occultist “turned pious Catholic” J.-K. Huysmans who had a “profound influence on the younger Massignon” (recall that the central character in Houellebecq’s novel was also a great admirer of Huysmans), and a mother who was a devout Catholic. Massignon studied philosophy and mathematics at the Sorbonne, but also read Christian mystical literature and studied Arabic. As a student he travelled to Algeria and then to Cairo where he met and became a close friend (and lover) of a Spanish convert to Islam, who introduced him to the poetry of Mansur al-Hallāj (c. 858-922).

The impact of al-Hallāj on Massignon was much more than purely intellectual. In fact his decision to write a dissertation on al-Hallāj was itself the outcome of a powerful and prolonged mystical experience during which time he was repeatedly visited by a “supernatural presence” that he interpreted as the experience of al-Hallāj’s martyrdom. Massignon spoke of his as a ‘conversion’ experience, but to a conversion Islam but to Catholicism. There is a very complex backstory to all this involving Massignon’s (repressed?)

homosexuality, the agnosticism that he inherited from his father, and his comparison between the martyrdoms of al-Hallāj and of Christ. Suffice to say that it was the conversion experience that led to his decision to write a doctoral thesis in which Massignon “simultaneously plumbed his own biography and that of Hallāj” (Kripal 2001: 113). This explains among other things the appearance in the text of “numerous, seemingly anomalous paragraphs of a genuinely mystical, deeply personal, and sometimes downright eerie nature – oneiric revelations of personal destiny, speculative discussions of the ‘intersigns’ that parapsychologically punctured Hallāj’s (and Massignon’s) Life curve”, etc. (Kripal, 2001: 100)

Jack & Sufi

My third text is *Jack & Sufi: Sufisme di Remang-Remang Jakarta*, written by Dr KH M. Luqman Hakim published in Indonesian in 2004. Dr Luqman is a well-known Indonesian Islamic scholar and public intellectual. He was born in Madiun in 1962 and received a *pesantren* education in Jombang, before studying philosophy at Universitas Gajah Mada. He went on to do a doctorate in *Siyassah Shar’iyyah*. at the University of Malaya.⁴ During one of our meetings he told me that he also studied in Paris for several years.⁵ Pak Luqman studied *tassawuf*⁶ with Syaikh KH. Abdul Jalil Mustiqa, *Mursyid*⁷ of the *Syadziliyah* and *Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiah tarekat* (Sufi Orders).

He has written a large number of books and articles on *tassawuf* and, more generally, on social and religious issues from a ‘sufistic’ perspective. Although not formally recognised as a Mursyid himself because, he told us, he has always refused to swear the traditional oath of allegiance (*baiat*) to a Syaikh he is widely known as a representation of Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiah and was close to Gus Dur up to and through the period of his Presidency. He is much sought after as a lecturer on *tassawuf* and matters of Sufi practice and organises spiritual training for a number of government departments (Telekom), and is regularly invited to speak in mosques and government institutions all across the archipelago (as well as overseas: in 2015 he spoke at an Indonesian surau in Melbourne, having just returned from a speaking tour of Egypt).

Although perhaps not as popular or public a religious figure as the likes of Ah Gym (Abdullah Gymnastiar) or Arifin Ilham or the

various well known *Habib*, he appears frequently on Indonesian television (TV 9 Surabaya), and has a prominent internet presence (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and the Sufinews.com website, which he manages) as well as editing a popular Sufi magazine (*Cahaya Sufi*).

Pak Luqman is also a talented artist, and showed us numerous paintings (oils on canvas), which were mostly in the French surrealist style, but using Islamic calligraphic motifs.

Unlike much of his published work, *Jack & Sufi* is a work of fiction – not a novel, but a collection of a large number of short (3-5 page) vignettes. All centre on the figure of Jack, a Javanese kiai. Jack, we are told, studied for years in pesantren on Java, and then in the Middle East, Europe and Africa. But when he returned to Indonesia he chose not to found his own pesantren or to teach in an institution of higher religious learning, but decided instead to break with tradition and comes to live in the ‘shadows’ of modern Jakarta in order to serve those who are marginalised by civilisation and ignored by *ulama*, *kiai*, *ustaz* and other religionists (*agamawan*, 2005: 4). Known to this circle of misfits as Jack, he dresses in the style of a man of the streets, in jeans, leather jacket, etc.

Jack, and his constituents, live in the “shadows” of the gleaming city of shopping malls, condominiums and office towers that is modern Jakarta. They are found in the backstreets and alleyways, around train stations and rail lines, on and underneath the pedestrian bridges that span the main streets and boulevards, and on the sidewalks. But the shadows also penetrate into five star hotels and the fancy houses and apartments of the wealthy, the corrupt, the gangsters. This ‘hidden’ city is populated by bar girls, prostitutes, gangsters, beggars, bikers, corrupt politicians, gamblers, drug addicts and other marginalised and despised people, each chapter of the book being an account of one or other of these groups.

However, rather than passing judgement on these marginalised people, rather than attacking them for their sins and lack of piety, Luqman’s Jack is determined to see the best in them. As the editor points out in his introduction, Jack never speaks of good and bad, right and wrong, halal and haram, heaven or well, since it is not for him, but for God, to pass judgement (2005: x). Instead Jack reserves his harshest judgements for the pious moralisers and reformers, those who

think they are pure, who revel in the outward markers of Islamic piety and mistake these for signs of their purity. Jack is keen to ask these pious souls, who are constantly condemning the poor and the marginalised, why it is that Islam today is more like theatre than real religion (2004: 27).

When asked why he insists on greeting, embracing and interacting with bums (*gelandangan*) and beggars, Jack responds: “I have no pretensions. I just feel the same as them. WE in this world are nothing more than the bums of Allah, we are only beggars of God. Now, ponder that” (2004: 23).

Take the case of the famous prostitute who was refused burial in the public cemetery and was given a pauper’s grave on a muddy river bank. When the grave was dug up ten years later to widen the river, the villagers discovered, to their great surprise, the corpse fully intact and her shroud clean as the day she was buried. Asked to explain, Jack replied: “Maybe she never prostituted her heart; her soul belonged to God No matter how bad your deeds, they are determined by Allah, so if you repent and turn to him, he will always forgive you” (2004: 441). This is a constant theme of *Jack & Sufi*: no one is beyond redemption no matter how far they seem to have fallen. Even the worst of deeds may be motivated by good intentions: a prostitute indulges her clients because she has no other way to feed her children, a gangster repents, an assassin realises the error of his ways and turns to God, giving all his money to an orphanage for street children.

Jack’s role is not to condemn or judge, but to help the marginalised and forgotten turn to God and to repent (*tobat*) by performing the ritual of remembrance (*berzikir*).⁸ Of the latter, Luqman writes:

[O]rang berzikir itu tujuannya bukan mencari kenikmatan, keasyikan, dan kenangan apalagi kesenangan. Bukan. Bahwa berzikir itu bias menimbulkan ekstase luar biasa, keindahan dan kesyahduan, itu lain soal. Kenikmatan dan keharuan di balik zikir juga jauh berbeda dengan kenikmatan ekstase dengan pil dan music. Ekstase ngepilmu itu adalah kenikmatan nafsu, kenikmatan birahi, kenikmatan syahwati, kenikmatan fantasi nafsani yang membubunh di alam khayal *syaitāniah* (2004: 31-2)

What does submitting oneself to God mean? Islam “is not a charter ... for Komando Jihad or for Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila; it is not a political platform or a banner; it isn’t jargonising while

waving a flag and chanting Allahu Akbar or La illaha illah; it isn't about wearing a cloak and long beard, while declaring that those who do not are unIslamic; or speaking loudly from the Quran or the hadith in a sermon or a speech" (112)

"Beware of those who denounce Christians and Jews as kaffir; beware those who denounce Ambon, who call for you to strike here and there" (114). Instead, as the hadith has it, a true Muslim "works for the world as though he will live forever. And works towards the hereafter as if he will die tomorrow" (115) Do the most for humanity and nation, do the least for self, family and group (115).

Anthropology and Religious Literature: Three Modes of Engagement

Having summarised a number of recent texts on or about Islam, I want now to address the issue of how anthropology might engage with religious literature. In so doing, I will draw on an insightful article by the American anthropologist Joel Robbins on the "awkward relationship" between anthropology and theology, in which he: 1) criticises the tendency on the part of anthropologists of religion to ignore theology; and 2) describes three possible ways in which anthropologists might engage with it (Robbins, 2006). My contention is that Robbins's remarks are equally relevant to the relation between anthropology and religious literature more broadly and in what follows I will extend them to the study of religious texts.

1. The genealogical critique of anthropological discourse

The first approach discussed by Robbins is to study of the role of theology in anthropology's "own formation". Here Robbins has in mind the kinds of genealogical critique of anthropology pioneered by Talal Asad and his followers, who have been concerned among other things with demonstrating the ways in which anthropological writing on Islam is inflected, shaped or constituted by a certain distinctively western assumptions and presuppositions which are in turn theological in origin. In an influential critique of a number of key texts on the anthropology of Islam, for example, Asad points out the ways that the language and indeed most of the basic concepts (like religion, secularity, the political, freedom/autonomy/agency, etc.) employed by their authors in representing and analysing Muslim societies, are in

fact derived from the modern/western/Enlightenment tradition, a tradition itself shaped in significant ways by Christianity, and by Protestantism in particular. Here, then, an anthropology of Islam is transformed into a (deconstructive) anthropology of Christianity (see also Asad, 2009b).

Of course this kind of genealogical critique has not been restricted to the deconstruction of anthropological texts for their underlying theological assumptions. Instead, its advocates have gone on to analyse the power effects of western/secular discourses on or about Islam more generally by exposing its debt to western Christianity. Here, modernist discourse on Islam is assessed, not for the accuracy of its representations or readings of the Islamic tradition, but rather for the ways in which it serves to ‘authorise’ a particular version or interpretation of that tradition that is distinctly Christian/Protestant (one in which religion is conceived of as a privatized, interiorised set of ‘beliefs’ and ‘practices’ that is fully compatible with a modern, secular way of life) and not others (see Asad, 2009a). The focus then is on how modern emancipatory discourse, backed by the power of secular states, in fact gives rise to racism or Islam phobia and to the marginalisation and exclusion of Muslim citizens. This seems to be particularly true for western Europe, where there appears to be a close connection between exclusionary, anti-Muslim discourses (amounting at times to Islam phobia) and a renewed commitment to certain basic principles of secular governance of supposedly Christian origin (known as *laïcité* in France, one of the most visible sites of such conflicts) which requires the suppression of public expressions of religiosity, including Islamic religiosity.

This kind of genealogical criticism can have levelled at *Soumission*. Indeed, Houellebecq has long courted controversy for his views on Muslim immigrants in France, having been taken to court “after a publicity tour for *Platform*” for “inciting racial hatred” (*Wikipedia*). And, even before it was published, *Soumission* was already being criticised for its Islam phobia.⁹

Massignon’s text has also been criticised for its Christian-centrism “because it seemingly equates the role of Hallāj in Islam with that of Jesus in Christianity, and thereby elevates a marginal figure in the history of Islam to a position denied him within the culture. Sir Hamilton Gibb and other Western colleagues thought that Massignon

ascribed too much importance to the role of mysticism in the development of Islam. Some Muslim scholars also shared these reserves (sic), recalling the ‘ancient separation between the mystical way and the way of religious Law’ and added: ‘The greatest portion of what Orientalists call Muslim mysticism has nothing to do with Islam’” (Gude, 996: 116).

Edward Said echoed these earlier criticisms of Massignon in his seminal work on Orientalism:

The disproportionate importance accorded al-Hallāj by Massignon signifies, first, the scholar’s decision to promote one figure above his sustaining culture, and second, the fact that al-Hallāj had come to represent a constant challenge, even an irritant, to the Western Christian for whom belief was not (and perhaps could not be) the extreme self-sacrifice it was for the Sufi. In either case, Massignon’s al-Hallāj was intended literally to embody, to incarnate, values essentially outlawed by the main doctrinal system of Islam, a system/that Massignon himself described mainly in order to circumvent it with al-Hallāj (Edward Said, *Orientalism*, cited in Gude, 1996:116-117)

In sum, the project of genealogical critique has given rise to a study of religious literature that asks how, and why, particular religious texts are authorised and others are not; what counts as religious literature and what does not (my choice of ‘religious texts’ is deliberately broad precisely in order to highlight this issue); and what exclusions follow from the process of textual authorisation; etc. How the Indonesian form of ‘secular’ governance impacts on the religious heritage industry is a topic that I hope would get some attention in this conference.

This kind of genealogical critique of textual representations of Islam in the West is valuable since it forces us to pay attention to the discursive dimension of religious text-making and hence to the politics of textual authorisation that inevitably surround it. One would think that a ‘genealogical’ sensibility would be particularly important to discussions of religious literature and heritage in a place like Indonesia. For, although clearly there are significant differences between forms of governance and regulation of the religious lives of the citizenry in Indonesia and France, the Indonesian state also plays an important role in legitimizing, and de-legitimizing different forms of religious belief and practice. And this has significant implications

for the authorisation of certain religious texts (and the delegitimisation of others).

However, it is also important to acknowledge the weaknesses of at least certain versions of genealogical critique as a mode of engaging with religion, a weakness that is highlighted by the texts I have chosen. In these examples, none of the authors could be described as articulating a modern, western, Enlightenment, secular, atheistic or mainstream Christian worldview. Nor are any of them hostile to religion in general or Islam in particular. And as a result it is difficult to read any of them as justifying colonial rule or, indeed, secular governance more generally.

There is, for example, no reason to doubt Houellebecq's sincerity when, responding to an interviewer, he described his book as anti-Enlightenment. Neither is the book to be called anti-religious or anti-Muslim. Consider the following responses to a hostile interviewer determined to lump *Soumission* in together with the much more explicitly Islam phobic novel by Renaud Camus that caused such a stir in France in the previous year:

1. **MH (Michel Houellebecq):** My book describes the destruction of philosophy handed down by the Enlightenment, which no longer makes sense to anyone, or to very few people. Catholicism, by contrast, is doing rather well. I would maintain that an alliance between Catholics and Muslims is possible. We've seen it happen before, it could happen again.

2. **Int (Interviewer):** You who have become an agnostic; you can look on cheerfully and watch the destruction of Enlightenment philosophy?

MH: Yes I am hostile to Enlightenment philosophy; I need to make that perfectly clear.

3. **Int:** [Your book] takes us into the politics of fear ... of Islam taking over the country?

MH: Actually, it's not clear what we are meant to be afraid of, nativists or Muslims. I leave that unresolved.

4. **MH:** I don't believe that a society can thrive without a religion

5. **MH:** ... in the end the Koran turns out to be much better than I thought, now that I've reread it – or rather, read it. The most

obvious conclusion is that jihadists are bad Muslims. Obviously, as with all religious texts, there is room for interpretation, but an honest reading will conclude that a holy war of aggression is not generally sanctioned, prayer alone is valid. So you might say I've changed my opinion. That's why I don't feel I'm writing out of fear. I feel, rather, that we can make arrangements... (Bourmeau, 2015)

When it comes to assessing Houellebecq's attitude towards *laïcité*, especially telling is the key role assigned to the figure of J.K. Huysmans, 'decadent' novelist, occultist and Catholic convert who influenced many members of an interwar generation of anti-secular, anti-Enlightenment, anti-Protestant 'traditionalists', among them René Guénon (who actually embraced a sufistic form of Islam).¹⁰

Interestingly, Houellebecq's admiration for J.K. Huysmans echoes that of Louis Massignon whose father, as we have noted, was a member of a circle of artists, writers and intellectuals that included Huysmans. And in later life, Massignon himself grew close to the man whose conversion to Catholicism provided a model for his own. Although in key respects Massignon's and Guénon's interpretations of Islam differ they were both -- along with their Henry Corbin -- students of and admirers of Sufism, and saw Islam as an alternative to the dominant 'disenchanted', 'secular' and 'rational' worldview of the West.

Moreover, Massignon can hardly be thought of as an apologist for colonial rule. He was in fact a lifelong critic of French colonial rule in the Muslim Middle East and North Africa. In this regard, it is notable that Edward Said appears to have softened his critical evaluation of Massignon, when expressing sympathy for an alternative western discourse on Islam (and the Orient) in which the East is characterized, not by ignorance and backwardness but by "direct experience, and in the case of poets, novelists, and scholars like Goethe, Gérard de Nerval, Richard Burton, Flaubert, and Louis Massignon ... imagination and refinement" (Said, 1997: 13).

This leads to a further way in which this traditionalistic current in modern religious thought complicates the project of genealogical critique, and that is that, contra the claims of many of its proponents, it is not only a western discourse. *Jack & Sufi* was deliberately chosen

as my third example because, although it differs in some ways from the texts by Houellebecq Massignon, its reading of Islam as an inner-directed form of spiritual submission capable of providing solace in modern times is broadly similar. Together, therefore, the chosen texts problematize a basic the genealogical critics, namely that the version of Islam found in texts by the likes of Houellebecq and Massignon is a uniquely western one, in other words that western texts on or about Islam are by definition inauthentic because they are addressed solely to the concerns of westerners.¹¹ Luqman's book is just one example of a burgeoning 'sufistic' literature that is being published in contemporary Indonesia which offers a reading of Islam that is in some ways very close to that of French interwar 'orientalists' like Guenon, Henry Corbin and Massignon.

2. Religious texts as cultural artefacts

The second way in which anthropology might engage with religious literature, again following Robbins's lead, would be to "read any given piece of [literature] as data that can inform us about the particular ... culture that produced it". Treating texts and text-making as cultural artefacts and therefore as objects for cultural analysis has not been all that common in traditional anthropology as we have noted. However, finding their field sites increasingly saturated by the products of the modern 'culture industries', and influenced by work in the newer field of Cultural Studies,¹² anthropologists are increasingly directing their attention to the production and consumption of the sorts of new textual forms, including new kinds of religious literature, that I have been concerned with in this paper.¹³

This anthropological engagement with (new forms of) religious texts, however belated, is clearly a positive development. Among other things, it encourages us to rethink the notion of 'religious literature' and to expand the category to include the great variety of new textual forms that have come into being as a result of cultural (and religious) globalisation; the rapidly changing technological landscape; and the growth, deepening (and differentiation) of the market for religious materials (books, magazines, television, film, blogs, social media, etc.). Those with an interest in religious heritage in Indonesia today would clearly benefit from taking account of the

implications of these changes in the global religious landscape for their approach to religious heritage in contemporary Indonesia.

However, there are some critical weaknesses in an approach to religious ideas that would treat them as ‘data’ for cultural analysis by ‘reducing’ them to the (immanent) contexts within which they are produced and consumed. Take, for example, the Luqman Hakim text. Of course it contains traces of its Javanese/Indonesian linguistic and cultural origins, its hero, Jack, in some ways a throwback to those wandering Sufis, the Wali Songo, who according to local tradition are said to have spread of Islam to Java and to later generations of Muslim spiritual leaders and religious teachers. But neither the author of *Jack & Sufi*, nor his hero is a traditional(ist) Javanese religious leader or teacher. Apart from having had a rural *pesantren* education in their youth, Luqman and his fictional counterpart both went on to study Islamic law and philosophy at modern universities in Indonesia and overseas. And rather than follow the career path of a traditional Javanese *ulama* – for example by becoming a member of a *tarekat* and swearing allegiance (*baiat*) to a *Syech*, going to teach in a rural *pesantren* (or setting up one’s own), serving as a *Kiai* (spiritual leader) to a predominantly rural constituency -- Luqman, and Jack, both choose to live in Indonesia’s largest urban centre and to minister to modern Indonesian urban dwellers: Jack as we have seen among the city’s marginalised people, Luqman as spiritual teacher and adviser to government employees among others.

Similarly, the text differs radically in both form and content from traditional Islamic literature, whether we are thinking of Islam’s foundational texts; or the classical texts on tradition (hadith), law, philosophy, theology, etc.; or the early Malay, Javanese and Indonesian commentaries; or the *kitab kuning*, which were written in the Arabic script and used for religious instruction in Javanese *pesantren*. *Jack & Sufi*, by contrast, is written in a modern Indonesian -- even Jakarta – dialect; it is commercially published for a mass market for books, newspapers and magazines; and it belongs to a distinctively modern genre (novel or collection of fictional short stories).

Beginning in the late colonial period this new kind of literature began to make an appearance in Indonesia – in the form both of novels and short stories fiction and non-fiction journalism. While in the early

years, much of this literature was more or less secular in orientation, the increasing levels of Islamization of Indonesian society in the years since the end of the New Order has resulted in these new genres of religious literature as well. None of these existed in traditional Java; indeed none really existed until the twentieth century. *Jack & Sufi* is an example of this new kind of religious literature.

If, then, Luqman's book is far from being a traditional Islamic or Javanese cultural artefact, might it instead be read in the context of the rise of the modern culture industries or of new technologies of cultural production and circulation, a new cultural artefact consumed in the process of (post)modern identity making and the pursuit of new, globalized and commodified religious 'lifestyles'?

Certainly there is now money to be made in catering to a rapidly growing market for 'Islamic' commodities including magazines, advice and self-help manuals; clothing, beauty and 'lifestyle' products; tourist destinations; live appearances by (and video and audio broadcasts, streaming and recordings of) celebrity preachers, teachers and personalities, etc. In addition companies and government departments now spend large sums of money on spiritually-oriented 'training' programs for their employees and managers (ESQ being one of the best known). And spiritual advisors forms part of the entourage of every Indonesian celebrity these days. Can new forms of religious literature, including texts like *Jack & Sufi*, be understood in this new context?

Clearly Islamic religiosity and, particularly, the expression of an Islamic identity in contemporary Indonesia, is strongly 'inflected' by the changing social, economic, political and religious landscapes that have so changed the lives of ordinary Indonesians these days. However, before we rush to reduce the making and reading of new forms of religious text to the cultural contexts within which these activities now take place, a few words of caution. Are in order.

By focussing on the contemporary, rather than the 'traditional', context, the analyses being pursued in contemporary anthropology and cultural studies may differ from earlier approaches to the making of religious texts. However, they still concern themselves exclusively with immanent rather than transcendent context. In other words, whether they treat religious ideas in their economic, political,

historical, cultural, linguistic or biological (bodily, neurological) contexts, like all anthropologists of ‘practice’, they ignore that which seems most distinctive about them, namely that their authors (and readers) are concerned mainly with the universal, the spiritual and the transcendent. To privilege practice, therefore, is in fact a kind of refusal, i.e. a refusal to engage with the ontologically-other claims of religious practitioners.

When, for example, the authors of these religious texts write of a connection to the Divine, what is gained by insisting that this in fact arises from “institutional realities and concrete life” (Riesebrodt, 2010: 53) and not anything that lies outside them? According to them there are ontologically worlds that transcend history, language and culture. Can we dismiss such construals as mythical or misguided? Is not arguing that there is nothing outside language, *logos*, the text, the market, etc., i.e. that context and immanence are all and transcendence an illusion, just as dogmatic as insisting that transcending context is possible? Given that the practitioners of anthropology claim that it is possible to escape our world sufficiently to engage with theirs, is it not hypocritical of them to deny their claims to be able to do the same?

This failure on the part of secular scholars to treat religious ideas and texts as anything other than cultural artefacts suggests that they are not as interested in democratising knowledge production as they like to think. After all, what anthropologist or comparative religionist is willing to concede that his or her own ideas, concepts and analyses should be ignored in favour of those of laypersons in the West? Or that their own practice of making and religious texts is nothing other than a money-making (or identity-making) scheme? Are we afraid that our ability to determine the shape of religious argumentation might not stand up to the sorts of intellectually sophisticated critique of which the author of a text such as *Jack & Sufi* might be capable? At least in engaging with the ideas of the authors of religious texts, we would not be comparing apples and oranges as it were, but like with like: ‘our’ intellectual systems (anthropology, comparative religion) with ‘theirs.’

In presenting his general theory of religion, Martin Riesebrodt, as we have noted, seems to think that privileging religious practice and ignoring religious ideas makes it possible to avoid metaphysics. However, it may be that the commitment to immanence that

characterises most versions of ‘practice theory’ that in anthropology and cultural studies may be equally metaphysical.¹⁴

Conclusions

Genealogical critique and cultural analysis may have something to teach us about religion in general and religious literature in particular. But neither seems able adequately to address or engage with the universalistic aspirations of the authors and readers of religious texts when they make claims about worlds that transcend our own. When faced with alternative ‘metaphysical’ claims about the nature of humans and their place in the cosmos, the anthropologist of practice has no alternative but to ignore them, his/her grounds for doing so being themselves metaphysical.

In his discussion of anthropology and theology, Robbins points to an alternative by asking us to imagine “that theologians might either produce theories that get some things right about the world [that anthropologists] currently get wrong or model a kind of action in the world that is in some or other way more effective or ethically adequate than their own” (Robbins, 2006: 286-287). I think anthropologists have a lot to gain by adopting this ‘third way’ of engaging with theology (religious ideas) and religious texts and would argue that doing so would be quite radically transformative of the way in which religion is studied in secular academia. In concluding this paper, I can do no more than sketch in the contours of this alternative by suggesting that it would be broadly reflexive as well as both particularistic (contextualist, immanent) and universalistic at the same time.

Particularism

As historian of religion Jeffrey Kripal points out, academia:

is very good at ... Culture and Cognition ... we are very good at demonstrating that any human experience, including religious experience, can be understood and interpreted by locating it in a very particular place and time ... In regards to Cognition, we are very good at showing how something like mythology, a religion, a piece of literature, or a language ... is organized along particular cognitive grids and follows certain implicit rules, usually for some mundane social, economic, or political purpose. (Kripal, 2012: xiii-xiv)

Anthropology in particular, as we have seen, is very good at investigating the influence of contextual factors – whether these be cultural, linguistic, biological (bodily, neurological), cultural, political (power) or economic – in the formation of religious systems. And it is clearly the case that a good deal of what falls under the heading of religious belief and practice is oriented towards, and takes place in this world. There is always, in other words, a secular dimension to religion, manifest in the formation of religious institutions, the implementation of religious law and the establishment of religious authority (as well as the making and ‘consumption’ of religious ‘ideas’ ideas and texts). To put it another way, it is impossible to conceive of a religious system or a religious experience that is not ‘mediated’ by and through culture, language, power and the biology of human brains and bodies. Therefore it is equally impossible to envisage anthropology of religion that simply ignores these ways in which religion is practiced in the real world.

I am not suggesting for a moment that anthropologists should abandon what has become their core business, i.e. the investigation of the role of these contextual factors in the shaping of religion (and of religious ideas and texts). Instead, when it comes to imagining an alternative, I want to argue:

- 1) That in focussing on the formative role of contextual factors it is incumbent upon anthropologists also to be reflexive, i.e. they need to acknowledge that their own ideas and practices, just as much as those of the religious other, are also a product of particular contexts; they are themselves linguistically, culturally, politically and economically mediated; they are in other words themselves grounded in a particular metaphysics or ontology (a modernist/ naturalistic/ immanentist metaphysics of practice). And these mediations and this metaphysics need equally to be investigated.
- 2) Secondly, that merely to insist on the contextuality of the religious worldviews of others in fact is to violate a fundamental principle of anthropological investigation, namely respecting the point of view of the subjects of anthropological research. And when it comes to religious worldviews, these subjects are in fact claiming that there is something that transcends context. To

properly engage with them, therefore, one also needs to respect the aspiration to the universal

Universalism

These observations about the limits of particularism suggest a need to engage once again with universalism. Having criticised the commitment to particularism of contemporary cultural theory, Jeffrey Kripal goes on to argue that, while very good at thinking about the particular, academics are very bad at “talking and thinking about things that exist across disparate cultures and times. This is because we have increasingly committed ourselves to the ‘impossibility of ‘universals’ [since we inevitably presume that] human beings are really, at base, expressions of local cultures and particular times and should never imagine that they can transcend these local cultures and times” (Kripal, 2012: xiii-xiv).

In fact, as I have pointed elsewhere (Kahn, in press), a number of European cultural theorists -- like Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou and Giorgio Agamben -- have been very critical of the particularism and contextualism that prevails in contemporary cultural studies. “[W]hat if,” writes Slavoj Žižek, “the field of Cultural Studies, far from actually threatening today’s global relations of domination, fit their framework perfectly, just as sexuality and the ‘repressive’ discourse that regulates it are fully complementary? What if the criticism of patriarchal/identitarian ideology betrays an ambiguous fascination with it, rather than an actual will to undermine it?” (cited in Bowman 2006: 170). It is with statements such as these that Žižek declares war on precisely those particularizing theoretical trends that have so captivated anthropology and critical area studies scholars in recent decades.

But, particularly in the light of what I have said about the need for reflexivity, what might such a ‘new universalism’ actually look like? Again, there is space here only to make a couple of comment.

1. The so-called new universalism of Žižek et. al. is nothing of the sort. It instead basically advocates for a return to the sort of secular, Enlightenment, Christian-centric universalism so effectively criticized by Said, Asad and others (note the

importance of St Paul's Christian universalism to Badiou, Agamben and Žižek).

2. As such it entirely fails to engage with the transcendental claims of Islamic (or indeed even Christian, since Badiou dismisses the religious dimension of St Paul's thought as a 'fable') thought.¹⁵
3. Does this therefore mean that as anthropologists we should abandon a commitment to the universal and instead embrace the universalism inherent in Islamic thought? No, because that thought is equally context-bound. What I am suggesting, instead, is that we need to respect its aspiration to the universal. In our approach to the spiritual/religious worlds of others, in other words, the anthropological encounter might be thought of as a version of what Kripal calls 'gnostic diplomacy', a form of engagement that is possible only when one is "ready ... to take the risk of mutual contamination and transformation across worldviews" (Kripal, 2004: 488).

This kind of openness to the possibility of the 'contamination' of our worldviews by that of our religious interlocutors is, I believe, precisely what Robbins's alludes to when he refers to as the third way of engaging with theology, and I can find no better way of concluding this paper than by quoting him at some length:

Anthropologists, by virtue of their commitment to fieldwork, find it easy to discover that there are viable ways of conceiving and living life that are different from their own. They also find it relatively easy to prove to their readers that these other ways of conceiving and living life actually exist and are not merely their own imagined creations, even if in this post-reflexive era they have to work a bit harder to make this point than they once did. What anthropologists find far more difficult to carry off is the critical agenda implied in their work—the one that suggests that anthropologists might convince people to learn from how others live to live otherwise themselves. Anthropologists can report difference and demonstrate to people that it is real, but they cannot very easily get their readers to put difference to use in their own lives. In fact, to make in passing a point I will return to at the end, it seems to me that in the last two decades anthropologists have responded to their failure during the 1960s and 1970s to convince people to put difference to enduring and effective

use in their own lives by largely backing away from finding difference and theorizing it in meaningful ways themselves Robbins, 2006: 288.

Endnotes

- ¹ Probably the most influential statement of the nature and goals of so-called ‘practice theory’ in anthropology is Sherry Ortner’s influential article (Ortner 1984)
- ² <http://lib.ugent.be/cat>. The “biography of Hallajalog/rug0:000947016 #reference-details
- ³ The following list of the chapter titles from the abridged version of the *Passion* gives some sense of both of its tremendous breadth, but also of the depth of detail that Kripal calls “excruciating”: Prologue; Chronological Tableau of Hallaj’s Life and Posthumous Survival, The Years of Apprenticeship: His Teachers and Friends, Native Milieu; The Cultural Milieu of Basra; Anecdotes from His Years of Apprenticeship; His Hajj (Ghutba); Travels and Apostolate; his Modes of Travel: His Dress, his Itineraries, his Stopping Places; the Two Periods of Public Preaching in Ahwaz (272-273 and 279-281); The Other Regions Traveled Through; The Social Expression of Hallaj’s Vocation, and His Contacts with the Cultural Renaissance of His Time; The Last Hajj of Hallaj and the Waqfa of Arafat; In Baghdad: Zealous Preaching and Political Indictment; Baghdad, Public Preaching in Baghdad; Political Indictment: The Dawat Ilal-Rububiya, Usurpation of the Supreme Power of God; The Indictment, The Court of Justice, and the Actors in the Drama; The Indictment and Ibn Dawud’s Initiative; The Definition of Zandaqa, a Heresy Threatening the Security of the State; The Sovereign Authority and Its Delegation to a Court of Justice the Court of Justice, Its Powers and Jurisdiction; The Trials, A Critical Note about the Historical Sources for the Trials, The First Trial (298/910 to 301/913), The Eight Years of Waiting, The Second Trial (308/921 to 309/922); The Denouement and the Judgment of Condemnation, The Martyrdom, The Peripeteias of the Execution.
- ⁴ “[P]olitical guidelines created by Muslim leaders/governments based on the maqasid/objective of Shariah and in line with al-Quran and al-Sunnah”.
- ⁵ At the Ècole des Hautes Ètudes?
- ⁶ The branch of Islamic knowledge which focuses on spiritual development.
- ⁷ A techer appointed by the Syech.
- ⁸ Typically by repetitive chanting of the Shahada: “lā ilāha illa Allāh (there is no god but God) and Muḥammadun rasūl Allāh (Muhammad is the messenger of God)”.

- ⁹ No less a figure than French “Prime Minister Manuel Valls, in his first speech after Charlie Hebdo attacks, “felt obliged to say that France is not Michel Houellebecq. It is not intolerance, hate and fear” (although, as Lilla also points out, “It is hardly likely that Valls had read his book” Lilla, 2015.
- ¹⁰ For a discussion of the connections between Houellebecq and European traditionalist and perennialist thought see Sedgwick, 2015.
- ¹¹ I have provided a more detailed discussion and analysis of this anti-Enlightenment/anti-secular current in modern thought (and its implications for the way in which anthropologists engage with religion in both Asia and the West) elsewhere (see Kahn, in press). I mention it briefly here as a kind of provocation to the advocates of Robbins’s first mode of anthropological engagement with religious ideas
- ¹² Partly due to its origins in literary studies, Cultural Studies, unlike anthropology, has been concerned with the study of texts from the outset. The field has also been shaped by theoretical encounters with Gramscian Marxism; post structuralism (Foucault’s writings on power/knowledge, subjectification and resistance in particular) and the writers of the Frankfurt School. This has led cultural studies scholars to a focus on the politics of texts and text making on the one hand and the impact of commodification and technological change on their production, circulation and consumption on the other.
- ¹³ In the Indonesian context scholars like Haryadi, 2013, Widodo, 2008, and particularly Ariel Heryanto, 2008, 2014 have pioneered the study of popular culture, including popular religious texts (best-selling religious books, films, etc.).
- ¹⁴ Peter Skafish has similarly described contemporary anthropological theory as a “poorly mixed, difficult-to-swallow cocktail of the phenomenological Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Foucault, and a little Marx, according to which everything human is constituted, in essence, from some mix of *Zuhandenheit*, lived experience, perceptual/cognitive forms, historical conditions, and that favourite metaphysical master concept of anthropology: practice” Skafish, 2014.
- ¹⁵ This point has been nicely argued recently by Sharpe, 2014

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Author Guidelines

Heritage of Nusantara is a peer reviewed journal using bilingual (English and Arabic). Nusantara meant in this journal is the areas especially covering Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Southern Part of Thailand (Patani), Timor Leste and Southern Part of the Philipines (Sulu). The aim is to introduce the richness of the Heritage of Nusantara in particular, to show its relations and contributions to the world heritage as well as to offer a wide variety of analysis on how to preserve and develop the richness of the Heritage of Nusantara. Therefore, the Journal welcomes the papers from the scholars and expert from all disciplines of humanity, social sciences and religious studies related.

The article submitted should be original based on academic works. The article submitted is never published before in any journal or is being reviewed for possible publication. All the articles submitted will be reviewed by certain editors, editorial board as well as blind reviewers appointed by the journal. Any article does not meet the requirement of the guidelines will not be considered and will be declined.

The number of the words is between 10000 to 15.000 words. References, tables, figures, appendices and notes are included in those words. As for the abstract is 150 words with 5 key words. The articles with quotations and passages from local or foreign language should be translated into English. Electronic submissions are welcome and should be sent to mail journal.

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The citation referred in the text is written by giving the names.

1. If the author's name occurs naturally in the sentence, the year is given in the parentheses: e. g. In popular study, Harvey (1992: 56) argued that
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Reference to an article in a journal (author, year, title, volume and part number as well as page number)

E.g. Evans, E.A., 1994, Approaches to Intelligent Information Retrieval. Information Processing and Management, 7 (2), 147-168.

Reference to a conference paper

e.g. Silver, K., 1991. Electronic mail: The New way to communicate. In. D.I. Raitt, ed. 9th International online information meeting, London 3-5 December 1996. Oxford: Learned Information, 323-330.

Reference to a publication from a corporate body (e.g. a government department or other organization).

E.g. UNESCO, 1993. General Information Program and UNISIST. Paris: UNESCO, (PDI-93/WS/22).

Reference to a Thesis

E.g.: Agutter, A.J. 1995. The Liguistic Significance of Current British Slang. Thesis (PhD). Edinburgh University.

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1. Reference to individual works: e.g. Holland, M. (1996) Harvard System (online). Poole, Bournemouth University. Available from :- [http:// Bournemouth ac.uk /service depths /lis / LISPub / harvardsys.html](http://Bournemouth.ac.uk/service/depths/lis/LISPub/harvardsys.html) (accessed 15 april 1996).
2. Reference to E-Journals (author, year, title, volume (issue), location and available from: URL (accessed Date): e.g. Korb, K.B. (1995) Persons and Things: Book Review of Bringsjord on Robot Conciousness. Psychology (online), 6 (15). Available from: [gopher: // wachau. ai. univie. ac. at: 70 / 00 / archives / psicologquy / 95.V6/0162](http://gopher://wachau.ai.univie.ac.at:70/00/archives/psicologquy/95.V6/0162) (Accessed 17 June 1996).
3. Reference to mailbase/listserv e-mail lists (author, time (day, month, year), subject, Discussion List (online) Available from

- and accessed date: e.g. Brack, E.V. (2 May 1995). Re: Computing Short Courses. List Link (online) Available from: mailbase@mailbase.ac.uk (Accessed 17 April 1996).
4. Reference to Personal Electronic Communication (E-mail): Senders, time (day, month, year), Subject of Message. Email to Recipient: e.g. Lowman, D. (Deborah-lowman@pbsinc.com). (4 April 1996). RE>> ProCite and Internet Refere. E-mail to P. Cross (pcross@bournemouth.ac.uk).
 5. Reference to CD-R0Ms: eg. Hawking, SW. (1994). A Brief History of Time: an Interactive Adventure (CD-ROM).Crunch Media.

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3. The capital letter and bold with 12 Times New Roman.
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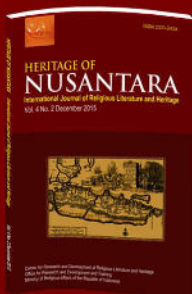
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