

## Acculturation between Islam With Local Culture in Muslim Minority: The Experience From Pakpak-Dairi, North Sumatra

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**Abstract:** This article discusses of acculturation between Islam and local culture in the Pakpak-Dairi community. The contact between the two cultural elements does not negate each other but is accommodative. This paper shows that Pakpak Dairi's current culture results from long acculturation between cultures, namely ancestral traditions, Hindu-Buddhist, and Christian. The research findings confirm that the politics of Islamic acculturation is reflected in various traditional ceremonies and other cultural expressions. Religious and traditional leaders play a role as agents in the acculturation process received of Islam. This process also contributes to the realization of social harmony in the Pakpak-Dairi community.

**Keywords:** Acculturation, Pakpak, Islam, Local culture, Social harmony

### A. INTRODUCTION

In general, Islam entered and spread in the archipelago through trade routes and cultural instruments (Ricklefs, 2008: 3, Geertz, 1960: 40). This pattern affects the characteristics of the acceptance of Islam and the Islam of the Indonesian people. Because it intersected with merchant trading activities and not through warfare, Islam entered and spread relatively peaceful and non-puritanical. People also embraced Islam gradually or gradually. This has consequences for the Islamic style of the local community. Because Islamic

teachings are instilled through cultural elements, peacefully, non-puritan, and progressively, the legacy of old traditions and beliefs is not directly and eroded (Lombard, 1996: 86). The role of Islam is only to “clean” some aspects of pre-Islamic customs and beliefs. The most important thing to be cleaned is the element of polytheism, which cannot be accommodated in Islamic theology. However, the limitation of polytheism concept is not always explicit, except for the affirmation of God oneness. Therefore, it is common to find traditional ceremonies connected with the spirit world and other supernatural beings in various regions.

When Islam entered the archipelago, countries and communities, in general, had embraced Hinduism, Buddhism, or ancestral religions. This means that Islam has entered into a society that already has strong traditions, customs, and culture. The intersection between Islam and the local culture has resulted in the birth of various Islam expressions unique to Indonesia because Islam does not destruct but adapts to these concrete elements. Islam does not replace or eliminate existing cultures. What happens is a peaceful acculturative relationship between Islamic teachings and local wisdom. The development of Islam is taking place creatively through the preaching of the ulama so that people feel safe in Islam presence without threatening their traditions, customs, customs, and culture. As agents of acculturation, the ulama carry out the process of Islamization through the indigenous value of Islam. So, that the two of them merge into a new entity and differ in their style in each region.

A similar process also occurred in the Pakpak community in Dairi District. Islam was accepted by the Pakpak-Dairi community relatively recently around the end of the 19th century and is the final stage of the series of Islam entry into the Land of Batak. Therefore, acculturation between Islam and the local culture of the Pakpak community is a necessary process. This is because before Islam arrived in Dairi, the Pakpak people already had customs, traditions, taboos, and social norms that originated from ancient beliefs and from Hindu-Buddhist that were present on the Island of Sumatra. The intersection between Islamic and pre-Islamic cultural elements influences one another substantially.

To some extent, the Islamic expression of Pakpak Muslims is unique because it is thick with elements of local culture, especially those related to traditional ceremonies. Likewise, the local culture of the Pakpak tribe

community is enriched by Islamic elements. This is in line with the etymological meaning of acculturation, which means meeting two cultures that grow and influence each other. The interplay between two or more cultural groups results in changes at the cultural and psychological levels. These changes are reflected in tangible cultural products and expressions and individual and group behavior (Berry, 1997: 698).

In the Pakpak community, the acculturation between Islam and local culture is reflected in various products and cultural expressions. One of them is a unique life cycle culture with side-by-side pre-Islamic and Islamic content. The Pakpak community is practicing what was introduced by Robert Redfield as the great tradition and the little tradition in socio-religious practices. The first term relates to religious practice, which directly refers to Islamic texts and Arabic traditions. Meanwhile, the second term relates to religious expressions that intersect with local culture or customs in which the religious adherents live (Pranowo, 2001: 10-11).

Based on the Redfield dichotomous classification, the great tradition practiced by the Pakpak community is Islamic practice, which makes the al-Qur'an, Sunnah, and Arab traditions as the primary source of law and worship. The Pakpak community runs the pillars of Islam, for example, as taught in religious texts. On the other hand, the little traditions practiced by the Pakpak people are Islamic practices and expressions that have experienced acculturation with local traditions. This is reflected in various ceremonies, which in Pakpak society are classified into *njahat* work and *mende* work. The ceremony of evil work is carried out for things that are grieving, such as death or to connect with the spirit world. At the same time, *mende* work is a traditional ceremony for positive and good things such as marriage, birth, etc.

Acculturation between Islam and local culture in the Pakpak Dairi community does produce not unique Islamic expressions and diverse traditions but also creates social harmony. The people of Dairi in North Sumatra, in general, are composed of very various elements of identity, starting from the clan, ethnicity, religion, belief, and community organizations. However, social harmony is relatively maintained because they have a value system formed and recycled from the meeting of various sources of value that enrich each other. In other words, the acculturative pattern of encounters between Islam and local culture affects individuals and groups attitudes to respect the diversity of cultural elements that support their identity.

## B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework used in this article is the acculturation theory introduced by Redfield, Linton, and Herkovits, which was later elaborated with Berry's concept of acculturation. Redfield, Linton, and Herkovits were the scholars who first brought acculturation into the anthropological study in America. In the 1930 congress "*Social Science Research Council*" held by the American Anthropological Association in 1930, the three scholars introduced the concept of acculturation, which was published as "*Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation*" (Redfield, et al., 1936: 149-152), with the definition "... comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." From this definition, it can be understood that acculturation is a phenomenon that occurs as a result of continuous, direct contact at the same place and time, and not through second-person experiences between groups of people who have different cultures. As a result of this contact, one or both groups experience changes in their original cultural patterns. The acculturation theory's emphasis lies in the process of cultural transmission (in the process). This emphasis is also a differentiator with similar concepts, such as diffusion theory, which is defined as the spread of culture that has occurred (achieved cultural transmission) (Herskovits, 1958).

Acculturation is often equated with assimilation, which creates confusion in placing social phenomena into the two concepts. Arnold M. Rose's restrictions help to distinguish between assimilation and acculturation. Rose defines assimilation as "the adoption of the culture of another social group a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristic identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture. or, the process leading to this adoption." That acculturation is the adoption of the culture of another social group as a whole so that there is no longer any characteristic that identifies itself in and no longer has loyalty to the previous culture. Assimilation can also be interpreted as a process that leads to such adoption. At the same time, acculturation is only defined as "... the adoption by person or group of the culture of another social group" or adoption by individuals or cultural groups from other social groups (Rose, 1956: 1-17).

John W. Berry, in his article on “*Immigration, Acculturation, and Adoption*,” put acculturation on two points of view, namely cultural acculturation, and psychological acculturation. From the first point of view, change occurs at the level of the interacting groups. These changes can occur on a small or substantial scale, physical, political, economic, biological, and cultural. Meanwhile, from a psychological perspective, changes occur at the individual level, allowing various reactions to arise even though within the same acculturation scope. At the individual level, acculturation is influenced by two aspects. First, cultural maintenance, namely acculturation associated with particular behavior in maintaining the original culture against the new culture. Second, contact and participation, which in this aspect acculturation is influenced by the contact and participation of individuals in community groups or different cultural groups (Berry, 1997: 5-68).

Anthropologists have identified several changes that articulation brings.

- 1) Substitution, namely the elements or complex of cultural elements replaced by new elements or complex cultural elements that can fulfill their function with less significant structural changes.
- 2) Syncretism is a combination of old and new cultural elements and forms a new cultural system with significant changes.
- 3) Additionally, the addition of old cultural elements by a complex of new cultural elements resulting in structural changes or no changes at all.
- 4) Deculturation, namely the disappearance of a substantial part of a culture.
- 5) Origination is the growth of new cultural elements in response to new needs from changing situations.
- 6) Rejection, namely rejection of changes in cultural elements that occur too quickly and are not accepted by a large number of people (Haviland and Soekadijo, 1985: 263).

### **C. PAKPAK COMMUNITY PROFILE**

The word Pakpak means a plateau or a place located at the top of a mountain. In Pakpak traditional society, the location at the top of the mountain is considered the Dairi tribe capital in ancient times. However, this view does not have sufficient historical evidence, and it is clear that currently, Pakpak is labeling one ethnicity. Dairi is the name of a district administrative government in North Sumatra Province. Pakpak is usually classified as part of the Batak ethnicity and Karo, Mandailing, Simalungun, and Toba. Based on the dialect and area of distribution, Pakpak can be classified into five parts: Pakpak Simsim, Pakpak Keppas, Pakpak Pegagan, Pakpak Boang and Pakpak

Kelasan. Each Pakpak sub-tribe is differentiated based on *ulayat* clan rights. The Pakpak tribe resides in Pakpak Bharat Regency, Dairi Regency, Humbang Hasundutan Regency, Central Tapanuli Regency, and Aceh Singkil Regency.

Pakpak Simsim resides and has *ulayat* rights in the Simsim area and is now part of the Pakpak Bharat Regency area. The clans that belong to Pakpak Simsim include the Berutu clan, Sinamo, Padang, Banurea, Boang Manalu, Solin, Sitakar, Cibaro, etc. Pakpak Keppas resides and dialects Keppas and enters into the government administration of Dairi Regency in the Silima Pungga-Pungga, Tanah Pinem, Parbuluan, and Sidikalang Districts. The clans that belong to the Pakpak Keppas include the Ujung, Bintang, Bako, Maha clans, and others. Pakpak Pegagan comes from and has *gotu kola* dialect. Now, it is included in the Sumbul Pegagan Hilir and Tiga Lingga Districts in the Dairi Regency. The margins include Lingga, Mataniari, Maibang, Manik, Siketang, and others. Pakpak Kelasén originates from the classical dialect and is scattered in Parlilitan and Pakkat Districts, which are part of Humbang Hasundutan Regency and in Dairi District, Central Tapanuli Regency. Finally, Pakpak Boang comes from and has dialect Boang which is part of the Aceh Singkil Regency area. The Pakpak Boang clans include the Sambo, Penarik, and Saraan clans.

The problem of ethnic labeling differences started from ancient times because the origins of the Dairi area stretched widely to Kelasén, Manduamas, Simpang Kiri, and Simpang Kanan Singkil. During the Dutch era, these areas were divided into several groups, including the Toba area, which covered the Parlilitan sub-district. At the same time, Manduamas entered the Central Tapanuli area, while Simpang Kanan and Simpang Kiri entered the Singkil area of Aceh. At first, these areas were inhabited by people from the Pakpak-Dairi tribe. However, the Dutch government policy divided the Pakpak tribe based on the location of residence and dialect. Judging from the customs, the Pakpak community uses the *Sulang Silima* kinship system (Interview with Lister Berutu, October 20 2018). Raja Ardin Ujung as chairman of the Inter-Pakpak Traditional Institution Communication Forum in Dairi Regency, explained that historically Dairi Regency was indeed a combination of many ethnic groups. Ethnic affiliation also intersects with religion. The Pakpak tribe community is generally Muslim. Therefore, anyone who lives in Dairi must uphold his faith and ethnic affiliation and be proud to be a plural Dairi citizen (Interview with Raja Ardin Ujung, March 12, 2018).

## D. ISLAMIC PENETRATION TO PAKPAK-DAIRI

Tracing the history and development of Islam in Dairi is relevant, considering that Dairi culture is heavily influenced by apart from Hindu-Buddhism and Christianity, and also Islam. Even though Islam is not the majority religion, it has a significant influence on the people culture and daily lives, especially the Pakpak tribe. Raja Ardin Ujung stated that because the Pakpak community in Dairi Regency is generally Muslim, talking about Pakpak issues will always intersect with Islam (Interview with Raja Ardin Ujung, March 12, 2018). Islam is a signifying identity between the Pakpak community and other tribes in Dairi Regency. The use of the Pakpak language tends to be used by Muslim people, even though they are not from the Pakpak tribe. This can be witnessed, for example, in markets where people wearing the headscarf and *lobe*/cap tend to use the Pakpak language. Meanwhile, those who did not wear the headscarf and *lobe* tended to use Toba or other languages.

Islam came earlier than Christianity in the Land of Batak. Therefore it is quite interesting to investigate further why Islam has become a minority religion in the Batak community. One of the historical hypotheses considered a factor in Islam failure as the majority in the Batak lands is its wrong Islamic pattern (Zoetmulder, 1985: 12). The great wave of Islam entry into the Land of Batak began in 1816 AD through the Padri War events. During the war, the bloodshed is thought to have caused deep trauma for the Batak community and influenced Christianity, both Protestant and Catholic. The Padri War, which was originally religiously nuanced, lasted from 1816 to 1833. It originated from a desire among the ulama leaders of the Hambali sect who wanted to implement it in the Pagaruyung Kingdom, West Sumatra. However, the wishes of the Islamic leaders created opposition from the adat community, which led to armed conflict. Unable to deal with the ulama, the indigenous people proposed cooperation with the Dutch, whose agreement was officially signed on February 21, 1821. During the war, the Padris not only fought with the indigenous people and the Dutch but expanded their area of attack into the Batak Land. Minangkabau troops invaded Tanah Batak and carried out large-scale Islamization in Mandailing and Angkola. At that time, more than five thousand cavalries of the Paderi entered Mandailing. The attack on the South Tanah Batak took place from 1816-1820 AD, which then started a

massive wave of Islamization in the area. Therefore, the religion of Islam through the Mandailing community is called Silom Bonjol, referring to the invaders who came from Bonjol.

Islam entered Dairi during the final series of Islamizing the Batak Land around the 19th century. Because of this, the Pakpak tribe has just accepted Islam and is currently only entering the third generation of poly/grandfather, father, child, and grandchild. Islam entered and influenced the culture and lifestyle of the Dairi people to the role of King Koser Mahaajat Pamahur. He is a descendant of King Mandyalaksa Maha. Raja Koser Maha was the person who first taught Islam in the Dairi community, whose belief system at that time was *sipele begu*, which believed in supernatural powers, ancestral spirits, large trees, etc. (Maha, 2001: 19).

M. Ridho Harahap Harahap (2011: 75-76, in his thesis, said that the King of Koser Maha (Pamahur) since 1901 AD had developed Islam with several followers of 60 people and in 1905 has established Islamic boarding schools and mosques in Kuta Maha which teach the fiqh, theology, and dufism as well as al-Qur'an recitation. Likewise, according to M. Joni Maha (Interview with M. Joni Maha, October 7, 2018), Islam entered Pakpak farm; in this case, Dairi Regency around 1901 brought or taught secretly by Tengku Telaga Mekar from Suak Boang (now the Singkil area, Aceh). When the Dutch began to launch a government in Dairi and were based in Sidikalang in 1908, Raja Koser Maha went to Aceh to study Islamic religion. Islam was much more developed in Aceh, considering that the area was already familiar with Islam compared to Sidikalang. In Aceh, King Koser Maha met the King of Batu-Batu, who was still fighting against the Dutch troops. Raja Koser Maha was welcomed with open arms; apart from his family ties, Raja Batu-Batu also felt the need to increase his strength to fight against the Dutch troops. After some time studying at Tengku Telaga Mekar in Aceh, Raja Koser Maha and several others returned to conduct Islamic da'wah in the Pakpak Dairi area by stealth. Close friends and family received the da'wah in several places, including Kneppen Village, Kuta Delleng, Central Kuta, Pengkirisen, Kuta Antuang, Kuta Tanduk, Mbinara, Tuntung Batu, Bintang, and especially in Sisima Pungga-Pungga District (MUI TK I, 1983, 257).

Due to inadequate Islamic knowledge, while the number of people who want to convert to Islam from among their families continues to arrive every

day, King Koser Maha first explained the basic teachings of Islam then carried out simple *shahadat* people who wanted to embrace Islam. The process starts with *merpangir* or bathing with kaffir lime, then continues with the pronunciation of the *shahadat*. At this stage, those who have just converted to Islam are called Islam *pangir* (delayed Islam), which refers to new Muslims who have not yet practiced circumcision. Islam entered and developed in Dairi initially through 3 major waves (Interview with M. Joni Maha, October 7 2018). First, Islam brought by Tengku Telaga Mekar as a result of communication made by Raja Koser Maha with the Pakpak Boang tribe in the Singkil area of Aceh. Tengku Telaga Mekar met directly with Raja Koser Maha in Kuta Maha and established a *sapo mbelgah* (shelter) for teachers. Sapo Mbelgah is a place to learn, as well as a place to form the Selimin army to fight against the Dutch invaders in the city of Sidikalang, which is the headquarters of Belada. Currently, the base is the Kodim Office. Second, Islam, which was under Tengku Panjang Rambut around 1908, aimed to teach the sciences of monotheism, theology, tasawuf, and immunity (iron resistance). The combination of Islamic knowledge and immunity has attracted the interest of many Pakpak people to learn and embrace Islam gradually.

Third, the religion of Islam was brought by Guru Gindo Muhammad Arifin around 1917. As conveyed by Saidup Kudadiri, Raja Ardin Ujung was also conveyed that around 1917, Arifin, a scholar came from Padang to Subulussalam to Dairi (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21 2018). To teach Islam and open a restaurant also sewing in Simpang Empat, Sidikalang City. At that time, many people converted to Islam, and a mosque was built in Bintang Village, and it became the first mosque in Dairi. At the mosque, a study was conducted on Islamic teachings. As Islam continued to develop, the Bintang Village mosque could not accommodate the growing number of worshippers. Therefore, Marga Ujung donated their land to build a new mosque in the old Market, which became known as the Old Mosque and became the Jami' Mosque at that time. The Old Mosque is a place of prayer for Muslims in Dairi because the number of congregations continued to increase. Then, Madrasah Islamiyah was built near the old mosque to religious education. Later, the Madrasah became a Madrasah Muhammadiyah. The same thing was conveyed by H. Abdul Kudus Purba, Chairman of the Old Mosque Prosperity Agency of Sidikalang, that the mosque was built by Arifin,

who came from West Sumatra. Initially, this mosque was a simple building made of wood and dirt floors, which was built around 1930 (Interview with Abdul Kudus Purba, February 10, 2019).

If Islam entered Dairi in 1901, Christianity entered in 1905. This means that Islam entered four years earlier than Christianity, although the latter religion succeeded in taking over dominance, especially measured in adherents majority-minority. Christians entered Tanoh Pakpak were brought by missionaries. Pastor Samuel Panggabean was the first to do evangelism in the Badar Kuta Usang area (now Pegagan Hilir District) Suak Pegagan. This was the beginning of Christian entry into Tanoh Pakpak, precisely on September 7, 1905. Pastor Samuel Panggabean was a member of the Pardonganon Mission Batak (PMB). This evangelistic organization aims to focus missionary activities in areas in Samosir, Simalungun, and including Dairi. Pastor Samuel Panggabean came from Simalungun through Aek Popo, Lae Pandom, and continued to follow the river and finally arrived at Kuta Usang. King Sibayak Pakasior Manik received the arrival of Pastor Samuel Panggabean. The first service started on September 10, 1905, which was held at the house of Raja Sibayak Pakasior Manik and was followed by his family (Berutu, 2002: 6).

## **E. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN PAKPAK-DAIRI**

When comparing the time of entry between Islam and Christianity in Dairi, the number of Muslims in Dairi. Based on a 2016 Central Statistics Agency report, the percentage of Muslims in Dairi District is only 23.89 percent, while Protestants are 60.29 percent and Catholics 15.82 percent (Pusat Statistik Dairi 2016, 179). However, Islam continues to develop, especially in the Pakpak ethnic community, who are generally Muslim. In the political-religious field, religious and customary leaders from the Pakpak Muslim community are active in large organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and al-Washliyah. They take a strategic role in the people of Dairi (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21, 2018).

Likewise, the field of Islamic education is increasingly developing in the form of formal and non-formal educational institutions and public and private. These Islamic education institutions range from RA, TPA, SDIT, MI, MTS, and MA. The development of Islamic education in Dairi Regency can also see from the establishment of pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and the

Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Swasta (STAIS) al-Ikhlas. STAIS Al-Ikhlas Dairi was established in 1989, which was initiated by religious and community leaders, at that time, had simple ideals to change the bad habits or delinquency of Pakpak youth in particular and Dairi. One of the youth's bad habits that he wanted to get rid of was drinking *tuak* or being drunk. The establishment of STAIS Al-Ikhlas as a forum for education for the younger generation of Pakpak and Dairi, the habit of drinking *tuak* or getting drunk, is expected to be eroded. These elementary ideas find their truth in the social reality of the Dairi community. This is proven by the growing development of STAIS Al-Ikhlas so that it had three branches in Subulussalam, Pakpak Bharat, and Karo. Currently, one of the pride of Islam in Dairi (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21, 2018).

The development of Islamic education in Dairi is a reflection of the principles of Islam itself, as stated by Saidup Kudadiri, the Head of the Ministry of Religion Office of Dairi Regency and the Chairperson of STAIS Al-Ikhlas Dairi Sidikalang, that the principles of Islam emphasize the importance of broad educational opportunities. Education is also a medium for the process of acculturation of values, which is guided by scholars in Dairi Regency. The acculturation process is intricately woven together with the social traditions of the Pakpak Tribe in Dairi District and has been especially emphasized by Islamic movements since the 1990s. In the socio-religious field, Islam development can be seen through the active group recitation from the city to remote areas of Dairi and the proliferation of salafi groups from mosque to mosque (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21, 2018). The tabligh jama'a by the local community is called "Jalan Gajah". Recently, the development of salafi groups has mushroomed, especially among the elderly. Meanwhile, among Muslim students, large national organizations such as Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (PMII) and Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI). In addition, among youths, the Ansor movement is most in-demand in Dairi Regency and seems to balance the growth of the salafi group (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21 2018).

## **F. THE ACCULTURATION OF ISLAMIC CULTURE AND RELIGION**

Acculturation between Islam and the local culture of the Pakpak Dairi community can be considered accommodating. Several factors drive this acculturation style. First, local culture is deeply rooted in the Pakpak Dairi

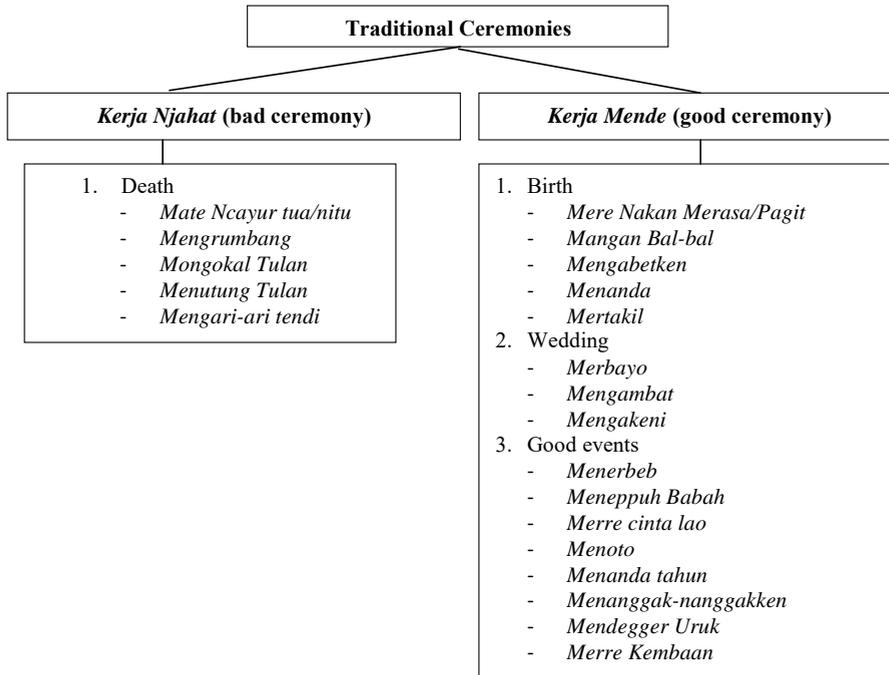
community. Second, Islam entered the Batak Land at first through the trading activities of allied traders from Minangkabau, Singkil, and Alas. Third, as previously explained, Islam spread to Dairi gradually through three waves that were more sufism-style. Combining these three factors makes the local cultural elements of the Pakpak Dairi community persist along with the conversion to Islam. Customs have not undergone much change except those that are contrary to Islamic teachings. Therefore, even though the Padri attempted a wave of purification of Islamic education from West Sumatra, these efforts failed and even did not receive internal acceptance from the Batak ethnic Muslims. Batak customs were still strongly carried out in various religious rituals and ceremonies.

The presence of Islam at Tanoh Pakpak Dairi does not replace existing customs. The process that occurs at the intersection of the two cultures is accommodation or adaptation. The acculturation process can be seen in cultural products in physical objects such as carving, building art, symbols, etc. In life patterns and other cultural expressions of a non-physical nature such as ceremonies, rituals, social norms, etc. The cultural elements of the Pakpak Dairi community are thick with Indian cultural aspects. One theory about the origin of the Pakpak tribe holds that they came from South India, precisely from Indika Tondal to Muara Tapus near Dairi (Siahaan, et.al, 1988, 67). The Indika Tondal people then moved to the Pakpak farm and became the Pakpak tribe. The clan system in the Pakpak tribe based on this theory is the kinship system of the immigrants from India because they already have clans since their origin country. However, at a later stage, they undergo modification. Apart from this theory that does not have sufficient support from historical evidence so that other counter theories emerge, the process of transferring Indian culture to Tanoh Pakpak is natural, considering that Dairi was an international port in ancient times. Dairi is the gateway to the entry of elements of foreign beliefs and cultures, including other areas on the Island of Sumatra. Cultural transpiration has been going on since at least the end of the 10th century AD.

Therefore, apart from Hindu-Buddhism being the Dairi community religion before Islam and Christianity entered, various elements of Indian culture are quite widely found today in the Pakpak tribe culture. The acculturation between Indian culture and local Pakpak culture due to contact between the two communities formed a new culture that was later discovered

and acculturated with Islam. This acculturation can now be found in tridimensional forms in statues, beads, and objects in medium to small stones. It can also be seen in mantras, rituals, the names of the *kala* units, and the terms god. In this context, the process of acculturation between Islam and the local culture of the Pakpak community is unique, considering that the Pakpak community is generally Muslim (Harahap, 2011: 36).

The carving in the form of a swan statue used as a cover for the pertulanen stone for the *menuntung tulan* ceremony is a form of interpretation of the Pakpak tribe towards Hindu iconography. The Goose or Hamsa in Hindu texts is a spiritual symbol representing the soul or spirit and is a symbol of the spirit vehicle. A clearer form of adoption of the Hindu tradition is the mention of the names of gods such as Batara Guru and Boraspati in the Pakpak tribe beliefs. However, it should be emphasized that the terms of these gods were originally not very divine, but rather the names of ancestral spirits who, with the entry of Hinduism, were elevated to gods. This is also the result of acculturation between Hinduism and Pakpak culture. Besides, the acculturation of local culture and Islam can be witnessed in the typical life cycle ceremony of the Pakpak tribe. There are two classifications of traditional ceremonies in the Pakpak tribe, namely *kerja njahat* and *kerja mende*. Bad work is all kinds of traditional ceremonies related to grief. On the other hand, *kerja mende* is all kinds of traditional ceremonies related to good things and joy. At these traditional ceremonies, we can witness the recitation of readings, mantras, and prayers that are thick with Hindu traditions and ancestral beliefs. Lister Berutu, one of the Pakpak traditional leaders and academics, said that basically, the traditional ceremonies carried out by the Pakpak community in Dairi Regency are the same as the traditional Pakpak ceremonies in general (Interview with Lister Berutu, October 20, 2018). These traditional ceremonies can be described as follows;



The tradition of the Pakpak life cycle is a cultural system that contains a set of values and ideas. This tradition also becomes a social system in patterned activities and has a concrete way of ritual objects. The traditional ceremony is a means of expressing requests for safety, a form of respect for ancestors, cultural preservation, values in social interaction, social solidarity, and norms in kinship relations. Bad work and *mende* work in the customs of the Pakpak community are thick with pre-Islamic elements (Maran, 1999: 27-48). One example is the ceremony of *menuntung tulan* or the ceremony of burning the corpse in the *mate ncayur tua*. The ceremony has similarities with the burning of the corpse or *ngaben* in the traditions of the Balinese Hindu community. In the ceremony to guide the bones, the objects used include firewood, banana tree trunks shaped like humans wearing clothes (*persilihî*), cloth wrapping the bones of the deceased, chopsticks, or a container for wrapped bones and some sacrificial animals. The ashes and the remains of the bones from the burning were then wrapped in a white cloth and put in the *pertulanen*. If at the ceremony the *menuntun tulan* /symbol of the deceased symbol is called *persilihî*, the *ngaben* ceremony is called *pratima*.

The roots of Hindu religious elements in the Pakpak community culture are not only in the implementation of rituals but also in the mention of gods

names. In a procession *menuntun tulan*, the mantra recited before the fire is lit begins with the statement of Batara Guru and Boraspati. The sound of the ritual opening mantra is “*O...pung! Ko Batara Guru, Berapati ni tanoh, Tunggul ni kuta...*” The chanting of Batara Guru and Boraspati is an adoption of the Sanskrit language and is the result of the adoption of Hindu beliefs. Boraspati is the local pronunciation of the word *Wrhaspati* which is the supreme God’s mention so that the cut of the mantra *Borapati ni tanoh* means the main/great God who rules on the earth. Meanwhile, in Hinduism, one of the manifestations of Lord Shiva is as *Agastya* or *Batara Guru*. In the archipelago, *Batara Guru* is the form of Lord Shiva, which is the most popular or foremost (Zoetmulder, 1985: 64).

The adoption of Hindu-Buddhist elements in the culture of the Pakpak ethnic Muslim community is also reflected in several mantras such as the mantra rejecting nightmares, which reads “*Hung, pagarri mo kita Da hompungku Hompung ni pangir.*” The word “Hung” at the beginning of the mantra is a phonetic change from the word *Hum* found in Hindu and Buddhist mantras. In Hinduism, *Hum* is pronounced for the Fire God *Agni* in an offering of holy fire, Lord Shiva, and Lord *Chandika*, the goddess of death. Meanwhile, in Buddhism, *Hum* is pronounced in a mantra for *Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara*, which reads “*Om Padma Corda Arya Jambhala Setaya Hum Phet.*” Thus, the traditional ceremonies or rituals in Pakpak culture in Dairi Regency are a cultural continuity from ancestral traditions, Hindu-Buddhist traditions, and Christian traditions. In other words, traditional ceremonies or rituals in the life cycle of the Pakpak community are the results of long acculturation between the three traditions (Poerbatjaraka, 2002: 54).

In the acculturation process, the interpretation of each cultural group towards religious and cultural teachings is based on the desire to create harmony with both parties values. The adjustment process can give birth to changes in the form of modification of old patterns and the emergence of new ways (Redfield, et.al, 1936: 149-152). This phenomenon also occurs in traditional Pakpak ceremonies. Changes occurred in the form of the erosion or abandonment of traditional ceremonies by some groups and the entire Pakpak Dairi community. There are also new regular ceremonial innovations. Apart from that, changes can also be seen in the shifting of substance, meaning, and function of ritual ceremonies, which are heavily influenced by increasingly dynamic situations and conditions. The shift in meaning, relates

to the perspective on the sacred value of the ritual ceremonies being carried out. The change of substance and function is related to adjustments, additions, and omissions of elements and the objectives of implementing traditional ceremonies that come out of the existing norms. For example, these changes occurred in the *mertakil* (circumcision) ceremony, which was no longer practiced of Christian Pakpak. Instead, they introduced new traditional ceremonies such as *pendidien* and *sidi* in which friends and *silima* toast groups and neighbors were invited to a joint meal. The new traditional ceremonies are generally carried out by the Christian Pakpak community who live in the city. The adjustment and addition of Islam and Christianity elements in the traditional ceremonies of the life cycle of the Pakpak Dairi community include a shift in substance.

These changes appear among them at the mineral and coal ceremony. From the variety of Pakpak traditional ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, or bad work or fun ceremonies or *kerja mende*, what is often done is *mende*, which is a ceremony performed as a form of respect and requests for blessing prayers (*sodip*) to parents or elders. This member ceremony is usually carried out when someone gets sustenance or blessings, for example getting a job, promotion, abundance of crops, when completing school, when going to get married, when returning from overseas or other activities, even often because there is a feeling of lack of blessings in life, often sick, childless, poor, etc. Ideally, this is done in the morning (marriage). Morning time means the hope of increasing sustenance and blessings like the rising of the sun. As for the dishes and items that were given during the thaw, they were in the form of food and side dishes and clothes. Ideally, the side dishes served are Gemmuh / Batang Lae fish that live in flowing water and always swim upstream against the current. The fish is traditionally cooked in the Pakpak style and is known as *binenem* fish. The selection of Gemmuh / Batang Lae fish contains deep philosophical values that the Pakpak community must be steadfast in facing challenges as the fish habit of swimming against the current to the river upstream. The clothes provided were sarongs, blankets, jackets, and various other types.

Changes to these traditional ceremonies appear in a shift in substance, meaning, and function at once. If *menerbeb* was originally intended as a form of respect and a request for blessing prayers, the ceremony later became thick with pragmatic political contestation goals. The burial ceremony is fertile for

political circles, especially during the campaign for the election of village heads, regional heads, legislative members, and other positions. Candidates are usually competing to get rid of parents or elders in a place both in close family relationships and clan relations. The purpose of the event in this context is, of course, in line with the desire to gain community support. The *menerbeb* ceremony fertility during the political contestation season makes it difficult to distinguish it from a traditional ceremony or a campaign activity (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21, 2018.).

The diversity of traditions and customs that have taken root in Dairi requires creativity in cultivating Islamic teachings. The two elements do not clash with each other, but instead, create accommodative acculturation. Since the beginning, the scholars understood that the social reality in the Dairi society was complicated and could not be simplified to the value order black-and-white distribution pattern. The inculcation of Islamic teachings was not done radically by eroding traditions and customs, but dialectically by implanting religious values in various rituals. This is illustrated in the division of roles between religious and traditional figures at religious ceremonies and traditional ceremonies, both in evil and *kerja mende*. Ideally, in a religious ceremony, a traditional leader should be present to give an opinion or speech. On the other hand, in traditional ceremonies, religious leaders are involved, and it is common to find greetings and prayers according to Islamic tradition to open and close events. Spiritual and religious leaders complement each other in traditional and religious ceremonies. Religious and traditional leaders are agents of acculturation that allow the intersection of Islam and local culture to take place in harmony.

## **G. THE POLITICS OF ACCULTURATION IN SOCIAL HARMONY**

The success of acculturation between Islam and local culture in the Pakpak Dairi community, which continues to knitted by acculturation agents from religious and customary groups, has created social cohesion in the community. Each community group consisting of ethnicity, clan, religion, and belief and community organizations, live and play an active role in unity as the Dairi community. Acculturation embodies a feeling of togetherness, social trust, and cooperation, as well as harmony. Harmony between languages, traditions, ethnicities, and cultures is an active symbol of a united identity in Dairi District.

This can be seen in the Dairi community, starting from culinary products, traditional and religious ceremonies, and religious believers' relations. For example, in the culinary field, it is common to find traders selling Pakpak specialties, namely *pelleng*, side by side with *Pinadar*, a typical Toba food. Both types of food dishes can be seen in culinary places, especially ethnic culinary delights that sell halal and non-halal specialties. It should be emphasized that culinary is a fundamental issue in social relations. The reason is there are several restrictions for a religious believer to consume certain types of food and drink. Islam is a religion that is strict in giving limits on the types of food and drinks that can be consumed. This also applies to Muslims in Pakpak Dairi. However, the restrictions regarding food and drink do not become an obstacle to establishing friendly social relations between communities. The people of Dairi develop effective ways to bridge this. In every Pakpak traditional ceremony held by Christians, the event owner will prepare halal food for his Muslim brother, which in local terms is referred to as *perubang*. The Muslim community or *persubang* is usually chosen by the owner of a Muslim house event or a comfortable place.

From this cultural creativity, the term "national" will be born in events and restaurants in Dairi Regency. National parties and national restaurants are one of the results of the acculturation process in the Dairi community. Meanwhile, in every Pakpak traditional ceremony performed by a Muslim family, it always starts in Islam, either in the opening, introducing, or closing greetings. As in the 40-day *kenduri* ceremony of one of Pakpak relatives, it begins with *wirid*, reading Surah Yasin, *tahlil*, and prayer together, followed by a traditional procession (Interview with Saidup Kudadiri, September 21, 2018). The Dairi community does have a variety of sources of values, ethics, spirituality, and individual and group identities based on the teachings of Islam, Christianity, and ancestral traditions. However, in the socio-cultural aspect, the Dairi people, especially the Pakpak tribe, strongly emphasize the values of love, mutual help, uphold truth, justice, and respect for others. Therefore, it is interesting to note that in the history of the development of Islam and Christianity in Pakpak Dairi, it is scarce to experience conflicts that have caused rifts in relations between the two religions. The strong kinship relations and kinship values held by the Pakpak Dairi community have influenced the maintenance of harmonious relations between Muslims and Christians. The strong ties of kinship and kinship of the Pakpak Dairi

community in particular and the Batak community are the unifier of religious adherents. Besides, the Pakpak Muslim community also understands that Islam is a religion for the world life and hereafter. This is reflected in the understanding that Islam teaches to maintain a balanced relationship between *hablum min Allah* (relationship with Allah), *hablum min al-nas* (relations between human beings), and *hablum min al-'alam* (relationship with the universe). All three are a series of holistic relationships between monotheism, humanity, and the environment.

## **H. CONCLUSION REMARKS**

This research on acculturation between Islam and local culture in the Pakpak Dairi community concludes that; First, acculturation between Islam and local culture in the Pakpak Dairi community is necessary because they already have a belief system that influences local traditions or customs. On the other hand, the spread of Islam in Dairi since the early 20th century took place in three waves with a strong Sufism character. The Islamization carried out by the Padri was less successful because of the neglect of local cultural elements of the Dairi community. Second, the acculturation between Islam and the local culture of the Pakpak Dairi, the community took place accommodatively. The two cultural elements can adapt to each other and produce a distinctive cultural style. India traditions heavily influence Pakpak culture because before Islam entered, Hinduism was the religion of the Pakpak people in particular and the people of Sumatra in general. Therefore, the current Pakpak culture is the result of long acculturation between the traditions of our ancestors, Hindu-Buddhism, and Islam-Christianity. In traditional ceremonies for both *njahat* and *kerja mende*, combining the three cultural elements appears in the concept, procession, readings, prayer/mantra, and participants. Third, the Pakpak community traditional ceremonies show both continuity and change. Sustainability appears in the entire ritual that is carried out. Meanwhile, change occurs because it is driven by the desire to create harmony in the two cultural groups values. Adjustments can be in the form of adjustments, weakening, until replacing old ceremonies with new ones in a particular community. Changes also occur in a shift in the substance, meaning, and function of traditional rituals. Fourth, the success of accommodative acculturation between Islam and local culture, which is guided by religious and traditional leaders, affects the realization of social harmony between

communities in Dairi Regency. Although the people of Dairi are very diverse because their identity constructions come from religion, ethnicity, ethnicity, clan, to community organizations, but harmony and unity are relatively maintained. There have never been violent conflicts that undermined social cohesion. The kinship system of the Pakpak community in particular and the Batak community, is one of the determining factors in creating harmony in the Dairi community.

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Interviewee

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- Lister Berutu, October 20 2018
- M. Joni Maha, October 7, 2018
- Raja Ardin Ujung, March 12, 2018
- Saidup Kudadiri, September 21 2018