Contents

List of Figures ........................................................................................................ VIII
List of Tables ........................................................................................................... X
Preface ..................................................................................................................... XI

TRADITIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND DEBATES

Michael Prager
Holism, Value Systems, and Comparison:
Key Concepts in the Anthropology of J.D.M. Platenkamp ........................................ 1

Han F. Vermeulen
Jos Platenkamp and the Leiden Tradition in Structural Anthropology ..................... 23

Dirk J. Nijland
Fieldwork, Visual Ethnography, and Written Texts: A Letter to Jos Platenkamp
about the Making and Significance of the Film “Tobelo Marriage” .............................. 47

E. Douglas Lewis
Precedence and Hierarchy: Meditations on an Unanswered Ethnological Question 51

Publications of J.D.M. Platenkamp ........................................................................ 77
Ph.D. and Habilitation theses supervised by J.D.M. Platenkamp ............................. 83

SOCIAL MORPHOLOGY

Wassef al-Sekhaneh
Bedouin Kinship Relations in Jordan: An Examination of
Bent Khalid Kinship Terminology and Family Organisation .................................. 87

Roland Hardenberg
“Those who spread from one father”: The Cultural Elaboration of
Segmentation and Inclusion in Kyrgyzstan ............................................................. 105

Georg Pfeffer
Omaha and all that: Basic Issues and New Horizons in
the Study of Relationship Terminologies ............................................................. 125

Laila Prager
From Linearity to Cognation: The Transformation of Alawi Kinship
Terminologies (Southeast Turkey) ........................................................................ 145


## Contents

List of Figures .............................................................................................................................. VIII
List of Tables ................................................................................................................................. X
Preface ........................................................................................................................................ XI

**TRADITIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND DEBATES**

**Michael Prager**
Holism, Value Systems, and Comparison: Key Concepts in the Anthropology of J.D.M. Platenkamp ................................................................. 1

**Han F. Vermeulen**
Jos Platenkamp and the Leiden Tradition in Structural Anthropology ................. 23

**Dirk J. Nijland**
Fieldwork, Visual Ethnography, and Written Texts: A Letter to Jos Platenkamp about the Making and Significance of the Film “Tobelo Marriage” .............. 47

**E. Douglas Lewis**
Precedence and Hierarchy: Meditations on an Unanswered Ethnological Question 51

Publications of J.D.M. Platenkamp .................................................................................. 77

Ph.D. and Habilitation theses supervised by J.D.M. Platenkamp ......................... 83

**SOCIAL MORPHOLOGY**

**Wassef al-Sekhaneh**
Bedouin Kinship Relations in Jordan: An Examination of Beni Khalid Kinship Terminology and Family Organisation ........................................ 87

**Roland Hardenberg**
“Those who spread from one father”: The Cultural Elaboration of Segmentation and Inclusion in Kirgizstan ............................................................... 105

**Georg Pfeffer**
Omaha and all that: Basic Issues and New Horizons in the Study of Relationship Terminologies ................................................................. 125

**Laila Prager**
From Linearity to Cognation: The Transformation of Alawi Kinship Terminologies (Southeast Turkey) ................................................................. 145
EXCHANGE

Helene Basu
The Sickening Gift ................................................................. 167

Joseba Estevez
Healing Rituals and Sorcery among the Lanten of Laos .................. 181

Andreas Hartmann
Tax Morality and the Redistributive Exchange of Gifts: Ethnological Annotations ......................................................... 193

Sabine Klocke-Daffa
“On the Safe Side of Life”: Cultural Appropriations of Funeral Insurances in Namibia ......................................................... 203

Denis Monnerie
What Do Ceremonies Do? Ceremonial Exchanges as Operational Processes Elaborating Relations (Kanaky, New Caledonia) .......... 219

Anke Niehof
Care in a Context of HIV and AIDS: Beyond Exchange and Reciprocity? ........ 235

Guido Sprenger
Production is Exchange: Gift Giving between Humans and Non-Humans .... 247

Christian Strümpell
Labour and Land in an Eastern Indian Steel Town: Historical Transformations of Gift and Commodity Values .......................... 265

Torben A. Vestergaard
Exchange and the Constitution of Persons under a Welfare Regime ........ 277

Ingo Wallner
Fihavanana: Exchange, Social Cohesion and Social Exclusion in Madagascar .. 285

COSMOLOGY

Gabriele Alex
Oral Traditions of the Vagri of South India .................................. 299

Cécile Barraud
Ethnographic Notes on Incest and other Socio-Cosmic Prohibitions in the Kei Islands: Exchanges and Relations .......................... 309

Stephen C. Headley
Secularisation or Normalisation of Religion in Indonesia: From Custom to Pancasila and Back to Adat ............................................. 323

André Iteanu
Equality, Religion and Power: A Few Topics for Discussion .............. 337
Kirsten Jäger
Conflicts in North Maluku, Indonesia: Refusal to Exchange, Refusal to Establish Relations ................................................................. 345

Abdul Manan
The Ritual of Death in Acèh: An Ethnographic Study in Blangporoh Village, West Labuhan Haji, South Acèh, Indonesia ......................... 357

Jarich Oosten†
Cosmological Cycles: Continuity in Inuit Society in North Eastern Canada .......... 377

Christian Postert
Challenging the Stranger: The Dynamics of Constructing Social Identity in Hmong Origin Myths ........................................................................ 395

Almut Schneider
“Making the Spirit”: The Potential of Knowledge from Elsewhere ................. 413

Robert Wessing
Infusing Life and Enlisting Spirits: Some Indonesian Shipbuilding Rituals ........ 423

HISTORICAL EXPLORATIONS

Volker Grabowsky
From Buffer State to Market Place: Migration, Ethnicity and Development in the Lao Border town of Müang Sing ........................................... 437

Roy Jordaan
The British Interregnum in Java (1811-1816): An Experiment in Supranational Fraternal Governance ................................................................. 463

Edwin P. Wieringa
The Heron and the Snail: A Visual Pun in a Javanese Manuscript of the Jawharat al-Tawḥīd ................................................................................. 475

APPLIED/DEVELOPMENTAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Ursula Bertels
The Mediation of Intercultural Competence as a Form of Applied Anthropology ......................................................................................... 487

Yulia Sugandi
A Just Arena of Negotiating Identities During Social Change Processes. A Possible Pathway? .............................................................................. 499

Sjoerd Zanen
When “Development” enters the Village ............................................................... 511

Contributors .................................................................................................. 525
List of Figures

Michael Prager | Holism, Value Systems, and Comparison
Fig. 1: Jos Platenkamp taking notes in Tobelo .................................................. 6
Fig. 2: Jos Platenkamp participating in a Tobelo dance ........................................ 6
Fig. 3: Jos taking fieldnotes in Luang Prabang .................................................... 15

Han F. Vermeulen | Jos Platenkamp and the Leiden Tradition
Fig. 1: Jos Platenkamp holding a Tobelorese sword and shield .......................... 31
Fig. 2: Jos Platenkamp, Leontine Visser and Shouichi Yoshida .......................... 34

Dirk J. Nijland | Fieldwork, Visual Ethnography, and Written Texts
Fig. 1: The bride in her ritual dress ...................................................................... 49

E. Douglas Lewis | Precedence and Hierarchy
Fig. 1 and Fig 2: Dumont’s representation of complementarity and hierarchy .......... 61
Fig. 3: Dumont’s logical scandal .......................................................................... 61
Fig. 4: Classification as a taxonomic paradigm .................................................... 62
Fig. 5: A universe made up of things that are A and things that are not A ............. 62
Fig. 6: Genus (X) that includes not-X and B as species ........................................ 63
Fig. 7: Dumont’s encompassment of the contrary as an antinomy ....................... 63

Wassef al-Sekhaneh | Bedouin Kinship Relations in Jordan
Fig. 1: Distribution of ‘aa’ila in hara quarters in Hawsha ..................................... 89
Fig. 2: Level of segmentation of the patrilineal structure .................................... 90
Fig. 3: Consanguinal kin terms ............................................................................. 92
Fig. 4: Reciprocal relations among consanguinal kin in Hawsha village ............... 93
Fig. 5a: Types of reciprocal relationships ............................................................. 96
Fig. 5b: Types of reciprocal relationships ............................................................. 97
Fig. 6: Rahim relationships .................................................................................. 100
Fig. 7: Mahram relationships ................................................................................ 101
Fig. 8: The Relations of Milk Kinship .................................................................. 102

Georg Pfeffer | The Study of Relationship Terminologies
Fig. 1: Piaroa two-line-terminology (ego female) .................................................. 129
Fig. 2: Garo two-line terminology (ego male) ...................................................... 131
Fig. 3: Gidjingali four-line terminology (ego male) ............................................. 133
Fig. 4: Melpa four-line terminology (ego female) ................................................. 135
Fig. 5: Dongria Kond five-line terminology (ego male) ....................................... 137
Fig. 6: Omaha five-line terminology (ego male) .........................................................139
Fig. 7: Dongria Kond: Two pairs of ‘spouses’ are opposed to each other ..........140
Fig. 8: Omaha: Two pairs of ‘siblings’ are opposed to each other ...................140
Fig. 9: Relationship terminologies .................................................................143

Laila Prager | From Linearity to Cognation
Fig. 1: Consanguinal primary kin terms ..........................................................148
Fig. 2: Primary Kin Terms for Affinal Relations .............................................149
Fig. 3: Change of perspective in the AAT .......................................................152
Fig. 4: The primary kin terms for consanguinal relations in ATTs .................154
Fig. 5: Sibling-relations in ATTs .................................................................155
Fig. 6: Primary kin terms for affines (ATT 1) ................................................156
Fig. 7: elti-bacanak- and entiste-yenge-relations ...........................................157

Sabine Klocke-Daffa | Cultural Appropriations of Funeral Insurances
Fig. 1: Regional Government Areas in Namibia .........................................206
Fig. 2: The Namibian system of social security ..........................................207
Fig. 3: Grand funeral on a farm in the Southern Communal Areas .............210
Fig. 4: Short-term transaction as opposed to long-term transactions ............213
Fig. 5: Short-term and long-term transactions merged into one coherent mode 215

Denis Monnerie | Ceremonial Exchanges as Operational Processes
Fig 1: The building block of Kanak ceremonial operating processes ..........223
Fig. 2: A (medium to small) preparatory ceremony ....................................224
Fig. 3: Some basic principles of transfers and circulations .......................227
Fig. 4: Sequence of the ceremonial transfers of the focal ceremony for a marriage...238

Stephen C. Headley | Secularisation or Normalisation of Religion
Fig. 1: Two Javanese ‘Half Man’ Myths .........................................................331

Almut Schneider | “Making the Spirit”
Fig. 1 Exchange relations in ordinary time, and during the ritual ...................418

Robert Wessing | Infusing Life and Enlisting Spirits
Fig. 1: ‘Procreation’ of the ship .................................................................426

Volker Grabowsky | From Buffer State to Market Place
Fig. 1: Ethnic Groups in Müang Sing District .............................................440
Fig. 2: Map of the Town of Müang Sing ......................................................458
**List of Tables**

**Wassef al-Sekhaneh** | Bedouin Kinship Relations in Jordan
---
Table 4.1: Bedouin kinship terms .............................................................. 93
Table 4.2: Bedouin kinship terms .............................................................. 94
Table 4.3: Affinal kinterms ................................................................. 95

**Abdul Manan** | The Ritual of Death in Acèh
---
Table 1: The tasks of the *aruwah* returning to its former home ...................... 372
Table 2: Intervals of the deceased’s *aruwah* ............................................. 373

**Volker Grabowsky** | From Buffer State to Market Place
---
Table 1: Müang Sing – Population and Ethnic Groups (c. 1995) ....................... 445
Table 2: Müang Sing Development Plan ..................................................... 453
Table 3: Population of Müang Sing town .................................................... 457
Preface

This collection is at once a felicitation volume for Josephus D.M. Platenkamp and a collection connecting his various fields of interest – which are indeed all connected: social morphology, exchange, cosmology, history and the practical application of social anthropology.

On June 23rd, 2016, Josephus D.M. Platenkamp is celebrating his 65th birthday. The next winter term will mark his final teaching semester at the University of Münster, where he has been professor of social anthropology since 1993. We present this volume to him as an expression of gratitude for the intellectual companionship, the great inspiration, the enthusiasm, and the warm-hearted sympathy he provided us with over many years. Quite a number of us can honestly state that they would not be what they are and where they are now without Jos.

For Jos Platenkamp, the most constitutive relationships of society are based on exchange. At the same time, these relationships encompass both human and non-human beings, the social and the cosmological domain. Thus, the study of social morphology, cosmology, exchange and the values informing these relationships merge into a single project. Jos Platenkamp applies these concepts to Southeast Asian societies, both in the insular region – specifically Halmahera – and the mainland – in particular Laos. However, his intellectual curiosity truly exceeds regional limitations, revealing him as a scholar whose scope and vision are ultimately grounded in general anthropology. In the course of his career, this has brought him in touch with numerous distinguished scholars, committed colleagues and enthusiastic students, many of whom have contributed to the present volume.

Our thanks go, first and foremost, to all contributors to the present volume which expressed their sympathy for Jos Platenkamp by delivering outstanding and inspiring work. Special thanks are due to Veit Hopf of LitVerlag, Felix Bregulla who helped to prepare the manuscript, and Melanie Duch for typesetting. We also thank Hans Georg Berger for supplying the cover picture, depicting Pu Nyoe and Nya Nyoe, the guardian spirits of Luang Prabang, Laos.

Laila Prager
Michael Prager
Guido Sprenger
Cosmology
The Ritual of Death in Acèh:
An Ethnographic Study in Blangporoh Village,
West Labuhan Haji, South Acèh, Indonesia

This article is dedicated to my PhD Supervisor, Prof. Dr. J. D. M. Platenkamp, since his interests lie in on rituals, exchange and personhood. “Ritual pertains to the very relationships that structure society both in its social morphology and in its overall order” (Barraud and Platenkamp, 1990: 121).

Living in this world is only temporary for human beings. Both happiness and sadness are always present in life. In Acèh province, when a person dies, men and women bathe and enshroud the body. It is then prayed for and chanted to before being buried; the dead person’s debts must also be settled. All this work, alongside near-continuous hosting, cooking, and cleaning, is morally incumbent, emotionally draining, and physically exhausting. But all this work has a moral purpose and is considered to be the best thing for the bereaved family. This article describes the different phases of the death rituals in Blangporoh village reflecting both Islamic and Aneuk Jamee adat rules and ideas. It is concerned with the ritual treatment of the deceased, the actual burial ceremony, and the rituals conducted in the months afterward.

**Dying**

A death ritual can be said to last from the time of dying till the time of burial both in the form of rites, the performance of certain series of actions, words and gestures, and the mobilisation of particular social and religious relations by the deceased’s family, neighbours or others. Before he faces the agony of death, a person who is severely ill but still conscious is strongly urged to recover. He is reminded to always remember Allâh by reciting the “begging for divine pardon” and reciting the two sentences of the confession of faith: “There is no deity except Allâh and Muḥammad is His messenger”. Meanwhile other people, especially his or her family members, recite from the Qur’ān.

---

1 I would like to thank Guido Sprenger for his perceptive critical comments and suggestions as well as for his careful correction of the early version of the English text.
2 Three death rituals have been observed. Two were for men and one for a woman. For the woman, much information is obtained from a female informant. Taking pictures during the death rituals is not allowed. Otherwise, the deceased’s family will be offended and I would have to leave the village.
3 I use the male form for the dead person.
When agony sets in, the teungku (religious leader) or other devout people are called immediately to recite the Qur’ān, especially the sūrah Yāsīn (QS 36:1-83), several times as long as the eyes of the dying person are open. After seeing that the person’s condition is getting worse, “there is no deity except Allāh” is repeatedly whispered to the dying person in the hope that the dying person is able to repeat the phrase. This act is called peuintat (accompanying). For those under the age of puberty who do not completely understand the two sentences of profession of faith, peuintat is not performed. Nevertheless, even in these cases reciting the Qur’ān is often performed to provide peace.

Some villagers say that at the time of dying various sufferings are felt. One of them is great thirst. At that moment, “Satan comes and takes the semblance of one of that person’s relatives who have passed away. Satan holds a glass of drinking water in front of his or her eyes. If that person renounces his faith by saying, ‘there are two gods’ or ‘god is not Allāh’, he will receive the water. However, if his faith is strong, they are not interested in Satan’s temptation because he knows that it is only a trick”, as one informant explained in contrast, someone who has less faith can easily become Satan’s prey.

After the moment of death, the dead person’s pulse is checked and his eyes are closed. The person who had stayed with the dying person immediately utters, “we belong to Allāh and return to Him”, and this is continuously repeated by others sitting around the body. Next, the do’a or “the safety of the deceased”, led by a religious leader, is recited. At the end of the do’a, all attendants intone amīn ya Allāh (please accept oh Allāh).

Besides reciting Qur’ān and do’a as described above, there are other rituals taking place, for example, the dead person’s head is oriented towards the north. It is said that for someone who had practiced black magic, the body is stretched out on the bed with his head to the east and his feet to the west. Such a person dies in difficulty and can hardly end his life because the malaikat (angel) do not press him. Those accompanying the dying, therefore, open the windows, cupboards and even the roof above the dying. The healer then begins to scatter husked and unhusked rice while saying: “One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, get away from here! Your possessor has already gone; there is no need to wait.” The dead body is then covered with cloth and his eyes are immediately closed. The hands of the dead are placed together on the chest; the right hand is placed on the left as if he were praying. After that, the body is moved from the mat where he died to a new mat and mattress. During the period of dying, it is forbidden to say or to do something that can disturb the dying person. When he is truly dead, the family of the deceased immediately informs the head of the village and the teungku. These people order one of the mosque staff to announce the news of the death to the public using a microphone and loudspeakers. In the past, the announcement was made by beating a tambourine at the mosque or meunasah three times.
Bathing and Enshrouding

1. Prior to Bathing

While waiting for the dead person to be bathed, some women sitting near it pray to the Prophet Muhammad. If the bathing takes longer, they continue reciting the Qur’ān. People who have just heard the news should say ‘inna lillā hī wa inna ilaihī rajiʿūn’ (we belong to Allāh and return to Hīm), then continue with the doʿa for the safety of the deceased. The members of the deceased’s family immediately call their neighbours and distant relatives to prepare and to look for the things needed for bathing the dead person. These are water, soap, lime, camphor, and yellow sandalwood. Besides that, burning incense in a coconut shell is placed next to the dead person’s feet to avoid unpleasant smells.

Some men, especially close neighbours, immediately organise the enshrouding and the burial process. They acquire a set of white cotton cloth, a coffin, and a burial site. They also prepare a charity box containing some rice for visitors. The visitors come and give charity to the host by slipping bank notes under the rice. This is done so that their charity is not seen by others and the notes are not blown away by the wind. Those who help with the preparations are not paid and they consider it a moral obligation to help the family of the deceased. The deceased’s family just serves them drinks and dried bread.

2. Bathing

When the implements for washing the dead person are ready, the people who have been appointed by the deceased’s family for this task carry the body to the washing place in the back room to prevent anyone else from watching. They place it on a raised table, his head pointing towards the east, and cover him with a piece of cloth between his navel and knee. For a woman, the cloth covers the chest to the ankles. The washers pour water over the body from the head to the tip of the feet, using a piece of cloth. They turn the body on its left side to wash the right side. Then they turn it onto its right side to wash the left side. This they do for each wash. The first and the second wash are done with water and soap till the body is clean. The teeth and the nose are cleaned from the outside only. The stomach is pressed gently and whatever comes out is removed. The hair is unbraided, washed and combed. For women, the hair is braided again in more than one braid. All the while, the washers simultaneously utter “in the name of Allāh” and “invocation to the Prophet”.

---

4 Visitors here mean the people who come and offer condolences for the dead. In Arabic it is called taʿziyyah, meaning visitation by one group to express condolences to another group.
After finishing the bathing, the body’s orifices are plugged up with the pieces of cloth called *ija palam*. Furthermore, the teungku performs an ablation and ends with “nine waters”, meaning washing the dead body three times on the right side, three times in the centre, and three on the left side respectively, by reciting *do’a*. The Imām recited to me the *do’a* after washing the dead body as follows. During the first three pourings on the right side, he utters: “You are the greatest forgiver, o Allāh”, during the second three pourings on the centre he utters: “You are the greatest forgiver, o Merciful Lord”, and during the third three pourings on the left side he utters: “You are the greatest forgiver, o Charitable Lord”. For this last washing, water is mixed with flowers, sliced lime and scented oil (non-alcoholic) and filtered through white cotton cloth called *ija saréng*. The piece of cloth covering the dead body is then replaced with a dry one after the body is dried with a clean towel and the body’s orifices are closed once again with other clean pieces of cloth. After that the body is brought directly to the enshrouding place.

3. Enshrouding

In the enshrouding place, three layers of cloth have already been prepared. The pieces of cloth consist of two layers of long white cotton; one layer of white cotton for the waist and for the dress and a piece of cloth for covering the head which is cut to make it seem like an ordinary dress without stitches. Before laying down the dead body, scented oil, henna leaves, flowers and yellow sandalwood which have been refined are scattered on the shrouds. Some soft cotton is mixed with scented oil and camphor and then placed on the finger joints, elbow, face (eyes, nose, mouth, and ears), knees, armpit, and toes of the dead person. The body is then covered by uttering *bismillāh*; the waist is covered, and the head cloth is put on. The dead person is then covered with long white cotton cloth and next is lifted up first from the middle, then the lower (knees and toes) and upper parts (chest and head). Prior to fastening the head cloth, the face of the dead person is displayed for a while to let the deceased’s family, especially his children and other close relatives, see him for the last time. If the person had been bleeding at death, for example, a woman who had died in childbirth or a man or woman who had died due to an accident, at the time of wrapping a broken needle with no hole is placed in the shrouds. In addition, tangled thread and torn cloth are also placed on the body to avoid disturbing other living people in the village. During the enshrouding and bathing process, all speaking and any activities that can disturb the process are forbidden.

4. Praying

Before the pallbearers bring the dead body to the place of prayer, it is placed sideways into the coffin, facing the direction of Mecca. If no coffin is used,
the body is placed on a stretcher. While lifting it, the pallbearers utter *bis-millāh* and *seulawet* to the Prophet Muhammad. As soon as the body reaches the front door (approximately three meters from the door), an old woman scatters husked and unhusked rice in the hope that the dead person will be safe and happy at the side of Allāh. In addition, a representative of the deceased’s family delivers a short speech, asking for forgiveness for the bad deeds of the deceased. He also asks the deceased’s debts to be paid for the future peace of the “soul”. Furthermore, he admonishes those still alive to keep thinking about Allāh, to be afraid of Him and follow all His commands.

After the speech, the dead person is brought into the mosque of the boarding school. There, a prayer is performed in front of the dead. This prayer is spoken in Arabic, reflecting Islamic belief about the destiny of the deceased. One of the deceased’s family members is asked to be the leader of the prayer.

If no one of the deceased’s family wants to, the mosque’s *imām* will be kindly asked to lead the prayer. The men stand in front and the women behind them. After praying, the *imām* delivers a short speech, asking the followers of *imām, ma’mūm* and all attendants whether this person has done good deeds or not, then all of them answer simultaneously: “Yes, he is good and may heaven welcome him”. The position of the body varies. A man’s head faces to the north in a sideways position in the coffin. Another possible position is the head facing to the south in a sideways position and the third position is the body lying down in a sideways position to the north. A woman is lying on her back on the coffin with her head to the north.

This funeral prayer is somewhat different from a common prayer. There is no bowing and prostration. The *imām* performs it while standing at the waist if the dead person is a woman and at the shoulder if a man, followed by the attendants in odd numbers of rows, in a minimum of three rows. When the *imām* stands up and all followers in rows are ready to pray, he says: “Let us pray collectively”. To this, all followers reply: “Please bestow Your mercy on you [the deceased]”, and sometimes they also utter: “There is no deity except Allāh and Muhammad is His messenger”. Furthermore, the *imām* begins the prayer by pronouncing the *takbir* (the act of pronouncing the formula “Allāh is great”) which is followed by the assembly with the same thoughts (intention). The intention is as follows: “I intend to perform as prayer on behalf of this deceased four *takbir, fardhu kifayah* (Arabic *fard al-kifāyah*),” and to follow the *imām* because of Allāh”. Then the prayer is performed.

In the first *takbir*, the *imām* and all followers recite, “the mother of the Qur’ān”, that is the *sūrah al-Fāṭihah* (QS 1:1-7), the second *takbir* continuously recites the *seulawet* to Prophet Muhammad. The third *takbir* contains *do’a* asking for the forgiveness of the deceased and the fourth *takbir* recites

---

5 *Fardhu kifayah* is the obligatory funeral prayer for every Muslim adult to perform upon the death of any Muslim; however even when only a few perform it, this alleviates that obligation for everyone else (Federspiel 1995).
do’a asking Allāh’s mercy for the living. The prayer ends by saying salam or “peace” while the praying turn around, first to the right and then to the left. After the prayer, the imām recites the do’a for the safety of the deceased and all followers intone amīn (please accept o Allāh). Those who do not pray for the deceased wait outside of the mosque to take the body to the funeral site. They are strictly forbidden to speak and or to do anything that can disturb people performing the funeral prayer.

5. Burial

a. The Grave

The public graveyard is situated in the south of the village. Affluent people, however, have their own special burial grounds called bhom. The grave is dug by two men who have already been appointed and approved by the village head and been guided by the village imām. They first recite Bismillāh before digging the hole. The grave is adjusted to the body’s length, and it is as deep as a normal men’s chest (approximately 120 cm) or as high as an armpit for a woman (approximately 140 cm). It is placed in a north-south direction. Affluent families use a coffin but the poor do not. A dead person without a coffin is placed in a niche (a hole facing the west) called liang lahat, dug according to the body’s size and then closed with a board. The height of the grave is approximately 30 cm from the ground. At the head and feet, plants such as the ‘jarak’ are planted.

b. Burial Rites

While lifting the body, the pallbearers recite bismillāhi wa ‘alā millati rasulillāh (in the name of Allāh and the religion of the apostle of Allāh). They then carry the body, shaded with an umbrella, out of the house with the head first, followed by the deceased’s family and other male and female visitors. The imām walks in front of the stretcher. The body is covered with a long and valuable cloth with embroideries of the profession of faith: “There is no deity except Allāh, and the Prophet Muhammad is His messenger”. If people and vehicles encounter the funeral procession, they stop for a while to show respect. While carrying the dead person, making any noise is forbidden. After arriving at the burial site, the pallbearers place the body on the west side of the grave while reciting bismillāh and seulawet to the Prophet. Before lowering the dead into the grave, a muazzin calls for prayer. In Lampulo, Banda Aceh, I also observed that he does so when the coffin is half covered with earth. In addition, my informant said that sometimes the muazzin calls for prayer before the body is buried. Three people in the grave hold up the coffin following directions given by the imām. While lowering the body into the grave, the same do’a is recited again by the imām. I observed that the imām also descends into the grave to place the body exactly in the direction of
Mecca. When finished, five shrouds from the body are loosened, then the deceased is covered with a board (the coffin lid) and the grave is filled in.

The burying starts from the west side. A mat is held up over the coffin onto which soil is thrown till completely covered. Then earth is continuously piled up on the east side so that the coffin cannot shift from its position. Finally, the hole is filled completely and soil is heaped up from the head to the feet as high as 30 cm from the ground surface. The imām pours water mixed with flowers and sliced lime into the grave, from the head to the feet. This is repeated by the deceased’s close relatives. The pallbearers sit around the grave to listen to the talkin (Arabic talqīn) recited by the imām:

“Now witness that there is no deity but Allāh and Muḥammad is his Messenger. Death is true. The grave is true. The mercy of the grave and His torture are true. Questions from Munkar are true. The Day of Resurrection is true. That deeds are weighed is true. The bridge of shirathal-mustaqim is true. The syafā’ah (help) from the Prophet Muḥammad is true. Paradise is true. Hell is true. That you will meet Allāh is true. That the Last Day will come is true. That Allāh will resurrect people from their graves is true. Hai [calling the name of the deceased]! Now you are in the layer of earth, the realm of Barzah [the transitional realm between this world and the world of the final judgment] among the dead. If two angels, Munkar and Nakir come to you, do not be afraid of them! Both of them are the servants of Allāh. If they ask you questions, answer them in a clear voice. The questions will be:

Who is your God? Answer: My God is Allāh.
Who is your prophet? Answer: My prophet is Muḥammad.
What is your kitāb? Answer: My kitāb is the Qurān al-Karīm.
What is your kiblat? Answer: My kiblat is the Ka’batullāh [Mecca].
Who are your ikhwān? Answer: All Muslim men and women.

Answer these questions with a clear voice. In the Judgement Day, if Allāh wills, you will be in the groups of true believers. Allāh remains you with two words of profession of faith as the believers till the day of hereafter. O reassured soul, return to your Lord, be well-pleased and pleasing [to Him], and enter among His [righteous] servants and enter His Paradise.” (author’s translation from Arabic).

This text is written in Arabic and Indonesian so that it can benefit the living as well as the dead. Some villagers said that the aim of reciting this text is to help teaching the dead not to be afraid of the angels Munkar and Nakir who will come to him. It will enable him to remember the answers to the angel’s questions and to utter them fluently in a clear voice. Others said that the text explains what will happen at the grave soon after the imām has left and what the deceased should do or say when the two angels come to examine him. But the “modernists” say, “the dead cannot hear, the chanting cannot help the dead”.

The imām only recites the Arabic version of the text as he sits at the head of the grave. An informant explains that after the burial rites the dead can understand Arabic even when he did not understand it while being alive. He
emphases that Arabic is “the language of the realm of Barzah” that is “spoken in Paradise”. The prayers refer to the idea that “Allāh returns the ‘soul’ (Acehnese aruwah; Arabic arwāḥ plur., sing. rūḥ) to the body”. Allegedly, the deceased person “is revived for a few moments after burial” so that “his good deeds will respond to the angels’ questions” about his moral conduct during his lifetime. If the dead has done many good deeds, he will be able to answer the questions, says the imām. If the dead has not done any good deeds, then automatically his aruwah cannot answer the angel’s questions. If the dead can answer all questions satisfactorily, Munkar will release him in peace till the Day of Resurrection. “Neither rationality nor intelligence works in answering Munkar’s question; the belief is that the brain is where rationality and intelligence reside and these must also be dead when the body dies. Only beliefs, which are found in the aruwah, not in the body, will last forever” (Muhaimin 2004: 55). After the angels’ questions about the Islamic catechism have been answered, Allāh will soon provide “mercy in the grave”.

Reciting talkin takes around fifteen minutes. After that, many people go to the deceased’s house again to have drinks and a meal. Here they are informed that the ritual for the aruwah will be held again.6 All tools carried to the burial sites are returned to the deceased’s family except the mat used to cover the body; it is given to a place of religious services such as a mosque or meunasah.

6. After Burial

The extended family of the deceased soon holds a meeting to discuss the recital of shamadiyah together on several nights. The shamadiyah is held for seven nights at the deceased’s house. The recital is performed after sunset prayer. It aims helping the deceased’s family feel relief while praying for the deceased. Others say that reciting shamadiyah is merely to add to the deceased’s good deeds. It is said that the more good deeds are assigned to the deceased, the happier he will be. Below is the order of shamadiyah recited from the first till the seventh night at the house of the dead in Blangporoh:

1. Reciting the sūrah al-Fāṭiḥah.
2. Reciting istighfār, at least three times, either the short or long version.
3. Reciting seulawet to the Prophet Muhammad from three to seven times, either the short or long version.
4. Reciting the sūrah al-Ikhlās for about 15 to 50 times or even 100 times. This is the core of shamadiyah recitation.
5. Reciting the sūrah al-Falaq, once.

6 In a village that is slightly modern or already influenced by “young groups”, people go back to their houses directly except for the close relatives of the deceased who go to the deceased’s house.
6. Reciting the sūrah an-Nās, once.
7. Reciting the sūrah al-Fātihah, once.
8. Reciting the sūrah al-Baqarah, verse one to five, verse 163-255 (verse of ‘kursi’) and ending with verse 284 to 286.
9. Reciting tahūl [lā ilāhā il-lallāh] between 50 to 100 times.
10. Reciting do’a guided by an imām and replied amīn by all shamadiyah followers.

Shamadiyah is recited in the same way from the first till the seventh night respectively. The difference is that the shamadiyah on the seventh night is longer as the sūrah al-Ikhlās is recited 100 times. This performance is called the khatam shamadiyah. In addition, reciting do’a for the dead on this night is also longer than during the previous six nights. The do’a asks Allāh’s forgiveness and guidance for all Muslims. It is specifically aimed at the deceased to be forgiven by Allāh, to have his/her good deeds accepted and to be placed in a respectable place beside Allāh. In addition, the deceased’s family members are hoped to remain patient. However, “young modernists” do not agree with the recitation of shamadiyah. They say that one person cannot make up for the sins of another.

After finishing the recitation, cakes and drinks are served to the reciters. Especially on the third and the fifth night, the family of the deceased serves them special cakes. On the third night, they are served with dayak-dayak spongy cakes, made of glutinous powder mixed with coconut milk, salt and sugar. One informant said that the cake reminds the living that the body in the grave has already become mushy, similar to the dayak-dayak cake. On the fifth night, the visitors are served with apam cakes. It is said that this reminds the living that the body in the grave has already swollen, similar to the apam cakes. Thus these two kinds of cake provide a communication. On the seventh night, a big khanduri called khanduri seunujoh is held. This khanduri is bigger than the previous six nights, it is held from the afternoon of the sixth day until the afternoon of the seventh day to welcome relatives, neighbours and other close friends of the family. The family serves a big meal consisting of rice with various side dishes including curry, after the shamadiyah recitation. I also observed especially among the affluent families that soon after the big meal, the group of qāri from various districts in the region of south Acèh arrived and started to recite the Qur’ān for a whole night in Blangporoh, using a microphone and loudspeakers. The more famous the invited qāri’, the more

---

7 One says that if shamadiyah is recited till morning for the deceased, Rp 100 to Rp 200 will be given to each reciter.
8 Many shamadiyah reciters are people who at the same time offer condolences at the deceased’s house and go back after the recitation.
9 Qāri’ is a male reciter of the Qur’ān who has memorized the Qur’ān for a wide variety of contexts. qari’ah means a female reciter of the Qur’ān.
money will be given to him by the deceased’s family. In addition, for the rich family, the Qur’ān is also recited at the grave\textsuperscript{10} from the first till the seventh day and night. In return, the reciters are also given money for their daily needs as well as meals and cakes. These events constitute a critical point of transformation. They finally release the aruwah of the deceased and its ties to the house.

Besides the shamadiyah which is held on the first till the seventh night after the burial, Qur’ānic recitations are also held at the house of the dead in which each man present takes turns at reading the Qur’ān till late in the night. One of the participants says that reciting Qur’ān for the dead is a kind of good deed. All the words of the recited Qur’ān contain merit and all merit obtained from its recitation is intended for the aruwah. The reciters have a break after an hour of reciting Qur’ān. They are then served with drink and cakes. During this break, the reciters recite qasidah (songs in praise of religion) to entertain the deceased family and so the other listeners can take a break. The recitation is then continued until midnight.

In the morning of the seventh day, the close relatives, both men and women, go to the grave to “plant” the tombstones on the grave\textsuperscript{11}. The stones are taken from the river; they are as big as a man’s head. The imām guides the ritual of planting the tombstone. One is planted at the head and another one at the feet while reciting bismillāh and seulawet to Prophet Muhammad. Then water mixed with flowers and sliced lime is poured over the grave. The relatives sit together to recite do’a before leaving the grave.

\textit{Tilam Bungong}

In Blangporoh, I observed that the deceased’s family construct a bed in a room belonging to the deceased, with the deceased’s clothes embellished with colourful shawls of his wife and other personal objects, as a charitable act. Pillows with colourful embroidered flowers on their covers are placed at the head of the bed while a bolster is placed on the right side and another one is placed on the left side. The center is left empty assuming that it is “the place where the dead person’s aruwah sleeps”. This bed is called tilam bungong. \textit{Tilam} means mattress and \textit{bungong} means flower.\textsuperscript{12} The room with the bed may not be used by other persons except for the deceased’s core family, his wife and his children. It is not allowed to be left empty and a lamp is always lit there as

\textsuperscript{10} The Qur’ān reciters who recite Qur’ān at the grave are usually chosen from the imām in the district or from the students at the boarding school in Blangporoh.

\textsuperscript{11} Usually the ritual of “planting” the tombstones is performed on the 44th day of the death. This is related to the situation of the rice plants in the fields.

\textsuperscript{12} In Nagan Raya, West Acēh, this bed is called reuhab as a “station of meeting” with the living family. The local people believe that during 44 days the soul of the deceased has not yet ascended to Heaven but still roam on the earth. On day 44 the reuhab is opened, the ritual of planting the tombstones at the grave is then performed (Husda 1988: 34).
the aruwah needs to be accompanied by at least one of his family members. For seven days and nights, white incense is burnt in this room because the deceased’s aruwah likes its smell. The aim of burning incense is said to summon the aruwah so that it will not get lost when returning to its house.

After the seventh day the tilam bungong is opened. The clothes and other personal belongings, constituting the objectified body of the deceased, are distributed as gifts among the corpse washers. Different items are given to those who have washed different body parts. In case the dead is a male, his rimless cap is given to the person who had washed the head; his tie to the person who had washed the neck; his watch to the one who had washed the hands; his shirt to the one who had washed the chest; his belt to the one who had washed the hips; his trousers to the one who had washed the legs and his shoes to the one who had washed the feet. The white cotton cloth functioning as a water filter during the washing is given to the imām who pours the “nine waters” over the dead body. A woman is treated the same way. The difference is that a woman is only bathed by women and her clothes are shared out accordingly. My informant said that every village in West Labuhan Haji district appoints the male and female teungku for bathing a dead person. In return, they receive some gifts from the deceased’s family and from the village mosque. In an affluent family, tilam bungong is opened up on the fourteenth day. Affluent families do the same as poor families on the fourteenth day of the death. This extension is made because affluent families still hold a khanduri for the orphans and the poor that are invited to the deceased’s house. The religious merit from holding this khanduri is once again transferred to the dead. “The more khanduri are held for the aruwah, the happier the aruwah will be and vice versa the deceased’s aruwah will be sad if the khanduri is not done at his or her house”, the imam explained.

Giving the clothes to the people who bathe the dead body is very important for the fate of the deceased. It is said that several years ago the previous imam of Blangporoh village, Teungku M. Isim, saw a person in the darkness coming back from the Blangporoh mosque to the house of Tgk. Bile Rantau. He was completely sure that the person he saw was the aruwah of Teungku Bile Rantau who had passed away seven days earlier. His aruwah went back to his house with shorts, a small pail in his hand and a sheet of cloth on his shoulder. Teungku Ahmad said to his children, “this is retaliation from Allāh”, because his clothes were not distributed to the corpse washers. Soon after, the children of Teungku Bile Rantau called all washers and gave them their father’s clothes. Only after that, the aruwah was no longer seen.

Apart from the sharing of the deceased’s clothes on the seventh day of the death, the gravediggers are also invited. One of the devout village women immediately comes to talk to the wife of the deceased person:

“Alah cukup tu (it is enough). I know your brother well. He is a good person and he has done many good deeds as well. Moreover, he died because of a motorbike
accident and therefore he receives the same religious merit as for a martyr’s death. His good deeds will become a person whose face is very much like his own but that “person” is better and wears better clothes and will accompany his aruwah forever. His aruwah is very happy and can sleep well until the day of the resurrection. Vice versa, if a person does bad deeds when he or she was alive, his or her bad deeds will also resemble a person whose face is very much like his or her own but that person’s body has much blood on it. His clothes are torn and smell very bad. He comes from the deceased’s bad deeds. That person says ‘I am like this because none of your deeds are good. You follow your lust and never followed Allāh’s command when you were alive. So now I will not leave you. Do not hate looking at me because when you were still alive you were not afraid of doing something wrong. That means you were always looking for me. As you are like your bad deeds, thus I am like you. I will never leave you and accompany you till the day of resurrection.’ That person then hugs the aruwah even though the aruwah refuses that person. The more the aruwah hates that person, the stronger that person hugs the aruwah. In addition, many other grave’s torments will come because of not bringing about the pillar of Islam; prayer, fasting, […]”

The devout woman emphasised further: “What I tell you now is what I heard from my previous teacher. He tells the story about the person who has done a lot good deeds in his life and receives a reward from Allāh when he dies. So do not be sad.” Only after hearing about this moral mirror image of the dead person, the wife of the dead person looks good and no longer cries. The idea here is that one cannot escape from his or her own image. The gravedigger is then given two kilograms of sugar; two packs of cigarettes and half a kilo of coffee by the wife of the deceased person. He also receives some money from the deceased’s family and from the village mosque on the following day.

Apart from preparing tilam bungong, the deceased’s family in Blangporoh also invites a devout person three times a day to eat at the deceased’s house from the first till the seventh day (and till the fourteenth day for the affluent families). This is called pajōh khanduri watèe (“eating khanduri at the appointed time”). The devout person is chosen by the village imām. The imām said that the aruwah is the same as we are. The aruwah of the deceased is also “hungry and thirsty”. It returns to his or her house and asks for food and water but we cannot hear it. That is why the deceased’s relatives, especially his core family has to feed a devout person instead in order to fulfil the deceased’s aruwah’s needs. The food served to the devout person or teungku is that which the deceased liked when he or she was still alive. The teungku uses the plates, cups, and spoons, fork and glasses that the deceased used in his life. All crockery used by the teungku when he eats at the deceased’s house is given to him on the seventh day or on the fourteenth for the affluent families. This is all done with the aim of adding to the deceased’s good deeds as well as making the deceased’s aruwah happy. The imām is invited to the dead person’s house to eat the “khanduri at the appointed time” from the first till seventh day respectively. Empty glasses are placed on the table where he eats, to receive
Allāh’s mercy. Fresh water in a bowl on the table symbolises that the khanduri for the aruwah is held sincerely by the family. In addition, a lamp on the table symbolises that the descendants will always remember and pray for the deceased. Praying for the deceased is said to be like a lamp on the grave. The pious children of the deceased person who invoke Allāh in their wishes may indeed hear their prayer answered by Allāh, and they can be especially effective in transmitting the merit of the recitation to their parents’ aruwah.

**Aruwah**

Aruwah (from Indonesian arwah) can be translated as “soul or spirit”. Nevertheless, in the ritual of khanduri bu the villagers say roh (Arabic rūḥ). Many villagers in Blangporoh whom I interviewed believe that aruwah remains in the house and sometimes returns to the grave during the seventh day after death. Therefore, tilam bungong is prepared for the aruwah. It is said that from the seventh day the aruwah of a devout person goes back from its place in ‘illiyyūn (the highest elevation of paradise) to the house and to the grave. The aruwah of people who violate Allāh’s law go to a place under the earth called barhud. Some say their aruwah are placed in sijjīn (the lowest level of hell). The aruwah then stands at the ventilation of the house. Therefore ventilations may not be closed at night. The aruwah observes the behaviour of his family members. If the relatives perform the khanduri, behave well and never forget to pray, the aruwah is happy. However, if the family members violate Allāh’s law, the aruwah will be sad and then return to ‘illiyyūn immediately. The khanduri and shamadiyah, therefore, have to be held and the teungku and other devout people have to be invited to eat and recite do’a from the first to seventh night respectively. However, my informant, Mukim Hukom has a different opinion; he argues that the aruwah returns and stands at the door. The door has to remain open till late at night, especially on the night when the aruwah returns to its house. The khanduri has to be held and at least one teungku or devout person must be invited to eat instead of “feeding” the aruwah. There must be some rice left in the cooking pot when the aruwah comes back. If there is no more rice, more must be cooked because the aruwah enjoys the smell of the rice. It is said that if there is no khanduri held as the aruwah arrives, the aruwah will not enter the house, thinking: “They no longer care about their deceased brother”.

The aim of the aruwah returning on the first night is to observe whether his close relatives and close friends who live near his house come to offer condolences as well as how his family members welcome them. The family members must pray for the aruwah because the torment during the first night in the grave is said to be very frightening. Therefore, recommended prayers
which are called seumayang hadiyah ("gift prayer")\textsuperscript{13} are recommended. It is said that if this recommended prayer is not performed, one can give charity to the needy instead, with the aim of helping the dead in the grave. “Prayer is like depositing money in a bank. Allāh repays it by sending the ‘grave’s mercy’ to the dead”. “The fine for failure to perform prayer” is also paid to the village, as one liter of rice given to the poor through the teungku. But this is only done by affluent families who did not perform prayer five times a day when the dead person was still alive.

The aim of the aruwah returning on the third night, when the spongy dayak-dayak cakes are eaten, is to observe whether his relatives and close friends who live far from his house come to offer condolences for him and how his family welcomes them.

On the fifth night, reciting shamadiyah and do’a, khanduri apam is held to mark the corpse’s swollen condition in the grave. The aruwah is truly sad and cries when it sees the condition of the body in the grave. The task of the aruwah returning on this night is to observe how much attention his family members give to him. Some villagers say that if the debt has not been paid yet, the aruwah will be in awang awang, a place which is not well defined, somewhere between sky and earth. Some others say that the aruwah will be suspended between the sky and earth.

The aim of aruwah returning on the seventh night\textsuperscript{14} is to observe whether his debt has been paid or not. If not, the aruwah will cry and condemn his family members. The body is then said to explode in the grave and be devoured by worms. The aruwah is again truly sad and cries when it sees the condition of its former body. From the seventh day onwards, the aruwah loosens its ties to the house but still roams around the yard. In addition, it is said to leave the decomposed body. The ritual series called khanduri seunujoh reaches its climax. The women work hard in the kitchen to make special sweets and prepare food for the khanduri. Relatives come from other villages and stay for the shamadiyah, a night time chanting session. A ram is slaughtered for the deceased on the Day of Judgement and guests are served rice with side dishes and drink. Serving rice and drink to the guests is said to equal the religious merit received when one performs hajj and umrah (the lesser pilgrimage out of the hajj season) in Mecca. One imām said; “Any guest coming to the deceased’s house must be fed. Do not refuse the guests! Refusing them is the same as refusing the Prophet”. This indicates how high a value is put on the khanduri on the seventh night of death. It is said that although the khanduri

\textsuperscript{13} The teungku tells me that “gift prayer” can be performed in at least two circles (Arabic. \textit{raka‘at}) for the dead. In the first circle, the verse of \textit{qursi} (QS 2:255) is recited once. The second circle, the \textit{sūra} \textit{at-Takāthur} (QS 102:1-8) is recited once and the \textit{sūra} \textit{al-Ikhłās} (QS 112:1-4) ten times.

\textsuperscript{14} Nothing was known about the tasks of the aruwah on the second, the forth, and the sixth night. In any case, according to many teungku, it returns every Friday night.
is not held when the Prophet was still alive, it was held at ‘Ali’s house\(^{15}\) for seven days and at Aisyah’s\(^{16}\) house for fourteen days when he died.

The aim of the *aruwah* returning on the fourteenth night is to observe whether his *wasiyyah* (the last minute testament) is carried out by his close relative. If not, the *aruwah* will be very sad and will curse them. Around this time, the body begins decaying, and the *aruwah* is said to start roaming away from the yard. A small *khanduri* with a short *shamadiyah* and *do’a* is held. There is a belief that if the *aruwah* condemns his family, the wealth that he left on the earth will no longer bring ‘blessing’ and will gradually be lost.

The aim of the *aruwah* returning on the 44th night is to observe whether his extended family, especially *wali hukum* (a group of men from the husband’s side who receive a greater share of the inheritance),\(^{17}\) cares for his children and wife. If not, the *aruwah* will condemn his extended family and return to its abode with sadness. A small *khanduri* with short *shamadiyah* and *do’a* is also held for the *aruwah* at home. The decaying process of the body continues. The *aruwah* is said to gradually leave the house and start roaming in the village. On this day, the deceased’s family wraps dried bread that is made by his wife and children. All the dried bread is wrapped in a piece of white cloth and then given to the village *teungku* or other devout people in the village. Traditional cakes such as *leumang*, *leupèk*, *keutupèk*, *bada* and *umping* made of *idi* glutinous rice are also made as the proof of his wife and children’s love. These various foods are “sent to Allāh” for the deceased through the village *teungku*.

The aim of *aruwah* returning on the one hundredth night is said to remind its close relatives to do good deeds (the living cannot hear this). It reminds them that his death has to be exemplary for his family members and for the living. It says: “The rewards received by those who follow Allāh’s command compare to those who do not have already been seen”. A small *khanduri* with short *shamadiyah* and *do’a* is also held for the *aruwah* to make it happy. At this time, the decaying body turns from a lying to a sitting position. The flesh has disappeared and the bones gradually dissolve into the soil. The *aruwah* is said to start roaming far away from the village but only sometimes wanders in and out of its former house. In order to have a clearer idea about the tasks performed by the *aruwah*, see the table one below:

---

15 ‘Ali bin Abu Thalib, a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad, an important leader in the early Muslim community and the fourth caliph.

16 ‘Aisyah binti Abu Bakar, a favourite wife of the Prophet Muḥammad in his last years and political personality in the struggle for Muslim community leadership after his death.

17 Also called *wali meukeutam*. 
The Ritual of Death in Aceh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Night</th>
<th>The tasks of the aruwah returning to its former home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>To observe whether his close relatives and friends living near his house come to offer condolences for him as well as to observe how his family welcomes them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>To observe whether his family and close friends living far from his house come to offer condolences for him as well as to observe how his family welcomes them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>To observe how much attention his family gives him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>To observe whether his debt has been paid or not. If not, the aruwah will cry and condemn his family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>To observe whether his wasiyyah (last minute testament) is carried out by his close relatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>To observe whether his children and wife are looked after by his extended family, especially wali hukum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>To remind his close relatives to do good deeds as well as to remind them that his death is exemplary for his family and for the living.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The tasks of the aruwah returning to its former home

Besides these occasions, it is said that the aruwah also returns to visit his family on the following dates: 1) on the night of determination; 2) two nights preceding Ramadhan; 3) on the night of power which takes place on the last ten nights of Ramadhān; 4) on the night marking the end of Ramadhān; 5) on the night of the tenth day of the month of Zulhijjah, celebrating the pilgrimage, also known as ‘īdul qurban. Like on the one hundredth night, the aruwah again reminds its close relatives to do good deeds as well as that his death is exemplary. On these particular nights khanduri is held again and the do’a recited. According to many teungku, this is like providing a life vest for the aruwah (see Table 2 below for a summary of the corpse’s condition, the exchanges and the aruwah’s location).
**Conclusion**

After a person has died, the body is washed and wrapped in cloth inside the house. Ceremonial prayers are said in Arabic reflecting Islamic beliefs about the destiny of the deceased. On the same day, the dead person is buried in the village burial grounds. This entails a ritual performed by the imām, who addresses the deceased in Arabic, the “language of barzah” that is “spoken in paradise”. The prayers refer to the idea that “Allāh returns the aruwah to the body”. This signifies that the deceased person is “revived for a few moments after burial” so that “his good deeds will respond to the angels’ question” about his moral conduct during his lifetime. Having answered these questions...
satisfactorily, Allāh rewards the deceased with the “mercy of the grave”. Nowadays, however, such ideas are contested, particularly those ideas concerning the collective performance of these ritual actions, as being efficacious in improving the ancestral destiny of an individual person. “Young modernists” in West Labuhan Haji argue, “the dead cannot hear, the chanting cannot help the dead and one person cannot make up for the sins of another”. It appears that an individualist understanding of morality is gaining ground against the moral precept of collective responsibility as expressed in these instructions to the deceased. The form and meaning of this ritual is not only a topic for anthropological analysis but also a subject for long-standing and hotly contested religious debates within Indonesia, between the proponents of Islamic modernism and those who would reaffirm the correctness of older, local ritual practices (Bowen 1984: 21).

Meanwhile, the deceased’s family has constructed a bed composed of the deceased’s clothes and other personal objects. It is between these objects that “the deceased aruwah sleeps”. Represented by his “soul” and the textile objects, the deceased is surrounded by his spouse and children. For seven days and nights incense is burnt “guiding the aruwah” in his domestic surroundings. After seven days the clothes and other personal belongings, constituting the objectified body of the deceased, are distributed among the persons who washed the dead body immediately after death. Different items are given to those who washed different body parts. At the same time, food is distributed among the poor and the orphans of the village, once again generating merit for the deceased. Such ritual injunctions are strongly sanctioned by the expectation that negligence to fulfil them results in the return of the deceased’s aruwah into the village society. This is seen as “retaliation from Allāh for not distributing the clothes to the people who bathed him on the seventh day of his death.”

At certain intervals, the deceased’s aruwah returns to the house again, where it is accompanied by shamadiyah, tahlil, and do’a recited after the “sunset prayer” and food gifts. These food gifts are subsequently distributed among the participants. Particularly during the first seven nights, different food gifts mark the different parts of ritual reception of the deceased’s aruwah as described in the summary above. The constitution of these different foodstuffs refers to the successive stages in the deceased’s body’s process of decay. For example sponge cake and apam cake signify that the dead body is in an advanced stage of decomposition. This indicates that the deceased’s progeny partakes in a ritual communication of the former’s substitute body: the deceased personal image (shown by the clothes and jewellery that he wore when still alive, for instance) as well as his body are represented in clothes and foodstuffs and distributed among his or her progeny. In other words, the aspects of the social person are transferred into gifts that are distributed to others. This fundamental idea of a person, whose constituent parts are distributed after his

On the seventh night, the ritual series called khanduri seunujoh reaches its climax. The family release their feelings of sadness, loss, and frustration. The crying is no longer in regret of the death. Relatives, neighbours and close friends are served a large meal. Male reciters from various districts of South Acèh arrive to recite the Qur’ān for a full night for the deceased’s benefit. The more famous the reciters are, the more monetary gifts are distributed by the deceased’s family. These events constitute the critical point of transformation. The aruwah of the deceased releases its ties to the house, its worldly debts, and the people in turn release their pent-up emotions. The period between death and the seventh day corresponds to what Hertz called the “intermediary period”, which is represented in some Indonesian societies by the exposed body of the dead. Hertz’s insight is that, in these societies, the exposed, decomposing body is the material basis for the passage of the soul (Hertz 1960: 29); like the Gayo in Central Acèh (Bowen 1984: 27), the people of Blangporoh also see decomposition as a natural process and perform similar key rituals, but without exposing the dead body.

The mortuary ritual is not just performed for the bereaved family but most importantly to help release the aruwah of the deceased from its ties to the house, so that the remaining family can stop mourning. All the khanduri are to finalise the transformation and to accomplish a slow gradual unbinding of the aruwah to the house, the community, and the social world. Each time the gifts are properly distributed, the aruwah moves away from its house, domestic surroundings or village, and moves toward Allāh. In the meantime, the putrefaction process of the dead body continues. This indicates that there is a significant relation among the practice of commemorative khanduri, the reciting of shamdiyah, tahlil, and do’a, and the delivery of the aruwah to its own world, the transfer of gifts and the putrefaction process of the corpse before it finally disappears altogether into soil. The mortuary ritual therefore continues to have a lot to say about death and constitutes an intricate process of exchange, in which parts of the deceased person in spiritual, physical and objective modalities are fragmented and transferred amongst those social relationships that constitute the elementary network of which he was part of during his lifetime.

References


Contributors

Wassef Al Sekhaneh is lecturer at Yarmouk University and Al Balqa University in Physics. Before, he has worked as assistant at the Duisburg-Essen University in Physics and Chemistry Departments and at the Max Planck Institute for solid state research in Stuttgart. He obtained his PhD in Social Anthropology at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. He has conducted research on Bedouins in Jordan.

Gabriele Alex is Professor at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. She obtained her Master degree in Medical Anthropology and her PhD in Social Anthropology from Brunel University, West London. Before joining the University of Tübingen, she was teaching at the University of Münster, was Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology while also serving as Director of the Master’s Program „Health and Society in South Asia” at the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg. After this she joined the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity as a research fellow with a focus on Medical Diversity. Dr. Alex’s research interests include Medical Anthropology, Ethnicity, Healing and Identity, the anthropology of Youth and Childhood, and Visual Anthropology.


Helene Basu is Professor of Social Anthropology at Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität in Muenster. She holds positions of Principal Investigator at the Cluster of Excellence ‘Religion and Politics in Pre-Modern and Modern Cultures’ and in the Priority Program ‘Cultures of decision-making’ at the University of Muenster. Her publications include Journeys and Dwellings – In-
**Ursula Bertels** studied ethnology in Münster and Freiburg. The regional and thematic focus of her ethnological research is Mexico. Since 1986 she regularly carries out research there, and since 2003 she has been endowed with short-term lectureships. In 1992 she wrote her dissertation about “The Pole Dance in Mexico – historic development and current manifestation.” Since 1994 she is working as lecturer on the subject of intercultural competence and migration. Since 2002 she heads as Chairwoman the “Association of Ethnology in School and Adult Education” (ESE e.V.). As part of her work at ESE she is responsible for third party funded projects on the subject of intercultural competence. She further organises and supports since 2006 the German-Mexican student exchange program for intercultural pedagogy on behalf of the Institute for Ethnology.

**Joseba Estevez**, is a PhD. candidate in Social Anthropology at the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Münster, Germany. He has conducted long-term social anthropological fieldwork on the role of the Lanten (Yao Mun) ritual experts in Luang Namtha Province, Laos from 2010 onwards. His research interests include ritual studies, exchange systems, forms of social organisation, social transformation, animism, and Daoism. He is presently managing the digitalisation of the Lanten textual heritage in Northern Laos in collaboration with the University of Hong Kong and the National Library of Laos financially supported by the British Library’s Endangered Archives Programme (EAP 791).

**Volker Grabowsky** is Professor of Thai Language and Culture (Thai Studies) at the Asia-Africa-Institute of the University of Hamburg since October 2009. He is also head of the institute’s Southeast Asia Department. Previously he was Professor of Southeast Asian History at the Institute of Ethnology, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. From September 1996 until August 1999 he worked as a visiting lecturer of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) at the Department of Lao Language and Literature, National University of Laos (NUOL) in Vientiane. He has specialised in the history and culture of the Tai peoples in mainland Southeast Asia and Southwest China. Recently he has embarked on long-term research projects pertaining to the manuscript cultures and Buddhist literary traditions of the Tai Lü and Lao. Together with Hans Georg Berger he edited the volume “The Lao Sangha and
Roland Hardenberg is Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies of the University of Tübingen, Germany. He has conducted ethnographic fieldwork on divine kingship in the temple town of Puri (India, from 1995-1996), on sacrifices and marriages among shifting cultivators in the highlands of Odisha (India, from 2001-2003) and on funerals and graveyards of formerly nomadic people in the Tian Shan mountain range (Kyrgyzstan, from 2007-2008). His research interests include ritual studies, kinship, exchange systems and forms of social organisation. He is presently vice-speaker of the Collaborative Research Center (CRC 1070) on “ResourceCultures” and leader of a research project dealing with religious resources in South and Central Asia. Latest Monograph: The Renewal of Jagannatha’s Body. Ritual and Society in Coastal Orissa. 428 pp. New Delhi: Manak Publications. 2011.

Andreas Hartmann is Professor of Volkskunde/European Ethnology at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Muenster.

Stephen C. Headley earned a B.A. degree (1965) in Oriental Studies (Chinese and Sanskrit) and an M.A. degree in Buddhist Studies (1969) from Columbia University. He continued his studies in Paris with a diploma in Sanskrit philology at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (1972) and a doctorate in social anthropology under Georges Condominas at the Sorbonne in 1979. He also studied theology at Saint Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary (Crestwood, New York, 1966-1969) and at the St Sergius Institute of Orthodox Theology in Paris (1969-1973). He worked at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) between 1981-2008, and between 1998 and 2008 he was working with the research team (ERASME) founded by Louis Dumont. He is presently retired from the CNRS and teaches ascetical theology at the Russian Orthodox Study Center in Paris. Between 1973 and 2005 Headley did extensive fieldwork in central Java Between 2006- 2010 he taught in Moscow and undertook field work on parish life. He has published on Javanese Cosmology and Islam, and other topics related to the anthropology of religion.

André Iteanu is a social anthropologist. He is directeur de recherche and a member of the institute CASE at the French National Center for Research and professor (DE) at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris). He has carried out research among the Orokaiva of Papua New Guinea and among the marginalised youth in the northern suburb of Paris. His recent publications include “Comparison made radical: Dumont’s anthropology of value today (Hau

**Kirsten Jäger** studied Social Anthropology, Political Science and German Philology at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster, Germany where she also received her PhD in Social Anthropology in 2015. The topic of her dissertation is “The Sultanate of Jailolo. The Revitalisation of ‘Traditional’ Polities in Indonesia”. Her research focuses on the political anthropology of Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia. She is affiliated with the Institute for Social Anthropology in Münster where she teaches undergraduates and graduates courses.

**Roy Jordaan** (1947) studied Non-Western Sociology at Leiden University. After his Master’s he spent two years on the island of Madura, gathering material for his Ph.D thesis on indigenous Madurese medicine (awarded 1985). Then, for several years he was a researcher at the former Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) in Leiden, and a lecturer at the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam. Subsequently he and his family lived in Jakarta as expatriates. While in Indonesia he became an independent researcher. Attracted to the Hindu-Buddhist temples of Prambanan in Central Java, he immersed himself in research in the field of ‘classical’ Javanese archaeology and art history. His present writings about Raffles and the British Interregnum are an offshoot of the latter research.

**Sabine Klocke-Daffa** is Senior Researcher in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Tübingen, Germany. She has conducted intensive fieldwork in Namibia. Her research interests include cultural networks of sharing and exchange, gender, basic income, social security and formal insurances, and practical/applied anthropology. She is currently building up BA and MA courses in Applied Anthropology at Tübingen and is speaker of the special research unit on “Networks and Resource Complexes” within the Collaborative Research Center on “Resource Cultures” (SFB 1070) financed by the German Research Foundation. She has published on the social anthropology of Namibia (since 2001), basic income (2012), ethics in development anthropology (2013), public anthropology (2014), and networks and social resources (2015).

**E. Douglas Lewis** – a native of Texas and educated at Rice and Brown Universities (PhD, Australian National University) – taught anthropology in Australia for many years. His main subjects were kinship, alliance and social organisation, the anthropology of religion, and the evolution and neurobiology of consciousness, language and mind. Lewis began his ethnographic research on the peoples of Sikka on the island of Flores in eastern Indonesia in 1977,
where he worked principally in the Tana ‘Ai region of Sikka until 1994. Since
1994 he has carried out historical and ethnological research on Sikka and has
lived in the town of Maumere when on Flores. His books include People of
the Source (1988), Kamus Sara Sikka – Bahasa Indonesia ([A Sara Sikka –
Bahasa Indonesia Dictionary] with M. Mandalangi Pareira, 1998), Hikayat
Kerajaan Sikka ([The Chronicles of the Rajadom of Sikka] with Oscar Pareira
Mandalangi, 2008), and The Stranger-Kings of Sikka (2010).

Dr. Abdul Manan, MSc., MA is lecturer of social anthropology at Adab and
Humanity Faculty of The State Islamic University (UIN) Ar-Raniry, Banda
Aceh, Indonesia. He received his BA in English language education at UIN
Ar-Raniry in 1997, MSc in educational and system design at Twente Univer-
sity, Enschede-Holland in 2001, MA in Islamic Studies at Leiden University,
Leiden-Holland in 2003, and Dr. Phil. in ethnoLOGY at Münster University,
Münster, Germany, in 2010. Among his books are Ritual Kalender Aneuk
Syari’at Islam di Aceh (Realitas dan Respon Masyarakat) Ar-Raniry Press,
2014 and The Ritual Calendar of South Aceh, Indonesia, WWU Muenster,
Reihe X Band 22, MV-Verlag, 2015.

Denis Monnerie is professeur d’ethnologie at the Institut d’ethnologie and
laboratoire DynamE of the Université de Strasbourg. He has done research in
historical anthropology on Mono-Alu in the northwestern Solomon Islands
and long term fieldwork in Arama in the northern part of Kanaky New Cale-
donia. His research interests are among others Oceania, the imbrications of
local and translocal relations, and theories of exchange. He is a former mem-
ber of the ERASME research team, where he first met Jos Platenkamp.

Anke Niehof was trained as an anthropologist and a demographer. In 1985,
she obtained her doctorate at Leiden University on the basis of a thesis entitled
“Women and Fertility in Madura, Indonesia.” Since 1993 and until her retire-
ment in April 2013, she held the Chair of Sociology of Consumers and House-
holds at Wageningen University, the Netherlands. She has published exten-
sively on household livelihood and food security, women’s reproductive
health, care, and impacts of HIV and AIDS in Africa. Between 2002 and 2012
she led the AWLAE Project, in which twenty women scholars from eleven
African countries did their PhD studies at Wageningen University on topics
relating to the gendered impacts of HIV and AIDS on rural livelihoods and
food systems in sub-Saharan Africa. Gender and agency are important per-
spectives in her work.

Jarich Oosten studied History of Religion at the Universities of Amsterdam and Groningen, receiving his Ph.D in 1976. Between 1970 and 1997 he was Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology at Leiden University (Netherlands), and from 1997 to 2008 Full Professor. From 1997 to 2004 he was the Director of the Research School for Asian, African and Amerindian studies (CNWS). Since 1994 he has concentrated his research on a series of projects on recording Inuit culture and history in workshops with Inuit elders. In 2008 he retired from the Department of Social and Cultural Studies continuing his research on Inuit culture and history in cooperation with his friend and colleague Frederic Laugrand of Laval University. Among his major publications are The War of the Gods. The social code in Indo-European mythology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (1985) and Hunters, Predators and Prey. Inuit perceptions of animals (co-author: Frederic Laugrand). New York: Berghahn (2015).

Georg Pfeffer completed his Ethnology studies at Freiburg University with a PhD dissertation on Punjabi Sweepers (1970). In 1976 his post-doctoral thesis (Habilitation) on the elite among Brahmins in the Indian province of Odisha was accepted in Heidelberg, where he became associate professor at the South Asia Institut in 1979 to move on to the Free University of Berlin as a professor from 1985 to 2008. Earlier he had founded the anthropology department of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad in 1975. Between 1980 and 2002 he almost annually visited the tribal areas of western Odisha for two or more months to organise a major research project between 1999 and 2005 in that region. Much of his academic work has been devoted to kinship and to secondary funeral rites. In 2016 his book on Verwandtschaft als Verfassung; unbürokratische Muster öffentlicher Ordnung („Kinship as Constitution; non-bureaucratic patterns of public order”) came out.

Christian Postert, M.D. and Ph.D., has a degree both in Social Anthropology and in Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychotherapy. Since 2013, he is Professor of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychotherapy in the Study
Program Occupational Therapy, Department of Applied Health Sciences, University of Applied Sciences, Bochum, Germany. He has conducted anthropological fieldwork from 2000 to 2001 in a Hmong highland village in Laos supported by a grant from the German Research Council (DFG). After studying Social Anthropology, Medicine and a subsequent specialisation in Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychotherapy at Münster University Hospital, he was Senior Physician and Research Director in the Department of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychotherapy, University Hospital Münster (2011-2012).

**Laila Prager** is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Hamburg. Previously, she worked as a researcher and senior lecturer at the University of Münster and Leipzig. She conducted field research among the Arab speaking Alawi in Turkey and Germany and among Bedouin societies in Syria and Jordan. Her research interests include migration, medical anthropology, anthropology of religion, and kinship and gender. Since 2009 she has undertaken field work in Syria and the UAE on heritage (museums, heritage parks, festivals, etc.), auto-orientalism, and the reinvigoration of tribalism. Her publications include *Die ‘Gemeinschaft des Hauses’* (2010), *Bedouinity on Stage* (Nomadic Peoples 2014, 18) and *Displaying Origins* (Horizons in Humanities and Social Sciences 2015, 1).

**Michael Prager** studied anthropology at Leiden University and at the University of Heidelberg where he obtained his PhD in 1996. From 1996 onwards, he has taught as senior lecturer in anthropology at the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Muenster and in Leipzig (Germany). He has conducted field research in the Bima regency of Sumbawa island (Indonesia), and in Eastern Java. His fields of interest include Southeast Asian Islam, kinship, ritual, cosmology, and the anthropology of the body. Current research is focusing on Islam in Eastern Java and the changing role of local pilgrimage sites. His publications are concerned with the history of anthropology, ritual and theatre, myth analysis, the body, and Southeast Asian Reformist Islam.

**Almut Schneider** is senior lecturer of social anthropology at the Institute of Ethnology, University of Münster. Previously, she had teaching engagements at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg and Bolzano. She studied at the Free University of Berlin and did post-graduate studies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris, where she obtained her doctoral degree in 2011. Her fieldwork and ongoing research in the Mount Hagen area of the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea focus on cosmology, kinship- and regional networks, exchange- and ritual relations. Among her publications is the monography *La vie qui vient d’ailleurs: Mouvement, échanges et rituel dans les Hautes-Terres de la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée*.
(2016). Her current work deals with social morphology, relationships between people, land and animals and with knowledge practices in the Alpine region.

**Guido Sprenger** is Professor of Social Anthropology at the Institute of Ethnology, University of Heidelberg since 2010. He has done research on ritual, cosmology and transculturality in the uplands of Laos since 2000. He was a postdoctoral fellow at the Academia Sinica, Taipei, from 2004 to 2007, and a Junior Professor in Münster, Germany, from 2007 to 2010. Among his publications is the monograph *Die Männer, die den Geldbaum fällten (The Men who cut the Money Tree: Concepts of Exchange and Society among Rmeet of Takheung, Laos)* (2006) and *Animism in Southeast Asia* (co-edited with Kaj Århem, 2016). His research interests include exchange, kinship and social morphology, human-environment relations, animism, cultural identity, gender and sexuality.

**Christian Strümpell** is research associate at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University and currently holds a fellowship at the research centre *Work and Human Lifecycle in a Global Perspective*, Humboldt University Berlin. His main interest is in the anthropology of caste and class, work and labour as well as gift and commodity exchange. He has undertaken long-term ethnographic research on the social transformations around heavy industries in Odisha and Bangladesh. Among his publications are articles in Contributions to Indian Sociology (‘We work together, we eat together: Conviviality and Modernity in a Company Settlement in South Orissa’ 42(3): 351-81), Economic and Political Weekly (‘On the Desecration of Nehru’s Temples: Bhilai and Rourkela Compared’ 43(19): 47-57, co-authored with Jonathan P. Parry), and the special forum in Modern Asian Studies co-edited with Andrew Sanchez (‘Class Matters: New Ethnographic Perspectives on the Politics of Indian Labour’ 48(3)). Christian Strümpell is currently writing a monograph on the Odishan steel town Rourkela.

**Yulia Sugandi** received academic training at the Sociology and Intercultural Counseling Programme at Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia and the University of Eastern Finland. After doing extensive ethnographic research among the Hubula in the highlands of Papua, in 2013 she obtained her PhD in Anthropology at the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Muenster, Germany. Her research interests include intercultural dialogue, ethno-development, sustainable peace building, collective ethno-ecology, and identity and dignity. She has worked for various organisations including the Asia Europe Foundation, Peace Brigades International, UNDP Papua, Misereor, etc. Currently, she works as Senior Fellow at the Department of Community Development and Communication Sciences at the Faculty of Human Ecology in Bogor Agricultural University, Indonesia.
Han F. Vermeulen is a research associate at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle (Saale), Germany. Trained as a cultural anthropologist at Leiden University in the 1970s, he specialised in the history of anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography. He has conducted ethnographic fieldwork in North Africa (Tunisia) as well as library and archival research in the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, and Russia. He has published numerous articles and is co-editor of seven books, including *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European Anthropology* (London: Routledge 1995), *Treasure Hunting? Collectors and Collections of Indonesian Artefacts* (Leiden: CNWS 2002), and the two-volume *Tales from Academia: History of Anthropology in the Netherlands* (Nijmegen/Saarbrücken 2002). His monograph *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* was published by the University of Nebraska Press in July 2015.

Torben A Vestergaard graduated as a mag.art. in social anthropology from Aarhus University, Denmark, in 1979. 1976-77 was spent at the Department of Cultural Anthropology in Leiden on a Dutch state scholarship. He has been a Curator of the Danish Museum of Fisheries in Grenaa, the Ethnographic Collections in Aarhus and the department of brickworks and industrial history at the Museum of Southern Jutland. He was through the 1990’ies a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology at Aarhus University. Vestergaard began his research among sheep farmers in the North Atlantic Faroe Islands, which in turn led his research interests into medieval studies of law, kinship, property and social structure, and contemporary studies of natural resource use, fisheries and industry. His publications include ‘The System of Kinship in Early Norwegian Law’, *Mediaeval Scandinavia*. Vol. 12, pp. 160-193, at one extreme, and ‘The Fishermen and the Nation: The Identity of a Danish Occupational Group’, *Maritime Anthropological Studies – MAST*, Vol 3(2) 1990, pp. 14-34, at the other.

Ingo Wallner graduated in engineering, second degree in economics and business administration; work in an electricity company; at the same time manager of a group marketing company and a confederation of industries for the advancement of sustainable energies. Honorary consul of Madagascar. Degree in Social Anthropology/European Anthropology at the University of Münster, and subsequent PhD degree. Publication: *Madagaskar: Nationale Identität in Sicht?* Saarbrücken: Südwestdeutscher Verlag für Hochschulschriften, 2012.

Robert Wessing (ret.) received his PhD in anthropology in 1974 from the University of Illinois in Urbana, IL (USA). His research, conducted in West and East Java, Aceh, and Madura, has dealt primarily with symbolism, as well
as with the social implications of belief systems. He has published numerous articles, as well as the books *Cosmology and Social Behavior in a West Javanese Settlement* (1978) and *The Soul of Ambiguity: the Tiger in Southeast Asia* (1986) and a lengthy article ‘A Community of Spirits. People, Ancestors and Nature Spirits in Java’, *Crossroads* (2006: 11-111).

**Edwin P. Wieringa** is Professor of Indonesian Philology with Special Reference to Islamic Cultures at the University of Cologne. From 1996-1997 he held a two-year Von Humboldt Fellowship at the *Institut für Ethnologie* in Münster with Prof. Platenkamp as his academic host. His most recent publication is a bilingual exhibition catalogue of Indonesian manuscripts at the State Library in Berlin (co-edited with T. Hanstein) *SchriftSprache; Aksara dan Bahasa. Ausstellungskatalog; Katalog Pameran* (Berlin; Jakarta, 2015).

**Sjoerd Zanen** studied Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University from 1969-1976. His major was Theoretical Anthropology and Structural Anthropology (Prof. P.E. de Josselin de Jong) and Methods and Techniques of Social Research (Prof Speckmann), his regional specialisation was South East Asia, and later the Middle East and West Africa. He conducted research in Lebanon, South India, Nepal, South Sudan, Burkina Faso and Mali. After graduation he worked for the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1978-1999. In 1996 he wrote a PhD thesis on Development Cooperation (Leiden) about the cultural dimension of development. Since 2000 he worked as a consultant for MDF T&C and specialised in development planning, monitoring and evaluation. He retired in 2015.