Return to 'The Cosmic Adat' To Solve 'The Chaotic Present'

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Abstrak

Saat Indonesia menghadapi krisis multi-dimensi sejak era akhir rezim Soeharto, banyak pakar, cendekiawan, serta kalangan intelektual dari dalam maupun luar negeri yang mencoba menemukan solusi dan jalan keluarnya. Setiap pakar menemukan obat mujarab 'krisis' itu berdasarkan kompetensi dan ekspertisi masing-masing. Pakar agama mengajukan 'pertobatan nasional' sebagai solusi, sementara pakar sosio-politik mengajukan 'reformasi', 'revolusi', atau 'transformasi'. Semuanya melandasi alternatif pilihannya dengan argumentasi masing-masing pula. Kali ini penulis ingin mengajukan suatu alternatif jalan-keluar, yang dengannya diharapkan Indonesia mampu keluar dari krisis multi-dimensi itu. Solusi yang ditawarkan penulis berasal dari khazanah klasik tanah-airnya sendiri. Solusi krisis di negeri ini, hemat penulis, harus digali dari warisan aslinya sendiri, yang disebutnya sebagai 'kosmologi adat' atau 'sistem kosmik adat'.

Kata Kunci: Adat, Cosmology, Cosmos, Chaos, Paradox Era

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

We have been through for about 8 (eight) years since the 1998 crisis, but everything has still been felt uncertain. If you happened to ask laypeople when the monetary crisis has just happened in Indonesia in 1998 "what is the most destructible crisis?" they would answer you "the monetary crisis in this year." The crisis was a turning point in Indonesia's national history which altered almost everything: people's belief in Indonesia's future, people's hope of better attainment, and people's dreams of better prosperity. In the aftermath of the crisis, people have been disoriented and been having lost bearings of direction to go.

Here we are humans. We only are forced to find out the why's after something had happened to all us. It's not because our fathers of the past had not warned us about calamities, but we for sure did not attend to their wisdom. Although it has been too late, some of us are still endeavoring to discover the causes, and thereby find out the solutions. That is good. To discover the causes, we necessarily look at backward; an introspection deep to the heart of our civilization and culture. Religious authorities, ranging from Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, to Buddhist groups, gathered to discuss and finally they suggested 'national repentance' as a solution to the problem, whilst socio-politics authorities discussed and at last came to conclusion that we Indonesians

needed some 'reforms' of socio-political mechanism. They are longing for a better change. That is good. However, in my opinion, we cannot mirror our faults through alien's mirror. What we deadly need now is a genuine introspection conducted through our own 'mirror', our own history of gains and pains, our original past. In our past lie our 'home' and our starting point (Javanese, *sangkan*) which guide us to our true 'destination' and our *telos* (Javanese, *paran*). We have been far away from 'home', but we had sometimes gone astray. We have gone to many destinations, but we always had forgotten 'home'. After all we had been through; there is an innermost need to go 'home' (especially in myself), to ask the why's to fathers of the past and beg their guidance to face the prevailing crises. They might not have explained the why's in our era clearly, but at least, we the lost children can still hear their eternal wisdom. With the spirit of unearthing the ancient wisdom, I am writing this article.

2. Aims and Benefits

This article mainly purposes to find an alternative of solution to our national crises occurred since 1998. I try to discover our past legacy and our ancient wisdom which can illuminate a way-out to our multi-dimensional crises. *Secondly*, this article tries to alarm us Indonesians not to forget our primordial 'home', namely our primordial tradition, since in it lays our atlas, by which we point to any destination. Had these aims been reached successfully by the article, it would be hoped to benefit much to us Indonesians: *first*, we can warn ourselves by the first warning taken from our own tradition in our national decision-making to adopt alien culture. *Second*, we can delay a bit our forgetfulness of the past wisdom of ours. We can mirror everything through our tradition before we do anything, so we cannot go astray.

3. Scope and Methodology of Study

The legacy of our past is so abundant that it is impossible to expound it all satisfactorily here. Our *Tuhan* (our original Supreme God) has bestowed on our *leluhur* (our first indigenous philosopher) *budis* (inner faculties which integrates reasoning and feeling) to construct a 'manual' for all seasons explaining as detailed as possible everything in our cosmos, called *Adat*. Later on, by the *adat*, they were able to enact a certain culture or civilization considered as best for us, called *kebudayaan* or *budidaya*. Because generations of our leluhur added many things to Adat, Adat had become a crowded warehouse now.

Almost everything has had its explanation in adat; from our birth to our death. A few pages here cannot explain all, so I have to be content to convey only the most deadly important 'manual' needed for our contemporary problem, namely adat concept of universe (also known as *adat cosmology*) and adat concept of human place in the universe.

I make a consistent use of a descriptive way to explain them both here, for only through description can 'adat philosophy' be best explained. I also try to examine everything here through adat's eyes, so I call it an 'adat approach'. By this approach, I describe what adat is, what its characteristics are, how adat responds when the alien cultures of the East and the West challenge it, and what happens when adat is denied and abandoned by us Indonesians, what adat says about our present crises, and finally what adat can suggest us for the solution.

Before allowing adat to provide the solution, I feel the need to look backwards, so I use an historical data to make a 'flash back', especially of the period of the coming of foreign religions like Hindu, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity and the emergence of Western-educated elite in Indonesia; two happenings which had changed adat role in our lives.

B. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

1. Adat as an Indivisible Whole

Adat is our first original philosophy, which is inherited from our forefathers to later generations. We Indonesians believe that adat is not only a human creation, but it also originates from the lessons found out by the spirits and supernatural powers ruling our communities. Adat is very different from what Englishmen call tradition, custom or convention today. Its meaning is not simply wider, but more particularly goes far deeper. It includes everything Englishmen call law nowadays; and it goes much further than law in determining the needs and the actions of individuals and the community. It ordains the ceremonies of marriage, birth and death, the times and the methods for sowing rice, building a house, praying for rain, and many other things. Economics, politics, philosophy and art all come within its sphere. Indeed, from one point of view, adat is simply a social expression of the community religion, in as much as it is not only a human creation, and in its exercise, men are still constantly watched over by the spirits and supernatural powers ruling community. Adat regulates the entire life of the community and is dominated by spirits and supernatural powers. Its roots lay in the obscurity of the past, when the ancestors laid down the adat once and for all, or as Minangkabau people say: it doesn't crack with the heat or rot in the rain. In such an environment the word 'old' has a special significance, denoting something venerable, sacred, powerful and full of wisdom (Alisjahbana 1961:13-14).

Seen from its role in Indonesian people's lives, adat explains about cosmos or teaches about a cosmic system in which all people live their lives, through which they see everything, and by which they understand the reality. Adat is not only the way of life, but it is also the life itself. It is as Javanese call 'suluk', 'babad' and 'serat' or as Dayak-Benuaqs call it 'tempuutn' and as Minangkabau people call it 'tambo' (historical path through which we live our lives). Adat explains the vehicle to go by and also the aim to go to. It teaches the beginning and at once the end. It is like 'religion' by which we believe, like 'science' of which we make a very good use in daily practice, like 'economics' by which we manage our ownership, like 'politics' by which we manage social organization. It echoes the voice of our first prophet to tell us 'the Bible', 'the church', as well as 'the Kingdom of God'. It is at once Logos and Theos.

Seen from its important characteristic, Adat is, as Arnold Toynbee stated "... an indivisible whole in which all the parts hang together and are interdependent...' (Toynbee 1952:26). Like all indivisible whole of the world traditions, Adat cannot be changed, at least that is what leluhur want it to. Absolute universal values contained in it cannot be altered; they are originated from The Eternal, so it is as eternal as The Universal. Its extra-historical and extra-terrestrial values cannot be transformed as changeables or accidents. It is staticly fixed. Alteration only happens in its material-historical manifestations, but not in its essence or substance. That's why Minangkabau people state Adat '...doesn't crack with the heat or rot in the rain' or Bugis people assert '... rusak taro datu tenrusak taro ade'...' (a king's law can be annuled, but Adat's law cannot be annuled)

(Depdikbud 1984:115). If adat was alterable, it wouldn't be an indivisible whole anymore, so it turned into chaos, and lately it has been really it. Since the coming of foreign traditions to Indonesia, we have begun to undergo chaotic experiences. The chaotic mood has suffered Indonesians during their encounters against foreign traditions of Eastern and Western origin.

2. Alien Civilizations and 'Religious' Power Politics

Indonesians had reached the most spiritual point when they, as Mpu Tantular exemplified that utmost spirituality in his awesome work *Kakawin Sutasoma*, held in the past that all foreign religions coming to Indonesia would not cause chaotic experiences, for the heart of the religions contained Truth which was equal to and as eternal as adat. Mpu Tantular celebrated his teaching of eternal truth of all religions by saying a famous statement which in 'Modern Indonesia' would be taken as Indonesia's national motto 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika':

Rwâneka dhâtu winuwus Buddha Wiswa, Bhinneki rakwa ring apan kena parwanosen, Mangka ng Jinatwa kalawan Siwatatwa tunggal, Bhinnêka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa (Soewito Santoso 1975:578)

(It is said that the well-known Buddha and Shiva are two different substances. They are indeed different, yet how is it possible to recognise their difference in a glance, since the truth of Jina (Buddha) and the truth of Shiva is one. They are indeed different, but they are of the same kind, as there is no duality in Truth.)

By Tantular's and his other Indonesian fellowmen's astuteness, alien religions and cosmoses were universalized; their outer historical-temporal aspects were overruled, while their extraterrestrial-metahistorical truth were embraced and pulverized into the eternal adat. Confucianism and Taoism of China, Hinduism and Buddhism of India, as well as Islam and Christianity of the Middle East were (and still are) unified into the perpetual cosmos of adat. By doing this, Indonesians can pacify their mind and therefore, crisis of the cosmic order won't happen.

Crisis would only trigger chaotic experiences to Indonesians, had the foreign cosmoses under the guise of 'power politics' forced their will to Indonesians and conquered them by hard to alter their cosmic adat. In Indonesian history of religious politics, there are some aggressive religious forces that impose the acceptance of their cosmoses onto Indonesians fiercely. Some Moslem-converted Javanese like Sunan Giri, Sunan Gunung Jati (also known as Fatahillah or Faletehan), and Sunan Kudus gained religio-political power after cruel wars against Hindu *rajas*

of Mataram and Majapahit kingdoms that swallowed many souls, by which they could found Islamic sultanates of Demak and Banten (J. Larope 1986: 69-71). Portuguese colonialists, too, could only convert a cousin of Muslim Sultan Jailolo of Ternate to Catholicism after both Islamic sultanates of Tidore and Ternate were conquered with wars (Mochtar Lubis 1990:84-85). Even Jan Pieterszoon Coen, being at once a devout Protestant and one of VOC Governor-General, mingled Calvinist fanaticism with the colonial practices to 'civilize' (and therefore demolish) the overall of Indonesians' original cosmic system (Mochtar Lubis 1990:99).

Demolishing force of a secularized version of Western philosophy also menaced the cosmic adat when Western-educated elite began to dominate Indonesian socio-political arena of the 1900s onwards. Pre-independence key figures such as Mohammad Hatta, Mohammad Yamin, Soepomo, and Soekarno are the most fanatical harbingers of Western secularism in 'Modern' Indonesian socio-political history, as bluntly shown in their speeches in BPUPKI and PPKI meetings (Risalah Sidang 1995:8-43). Secularism of the same kind is also omnipresent in the contemporary writings of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Abu Hanifah, Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wachid, Denny J.A., Rumadi, Kuntowijoyo, Husin M. Banjary, and many others, even is prevalent in the socio-political programs of Soeharto's regime (Saripudin H.A. 2000:3-127).

In the early 1970s, some 'modernization' thinkers like Ali Moertopo, Soedjono Hoemardani, Liem Bian Kie, Rachman Tolleng, Midian Sirait, TB. Simatupang, 'Berkeley Mafia' who gathered in BAPPENAS, and some others, laid their hope on modernization of Indonesia as the way to achieve as progressive national development as the Western developed countries have reached. They fully believed that 'modernization' was a necessary remedy to some socio-political problems inherited from 'Old Order' regime (Kamal Hassan 1987:9-13; D. Wilhelm 1981:156-157). They were true, at least in words, but not in application. 'Going modern' cannot escape from 'going Western'; since it's in the Western countries that 'modernization economy' is fully theorized and formulated. 'Sebelum bangsa Indonesia mengerti dan mempergunakan segala kepandaian dan pengetahuan Barat, belumlah ia tamat dari sekolah Barat...' was Tan Malaka's outcry of the past which transparently showed the first-generation aspiration of 'going Western' (Tan Malaka 2000:174). This ambition is also followed by 'New Order' administration whose main character it is too appreciative to Western-modeled economic growth. It has taken then the West's modernization model for granted, without any single reserve; a risky move which has been warned by some Western thinkers as a time-bomb. Westerners such as Brian May (author of The Indonesian Tragedy), Donald Wilhelm (author of Emerging Indonesia), Michael P. Todaro (author of Economic Development in the Third World), Charles P. Kindleberger and Bruce Herrick (authors of Economic Development) have revealed beforehand that utilization of Western model on Indonesian development planning might bring about harmful socio-cultural dislocations and technical misapplication, but these warnings only condensed into the air and not heard (D. Wilhelm 1981:157-170). These dislocations finally climaxed in the 1998 crisis, when all Western modeled economic planning transplanted in Indonesia collapsed into pieces. The dream of 'modernized Indonesia' was dramatically torn and people have just realized that they had lived a nightmare.

With all these from-within and from-without attacks, adat severely collapsed. It spread its harmful curse onto everything, as a traditional wisdom says 'akibat nila setitik, rusak susu sebelanga'. The chaos has escape from its damn. Crisis by crisis befallen and Indonesians cannot has occurred desperately to date and the wings of pain blanket Indonesians. 'Paradox era' or

Kaliyuga as Ranggawarsita called it, being the Indonesian modern manifestation of the crisis, has happened:

A day there will be a cart without a horse... The earth will shrink...
Horses will devour chili sauce. Women will dress in men clothes... Many promises unkept... They will ignore God's law... Evil things will be lifted up. Holy things will be despised...
Ignoring humanity. Forgetting kindness... Fathers will abandon their children. The children will ignore their fathers... The friends become enemies...
Good people will be isolated... Turning upside down... People will forget their roots...
(Ranggawarsita 2003:120-121)

The feeling of losing 'the horse' of our cosmic system to pull 'the cart' of our lives is deadly miserable and it was also revealed in the memoirs of an Indonesian poet Sitor Situmorang:

Adat...called by the new religion [Christianity-FH] as an infidelity and an ignorance was still strongly in command within the souls [of Toba people-FH]... People of [Silindung] Valley still used marga system which was adapted to the church procedure: the worship of ancestors' souls together with all rituals and arts had been banned and eradicated. There was no single traditionally architectured house all over the Valley... I heard also the conflict story between father and the [colonialist] ruler... Colonial paternalism as such could be avoided by father in his adat fortress, with minimal conflict. It was not so with missionarist paternalism, "tuan pendeta". If [colonialist] controleur did by rational politics, which could be rationally responded by father, father's relation with the church, particularly with the foreign missionarist, was full of unresolvable stress, between two kinds of belief: The Christian beliefs and adat. As I told you, my father fully lived in the world of his adat, his unnamed religion... The church created ambivalent atmosphere by its priests' prejudice and their foreign culture...

Sitor's father, who had lived in an indivisible whole of Batak-Toba adat, was really in 'unresolvable stress' and 'ambivalent atmosphere' when he encountered foreign tradition of Christianity (Sitor Situmorang 1981:25-46). G.P.A.A. Mangkunegara IV also articulated the same convulsion in his meeting with an aggressive, foreign tradition of Islam in his work *Serat Wedhatama*:

Kang kadyeku, kalebu wong ngakungaku; akale alangka, elok Jawane den mohi, paksa ngangkah langkah mek kawruh ing Mekah...
(Rachmat Subagya 1981:19)

([They Moslems are] arrogant people who think nonsensically; [they] overtly refuse [original] Javanese religion; [they] break customs and tradition, they go on foot to seek after knowledge in Mecca...)

Toraja people have found out now many 'londongs unnea tininna' (people who broke their adat), who had 'pasisarak mata mabusa anna mata malotong' (disunified the cosmic order), while Bugis people now have met in their descendants some who 'tau mua kuae sanreseng nawa-nawa nabelleyang mua' (seem to be all-wise but apparently deceitful people) (Depdikbud 1984:39-131). In the aftermath of all the crises, the hazy voice of the past calls Indonesians to return to 'cosmic mother' which is their forgotten adat.

Successful stories of acculturation and assimilation by some indigenous societies are undoubtedly many. However, a whole that gets torn into parts is not a whole anymore. It is a compartmentalized fragment; it is a chaos. And the chaotic has been present in Indonesia to date—a contemptible situation which is shown recently in the 1998 crisis. The only solution to all crises is stated in a very simple statement: displacement of all 'modern Western diseases' of secularism, atheism, modernism, rationalism, scientism, and agnosticism (called in an all-embracing term as 'Westernism'), and return to original 'adat indivisible whole' or 'adat cosmology'.

C. ELABORATION

1. Adat Concept of Universe and 'Adat Law'

Adat concept of universe (also known as 'cosmology') is best conveyed in our mythologies, as it's in mythology that we can find out our 'origin', which is our 'first mother' in our first home'. Adat legacy of mythology is so abundant that it's impossible to deliver all here; we can only present here one of it, that is, of Dayak-Benuaq origin. Dayak-Benuaqs has the following mythology of origin:

In the beginning, before ever there was a world, there was a vast and empty space which was blacker than the darkest night. Within this space there was, it is said, a web which swayed slowly back and forth as though blown by a gentle breeze. Perched within this web was a giant bird called Beniak Lajang Langit—'Wild Eagle of the Skies'. On the back of Beniak Lajang Langit there stood a spirit known as Wook Ngesok, his arms stretched out in front of him, his thumbs almost touching. On the left shoulder of Wook Ngesok was a place called Belikutn Tana, Bengkolokng Langit, literally, 'A Handful of Earth; a Bulge of Sky'. Before and below this constricted place was one of Wook Ngesok outstretched arms, in the form of a long rock called Batuq Ding Dingkikng. On the right shoulder of Wook Ngesok was Tana Kuasa, Bengkolokng Tana, 'The Land of Power, a Bulge of Earth'. In front of this place stretched the other long arm of Wook Ngesok in the form of a rock known as Batuq Rangkang Bulau... At Belikutn Tana, Bengkolokng Langit there grew eight Potukng Reyus trees and near them lived a family, eight generations of them together. The oldest couple were Itak (Grandmother) and Kakah (Grandfather) Jiur Jemputn (Black Shadow)... and finally, in the eighth generation, their son Imang Mengkelayakng... At Tana Kuasa, Bengkolokng Tana, there grew eight Nancang Suyatn trees, and by them dwelt another family, also of eight generations. The oldest couple were Itak (Grandmother) and Kakah (Grandfather) Diang Denapm (Blackest Darkness)... and finally, the child of the last couple, a woman named Lolang Kintang... so by chance the two (Imang and Lolang) met... they might as well marry... they live together... they made... a house which spanned the distance between the ends of the rocks, at the place thereafter called Batuq Ding Dingkikng Leputukng Rankang Bulau. Not long thereafter came the first of many, many children—a son, Lodik, Seniang Olo (The Spirit of the Sun). The next child born was Seniang Bulatn (Spirit of the Moon)... (Madrah & Karaakng 1997:20-21).

According to adat, the universe was not created out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*); it originated from 'a vast, empty, and blackest space'. There was a 'space', in which all beings were: a web, a giant bird, spirits, spirits' shoulders, places, spirits' arms in the form of rocks, six-teen

generations of two families, the marriage of a son and a daughter of the two families, and their descendants who were also spirits. These beings, having spiritual character, had been 'there' before the human beings were created. The universe is then full of spirits, which are at once its protectors, rulers, and its caretakers. Every spirit has his/her own law that must be observed. The laws of the spirits are like 'the laws of nature' or 'the grand machine of universe'. Indonesians always call them 'adat law'. Everyone, for instance, cannot fell trees lawlessly, without the 'permit' of 'forest spirit' (called taikaleleu by Mentawai people), who is the lawmaker (Yongki Salmeno 1994:15). The spiritual beings, therefore, rule the universe, so the universe is truly spiritual in character and full of spiritual laws.

2. Adat Concept of Human Creation

After the universe had been perfect, the human beings were then created, as the Dayak-Benuaq mythology continues:

After the Heavens and Earth had been forged and the skies raised, the many children of Imang... and Lolang... had all departed for their separate places in the heavens, leaving the earth below a deserted place. Seeing this place so empty, Junyukng Ayus (Noble Ancestor Who is Wise in Judgement) and Siluq Urai (His Wife Who is Clever of Speech) gave some of the remainder of the materials from Tana Kuasa used to make the earth and from Bengkolokng Langit that had been used in the making of the sky to... Potek Telose Sie and Ayakng (The Wife of Noble Ancestor) Komakng Lolakng to make...figure...fully formed, complete with all its parts. When the figure was finished it was placed within a sling, this time of cloth, and rocked back and forth by Itak (Grandmother) Bulatn Terakng facing the direction of the rising sun. As she watched the tiny figure within the sling, Itak Bulatn Terakng saw its arms and legs move and in time the sound of a voice was to be heard, no louder than that of a mosquito. As time passed the figure within the sling changed form and became ever larger... soon enough it was able to sit up, and to laugh, then to stand and walk. Finally it began to speak. The boy, for such it was, was given the name Tamarikukng Langit, Tamarikukng of the Heavens... when he was full grown he was charged with guarding Terijak Langit Jatus, The Pillar of the Hundred Skies, and Banturatn Tana Sie, The Perimeters of the Nine Lands... (Madrah & Karaakng 1997:29).

According to the adat, human beings were created out of the remainder of the materials used to make the earth and the sky, which means they are also parts of the universe. That's why, after having had been perfectly created, they were charged as 'The Pillar of the Hundred Skies' and 'The Perimeters of the Lands'; they are responsible to carefully guard all the heavens in the sky and all creatures in the earth. Being a part of the spiritual universe, humans must not disregard the responsibility, if they want to survive in the universe full of spiritual laws.

3. Adat Solution to Modern Predicaments

By 're-adhering' to Adat, its cosmology, laws, as well as its concept of human creation on earth, all crises may not occur, for all Indonesians are aware of their position in the universe. When they happen to have a chance to do crimes, they will feel watched by 'spiritual beings' surrounding them, so they consciously withdraw from doing them. Atheistic, deistic, or secularistic attitude in their doing so far to the nature (for example, by doing harms to it as if there were not any 'spirit' guarding it) is turned aside and they begin to observe the unavoidable law of nature.

In Adat light, all 'modern stuffs', being the superstructure and infrastructure of 'Modern Indonesia' today, can be considered as spiritual as 'traditional menhirs', so we cannot let them without our taking care of them. Cars, airplanes, schools, buildings, skycrappers, mobile phones

and even PDAs are as spiritual as mountains and deep forests; they are watched by 'spirits' and have certain 'laws' or 'mechanisms' to be always obeyed.

Under adat guidance, Indonesians will always respect their 'modern institutions' as 'republic', 'nation-state', 'national flag', 'Pancasila philosophy of state', 'national constitution', or 'the House of Representatives' as very honorfully as they respect their traditional institutions like 'banua' (Nias), 'uma' (Mentawai), 'huta' (Batak), 'betang' (Ngaju-Kalimantan), 'wanua' (Minahasa), 'soa' (Ambon), 'beo' (Flores), or 'sulaknanan' (Timor), for they consider that modern institutions as facilities and accommodations to truly fulfil the cosmic order which the Adat teaches (Koentjaraningrat 1995:42-227). Under the shadow of Adat, Indonesians will always honor their 'modern laws' as 'KUHP' and all 'Undang-Undang' as very respectfully as they honor their traditional 'taboos' and 'pantangs', for their essence is as true as the Truth and the Truth is always eternal, as in Adat.

D. CONCLUSION

- The root of our multi-dimensional crises is laid on our utilization of alien technology of alien way of life which has secular, atheistic, deistic, and nihilistic character, as exemplified in 'Modern Western civilization'.
- The application of the alien civilization to Indonesia caused crisis or chaotic experiences which therefore, it broke the cosmic order or Adat.
- Before Modern-Western attack, Adat had been hard attacked by the 'power politics' mixed by some religious zeal aiming at conquering it, as practised by some Javanese *Walis*, Portuguese and Dutch colonialists.
- Being as eternal as the Truth, Adat can 'pacify' itself and alien cosmoses. It then universalizes them, so the religions and Adat can get unified in an essential unity.
- 'Indonesian Modern Men' have broken Adat so hard by their acceptance of Modern-Western cosmos, which is extremely alien to Adat, so the broken cosmic power of Adat put its curse on them by causing many crises, like the most destructible crisis of 1998. To solve the crises, 'Indonesian Modern Men' have to return to their own Adat cosmology, to their indivisible whole to get again their lost cosmic order.
- By applying Adat cosmology into 'Indonesian Modern Institutions' (which are only accidents in the eyes of eternal, universal Adat), 'Indonesian Modern Men' will very possibly be safe in their worldly-lives and spiritual lives and regain their cosmic equilibrium.

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