

Mohammad Hefni, *Islam Madura: Sebuah Studi Konstruktivisme-Strukturalis tentang Relasi Islam Pesantren dan Islam Kampung di Sumenep Madura*. Batu: Literasi Nusantara, 2019, xvi + 310 pp. ISBN 9786237511236, price IDR 71,500.00 (paperback).

It is gratifying to see the recent publication of an exciting study on the inter-relationship between two sub-variants of traditional Islam in Madura: *Islam Pesantren* (the more orthodox Islam propagated by religious leaders in Islamic boarding schools) and *Islam Kampung* (less orthodox Islam embraced by common villagers). Mohammad Hefni's *Islam Madura: Sebuah Studi Konstruktivisme-Strukturalis tentang Relasi Islam Pesantren dan Islam Kampung di Sumenep Madura* [Madurese Islam: A Study of Constructivism-Structuralism on the Relationship between Pesantren Islam and Village Islam in Sumenep, Madura] is a crucial addition to the field of Islamic studies of a rather neglected part of Indonesia compared to its closest neighbors Java and Bali.

This book, based on the author's PhD thesis at Airlangga University Surabaya, consists of seven chapters. The first two provide an introduction, a literature review, and theoretical discussions. Chapter 3 discusses the history of Islam in Madura and how Islam became institutionalized on the island. In this chapter, the author mostly uses secondary and tertiary sources, and occasionally unverified online sources, such as personal blogs (pp. 74, 83, 103). Chapter 4 focuses on the characterization of the two sub-variants of traditional Islam in Sumenep, the island's largest city, with more attention to Islam Kampung than Islam Pesantren. Using ethnographic methods, the author describes the people of the village Pinggir Papas (the author's research site) and their socio-economic activities, the village chapter of the Nahdlatul Ulama (Indonesia's largest Islamic organization), and the village's religious life that consists of Islamic prayers (*ṣalāh*); fasting (*ṣawm*), alms-giving (*zakāh*), and pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*) (pp. 163–182).

Chapter 5 observes rituals practiced by the supporters of Islam Pesantren and Islam Kampung, again with much more emphasis on the latter. Hefni describes five calendrical and commemorative rites and rites of exchange and communion of the Islam Kampung tradition, which range from asking protection from the spirits of their ancestors to sanctifying the fishermen and ensure a great catch (pp. 186–220). Chapter 6 acts as the core chapter of the book, as it investigates the relationship between Islam Pesantren and Islam Kampung. The author argues that there is an unbalanced relationship between the two traditions, in which the former has become dominant and the latter subordinate. Nevertheless, the proponents of Islam Kampung stage cultural adaptation

and resistance to the proponents of Islam Pesantren through the revitalization of their rites.

Hefni painstakingly scrutinizes the ever-evolving relationship between Islam Pesantren and Islam Kampung. His description of the ways in which they shift between mild competition and out-and-out contestation is an important contribution to the study of Indonesian Islam in rural areas. This book is among the studies proposing that traditional Islam in Madura does not have a single defining face, as opposed to earlier authors (cf. Koentjaraningrat 1972; Mansurnoor 1990; Moesa 1999). Previously, Yanwar Pribadi (2018) argued that in terms of socio-religious characteristics, at least two forms of Islam can be identified in Madura: the *santri* (more orthodox) Islam and the non-*santri* (less orthodox) Islam. Hefni, meanwhile, argues that traditional Islam in Madura is divided into two factions: the majority traditional-orthodox and the minority traditional-syncretic Islam. He also suggests, correctly to my mind, that Islam in Madura is neither uniform nor unchanging. Therefore, his detail-oriented study that foregrounds one particular form of traditional-syncretic Islam outside the “normal” traditional-orthodox Islam has value in itself. The book clearly offers an important case study to understand the relationship between a “mainstream” Islam and an “uncommon” Islam, which usually do not go hand in hand.

Regrettably, however, this book has some serious shortcomings. The author does not pay enough attention to Islam Pesantren. While he zooms in on one particular village as a representative of Islam Kampung, he erratically and cursorily draws examples of Islam Pesantren from all over Madura, making the book unbalanced in its comparisons. With regard to the core focus of the book, the dominant-subordinate relationship, the analysis suffers from this imbalance. The village researched shows no evident relationship between the two Islamic factions, as Pinggir Papas lacks a *pesantren* to represent Islam Pesantren. The village chapter of the NU (a representative of Islam Pesantren) and the supporters of Islam Kampung likewise do not display a simple dominant-subordinate relationship. The author therefore attempts to construct his argument, that Islam Pesantren continuously imposes its domination on Islam Kampung, on the basis of legal provisions generated from the NU's *baḥṡh al-masā'il*—its official assemblies that discuss religious, social, political, and other aspects of life from the perspective of Islamic laws—regarding syncretic rites conducted by the people of Pinggir Papas. The verdicts from such assemblies, however, are deeply problematic as evidence, given that most are taken from assemblies conducted by the East Java chapter of the NU (pp. 250, 258, 261) and even by the NU outside East Java (p. 256), rather than the Sumenep chapter of the organization. More importantly, these verdicts do not specifically address the people of Pinggir Papas, but a broader unspecified public.

Chapters 1–3 are long-winded. Having been lifted mostly unmodified from the author's doctoral dissertation, it probably would have been more coherent and readable to revise them into a single chapter. The theoretical discussions found in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 resemble decorative additions, as is often the case with doctoral dissertations in Indonesian universities. As a consequence, crucial discussions on the descriptions of Islam Pesantren and Islam Kampung only appear in Chapter 4, leaving their religious relationship unaccounted for in the earlier chapters. There are also several misprints scattered throughout the book. For example, 'berbeda-neda' (p. 2), 'melampauai' (p. 46), 'bekalang' (p. 79) and 'Rafless' (p. 87).

Despite these critiques, however, this book is a very positive addition to scholarship not only on Islam in Madura, but also contemporary Islam in Indonesia. Students and scholars of anthropology and Islamic Studies will find in it rich materials on religious expressions, rites, and identities, and an astute investigation of Muslims' everyday life.

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