From Islamic Modernism to Traditional Islam: The Impact of Conflict on the Shifting of Religious Authority in Aceh

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji pengaruh konflik terhadap pergeseran otoritas keagamaan di Aceh dan melengkapi kekurangan studi yang telah ada, yang menempatkan konflik pada perebutan sumber daya alam, pergulatan identitas kedaerahan dan relasi kekuasaan pusat-daerah. Namun, mengabaikan variable konflik yang juga menyebabkan pergeseran otoritas keagamaan dari Islam modernis ke Islam tradisional. Data diperoleh dari pengkajian beberapa literatur dan sumber sekunder yang relevan lainnya. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa kontestasi keagamaan yang melibatkan kelompok Islam modernis dan tradisional, telah berlangsung sejak awal abad ke-20. Kontestasi yang awalnya pada ruang diskursus keagamaan, lalu terlibat dalam konflik sosial dan bersenjata yang

berkepanjangan. Mulai dari revolusi sosial yang membuat ulama modernis berkuasa. Namun, dengan terlibatnya ulama modernis dalam pemberontakan Darul Islam, yang ditentang oleh ulama tradisional, membuat pengaruh mereka mulai terkikis. Pergeseran otoritas mulai terlihat ketika munculnya pemberontakan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM). Sejak pasca Darul Islam, ulama tradisional bertahan di komunitas masyarakat pedesaan, lalu berjumpa dengan aktivis GAM yang tumbuh dalam kultur yang sama. Di saat yang sama, ulama modernis mulai kehilangan pengaruh dikarenakan berjarak dengan masyarakat akibat mereka terlibat dalam birokrasi dan mencari masukan pemikiran dari kelompok Islam modernis lainnya.

Kata Kunci: Agama, konflik, otoritas, ulama

Abstract

This article discusses the impact of conflict on the shifting of religious authority in Aceh. It aims to complement the limitation of current studies, which emphasize conflict as a struggle for natural resources, a means for regional identity, and an effort to develop central-regional power relations. However, the conflict also generates the shift of religious authority, in particular, from modernist Islam to traditional Islam. Data were collected from literature and other related secondary sources. This study found that religious contestations, between the modernist and the traditional Islam groups, have begun in the early 20th century. It used to be a space for religious discourse; hence, it turned into a protracted social and armed conflict. It began with a social revolution, which led the modernist scholars in charge. Nevertheless, the involvement of the modernist *ulama* in the Darul Islam rebellion affected their influence. The shift in authority began to emerge by the raising of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) rebellion. During post-Darul Islam, traditional *ulama* occupied rural communities, and they confronted the GAM in society, as they were involved in bureaucracy. The modernist Islam groups strengthen their position in bureaucracy or seek input from other modernist Islam groups.

Keywords; Authority, conflict, religion, *ulama*

Introduction

Aceh conflict involved military apparatus and a struggle for religious authority between modernist and traditional religious elites, which influenced the changing of the religious landscape in Aceh (Siegel, 1969). During the post-social revolution, the modernist *ulama* played a dominant role in political and religious affairs and they occupied most of the civilian and military posts (Sulaiman, 1997). The conflict also involved religious elites, the *ulama*, to resolve the armed conflict (Aberle & Toh, 2019; Apipudin, 2016; Aspinall, 2019; Michael Feener, 2012). Reid (2012) defines the Aceh conflict as a social revolution due to the shifting of social class. The shift indicates the involvement of the *ulama* in a political domain to replace feudal groups. Besides the social uprising, Aceh also experienced other conflicts with the

central authority, such as Darul Islam (DI) from 1953 to 1962 and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) from 1976 to 2005. Aspinall (2009) analyses the two rebellions as an ideological transformation, from Islamism to ethno nationalism. The conflict of GAM resulted in negotiations, in which Aceh received a special autonomy to administer its authority (I. Abdullah, 2018; Aspinall, 2007; Djuli, 2002; Drexler, 2007; Munhanif, 2016; Samuels, 2013; Searle, 2002).

The majority of the literature discusses the Aceh conflict based on three perspectives. First, it is a form of the central and regional relationship in terms of the right to regulate authority (Bertrand, 2003). Second, it is a struggle for political identity, religion, and regionalism (Barter, 2008; Munhanif, 2016; Michael Feener, 2012; Platzdasch, 2009; Schulze & Hwang, 2019; Readyno, 2013). Third, it is a struggle for natural resources (Aspinall, 2002, 2007; McCarthy, 2007; Sulistiyanto, 2001). However, studies on the conflict that influence the religious authority shift in Aceh are lacking.

Therefore, the current study aims to complement the previous research. It further explores how the authority shift between the modernist and traditional groups occurred in Aceh, how the conflict became a determining factor in the shifting, and how it affects religious life in Aceh. This paper argues that the shift is encouraged by socio-political changes. The armed conflict has eliminated the modernist religious elite as they are supposed to be a part of the bureaucratic machine of the central government. Moreover, it determined religious orientation change in society, including patron-client relationships, where *ulama* from traditional circles began to dominate public religious discourse in Aceh.

This paper is based on three arguments, as follows, that the shift in religious authority is driven by socio-political changes. This then armed conflict has removed the modernist religious elite because it is considered part of the bureaucratic machine of the central government. Then, the conflict determined a change in religious orientation in the community, including in the patron-client relationship, where *ulama* from traditional circles began to dominate public religious discourse in Aceh.

The current study analyses 'the shift' of religious authority ownership due to several reasons, namely research about this area is lacking, 'the shift' shows causal relationships which require comprehensive thought, it occurs due to critical reasoning, and it is the basis for a series of consequences

occurred. Those consequences should be categorized to figure out actions. The objective is to generate comprehensive insight towards the forceful solutions. This qualitative study utilizes secondary data, which includes forms, factors, and implications of the shift. The forms involve a variety of patterns that cover knowledge, values, and religious practices. This study maps various actions, which show the disparity in religious authority. Factors that contribute to the shift are classified based on ideology, religious interpretation, and practical operation. Practical reasons lead to various religious interpretations. The implication of the shift data is also collected, especially those, which generate conflicts both in actions and perspectives. The shift in religious authority is identified from changing interpretation occurred, respected groups of *ulama*, rebel leaders who close to traditional *ulama*, and massive development of dayah compared to madrasah. Furthermore, the data regarding the factor of the shift in authority will be analyzed through the occurrence of two political uprisings; Darul Islam and the Free Aceh Movement. Finally, an explanation of the implications of changes in religious authority was drawn through analysis of data on the occurrence of contested religious interpretations between traditional and modernist views, which often leads to violence. The data from these implications will also be analyzed from the rise of Sufism variants in Aceh as a consequence of the loss of influence of modernism in Aceh.

This study applies content analysis. West & Turner (2008) describe that content analysis uses to analyze content in various forms, which conclude points of texts. Shortly, it is to summarize and to report the main idea of written data. The procedures include defining research questions to be answered through the approach and determining the number of texts needed. Next is selecting samples, determining the context of the document, determining source analysis units based on its category such as actor phrase, paragraphs, and coding. Coding may include perceptions, point of views, and social relationships. Then, constructing categories to be analyzed, determining code and word category, analyzing data, concluding, and predicting future studies (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2009).

Stokes (2007) further describes the stages include designing hypotheses, reading extensively, interpreting analyzed objects, interpreting category, coding the results, evaluating the coding results, collecting the data, completing the data, interpreting data, connecting with the first research question, displaying results, and discussing the findings. Within this study,

the researcher analyses secondary documents about the history of conflict, which generate the emergence of religious elites and other parties who predominate religious discourse. The researcher also explored various literatures, designing patterns, and classifying information based on discussion categories. He captured information about the history, actors, and resistance events from the literature. He analyzed the documents that provide information about the conflict, analyzed the content, and speculated future studies about scholars' groups who dominate the religious discourse, and generated analysis toward the authority.

The Struggle and the Shift of Religious Authority between the Modernist and the Traditional Groups in Aceh

The assignation of Islam and western modernity in the early 20th has emerged the Islamic reform movement in Indonesia. In West Sumatera for example, the maneuver has encouraged the establishment of Youth (Abdullah, 2018). Then, it spread across Aceh, where a new wave of scholars who studied in the Middle-East countries and West Sumatera brought the ideas of Islamic renewal (Siegel, 1969). It established the modernization of Islam in Aceh, including in the Education domain (Munhanif, 2016; Reid, 2006). Sulaiman (1997) argues that the rise of the reform groups, through the association of Madrasa, led them to confront the traditional *ulama* group, even though the group derives from old tradition (Hasjmy, 1984).

The shifting of religious authority, in which the strength of the modernist group grew significantly, can be seen from any existing socio-political changes. For example, with the rise of the modernist groups in the early 20th century generated the development of PUSA, there was also an influence on Japanese political policies towards political Islam in Indonesia (Formichi, 2012; Madinier, 2015). 'The struggle for religious authority revolved around the question of pure and impure interpretation of religion. That was when the reformers criticized the religious practices of the ancient, superstitious, heretical, and superstitious traditions (Howard M. Federspiel, 2003).

The topic of debates in the context of Aceh is also similar. The mushrooming growth of youth confronts the Suluk practice in Pidie (Sulaiman, 1997). They integrated the education system of Madrasa, which was the other name for the modern Islamic education system. The institution adopted and adapted the western education system. The development of

educational institutions was also influenced by the political ethics of colonial authority, which allowed the indigenous society to obtain education (Dhont, 2005). The spectrum of the reformation achieved its momentum through the education link to the Middle East. Collaboration has developed since the 17th century (Azra, 2004). Western Sumatera has become a strategic location for the reformation development in Indonesia because of the Thawalib Islamic University of Sumatera (Abdullah, 2018; Daya, 1990).

However, the traditionalist groups confronted, consolidated, and encountered the Dayah education system. Dayah is a traditional educational institution in Aceh, which has established long before the modern era. Dayah derives from the word of Zawiyah, which means to take the corner part of a building (Amiruddin, 2003). In its history, Dayah in Indonesia roles as a center for knowledge in the Southeast Asia as it became a center for education (Hasjmy, 1995). Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 19th century, the subject matter only focused on religious teachings, such as fiqh and procedures for carrying out religious rituals. Then, the existence of the Dayah as a traditional religious education institution did not eradicate pre-Islamic practices in Aceh. It was because the *ulama* tolerate them as they were not violating the principles of Islamic aqidah (Sulaiman, 1997).

Furthermore, Dayah continues to survive against the pressures of modernization. Michael Feener (2012) concluded this through the refusal of the construction of Dayah Manyang Tengku Chi' Pante Kulu along with the Darussalam students' city project, due to the tension between the modernist, who grew with a modern Madrasa curriculum, and the traditionalist group, who maintained the Dayah education system since the early of the 20th century. According to the traditionalist group's perspective, Darussalam was a project of the modernist group. Thus, since the beginning of the Aceh Dayah network, which was developed from Labuhan Haji to the East coast of Aceh, decided not to be in the epicenter of Aceh modern education. They chose to stand at the establishing communities.

The initial debates between the traditionalist and the modernist groups in the early 20th century in Aceh were a manifestation of the strong religious views stem in Acehnese society. The view underlies the presence of God as a judge. Thus, the struggle over which groups can best represent God's teaching, especially in interpreting Fiqh and Aqidah. The struggle for authority and religious legitimacy in the perspective of the sociologist Max Weber was called the concept of legitimacy which was interpreted as a

subcategory of 'domination'. It defined as the probability that some orders (or whole orders) admitted by certain groups of people, where the obedience was based on the belief that the commandment was binding (Croamatie, 2003). Considering the formation of a modernist religious variant in West Sumatra, the movement encouraged the emergence of the Young People (Abdullah, 2018), then spread across Aceh through the West Sumatra route (Siegel, 1969) thus it developed the modernization of Islam in Aceh, one of which was in the field of education (Munhanif, 2016; Reid, 2006).

Furthermore, Croamatie explained that, religious traditions formed beliefs consisting of values admitted in society, where the formation of these values were indivisible with the religious discourse. Therefore, a massive confrontation between elites and the followers of the modernism-traditionalism group commonly occured in the struggle for religious authority. One of the examples was in the seizure of the mosques managed by modernist groups from the fall of the Suharto regime to the post-peace period. The annexation showed through the change in worship procedures, which illustrated the hierarchical struggle for authority (Ayman, 2019). Another researcher, Campbell explained that religious authority was formed with the structure of religious leaders or community leaders, religious structures, religious ideologies, and religious texts (Ayman, 2019). This underlies the contestation between traditional and modernist groups, especially after the Darul Islam conflict ended in Aceh. Through the construction of the students' city project, IAIN an Islamic Education institution, was intended for modernists- which in Bolland's perspective it was prominently sophisticated for the Acehnese, thus the Dayah was still established (Boland, 1971). Moreover, when the Dayah attempted to release from the dominating shadow of the modernist authority and refused to be a part of Dayah Manyang Teungku Chi' Pante Kulu project (Michael Feener 2012).

The rejection of the offer was due to the tensions between the modernist group – who grew with a modern madrasa curriculum – and the traditional group, who have maintained the dayah education system, since the early 20th century. The Darussalam project was also seen from the perspective of the traditional group, which it was the project of the modernist group. Thus, from the beginning the Acehnese dayah network, which was developed from Labuhan Haji to the east coast of Aceh, preferred not to be in the epicenter of Aceh's modern education. They chose to survive in communities

that have been formed since the beginning. This is the social and cultural capital of traditional Islamic groups in Aceh to carry out vertical mobility and replace the socio-religious role of modernist Islamic groups in the future. This rejection can also be interpreted as an attempt to produce discourse, which in discourse analysis, such epistemological framework aimed to avoid the shifting of a 'truth' with another (Linda, 2011).

The epistemic truth in the traditional Islamic tradition in Aceh can be seen as tolerance towards local cultural practices associated with religion, as long as they were in accordance with the Islamic principles (Sulaiman, 1997). This opposes the discourse formed by the modernist group, which from the beginning of their existence they have rejected such practices because they contradict Islamic principles. In the context of religiosity formation, the contestation between modernist and traditional groups can also be seen in how religious affiliation impact on how to behave towards the choices of religious interpretation they selected by measuring them (Khan, 2014). Rosta (2010) describes it can be seen through their social appearance and religious practice. If we look at these two points in the scheme of Rosta, the distinction between the two religious variants is extremely visible, especially in the placing of religious practices among in worship, social relations, and its political interpretation.

Factors Underlying the Shift in Religious Authority in Aceh

The shift in religious authority in Aceh occurred due to the Aceh conflict. This argument was due to the change in the social order that occurred during the conflict. The first conflict was known as the social revolution, as Reid's thesis in 2012 highlighted that the revolution has changed social classes in Aceh. It confronted Acehnese, those who love the nation and the betrayer. The official report from the government of the Republic of Indonesia for the Aceh region (1946) stated that the social revolution broke up. The official state agency named it as the revolution of 45, due to the feudal actions that aimed to take over Aceh through the assistance of the Dutch. Through the report, the feudal consolidated their troops to seize the city of Sigli and rob the Japanese weapons. The feudal provoke violence over people and leaders of the national movement, which result in huge losses. After the main figures in Pidie were arrested, the social movement started to expand across other regions and through Banda Aceh (Sjamsuddin, 1999).

Following that, the conflict of Darul Islam Aceh, led by Daud Beureuh, the chairman of Aceh Ulama Association (PUSA), arouse out from 1953 to 1962. The movement was a response to central-regional relationships after the physical revolution occurred. It dealt with regional management and an expectation to gain past prosperity, even though it failed (Compton, 1992; Ibrahmi, 1984). The Darul Islam rebellion lasted for 9 years. Sjamsuddin (1990) mentions that this movement was supported by two Acehnese elements developed since the early 20th century; the *ulama* and the *zuama*. *Ulama* is religious experts and those who worked in the religious sector, while *zuama* is those who understand religion but did not work in the religious area. However, the traditional *ulama* opposed the movement (Muntasir, 2018). The opposition was due to the struggle for religious authority that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century (Sulaiman, 1997).

After Darul Islam, Free Aceh Movement, led by Hasan Tiro, continued to arise. This movement evolved when the central government was in a solid state, after the New Order regime held its first general election in 1971, with the victory of the New order political machine, Golkar. At the same period, Suharto provided huge chances for foreign investments (Robison, 2009). Afterward, oligarchs control the capital through political, bureaucratic, and family connections (Hadiz and Robinson, 2013). The New Order dealt with many issues, such as simplifying political parties (Hadiz, 2000) and centralizing government (Setyaningsih, 2017). These two issues led Aceh dragged into the conflict with the Central Government. Factors generating the conflict included, the first was the cultural identity threat and the discovery of natural resources in Aceh. Dealing with this issue, Aspinall (2007) points out that the conflict considered a struggle for pragmatic natural resource management and was is used as a driving force for the collective identity that was built.

The collective identity contributed to the rebellion which has been consolidated showed through the establishment of regional regulation on the implementation of Islamic Sharia in 1969 which was rejected by the Central Government (Nasir, 2008). However, as the Darul Islam rebellion, traditional clerics also refused the Free Aceh Movement, which in the Shafi'i religious fiqh it called as *bughat* (Syafi'i, 2017). Hence, after the fall of Suharto and the shift of the political landscape in Indonesia, Dayah started to develop an alliance with GAM. That was due to the assembly of the two groups as a part of the countryside (Schulze, 2004). The alliance became more solid after the

Helsinki MoU, particularly when the struggle for religious authority between the modernist and traditional groups occurred (Nirzalin, 2018).

This article argues that the main variable, which triggers the religious authority in Aceh, is the armed conflict. The conflict, as well as the social revolution, the Darul Islam rebellion, and the Free Aceh Movement, involved religious actors both directly and indirectly. The Ulama involvement as the authority holder can be seen through the discourse they presented during the period. For example, after the proclamation, the *ulama* gathered and declared that defending the proclamation of Indonesian independence was a jihad, it was similar to what Tgk Chik di Tiro had fought for in the past (Hasjmy, 1984). The involvement of such discourse, that the proclamation is a jihad, can be interpreted as Habermas described that the produced text can form a subjective experience, even though it delivered in different languages (Arribas, 2008). However, they have a similar interest that the revolution will achieve its goal when the texts put forward. The text has produced since the Aceh war, precisely when the Dutch appeared as a force to destroy Islam, which was known as the *'Hikayat perang Sabil'* (Alfian, 1987).

The discourse process also undergoes as Gonzales (2019) mentions "a system of life construction" and a "symbolic process" which is indicated by the formation of a dominant order. Social revolution in Aceh represents this. When the situation confronting the pro-republican groups, includes the *ulama*, and the pro-status quo group, that is the noble man. The discourse process also undergoes, as Gonzales (2019) mentions, "a system of life construction" and a "symbolic process", indicated by the formation of a dominant order. Social revolution in Aceh represents this, when the pro-republican, including the *ulama*, confront the pro-status quo group; the noble man. Then, as the discourse developed in that period, the pro-republican group was said to represent the spirit of liberation and the Dutch group was called betrayer to the homeland. Furthermore, According to Foucault, the 'truth' is discussed through an epistemological framework (Linda, 2011).

This can be seen from the internal dynamics of Aceh Darul Islam rebellion occurred, which was dominated by modernist groups, both from the *ulama* and *zuama* groups (Sjamsuddin 1990). The orientation of the modernist group's resistance towards the central government appeared in their manifesto, which was developed through framing that the authority, including Sukarno, has threatened the existence of Islam, which include the Acehnese goals to enforce the Islamic law in particular (Feith & Castles, 1988).

Hence, the traditional groups opposed the construction of truth developed by the modernist (Muntasir, 2018). They have become rivals since the struggle for religious authority in the early 20th century (Sulaiman, 1997). Following the scheme of Foucault, as cited in Linda (2011), there has been a discourse contestation about the meaning of "truth" produced by the two groups who fight for religious authority; especially in defining the Darul Islam armed conflict.

The struggle over the meaning of the text continued within the Free Aceh Movement led by Hasan Tiro. The distinction was Islamic traditionalist groups initially opposed the movement, who continued campaigning religious arguments about the prohibition to fight against legitimate Muslim authority (Syafi'i, 2017), but they have confronted one another. According to Schulze (2004), the confrontation occurred due to the two groups stemming from rural cultures. The relation became stronger when GAM started to rise after the fall of Suharto, and their coalition became more solid when the struggle for religious authority occurred in Aceh (Nirzalin, 2018). The existence of GAM generated other issues, as the former group opposed the rebellion, but as they belong to similar culture, they then developed a coalition that centers on the struggle for religious authority in Aceh at post–Helsinki peace agreement.

The Shifting of Religious Authority towards Religious Life in Aceh

The struggle for religious authority dynamic was highly complicated after the peace agreement in 2005. Dealing with this issue, Nur (2011) illustrates how the struggle occurred through politics and violence. The violence was experienced by Ust. Faisal in Bereuneun, Pidie and Tarmizi in Lamno, Aceh Jaya. They assumed to spread Wahhabism which threatened the Acehnese religious' perspectives and thoughts who practice the religious pattern of Asyafiah. Furthermore, political power was also utilized to seize mosques by substituting the mosques' committee who owned modernist thought to Asyafiah, as occurred in Bireuen and Kuta Blang grand mosques, the selected imam was the chairman of MUNA (The organization of clerics of Aceh Party). The phenomenon has changed the pattern in worshipping based on what the traditional Muslim practiced. The seizure of the mosques happened massively during the General Elections period in 2017. The Aswaja parade culminated in the seizure of the Baiturrahman Grand Mosque in Banda Aceh (Miswar, 2017). The struggle was ended after the Muzakarah events conducted among scholars to discuss procedures of worshipping for Friday

prayer (Islamic *Shari'a* Service, 2015). After the commotion, the demarcation between *Wahabism* and Aswaja increases sharply. The mosques which are controlled by *Aswaja* started to show their religious orientation through symbols, such as adjusting the pulpit into the Middle East style, placing sticks on the pulpit, and repeating the pillars of the Friday sermon (*Mualat*). Culturally, the influence of Dayah in the worshiping mechanism continues to be implemented in many mosques in Aceh although the case has been accomplished in previous scholars' forums. For example, the establishment of *Tastafi* learning (faith, mysticism, and Fiqh) at Baiturrahman mosque Banda Aceh, which are taught by Dayah scholars (Fikri, 2016). Such activity was never held when the religious studies at Baiturrahman grand mosque were dominated by the modernists two to three decades ago. The strength of the Dayah was influenced by the educational connection that begin at Dayah Darussalam Labuhan Haji, which generates four generations who develop the Dayah after they accomplished their studies (Mizaj, 2018).

Azziyah Mudi Mesra is one of the foremost Dayah which produces religious public discourse at the present. The Dayah was founded by Teungku Muda Wali's student; Abon Azis. Dayah Mudi began to adopt modernity without abandoning its old teaching traditions (Fahmi Arrauf Nasution, Miswari, & Sabaruddin, 2019). Furthermore, a Dayah led by Amran Waly demonstrated Sufi religious practice. Amran Waly mobilized the Council for the Study of Tawhid and Sufism, an organization that made him be the pioneer who spread the teachings of *Wahdatul wujud*, by Sharia-oriented scholars, because the views are contrary to Sunni Islamic orthodoxy (van Dijk & Kaptein J.G., 2016).

The opposition between the sharia variant and the nature are common in religious discourse in Aceh. It influenced by religious and political power, which determined orientation factors, as experienced by Tengku Ayub and Salik Buta (Burhanudin, 2014; Muchsin, 2004). The raising of the Sufi group in Aceh was inseparable from the prior phenomenon in Indonesia at the new regime when Sufism became a trend in urban class society with the growth of the economy (Howell, 2016). In subsequent developments in Aceh, Shadiqin (2018) mentions that there were three boards of Sufism included the Council for Tawhid and Tassawuf study, the Naqsyabandi Al Khalidi sect, the Qadaraiyah wan Naqsyabandi sect, and the Naqsyabandi Al-Haqqani sect.

The seizure of mosques and the control over worship procedures were a symbol in which the cleric faction dominated the religious discourse. Some of

the examples were the seizure of Beureunen and Bireuen mosques (Nur, 2011) or the emergence of the Aswaja parade movement established ahead of the Pilkada with the discourse of anti-Wahhabi (Miswar, 2017). Although the conflict has discussed in the Muzakarah of Aceh scholars, the tension in the struggle for religious authority was not subsided. Such pressure was due to the strength of the dayah in the acquisition of religious discourse, through a connection that has developed rapidly from the Labuhan Haji dayah (Mizaj, 2018) to Eastern Aceh through the MUDI dayah (Tripa, 2019). Additionally, the Sufism Islamic discourse, which was marginalized when modernism dominated the Islamic public discourse in Aceh, started to obtain its place in the public sphere (Shadiqin, 2018).

The growth of those traditional groups, as mentioned in the previous section, in Sadoff's (2012) scheme can be analyzed through the texts produced, such as fiqh foundations, dogmas, the Aqidah constructions, and the pattern of patron-client, by integrating them to cultural and historical contexts. Traditional groups claim, especially the Ahlul sunnah waljamaah (Aswaja) and Fiqh As Syfiaah, as genuine representatives of Acehnese culture and historicity. Such discourse is used to get rid of the modernists in the struggle for public religious discourse in Aceh. Such data in Aceh, as well as to support Elliott (2014) findings, that to consider aspects of the cultural approach is highly significant in the struggle for religious authority in Aceh as a secondary matter.

The shift of religious patterns in Aceh, has turned into religiosity discussions, especially after the Sufism orientation began to obtain its place in Aceh, after the dayah started to take over religious discourse, either through Tastafi initiated by the dayah which was affiliated to the HUDA organization (Firdaus, Amiruddin, & Drajat, 2017) or MPTT (Shadiqin, 2018). Khan (2014) highlights that religiosity is a term used to explain religious behavior and spirituality. Glock and Stark as cited in Nikkhah et al (2015) classify five domains of religiosity to explain the trend of the discourse shift and religious life in Aceh, which include (1) ideological; (2) rituals; (3) experience; (4) knowledge or cognitive; and (5) consequential. The explanation of the five domains in the context of discourse and religious patterns in Aceh can be formulated as follows. Ideologically the definition of Aswaja, which was originally a term in the Kalam debate in the history of classical Islamic thought, has turned into a political-religious identity. That was conducted to show the difference with the outer identity, which was often simplified as

Wahhabi. Rituals are exposed in every seizure of the mosques, as occurred in Bireun, Beureneun, and Banda Aceh Grand Mosques. The Aswaja groups always insert an agenda of worship procedures that is in accordance with the religious construct learned in the dayah. The experience in the Sufistic tradition showed through the spiritual presence. *Ulama* is believed as someone who is able to perform Karomah, those who live and died. They then believe in them, to ask something. The validity of Tawasul is a debated discourse between the two Islamic groups, both modernist and traditional. Knowledge is clearly defined from the institution from which the religious discourse is produced.

Since the early 20th century, Madrasa and Dayah are two types of religious educational institutions that have their own characteristics in Aceh. Madrasah, as Compton (1993) observed, once dominated in Aceh. The domination was the first point in the productivity of religious discourse. After the end of the Darul Islam conflict and the Free Aceh Movement, the dayah grew rapidly, especially in rural areas. The Madrasa showed more formal as they were part of the bureaucratic machine, while the dayah performed differently. As Madrasa at its early development in Aceh, Dayah is growing with the society at the present, so that their religious knowledge becomes a discourse, especially for rural communities. Consequential is defined as finding out an equivalent with the former circumstance. In the context of Islamic groups' competition between modernist and traditional, both of them are intertwined with the past and the Acehnese culture. Dayah began to dominate religion, then the consequential meant Aswaja, which was constructed as a pattern of Islam Aceh since past. Meanwhile, the modernist ideas, which were highly dominant in the early 20th century, were considered as something awkward and had no roots in the prolonged Acehnese culture.

The changing in the socio-religious map is no longer in urban and rural formations, even urban bases that were previously dominated by modernist Muslims are taken over by traditional Islamic groups. This can be seen from the change of religious procedures at mosques in Aceh, the appearance of traditionalist clerics who control the structure of the Ulama Consultative Council (MPU), group of santri group were more confident to display their cultural identity in public spaces. The widespread production of religious views which is based on the dayah tradition is seen as a single discourse in Aceh. The strengthening of traditional Islamic groups has implications for the loss of the ability to articulate ideas from modernist Muslims in Aceh, so that

salafi groups are trying to compete against traditional Islamic religious discourses which emerged in the last decade.

Conclusion

The struggle for religious authority in Aceh is far different from other regions, which also experience contestation between modernist and traditional Islamic groups, in Indonesia such as West Sumatra and Java. In Aceh, armed conflict is the main trigger for the shift in religious authority between the modernist and traditional groups. This study reveals that religious contestations involving modernist and traditional Islamic groups have occurred since the early 20th century. The contestation, which initially was a space for religious discourse, has turned into a continuous protracted social and armed conflict. The armed conflicts involved *ulama* both direct and indirectly. It started from the social revolution, the Darul Islam movement, to the Free Aceh Movement. The social revolution has replaced a social class that had been in power for decades, namely the nobility, by the *ulama* of modernist Islam variant in Aceh.

In the Darul Islam conflict, the modernist *ulama* who were previously a proponent of the Republic involved in the arms and struggle. The modernist *ulama* have started to dominate since the 1930s and won political victories in the era of the national revolution, conducting proclamations in the name of religion and regional identity to oppose the Central Government, which was opposed by traditional *ulama*. Due to the rebellion, the modernist *ulama's* influence started to decrease as since the beginning of the national revolution they had occupied bureaucratic and army posts. The shift in authority began to appear when the Free Aceh Movement rose. Since post-Darul Islam, traditional clerics have survived in rural communities, then they met Free Aceh Movement activists, who grew up in the same culture. At the same time, the modernist *ulama* started to lose their influence on society as they were involved in the bureaucratic machine.

The shift in religious authority affects religious life in Aceh directly. In the early period, modernist *ulama* influenced public religious discourse through Madrasah, IAIN, Ministry of Religion, and MPU, but due to the conflicts that occurred since the social revolution, Darul Islam and GAM, the traditional *ulama* began to replace the holder of authorities. In fact, bureaucratic posts, which were previously dominated by modernist variants, have also begun to be filled by traditional groups. However, this article does

not mention a change in the position religious authority holder, but a shift. This shift is also defined as the ongoing contestation between these two variants. If the traditional Islamic variants are more popular with their epistemic base in the Dayah, then the modernist variant starts to find out other patterns, which can further strengthen its position in the bureaucracy or to find out input from the Salafi movement.

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