

## **NAMING AS IDENTITY OF BEING A MUSLIM**

### **STUDY OF SALMAN ITB COMMUNITY BANDUNG, WEST JAVA**

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This paper is based on a field research conducted in West Java. It discusses about contemporary issues about Islamic identity. After 9/11 bombing, Muslim identity became an important concern. Islam after the bombing is often claimed to as related to terrorism<sup>1</sup>. The concern belongs to all Muslims around the world. Expressions on such a concern are diverse by both Muslims and non-Muslims. One movie of Bollywood (India) was even inspired by the issue. As told, the main character of that movie himself was caught as terrorist at USA airport regarding his Islamic name<sup>2</sup>. This situation, to a large extent, has caught Muslims' attention in giving names of their children. Naming in Islam has been part of Islamic practice, but again the situation has offered some both challenge and meaningful practice. This is the main issue being discussed in this paper.

Name is one of cultural aspects. It is about social, economic, political and also religious issues. Name is also often used as tool to identify individuals, people from which area they are associated. Name is then about identity. Identity

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with an Indonesia Muslim student at USA, 21<sup>st</sup> of December 2011

<sup>2</sup> [www.bollywood.com](http://www.bollywood.com)

is an issue that relates to human life. Showing our identity can be personal, but and also sosial. As Jenkins said, that “*Most of us take our identity for granted, we seem to know who we are*” (Jenkins, 2008:1). Identity becomes very important in every human activity. We, for examples, can see as stated in ID card (KTP). If we as citizen do not have KTP we will count as illegal citizen. Sanction will of course apply to those without KTP, as we all know. Other cases of id card may even result in deportation. On the other hand, identity as member of particular group could also be a big problem. The case of Ahmadiyah, as minority group who are claimed to be *sesat* (misled) or deviating Islam by many Indonesian Muslims (Detik.Com:2010), shows us that identity could be a source of discrimination. Cases of minorities often show that they have to hide their identity to continue living.

Identity also plays out in the religious area, for example in the KTP there is space that we have to show our religious affiliation. When the issues of terrorism appeared, identity as particular religious affiliation plays really important role. Related with identity issues, names are important in identifying who we are. Parents intended to choose the right name for their children, because names can demonstrate our identity. In many places, names can show what region we are from, show our social status, race and also some names will identify us from religion we are.

For every society name has different functions, for example in Sumba, naming system counted as a cultural symbol codes which operates independently of the function of name as labels for individuals (Brewer,203).

As Zheng Yangwen (Macdonalds, 2010: 3) points out, that for Northern Asian names is inherently characters, expressing a meaning much more than sound. In addition, Marc de Grave addressed that naming in Javanese is kind of socio dynamic process, this process are relatively close with Javanese ritual and Javanese way of life (Journal, 2011:4). Rymes (1996: 258) addressed that in the Little Creeper case (gang at Diamond Street) naming crucially tied members of gang and the social origin of name provides a base for transformation.

In this writing, I explored naming practice in Sunda community (West Java). Compared with other societies, such as Central Java and East Java studies about Sundanese are limited. Rosidi (Ekadjati, 1984: 131) says that “*Sundanese societies are democratic people, in the tradition, old scripture or even story they show that assumption*”. In Sunda, people also using cosmological aspect in their life, for example they use astronomy at harvest time, *repok*<sup>3</sup> and even giving name for children.

Naming practices at Sunda create a unique pattern; we can find repetition of word for example Yayat Sutaryat, Dada Rosada, Mimin Mintarsih. Sundanese belief that name relate with victory time or weak time. However, in some religious rituals we can find that name relate with religious ritual, for example we count how many times we are doing “*Wirid*” or *Dzikir* are depend on our name<sup>4</sup>. Sundanese have *neneh*<sup>5</sup> that taken from proper name,

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<sup>3</sup>*Repok is tradition of finding couple*

<sup>4</sup> Interview traditional healer, 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 2012

for example Mumun from Mundir. Ritual for naming practice at Sunda began from the baby still in the num. After the baby born, some parents (especially father) doing contemplation, walk around house for getting the right name for their children.

Raising industrial area in Sunda slowly change composition of Sundanese society become heterogent (Rosidi, 1995: 157). However, Sundanese become heterogenic society because many people from other ethnic, other place come and life there. In the religious aspect, many Pesantrens was built in Sunda. Pesantren was center of religious teaching, but on the other hand pesantren was able to increase and cover cultural aspect of society. So, that is the reason why Islam and Sundanese culture can be practice together. We can see the acculturation between Sunda cultures with Islam. When Islam came to Sunda, some people combine Islamic (Arabic) name with Sundanese name for example Hamid Sastrawidjaya (Macdonalds, 2010: 10).

In late of 1990s, when the escalation of social and political supported religious expression, some phenomena have occurred, for example Islamic identity became more appear publicly. That situation were adressed in some religious practices , such as: people get the right to pray freely, wear jilbab or headscarf in the public sphere. Or other example is issue about name, especially Islamic names raise rapidly at society as part of Islamic practice. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of naming changes in society occur when the case of terrorism raise. Many terrorist use name as one of the way to hide their

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<sup>5</sup>*Neneh is nick name*

identity, they have many alias name. In some cases, they succeed for hiding their identity as terrorist.

Name, gradually, becomes a new identity of Muslim people. Many ways people use to get an idea for giving name. In Muslim families these phenomena also raise, they refer to religious text, some Islamic books or even asking to religious leader as references. However, research about naming practice in Sunda becomes important because even though Sunda has a close relationship with Javanese but they have different uniqueness. The issues about identity become an important case, and through study about naming practice at Sunda we can see Sundanese understanding and constructing their identity.

Sundanese never categorized Muslim as like Islam Santri, Priyayi or Abangan, but it does not mean that Islam did not increase in Sunda. Combining Sundanese name with Arabic name as like Abdullah Satrawidjaya could be an example that Islam came and accepted in Sunda. On the other hand, Sundanese passed social change rapidly not only on politic or economic but also in culture. Of course this situation brings identity as urgent issue for Sundanese. Talking about Sundanese culture and Islam, we could not separate the close relationship between Islam and campus. Relation between Islam and Sunda addressed at Campus area ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) was known as pioneer of Islamic campus activism including efforts to meld pious Islam (Pringle, 2010: 97). As Damanik (2002:75) said that main core of this community is their point of view about Islam *kaffah*. This concept consist an idea that Islam is totality. Every aspect of Islam must be implemented in their daily life and become

*nizham*<sup>6</sup>. Revivalism and Islamic resurgence at Middle East became a momentum of creating new Muslim circumstances and recover Muslim condition (Rahmat, 2005:2). However, beside issues about politics, revivalism describes new spirit of Islamism at society. That phenomenon addressed by community who tied by spirit of brotherhood, they tried to become more pious in every ritual include the way they dress, they speak or even in every single activity. Salman community itself was counted as part Islamic Revivalist; it is because many Middle East alumni were came and taught Islamic teaching there. Meanwhile, Sundanese considered as pious Muslim because Islam not only as their religion but also their way of life. After acculturation between Sundanese cultures with Islamic culture, identity as Muslim long by long become Sundanese identity. But identity is kind of dynamic process, many factors can change the way people understand and construct their identity. Salman which build and developed at Sunda, has a great influence for people to understand about Islam. Research about naming at Salman community could be open a new space to understand how contemporary Islamic teaching influence naming practice at Sundanese ethnic. And from naming practice we can identify how Sundanese construct their identity being a Muslim.

From that background, my research questions are:

1. How are the patterns of naming practice at Salman community?
2. What is the relationship between naming practice and Islamic identity at Salman community?

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<sup>6</sup>*Nizham is way of life*

Collecting data that I use are through participant observation and interview. Observation, I used for getting general point of view about Salman activity. I started from December 2011 to March 2012. Interview I used for getting a depth information from parents who are active at Salman about their naming practice, the meaning of that naming practice, background of that and also what is the goal of that naming practice.

## **Historical Background of Sundanese**

### **A. Geographical Sketch**

Most of Sundanese live in West Java, called Tatar Sunda or Pasundan. Historically Tatar Sunda cover two sub districts in the present regency of Brebes, namely Salem and Bantarkawung, West of the Pamali river, a village in the Purwokerto regency, Central Java (Pusat Studi Sunda, 2011: 12). On the other hand parts or the Serang, Indramayu, and Cirebon regencies are inhabited by people who speak an archaic Javanese dialect of the seventeenth century, which is strongly mixed with Sundanese and therefore strongly called *Jawareh*<sup>7</sup>.

Geographically, the province can be divided into three areas. The first is the north coastal lowland plain stretches from Serang, west of Jakarta, to Cirebon, near the border of central java. The main agro-ecosystem of the northern plain is irrigated rice-growing. Parts of the area have also been used for plantation cultivation, producing coffee, tea, rubber and quinine. There is, secondly, a high mountain region, rising from south of Jakarta and running from west to east

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<sup>7</sup>*Jawareh is a title for people who live at Sunda are but they speak Javanese and vice versa*

throughout the rest Java. Here the irrigated rice land of the coast gives way to terraced rice-land, which are sometimes not, plantations and forest reserves. The third area consists of the large highland plateaus centered on the cities of Bogor, Sukabumi, Cianjur, Bandung, Garut and Tasikmalaya (K.H, 2003: 36).

## **B. Culture of Sundanese**

### **Habitat**

As Adiwilaga said (Iskandar, 2011: 33) that Sundanese always give impression that they are nomadic. This culture relates with their profession as cultivator (*ngahuma*) or cultivates an irrigated field. Sundanese were living far from city, because they prefer to life near forest. At village, usually they have big yard and beside it there were *lesung*<sup>8</sup>.

*Lesung* has a social function as media of communication for women at past. If sundanese would build a house they will see the cosmological side of that area, for example: they make a distance between house with street, house with rice field and even house with river. And for Sundanese water are important because relate with fertility of land.

## **C. Cosmology**

Sundanese at past had a close relationship with their environment. They have philosophy that they life not in the free world but they have to keep harmonizing with nature and cosmos. Hidding (Iskandar, 2011: 44) said that

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<sup>8</sup>*Lesung is tool for pounding paddy*



*“man is not an independent agent in the cosmos but functioning part of larger whole into which he is socialized. This includes people as well as supernatural entities such as spirit living in the vicinity and the souls departed ancestors. As with men; supernatural entities have varying degrees of influence and power and play different roles in the lives of the sundanese”.*

Sundanese belief, reservation of their cosmology should be in compliance with their ancestor. This culture consists of rituals, usages, obligations and prohibitions. It is the reason why Sundanese believe in spirit of dead body, place spirit or *jurig*<sup>9</sup> and God and Goddesses. But, gradually relation system between Sundanese with their nature or environment was change. There are some factors, such as: education and religion. For example, Islam prohibits Muslim belief in superstitious. Function as *khalifah* or leader in this world has to be seen as something positive and far from mystical area. Education also influences Sundanese view about their environment.

Beside those factors; socio-economical factor also influence Sundanese in reserving their environment. Those factors also relate to Sundanese reinterpretation about themselves, their aspiration and their authority. Rosidi (2011: 20) addresses that Sundanese community has changed from solid group become individualistic, from open economic to capitalist and from feudal to democratic society. This transmission also undertake at Sundanese naming practice, as Rosidi said that Sundanese in the past, combined day, month and cosmological aspect in giving name for their children (Ekadjati, 1984: 302) for

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<sup>9</sup>*Jurig is evil spirit*

example: baby was born on Sunday = 9, at Jumadil Awal= 6 and pasaran manis = 5, the total of those divided 5 and the result is 4. The final result will show suitable name for baby, if the value (4) also fit with year of Dae for instance, name for that baby has to begin with D, baby's name could be Dariah (for girl) and Dalimin (for boy). But after Islam coming, naming practice change. Some people leave cosmological aspect and used Islamic aspect for naming their children. This phenomenon shows us that identity for Sundanese also change, after Islam coming they choose Islamic identity as their identity.

#### **D. Characteristic of Sundanese**

There is no record about Sundanese philosophy, because writing tradition at Sunda is not really popular. Sundanese prefer to maintain oral tradition, but modernization and assimilation between Sundanese and outsider influence this tradition. Rosidi addresses some characteristics of Sundanese, such as: Sundanese have to live peacefully, togetherness (*karageman*) is important, fair, positive thinking, ready for every challenges, easy to adopt new circumstances, consistent between speaking and acting, and patient (2010: 50). These characteristics more and less describe identity as Sundanese. However, identity is dynamic process and change from time to time. Naming practice at Sundanese could address dynamic process at society which influences their identity.

#### **E. Religion**

There is no historical record about religious development at Sunda, but from history of kingdoms at Sunda Island we can see that religion in Sunda has so

many variations. As Rodisi said that there have been coming so many kingdoms that represent their own culture and religion (2009: 6). Hinduism was coming to Sunda land since 5<sup>th</sup> century; it's supported by Fa Hien travel report about Tarumanagara kingdom. Nevertheless, until now there is no convincing record whether in Sunda at that moment people admit one certain religion as like Hinduism or Buddhism as Central and East Java or not. After Sunda kingdom which colorized by Hinduism culture was falling down at 16<sup>th</sup> century (1579), step by step identity as Sundanese was disappeared as ideology. Sundanese ideology which record in language, ethic, culture, law, institution, faith etc was influenced by new culture from outside.

Assimilation with other culture also influences Sundanese philosophy. Earlytime, even though not as strong as Javanese, syncretism was part of Sundanese philosophy. Sundanese believed in superstitious and they believe that *saman* has supernatural power. For example, Sundanese, who are Muslim, still believe that Prabu Siliwangi who was transform become tiger as Sundanese guardian. Some Sundanese also believe cosmological aspect, some groups still keep moving from one place to another place based on *uga*<sup>10</sup>.

The end of 15<sup>th</sup> century Islam from north coast of Java (Cirebon, Banten), these two kingdoms conquered Pajajaran kingdom. Likewise, Javanese culture also penetrated to Sunda land at that moment; there was an interesting acculturation among them. When Islam came to Sunda land, people accepted

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<sup>10</sup>*Uga* is destiny based on cosmological term usually use symbol as interpretation of it

Islam openly. For example, if family of kingdom wanted to marriage with Muslim, this Muslim can life around kingdom even they have different religion.

### *Islam in Sunda*

Politically, Sunda land was considered as one of Islamist bases. S.M Kartosuwiryo who was Javanese selected Sunda as his basis of movement; Darul Islam incident was destroying not only Sunda Land but also Sundanese. Many people were killing because of Darul Islam incident. Kartosuwiryo selected Garut as his basis movement not only because of geographical but also because that place was known as centre of Syarikat Islam. Kartosuwiryo itself believe that Islam becomes one of Sundanese identity.

Even though there are Sundanese who admit religion beside Islam, but their just minority. Proselytizing Christian or Catholic more than one century ago did not success. Christian, Catholic or other religious follower, most of them are new comer as like Chinese, Batak, Manado and so forth. At 1967, H.Endang Saifuddin Anshari claims that "Sunda is Islam and Islam is Sunda". To proof Anshari's statement, Ajip Rosidi doing research on proverbs which have Islamic teaching, he only found 16 proverbs that use Islamic word especially Arabic and it did not enough yet to support Anshari claims. But Rosidi also found some Sundanese proverbs which fit with Islamic teaching. This research adressed that Sundanese philosophies and characteristic were matched with Islamic teaching; from this stand point Anshari claims it is also right.

Sundanese began an effort in Islamic reformations; many Islamic reformations were began and developed at West Java. Especially in Bandung, students are involved in political side. Old regime of Soekarno was falling at 1966 because of student's street protest or demonstrations. And Islamic reformation also influence student at that time for opening new political condition of Indonesia.

Islam and education in Sunda has a close relationship. Campus at that time not only place for study formal knowledge but also as media for spreading of Islamic teaching and political action. Salman which located around ITB (Institute Technology Bandung) was identified as first Islamic media for Islamic reformation at campus and supporting an effort to make Indonesia better not only in economical, social or political aspects but also in religious aspect. Through Islamic teaching for student, Salman proofs that Islam not always talk about God, heaven or hell; Islam concern about every human activities include economical, social and political discourse. It is the meaning of what they call as Islam *kaffah*; a set of norm that representing religious meaning in every single activity.

### **Religious Teaching at Salman**

Salman community was began with Santri figure and changed after Bang Imad built LDK (Campus Preaching Institution) which influenced by Masyumi parties. Nevertheless, at further development there was discontinuity Masyumi movement and replaced by alumni from Middle East who influenced by Ikhwanul Muslimin and changed Salman became Tarbiyah movement (Rahmat, 2005: 87).

Nurhayati Djamas (Damanik, 2002: 73) said that Salman movements consist of three mainstreams, such as: reformative, Islamic purification, second; self consciousness to escape from power outside Islam, and third; self confidence for showing their power as alternative solution for every problems. Damanik (2002: 75) addressed that main core of religious teaching at Salman is about their point of view that Islam is totality.

Rahmat (2008: 31) said that alumni's from Middle East has a strong contribution to formulate a cadre system at *Tarbiyah* context. Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in Egypt is a root of *Tarbiyah* movement, to make preaching pattern more organized. *Tarbiyah* movement has a lot of variations in their teaching methods. *Tarbiyah* movement has a strong characteristic, we can see on the way they dress for example, woman of this group wear burka or long jilbab to cover their whole body except their hand (Damanik, 2002: 81). Another cultural characteristic of this group is interaction pattern which build among members, they create a relationship based on strong family ties. A family's circumstance is reflection from *usroh*<sup>11</sup>. Damanik (2002:81) said that with this character this movement tend to be "in-ward looking" and consider people outside their community as "Other" and because of this attitude this group was count as exclusive group.

Revivalism or resurgence of Islam at Middle East in 20<sup>th</sup> century become a momentum to bring about new Muslim society and improvement of societies

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<sup>11</sup>*Usroh* can be translate as family, in mentoring system *usroh* is a small group of people who gather for religious teaching usually consist of three or four members with their Murabbi or Mentor

condition (Rahmat, 2005:2). Beside political phenomenon, Islamic Revivalism described the highest consciousness about Islam among Muslim which implements on their behavior, such as: societies which concern in spreading spirit of Islam and brotherhood, enthusiasm of Arabic societies become more pious in their activity.

The developments of Islam at Middle East give a big influence for movement in Indonesia. Revivalism movement in Indonesia actually has established since 1980s. Rahmat (2005: 74) addressed this phenomenon was appearing in many religious expressions. Revivalism expression was articulating in enthusiasm of Islamic activity at society. Religious enthusiasm was indicated by raise a number of Islamic activities on daily life including the way people act, talk and their dressing. As a movement, Islamic revivalism in Indonesia was signed by raise and development of campus preaching activity at beginning of 1980s. This movement was motivated by student at campus which not affiliates at one religious institution. This movement used *usroh* method which as a pioneer of three mainstreams of Islamic revivalist in Indonesia. There religious movements which has strong characteristic such as Tarbiyah movement, Hizbut Tahrir and Salafi Preaching (Rahmat, 2005: 75)

Salman as a movement passed a contact with IM which colorized their preaching method; we can find a strong phenomenon of revivalism at Salman. However, Damanik (2002: 87) said that even tough IM figure was influence this group and create a movement pattern but this is only idea and inspiration. Salman has developed program which more concern on educational aspect which has a

goal to produce and construct Muslim with strong faith, ethic, and good in Islamic morality at their daily life.

### **Naming practice at Salman community**

#### *Meaning and function of naming practice for Salman community members*

There were three patterns of naming practices at Salman, that relate to concept of Islam *Kaffah* and *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar* such as: first group prefer to give full Arabic name for their children. For example, Muhammad Juldan Jundullah, Muhammad Fairuz Azhar El-Rajab. This idea comes from their understanding that becomes Muslim have to be compatible with Sunnah Rasulullah (prophet tradition). Second group try to combine their children name between Arabic name and Japanese or Western name. For example, Surya Daffa Pratama, Tassha Raudhatul Fikri. The reason parents choose this pattern is because they feel worried about negative issue about Islam. Some parent also bored with Islamic name which full of Arabic words. But in the other hand, they still believe that Arabic name has a strong power for addressing Islamic identity. The last group is some parents who giving local name for their children. For example, Mugia Tresna Feira. The reason they choose local name is because they think that Islam is not Arab. As long as meaning of their children fit with Islamic teaching, their practice Islamic teaching and become Muslim *kaffah*.



From those naming patterns, we can see that in Salman community, as revivalist group who strict in concept *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* they did not have monolithic understanding. The way people understanding and practicing concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has different articulations. This phenomenon shows us that revivalism in Indonesia especially at Sunda has different character with other revivalist group. Sundanese identity also change and become strong tied in Islamic identity. The uniqueness of naming practice at Salman community is the way parent leave every ritual outside Islamic teaching. For Salman community members, every single activity including naming practice supposed to be in accordance with prophet sunnah. This idea illustrates in the changing ritual practice as *bubur merah*, *bubur putih*, *sawer orokto* aqiqah. Aqiqah itself has changed from time to time. First time aqiqah consist of reading shalawat or barjanji but now their change that ritual only consist of Al Quran recitation.

For knowing how Salman community members' ideas about naming practice that they practice, I interviewed ten families. Those ten families I choose as representative of Salman members who already has children. From ten families I found many variations of understanding about naming practice at Salman community. Some parents believe that naming practice has some meanings for keeping a relation as Muslim community<sup>12</sup>. They did not practice traditional rituals when they choose and gave name for their children. The reason they leave a tradition is because the tradition outside Islamic religious teaching. Prophet

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<sup>12</sup> Interview at 25<sup>th</sup> of February-14<sup>th</sup> of March 2012

Muhammad figure also tied their understanding that in every single activity as good Muslim that they have to follow prophet attitude<sup>13</sup>. At naming practice, some parent put their pray for their children future, their own life and the main point is they hope Islamic victory. Concept of naming for Salman community is *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, that is why they practice must follow Islamic rules<sup>14</sup>.

Beside that understanding of Islam which emphasizes to follow Prophet Muhammad attitude as obligation, there were another phenomenona that I found during field work. I found some families still believe that they have to follow prophet Muhammad attitude but the implementation little bit different. Naming practice for some families has a meaning of showing a simple Islam<sup>15</sup>. Naming practice is a bound of family ties, a way to campaign people back to their own culture and also show that Islam can combine with other culture especially West culture which seen as enemy<sup>16</sup>.

Naming function for Salman community members has a strong tied with Muslim brotherhood. As Muslim, it is kind of obligation to preserve Islamic tradition<sup>17</sup>. Other function of naming practice also increase at this community for their goal to build *sakinah mawaddah warrahmah* family through name of their children. Accordingly, naming practice not only tool of self identification of their

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<sup>13</sup> Interview at 14<sup>th</sup> of March 2012

<sup>14</sup> Interview at 25<sup>th</sup> of February 2012

<sup>15</sup> Interview at 04<sup>th</sup> March 2012

<sup>16</sup> Interview at 26<sup>th</sup> of February 2012

<sup>17</sup> Interview at 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2012

children but also a religious teaching<sup>18</sup>. Naming practice is a way to introduce relation between Islam and local culture.

#### *Background of naming practice at Salman community*

Background of naming practice is very important as part of analysis the naming practice tradition at this community. There were some backgrounds of naming practice at Salman community, such as: Religious background of parent; this background has a deep impact in choosing name and which naming pattern that parents use for their children. Through concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, Salman as their community influence parent naming practice tradition that show Islamic tradition; Secondly condition of family where parent born, rise and got an education also influence naming practice at Salman community; Third the consciousness for preserving local tradition and also showing that Islam is simple and can combine with other tradition also a strong background for naming practice at Salman.

#### **Pattern of naming practice at Salman**

After we found a background of Salman community and factors that influence naming practice at Salman community, we can understand the pattern of naming at this community. The concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is a basic and strong root of naming practice at Salman. However, this understanding of Islam causes parent choose name for their children as much as they can to follow Islamic way. And some parents at this community believe

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<sup>18</sup> Interview at 09<sup>th</sup> of March 2012

Arabic word is the right name for their children because Arabic culture is a truly Islam. Some Arabic based names are: *Muhammad Juldan Jundullah, Irfan Fauzi Adhim, Naufal Syifa Firdaus, Hizwa Januar Muhammadi, Aghnia Nafilah Nur Annisa, Muhammad Rijal Al Fath, Muhammad Mumtaz Faturrahman, and Muhammad Fairuz Azhar El-Rajab.*

William, R. Roff used onomastic element for analyzing Islamic names. Islamic names, ordinarily have up to five distinction of onomastic elements. Though the order in which they occur can vary, these may be set out as follows. (1) *Theism* is personal name; (2) the *nasab*, which often follows the *ism*, linked to it by *ibn/bin* or *bint*, the signifier for “son or daughter of”; (3) the *kunya*, an alternative personal name; (4) the *laqab*, a characterizing epithet or nickname and (5) the *nisba*, a relational name used to signify any or all.

Through this theory we can analyze phenomenon at Salman community. For example *Muhammad Juldin Jundullah; Muhammad* and *Juldin* we can categorize as *ism*; *Jundullah* we can categorize as *laqab* which characterizing *Muhammad Juldin*. This family believethroughname Muslim identity was addressed very strong so wherever and whenever their child asks about his identity, as parent they will be proud to say that you are a Muslim<sup>19</sup>.

As I said before that concept of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* are the main roots of Islamic understanding at Salman community. But there is no single variation (that represent by Arabic name), I found other

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<sup>19</sup> Interview at 25<sup>th</sup> of February 2012

variations of naming practice. Some parent use mixing naming between Arabic name and local and Western name. These names, such as: *Surya Daffa Pratama*, *Tassha Raudhatul Fikri*, *Mugia Tresna Feira*, *Gema Cikal Ramadhan*, *Talitha Aulia Rahmi*, *Bahana Kalamurrahman*, *Agniya Yasmin Agami*, *Muhammad Caessar Rafi*. Even though these names did not use pure Arabic name but they still fulfill onomastic elements, for example: *Mugia Tresna Feira*; *Mugia* and *Tresna* we can categorize as *ism* and *Feira* is *laqab* which characterizing *Mugia Tresna*.

### **Construction Identity through naming practice at Salman community**

From interviewed, I found the facts that parent of this community tried to construct their Muslim identity through naming practice. Identity as Muslim is important as part of their Islamic practice. Concept of Muslim *kaffah* has to be addressed in every single activity including naming practice. *Amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is also basic understanding why parent of this community consider naming practice as part of introducing and teaching society outside them about truly Islamic religious teaching according Al Quran and Sunnah. Their Muslim identity was built from many elements such as: their religious personal background, social circumstances, politic and also economic factors and also as Salman community member-religious institution that they addressed as which influence their understanding about Islam.

Based on research about naming practice at Salman, I come to the conclusion that Salman community has a unique pattern of naming practice in

constructing their identity as Muslim. Concepts of Islam *kaffah* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* are the roots of their Islamic understanding. Every members of this community believe and practice this concept in their daily activity. However, in this tied religious institution who has a strict role I found other variant of religious expression.

Through naming practice I found that some parent has different ways in their implementation of Islamic religious teaching. For parent who chooses Arabic name for their children, being a Muslim has to follow Arabic tradition because it fit with Prophet Muhammad practice. In the other hand, for parent who choose mixing name for their children's name they believe that as long as the meaning and their goal of that naming are suitable with Islamic teaching that naming practice also practice of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. And from this stand point Salman community has a strong characteristic in their naming practice which constructs their identity being a Muslim.

This phenomenon shows us that Islamic revivalism in Indonesia has influenced by many factors, one of them is culture. Sundanese culture which has a strong value for Sundanese also influence the way people understand and act as a religious person. Even though Salman as religious institution has a strong pattern and value of Islam, but people seems have different understanding about what is Islam and how become a pious Muslim. This phenomenon also describe that people think identity as Muslim its does not really relate with Arabic culture. Identities as part of family and also as part of one local tradition also appear in the naming practice at Salman community.

This phenomenon articulates that even though people have a same religious institution, passed a same religious experience but their understanding about Islam is different. Concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has shape between one another. Concept of Arab is not Islam also become an important issue, this appear when some families prefer not to use Arabic word as their Islamic identity even in the small and simple action like in naming practice.

Identity itself is adynamic process and through naming practice at Salman we can see how identities as Muslim were constructed. Sundanese itself has leaved their identity as Sundanese ethnic and become Muslim identity. And they choose become Muslim *kaffah* which has consequences that identity as Muslim has a strong power rather than other identity. In the term become Muslim *kaffah*, they leave every traditional ritual at naming practice. They believe that aspious Muslim should only follow tradition from Rasulullah. They constitute traditional ritual as waste activity and outside Islamic teaching. Aqiqah is the right Islamic tradition, through naming practice that they are doing they try to change people mind about Islamic teaching. In the other hand, they way people understand and practice Islam *kaffah* is different from one to another. This phenomenon was addressed in naming practice at Salman which has many variations. Even though they have different patterns in naming practice but the main goal of naming practice at Salman is constructing Islamic identity.

