

el harakah

JURNAL BUDAYA ISLAM

**THE ROLE OF AL-JAILAINI'S HAGIOGRAPHY AMONG
JAVANESE MUSLIMS IN YOGYAKARTA**

Abdul Munip

**THE RELIGIOUS CONSTRUCTION OF KIAI ON
PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM**

M. Turhan Yani, M. Ali Haidar, Warsono, and FX Sri Sadewo

**ACCULTURATION OF ISLAM AND JAVANESE
CULTURE IN PUBLIC SERVANT ETHICS**

Sholih Muadi & Ahmad Sofwani

**AL-ADIB AL-MUSLIM WA QADHIYAH
AL-ILTIZAM FI AL-ADAB**

Yaqub Alhaji Abdullahi

**AL-ILTIZAM AL-ISLAMI FI ASY-SYI'R AL-'ARABI
FI BILAD YORBA NIGERIA**

Lateef Onireti Ibraheem



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Jurnal el Harakah telah terakreditasi berdasarkan Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Nomor 36a/E/KPT/2016, tertanggal 23 Mei 2016 tentang akreditasi terbitan berkala ilmiah (Periode I Tahun 2016) masa berlaku Agustus 2016 s.d. Agustus 2021

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Alamat redaksi: Kantor Informasi dan Publikasi (INFOPUB) UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang Gedung Rektorat Lt.4 Jalan Gajayana No.50, Malang 65145 Telp. +6282333435641/+6285785579958 faks.(0341) 572533 email: elharakahjurnal@gmail.com, URL <http://ejournal.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/infopub/index>

PEDOMAN TRANSLITRASI

Arab	Latin	Arab	Latin
ا	a	ض	dh
ب	b	ط	th
ت	t	ظ	zh
ث	ts	ع	'
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dz	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w
ش	sy	ه	h
ص	sh	ي	y

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THE ROLE OF AL-JAILAINI'S HAGIOGRAPHY AMONG JAVANESE MUSLIMS IN YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract:

The Islamic rituals in Indonesia have been studied from several perspectives by many scholars. The rituals are usually performed by using several tools, and the text is most used and read in every ritual. However, the studies do not explain the text used in the rituals comprehensively. Therefore, this paper is meant to describe the roles or functions of the text used in the manaqiban ritual performed by Jamaah Aolia Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta. Using a qualitative method based on participate observations and in-depth interviews, the study finds that an-Nur al-burhani, a Javanese translation of al-Jailani's hagiography, is the crucial tool in the ritual. The text is merely a historical book about the miracles of al-Jailani, but it has been sacred and transformed with several functions. First, the text serves as a manual for performing the manaqiban. Second, the text as a sacred mantra must be read in the ritual. Third, the text can serve as a consolation for the participants. Fourth, the text serves as a binder for internal group solidarity. Fifth, the text as a source of educational values.

Ritual Islam di Indonesia telah diteliti dari beberapa perspektif oleh para ilmuwan. Biasanya, ritual dilakukan dengan menggunakan beberapa sarana, dan teks adalah sarana yang paling digunakan dan dibaca dalam setiap ritual. Namun demikian, beberapa hasil penelitian tersebut tidak menjelaskan teks yang digunakan dalam ritual secara komprehensif. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini dimaksudkan untuk menggambarkan peran dan fungsi teks dalam ritual manaqiban yang diselenggarakan oleh Jamaah Aolia Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta. Dengan menggunakan pengamatan partisipatif dan wawancara mendalam,

penelitian ini menemukan bahwa *an-Nur al-burhani*, sebuah buku terjemahan berbahasa Jawa dari hagiografi *al-Jailani*, adalah sarana terpenting dalam ritual. Teks buku ini pada dasarnya hanyalah narasi tentang karamah *al-Jailani*, namun telah diskralkan sehingga memiliki beberapa fungsi. Pertama, teks sebagai manual dalam pelaksanaan *manaqiban*. Kedua, teks sebagai sebuah mantra sakral yang harus dibaca dalam ritual. Ketiga, teks dapat berfungsi sebagai hiburan bagi para peserta. Keempat, teks berfungsi sebagai pengikat solidaritas internal. Kelima, teks sebagai sumber nilai pendidikan.

Keywords: *manaqiban*; text and ritual; *an-Nur al-Burhani*; *al-Jailani*; mantra.

Introduction

Hagiography is a special literary genre which tells about the good life and gives exemplar from the story of holy men and women (Mansouri, 2012). The existence of the hagiographical book cannot be separated from religious life. Among Christians, the hagiography about their holy figures, known as Saint (St.) was written with the purpose to serve as a minimal model for Christians. The tradition of writing hagiographies among Christians has been going on since the middle of the 2nd century AD. The writing of hagiography in Christian circles is more intended as documentation of the Saint's life and based on a cult-like motif (Head, 1990). However, there has been no further information that the hagiography was used as a text read in cult rituals in the Christian tradition. "The aim of hagiographers was not to produce biography in the modern sense but sought rather portray a saint as an exemplar of the Christian life" (Head, n.d.: 3).

Meanwhile, among the Muslims, the writing tradition of hagiography known as *manaqib* is also found. In Muslims circle, the holy figures in which their *manaqib* is written, are the Prophet Muhammad (Jati, 2012), his companions, and the Sufi figures known as *waliyullah*. The concept of *waliyullah* is more understood in Sufi terminology, i.e., someone who is considered to have very close to God spiritually. Moreover, a man regarded as *waliyullah* also has advantages beyond reason or miracles as God-given privileges due to his proximity. The privilege is called the *karamah* which often used as an indicator of a person's sainthood (Al-Maraqi, 1962).

The writing of *manaqib* in Islam is not only meant as a source of written information about the life journey of a *waliyullah*, but also used as a reading in a ritual known as *manaqiban*. The tradition of *manaqib* reading in Indonesian

Muslims, especially the followers of the *tarekat* (Sufi brotherhood), actually has been going on a long time. The most famous *waliyyullah* in Indonesia is Syaikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (1077-1166), although he is not Indonesian Muslim (Al-Gailani, 2016; Al-Kailani, 2014: 29). At least, 70 Arabic hagiographical books talking about him (Ad-Duhaibi 2007: 7–11). One of those is a work of Syaikh Ja‘far al-Barzanji (1714-1764) entitled *al-Lujain ad-dani fi dzikr nubdzah min manaqib asy-Syaikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani*. This book was written approximately in 1763 and immediately got a good reputation especially among followers of Tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyah (TQN) in Indonesia. The name of this *tarekat* refers to ‘Abd al-Qadir himself as a founder (Bruinessen, 2000). Bruinessen notes that in 1883 there has been a tradition of *manaqib* reading as part of efforts to overcome the difficulties of life (Bruinessen, 2000). More recently, the tradition of *manaqib* reading is also still going on in various places with each uniqueness. In the anthropological view, the tradition covers religious rituals beside of the various formal religious rituals in the forms of *ibadah* (worship). Lately, the study of ritual tends to liberate itself from the shadows of both anthropology and sociology and tries to become an independent study (Kreinath, 2005).

Some researches on the *manaqiban* have been reported by scholars. Ta’rifin has observed the *manaqiban* ritual held in a village in Comal, Pematang Central Java, which was carried out in turn from house to house of participants. Moreover, Ta’rifin finds the evidence of a shift in the implementation of the *manaqiban* in the Comal. If in the past, the ritual leader should be the person who has *ijazah* (authority), now anyone can lead the ritual. Again, the participants of the ritual also are no longer required in the free circumstances from *hadats*.

Moreover, the *uberampe* (equipment) prepared carefully is no longer a significant concern. In short, the ritual has taken place pragmatically in Comal. One thing that hasn’t changed is the perception of the participants regard this ritual as a way for obtaining God’s blessings and way out from the problems of their life (Ta’rifin, 2009). Similarly, In Madura, the *Kadiran* is the unique ritual about the figure of al-Jailani (Hadi, 2013).

Meanwhile, Widiyanto concludes that *dzikr* implies various meanings for the members of the Naqsyabandiyah *tarekat* in the Netherlands, i.e., the *dzikr* as something used in healing physical illnesses, and others perceive it as a means to attain *barakah* for their livelihood (Widiyanto, 2006). In other hand, the *manaqiban* is a kind of *dzikr berjamaah* (memorizing God together)

that strengthens social solidarity among participants (Huda, 2011). In line with that, Millie argues that reciting al-Jailani's *manaqib* is *tawasul*. His finding is based on several month research in West Java about *pengaosan layang* or *karamat* reading (a singing paper about *karamat* of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani). The *layang* is a Sundanese translation of the *Khulashat al-mafakhir* (Synopsis of the noble deeds) of Abdullah bin As'ad al-Yafi'i (1298-1367), widely used in the *karamat* reading (Millie, 2008). By using the political perspective, Sahri describes the content of al-Jailani's *manaqib*, written by al-Barzanji. Sahri concludes that al-Jailani has implemented "the struggle from without" as a political strategy toward the political rulers. The strategy is shown by his attitude to make the gap with the rulers (Sahri, 2011). A philological study about *Primbon Jaelani* in Javanese is also conducted to understand the inter-textual relationship with *Primbon Bataljemur Adammakna* (Hidayati, 2013).

The research findings above have not reached out specifically the functions of text in the ritual. Even though, the essential part of the implementation of the ritual is the text of *manaqib*, so its function in the *manaqiban* ritual needs adequate explanation. In Javanese context, the most popular al-Jailani's *manaqib* is *an-Nur al-burhani*, a Javanese version of *al-Lujain ad-dani*, translated by Muslih al-Maraqi (Munip, 2018). Al-Maraqi is not only a translator but also a new writer, because of some additional information about Sufism in his *an-Nur al-burhani*. In part one of *an-Nur al-burhani*, al-Maraqi describes Sufism in general and gives manual guidance for holding *manaqiban* ritual explicitly.

This paper is meant to validate how the manual is implemented by participants in the real *manaqiban* ritual, and how the function of the *manaqib* text such as *an-Nur al-burhani* inferred from the field. Therefore, this paper is originally a research report about the *manaqiban* ritual held by the *Jamaah Manaqib Aolia*, located in Panggang III, Giriharjo, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. The discussion in this paper begins with a short description of the ritual theory and research method. Furthermore, the book of *manaqib* used in the ritual also needs to be explained. Meanwhile, the procession of *manaqiban* is reported so that it identifies how the text of *manaqib* is instrumental in the ritual. Finally, abstractions about the function of the text in the *manaqiban* ritual will be presented in its own.

Ritual Theory: A Brief Description

In the context of the study of religion, ritual is an activities in the sacred ceremony or the sacred acts done by a group of believers, which is

characterized by the presence of various elements and components, namely the existence of a time, place, and tools of the ceremony, as well as those who run ceremony (Koentjaraningrat, 1985: 56). The ritual is necessarily a series of words and actions performed by adherents of a religion by using objects and tools in a particular place and clothes. The ritual can be observed from different perspectives. In general, anthropologists observe rituals from its inner symbolic meaning. The cultural studies is not an experimental science for seeking a rule but an interpretive science looking for meaning. While sociologists have put more emphasis on ritual functions in social life, so the functional approach is often used to explain rituals. Later, the psychological perspective is also introduced to view the rituals that are not purely cultural and social, but also psychological. The convergent developments across social scientific disciplines provide evidence that ritual is a psychologically prepared, culturally inherited, and behavioral trademark of our species (Watson-Jones and Legare, 2016: 42-46).

The more representative theory to observe the ritual is what expressed by Turner. He approved the words of Wilson that: "I see in the study of rituals the key to an understanding of the philosophy of life constitution of human societies"(Turner, 1991). It indicates that the ritual is culturally essential to understand the life of the community. Then, Turner says that "the symbol is the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior. It is the ultimate unit of a specific structure in a ritual context". Indeed, in his view, "the ritual is an aggregation of symbols." Therefore, if the ritual is dominated by symbols, so the analysis must be paid to those symbols.

The meanings of symbols cover three categories, i.e., exegetical, operational, and positional meanings. The exegetical meanings are inferred from informants or participants of the ritual. Operational meanings can be concluded not only from informant's sayings, but also from their acts in the ritual. While positional meanings can be inferred from interpreting a specific symbol in relation with other symbols in the ritual. The functions of the ritual have two functions, namely integrative and emotive functions. An integrative function can be seen that the ritual will be able to integrate and unify the people by strengthening primary keys and cultural values beyond and above the individuals and groups. An emotive function can be seen that ritual may be a media for expressing emotions of the participants, both positive and negative.

On the other hand, the text has a vital role in the ritual. The text can be a *mantra* (ritual spells), *do'a* (prayers), or written text recited in the ritual. Tiwi

found that there are two functions of *mantra* in the ritual, namely individual and social functions. Individually, the *mantra* causes someone to believe in the existence of a supernatural force in nature. The *mantra* can also be used as a medium for thanksgiving to God. While, socially the *mantra* can be used as a medium for educating children or adolescent; an entertainment for people are in a grieving situation; and enforcement of group solidarity (Tiwi, 2012). Moreover, Suwendi notes that the text has three functions in the ritual: magical function, informative function, and emotive function.

Method

This research is qualitatively conducted. Participate observations are applied for describing procession of the *manaqiban* ritual held by *Jamaah Aolia* in Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta. In-depth interviews are used to obtain the verbal data about opinions, feelings, impressions, and experiences of the participants about the implementation of the *manaqiban* ritual. The research subjects are determined by using the technique of snowball sampling, and KH. Ibn Hajar Dharma Pranolo (75 years), popularly called as Mbah Benu, is chosen as the critical informant because of his role as a leader in the *manaqiban* ritual. Some participants were also interviewed. Collected data are validated by using triangulation, and then analyzed with the stages in the form of description, reduction, categorization, and theorization.

Overview of the *Manaqib* Book of Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani

The *manaqib* book used in the *manaqiban* ritual by *Jamaah Aolia* in Gunung Kidul is *an-Nur al-burhani* of Kyai Muslih al-Maraqi (1908-1981), a *Mursyid* of TQN and a leader of Pesantren Futuhiyah Mranggen Demak (Masrur, 2014). *An-Nur al-burhani* is Javanese translation of al-Barzanji's work entitled *al-Lujain ad-dani*. *An-Nur al-burhani* consists of two volumes and published by Karya Toha Putera Semarang in 1962. Volume 1 is an introduction in which Kyai Muslih speaks about several terms related to law status of *manaqib*, *tawasul* (mediation in praying), *khawariq al-adat* (extraordinary), *karamah* of saints, and manual for doing *manaqib*. Kyai Muslih prefers to use the question-answer style for describing the topics above rather than narration style. Meanwhile, volume 2 is the Javanese translation from Arabic *al-Lujain ad-dani*.

After the introduction, the author begins his book with narrating about the birth of al-Jailani and his ancestors that connect to Prophet Muhammad via his beloved daughter, Fatimah. It is believed that al-Jailani had shown his

miracles from early childhood when he did not want to suckle his mother in Ramadhan (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 21). The next narration is about al-Jailani 's teachers, and how he pursued all branches of Islamic knowledge from them and then lived in deserts of Iraq for 25 years, where he did not meet anyone else. The next pages are decorated by some narrations about other al-Jailani 's miracles, like his capability to answer all questions of a group of *ulama* (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 32-33), refusing the distractions of *jin* who claimed to be God (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 45-46), reliving the rooster again (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 59), helping people remotely from his *madrasah* (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 61-65), treating sick people because of the disruption of a *jin* (Al-Maraqi, 1962b: 65-66), and so on. The author also inserts al-Jailani 's advice to his followers and closes the book with sentences of prayer recommended to pray after reading the book.

Procession of the *Manaqiban* Ritual

There is not clear when did the *manaqiban* ritual of Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani in Indonesia firstly begin. Since the presence of the Qadiriyyah *tarekat* in Indonesia, however, it can be reported, that in the 19th century the ritual was conducted by some people. It seems that the existence of *manaqiban* is inseparable from the Qadiriyyah *tarekat* which is an institutionalization of the Sufi teachings and practices initiated by Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (Bruinessen, 2000). The development of the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyah* (TQN) in Indonesia causes the rising of *manaqiban* ritual. It is recorded, at least two pesantren as the pioneer of TQN that routinely conducted the *manaqiban* ritual, i.e., the Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya of West Java and the Pesantren Futuhiyyah Mranggen in Demak, Central Java. Meanwhile, the other spreaders and followers of TQN who have been reaching out to all of the Javanese community also play an active role in organizing the *manaqiban* ritual in their places. Moreover, the role of translators, publishers, and booksellers of the *manaqib* book also participate in providing access of the *manaqib* text, even now its digital version is also available in e-book form or application that can be read by using a smartphone.

Usually, the *manaqiban* ritual is carried out in every 11th of the month in lunar calendar, considered as the date of the death of Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani who died on *Rabi at-Thani* 11th 561 Hijra. At the anniversary of al-Jailani's death, the *manaqiban* ritual is usually held with more extensive scale, known as the *manaqiban kubra*, in several centers of TQN. Even, the ritual has also been conducted in various public places such as the Istiqlal

Mosque, Jakarta (Pojoksatu, 2016), in Pesantren Simarasa Ciamis West Java (Poskotanews, 2016), and some other places. The *manaqiban* ritual is also organized on the initiative or invitation from someone who wants to hold a *syukuran* (thanksgiving ceremony) or ask for prayer from the participants because he needs a great blessing from God. In some areas in Javanese community, the *slametan* ceremony as a form of gratitude to God favors received by someone is often accomplished by inviting neighbors or *Jamaah* to hold the *manaqiban* ritual at his/her home. For example, Pak Kasan who lives in Tegal Central Java, when his son was accepted as a new policeman, He invited his neighbors and his friends of *Jamaah manaqiban* in the village to hold the *manaqiban* ritual in his home. In respect to participants, Pak Kasan provides the food, drink, and *berkat* as a giving for them. Another sample is the *manaqiban* that conducted by someone whom his daughter is accepted as a civil servant. On the other hand, the *manaqiban* is often done by someone individually, regarding its function as one of the *tawasul* media in asking help or blessing from God. In this case, the particular ritual of *manaqiban* does not require more complete facilities and processions than the group ritual.

In this paper, the individual attention is given to the procession of *manaqiban* ritual lead by KH Ibn Hajar Saleh Pranolo (Mbah Benu, 75 years), a prominent *ulama* in Panggang, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta. The ritual s began in 1980. Although Mbah Benu is an adherent of *Syatariyah tarekat*, because of his father's *dawuh* (instruction) which he has received through dreams repeatedly, he finally begins to perform the *manaqiban* ritual of Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani , rather than the founder of *Syatariyah tarekat* he follows. In his dream, the father asks him to wear "the coat he left immediately." The dream continues to recur so Mbah Benu think about the meaning of the dream, and he concludes that he must continue the tradition of reading *manaqib* of Syaikh Abd al-Qadir that is one of his father's habits. Since he starts performing the *manaqiban* ritual, his father come back in dreams, saying: "Well, now you understand what I mean" (interview with Mbah Benu).

Until now, the *manaqiban* ritual is held in Aolia mosque every month at the night of 11th in *Hijra* calendar and attended by more than 1500 people, who come from the areas around Panggang Gunung Kidul, even some come from outside of Gunung Kidul. The procession of this *manaqiban* ritual is led directly by Mbah Benu. The presence of the participants or *Jamaah* shows that the ritual takes place in the hearts of participants, because they come to attend the event without any invitation, just based on information spread

from word of mouths. The Aolia mosque does not seem able to accommodate all of the participants so that it spilled into the street. The *manaqiban* ritual is held from 10:00 PM and ended at around 01:00 AM.

The *manaqiban* is also carried out in rotation in several houses of faithful participants, scattered in Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, Bantul, and Sleman. The participants have various levels of education and social status. There are some famous university lecturers in Yogyakarta with a doctorate, military commanders, businesspeople, farmers, entrepreneurs, employees, and others. They can be regarded as spiritual disciples of Mbah Benu, who are always faithful to follow wherever the ritual conducted. Mbah Benu's relationship with his disciples is quite familiar. It is proved by his jokes in communication with them as if there is no distance between them. At the time of the ritual located in the head office of a company in Nitikan Yogyakarta, he is willing to wait for some participants who are considered "important" and are in need of spiritual help. When the awaited participants come, then the ritual is begun. Mbah Benu leads directly to all the processions of *manaqiban* from beginning to end. According to him, it is done so that all participants can focus on following the sacred *manaqiban* ritual. If someone else is involved in leading the ritual, it is feared the concentration of participants split. The ritual procession of *manaqiban* ids as follows:

Activities before the *manaqiban* ritual

In the night of Sunday, December 24, 2017, at 09:00 PM, it appears that Mbah Benu already presents at the location where about 25 kilometers from his residence. The night is the schedule of the *manaqiban* at the home of one of Mbah Benu disciples whose location is in Nitikan Yogyakarta. Some participants are present, and immediately put themselves in the space provided. Meanwhile, Mbah Benu is giving advice individually for a woman who is having problems. It is not clear what they are talking about, but the woman looks seriously listening to Mbah Benu's advice.

At 09:30 PM, Mbah Benu entered the *manaqiban* place, while the participants prepared to participate the event seriously. He occupies the space provided, surrounded by his followers. Who seats around Mbah Benu are the participants those personally close to him. In front of him, there is a lot of bottled mineral water that the lid opened. The mineral water is deliberately carried by participants who believed that the water of *manaqiban* has benefits for treatment and others. At that night there were about 75 people present in a

room. While waiting for other participants, especially those who are considered essential, Mbah Benu invites other participants to talk about anything, while giving spiritual advice. The participants faithfully listen to Mbah Benu's talk. The style of his talk makes the atmosphere of the night warm with his jokes.

After the awaited participants are present, then Mbah Benu asks to turn off the lights, but he can read the *manaqib* book under an emergency light covered with a paper in such a way that the light can only illuminate the book. He also requests that the *kemenyan* (incense) be immediately burned. The distinctive aroma of Arabic incense fills the room so that the sacred and magical atmosphere begins to be felt. Furthermore, Mbah Benu conveys *tausiyah* (advice) related to how a Muslim should behave in facing life. According to him, the essential keys to enter heaven are to pray in time with *berjamaah* (congregation) and *bershadaqah* (giving charity), primarily during the *majelis ilmu* (religious lecture) like this event.

Core activities during the *manaqiban* ritual

After giving *tausiyah*, Mbah Benu starts the *manaqiban*. The ritual is begun with *hadlarah* or reading sura al-Fatiha which is expected to be rewarded to the intended persons. Firstly, al-Fatiha is addressed to the Prophet Muhammad, then his companions, the *awliya'*, especially Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani, and also the founders of other Sufi *tarekats*. He also sends al-Fatiha to his ancestors, especially some Islamic Mataram kings, such as Panembahan Senopati, Sultan Agung, Sunan Amangkurat Tegalarum, Sultan Hamengkubuwono 1 and 3, and others. Al-Fatiha is also read as *wasilah* (medium) for asking salvation to God for all those present in the event.

Furthermore, Mbah Benu leads the reading or singing of *shalawat* to the Prophet Muhammad Saw followed by the participants. The sound of this *shalawat* is: *Allahmumma shalli 'ala man sammaitahu Ahmada wa Muhammadan wa Sayyidan, Muhammadun Rasulullah*. The reading of *shalawat* lasts about 10 minutes, then followed by a solicitation to ask Allah to forgive them by reading *Sayyid al-Istighfar* 3 times with a humble tone and sung in Javanese style rhythm followed by a translation in the Javanese language. The *istighfar* is *Allahmumma Anta Rabbi, la ilaha illa Anta, khalaqtaniwa ana 'abduka, wa ana 'ala 'ahdika wa wa'dika mastatha'tu*. The ritual situation becomes solemn, because of the crying sound of participants who feel many sins. By using Javanese language, Mbah Benu asks God so that all sin of participants forgiven.

The next step is the *tahlilan* consisting of reading sura al-Ikhlash, al-Falaq, an-Nas, al-Fatiha, first verses of al-Baqarah, *ayat kursi*, last verses of al-Baqarah, *istighfar*, *shalawat*, *la ilaha illallah*, *tasbih*, and closing prayer. It is interesting that Mbah Benu reads the *Hizib Nashr* that is believed as a prayer to get help from God in facing the enemy. After the *tahlilan*, Mbah Benu reads the book of *an-Nur al-burhani*. He scans the book so it is challenging to listen openly. His articulation is also not clear, and it is challenging to be understood. However, each he finds word of al-Jailani, he reads it loudly, followed by the phrase “*radhiyallahu anhu*” by the participants. Likewise, when he reads the name of Muhammad Rasulullah, the participants answer it by saying “*shalallahu ‘alaih*”. When he comes to the narration of al-Jailani’s ancestors, he sings *syi’ir* (poetry) together with the participants, and when he comes to the end of a fragment of the story, the participants pray as provided in the text, i.e. *Allahmumma unshur nafhati ar-ridwan ‘alaihi, wa amiddana bi al-asrar al-latiawda’taha ladaihi*.

When it comes to the story of the rooster revived by al-Jailani with Allah’s permission, and then the rooster says *la ilaha illallah Muhammadun Rasulullah, Syaikh ‘Abd al-Qadir waliyyullah*, the participants mimic the rooster shoutingly three times. When Mbah Benu comes to the saying of al-Jailani, i.e. “*Idza sa’altum Allah ta’ala fas’aluhu bi*” (If you want to ask Allah, please ask him through me), the all participants pause to do *tawasulan* (asking God’s help) through al-Jailani, led by Mbah Benu by reading the sentence of *tawasulan* 7 times. This sentence is added initially by Kyai Muslih as the translator and not found in the original text of *al-Lujain ad-dani*.

When Mbah Benu reads *faqdhi hajatina* (God, please grant our needs), all of the participants are permitted to plead silently and personally to God. This opportunity is not wasted by the participants to plead to God by their interests. Usually, the participants are motivated to follow the ritual of *manaqiban* for this purpose actively. After the *manaqib* reading finished, Mbah Benu ends the ritual with prayer, and all of the participants sing together a collection of Arabic poetry which genuinely is the prayer to God. A collection of poetry is still a part of the text in the original *manaqib*. The poetry is essentially a plea to God through *al-awliya* (saints). After everything finished, Mbah Benu ends the ritual with apologies to the participants for any mistake during the ritual. Precisely at 11:00 PM, the reading of *manaqib* is done successfully.

Activities after the *manaqiban* ritual

After the series of events in the *manaqiban* ritual are complete, then Mbah Benu talks that the *manaqiban* in this time is really smooth and very powerful. He says that the invited *awliya* (saints) attend and follow the ritual. He also explains why the lights turned off when the *manaqiban* is going on. According to him, it is intentionally done so that the saints are pleased to attend the *manaqiban*, and the participants can follow the ritual seriously. He has done the *manaqiban* in one time, but a lot of *demit* (ghost) attend the ritual, in contrast to the current *manaqiban* which is attended by many *awliya*'.

Furthermore, Mbah Benu gives the opportunity to anyone to ask about anything, related to *manaqiban* or another religious issue. A young man asks several questions about heaven and who is Mbah Benu? Mbah Benu answers that in the heaven one will be given the beautiful women by Allah. This answer is related to the status of the questioner as a single man. About the question of who is Mbah Benu? He says that he does not know who he is. The most know about him is who creates him, namely Allah, then if you want to know who he is, please ask God who creates him.

Several notes are referred from the description about the procession of the *manaqiban* ritual above. **First**, Mbah Benu as a leader in the ritual takes the dominant role. He leads the procession of *manaqiban* from beginning to end, including reading the text of *an-Nur al-burhani*, praying and others. He can also be considered as a medium for the participants in conjunction with the unseen persons. He has full authority in performing the ritual, even without criticism. Although he reads the *manaqib* text very fast and the articulation is unclear, but the participants still give no correction or criticism. The full trust of the participants to the authority of Mbah Benu seems to be in line with the relation of Sufi *murisyid* (teacher) and his *murid* (disciples) in Sufi *tarekat*. There is a charisma in his personality that makes the participants do not dare to criticize. In contrast, the participants give a great respect to him and believe that he can help them in asking God to provide a way out from their life problems both in the world and the hereafter. Therefore, the participants often give him money, cigarette, and others as an expression of their gratitude.

Second, there is a belief among the participants that the *manaqiban* ritual is very beneficial as efforts to solve the problem of health, economics, career, political, spiritual, households, and others. In one occasion, Mbah Benu tells the story of a criminal case (of corruption) is being dealt with the Attorney General and involving one of his followers. Mbah Benu is asked for

help by the follower so he will not go to jail. Director of the JNE, a developing airfreight service companies in Indonesia, also believes the positive impact of the *manaqiban* on the development of his company. Mbah Benu once told that since the JNE was a small company with small assets, its owner always held *manaqiban* until now, when the company developed into a great asset with trillions. There are fears if his business will be bogged down if he stops following the *manaqiban*.

Third, the *manaqiban* ritual can unite the participants from various backgrounds of educational, social and economic. All participants sit together without any border of social status. There is one commonality of purpose in making the ritual as a kind of the spiritual efforts for solving the problems they face. **Fourth**, the *manaqiban* ritual organized by *Jamaah Aolia* under the leadership of Mbah Benu does not require complicated means as magical rituals in general. There's only the *hio* (joss sticks) or *kemenyan* (incense) burned during the procession of the *manaqiban*, mineral water, and original dishes. Joss sticks or incense sticks symbolize the rising of praying, and supplications to God in conjunction with the incense smoke rose to the top. The big room where the ritual is also filled by the smell of incense making the impression of the sacred situation. The use of incense in the ritual is often associated with traditions of religions before Islam, namely Hinduism and Buddhism, so there are some Muslims who regard the use of incense as the deeds of the *tasyabuh* (resembling of other religious teachings), even it is considered as the act of shirk. The mineral water should not be provided in the ritual. The water is carried by some people who believe that water of the *manaqiban* has various benefits, i.e., for the treatment of both physical and psychological illnesses. While the dishes presented in a box whose contents snacks and rice also are not part of the actual necessity in the ritual. The dishes are provided by the host to the participants as a charity.

The Functions of Text in the *Manaqiban* Ritual

The presence of *an-Nur al-burhani* as a text is significant in the *manaqiban* ritual organized by *Jamaah Aolia*. Based on observations, at least there are some functions of the text in the ritual, i.e.

Text as a manual for performing the ritual

In *an-Nur al-burhani*, there is a manual how to carry out the *manaqiban*. Based on observations, the manual is applied consistently by all participants.

It is true that Mbah Benu modifies and adds some prayers that are not in the text of *an-Nur al-burhani*, but it does not reduce anything of the ritual series described in the book. In other words, the role of text in *an-Nur al-burhani* as a manual book is seen consistently implemented in the ritual.

Text as a sacred and magical mantra

By observing the *manaqiban* ritual performed by *Jamaah Aolia*, the text of *an-Nur al-burhani* can be considered as a mantra for performing the ritual that structurally covers three stages, i.e., opening mantra, core or primary mantra, and closing mantra. The opening mantra is often called *hadharah*, i.e., the reading sura al-Fatiha which is devoted to the Prophet Muhammad, his companion, the angels, the guardian or saints, and deceased ancestors. In this case, sura al-Fatiha has three functions. First, as the opening prayer of the ritual and others. It is already common among most Muslims to recite sura al-Fatiha, when they would start corporate events, such as starting the learning activities in the classroom, study, and others. Usually, the reciting al-Fatiha is led by a teacher or master ceremony by saying the phrase as follows: "*li rida'illah wa li syafa'ati Rasulillah, al-Fatiha*" which means "for the sake of God and intercession from The Messenger, let us read sura al-Fatiha". Furthermore, all participants of the event read al-Fatiha loudly.

Second, al-Fatiha also serves as a mantra which is considered an effective way to ask Allah so that the reward of reading given to the intended people, or at least sura al-Fatiha is believed having a positive impact for them. The belief is based on Prophet's saying: "*al-Fatiha lima quri'at lahu,*" means that al-Fatiha can be read for solving all intended problems. Third, the reciting al-Fatiha also serves as a first keyword to connect with the unseen and holy people in the occult world. It is believed that although they have already left the world, they are still alive in other world or the hereafter.

It is a common belief among adherents of Sufism that the holy people who have lived very close to God are allowed to be as a *wasilah* or a medium in order for prayer is granted by God. It is because of an inferiority feeling among participants of the ritual in front of God due to the sins that they do. That is a reason, why they will ask for the help of the holy people or saints that have left the world to let them join the ask Allah. Also, for Mbah Benu, reading sura al-Fatiha is not merely as a keyword to connect with the occult world, but at the same time as an invitation for holy people or saints to attend the ritual together with the other participants. He often claims that whenever

the *manaqiban* is held, Syaikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani always participates and condones the ritual. This recognition is undoubtedly complicated to be validated by ordinary people who do not know anything about the occult world.

The second mantra is the primary mantras which contain the prayers. This mantra is read after opening mantra. In this case, all the text of *an-Nur al-burhani* is the first mantra. It seems there is a transformation from the general function of the *manaqib* text as an informative text narrating the journey of the life of Syaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani becomes a text that serves as a mantra or a prayer. This function is a particular change in the implementation of the *manaqiban* ritual. The text is not studied to get the meanings, but the text is skimmed by ritual leaders regardless of whether the participants who listen to the reading understand its meaning or not.

Understanding the meanings of text is not so great for them. Instead, the blessing of the text or the positive spiritual influences of the text is what they want to get. That is why only ritual leaders carry the book *an-Nur al-burhani*, and none of the participants carry the book. Nevertheless, almost all participants know when it is time to "sing" the prayer together during the recitation of the *manaqib* text. They are also familiar with the hymn because they have repeatedly followed the *manaqiban* ritual. At least, there are five times they sing a prayer together, i.e., in the opening prayer, the poem of al-Jailani 's ancestral lineage, in interceding with al-Jailani , calling *rijal al-ghaib* (unseen figures) to help them plead to Allah, and in the closing prayer requesting *husnul khatimah* (good closing in the death) to God.

Like a mantra, the reading of the *manaqib* text should not be arbitrary. Only those who have the authority are allowed to read the text in a ritual because there are procedures to obey. Recently, however, there is a shift in authority over who has the right to read the texts as Ta'rfin reports, as well as that occurring in the rituals held by MA Futuhiyah's students. Not to mention the existence of the festival where the reading *manaqib* text in Ciamis has undoubtedly lowered the level of the sacred ritual.

Text as a consolation

The *manaqib* text can also serve as a solace and a stress reliever. The ritual of reading *manaqib* text causes the participants to forget for a moment the crush of life problems faced. By following the ritual, there is a glimmer of hope for the possibility of obtaining solutions to the life problems they face. Psychologically, when the heart connected to spiritual beings, it will cause

inner peace. True inner peace is found by submitting to God Almighty. It is where the *manaqib* text serves a kind of tranquilizer against spiritual awareness. The inner calm that all the participants perceive is proved by their strength in sitting and actively following the ritual for more than 2 hours.

Their participation is also very high which is indicated by their timely presence and attention in every stage of the ritual. Moreover, the frequency of attendance of some participants in following the ritual is also quite high. It is evident that they are addicted to the spiritual comforts they get when following the *manaqiban* ritual. Many participants claim to have a blessing in their life after following the ritual, so they want to always participate routinely in the next times. Moreover, the existence of a prayer text "sung" together can also cause the participants to feel soluble and entertained. The rhythm of *shalawat* songs and other prayers creates a peaceful and spiritual atmosphere.

Unfortunately, the reading of the *manaqib* text which dominated by Mbah Benu gives the effect of less appreciation from the participant because the intonation and the tone of reading not heard. Elsewhere, the recitation of the *manaqib* text is sung in a melodious voice with intonation and rhythm that gives comfort to whoever hears it. Factually, in the *waosan layang kanjeng syeikh* ritual, the translated *manaqib* text in Sundanese is sung with a typical Sundanese rhythm, as reported by Millie (Millie, 2008b). Nevertheless, it seems that all participants remain faithful in following the ritual from beginning to end. None of them left the place until the end of the ritual.

Text as a binder of group solidarity

The translated text of *manaqib* like *an-Nur al-burhani* may also serve as the unifying of the participants. The similarities of ritual procedures included in the book cause the participants bound by the same procession. Moreover, if someone of a particular association of a particular group attends the same ritual in the other group, he will not be unfamiliar with the new group. He will soon be able to adapt to the new group because of the similarity of the ritual procession to what he has experienced.

Text as a source of educational values

Indeed, the *manaqib* text contains the educational values that are still relevant to be taught to the participants. Sahri finds some political, educational values contained in the text of al-Jailani's *manaqib*. Among these are al-Jailani's political attitudes that do not want to be co-opted by the authorities and

how he gives rebuke, criticism, and advice to the authorities. In the *manaqib* ritual all participate, it seems that Mbah Benu as a ritual leader does not dig up the educational values contained in the *manaqib* texts. The spiritual advice that he gave to the participants before and after the ritual is more general and situational depending on the needs of them at that time. The sayings that he often repeated are the suggestion about the importance of following the *manaqiban* ritual as a solution to any life problems. Then, he also actively teaches them to love anyone without looking at the background of his tribe and religion. He says: "Do not look at tribes and religions, look at who created them!" Not to forget, he also advises leadership to members of participants who have served as directors and military commanders.

Conclusion

The *manaqiban* ritual is one of the Islamic rituals that has been going on for a long time and still carried out by Muslim Indonesia, including Javanese Muslims. It is believed by participants that the *manaqiban* is one of spiritual efforts to solve their daily life problems. This research finds that the ritual leader has dominated and becomes a central figure in performing the ritual. He leads the ritual, reads the text, and becomes a medium in praying to God. However, the participants seriously follow the ritual from beginning to end. One of the essential means in the *manaqiban* is the text of the *an-Nur al-burhani* by Kyai Muslih al-Maraqi, a Javanese translation of *al-Lujain ad-dani* of Syaikh Ja'far al-Barzanji.

Initially, as a hagiography, *an-Nur al-burhani* is merely a historical book about the right acts and miracles of al-Jailani, however, in fact, the text of *an-Nur al-burhani* has been sacred and transformed from the source of information about al-Jailani's life to the sacred text with several functions. First, the text serves as a manual for performing the *manaqiban* ritual. The manual is added by Kyai Muslih as a translator. Second, the text as a sacred mantra must be read by authority person in the ritual. The mantra is believed as a "shortcut" for asking help from Allah through al-Jailani as a *wasilah* or a medium. Third, the text can serve as a consolation for the participants, because there are many *shalawat* and *syi'ir* sung together. Fourth, the text serves as a binder for internal group solidarity. The text is a symbol that unites *tarekat* members or followers wherever they are. Fifth, the text has a function as a source of educational values. During the ritual, the leader often gives some good lessons from al-Jailani's life to the participants.

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RELIGIOUS VALUE IN NYADRAN CEREMONY IN NGEPRINGAN VILLAGE, SRAGEN

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Abstract

The struggle for modernity gave rise to the degradation of the value of character education. At this stage the revitalization of the value of religious local wisdom in tradition needs to be developed again. The existence of nyadran tradition in Ngepringan continues to be developed by mixing the value of local wisdom with religious values. This unique combination is a form of local wisdom against the individual culture that developed in the community, the development of modernity. This means that the community can not only uphold the cultural values of the ancestors, and also cannot adapt the tradition to conditions, and still insert religious values in it. Nyadran tradition is still played by the Ngepringan community because they are spiritual tourism and become a harmonizer political, social, economic and spiritual life. The collection of data information is through observation and interview with the Ngepringan village community. The purpose of this study is to explore religious values in the Nyadran ceremony procession. This type of research is ethnography with qualitative descriptive method. Data collection techniques use techniques, interviews, documentation, and language content. The data analysis uses interactive analysis technique. The results of this study are to reveal and describe the religious values in the ceremony procession that need to be preserved and improved by the Ngepringan village community in the face of modernity.

Pergulatan modernitas melahirkan degradasi nilai pendidikan karakter. Pada titik ini revitalisasi nilai kearifan lokal religius dalam tradisi perlu dikembangkan kembali. Eksistensi tradisi nyadran di Ngepringan terus dikembangkan dengan

mencampur nilai kearifan lokal dengan nilai religius. Perpaduan yang unik ini merupakan bentuk kearifan lokal melawan budaya individualis yang berkembang di masyarakat mengikuti perkembangan modernitas. Hal ini bermakna bahwa masyarakat disana tidak hanya menjunjung nilai-nilai budaya dari para leluhur, melainkan juga mampu menyesuaikan tradisi dengan kondisi, serta masih menyisipkan nilai-nilai religius di dalamnya. Tradisi nyadran masih tetap dipertahankan oleh masyarakat Ngepringan dikarenakan nyadran sebagai wisata rohani serta menjadi penyelaras kehidupan politik, sosial, ekonomi, dan agama. Informasi data diperoleh melalui observasi dan wawancara dengan masyarakat desa Ngepringan. Tujuan studi ini untuk menggali nilai religius dalam prosesi upacara nyadran. Jenis penelitian ini adalah etnografi dengan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik observasi, wawancara, dokumentasi, dan analisis isi. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis interaktif. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah mengungkap dan mendeskripsikan nilai religius dalam prosesi upacara nyadran yang perlu terus dilestarikan dan ditingkatkan oleh masyarakat desa Ngepringan dalam menghadapi modernitas.

Keywords: local wisdom; nyadran tradition; religious value

Introduction

Man is one of the most perfect creatures of Allah SWT compared to other creatures. Humans have the mind for the process of producing culture. *Budaya* (culture) comes from the word of *budi* (mind) and *daya* (power), then from *budaya* comes up with *kebudayaan* (culture). Culture contains norms and order of values that must be owned and practiced and paid attention by human being whom aware of that tradition. Tradition is an activity carried out from generation to generation becoming a habit. Javanese people in rural areas generally still carry out various traditions. The tradition takes the form of a relationship between man and God, with his neighbor, and with his natural environment still accompanied by symbols, so that the traditions are symbolic. Ngepringan society holding the tradition strongly believe in the balance of the three elements of the relationship, they reflect through a tradition *nyadran* held every year. *Nyadran* implemented by the community is useful as a reflection media to approach Allah SWT.

Nyadran which is held in Ngepringan village is a symbolic form as a thanksgiving to Allah SWT for the abundant fortune. In essence, the existence of a culture can not be separated from talking about symbolism, as well as in addressing the Quran and sunnah as sources or guidelines in Islam (Arinda,

2014: 106). Therefore, the symbolic of *nyadran* can also have its own meaning or purpose not merely to break up or disobey the religion.

The tradition in the community will realize local wisdom values that sometimes encountered in urban society today. Horizontal and vertical relationships in rural communities, manifested because of the full conviction that human life is interconnected with one another. In some areas of Central Java, *nyadran* commonly held at the cemetery before the month of fasting (*Sha'ban*) or in the month of *Suro*, while in Ngepringan, *nyadran* implemented after the harvest as a form of expression of gratitude. Many people are responding to this tradition, especially among religious leaders. Apart from the each judgement, of course a tradition still maintained until now having the goals and values that become the human's point of life, one them is the religious value increasingly faded. Ngepringan society that Muslim population becomes the majority do not want it to happen, along with the demands of the times that makes people more individualist then the tradition of *nyadran* is still preserved as a means of worship to the God or even share with others.

Literature Review

Understanding Local Wisdom of *Nyadran* Tradition

Local wisdom is a tradition celebrated by a group of people to carry out a tradition, thus it is one form of local wisdom. It can be interpreted that local wisdom is a tool, knowledge and practices that can be used to solve problems faced in a good and right way according to society (Ahimsa, 2007: 17). Local wisdom is synonymous with a rural philosophy, that knowledge is derived from the experience of the community which is carried out from generation to generation. Local wisdom that gave birth to a tradition usually used as a guidance of interaction between society, environment, and with Allah SWT. Similarly, local wisdom is also interpreted as a tool of knowledge in a community, whether from previous generations or experience related to the environment and other communities to overcome the challenges of life (Sedyawati, 2007: 18).

The main ideas of local wisdom include cultural features, groups human as the owner of culture, and life experiences that produce characteristics (Rahyono, 2009: 7-9). A local wisdom came from the ancestors has its own defense fortress to face the challenges of the times. This is because the value of local wisdom in a tradition is a hallmark of local identity since birth. Local

wisdom in Javanese culture can be a means to identify the mindset guided by the shared worldview and the view of the world that contains local wisdom (Saddhono, 2017: 10).

A local wisdom between regions must have different implementation procedures (Koentjaraningrat, 2010: 24). These statements explain that the tradition is based on the state of the environment and society in certain areas. The difference occurs because each region has its own customs and behaviors that can't separated by the history of the existence of a village or a region, such as a Javanese village proverb in the manner of the state of *mawa tata*.

The form of local wisdom realized by preserving the traditional wisdom of ancestors related to the natural environment, the source of life, and the interaction with the creator is called the Javanese tradition. Tradition is in an anonymous form which does not know who first started it because tradition is hereditary. Initially a tradition is only done by important people such as kings, village apparatus, religious figures, and public figures then affect the survival in the community because in a tradition contains many spiritual values that can be exemplified and understood in depth. In this case, the religious tradition is the reality of creatures to know the existence of the creator (God). In the religious context, tradition is a hereditary heritage that goes on and on with the times. This necessity needs an understanding, because tradition is a meaningful reality, ironical to the religious context that emphasizes the ritual misbehavior rather than the individuals piety and social strife (Basir, 2013: 69-78).

The above statement is in line with the notion of tradition which is a habit carried out for generations that is still done in the community through the assessment or the assumption that the existing ways are the best and the right way (Debdikbud, 1990: 959). It is also similar to the notion of tradition that everything learned and tradition is a process of doing something called ritual (Anam, 2017: 22). Ritual is a tradition which in its execution has its own way and in tradition usually full of religious values. It can be seen from the tradition *nyadran* which until now still maintained and implemented by the Ngepringan society.

The *nyadran* tradition is associated with the ritual of *nyekar*, *tahlilan*, *tasyakuran* which teaches man to remain in subjection to the power (Jandra, 2011: 1-8). Islamic values contained in the tradition *nyadran* not separated from the value of Javanese culture. According to the Javanese context, the social value of the *nyadran* tradition is associated with the preservation of

the memory so as not to forget its origin by the grave and *nyekar* pilgrimage (Abbas, 2017: 81-90)

Earth alms (*nyadran*) is one of the kinds of people's traditions that are the result of convention or collective agreement of the community to unite (acculturation) Javanese native culture with values taught in Islam (Arinda 2014: 108). *Nyadran* or *sadranan* derived from Sanskrit means the tradition of visiting the graves of ancestors or relatives before the coming of Ramadan. Because the tongue of the Javanese word *sadra* then changed into *nyadran* word that has the meaning of pilgrimage of the grave, tradition *nyadran* is a ritual in the form of a tribute to the ancestral spirits and pray *nyadran nyamat selamat* (Purwadi, 2006: 12). The definition is in line with the notion of *nyadran* is a tradition performed by the Javanese every fasting Ramadan, which is done in the month of Sha'ban (*Hijri* calendar) or *Ruwah* (Javanese calendar) to express gratitude that is done collectively by visiting the grave or ancestral grave which is in a village (Prasetyo, 2010: 2). The meaning of *nyadran* in this case is that people clean their hearts before the month of Ramadan. Thus, it can be synthesized that the tradition of *nyadran* is a symbolic form of people's gratitude towards God.

The Value of Religious Education

Education is a government plan that aims to educate the nation. Talking about education is inseparable from science. In Islam, the obligation of a Muslim to learn throughout life until they get to a grave. Education not only provides knowledge or values and trains its skills, but also has a function to help learners to develop all of their potential, skills, and personal characteristics in a better direction both for themselves and for their environment because learners have the ability to grow and develop (Huda, 2017: 441).

In the world of education in school an educator generally requires students to be able to achieve rank in one class. The core of learning to succeed is the cognitive grade, especially the mark of certain subjects such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. A teacher gives less attention to the moral values owned by his students as a consideration of cognitive value. Such thoughts should be changed immediately by educators and teachers. To face the flow of globalization, one must have a shield of religious teachings. Lately the new education world awakened the character education to form religious character. Religious values are obedience in understanding and implementing the religious teachings (beliefs) are followed, including in this case is a tolerant

attitude to the implementation of others' religious worship (beliefs), and live side by side. Religious value is intended to educate people better, because religion is a binder between man and his God (Kemendikbud, 2010).

With regard to moral education, character education has the same goal. This is because both have the same function to form characters. Islamic terminology, the definition of character has close meaning with moral definition (Fatimah, 2017: 185). The word *akhlak* comes from the word *khalaqa* (Arabic) which means attitude, character and customs. According to the etymological approach, the word *akhlak* is derived from the plural Arabic of its *mufrad khuluq* form which, by accent, means character, attitude, behavior or character. This statement contains an aspect of conformity with the word *khaliq* which means event, and is closely related to *Khaliq* which means creator (Zubaedi, 2011: 65). Thus based on the description that has been described, character education can be associated with the formation of moral. The values taught to build the character *akhlak karimah* should be adjusted to the norms and cultural values that developed in the community.

The form of behavioral education in Islam is called character education. The education has existed since the birth of Islam in the world. One example of the Prophet who taught much improvement in character education was the Prophet Muhammad. Islamic teachings not only teach how to worship the good, but also emphasize on aspects of the behavior of a person living in the world. Even the Prophet Muhammad characterizes there are four aspects of character namely *Shidiq, Tabligh, Amanah, Fathanah* (Mulyasa, 2012: 5). The teachings of Islamic behavior are widely taught by Prophet Muhammad as the end-time prophet to perfect morality and human behavior on earth *innama buitstu li-utanim makarim al akhlak*. Improving human behavior means improving good behavior to eliminate bad behavior and replaced it with sublime behaviors (Nashir, 2013: 23). Thus, behavioral teaching is used to teach character education. According to Islamic teachings, character education is identical with behavioral education, since character and spirituality have a close relationship.

Character-based religious education develops values based on religion by shaping the noble personality, attitudes, and behaviors in life. Religion is also the source of deepest human aspirations, because religion has a set of knowledge, beliefs, moral values, and norms as a source of community order that can foster tranquility for the individual and make man civilized (Abdullah, 2002: 28). Religion becomes a set of ideas of ideas and beliefs in

which everyone can be involved, as well as a framework for life experiences and their daily activities (Humaeni, 2015: 159). In Islam, character education has similarities to behavioral education (Nashir, 2013: 23). Thus religious or spiritual education is an indispensable form of educational character and the basic foundation of the education of other characters.

Based on various things behind the existence of *nyadran* in Ngepringan village, this article is to explain and describe the purpose of *nyadran* tradition as character formation through the value of religious education contained in the tradition of *nyadran* in Ngepringan village, Jenar Subdistrict, Sragen Regency.

Research Method

This research uses ethnography with qualitative descriptive method. It describes the *nyadran* culture that became a convention of the Javanese community of Ngepringan, Sragen. In addition, it also describes the purpose and value of religious education contained in the tradition of *nyadran*. Therefore the data collection process conducted by interviews with informants who came from that area and with one of the leaders of branch boarding school located in the Ngepringan village. In addition to interviews, data collection techniques were conducted by observation and documentation of the implementation of *nyadran*. Technical analysis of data is interactive analysis begun since formulating and explaining the problem until writing of research results (Sugiyono, 2011: 245). Data analysis uses technique is intended to make the data that has been obtained in accordance with the researcher's expectation. Sources of data in this study are informants from Ngepringan village who follow *nyadran*, the process of implementation of *nyadran* tradition, and books related to *nyadran*. The form of data in this study is a description of the purpose of holding *nyadran* and religious values in *nyadran*.

Results

Based on the results of observations and interviews conducted with informants that most of the population Ngepringan livelihood as a farmer and embraced Islam. Based on interviews with Suparno (65 year) *nyadran* tradition has its own purpose for Ngepringan residents. The tradition of *nyadran* is still preserved because within the tradition it contains religious values (Munir 55 year). As for the purpose *nyadran* procession and religious values contained in it are presented in the table below.

Table 1. Results of Observation and Interview *Nyadran* Purpose in Ngepringan

No	The Purpose of Nyadran Tradition in Ngepringan
1.	Tradition <i>nyadran</i> as a means of worship and reassuring the soul and peaceful in the heart for those who hold the tradition of <i>Nyadran</i> .
2.	The expression of gratitude to Allah SWT embodied in the party of the people after the harvest is called <i>nyadran</i>
3.	<i>Nyadran</i> became a gathering place among members of the society. It can be realized with the harmony between residents in the tomb following the ceremony of <i>nyadran</i>
4.	This tradition has become a diversity teaching that is believed to unite local cultural heritage with Islamic teachings
5.	Thanksgiving to Allah SWT by keeping the balance of the environment

Table 2. Observation and Interview Result of Religious Value in *Nyadran* Tradition of Ngepringan Village

No	Religious Value in Tradis <i>Nyadran</i> Ngepringan Village
1.	Worship
2.	Tahlilan
3.	<i>prayer</i>
4.	Istigasah
5.	Praise
6.	Nyekar
7.	Sedekahan

Discussion

The Purpose of the *Nyadran* Tradition

The *nyadran* tradition in the Ngepringan community is held once a year during the dry season after harvest. *Nyadran* took in two times and places a day. In the morning at 6 until 7 *nyadran* is held in the ancestral grave and during the day at 1 to 2 oclock in *punden*. *Nyadran* tradition begins with *sambatan* (cleaning the environment toghether) or *gugur gunung* cleaning environment in Ngepringan village. Afterwards, the men usually go to clean the ancestral graves, then clean the *punden* together. The activity is done one day before *nyadran* procession. For Ngepringan society, the annual *nyadran* or *sadranan* program is an expression of the socio-religious reflection that was carried out

to recall the ancestors who had preceded it. This is an attempt at preserving the tradition of the ancestors in which the aim is as an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT.

While in Solo traditions *nyadran* done the day before the fasting. *Nyadran* performed in the mosque with food placed on the plate. Differences in the implementation of *nyadran* traditions occur with regard to the purpose and objectives in particular and time of implementation. The emergence of these differences is due to the various interests of its supporters and the influx of foreign cultural influences. Prior to the ceremony of *nyadran*, annual religious activities are realized with a pilgrimage to the ancestral graves. Pilgrimage activities include cleaning the ancestral tombs, praying prayers of forgiveness, and sowing flowers. Some *ubarampe* prepared in the procession *nyadran* among other incense and various kinds of flowers typical of Indonesia, such as roses, jasmine, and *kenanga* (Radiyem, 58 year). It is in this context the importance of preserving that tradition, as it grows in society itself. It is usually closely related to the natural resources and living conditions of the local area. This will provide the provision for the human being who studies it.

The aims of *nyadran* tradition in Ngepringan village is as a means of worship and reassuring the soul and peaceful in the heart for those who hold the tradition of *Nyadran*. Religion or belief is the source of human aspiration in the most and dominant, it is because religion has the belief, knowledge, moral values, and norms as a source of community order that can grow tranquility for the individual and make people become civilized. *Nyadran* activities carried out with a pilgrimage to the ancestral tomb or influential figures in broadcasting Islam in the past. As well as Ngepringan people implement *nyadran* in the grave *punden mbah gedhong* as *kyai* spreader of Islam. *sadran* means returning or visiting a grave or place that is considered as the forerunner of a village, or someone who becomes a village *pamong* (leader).

In addition, *Nyadran* aims at expressing gratitude to God Almighty which is manifested in the party of the people after the harvest is called *nyadran*. The Ngepringan people are grateful for the fortune that Allah has given for a year, and hope that the next year's harvest will be more abundant because the Ngepringan people mostly grow crops. In *nyadran*, there is also the core of Javanese culture that is harmony. The Javanese people not only expect harmony in human relationships, but also with the universe, even with supernatural spirits. Therefore offerings are given not intended to worship the supernatural spirits, but to create harmony with the whole of nature. Meals, incense, and flowers have symbolic meanings. *Tumpeng*, symbolizes an

expectation to Allah Almighty for supplication to be answered; *Inkung* (whole cooked chicken) symbolizes humans when worshiping; the plantains symbolize a hope for a happy life; *ketan*, *kolak*, and *apem* are unity that means forgiveness to Allah SWT if they make a mistake; incense is a means of petition at the time of prayer; and flowers, symbolizing the fragrance of prayer coming out of a sincere heart (Alifiana, 2013: 104-116). This innate variety is the element of offerings as the basis of prayer. After praying, the food became the seizure of the pilgrims present. This is the meaning of togetherness in *nyadran*. When people implement *nyadran* there are elements of mutual assistance, togetherness, compassion, and sacrifice in it.

Another aim of *Nyadran* is as a gathering place among members of the community. It can be realized with the harmony between residents in the tomb following the ceremony *nyadran*. The tradition that comes from religion comes to give harmony and peace not give birth to the conflict and the enmity of this universe (Fauzi, 2006: 219). *Nyadran* became a gathering event for Ngepringan community because one village consisting of 8 hamlets gathered into one. In addition, people who migrate outside the island of Java usually come home once a year ie on lebaran and *nyadran* event. *Nyadran* become a very important tradition and not missed by Ngepringan community as one of the gathering event with family and neighbors. According to Suparno (65 years) tradition *nyadran* become social, cultural and religious transformation after *nyadran*, the community also held entertainment performance. Entertainment performance is also various, there are tambourines and shadow puppets.

As the next aim, this tradition has become a religious teaching that is believed to unite local cultural heritage with the teachings of Islam, so that the relationship of two existence of locality and teachings of Islam. Finally, *Nyadran* has the aim for thanksgiving to Allah SWT by maintaining the balance of the environment. The environment is described as a container of human beings to preserve their lives. Humans must maintain and care for the environment that has been provided by Allah SWT in accordance with his word in the Quran Al A'raf 56-58:

In the verse, Allah SWT forbids humans to do damage on earth, but to pray to be a good person, because God's grace is close to the people who do good deed. The affirmation of Allah Almighty that He is the Almighty God who can rule the wind that brings cloudy so it rains. With rain water, it can grow the plants so it can bear fruit. Similarly, the rain can be useful for all beings on earth. The omnipotence of God that He can also revive those

who have died on the Day of Judgment seem to live a barren earth and then rain to grow the plants and bear fruit. The guidance for human beings to be grateful for the blessings of Allah given to them, in the fertile soil will grow good crops, whereas barren land will not grow crops but suffers. That is a sign of the greatness of Allah SWT.

The content of the verse can be harmonized with the purpose of holding *nyadran* in Ngepringan village that is thankful for all the gifts that are bestowed by Allah SWT who sends rain from the sky to dry land, then becomes fertile soil produces various kinds of plants and abundant crops, all should be grateful by every human

Religious Values in the *Nyadran* Tradition

Assessing religion and culture further is to understand how religion is an important element that manifests their differences. How high a person's religion can be seen from his or her religiosity. Religious, is obedience in understanding and implementing religious teachings (beliefs) are followed, including in this case is a tolerant attitude to the implementation of *nyadran*. Although there are some non-Muslims, people in Ngepringan has tolerant attitude and live side by side harmoniously. Tradition of *nyadran* is a pilgrimage event, where the religious people always remember the ancestors by praying and cleaning the tomb. The phrase contained in this *nyadran* eventually results in a more intimate horizontal and vertical relationship arrangement. In this context, then *nyadran* will be able to improve the pattern of relationship with Allah SWT. The religious values contained in the tradition of *Nyadran* include:

1. Worship

One of religious values contained in *Nyadran* is worship, aiming to get closer to Allah SWT and praying for the deceased elderly and relatives. The implementation of *Nyadran* blends with the event of prayer and praise. It also can strengthen the relationship of brotherhood among Muslims called *ukhuwah Islamiyah*.

2. *Tahlilan*

Tahlil means reading the sentence *la ilaha illallah*. The term *tahlilan* derived from Islam-Java that is reading *tahlil*, reading for a particular purpose. In the present time *tahlilan* is used as a term for association of people to pray together for the dead, where the *tahlil* reading becomes the core of the reading.

People believe that the gate lock to heaven is the saying *tahlil*. But infact, people who make a pilgrimage to the grave is strongly encouraged to reproduce the *dzikir* reading and the peak on the *tahlil* reading. In the tradition of *nyadran* ceremony there is *nyekar* activity (sowing flowers to ancestral graves). Before *nyekar* is done, pilgrims read the holy verses Al-Quran first continued reading short letter, thayibah sentences like *hamdalah*, *takbir*, *shalawat* and *tasbih* to add a sense of self approach to God. After that the residents are usually silent simultaneously to listen to the cue of *kyai* or *pak modin* who invites pilgrims for *tahlillan* together. After the *tahlil* event is finished the *modin* usually packs prayerfully praying together to ask God for the deceased ancestor to be forgiven of his sin and placed in heaven.

The *tahlilan* has a purpose and function in the implementation of *nyadran*, among others:

- a. cultivate and reconnect the relationship ever and have been connected by the deceased through *nyekar* and prayer
- b. asking for forgiveness over the deceaseds faults to neighbors and relatives
- c. pray for the deceased and other worshipers to be forgiven of their sins and to be avoided from the punishment of the grave and torment of hell
- d. reminding death that death must end the life of every creature

3. Nyadran Prayer

Semilah, semilah, semilah inggih sarehe sampun pepak ingkang anem ingkang sepuh ingkah dipunaturi lenggah wonten bumi astana Ngepringan kapurih nyekseni nggih. Kula saderma ngijabaken menapa ingkang dados perlune warga Ngepringan. Inggih satunggal bab wekdalipun ambeng bucu golong asahan nyaosi ibu danyang kaki danyang ingkang mangku desa ngepringan. Inggih satunggal bab malih nyaosi kurmat wiwitan sarta pungkasan ingkang damel dinten pitu pekenanipun gangsal. Inggih setunggal bab malih menika kalares dinten minggu pon menika mapag penanggalane Nyadran dhipun caosi kurmat mugimugi mangsulana seger waras sugih waras dhumateng warga Ngepringan. Inggih satunggal bab malih wekdalipun sekul kurung ulam lembaran inggih caos dhahar mulih. Inkang dipun caosi dhahar menika salalahu ngali wassalam kanjeng nabi Rasul Muhammad. Sarehne sampun kedhahar dipunlorodaken sekabat Abu Bakar As-Sidiq, Umar bin Khattab, Usman bin Affan dan Ali bin Abi Thalib. Wekdalipun pisang ayu sedah ayu inggih Siti Fatimah ingkang dados pepanutane warga Ngepringan kang setri. Awitipun caosi dhahar menika mugimugi wangsulana slamet wilujeng dhumateng warga Ngepringan sedanten,

boten kathah-kathah ngiras pantes mengkoni bumi lan astana. Sarehne sampun sah anggen kula ngijabne sedaya kula suwun tadah aminnipun.

Golong bagiane kaki danyang kiki danyang

Asahan kanngo luhur ben sah

Pisang ayu sedah ayu kanggo sing dhuwe omah wedok

Sekul kurung ulam lembaran bagiane nabi muhammad lan sekabat (sahabat)

Translation:

Bismillah, bismillah, bismillah it is felt that a young old who is invited to sit in the land of Ngepringan tomb to be a witness. I only commenting what become Ngepringan society need. Namely the first is the release of *ambeng* rice, *bucu*, *golong*, and *asahan* dedicated to grandparents and who hold the Ngepringan village. Another part honors the prefix and endings that make the day seven and five. One more thing is *minggu pon* day as a celebration of *Nyadran* event so that hopefully the people of Ngepringan be healthy. Another offering is *nasi uduk* and *ayam ingkung* (chicken) for *Salahusamam kanjeng* Prophet Rasul Muhammad. Afterthat the meal was also given to his best friend Abu Bakr As-Sidiq, Umar bin Khattab, Usman bin Affan and Ali bin Abi Talib. The next is beautiful banana and *nginang* served for Siti Fatimah who became a role model of Ngepringan women. Another point is salutation for the village of Ngepringan at least to be safe and peaceful living on earth. I have commenting for this. I beg for your amen.

Golong is for all the ancestors

Asahan for the noble to be legitimate

Banana and *nginang* for women

Sekul udhuk ayam ingkung is for the prophet Mohammed and his companions

This means that in prayer *nyadran* re-present events that are believed to exist in the past, both about the power of gods, prophets, supernatural kings and the knights. The source of prayer (*mbah modin*) that this prayer is used to awaken a sleeping power. If observed carefully, the meaning of evoking can mean sending or communicating prayers to spirits. Components of opening greetings that read *salalahu ngali wassalam*. Based on these phenomena then this prayer gets influence or touch of Islam in the expression of greeting should sound *Sallallahu alaihi wassalam*. This phenomenon shows the existence of a combination of Javanese and Islamic culture (SAddhono, 2016). In addition, the sound change is also something that is commonplace or prevalent in society,

it is merely to simplify the pronunciation. Another word that experiences grammatical aberrations is *bismillah* to be *semilah*. Although they are still wrong in pronunciation but their first intention of implementing *nyadran* is aimed for Allah SWT then Prophet Muhammad and his family and friends.

Arabic Java is a symbiotic mutualism between Arabic and Javanese. Arabic as the source language can be understood by people who speak the mother of Java, with various advantages and disadvantages in the process of translation. The advantages and disadvantages are usually associated with the translation of cultural terms that exist only in Arabic or otherwise only in the Javanese language (Anis, 2016: 41)

4. *Istighasah*

Istighasah has its own meaning of asking for help. Islam advocates his people to ask for help only to Allah SWT. *Istighosah* law is *sunnah*. The boundary of the *Sunnah* itself is a practice which, when executed, will be rewarded, and if left is not rewarded. As a practice of worship, ritual *istighosah* not be released from the existence of human beings as always have shortcomings. With worship meant that man is always in the balance of relationship with Allah SWT, thus to avoid the disaster thanks to Allah protection. According to Suparno (65 years) as much as any sins committed by humans, if you want to apologize then Allah will forgive them. In the tradition *nyadran* there *Istiqhosah* worship intended with the purpose of asking for help to God for the harvest that will come in the village Ngepringan increasingly abundant, other than that people ask forgiveness to the deceased in order to be forgiven of all of his sins.

5. *Nyekar*

The tradition of *nyadran* is always related and pertinent to *nyekar*, *tahlilan*, *tasyakuran* which teaches people to remain in subjection to the God. Islamic values contained in the tradition *nyadran* not separated from the value of Javanese culture. The social value of the traditions of *nyadran* is associated with the maintenance of the memory so as not to forget its origins by way of grave and *nyekar* pilgrimage. The Javanese ancestor had a wise testament: *manungsa aja lali wetone*. At first *elinga marang wong-wong tuwa senajan wis padha swarga* which means human beings should not forget the day of birth, so remember the old people even if it is in heaven. In the social life of traditions *nyadran* has outlined the principles of local traditions and teachings of Islam. The values of these principles are *ukhuwah*, compassion, help, *amar maruf nahi*

munkar and the similarity that every human will surely return to the *Khaliq* (God) and the gratitude to the God.

6. Praise

Pupujian (praise) is the activity of singing songs to praise God or *bersholawat* (praise) to rosulullah. *Pupujian* in the early period of the spreading of Islam, the scholars or *kiyai* used various ways to attract people to enter and study the religion of Islam. Koswara (2017: 55), divided it into six groups, (1) praising the glory of God, (2) praying to Allah's Apostle, (3) prayer and repentance to Allah, (4) asking *safaat* to Rasulallah, (5) advising people to do worship and good deeds and away from disobedience, and (6) teaches about religions such as faith, pillars of Islam, jurisprudence, morals, texts, *Qur'anic* commentaries, and *sorof*. It is also done during *nyadran* ceremony procession, in the *nyadran* ceremony in Ngepringan there are attended by *santriwan* and *santriwati* from one of the NU *ponpes* (Islamic boarding school) in Ngepringan. NU is an Islamic organization that upholds the culture that dominates the tradition values of the local community in his journal (Rafi'i, 2008: 140). According to one of the founders of the village Ngepringan village, *nyadran* is not *syirik*, instead it is a medium where we can get closer to Allah SWT one of them by glorifying God with praises (Munir 55 years). *Nyadran* is a means of worship and also a medium to spread the religion of Islam.

7. Sodaqohan

Sodaqoh includes religious values that must continue to be developed in line with the development of the era that makes people away from social sense. As an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT after the prayer, *tahlillan*, and *sodaqohan*, there is also traditional ceremony of *Nyadran* as an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT. The event of *Nyadran* continues to serve various foods to the ancestors. According to Radiyem (58 years) the goal is to remember and share the fortune with the ancestors who have nothing that this year's abundant harvest, which is called *andhum sodakohan*. Besides this, *sodakohan* is meant to our prophet Muhammad Saw who has shown the appropriate path for his people, so this *sodakohan* is also called as *Rasullan* which means to manifest the sense of love to *Rasullulah*. After that, the residents share food to other participants without discriminating. This dish is referred to as a *sodaqoh* whose reward is awarded to the deceased for prayer, but it is also a

form of love and hospitality. There are some true intentions when performing traditional ceremony *nyadran* (Pardi 75), among others:

- a. The expression of gratitude to Allah SWT for being given an abundant harvest
- b. Recalling the souls and figures who built the village Ngepringan to be prayed for acceptable charity and forgiven their sin.
- c. All *lillahi tawala* to Allah SWT, not to spirits (*jinn*, *shaitan*, and so on)

Conclusion

Nyadran is one type of Ngepringan community tradition that until now still preserved. One of various reasons *nyadran* still preserved is because the tradition contains religious values must be maintained in order to face the flow of globalization that makes people more lives individual. Religious values derived from the implementation of *nyadran* consists of two things, first the vertical religious values and horizontal religious values. Religious values vertically describe relationships that must be fostered spiritually and harmoniously between humans and Allah SWT. Moral values horizontally describe positive relationships that must be fostered between humans and humans, humans with animals, and the natural environment. Establishing a harmonious relationship with the Creator (Allah SWT) can be done in the form of worship ritual by saying *tahlil*, *istighosah*, and praise. In this case *nyadran* has religious value as a form of expression of gratitude to Allah SWT which has provided abundant fortune for one year, and hope in the future may be more fortune provided and the request to avoid the disaster

The second relation of the *nyadran* tradition is the horizontal relation between man and man and nature. Ngepringan *nyadran* ritual is implemented to show a harmonious relationship between the individual with his ancestor or his ancestors. *Nyadran* is a form of respect, awards, and worship (*birul walidain*) to the ancestors embodied in the form of *nyekar* and praying for the good life. Human relationship with animals and the natural environment taken from the tradition *nyadran* community brought all forms of crops such as rice in the form of cone and vegetables and side dish of *ayam ingkung* which all have the philosophical value that humans must always worship Allah and have high hopes

Suggestion

There are many traditions in Indonesia, especially in Java island, but unfortunately as the time progressed those traditions began to be abandoned. As a civilized and dignified creature of Allah SWT, human being must be able to sort and maintain a tradition that has moral and religious values to develop character education. The education of religious character is the value of the most inner character and hit in order to support the education of other characters. For the people should keep and preserve the Javanese tradition, deepen and learn the value of character education in it and practice it in everyday life.

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THE RELIGIOUS CONSTRUCTION OF KIAI ON PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

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Abstract

The reality of plurality in the context of humanity is something that Allah Almighty has desired, and the human task is to nurture and develop mutual respect and appreciation among people (tolerant). In this regard, the purpose of this study is to explore and explain exactly what kind of religious construction of kiai pesantren about pluralism and multiculturalism, the basis of references used, because it is related to the kiai's point of view in resolving social conflicts that sometimes occur in the community. The data research was collected through survey and depth interview with some kiai pesantren in East Java. Data analysis was conducted with qualitative narrative and through Forum Group Discussion (FGD). The result shows that the mapping of religious construction of kiai pesantren in East Java consists of (1) religious construction with inclusive and exclusive categories and (2) religious construction with exclusive categories.

Realitas pluralitas dalam konteks kemanusiaan merupakan kehendak Allah SWT, tugas manusia adalah memelihara dan mengembangkan rasa saling menghormati dan menghargai sesama (toleran). Dalam hal ini, tujuan penelitian ini mengeksplorasi dan menjelaskan dengan tepat konstruksi religius kiai pesantren tentang pluralisme dan multikulturalisme, dasar referensi yang digunakan, karena ini terkait dengan sudut pandang Kiai dalam menyelesaikan konflik sosial yang kadang-kadang terjadi di masyarakat. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui survei dan wawancara mendalam dengan beberapa kiai pesantren di Jawa Timur. Analisis data dilakukan dengan narasi kualitatif dan melalui Forum Group Discussion (FGD). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pembangunan

agama Pesantren Kiai di Jawa Timur pada pluralisme dan multikulturalisme dapat dipetakan menjadi dua, yaitu (1) konstruksi keagamaan dengan kategori inklusif dan eksklusif dan (2) konstruksi keagamaan dengan kategori eksklusif.

Keywords: *kiai; pluralism; multiculturalism; religious construction; social conflict*

Introduction

Awareness of the reality of differences in ethnicity, religion, culture, understanding, and others are expected to grow and develop from the *kiai pesantren*, because *Kiai* becomes a central figure for the people in various ways, including in the process of transformation of knowledge. The awareness that human differences and diversity in various aspects are significant or *sunnatullah* (natural) that should be owned by all humanity so that that life can take place peacefully and without social conflict.

The arising of several cases of inter-religious tension, even religious-labeled violence that occurs today is caused by the religious construction of some religious leaders (*kiai*) who tend to be textual and simplistic in constructing the problems of the people. Some people are also affected by the existence of religious construction, which ultimately leads to attitudes and behaviors facing each other with tensions.

While cases of interreligious tensions are caused by symptoms of hardening of religious attitudes not balanced by critical-rational-objective attitudes and respect for the diversity of religious understanding by other adherents. (Muqawim, 2004). This hardening of religious attitudes is more interpreted in the pattern of religious behavior which considers the results of their understanding to be the most correct and considers the understanding of others to be incorrect. This symptom is not only found in the attitude of followers of different religions. However, it also happens to adherents of religion in one religion.

The description of the controversy in the religious construction of the *kiai* can be seen, among others, the response to the *fatwa* of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) on pluralism and multiculturalism which are claimed to be *haram* and considered contrary to Islamic teachings. Some of the *kiai* (religious elite) who supported this decision included the *Kiai Idris Marzuki* from *pesantren Lirboyo-Kediri* and *Kiai Abdulloh Faqih* from the *pesantren Langitan-Tuban*. Those who opposed it were *Gus Dur* and *Gus Mus* (K. H.

Mustofa Bisri). Gus Mus, for example, commenting on the MUI's decision by explaining the MUI defines itself as a concept that they do not understand.

The response of some *kiai pesantren* to the global issues that occurred later gave rise to radical groups that made religion as a political ideology to rally together strengths. *Pesantren* is inseparable from this global current. Therefore a number of *pesantren* emerged, developing exclusive, intolerant and radical religious visions, and rejecting the reality of pluralist societies.

Such reality becomes its own challenge, especially for *kiai pesantren* in developing an inclusive or moderate religious vision, because this vision can provide serenity and peace for all creatures, which in Islamic terminology often refers to as *Rahmatan lil 'Alamin*. However, there are some Muslims take their moral construction position exclusively, and partly inclusive, even in the *pesantren* too, including among *pesantren* leaders (*kiai*). From the context of *pesantren*, different religious constructions are not separated from the book that is used as a reference, and with whom someone is studying.

Literature Review

In the context of this research, the theoretical perspective developed refers to the Islamic concept of *Rahmatan lil 'Alamin*. *Rahmatan lil 'Alamin* universally means that it can provide peace to all creatures and groups of different human beings, both regarding religion, culture, race, language, and differences in other aspects. This perspective illustrates how Islam is very concerned about the diversity of God's creation and awareness to recognize and respect existing differences.

Indeed, religion is revealed by God and has brought a mission of peace and is a capital to live in harmony. The teachings of religion teach the people about the principles of multiculturalism and pluralism, namely the teaching to know each other (*ta'aruf*) because of differences in cultural, ethnic, linguistic and gender backgrounds (Abdullah, 2000). However, empirically-historical-factual, occasionally, not to say often, violence is committed by some members of society under the pretext of religion.

Muslim scholars whose categories of religious construction are inclusive such as Nurcholish Madjid view that pluralism must be understood as an actual meeting of diversity in politeness/civilization ties (*bonds of civility*) (Madjid, 1997). This inclusive religious construction, in reality, has a positive impact in realizing a harmonious and tolerant social life order.

To illustrate the attitude of recognition and respect for various differences of opinion or *madzhab* in the midst of social life in the present study, there are accompanying terms, including inclusive Islam, moderate Islam and Islam *wasathiyah*. However, all are actually based on the concept Islam of *Rahmatan lil 'Alamin*, a universal concept that shows flexibility of Islamic teachings which is very important as a paradigm in various social life, including among *pesantren*.

The pluralist *pesantren* can be seen from several aspects: (1) the *pesantren* has become the center of the study of religions; (2) *pesantren* curriculum (both the word curriculum or hidden curriculum) have given a portion and considerable attention in the development of interfaith relations; (3) the *kiai* is familiar with other religions as well as the characters; (4) there are students from outside the religion who have studied at the *pesantren*, although it may only live in *pesantren*; (5) many guests from various other religions who often visit *pesantren*; (6) *pesantren* members are familiar and understand well the terms related to interfaith relations such as pluralism, inclusivism, tolerance and so on; (7) the character of *santri* and *pesantren* have often dialogue and socialized with non-Muslims, with the meaning of the word giving a behavior that show religious tolerance; and (8) the emergence of works that intersect with tolerance and inter-religious relations (Nafis 2014).

In *pesantren*, this inclusive Islamic discourse needs to be developed by the *kiai* by reviewing or reinterpreting the *Kitab Kuning* (KK). In KK literature, fiqh construction is organized into four parts, namely worship (ritual teachings), *munākahat* (family law), *muamalah* (public and social relations), and *jinayah* or *hudud* (criminal). However, in the modern era, fiqh undergoes deconstruction and expansion of study that reaches out to issues (politics), *iqtishadiyah* (macro and microeconomics), *ijtima'iyah* (social), *dawli* (between nations), *qadha* (judicial), and so on.

Historically, the treasures of Islamic intellectuals have bequeathed many books written by scholars who tried to interpret scriptures from various aspects including interpretation, hadith, fiqh, philosophy, and sufism. When Islam entered the *nusantara*, which intensified in the XII and XIII centuries, there was a gradual process of adaptation or even taking over social institutions such as *pesantren* into the Islamic tradition (Azra 1994).

From a variety of religious texts sourced from the scriptures gave birth to various scientific specifications among *pesantren*, there are some *pesantren* known for deepening of their science in the field of interpretation, some in the field of *hadith*, some in the field of fiqh, and some in the field of *tasawuf* (*sufism*).

This shows that a variety of scientific traditions developed by emphasizing on specific scientific fields is a reflection of the diversity of *pesantren*.

As part of scientific dynamics, this research is relevant to previous studies. Table 1 presents the previous studies which are related to the focus of this research:

Table 1. Mapping of Previous Research

No	Researcher (Year)	Research Focus	Approach	Research Findings
1.	Steenbrink (1986)	<i>Pesantren</i> Madrasah School. Subjects: Kiai and <i>Pesantren</i> from East Java	History of Politics and Education	Changes in <i>pesantren</i> society occur institutionalization of <i>kiai</i> institutions in the form of foundations of knowledge formalization and transfer of legitimacy of <i>kiai</i>
2.	Mastuhu (1994)	<i>Pesantren</i> Education System. Subject: <i>Pesantren</i> , <i>Kiai</i> , and <i>Santri</i> in East Java	History of Education with an anthropological-sociological approach (symbolic interactions).	Changes in the patterns of <i>kiai</i> leadership, the interaction of <i>kiai-santri</i> , and the teaching of <i>kiai-santri</i> .
3.	Abdullah (2000)	Empirical-Historical-Factual Phenomena of Indonesian Society	Anthropology of Religion	Culturally, religious teaching teaches people to know each other (<i>ta'aruf</i>) because of differences in cultural background, religion, language, and gender.

4.	Rizal (2000)	<i>Tamparisasi</i> Symbols of <i>Wong Jaba, Jeru,</i> and <i>Mambu-mambu</i>	Anthropology of Religion	Classification of <i>kiai</i> is based on interaction with the community.
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Referring to the presentation of relevant previous research as stated, there have been many studies on *kiai*, but in this study there is a different point with previous studies, namely on the religious construction of the *kiai pesantren* about pluralism and multiculturalism and the *Kitab Kuning* references as a capital in solving social conflicts, this is what marks the novelty in this study because it needs more exploration.

The issue of the religious construction of the *kiai*, especially the *kiai pesantren* in the context of the life of the nation and state is crucial to be discussed because it can have an impact on social order. When a *kiai pesantren* is exclusively religious (closed), the impact is recognition and respect for pluralism and multiculturalism is very low, but on the contrary, when religious construction is inclusive (open), the impact is a high recognition and respect for pluralism and multiculturalism. Therefore, the formulation in this study is what the religious construction of the *kiai pesantren* in East Java about pluralism and multiculturalism as the capital for resolving social conflicts is? The purpose of this research is to explore and describe and map the religious construction of *kiai pesantren* in East Java about pluralism and multiculturalism.

Method

This study was conducted in East Java. The choice of East Java is because it has approximately 50% of *pesantren* in Indonesia. Mahmuddin Udin quoted by Amin Haedari, Director of *Pesantren* of the Ministry of Religion, saying the data on the number of *pesantren* until 2005 were 14,361 *pesantren* throughout Indonesia. From these, there are 11,664 *pesantren* in Java, 1,381 in Sumatra, 661 in Bali and Nusa Tenggara, 294 in Kalimantan, and 25 in Papua (Udin, 2005). Meanwhile, data from the East Java Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion mentions the number of *Pesantren* in East Java is 5,220 (*Departemen Agama Jawa Timur*, 2005).

Considering the large number and variants of *pesantren*, culturally, this study classifies *pesantren* based on region, namely the Madura region with the characteristics of Madura culture, the northern coastal region of West East Java, starting from Bojonegoro Regency to Gresik Regency, Jombang Regency and surrounding areas, the Kediri region, Madiun region (Jawa Mataraman), and

the coastal area of the North Coast of East Java in East Part (*Pondok Pesantren* in Probolinggo and Situbondo, and Jember). As in the *pesantren* community, each region has a *kiai* and a *pesantren* that becomes a “reference.” Meanwhile, the *kiai* and other *pesantren* become their “filial” or branch. This research took informants from *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) or *Rabithah Ma’ahid Indonesia* (RMI) or known as the Indonesian *Pesantren* Association, the subject of the research was the *kiai* who became the “central figure” in the “referral” *pesantren*. The *kiai* intended was KH. Abdul Haq (Paiton-Probolinggo), KH. Djazuli Noer (Bangkalan Madura), KH. Islahudin Sarwan Gunawan (Ngawi), KH. M. Abdul Azis Mansoer (PP Pacul Gowang Jombang), KH. Abdul Matin (Tuban), and Gus Zaky (Trenggalek).

The data collection of this study used surveys and in-depth interviews with several *kiai pesantren* who were the subject of research. The survey was conducted to map *pesantren* based on their region and characteristics. While in-depth interviews were conducted to identify and explore the religious construction of the *kiai pesantren* about pluralism and multiculturalism, and also the KK reference sources used. Data analysis in this study was carried out with qualitative narratives and through Forum Group Discussion (FGD) which began with the identification of the religious construction of the *kiai* from the results of surveys and interviews, then mapping the religious construction (categorical/domain analysis).

Research Result

In providing views on pluralism and multiculturalism, *kiai pesantren* have a variety of different views. At least, this variety of views can be observed from six *pesantren* caregivers in East Java, namely five *kiai* and one person holding the title *Gus* (son of a *kiai*). The variety of views can be broadly mapped into two, namely (1) religious construction with categories between inclusive and exclusive (not to say inclusive in total), and (2) religious construction with exclusive categories.

For multiculturalism, the *kiai pesantren* consider it not to be a problem if it is interpreted as diversity other than religion, for example, diversity of ethnic, language, and so on. Indeed, God created various types of people, ranging from skin color, language, tribe, and others. Because it is only related to diversity other than religion, and it does not relate to the doctrine of the creed, it is considered a *sunnatullah* (something that God wants) and even must be recognized. However, when discussing the problem of pluralism (religious

plurality), there are various religious constructions that vary between one *kiai* and another. It is not separated from their understanding of the verses of the Qur'an, the hadith of the Prophet, and the *kitab kuning* (yellow books) which are used as references in addition to also referring to the ulema, both classical and modern.

When researchers try to confirm the verses of the Qur'an, one side seems to recognize the existence of other religions besides Islam (pluralism). Examples of verses that recognize the diversity of other religions, such as sura Ali Imran verse 84, Sura al-Maidah verse 48, and sura al-Baqarah verse 62. On the other hand, there are also verses that seem not to recognize the existence of other religions as in the sura Ali Imran verse 85, and sura Ali Imran verse 19, the *kiai* and Muslim scholars differ in their views.

Some *kiai pesantren* whose religious construction is said to be not inclusive and not exclusive, based their understanding on the hadith of the Prophet which reads: *Man adza dzimmiyan fa ana khosmuhu, wa man kuntu khasmahu, khosomtuhu yaumul qiyamah*. That is, whoever hostile towards the *dhimmi* infidels (infidels who does not hostile to Muslims), then I (the Messenger of Allah) becomes his enemy, and whoever I against, I will fight tomorrow on the Day of Judgment. According to Kiai Abdul Matin, the way in which pluralism implemented is like that. That was the statement of Kiai Matin from Tuban (Interview July 1, 2007). This category of religious construction is more appropriate in the "between inclusive and exclusive" position.

A similar view was also expressed by KH. Abdul Haq (Paiton-Probolinggo) who said we should not feel right by ourselves (Interview July 13, 2007). Likewise the *kiai* Islahudin Sarwan Gunawan from Ngawi said, the same believers must find common ground that does not conflict with the teachings believed (Interview, 11 July 2007), and also Gus Zaky, the son of KH Zainal Fanani Trenggalek said, it should be noted that religions other than Islam are equally entitled to be respected, in terms of their humanitarian framework, and if about the faith of each religion has faith (Interview, 11 July 2007).

Meanwhile for the *kiai pesantren* whose religious construction is from an inclusive and exclusive category such as Kiai Azis Mansoer from Jombang who said; indeed each religious community together claimed that the religion he believed is the best religion. For Islam, the true religion is indeed Islam, while the others are not, but we must respect the adherents of other religions in a tolerant way of life (Interview, 12 July 2007). The same thing was also expressed by Kiai Djazuli Noer from Bangkalan who said that tolerance and nationality

needed to be developed but not by mixing the teachings of several religions (Interview, July 13, 2007). For more details on the religious construction map of *kiai pesantren* in East Java and the *Kitab Kuning* (KK) which is usually used as a reference can be seen in the table 2:

Table 2: Religious Construction Map of *kiai pesantren* in East Java concerning Pluralism and Multiculturalism along with KK as the Reference

No.	Research Subject (<i>Kiai</i>)	Religious Construction Classification	<i>Kitab Kuning</i> Focus (KK)	Overview of the <i>Kiai</i> Paradigm
1.	KH. Abdul Haq (Paiton- Probolinggo)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	Referring to the writings of Sayyid Qutub and the interpretation of the <i>Fi Dhalil Qur'an</i>	We must respect each other, share with each other, and give understanding to the followers of each religion, to understand that there are differences in the religions, there will be no expressions of attack to each other, we must not blaspheme, and we cannot feel right by ourselves. Perhaps in this way, we will not experience conflict.
2.	KH. Djazuli Noer (Bangkalan Madura)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	The <i>Kitab Kuning</i> discusses the pluralism of madzhab in Islam	In a nation and a state tolerance needs to be developed but not by mixing up religious teachings. Tolerance towards adherents of other religions according to Islam is in the form of respect to dzimmi infidels, which protects non-Muslims who do not disturb us.
3.	KH. Islahudin Sarwan Gunawan (Ngawi)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	Not yet found apparently in the KK (only based on the understanding of the Al-Quran verse only)	We must do <i>Ahlakul Karimah</i> (Praised Acts) with them (Non-Muslims) as exemplified by the Prophet in associating with adherents of other religions, and vice versa, seeking common ground that does not conflict with the teachings he believes

4.	K H . M . Abdul Azis Mansoer (PP Pacul Gowang Jombang)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	The <i>Kitab Kuning</i> discusses Pluralism, but the Pluralism of <i>madzhab</i> in Islam	Indeed, each religious community claims that the religion they believe is the best religion. For Islam, the best religion is Islam, while others are not, but we must respect the adherents of other religions with a tolerant way of life.
5.	KH. Abdul Matin (Tuban)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	All <i>Kitab Kuning</i> is exist	According to the Prophet, Islam recognizes the existence of pluralism, even though it is acknowledged as exist, he must embrace the truth, namely Islam. Even though the right hand is held, it still must not be hostile to other religions, even in the hadith of the prophet is stated: <i>Man adza dzimmiyan fa ana khosmuhu, khosomtuhu yaumal qiyamah.</i> That is, even though pluralism should not be hostile, anyone who is hostile to the <i>dhimmi</i> infidels, then I (the Messenger of Allah) becomes his enemy tomorrow on the Day of Judgment. This is the way to implement pluralism.
6.	Gus Zaky (Trenggalek)	Between Inclusive and Exclusive	Fathul Wahab, the Book of <i>Bijairomi</i> in the final chapters, and the Sahih Bukhari book	Pluralism is addressed in substance only. We do not agree that religion is confused. We agree that not all religions are considered accurate except Islam, but it should be noted that religion besides Islam is equally entitled to be respected.

Discussion

Kitab Kuning (KK) studies which used as a reference for the *pesantren* religious elite can recognize and find the seeds of understanding of pluralism and multiculturalism that already exist. Epistemology of fiqh itself recognizes differences in madzhab and Muslims are permitted to follow one of the madzhab. However, the tradition of KK teaching at the *pesantren* emphasizes only certain books. A *kiai* is continually possible to be a determinant factor in the emergence of exclusivity that does not value differences and in turn gives birth to extremity and absolutism which views only a single truth.

Extreme religious construction type as it was not able to contribute nation-state discourse towards peace and tolerance livelihood, even it can realize intolerant attitude which became one of the triggers and sources of social conflicts ethnicity, religion, race, Intergroup (SARA). Therefore, in the context of the findings of this study, the type of moderate diversity construction that appreciates diversity has been apparent from most *kiai pesantren*. Accordingly, it can contribute to the plural and multicultural life of Indonesian society, which is far from prejudice and jealousy. This type of religious construction of the *kiai* can be an essential capital in resolving social conflicts.

Religious thinkers try to formulate the right formula how to reduce the conflict based on religion, not only Islam but also Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and other religions (Amar, 2010). Therefore, the right formula raises the idea of tolerance, harmony, pluralism, and the like as an effort to prevent/reduce religious conflicts that are sometimes so powerful, brutal and bloody. Efforts to create a pluralistic life, but remain harmonious, peaceful and tolerant are essential.

Related to the results of the research above, the figures who were the reference of *kiai pesantren* whose religious construction was “between inclusive and exclusive” were the ulemas who became pluralist reformists such as Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Ridha, Fazlur Rahman, and at-Thabathabai. At-Thabathabai said Allah does not look at a particular religion, but the most important thing is the substance and essence contained in that religion (Shihab, 1999).

The Indonesian Muslim scholars who are in line with such views include Abdurahman Wahid, Nurcholis Madjid, and Amin Abdullah. Meanwhile the *kiai* whose exclusive religious construction refers to the famous interpreters of the 10th century AD, namely al-Tabari, Fakhrudin al-Razi (12th century),

and Ibn Katsir (14th century). For Indonesian figures who are referred to in relation to this issue is the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

Meanwhile, the issue of pluralism and multiculturalism is the primary challenge faced by religions in the world today, given that every religion emerges from a pluralistic religious and cultural environment (Jaenuri 2005). At the same time, adherents of religions have formed exclusive insights and contradict the spirit of pluralism and multiculturalism.

Diversity or multiculturalism is a significant reality experienced by society and culture in the past, present and future (Azra, 2005). Multiculturalism can be understood merely as an acknowledgment that a country or society is diverse and plural (both ethnics, religious, cultural and other). On the contrary, no single country contains only a single national culture. Multiculturalism is a commitment to recognize diversity as one of the main characteristics and characteristics of society and ethnics groups and races. At the same time, there are also various symbols, values, structures and institutions in an ordinary life that binds a variety of diversity.

In reality, various religions and beliefs develop in the community (Yasin, 2014). The plurality of religion, beliefs, and guidelines for human life is a social fact that cannot be denied. All parties must be aware that on this earth there is a diversity of identities, both multiethnics, multilingual, multi religion, multiracial and multicultural, which has different styles and will not be equal. In a multi-life, including multi religion, every religious belief has the right to have a different view of each other, and they have the right to continue to live and to be respected with the views of life they have chosen. Therefore, every person and every religious group must be willing to acknowledge the existence of another party and want to respect the differences. The awareness of willing to recognize and respect the existence of other groups is an inclusive, multicultural attitude developed in this multi-life.

Normatively and empirically the recognition of diversity in the Qur'an has been affirmed as said by Allah: "Indeed I have created you men and women and I made you nations and tribes, so you know each other" (QS al-Hujurat, verse 13). Thus, God makes plural and multicultural, and human duty is to maintain diversity by promoting tolerance, so that life can take place peacefully. Such religious construction can overcome the occurrence of social conflicts when they occur in the midst of people's lives.

The religious construction of *kiai pesantren*, in general, is a reference for Indonesian society in community life. What is conveyed by the *kiai*, especially

the *kiai pesantren*, the community or people will follow it. Therefore, to realize a peaceful order of life and away from conflict, religious construction that emphasizes tolerance is very important, and it is ideal reflected in the religious construction of a *kiai* who is known as a role model for the people because the people will follow in his footsteps.

The attitude of *pesantren* in dealing with pluralism is: (1) explaining the position of Islam in the midst of religious and cultural diversity, so that religious tolerance only revolves around morals and *muamalah*, and does not enter into the realm of the *aqeedah* and *shari'a*. (2) Establishing a center of study and discussion as well as discussion groups among *pesantren* residents on topics of discussion related to the notions of liberalism and religious pluralism, so that students are accustomed to answering these problems with strong arguments (Ismail, 2013).

The *Kitab Kuning* (KK) which is often used as a reference by *kiai pesantren* has illustrated the existence of religious construction that reflects pluralism and multiculturalism. The existence of religious construction is marked by recognition of differences in *madzhab* and differences in teaching. These differences, if traced, are also influenced by differences in culture in which the situation and conditions of the ulema or *imam* of the *madzhab* are in different cultural and social environments.

The description of the religious construction of the *kiai pesantren* about pluralism and multiculturalism as reflected in the recognition of the differences of *madzhab* and differences in teaching has become an essential capital in addressing the diverse problems of the people. This is where the *kiai pesantren* have been tested in solving the problems of the people, including social conflicts.

Tolerance values have mainly been laid by *ulema pesantren* in various sciences, for example, *saka tasawuf* and *fiqh* (Nafis, 2014). It takes comprehension and meaning comprehensively and integratively to be able to explore and then manifest in everyday life. As an example of the concept of *rahmatan lil al-'alamin* which has not so much touched human diversity. The concept has long been understood by *santri*, but in the meantime, it has not received the right portion related to religious differences. *Santri* is only presented with the concept of mutual respect between fellow believers, without any effort on how to appreciate it in real life. Appreciation for others will be stronger when indeed confronted with different contexts and conditions. *Santri* should often be introduced in real terms with the existence of "different" (Nafis, 2014).

Classification of *kiai pesantren* religious construction in East Java as the findings presented in this study have provided an overview of the typology and mapping of the construction of the *kiai pesantren*, the *Kitab Kuning* which is used as a reference, and the affiliations of figures and *madzhab* adopted. Although there are different classifications of religious construction among *kiai pesantren*, the spirit of tolerance remains visible in the attitudes and behaviors shown, and this is an excellent example in the life of society, nation and state.

Among the *pesantren* whose the *kiai* is making the *Kitab Kuning* as one of the essential references in transforming scholarship to their students, they tend to have a moderate attitude and higher tolerance. Moreover, it is obvious when compared to the *pesantren* whose books of reference are from books written by figures who are known as fundamentalists, even if their understanding is textual. Differences in references or reference books in *pesantren* and affiliated figures also color the differences in religious construction among *kiai pesantren*.

In today's context, *pesantren* are required to be proactive, responding to the culture of the community by first, appearing creatively in dialogue with local culture and outside culture, as well as modifying it into a new culture that can be accepted by the local community and following religious values. Second, developing a culture of tolerance, so that in the *pesantren* community an inclusive understanding will grow to harmonize religions in the midst of people's lives (Mahfudhoh & Azhari 2015). The *pesantren* must be a vanguard in combating the *madzhab* fanaticism because the *Imam of madzhab* himself forbids his followers from following him. Without a strategy like this, *pesantren* will only function as a counter-culture that is counter-productive and often has values and norms that are different from other cultures.

In the context of plural and multicultural societies such as the Indonesian nation, religious construction that emphasizes tolerance is a priority to be disseminated and developed because this is the primary parameter in realizing a harmonious social life. The religious construction of the *kiai pesantren* as a role model for Indonesian people or society in the religious field will be a reference in addressing various problems of social life, including in resolving social conflicts.

Conclusion

The different religious constructions among *kiai pesantren* in East Java are broadly grouped into two forms, namely (1) "between inclusive and exclusive," and (2) exclusive. An inclusive form of totality is not apparent among *kiai*

pesantren in East Java, only arriving in the middle position. The existence of differences in religious construction between one *kiai* and other *kiai* illustrates that *pesantren* has shown a miniature of pluralism and multiculturalism in the life of the nation and state. Each of these religious constructions has implications for ways of resolving social conflicts in the midst of national and state life.

Some *kiai pesantren* in East Java who were the subjects in this study had different religious constructions on the issue of pluralism. These differences cannot be separated from their understanding of the verses of the Qur'an, the hadith of the prophet, and the *Kitab Kuning* which are used as references in addition to referring to the ulema where they studied, even though the *Kitab Kuning* used as references is more or less the same. In the historical reality, there has never been any *kiai pesantren* with other *kiai pesantren* whose relations are not harmonious because of different opinions. They can still manage differences of opinion well so that people see it as something mediocre.

Suggestion

Considering the results of the research, the resolutions offered to overcome differences in religious construction among *kiai* are as follows: (1) comprehensive religious understanding should be developed, so that religious insight is more open. (2) It needs to learn from each other the positive side of a difference, instead of looking for the negative side instead. (3) It is necessary to strengthen the attitude of tolerance in all aspects of life, including tolerance because it is different in the practice of religious teachings because even though the *kiai* differ in religious construction, they can establish relationships that respect each other's opinions. In history, there is an example of a harmonious relationship between Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kiai Ahmad Dahlan, who are said to be good friends even though there are some differences in the practice of Islamic teachings.

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THE EXPLORATION OF PESANTREN-BASED ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY THROUGH TELEOLOGY APPROACH

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Abstract

Cultural difference determines the strategies used for entrepreneurship development. Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) as the oldest educational institution in Indonesia has a unique culture. Pesantren-based entrepreneurship development must be equipped with different characteristics of strategy. The purpose of this research is to explore the entrepreneurship development strategy based on the culture of pesantren through teleology approach. The subject of the current research is Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan. It employs case study analysis. Interview and observation methods are used to collect the data. The teleology approach is used to understand entrepreneurial strategies under some perspectives which include; the involved subjects, the projected achievements, and the entrepreneurship development strategy based on the culture of pesantren. The results demonstrate the important role of kiai (pesantren leader), santri (students), and alumni in the development of entrepreneurship in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri. They seek independence for the intention of worship. They practice the value of tabligh (transparent) and fathanah (professional) for institutional management called Koperasi Syariah (sharia cooperative). In addition, the administrative managers hold the values of shidiq (honest) and amanah (trustworthy). In conclusion, the strategy of pesantren-based entrepreneurship development has typical characteristics of pesantren.

Perbedaan budaya menentukan perbedaan strategi pengembangan wirausaha. Pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan tertua di Indonesia memiliki budaya yang unik. Pengembangan wirausaha berbasis budaya pesantren tentunya memiliki karakteristik strategi yang berbeda. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk mengeksplorasi strategi pengembangan wirausaha berbasis budaya pesantren melalui pendekatan teleologi. Situs penelitian di Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis studi kasus. Metode wawancara dan observasi digunakan untuk mengumpulkan data yang akan dianalisis. Pendekatan teleologi berguna untuk memahami strategi wirausaha berdasarkan perspektif yang meliputi; subyek yang terlibat, prestasi yang diproyeksikan, dan strategi pengembangan wirausaha berbasis budaya pesantren. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan peran penting kiai, santri, dan alumni dalam pengembangan wirausaha di Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri. Kemandirian untuk niat ibadah menjadi prestasi yang diharapkan. Menerapkan nilai-nilai tabligh (transparansi) dan fathanah (profesional) sebagai strategi pengelolaan lembaga yang berbentuk koperasi syariah. Disamping itu, untuk pengelola dibudayakan nilai-nilai shiddiq (kejujuran) dan amanah (dapat dipercaya). Strategi pengembangan wirausaha berbasis budaya pesantren ini memang memiliki karakteristik yang khas pesantren.

Keywords: Culture of pesantren; entrepreneurship strategy; teleology

Introduction

A cultural difference determines entrepreneurial characteristic and motivation. Pillis and Reardon (2007) studied on entrepreneurial motivation of American and Ireland entrepreneurs. The study concluded that the difference of belief and culture defines the entrepreneurial characteristics and motivation. The cultural characteristic of *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) is different from that of other organizations. This difference will obviously effect on the uniqueness of characteristics and strategy of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship development.

Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan East Java is one of Islamic boarding schools which manage to develop entrepreneurship. It has several business units to support the independence of *pesantren*. They are *Kopontren* (*Koperasi Pondok Pesantren*), Baitul Maal wa Tamwil (BMT), Usaha Gabungan Terpadu (Integrated Joint Venture) "UGT", and BMT Maslahah. They grow up very rapidly and receive amazing appreciation and achievement. Therefore, Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri has been selected as the first entrepreneurial *pesantren*

in Indonesia because it is considered successful in developing *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship (Bakhri, 2004: 14). One of the business units in PPS is Koperasi Pondok Pesantren (Kopontren) Sidogiri. It has 75 branches in several cities and districts in East Java (Zain, 2016). The success of Kopontren Sidogiri is appreciated by the Office of Communication and Information of East Java. Department of Communications and Information of East Java (2012) stated that the turnover of Sidogiri Kopontren has reached over 1.8 trillion rupiah. The success has enormous contribution on boosting up economic growth, creating jobs, and increasing welfare in East Java. Based on the successful achievement of entrepreneurship development in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri, there must be a typical strategy of entrepreneurship development based on the values of *pesantren* which is interesting and important to explore. Bakhri (2011: 41) states that PPS applies several approaches and strategies to develop entrepreneurship based on Islamic working culture. They are STAF (*Shidiq, Tabliq, Amanah, Fathanah*).

Entrepreneurship has diverse definitions with diverse mindset (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). Over the past few years, researches on entrepreneurship have often been attributed to the role of external environmental factors (Fereidouni et al., 2010). This is also in line with the view of Morris et al. (2001) stating that the entrepreneurship process is determined by the role of the environment in which entrepreneurs engage in activities that include macro force, either supporting or preventing macro environments. Supporting environment might be in the form of good infrastructure, availability of capital assistance, the existence of protection from the government and so forth. Littunen (2000) classifies entrepreneurial studies based on traits model and contingency theory.

Many experts believe that entrepreneurship has significant contribution towards economic growth, job creation, economic prosperity, structural change and regional development, innovation, winning competition, and the development of human and intellectual capital (Morris et al., 2001; Zahra & Dess 2001; Antoncic & Hisrich, 2003; Davidson, 2005; Chiles et al., 2007). Parker (2005: 27) shows that small and medium businesses are capable of encouraging job creation and economic growth in the United States. In addition, entrepreneurship is able to generate invention and diversity (Daft, 2000).

The findings of the previous researchers conclude that entrepreneurial studies are still partial, and they need to be explored further. Entrepreneurship studies and motivations still require critical reviews to complement the limitations

of the previous research (Kowi & Kole, 1991; Carsrud & Brannback, 2011). It mainly deals with the exploration of entrepreneurial studies and motivation based on religious values (Valliere, 2008; Kauanui et al., 2010). Katsikis and Kyrgidou (2009) offer more integrative approach to study entrepreneurship called teleological approach.

Teleology is a study of goals and outcomes. This approach has an integral and systemic perspective by reviewing reality based on the perspective of input, process and output. According to the teleological study, there is purposiveness attached to the actions of all living beings and especially humans (Jakee & Spong, 2003). To achieve the ultimate goal, it takes strategy as a manifestation of efforts.

Teleological approach explains about human behavior regarding with the impact of behavior on individual ability to achieve the goals (Alvarez & Barney, 2007). Furthermore, it argues that behaviors bridging the achievement of one's goals are more likely to occur than those which do not give any support. In the context of the current research, the outcomes and achievement of entrepreneurship development (object) based on the culture of *pesantren* are supported by entrepreneurship development strategies applied in PPS.

This study focuses on exploring and understanding the strategy of entrepreneurship development in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan by teleological approach. It uses case study method. The researcher chooses Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri as the subject for several considerations: 1) an institution that has been nominated as the first entrepreneurial *pesantren* in Indonesia by the national media of Indonesia (Bakhri, 2004: 14), 2) an institution with some achievements, both regionally and nationally, from their business units, and 3) an institution which has an integral (not secular) view for entrepreneurship development.

The paradigm of the current research is interpretive since it sees that the nature of human is the creator or constructor of meaning (Burrell & Morgan, 1994: 28). Through this research, the meaning created is examined and viewed through observation and in-depth interviews related to the development strategy of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship in PPS Pasuruan. The case study is seen applicable to the research focus based on the arguments of Yin (2009: 1) stating that case study strategies are used to uncover contemporary phenomena. This research, therefore, aims to explore the strategy of entrepreneurship development in PPS with teleological approach.

Previous Studies

Katsikis and Kyrgidou (2009) apply teleological approach on entrepreneurial study. It states that the action of human projected to achieve particular goal has more chance of success compared to the one without any projection. The actors encouraging the achievement of the entrepreneurship development goal is a significant factor of the successful entrepreneurship development in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan (Siswanto, 2013). They are *ustad* (teachers) and *kiai* (*pesantren* leader) who have a central position in *pesantren*. *Kiai*, apart from *santri* and religious teachings, is one of the important pillars in *pesantren* (Halim, 2009: 223).

The development of entrepreneurship in PPS straightens the economic independence (Siswanto, 2013). Business units under the auspices of PPS regularly contribute not less than 10 billion to *pesantren* every year from their social fund. This fund frees PPS from the dependency of government aid even some funds are issued in the form of *zakat* and scholarships. Entrepreneurship development in PPS can improve people's welfare, and reduce poverty and unemployment (Reginald & Mawardi, 2014). This is a very noble program as what is instructed in Islam.

Several studies indicate the urgency of critical studies on the concept of entrepreneurship and its development motivation (Kowi & Kole, 1991; Carsrud & Brannback, 2011). One of them is primarily related to religious values (Valliere, 2007; Kauanui et al, 2010). Entrepreneurship development in the form of Islamic microfinance development in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan is aimed at achieving the love (*ridho*) of Allah SWT (Siswanto & Alim, 2015). However, this research does not specifically explain the strategy of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship development. Thus, the teleological approach is urgently used to explain the comprehensive argument of God's existence. Several studies on *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship have been conducted, but it has not been done with a comprehensive approach, actors or subjects involved in the process of entrepreneurship development, and the efforts to develop (strategy), as well as the ultimate goal to achieve (object). Teleological approach is seen comprehensive to achieve the objectives of this research.

Entrepreneurship and Its Development Strategy

Entrepreneurship has diverse definitions, and it is a multidisciplinary study. Entrepreneurship has diverse definitions with diverse frame of thought (Siswanto & Alim, 2015). In this study, the definition of entrepreneurship

refers to a process to look for opportunities to produce goods and services in the future through the activities of discovery, evaluation, and excavation (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). It is considered as a creative process and collective activity.

Everyone can be an entrepreneur when they have creative ideas of finding and modifying products or services useful to the organization, and an entrepreneur is not only a founder or owner of a company (Shane, et al., 2003). The entrepreneurial process involves human role. The ability and willingness of humans will determine the success of the entrepreneurial process. Entrepreneurship is a collective activity, while individual is a part of it (Huarng & Yu, 2011).

Over several years, researches on entrepreneurship are commonly attributed to the role of external environmental factors (Fereidouni et al., 2010). Although they provide an increasingly clear understanding of entrepreneurial process, they ignore the role of human beings as actors. Entrepreneurship will depend on the decisions on how to execute the process. In this case, the role of human when deciding to go into the entrepreneurship influences the success (Shane et al., 2003). However, the study does not specify the strategy and process of achieving the goal, but it is laid on the paradigm of teleological approach which sees the existence of God's role. Although some researches on human entrepreneurship motivation are found (Shane et al., 2003; Buang & Yousef, 2006; Edelman, et al., 2010; Carsrud & Brannback, 2011), the researcher argue that entrepreneurial research based on religious values is still needed.

Furthermore, the entrepreneurship development strategy conceptually combines both entrepreneurial study and strategy management (Luke et al., 2011). In addition, entrepreneurial strategy is known as a crossing formula between entrepreneurship and strategy (Ireland et al., 2001). It is also a process including four important aspects: 1) entrepreneurial activity, 2) the implementation of business strategy, 3) skill and other resources development, 4) the transfer and application of the skill and other resources to proceed on production (Luke et al., 2011). These important aspects are integrated in the teleology approach.

The Culture of *Pesantren*, Islamic Values, and Entrepreneurship

Pesantren is the oldest educational institution in Indonesia with a unique culture. *Pesantren* is the oldest educational institution which grows for the effort

and willingness of society (Yasmani, 2002). It has an integral education system, due to the involvement of its important components including *kiai* (religious leader), *santri* (student), education, and cottage. Therefore, the relationship of *santri*, *kiai*, and alumni has its own peculiarity. Based on these characteristics, *pesantren* has a unique culture. Furthermore, *pesantren* has a unique culture based on physical characteristics, life perspective, ideology, scientific tradition, and teaching methodology (Goetzav, 2012).

Besides, it has an important role to teach moral values to the *santri* and society. It always teaches moral values and Islam since colonial era in Indonesia up to now through a typical education (Syam, 2009: 78). Values are the basic beliefs with individual element of seeing truth and goodness which determine attitudes, motivations and behaviors (Robbins, 2006: 84; McShane & Von Glinow, 2003: 98). Religious beliefs can shape economic behavior as it is stated by Weber in Protestant Work Ethics (PWE) (Valliere, 2008). It encourages humans on working activity and inspires them regarding with the values of the company (Wren, 1994: 25). Weber's view is reinforced by the result of research conducted by McClelland concluding that: 1) high levels of need for achievement will encourage entrepreneurial activity, 2) high need for achievement in a society is proven to have a close relationship with rapid economic growth, 3) some ethnic, religious, and certain minority groups show differences in the need for achievement (Wren, 1994: 27).

More importantly, as Islam is a way of life that teaches an integral life, it gives encouragement in order for humans to work and to do goodness for the world as if they would to live forever, and to do something for hereafter as if they would die tomorrow. Islam encourages humans to work for the gift of God in the world (Qs 62: 10). Working includes several professions, one of which is through business and entrepreneurship.

Prophet Muhammad SAW, the role model for Muslims, is an entrepreneur (Antonio dkk, 2010a: Kelana, 2008: 26). In a hadith stated by Imam Ahmad, the Prophet Muhammad says: "Pay attention, entrepreneurship is, in the world, truly nine over ten entries to the wealth". Entrepreneurship is an important mission in Islam (Yazilmiwati & Ilhaamie, 2011). Being an entrepreneur is one of the ways to balance life and hereafter, as the Qur'an teaches humans to live a balanced life by considering the life of both the world and the hereafter. Those who abandon their responsibility in the world due to performing goodness for hereafter are not good Muslims, and those who leave the hereafter for the world are too (Abidin & Basymelah, 2010: 42).

Teleology as an Approach

Teleology is a study on the way of achieving the ultimate goal (Katsikis & Kyrgidou, 2009). This approach is used to understand the meaning of strategy of entrepreneurship development in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan. Referring to the ultimate goal of entrepreneurship development in PPS can help the researcher understand the processes and strategies developed. The term “teleology” is derived from the ancient Greek word, the *telos* which means the ends, targets, or goals. The ultimate goal is closely related to human action (Jakee & Spong, 2003). In addition, the purpose (in-order-to motive) of entrepreneurship development, especially the development of sharia micro finance institutions in PPS, is to worship Allah SWT (Siswanto & Alim, 2015). Therefore, the ultimate goal of worshiping Allah is in line with the view of teleology which explains a fundamental argument about the existence of God.

Based on the description above, in order to obtain a more comprehensive perspective, the researcher employs teleological approach to understand the strategy of entrepreneurship development in PPS. Entrepreneurial concepts based on a teleology approach cover three types: 1) the subject, related to who is involved in the process, 2) the process, related to how people do the process, and 3) the object, related to the measurement used to see success. Moreover, efforts to understand the strategy are derived from the perspective of the actors (subject) during the development process (including the strategy used) to achieve the final objective (object) which they perceive as the final cause or purposiveness (Katsikis & Kyrgidou, 2009).

Research Method

This research focuses on the entrepreneurship development strategies used in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan. In order to be able to understand the perceptions of the actors involved, this study uses an interpretive paradigm. It perceives that human nature is the creator of meaning, and emphasizes one's meaning towards a symbol, which is the process and strategy of entrepreneurship development (Triuwono, 2006: 217). This paradigm has a high contextual awareness which can be seen from the absence of willingness to generalize the findings or theory.

The current research uses case study method. It is believed that the method is able to achieve the research objectives. A case study is supposed to be used to study a case with the following features: 1) it is oriented to contemporary studies, 2) it is used to answer the focus of research with how

and why question; 3) the researcher has no control over the phenomena to study (Yin, 2015: 1). Therefore, the case study method is projected to be able to answer and understand the focus of this research, what is on how the actors develop entrepreneurship in Pondok Pesantren Sidigiri based on teleology approach.

As the chosen research site, Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan has three business units, they are sharia production, distribution and finance. The production unit is a home industry which supplies some needs, such as bakeries, rice processing plants, soy sauce and so forth. Then, the distribution unit has a role to displaying goods from production unit, and the retail and trade unit is managed by *Kopontren*. Production and distribution unit is structurally under *Kopontren*. While Sharia micro-finance unit functions as a provider of business development funds in other units and for the surrounding communities who want to make transaction with sharia system. These three units are known as the triangle circles which play an important role in entrepreneurial and institutional activities in PPS.

Data and information in this study were obtained from the subjects or actors using purposive and snowballing techniques. As an important person, they will provide a source of information which helps us to know the success level of entrepreneurship development in PPS, the process, and strategy of achieving that success. They are key informants selected based on a set of specific criteria and objectives. Thus, in order to obtain the qualified subjects, direct observation needs to be conducted. The informants are central figures or important actors involved in establishing and developing entrepreneurship in PPS. After finding the first informant, the researcher conducted an in-depth interview. Then, the first informant is requested to recommend the informants who meet the criteria. The interview processes are conducted continually until the data showing snowball repetitive information are obtained. The number of informants for research is not set as in qualitative research, the quality of information is more important than the quantity one (Sandelowski, 1995)

In addition to the interviews with the subjects, data are also obtained through observation on the research site to explore and understand the context and problem of research. The researcher can obtain more complete overview and illustration of the field through field observation. Documentation methods are also used to supplement the secondary data in order to describe the condition of the research site. Triangulation method is also used to test the validity of data, that they can be further analyzed.

The informant selection is based on the following criteria: 1) they have experience in business and entrepreneurship in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri. They become the source of information for their adequate experience and insight to provide the meaningful description, 2) they are consciously selected in this study. The selection can be based on either the researcher's own observation or recommendation of others that they have experience and contribution in Kopontren Sidogiri, 3) They have been involved in business activities and entrepreneurship for at least one year, 4) they have been willing to be involved and able to reflect on their experiences during, the process of developing business and entrepreneurship in PPS.

Results and Discussions

The results of the study are described into three important parts to integrate the teleological approach. The results and discussion of the research, based on the flow of the teleological approach, are described in the following system: 1) kiai, santri, and alumni are the subjects of entrepreneurship development, 2) koperasi syariah (sharia cooperative) as an institutional strategy to develop pesantren-based entrepreneurship, and 3) the independence and willingness of God is the projected achievement.

Kiai, Santri, and Alumni Synergizes and Contributes to the Country

Kiai is a figure who has the authority to be followed and a role model for santri and society. He is the central figure in *pesantren* (Marhumah, 2010: 79). *Pesantren* is like a small kingdom where *kiai* is the one who has power and authority for everything. The relationship of a *kiai* with *santri* lasts a lifetime (Dhofier, 2011: 93). *Kiai* is the most essential element in *pesantren*. He is the founder, or the descendant of the *pesantren* founder. Therefore, it is common when his role is closely attached to the culture of *pesantren*. The respect of *santri* to *kiai* is absolute and longlasting. It is shown in all aspects of life; religious, social, and personal life.

Breaking the relation with a teacher or *kiai* is considered to be a big disgrace. It is believed that it will end up with the loss of *barakah*, and the knowledge gained will not be beneficial. It is taboo, for *santri*, to say that he is a former student/*santri* of a certain *kiai* because once he becomes a *santri* for a certain *kiai*, he is considered to be his student forever. Even, those who have been graduated (alumni) are encouraged to keep in contact with the

pesantren, even though the *kiai* has already passed away. This is a discipline to obtain *barakah*.

A *kiai* and *santri* have a very strong emotional connection. This relationship is still kept even though the *santri* has graduated (alumni). *Kiai* is like a parent for *santri*. The teachings of *ta'lim muta'allim* (*adab* or the morality of student) explains:

“Maintain the honor of your teacher, your father in religion, or what some law calls by the name of ethical dairy. And naming with “fathers in religion”, according to some scholars, is more worthy.... (Al-Utsaimin: 2005: 115).

A *santri* perceives a teacher like a father who must be respected, obeyed, and exalted. We have to be gentle to him. *Santri* shows high respect and obedience to a teacher who is considered to have authority, because he is considered to be close to God (Dhofier, 2011: 126).

Business and entrepreneurship development of Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan is initiated by *kiai*. *Kiai* Sa'doelah Nawawi was the first initiator in 1961. It is confirmed in the excerpts of the interviews presented by Ustadz Mahmud as follow:

“KH. Sa'doelah Nawawi was the first initiator of entrepreneurship in 1961. It is stipulated in the policy of *pesantren* which states “*pesantren* does not want to receive assistance from the government”. It means that *pesantren* must earn income. Which income? It is obviously from entrepreneur. At that time, I was a student, I predicted him (KH. Sa'doelah Nawawi) that he wants students live independently later, and they don't live as civil servants. Thus, the certificate of the alumni cannot be used to apply a job as civil servants. So, they must be self-employed/entrepreneur. The plan to have the cooperative has been initiated since 1961”.

K. Kholil Nawawie, the successor of the *pesantren* leadership, gives full authority to the cooperative board to run the business activities. Although the business of *Kopontren Sidogiri* had started since 1961, it officially proposed a cooperative legal entity in April 1997. Meanwhile, deed of legal entity of *Kopontren Sidogiri* No. 441/BH/KWK.13/VII/97 was published on July 15th, 1997. *Kopontren sidogiri* contributes considerably to the activities and operations of *Ponpes Sidogiri*. Based on Sidontin's *Kopontren* budgets, 10% of the surplus of business results (SHU) is provided for educational activities at *Ponpes Sidogiri*. For *santri*, *Kopontren* provides daily necessities, as well as a place for learning independence, entrepreneurship, and devotion. Whilst, for the community, *Kopontren* provides daily consumed goods at competitive prices. This regulation is based on the the principle of *kopontren* development,

by *santri*, for *santri*. This is expressed in excerpts of interviews with Ustadz Mahmud as follow:

“We’ve always worked to build various businesses. All is done for the sake of *santri* because our business motto is “from *santri*, by *santri* and for *santri*”.

After kopontren Sidogiri develops rapidly, the other business units, such as BMT Masalahah, BMT UGT, PT. Business Partners, PT. Sidogiri Mitra Utama, PT. Sidogiri Pandu Utama, PT.UGT Mas Tour, etc. also develop. These business units involve *santri* and alumni to contribute to society and nation. Through various types of business and entrepreneurial activities in Pasuruan, PPS can overcome various problems related to employment, economic development of *pesantren* and surrounding communities, improving the economy of society in Pasuruan and East Java. It encourages the development of entrepreneurship in PPS as a form of contribution of *santri* for this country. One of the initiators of entrepreneurship in PPS, Ustadz Mahmud conveyed:

“We often give presentations about the “Islamic economic revival from *santri*”.

That is the contribution of *santri* to the State for the realization of *baldatun thoyibatun wa robun ghafur* in Indonesia. So, we together with 9 groups in PPS contributed greatly to the nation and this State to participate in realizing the state of *baldatun thoyibatun wa robun ghafur*. We are in the position of civil society to build *masyarakat madani*, not those who get help from the government, but those who can help the government”.

Slowly but surely, sharia economic development from entrepreneurial activities in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan gets appreciation from central and provincial government. The business asset of entrepreneurial activity in PPS is more than 2 trillion. The assets of one of business units in PPS, BMT UGT, reached up to 2.2 trillion in 2016, with a turnover of 16 trillion in the same year (Kurnia, 2017). This certainly plays an important role in East Java’s regional economic growth of 5.6% in 2017, and nationally.

Cooperative Becomes a Profitable Commercial Association for the Order of *Kiai*

The establishment of cooperative as an institution that shades business and entrepreneurship activities in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan is a form of response from the government’s desire to become “*soko guru*” Indonesian economy. This is stated by the board and one of the founders of BMT UGT, Ustad Mahmud. The first cooperative in PPS is Kopontren Sidogiri. Sharia-based cooperatives are engaged in the real sector or trade. Along with the need and sense of care about the condition of the community

around *pesantren* trapped in the practice of loan sharks, sharia-based cooperative *pesantren* next, the Cooperative BMT MMU, which is now BMT Maslahah. On an ongoing basis established Cooperative BMT UGT, from other business units, are also incorporated cooperative law. From the initial capital of Rp. 13,500.00, -, now its turnover has reached above 6 trillion, and the *zakat* is more than 5 billion.

Cooperative is one of the legal entities selected in the development of sharia economy in Indonesia. The soul and spirit of the cooperative are in accordance with the principles of brotherhood, cooperation and partnership, as well as service of members and society. Chapra (2000: 38) explains about the importance of the position of cooperatives in an economy as follows;

“In addition to the fact that it is a profit-oriented business organizations, cooperatives are a service-oriented organization of business service, it can contribute to the realization of Islamic economic goals. With Islamic emphasis on brotherhood, cooperatives of all kinds can resolve the mutually beneficial issues between producers, business actors, consumers, deposit makers, and investors, should get a great emphasis on Islamic society”.

Moreover, cooperative becomes a considerable option as a form of business organization and entrepreneurship developed by PPS. The establishment of cooperatives as *kongsi* or Business Community is in line with Islamic values related to fraternity and service. The sense of brotherhood and concern for the community is what drives business partnership in the form of sharia cooperatives in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan. This was conveyed by informants as follows;

“So the character of Muslim character is supposed to have a high concern. Do we care about orphans? Caring for the poor, the *dhuafa*, and the *mustadh'afin*? Do we care about the fate of the oppressed? If not, *i'maluu sayarallah amal*. How to do it? We form a cooperative”.

The practice of loan sharks remaining rampant in the villages surrounding the *pesantren* ignites the concern of kiai and ustadz to develop the cooperative BMT. It is inspired from the practice of moneylenders which is miserable to the poor and the weak (*dhuafa and mustadh'afin*). In order to provide solutions for the communities involved in these loan shark practices, the Cooperative BMT MMU and BMT UGT were established. In 1997, *Baitul Maal wa Tamwil* (BMT MMU) was incorporated as a cooperative and one-on-one BMT with the legal status of the cooperative at that time. The establishment of the *koperasi* based on the order is due to the command of kiai. And in the tradition and culture of the *pesantren*, when kiai commands something good, it must be practiced by the santri as a form of action termed *sami'na wa atha'na* (when

we hear the command of *kiai*, we will obey). It is in line with what is said by Djakfar (2017) that *kiai* or *ulama* can perform the role as a giver of fatwas in business developing at *pesantren*. A form of concern for the weak and helpless from Pesantren Sidogiri is implemented with concrete action, which establishes Sharia-based cooperative. The principle of action is expressed with *i'maluu fa yarallah amalakum* (do o mankind), Allah will pay attention to your deeds. Principles based on Islamic values are derived from the Quran in the underlying development of based boarding schools.

Kiai, *santri*, and alumni develop sharia-based cooperative because of the concern to *dhu'aifa* and *mustadh'afin* in order not to belong to the group that disbelieves the religion. The orientation and motive of the action is inspired contextually Q.S. 107: 1-3, which explains the urgency of caring about orphans and the poor. The ignorance of the fate of the weak and oppressed people for the activists of sharia-based cooperative development in pesantren in PPS is a manifestation of the attitude of religious liars. The motive and encouragement of Islamic values is the underlying development and strategy of attainment of entrepreneurship in Pasuruan PPS.

There are two important things that become the strategy of cooperative entrepreneurship development in PPS. It is in line with Bakhri's statement, two important things to achieve a robust and robust cooperative are related to managers and management systems (2015: 44). First, managers must have *siddiq* and *amanah* characteristics. Second, the management-based systems is *tabligh* and *fathanah*. The four traits that become the *pesantren*-based development strategy are developed from the four characteristics of Prophet Muhammad SAW which are well known with *siddiq*, *tabligh*, *amanah* and *fathanah* whose abbreviation is STAF.

Siddiq is a term used to express the meaning of honesty values. The *sidiq* means honest. Honesty is a mental attitude that must be owned by the manager based on Kopontren Sidogiri. Therefore, the entire board of management, supervisors, directors, managers, branch managers, and employees must have an honest nature, in both words and deeds, in carrying out their duties. Managers are also required to have a trustworthy nature. This credible character is shown by the similarity between words and actions, financial records in fact, expenditures and income are recorded in accordance with the terms, all promises kept and provide prompt and appropriate service (Bakhri, 2015: 44).

The management system also uses the principle of *tabligh* and *fathanah*. *Tabligh* is an implementation of the principle of openness or transparency.

While *fathanah* is an implementation of professionalism. Open and transparent management system is shown by the openness of relationship and transparency of all stakeholders of Sidogiri based on Kopontren, ie between manager, manager with cooperative member, manager and government. Various modern management systems are applied to achieve the vision and mission of sharia cooperative Sidogiri. Annual member meetings as the highest authority in the cooperative container are carried out annually on a regular basis. To realize transparency in the management of this pesantren-based cooperative, it creates financial reports and monthly and quarterly activities to interested parties.

Sharia cooperative (*Koperasi Syariah*) of Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri has operational management standards (SOM), standard operating procedures (SOP), adopting PSAK (Statement of Financial Accounting Standards), and already possessing *Islamic Microfinance Standard (IMS)*. It is a manifestation of management strategy based on *fathanah* or professional culture. To improve the professionalism of employees and managers, sharia-based cooperative boarding schools are preparing educational funds and implement training programs in accordance with their fields.

The sharia cooperative development strategy shows remarkable achievement. Bakhri (2015: 47) states that honest (*siddiq*) and trustworthy (*amanah*) managers and transparent management systems (*fathanah*) have generated tremendous positive effect, some of which are: 1) the increase of new members and the amount of deposits. 2) the increase of support and trust from members, 3) the increasing support from members on good program activities. Positive performance plays an important role in realizing the independence of the organization, *pesantren*, and its members.

Independence by Intention of Worship to Achieve Divine Love: Projected Achievement

Various achievements of sharia cooperatives lead Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri to be the reference and tourist destination of Sharia cooperative from various areas. From the initial capital of Rp 13,500,000, - into an institution with trillions of income. Currently, BMT UGT has a turnover of more than 6 trillion. The success of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship development contributes significantly to the achievement of PPS independence. The independency is reflected in the salaf educational system aiming to create *ibadillahi as-shalihin*. This independence of the educational system is the goal

of developing entrepreneurship in PPS. The following is the explanation of *Ustada Haq*;

“In order for education to continue and to stand on the believed principles without any intervention of other parties, independence through the development of entrepreneur is the bridge.”

Independence is an expected condition to be responsible to self (independent), uncontrolled and free from any interventions of other people or parties. The independence of Ponpes Sidogiri is driven by the principle that there is no intervention from outside parties. For the activists of this cooperative, the development of entrepreneurship is a means of support to achieve independence. Through this entrepreneurial activity, *pesantren* can contribute to the government by diverting the funding of school operational aid to the other educational institutions. Through *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship activities, santri and alumni become more independent and can create their own job opportunities.

Moreover, entrepreneurship development in PPS as a means to achieve independence with the intention to worship or dedication for love of Allah SWT (*ridlallah*). The actors are committed to make the activities in the business unit and network entrepreneurs as a devotion or worship. This is confirmed in the following statement;

“So, the important thing of working here (entrepreneurship development) is devotion (worship). Why devotion? Because this boarding school should not take a large fee to students, while the education must be the way. The education will not work without any fund. That’s why the business unit must be able to get as much fund as possible.”

Worship includes all kinds of activities, any actions and practices driven by the intention to earn devine pleasure (*ridhallah*). It includes business practice and entrepreneurship. *Hadith* of the Prophet narrated by Bukhari states, “Every deed must be accompanied by intention, and everyone gets what is intended ...” (Sahih Bukhari no. 1). In another *hadith*, the Prophet also says, “Surely Allah loves the Muslim who is believing, working, owning high profession, and doing business (HR. At-Tabrani on Mu’jam Al Kabir no. 13022, in Antonio, et al. 2010a: 43). People keeping the essence of faith have the courage to fight for religion, in both worship and *da’wah*, *hijrah*, *jihad* and doing *infaq* (At-Tuwaijry, 2007: 3). The meaning of worship is a reflection of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship development. It is also confirmed by Ustadz Wafa;

“... once the heart of a market leader was tapped to help the development of BMT Sidogiri to eradicate the practice of moneylenders. He was given an explanation that, BMT Sidogiri has the intention to eradicate the practice of

moneylenders conducted lately. ... “How if we work together to help the people free from the moneylenders, I believe it is a worship...”

More importantly, the meaning of worship has a relatively wide understanding. At-Tuwaijry (2007: 2) states that worship includes everything loved by Allah SWT in both the form of words and deeds, either visible or invisible. Thus, worship is not only ritual, but it also includes all practices of kindness (good deeds) that expect His love and pleasure. The practice of entrepreneurship development in Ponpes Sidogiri is a form of pious action wishing Allah’s pleasure. The worship is manifested in the hard efforts on economy to be beneficial for people and to call on the good, and to keep away from evil with real action.

Conclusion

The development of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship is institutionally incorporated as a cooperative institution. Being in an environment tied to Islamic culture and values, the cooperative applies the principles of sharia in its contracts and trade practices. The development process or strategy used to improve business competitiveness is also based on Islamic values. The business turnover of the three business units: Kopontren Sidogiri, BMT Maslah, and BMT UGT, has reached 6 trillion. The success is achieved by implementing a management strategy based on the nature of the Prophet Muhammad, transparency (*tabligh*) and professionalism (*fathanah*). Meanwhile, honesty (*siddiq*) and trustworthiness (*amanah*) are the characteristics that became a strategy to strengthen Sharia-based cooperative in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan.

Business and entrepreneurship development of Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri (PPS) Pasuruan is initiated by *kiai*. He is the first person to initiate the establishment of sharia cooperatives in Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan. His idea is interpreted as a command for teachers and santri. In *pesantren*, the advice of *kiai* is a command which must be heard and practiced (*sami’na wa atha’na*). Therefore, the instruction to train the independence of santri is implemented by establishing sharia cooperatives. *Kiai* also concerned about the condition of the community around PPS who are entangled in the practice of moneylenders. He suggests them through *da’wah* by real action, establishing a cooperative sharia known for BMT *Maslahah* and BMT UGT. The development of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship also involves students and alumni.

The purpose of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurial development in the form of business partnership of sharia cooperatives is to achieve independence with the intention of worship in order to achieve the pleasure of Allah SWT (*ridlallah*). Independence with the intention of worship is an expected achievement because it will support the implementation of educational systems of *pesantren*. Worship has a very wide dimension. It includes everything loved by Allah Almighty. Entrepreneurial activity, for the ones involved in the development of *pesantren*-based entrepreneurship, is a means of devotion or worship to Allah SWT.

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THE EDUCATION VALUES OF SUSUK WANGAN TRADITION FOR CHARACTER FORMING IN THE MILENIAL ERA

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Abstract

Tradition is one of Indonesia's cultural richness to preserve. Everyone should know and learn it, especially the younger generation. Tradition contains a wide variety of educational value. This research aims to know the value of education of Susuk Wangan to construct characters in the millennial era. Susuk Wangan is one of Islamic culture in Wonogiri Regency. The type of this research is a descriptive qualitative research. The results showed that the tradition of Susuk Wangan contains educational value, namely religious, social, morality, and culture values. These values can be embedded on the younger generation in order to have a good character in the millennial era.

Tradisi merupakan salah satu kekayaan budaya Indonesia yang perlu dilestarikan. Setiap orang harus mengetahui dan mempelajarinya, khususnya generasi muda. Tradisi memuat berbagai macam nilai pendidikan. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengetahui nilai pendidikan tradisi Susuk Wangan sebagai pembentuk karakter di era milenial. Tradisi Susuk Wangan merupakan salah satu budaya Islam yang terdapat di Kabupaten Wonogiri. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tradisi Susuk Wangan memuat nilai pendidikan, yaitu nilai religius, kesosialan, kesusilaan, dan budaya. Nilai-nilai tersebut dapat ditanamkan pada generasi muda agar memiliki karakter yang baik di era milenial.

Keywords: *education values; tradition; Susuk Wangan; character forming*

Introduction

Tradition is known as a local wisdom in which there is a source of cultural wealth that needs to explore, preserve, and develop. The delivery of cultural messages in the tradition has been used long before humans are familiar with literacy. The society retains the tradition because of the necessity of various interests or because from birth they have followed the habit. Tradition is one form of cultural heritage (Purwadi, 2005: 1). It is a mechanism in society to study the culture that contains the norms and values of life to obey and uphold the norms and values for the sake of the preservation of community life.

Things that can do to find out are life, values of philosophy, local wisdom, and trust. It also includes many things, customs, ideals, and various other activities that exist in the region. Tradition and store things that are implied meanings or symbols that have benefits for living beings must be excavated and preserved in order not to become extinct. Thus, the contents of the traditions exist in these areas can be extracted, preserved, and developed to be beneficial in the past or the present. Lately a lot of traditions do not get support from the public, from various genres of oral communities there are living, so that some are faded, some even extinct (Amir, et al., 2007: 2). Therefore, it requires creativity to explore the potential that exists in life as a medium for learning to form a good character for the younger generation.

Today young people prefer watching television, movies, and listening to songs through DVDs, mobile phones, MP3s, or others rather than reading books or finding out about traditions. It occurs as the influence of the rapidity of modern technologies, so to appreciate the existing traditions in the region was less desirable of the young generation. They feel foreign to the tradition, even they do not know the traditions of the area. The younger generation concern less with their own culture, especially about traditional ceremonies. Indeed, traditional ceremonies also contain meaning useful for the development of ethics and character (Sharif, et al., 2016: 22). In addition, the loosening of customary ties, habits, and indifference makes the tradition gets less attention even not desirable. These three things can happen because of lack of knowledge about the role and importance of tradition for the community. Whereas in a tradition many contained the values of education that is needed to be emulated by the young generation. Therefore, teaching

them about a tradition can be used for the cultivation of educational values for the young generation.

Seeing the above phenomenon, it is necessary to attempt to overcome the existing problems, by socialization starting from the smallest scope. The socialization of the smallest scope is through families familiarizing themselves with telling each other or seeing directly about traditions that are rich in educational values. The existence of cohesiveness of the community to maintain and preserve the tradition in their regions can also cultivate a sense of curiosity of the young generation to investigate further about its meaning and value of education. These efforts can revive the traditions contained in an area. In addition, another effort is through the school environment by making tradition as a learning material. Therefore, the traditions that exist in these areas need to be examined because it is a legacy of the nation's noble culture and contains educational values as well as useful for character building for the young generation.

In a study conducted by Prabowo (2015) the values of education contained in a tradition can be used as an alternative means of character education for the young generation. A tradition full of educational value that is packed philosophically is even used as an alternative learning at school leading them to know then feel and ultimately behave in accordance with the expected educational value. Meanwhile, in a study conducted by Saddhono and Kurniawan (2017) shows that a tradition contains religious values that high school students can use in as an effort to cultivate character education.

This study focuses on the traditions of *Susuk Wangan* because it tells the form of gratitude to God Almighty. In addition, it contains many educational values needed by the younger generation. Therefore, research on the tradition, especially *Susuk Wangan* needs more exploration on the value of education for the younger generation.

Research Methods

The research on *Susuk Wangan* tradition is done in Setren village, Slogohimo sub-district, Wonogiri regency, Central Java. This research is a descriptive qualitative research done examining the object found and interpreting the relationship of various elements in it (Sutopo, 2006: 86). Data collection techniques in this study are observation, interview, and content analysis. Data validity is done through triangulation of source and triangulation theory. The sampling technique used in this research is purposive sampling. While data

analysis uses interactive data analysis, namely data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 429).

Research Result

Background of *Susuk Wangan* Tradition

Setren village, Slogohimo sub-district, Wonogiri district was once a barren and dry village, until a community leader in Setren village found a spring based on the dream about a spring in the Girimanik jungle. It was also revealed by one of the residents of Setren village who said that once the village of Setren had experienced a drought, to meet the daily needs of water is very difficult, it was grateful to finally find springs by Mbah Pono so Setren village no longer has drought (interview with Sakinem, on May 25, 2017).

The discovery of this spring originated from a dream or *wangsit* obtained by one of the community leaders of Setren village who met a man dressed in white who is supposedly believed to be Prince Samber Nyawa Raden Mas Said. The man informed him that in the forest of Girimanik there was a spring and he advised that the spring would be preserved not to be damaged. After traveling a considerable distance, the effort was not in vain, because Mbah Pono finally proved that the springs really exist in the forest. *Umbul* or the source of this spring is located in Silamuk area which is now known as *Umbul Silamuk*. (interview with Wiyono, on May 11, 2017).

The existence of the water source is then said to the people of Setren village that in the forest of Girimanik there are springs that can be utilized for daily necessities and agriculture. After the deliberation or *rembugan* with the people of Setren village, the next day Setren village people together to the forest to follow the source of the springs to the village of Setren. They made a drainage from the spring to Setren village using bamboo. Prior to working on the water canal, the people of Setren village led by the elders and community leaders pray together for safety and convenience. The community believes that the forest is guarded by forces beyond human power so the people of Setren village must ask for permission to make their work run well. Cooperation of Setren village community was fruitful, finally water can flow to the village.

As a form of gratitude for having found the spring water, the people held a *slametan* with offerings in the form of *tumpang* and *ingkung*, after praying the people of Setren village enjoy the food near the springs in Girimanik forest. There are certain ways or mechanisms in each society to force every

citizen to learn the culture in which contains the norms and values of life that apply in the association of the society concerned. Various traditions of a social nature, in essence create a harmony, balance, and safety for the integrity of the community. Tradition is actually a medium that aims to ask for salvation (congratulations) on all dangers and obstacles that may be used as a platform for mutual introspect themselves (Munawaroh, 2013: 114). With the source of the springs, the farm in the village of Setren was better so that the community finally held the tradition of *Susuk Wangan* as a festive. *Slametan* as a form of gratitude eventually became a tradition to this day. The water flows right on Saturday *Kliwon* so it is related to the day of holding the *Susuk Wangan* tradition every year. In the Javanese society, one way to achieve a harmonious and peaceful situation is through salvation or often called tradition (Ariani, 2003: 279). The Javanese people always cling to their religion and mystical worldview, even they strongly upholds the moral or degrees of his life embodied through action. In addition, the Javanese way of life in life always connects everything with a spiritual and magical God with respect to the spirit of the ancestors and the forces not seen by the human senses. As a form of gratitude for the people of Setren village after the discovery of the springs so that their village has an abundant supply of water, the community conducts the ceremony of salvation.

Selamatan is essentially the most common religious ceremony performed by the Javanese. The Javanese recognize various forms of religious ceremonies that are individual, especially the ceremonies related to life cycle or ceremony that is social. This community ceremony is realized by the people of Setren village, Slogohimo subdistrict, Wonogiri regency through the *Susuk Wangan* tradition. *Susuk Wangan* consists of two words in Javanese, namely *Susuk* and *Wangan*, *Susuk* means clean and *Wangan* means water flow. Overall the *Susuk Wangan* impairment can be interpreted by cleaning the water canal (interview with Sri Purwanti, Head of Setren village on 25 May 2017). In *Susuk Wangan* tradition, the community together clean the drains that flow from the spring water source in the Silamuk area to Setren village. The people of Setren village hold a *Susuk Wangan* tradition based on their needs, but at least held once a year on *Besar*, the twelfth month, exactly on Saturday *Kliwon* according to Javanese calendar. The existence of the day's determination in Javanese society cannot be separated from the existence of a tradition called *petangan*. *Petangan* is a representation of the Javanese way of thinking and feeling in an attempt to get closer to nature as the center of life and God Creator as the

source of life in Javanese cosmology (Widodo & Saddhono, 2012: 1168). From the description above, it is obvious that the tradition of *Susuk Wangan* is one of Islamic culture in Wonogiri regency. It is seen when people believe that everything exists in this world is governed by God. In addition, the existence of *selamatan* culture is evidence of the most common religious ceremonies performed by the community. *Susuk Wangan* is a tradition of cleaning waterways. In Islamic culture, cleaning up the environment is a necessary thing to do and is set in the Qur'an.

The procession of *Susuk Wangan* Tradition

Susuk Wangan tradition held annually in *Besar*, the twelfth month on Saturday Kliwon. It is still performed today as a traditional ceremony, because the ceremony there is a form of social activity involving citizens with the aim to seek safety together (Soepanto, 1992: 5). Approaching the day, the community of Setren village are getting busy. Before the peak of the event, they appointed the committee that has the duties and roles so that the performance of society in this tradition becomes more effective. Before the peak of the event on Friday morning the community gathered at the place where the *Susuk Wangan* tradition was held, the community worked together to collect the various equipment needed in the tradition.

Communities jointly clean the waterways or *wangan* that flows into the village of Setren and then clean the field located in the 2nd post of tourism object Girimanik waterfall Setren. They prepared the venue decorated with with cloth, under the tarub given the base and stage for art performances. In every road to the waterfall from the first post to second one they set *umbul-umbul*. The community also install the *janur* in place of holding tradition as in other events of Javanese society celebration. The chairs of invited guests began to be laid out, where prayer readings were prepared tables large enough to put offerings, and gamelan for art performances are also arranged neatly. Sound system is also well prepared, and they play the music of Java similar to those holding a massive celebration like wedding ceremony in Java community. In addition, the community also clean the office in second post of Girimanik forest as the dining place. The activities on the day before the peak of the event were also monitored by the Setren village Chief and representatives of the Office of Education and Culture. After the preparation is complete, in the evening this place is used for the *lek-lekan*, men staying up allnight.

The procession of *Susuk Wangan* tradition is divided into two stages. The first stage was done on Friday afternoon before the big event was held and the next day on Saturday Kliwon (interview with Wiyono, village elder of Setren on May 11, 2017). In the first procession on Friday evening Afternoon Kliwon Saturday, the elders of Setren village gathered at the home of the elders then they went together to the spring in the forest of Girimanik. This event is called a salvation event to ask permission for the event in the morning to run smoothly. Before leaving for the spring, the offerings brought to prayer in the Girimanik jungle were prepared. The offerings are *tumpeng*, chicken *ingkung* and *kembang telon*. In addition, the elders also brought drinking water and buckets.

The second procession is the culmination of *Susuk Wangan* tradition event that has been packaged by the Office of Education and Culture. This tradition is held on Saturday Kliwon, the community flocked since morning and came to the second post of Girimanik Setren waterfall by bringing various *ubarampe* traditional equipment. The people consider it a special day or party of Setren village. The young men and women who served as *punggawa* and *dhomas* at the parade were also ready. Along the road to the Girimanik Waterfall Setren looks quite crowded, not only the people of Setren village but also people around the village and the domestic tourists deliberately came to join the ceremony. The event was attended by local officials in Wonogiri District such as Wonogiri Regent, Head of Education and Culture Office, Head of Slogohimo Sub-district, Head of Regional Water Company and so on. This procession consists of several stages from beginning to end. The printed and electronic media are also not left behind in this tradition to perpetuate the tradition that is held every year. Beautiful mountain scenery and cool air strongly support this tradition. The top procession of *Susuk Wangan* tradition consists of several stages that must be passed from the beginning to the end of the event described as follows.

Traditional equipment parade or *ubarampe*

Procession of traditional equipment or *ubarampe* means to bring the offerings of *jodhang*, *gunungan*, *tumpeng* and roast chicken *ingkung* to place at the second post of Girimanik Setren waterfall. The convoy is led by the head of Setren village, wearing traditional Javanese women's clothing, *kebaya*, *jarik* and hair bun. Then followed by a young man wearing clothing like a Javanese courtier who brought a *songsong agung* or umbrella of greatness. Followed by

a group of prayer readers wearing Javanese traditional dresses, *blackbeskap*, *jarik* and *blangkon*. Then behind the group of prayer readers appear two men who bear *Jodhang* (containing offerings). Behind *Jodhang*, a group of princess *dhomas* wearing a pink *kebaya*, followed by a group of young men carrying *gunungan*. In the last row there was a group of women carrying a *tumpeng* and grilled encasement.

Opening

All invited guests and the people who have gathered at the venue are ready to follow the tradition. The host in charge of opening the event read out the arrangement that morning. The first event was the opening ceremony of the *ubarampe* tradition equipment handover from the parade group to the village elders of Setren. The next event was a welcome speech from invited guests who attended the opening speech of the Head of Setren village, Head of Slogohimo, Head of Education and Culture and The Regent of Wonogiri. After the greeting finished proceed with prayer reading by *modin*. The event ended with a meal together with both the invited guests, the public and anyone who attended the tradition. After the feast, the community enjoy art performances in the form of *lesunggamelan* dance, *campursari* with backing music by *gamelan* and art performances of *kethek ogleng*.

Handover equipment *ubarampe* tradition

Submitting traditional equipment or *ubarampe* means the Head of Setren village handed *ubarampe* procession in the form of offerings to elders or community leaders Setren village. The village head of Setren also gives speech to the invited guests. After the offerings are handed over symbolically in the form of a given *encek* containing *tumpeng* and grilled chicken *ingkung*, then the elder receive the offerings and other event equipment. Afterwards, they prayed together led by *modin* and the offerings are then distributed to the people of Setren village at the end of the event.

A praying together

The event continued with the reading of prayer after the ceremony was finished which led by *Modren* Setren village accompanied by the elders of Setren village. The prayer delivered by *modin* essentially requests salvation to Almighty God, to Prophet Muhammad SAW and also to the guardians who have given salvation to everyone involved in *Susuk Wangan* ritual.

Modin expressed gratitude to Almighty God for his blessing and grace for the people of Setren village over abundant water, fertile soil. Hopefully with the implementation of this *Susuk Wangan* tradition, Setren village people can be safe, prosperous in carrying out their daily life and in doing farming. In prayer, Modin reads out Islamic prayers as well as several short letters. The traditional Javanese mindset has a belief that the universe is made up of the *jagad gedhe* and *thejagad cilik*. *Jagad gedhe* is the universe, while the *jagad cilik* is human. A harmony in social life is manifested in a vertical relationship, the relationship between human and God, also in the form of a horizontal relationship, the human relationship with the universe. Harmony in people's lives will ensure a good life for each individual. Cosmological balance of life can be interpreted by the maintenance of a harmonious relationship between microcosm and macrocosm, between man and God (Sutiyono, 2013: 41).

Closing

The closing ceremony is a series of traditions after the joint prayer event is over, the event begins with the sharing of roast and *tumpeng* to the people present in this tradition. The offerings of *tumpeng* and grilled chicken *ingkung* are distributed to all invited guests and everyone who attended the ceremony.

Performing Arts

Tradition procession ends with various arts performances as entertainment events. This art performance is organized by the people of Setren village with the support of the Department of Education and Culture of Wonogiri Regency so the event becomes very festive. Performing arts are presented among other art *gamelanlesung*, *campursari*, *kethek ogleng* dance. Various art performances are displayed by residents of the village of Setren, even dance *kethek ogleng* and *campursari* performing by young people in the village of Setren.

Education Values in *Susuk Wangan* Tradition

Religious Values

Education is often interpreted as a human effort to foster its personality in accordance with the values in society and culture. Education in general is an attempt and strength to develop ethics such as divinity, character, mind, and the physical state of the learner (Saddhono, et al., 2016: 308). In a traditional

ceremony, both recorded and unrecorded, there are various values that can be taken as learning materials. It further argues that values can be divided into four, namely cultural values, social values, moral values, and religious values (Mardiatmadja, 1986: 55). Religious value is a consciousness that is deeply ingrained in the depths of the human heart as human nature. Religion is a belief or a human belief about the existence of supernatural (supernatural) which is beyond the control of human beings who control all human life (Krishna & Desti, 2015: 59). In addition to human beliefs about the existence of the occult that controls human life, religion also regulates the relationship between humans with humans and humans with nature. Indeed, religion is not only about the outward aspect of life but also the total of the total human self in the integration of the relationship into the oneness of God.

Implementation of *Susuk Wangan* tradition cannot be separated from religious element or belief of village community. Religious values relate to vertical relationships, between man and God Almighty. The relationship between human and God can not be separated from religion. Religion is used as a belief and a guide of life for human beings. The belief in a particular religion makes human life purposeful, peaceful, and peaceful. The religious value contained in the execution of this tradition can instill the attitude of society to always remember its creator. The belief or belief in God as the owner of the universe shows one's faith. A believer will always submit and fear God. In addition to faith in God, human beings are expected to believe in the things that *ghaib*, such as spirits, *jinn*, and demons. The spirits do not appear to be body but live around humans. The belief in God and the supernatural things fosters human devotion. As a form of piety, humans always try to obey the command and stay away from the prohibition of God Almighty. Religion is not only about the outward aspect of life but also the total of the total human self in the integration of the relationship into the oneness of God (Rosyadi 1995: 90).

Ikhtiar and tawakal are two things that can be used as guidance in human activities everyday. Ikhtiar means trying to maximize in order to obtain the desired results. Furthermore, tawakal intends to surrender after doing all efforts maximally. After getting the results, then humans as God's creatures are expected to always be grateful. Gratitude is a form of human gratitude for all the favors God has bestowed upon him. Religious elements include belief, devotion, endeavor, tawakal, and gratitude into a unity that serve as a guide of life for the community. Religious values are reflected in the implementation of

the *Susuk Wangan* tradition. This can be seen from: 1) their belief in the God Almighty and the supernatural beings, 2) their devotion by carrying out the grateful commands and away from the restrictions by restricting themselves not to the Lord, 3) the attitude of endeavor and tawakal in everyday life, everything for the execution of tradition as an effort to preserve nature and preserve the culture and surrender to the results obtained later; and 4) be grateful as the end of all human endeavor, manifested by the implementation of *Susuk Wangan* tradition.

The value of education teaches positive things and goodness that can be taken by others. Education not only provides knowledge and information, but also builds the character of human identity (Shoba & Kala, 2015: 193). The value of religious education is intended for young people to get a life that comes from religion. The *slametan* ritual ceremony in tradition is actually a symbol of communication between human and God where humanity as a weak creature asks God for help to provide protection to his people (Humaeni, 2015: 176). Based on the result of research, religious education value in *Susuk Wangan* implementation is grateful and pray to God Almighty. Through *Susuk Wangan*, the young generation can learn about how to pray for survival in their lives and to be grateful for what God has given them. Thus, religious values will underlie every activity of the young generation both at home and elsewhere.

Social Value

Social activities are obviously in direct contact with people's lives. Social values are values that are upheld by a society and become an orientation in every action through social interaction. For a person who does not comply with the social values prevailing in a society, he will get punishment, such as feelings of shame or ostracism. The social value of long-standing general guidance directs behavior in everyday life. The social values that exist in society are oriented towards common interests, such as responsibility, deliberation, and mutual cooperation.

The value of social education will make people aware of the importance of group life in the bonds of kinship between one individual with another individual. Social value refers to the relationships of individuals with other individuals in a society. How one should behave, how they solve problems, and deal with certain situations are also included in social values. In the world of education, educators have a great role as motivators and facilitators, they can help students in childhood to be motivated to think creatively, to give

help and respect to others, to cooperate with others honestly and politely (Wardoyo et al., 2015: 151).

Social value becomes one unity, as a form of cooperation which then creates solidarity in society. Social value is the value that people acquire in their association with other human beings in society related to the formation and maintenance of behavior (Purwaningtyastuti et al., 2014: 8). The value of social education will make people aware of the importance of group life in the bonds of kinship between one individual with another individual. Within a community group, the unity emerges to form a solid team for the smooth implementation of the *Susuk Wangan* tradition. The sense of community unity when implementing *Susuk Wangan* makes this tradition always exist, always implemented from generation to generation. Tolerance is a willingness to accept differences, respect all other forms of rights and duties that others have, and be willing not to disturb them. Given the nation of Indonesia is a multicultural nation, tolerance should exist in each individual to create a harmonious relationship in the community. It also becomes as a guide in respecting differences in society.

In a group discussion, many ideas or ideas emerge from each member. Each head has a different thought. For that reason, it takes deliberation to get results that will not harm others. This activity is still considered efficacious as a remedy to overcome differences within community groups. Things that would be an obstacle, will be discussed first with the elders or the head of the group and other members to be resolved immediately. Deliberation can also be used as a guide for Indonesian people who have diverse interests. For that reason, the community needs deliberation to agree in order to get the best way in solving a problem.

Social value is not only about human relationships with others, but also human beings with the natural surroundings. Humans need to maintain harmony with nature as a place to stay in the world. Humans must maintain the preservation of nature in order to remain friendly with future generations. Based on the above description, social value plays an important role in human life. Social value not only keeps the unity and harmony of human relationships on society, but also preserves nature as a place of life. Social value becomes the source of community dynamics. If the social value is not preserved, it will not create a unity and unity of the people of Indonesia as a comprehensive development effort.

The value of decency/morality

The value of decency or morals is related to right and wrong in society. This moral value contains about the right and wrong character in a group or society that embraces it. If the members of the community violate it, the sanctions they receive are social sanctions such as being mocked and ostracized by other members of the community. Similarly, character education not only teaches what is right and what is wrong with the child, but more than that character education instills good habits that students understand, are able to feel, and want to do good (Kamaruddin, 2012: 225). The ethics of the Javanese describe that conveying something can be done in two ways, namely through *pituduh* and *wewaler* (Saddhono & Kurniawan, 2017: 76). *Pituduh* is associated with values that can be imitated and emulated. While *wewaler* are the values that should be avoided. This moral value also applies in a tradition. The value of moral education teaches about how to behave and behave in social life in accordance with moral norms in accordance with his conscience. A person who have a certain attitude and behaves inappropriately with the life of his or her society will be considered rude and unlawful. Education can create a balance between their intellect and morality if human resources have a high degree of morality (Huda, et al., 2016: 667). Therefore, it can be said that the formation of the educational front must indeed be based on the noble character of the nation's value.

Moral can be viewed as a theme in a simple form, but not all themes are moral (Nurgiyantoro, 2013: 320). Moral is a view of the values of truth and that view to be conveyed to society. It further discloses that education can create a balance between their intellect and morality if human resources have a high degree of morality. Therefore, the formation of an educational front must indeed be based on the nation's noble character traits (Huda, et al., 2016: 667). The moral values in the traditional ceremony aims to educate people to recognize the values of ethics which is a good value bad an act, what to avoid, and what to do, so as to create an order of human relationships in a society that is considered good, and beneficial to the person, society, environment, and nature. It can be concluded that the value of moral education shows the rules of behavior and customs of an individual of a group that includes behavior. In relation to the *Susuk Wangan* tradition, the moral value is evident from the attitude and behavior of Setren village people who exhibit praiseworthy behavior. The existence of deliberation activities do not trigger any differences of opinion. In addition, tolerance among the people of the village of Setren

consisting of various religions, professions, and educational level is well preserved in the community of Setren village. If the younger generation can imitate and apply in everyday life then the young generation in this millennial era will have a commendable moral.

Culture value

According to Law no. 20 of 2003, education is a conscious and planned effort to create an atmosphere of learning and learning process so that learners actively develop their potential to have spiritual power of religion, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character, as well as the skill needed by him, nation and state. In a simple sense education is often defined as a human effort to foster its personality in accordance with the values in society and culture (Hasbullah, 2005: 1). Ritual ceremonies are still a tradition for certain communities. Various traditions have different characteristics in every region in Indonesia. Therefore, the ritual ceremony becomes a local cultural tradition for the support community. As a ritual event, the *Susuk Wangan* tradition is complemented by various customary offerings and behaviors as a symbol of hope in life. The offerings reflected the prayers of community expectations. They hope that the life that is lived is always blessed and gets the easy way. Development and application of culture inherent in society can realize harmony and balance in life. Based on such a goal, people make culture as a guide and guidance in behaving individually, in groups or society as a whole about being bad, right, wrong or inappropriate. Organizing tradition is very important for socio-cultural development of the citizens concerned (Rahmawati, 2013: 126).

The *Susuk Wangan* tradition lives in the minds of people and is considered valuable, precious, and important in their lives. Cultural values guide attitudes and give direction to people's lives like their ancestors, respect the traditions that exist in order for them to gain salvation and prosperity in life. Organizing tradition is very important for socio-cultural development of the citizens concerned (Rahmawati, 2013: 126). Cultural values are the most abstract level of adat, life and rooted in the minds of the people, and are difficult to replace with other cultural values in a short time. Behavior based on culture is considered necessary in modern times as it is today. This is aimed at the young generation of the Indonesian nation not to forget his identity. Speaking of modern times, *Susuk Wangan* needs to be sought for its preservation. Conservation is concerned with the human effort to preserve everything that has value for both individuals and groups. Preservation can

not be separated from the uniqueness of the lifestyle of a particular social environment that has a strong tradition. Local traditions are cultural resources that must be preserved so as to enrich the beauty and value of life for the people. Local traditions can also enrich regional and national culture as a national identity.

In addition, local traditions can serve as one of the tourism assets of a region. The development of good tourism, will have a positive impact on the economic income of a region. In modern times like today, traditional arts and games, such as *kethek ogleng* dance, the art of *lesung*, and *campursari* are no longer showed in Wonogiri regency. Arts and traditional games are performed at the annual event *Susuk Wangan*, as a conservation effort. Thus, arts and traditional games as local culture of the Wonogiri community will not be forgotten. Through the preservation of local cultural heritage, future generations can learn from these inheritances and appreciate them as did their predecessors. Efforts to preserve and utilize culture as an asset of regional tourism, can be adapted to the times without having to eliminate the meaning and cultural value. Thus, there will always be an attempt to improve culture and preserve the values of local wisdom that is in accordance with the lives of people from generation to generation.

Conclusion

Various processions on the implementation of the *Susuk Wangan* tradition seems to be part of religious ceremony that contains the meaning more than just asking for salvation and grateful for the blessings and grace from God. If observed from each process, *Susuk Wangan* tradition contains various values of education, namely religious values, social values, moral values, and cultural values. Religious values are reflected in their belief in the God Almighty and their supernatural beings and their devotion by carrying out the grateful commands and avoiding restrictions by restricting themselves from God's sanction. Social values are oriented to common interests, such as responsibility, deliberation, and mutual cooperation. While the embodiment of moral values is seen in all the people of Setren village who have the attitude and praiseworthy nature, do not attach importance to each ego. The embodiment of cultural values appears in the presence of their love of local culture, namely *kethek ogleng* dance, *campursari*, and *gamelan lesung* art. Research on the tradition of *Susuk Wangan* is one of Islamic culture that should be preserved because it contains various educational values. If the values in the *Susuk Wangan* tradition can

penetrate the souls of the younger generation, then in this millennial era they will have good character.

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ACCULTURATION OF ISLAM AND JAVANESE CULTURE IN PUBLIC SERVANT ETHICS

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Abstract

The acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture has occurred since the golden age of Islamic kingdoms in Java. Islamic boarding school (pesantren) has been developing widely during the age of Demak and Mataram kingdoms. This development is a product of acculturation between Islamic and Hindu education systems. Islamic boarding school during the heyday of Islamic kingdoms is the institution of education designed to develop and produce royal bureaucrats or nobility officials who understand both Islam ethic and Javanese culture. In recent days, Islamic boarding school has successfully produced leaders who are not only religious as Moslem but also fostering Javanese culture. The leader is a role-model for the followers. Leader behavior is the most central issue in the eye of followers. Therefore, the leader is always required to show good attitudes and positive values, and both virtues can be evolved from the understanding of religion and culture (especially Javanese culture). In accord with Javanese philosophy, human life perfection is understood in term of a totality involving creation (cipta), sense (rasa), and wish (karsa). This totality gives a description that public servant ethics cannot escape from the effect of Islam religion and Javanese culture.

Akulturası budaya Islam dan Jawa telah terjadi sejak zaman keemasan kerajaan Islam di Jawa. Pesantren telah berkembang secara luas pada zaman kerajaan Demak dan Mataram. Perkembangan ini merupakan produk akulturası

antara sistem pendidikan Islam dan Hindu. Pondok pesantren selama masa kejayaan kerajaan Islam menjadi lembaga pendidikan yang dirancang untuk mengembangkan dan menghasilkan birokrat kerajaan atau pejabat bangsawan yang memahami etika Islam dan budaya Jawa. Kini pesantren telah berhasil menghasilkan pemimpin yang tidak hanya beragama Islam tetapi juga membina budaya Jawa. Pemimpin adalah teladan bagi para pengikut. Perilaku pemimpin termasuk hal utama di mata pengikut. Oleh karena itu, pemimpin selalu dituntut untuk menunjukkan sikap yang baik dan nilai-nilai positif, dan kedua kebijakan tersebut dapat berevolusi dari pemahaman agama dan budaya (khususnya budaya Jawa). Sesuai dengan filsafat Jawa, kesempurnaan hidup manusia dipahami dalam arti totalitas yang melibatkan penciptaan (cipta), rasa (rasa), dan harapan (karsa). Totalitas ini memberikan gambaran bahwa etika pegawai negeri tidak bisa lepas dari pengaruh agama Islam dan budaya Jawa.

Keywords: *Acculturation; Islamic Culture; Public Servant*

Introduction

The crisis occurred in Indonesia was neither caused by wrong financial management nor fluctuation of the national currency (Indonesian rupiah) against the dollar. The so called by the author as a crisis is a phenomenon of bad governance when people do not anymore trust the government despite many tasks it accomplishes. Indonesia did experience of being swayed by the 1998 economic crisis due to the contagious effect of global financial crisis. Many years after entering “reformation” period (or after Soeharto regime), Indonesia still failed to restrain its government officers from pursuing their personal interests. One solution suggested is bureaucratic reformation, but the country was still too busy with post-reformation issues and accidentally overlooked this solution (Rock, 2003). Almost all administrations after reformation still emphasized on democratic process, and not on how shall democracy deliver better service to the people. Indeed, democracy is still the powerful driving machine to improve the welfare of Indonesian people. Unfortunately, this dream is yet to be coming true.

Although after reformation in 1998, national leaders have changed alternately, people still cannot give away their hatred to the government because their freedoms to have social activity and access to information are still curdled. Only after bureaucratic abuse was exposed, the government started not only to unleash press freedom and freedom of association, but also support human right enforcement. The restraint of freedom is one issue, and

the other issue is more annoying, that is, the government puts more leverages to the interests of few influencing individuals and bureaucratic elites rather than to the needs of people. Such bureaucratic culture is very discriminating and partial, and news on television often broadcasts how bureaucrats steal (do corruption) people monies for the fortunes of the self and their groups. Public service still remains slack because it involves too many procedures and needs bureaucratic official stamps (Tjiptoherijanto, 2012).

Incredulity crisis against the government becomes too obvious due to corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) creeping into the blood of bureaucracy. It does not stop when New Order regime falls and even grow despite the succession of many administrations. Bureaucrats' ethic awareness is too low to challenge this dilapidation, and also too hesitant from upholding accountability.

Ethic in Javanese Philosophy

Javanese culture contains much local wisdom and these wisdoms undergird the settlement of many issues in society, including leadership. One of them is stated in the concept of "*Satria Piningit*" (Hidden Leader). This concept was suggested by Prabu Jayabaya, King of Kediri (1135 - 1157), who was known with his prophecies (Muljana, 1979). However, *Satria Piningit* prevails only to the ideal condition, and it is shown by few attributes, which among others is when governance implemented by government emphasizes more on the magnanimity over the interests of politic, economic, law, religion, and culture. All living aspects, therefore, must rest upon the principles of reasonableness and good deeds.

Javanese humans have been taking pleasure of doing contemplation through the aspect of *creation, sense, & wish*. According to Javanese philosophy, perfect life derives from totality of *creation, sense, & wish*. Perfect human is one who understands where life starts and ends (Murtisari, 2013). Elders often define death as *mulih mula mulanira* (going back home to the start), meaning that the deceased is going back home and unified with the Creator, or called as *manunggaling kawula Gusti*. Accordingly, it is clear that perfect human also has the wisdom and the ability to predict occurrences beyond space and time, and this ability is called as *kawaskithan*. Universal philosophy asserts that the essence of truth is the activity of creation (or creativity), meanwhile Javanese philosophy stresses more on the activity of sense (or sensibility), as shown in the phrases of *sari rasa jati - sarira sajati*, and *sari rasa tunggal - sarira satunggal*.

Life wisdoms underlain by logic-ethic-esthetic, or creation-sense-wish, or also trut-kindness-beauty, according to Javanese philosophy, reside what so called *sanubari jalma pinilih*, *pethingane manungsa*, and *pitatane dumadi*. Broadly minded humans are not easily surprised with the social change because they possess already attributes of *pana pranaweng kapti*, *tan samar pamoring sukma*, and *sinukmaya winahya ing ngasepi*. Their heart is bright as moonlight. They also bring along traits of *pambukane warana*, *sinimpen telenging kalbu*, and *tarlen saking liyep-layaping aluyup* (Muljana, 1979). Their shade of consciences bounces back the spirit of power.

Indeed, every person needs life wisdom, and so is human who performs his mandate as the holder of power, which in Javanese tradition, shall make him to become a King. In *Kitab Paramayoga* written by R.Ng. Ranggawarsita, a royal poet of *Kraton Surakarta Hadiningrat*, there are concepts and attributes attached to the King. The King is *narendra gung binathara*, *mbahu dhendha nyakrawati*, *ambeg adil paramarta*, and *mamayu hayuning bawana*. It is analogous to *God of Heaven* because King holds power and governance, shows justness and compassion, and keeps the world in peace and secure (Muljana, 1979). All these traits help King to guard the balance of the life. Being *narendra gung binathara* (supreme leader), King is given powerful authority, called *mbahu dhendha nyakrawati*. This authority is definitely unchallenged that may give him a position like God. Legislative, executive, and judicative powers are led singularly by him without sharing. It may impart an interpretation that King is possibly authoritarian, absolute, and abusive to his power. However, in the other hand, King is also required to keep Kingdom on the balance by completing duties designed to create social order.

King also carries an attribute of *ambeg adil paramarta*, which is, to enforce justness without partiality through judgments underlain by healthy reason, compassion, and integrity. Legal certainty of a governance shall guide every person to act based on the prevailing norms. A popular Malay proverb said that *raja adil raja disembah*, *raja lalim raja disanggah* (equitable king is served, cruel king is defied). To enforce justness successfully, King must use conscience and humanity values. Concerning truth and justness, Sunan Paku Buwana IV has composed a writing about leadership, called *Serat Wulangreh*. This writing contains some verses. One is *narendra pan tan darbe garwa miwah sunu*, meaning that in essence, King does not have any wife and child. Explicitly, Sunan Paku Buwana IV differentiates between King as institution and King as individual. Other verse is *narendra sanyata kagungane wong sanagara*, meaning that King is

entirely owned by his people. Therefore, the family of nobility must be served under the same treatment with other peoples, and it is the manifestation of egalitarianism principle.

The creation of leader generation starts by educating the youth to respect the values of virtue. Value is a product of mental formation that can be derived through education, knowledge, experience, legacy, immediate condition, social interaction, and others. One of the virtues can be related with a cultural legacy called “*Ojo dumeh*”, an old Javanese philosophy, which “*Ojo*” means *do not*, while “*Dumeh*” means *be opportunist*. If this simple value is performed in daily life, it surely delivers extraordinary power because the value is ancient with great significance to Javanese society.

Ojo dumeh is one pillar of total three in a phrase of not easily being proud, admired or startled (*ojo dumeh, ojo gumunan, ojo kagetan*). Each pillar has its own capacity. For a Javanese, this phrase is an advice conveyed by the elders to the next generation starting from childhood to adulthood. The advice is aimed to alleviate opportunism and develop respect. Indeed, *Ojo Dumeh* prevents them from being over reactive in behavior. Overreaction emerges due to the sense of superiority on wealth, skill, rank, enchantment, popularity, and descendant. *Ojo Dumeh* is an introspective tenet, and the lesson to be internalized by this tenet is to be more submissive to God the Creator, and to care about other human and environment.

Ojo Dumeh is a boundary for humans when they are possessed by “*dumeh*” (opportunism). There is an expression reflecting *ojo dumeh*, that is, “*koyo ngono yo koyo ngono ning ojo koyo ngono*”, which is freely translated as “it is a common-sense but do not be easily to make it so”. In other words, humans can get what they want, but they must remember that there shall be a balance between the respect to what they have (self-respect) and the respect to what others have. This balance gives various results, such as producing good communication, being appreciative and respect with others, avoiding prejudice, and increasing care to others. In law context, *Ojo Dumeh* is an ethical value because it declares what is good or bad, and what is right or wrong.

Ojo Dumeh is an effort to keep aside all personal interests (Nordholt, 1987). People with such philosophy will treat others with courtesy, comply with prevailing rules, respect others’ right, and keep loyal to their immediate social environments. Such people do not find easy to sacrifice others for personal purposes or for the sake of leadership.

Javanese ethic insists that a successful leader is because of not only his leadership capability, but also the role of followers. Good leader shall not only concern with the main goal of the organization but also be attentive to the demand of the followers. Three principles of leadership are suggested by Ki Hajar Dewantara. First, *ing ngarso sung tulodo*, that a leader must give good role-model to the followers. Leader must act and speak properly to convince followers to behave like their leader. Second, *ing madya mangun karso*, that a leader shall be cooperative with followers. The cooperation will make any jobs easier or lighter to be completed, and it also helps to tighten the relationship between leader and followers, at least to keep it from corrupted leadership. Third, *tut wuri handayani*, that a leader shall give chances to followers to make them advancing forward. Indonesian education holds this principle. Followers are provided with sciences and supplies to increase their insight. A good leader is never afraid of being contended, and thus, he finds no trouble to let his followers to overtake him. It is important manner because when the skilled follower can handle the matters when the leader is absent. Smart leader is one who always manage his followers in such way to achieve the goals of the group.

All these principles represent humanism concept, and Javanese culture has embraced this concept long ago to make people understanding about how to live and the life itself. Javanese humanism is closely related with ethic and ethic behavior. However, worldwide ethic study acknowledged only two poles, namely theory and praxis. Western ethic theory still becomes the umbrella of any ethic perspectives in explaining the concrete behavior of humans (Meliono-Budianto, 2007).

Aligning with this matter, Javanese ethic is the umbrella for the praxis actions of humans. According to Magnis Suseno in *Javanese Ethic* (1984), Javanese ethic attempts to materialize what is understood by “Javanese people” as patterns, principles, norms, manners, values, and morality virtues in the life. There are many Javanese people who still spontaneously, without too explicit reflection, comprehend ethic as judging people using their self as the measurer. Bureaucratic education in Javanese ethic is stressed upon harmony. Indeed, harmony is a very important value to Javanese people. When they live in harmony with other humans, nature, and even spiritual world, they believe that it is secured way from any threats. They preserve value and virtue of morality, and both can manifest in many actions, such as keeping consciences as good as possible, appreciating honesty, taking responsibility, respecting rights and obligations, and maintaining harmony with nature and other

people. Javanese ethic is the anvil where life perspective of Javanese rests upon. Indeed, Javanese life perspective has its own distinction because it looks for *Soul Perfection Science* (Javanese calls it *mysticism (suluk)*, while Moslem regards it as *sufism (tasawuf)*) (Meliono-Budianto, 2007: 76). Many ecclesiastic views among the old-day Javanese (including Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, local credence, local wisdom) have been mixed into “a distinctive ingredients”, but it shapes Javanese life perspective, and it is a suitable topic for philosophical and critical reviews.

Humanism thought system convinces human to think in rational way (Meliono-Budianto, 2007). Why is that? Thinking rationally makes human becoming potentials in: (a) emphasizing humanity as the base of thought in any situations; (b) solving epistemological problems through rational or critical views; and (c) creating moral consciences and ethic considerations (Meliono-Budianto: 2007). These values are possibly disregarded during enlightenment process of national youth generations. Long ago, parents persistently remind their children concerning a period when the youth experiences the so called “*wong Jawa ilang Jawane*” (Javanese people do not know Javanese ethic). Such period is a sign that education has failed to lay down “*culture fundamental norm*” into the conscience of educated participants. When life journey of the youth accidentally goes to the dark alley, there will always be “*culture shock*” that shall horrify them. Therefore, when youth generation suffers from *ahistorical age*, it is a time to organize culture-based education.

Acculturation of Islam and Javanese Culture in Shaping Ethic

Islam and Javanese culture are main themes in the discourse of Indonesian history. Many centuries ago, when Islam came to the ancient Indonesia (Nusantara), moslems must approach first Javanese elders to ask their assists in making communication with Hindu, Budha and other local religions. Javanese culture is a legacy of Javanese for thousands years and it is already known as world heritage. The relationship between Islam and Javanese culture, therefore, has attracted scholars to make a study about it. However, as history goes, this relationship is never easy. It has been colored by dispute and consensus, either explicitly or implicitly. Dispute is related with *Islam indigenization* in Java. It is a process of transforming the internals, or borrowing outside substances to be internalized into Java localities. Islam indigenization, therefore, is the articulation of social interaction between Islam and Javanese culture. Within

the context of nationalism, Islam indigenization shall be brought into higher level to achieve national integration (Mudhofir, 2014).

Acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture has been attempted by Sunan Kalijaga, one of leading actors in Walisongo. Sunan Kalijogo was talented in playing leather puppet (*wayang*) and he used this skill in his preaching (*dakwah*) of Islam. After his *wayang* performance, Sunan Kalijaga did not take charges, but he only requested the spectators to recite after him two *syahadat* sentences. He deliberately inserted Islam values into the themes of his *wayang* performance. He attempted to teach Islam values further to the spectators after they recite *syahadat* (Yatim, 2003). Using local art as his preaching instrument, Sunan Kalijaga has implemented the wise-creative preaching method as the sufism scholars did. These scholars gave more emphasis in educating heart, or educating without “being educator”.

Acculturation process was also found in *slametan*, a ceremonial event rooted from genuine Javanese culture. This event is a product of animism and dynamism, which is basically the legacy of ancestors but has been arisen and riched by Hindu and Budha cultures that believe in deities and their materialization through things and natural occurrences. The arrival of Islam into Java regions was using “the path of peace”, which involving persuasion and symbols of local cultures. It is less surprising if animism and dynamism, and also Hindu-Buddha, are still affecting “mindset and paradigm” of Javanese people although they have professed Islam as their religion. *Slametan* is the universal concept but different place organizes it in different name and on different way. This difference is caused by the habit of perceiving the self as “weak consciousness” before the power outside the self of human beings. In ancient Java, self-power was the strength of things and ancestral spirits, but after Islam came, this understanding was transformed into attributing the safety to only God wills (Adiansyah, 2017).

According to Sumbulah (2012), Islam religion in Java has its own marker of characteristics and expression. Reason behind this is that dissemination of Islam in Java is dominantly done through acculturation, either in type of absorbance or dialog. The pattern of this acculturation can be seen in behavioral expression of Javanese people, and this expression is even forged by political power of Javanese Islam Kingdom, among others is Mataram that successfully blends Javanese Islam with cosmology of Hinduism and Buddhism. Although the relationship between Islam and Javanese culture was once fluctuated during 19th century, but the acculturative face of Javanese Islam is still dominant

in almost every diversity expression of Javanese moslems. Therefore, it is less surprising if “syncretism” and religion tolerances are one genuine cultural nature of Javanese Islam (Sumbulah, 2012).

During the age of Islamic Mataram, Sultan Agung declared policies requiring the old Javanese culture (in Hindu-Budha period) to be acculturated with Islam teachings. These policies successfully produced culture acculturation, which took two forms (Sunanto, 2010). First, grebeg was held on great days of Islam, precisely on Idul Fitri and Maulid Nabi, which since then, the event was renamed into Grebeg Poso and Grebeg Mulud. Second, gamelan Sekaten was played during Grebeg Mulud in the yard of Masjid Agung (Great Mosque).

Islam as a religion developed further with this acculturation because it created an unique mixture of Islam values and Javanese culture. Indeed, this mixture becomes the important element in the development of Islam in Java land. Traces of acculturation are easily found in every development stage of Islamic Kingdom in Java land, such as Demak, Pajang, and Mataram Islam.

Education plays important thing in disseminating Islam through Java regions. Islamic boarding houses (*pondok pesantren*) are the education institution managed mostly by moslem scholars (*ulama*). This institution prepares students to become teachers, elders (*kyai*), or moslem scholars. After graduated from this institution, students went home or moved to another region to preach Islam. At the beginning of Islam dissemination in Java regions, two Islamic boarding houses play dominant roles, precisely that founded by Raden Rahmat (Sunan Ampel) in Ampel Denta-Surabaya, and that built by Sunan Giri in Giri (Yatim, 2003).

In the heyday of Demak, the acculturation of Islamic values and Javanese culture laid the base for the policy “Bayangkare Islah” that was made for Islam education. This policy contains several items (Sunanto, 2010). First, Java and Madura are divided into several education sections to facilitate the dissemination of Islam. Every education section is managed by a moslem scholar, given rank as *wali*, and an assistant, called *badal*. As time goes, *wali* is given title as *sunan* and the name of section served by him is added to this title, for instance, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, Sunan Giri, and others. Second, Islamic education shall be understandable and also acceptable to Javanese people. Therefore, education must be given through the path of culture that is still professed by the society as long as it did not defy syariah. Third, *Wali/Badal* shall be smart in religion knowledge and be able to show good deed and to become the role-model for people. And finally, great mosque is built

at Bintoro (a region in Demak) to be utilized as the source of knowledge and the center of Islam education activity.

Islamic Mataram conducted Islam education through stages in adaptable with government bureaucracy. For instance, Islam education at regency level was carried out by dividing the regency into several education districts. Education process in each district is the responsibility of few *ketib* (*khotib*), aided by few *modin*. The leader of district-based education team is *naib*, while his staffs and village *modin* take care education process at village level. In some regencies, Islamic Boarding Houses are built to intensify Islam education at villages. The teachers are called as *kiai sepuh* or *kiai kanjeng*, and considered as the part of “ulama keraton” or *royal scholars* (Sunanto, 2010). Islamic Boarding Houses that were built during the period of Demak and Mataram are the product of acculturation between Islam education system and Hinduism education system performed by Hindu Kingdoms in Java (among others is Majapahit).

Islam has put education in a very important position, and Al-Qur’an, through Epistle al-‘Alaq in Verse 1-5, requires human to conduct a reading (*iqra’*), and it is stated: “*Read, in the name of the Lord Who Create; Create man from a clot; Read, and the Lord is the Most Bounteous; Who teach by the pen; Teach man that which he knew not*” (QS. al-‘Alaq: 1-5).

The word “read” in that verse must be understood in wider sense because it refers to the reading of *qauliyah* and *kauniyah* verses. Reading is an important requirement in education because it is “a path” for human before obtaining knowledge. The command for reading is reflecting the fact that Islam suggests the congregations to be enriched with knowledge because knowledge helps them to perform proper way of devotion to God.

Education provides the course for moslems to obtain knowledge, and this matter has been explained in QS. al-Taubah verse 122: “*The believers should not all go out to fight. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion, and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware.*” (QS. al-Taubah: 122). The esteem of people with knowledge would be risen by God (Allah SWT), as described in QS. al-Mujadalah verse 11: “*..... Allah will exalt those who believe among you, and those who have knowledge, to high ranks*” (QS. al-Mujadalah: 11).

Besides by al-Qur’an, the importance of education is also declared by Hadists of Prophet Muhammad SAW, which mostly emphasize on the importance of knowledge seeking, the benefits behind knowledge seeking,

and the virtue of being scholar over devotee. Even, Islam has put “knowledge seeking” as a command among moslems. Some hadists supported this position. One hadist has stated that: *“Those blessed by Allah would be eased in understanding religion”* (Bukhari & Muslim).

Other hadist told by Imam Muslim has stated that: *“Those who take path with knowledge seeking inside it, then Allah would ease their path to the heaven”*. Hadist told by Imam Turmudzi explained: *“The virtue of scholar over devotee is comparable to my virtue (Prophet SAW) over those among you in the lowest rank. Then Rasulullah SAW declared: Allah and angels, the inhabitants of sky and earth, ants in their nest, and fishes in the ocean, are praying for those who teach kindness to others”*.

Based on verses of al-Qur’an and statements in the hadists, it can be said that Islam is a religion that put education as the central point of dissemination. As expressed in QS. al-Dzariyat verse 57: *I (Allah) created the jinn and human kind only that they might worship me (Allah)*. Being submissive (or being devotee) to Allah SWT only to look for the blessing is the ultimate goal of mission behind the delegation of Rasulullah as the messenger of Islam religion to human kind. Therefore, the ultimate goal of Islam education is also to prepare individuals to become devotee to Allah SWT.

Religion and culture are the bases of education praxis. It is not merely introducing religion and culture as subject matters in education, but all elements of religion and culture must also be attended during education process. It means that these elements shall be taken into account when delivering certain subject matters such as art, morality, religion values, literature (folktales, chronicles, folklores, and others), and physical exercise. It is a model of comprehensive education program, and such program demands culture-friendly education situation, and in fact, this situation can be performed effectively through education system provided in Islamic boarding houses.

When Ki Hajar Dewantara built his school “Taman Siswa”, he did not use coercion approach. He managed his students with *Momong*, *Among* and *Ngemong*. Students are not coerced, but guided and led to the better level. Students must develop based on their destiny, and teachers are only those who guide and help students to achieve their development path.

Education system of Islamic Boarding Houses is a structure that integrates the education of knowledge with the education of morality, culture, and other values. According to Ki Hajar Dewantara, this system is not peculiar in the history of Indonesian education, and it has been implemented by Islamic Boarding Houses. Such an integration system shall involve physical structures

that may need very huge costs. Despite this financial issue, the implementation of this system is meant as an effort to develop conditions and situations of Islamic Boarding Houses into education practices. Some teachers admit that the education system of Islamic Boarding Houses is what they need (Erniati, 2017). This system allows teacher aspirants to comprehend the principles of culture that are applied to education praxis. In the future, professional teachers are required not only to master knowledge and transfer this knowledge to the students, but they must also be able to represent themselves as intellectual, professional, and leader of role-model.

Acculturation in education is always attentive to local and national values, which is aimed to grow among the educated participants the pride to their nation and the sense of responsibility to preserve their national genuine culture. Indeed, it is culture that drives educated participants to grow and develop, starting from an immediate environment to a wider environment, such as national and universal cultures. When educated participants are not familiar with their immediate culture, they may not know well what is their national culture or possibly find difficulties to ascertain whether they are the member of their national culture. This situation gives them high vulnerability to the effect of external culture, and they tend to accept the external culture without judgments. This tendency occurs because educated participants suffer from lacking of judgment concerning norms and values of their national culture.

The stronger the judgment someone has, the stronger the motivation to become good citizen. At the peak point, collective cultures and values, under macro perspective, would be the norms and identities of a nation. Indeed, the educated participants can in the future be the citizens whose insights, mindsets, actions, and problem-solving capacities are based on Indonesian norms and identities. Main function of education has been stated in National Education System Act, which is, “to develop the capacity, identity, and civilization of the dignified nation in order to enlighten national life”. Base rules that regulate national education system shall be the strong anvil that helps individuals to develop their self-potential to be the member of society and nation.

Education is also functioned to bequeath cultural values and previous achievements to the next generation. Both cultural values and previous achievements represent the pride of the nation, and these keep the nation known by other nations. Beside to bequeath, education is also functioned to develop cultural values and previous achievements into the lessons that can be adapted to current situations and future days, and exploit them into new

achievement that would be new identity of the nation. Giving education about national culture, or about cultural character of the nation, thus, is the core of education system. Borrowing terminology from Aleks Lanur, he said that “human is a creature of history. First, being the creature with consciousness, humans recognize and understand their past, and use this understanding for their benefits in current or future days. Secondly, being the creature with free will, humans can design their own life. Although they are still affected by their past, they can act on it. Humans determine what they need to be and also fulfill their own necessity. Third, humans are developing with times, and their life is never static. Humans always experience change and development (Azra, 2000).

What is the impact of this terminology on bureaucratic education? If people want to achieve what they need, thus bureaucratic education must be given based on the past of educated participants, either as individual or as the nation. As an individual, educated participants are not *tabula rasa* (blank paper) as John Locke presumes. Innate substances, including biology, psychology, and spirituality, are definitely influencing the self of educated participants (in Zuhro, 2007).

The education of national culture and national identity can be given by teaching values or policies that underlain both national culture and national identity. The policies to enforce the attribute of national identity are always those concerning values. Therefore, the education of national culture and national identity is basically to develop the values derived from life perspective, national ideology, religion, culture, and other systems, into those that underlain the national education goals. According to H.A.R Tilaar, education and culture are one existential unit. On certain definition, culture is a process of education. Culture is not static and always subjected to a change. Therefore, education process cannot be reduced into a merely process in school institution (Azra, 2000). However, school must be operated as social institution that performs acculturation in education. School as the provider of formal education becomes one of acculturation channels besides family and other communal institution. In this context, education is a process “to humanize humans”, or precisely “to humanize young humans”.

Public Servant Ethics

When discussing organizational ethics, some experts differentiate personal ethics from organizational ethics. Personal ethics determine whether one's

individual behavior is good or bad when having relationship with others in an organization. Organizational ethics determine the parameters of *obligations* incurred by organization, and ascertain the context where the decisions concerning personal ethics are made. The problem is that bureaucratic ethics only follow what bureaucrats do. It means that bureaucratic ethics are merely submissive to the will of politicians. As a result, the essence of organizational ethics is lost because parameters and decisions would always be political.

Bureaucratic ethics are also affected by the limited resources. This limitation forces bureaucracy to suffer from slow-down. The resources can be finance and human. Bureaucratic human resource is always problematized with poor quality, less competency, and low professionalism, as well as overwhelmed by unfair retains due to limited funding for wages. Most importantly, it must be noted that Indonesian bureaucracy lives within a political system. In many developing countries, including Indonesia, the political system is still developing. Only in current days, the developing countries start to apply democratic principles properly into their political system, but they must understand variants of democracy and its related problems before achieving the desired results. Still, politically, roles played by bureaucracy in the developing countries are more than those in the countries with more advancing democratic system. However, these roles are not balanced with accountability to the people as democratic system expects. Effort to improve bureaucracy is then considered as to internalize ethics to become the main value in administration. Personal ethics and organizational ethics need patience, and the results of both ethics are often not spectacular or possibly unexpected, but mostly incremental.

The authority of bureaucrats would be limited if bureaucracy is built upon the base of personal ethics. Meanwhile, organizational ethics facilitate bureaucracy to produce favorable leadership style. Concerning with occupational ethics, two approaches are suggested, namely teleology and deontology. Every citizen expects that bureaucracy is comprised with humans in good character. This good character derives from virtues that undergird policies made to benefit people and alleviate opportunism. This character is also constituted by the values of truth, virtue, and struggle. Bureaucrats' spirit of struggle may be the determinant factor because although receiving less retains, they still must refrain from being tempted to violate the values of truth and virtue.

Case Study in Local Politic

The relationship between local culture and democracy contains with three characteristics. First, the people in *Mataram Region* are mostly nationalist and *abangan* (Islamic nominal). Second, *Horse-Shoe Region* is occupied by religious people. Third, *Arek Region* is inhabited by egalitarian people who are open-minded to any ideas. Compared to *Mataram* stereotypes with their slow-sluggish style, the characteristic of *Arek* culture is mostly open, expressive, *bloko suto* (outsoken), and disliking *ewuh pakewuh* (formality). All these characteristics are influencing the pattern of local democracy in East Java. Therefore, East Java people always express their aspiration through explicit articulation and even with loud sounds (Zuhro, 2007).

The relationship between local culture and democracy in Blitar City is significant to study. Blitar City as aq part of Mataram cultural landscape is still less democratic, but the political reality in recent days shows that Blitar differs from other regions of Mataram culture. Both political supra-structures and infra-structures in Blitar City strongly indicate the values of democracy (Pratikno, 2009). Concerning with governance implementation, Blitar City Government, for example, has democratized the governance through bureaucratic reformation. Before executing this bureaucratic reformation, as reported by Mayor of Blitar City, Djarot Saiful Hidayat, Blitar City Government faced two problems, precisely structural and cultural (Kartasasmita, 1996). Almost all bureaucracies of local government in Indonesia, including in Blitar City, have corpulent structure with bureaucratic cultures of inertia, less innovation, and lack of creativity, because they are trapped into the habits of routines, poor coordination, and waiting guidances from superior (top-down). There is an assumption that leader is always right and thus never asks followers for inputs (Efendy, 2005). Promotion for structural rank is often based on formal legal aspects, such as seniority and closeness with superior, and thus, disregarding considerations of achievement and creativity. Work orientation of bureaucracy is mostly bowing and scraping (ABS = *asal bapak senang*). Work system and work mechanism of the governance are reclusive (closed) because only the city government is informed about public documents or development plans. Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN) are still rampant in government programs, and the fate of bureaucracy is greatly affected by the political wills of the ruler.

Early step to deal with these problems is by changing the mindset of government bureaucrats and shifting the paradigm of *pangrehprojo* into *abdiprojo* through a method of *building learning organization*. In *pangrehprojo* paradigm,

bureaucrats identify themselves as government officials needed by people and thus, must be served by people. This mindset decreases the quality of public service given to people. In *abdiprojo* paradigm, bureaucrats must view themselves as the servant of people, and thus, they must deliver good public services with high devotion to the tasks (Purwadi, 2003).

Next step is to apply reward and punishment in consistent way. Individuals who are actively innovative and have excellent performance are given reliable rewards, such as rank promotion or welfare improvement. In contrast, for those who commit mistakes and violations, they would be subjected to strict sanctions but still aimed to educate them toward better behavior in the future. Reformation steps against bureaucratic internals must be done gradually, on plan, and in proper direction. All these steps involve rationalization of organization, deployment of personnel, reinforcement of organizational tasks and functions, creation of synergy and coordination among the work units, enforcement of two-way communication culture, and construction of sense of collectivity. These steps impart many benefits such as improving organizational performance, increasing employee's welfare, giving warranty to employees who want to optimize their career, eliminating KKN, and growing atmosphere of creativity and innovation (all employees) (Hidayat, 2004).

Positive Implication on Local Elite Behavior

Ethic problems cannot escape from personal effect. Self-control concept is not absurd because one of fundamental necessities of every human is the desire to live in group as social creature by which surely makes human to always need the presence of others. Basically, corruption is the action to violate the essence of cooperation in bigger context, mainly the cooperation built by the people in certain nation to develop and achieve the collective goals through organization called "State". One important element to implement mandate is the honesty of public servants in any tasks assigned to them. When public servants learn to respect honesty, then any abusive and deceiving actions can be easily identified, at least reducing their contagious effect (Komorotomo, 2008). Any intrigues aspirated by outsider are hardly infiltrating because public servants trust one to another. They successfully refrain themselves from committing abusive and deceiving actions because they are not easily blinded by material privileges promised by their wicked superiors. When government officers have integrity and honesty, they work and serve the people in peace while corruptors and opportunists run for a place to hide. However, if public

servants are not honest, then bad people are free to use their methods to drive out the loyal servants (Efendy, 2005). Clean public servants, indeed, are needed as the main capital to the strong governance and bureaucracy. If all government officers are clean and honest, then any bad intentions to take personal advantages from someone in high ranks would be like destroying rocks with a rotten egg or igniting fire on the calm water.

Arrogance and responsibility negation shall never happen when public servants remember their position as just like waiter welcoming guests in a restaurant. If they consider their official tasks as mandate, they would be emphasizing more on serving the public as just like what is done by other public functions, for example, a physician examines patients, an entrepreneur supplies the staple for community, or a farmer cultivates fields for good harvest. Being arrogant is always useless. Interaction between society and public bureaucracy would be more intensive because each begins to realize that achieving their goals through State is more important than others.

Since the enactment of Law No.32/2004 concerning Local Governance, the local leaders are not determined anymore by political elites in DPRD. The involvement of DPRD is the attribute of New Order era. Instead, local leaders are directly elected by people through local leader election (*Pilkada*). This local leader election is a momentum for succeeding local leadership to manifest the implementation of participative democracy (Utomo, 2007). Through local leader election, people have direct participation to determine leaders they consider as aspirative, capable, credible, and acceptable. This is a quite important democratic leap in Indonesian socio-political landscape, precisely from centralistic democracy in New Order era to decentralistic democracy in reformation era.

Conclusion

The acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture is an inescapable certainty. Islam came to Java regions through very long process. It started with the arrival of Gujarat traders who then did “a slow but sure penetration” into the indigenous’s minds. They did not compel their teaching to the indigenous through coercion. Acculturation (or also called cultural blending) is the most appropriate method at the time, and until now, the results are still found in daily basis in the form of Islamic ritual and cultural ceremonies.

Some moslem scholars in Java who are given title as *wali* have made a gathering that in later days, has been popularly called as *Wali Songo* (Nine

Scholars). They disseminate Islam through acculturation, and thus, they find no resistance or rejection among Javanese people and even the kings in Java regions when they introduce Islam teaching to them. In current-day context, acculturation is still relevant to public servant ethics because public servants are required to be the role-model of the society. Islam requires people to respect *umaro* (leader) and be submissive to *umaro* who occupies certain rank. State shall be in good governance when there is a synergy between *Ulama* and *Umaro*. This is the form of acculturation between Islam and Javanese culture that still remains persistent until now. This acculturation may be the legacy of *wali* from the old days of Islam development but it is still relevant to the public servant ethics in current days.

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THE VALUES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN THE TRADITION OF TOLABALANGO AND MADDUTA

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Abstract

Motolobalango and Madduta-Mamanu-manu customs in the courtship tradition of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis tribe have institutionalized in society. Motolobalango is carried out when the families of both parties have carried out dulohupa (meeting), while Madduta-Mamanu-manu is carried out when a boy proposes to a girl. These two customs have their own characteristics, yet in certain cases the process has similarities and differences. This study discusses the implementation of courtship tradition in Islamic perspective and analyses the values of Islamic education contained in this tradition. The values of Islamic education are the attributes inherent in education to achieve the purpose of human life, namely to serve God, the Almighty. The value in Islamic education is something which is helpful and useful for humans after undergoing a process of effort carried out consciously and intentionally, so that the behavior of a person or society changes from a certain state to a better state. The results of the analysis showed that courtship tradition contains the value of tolerance and cooperation, as well as social, economic and religious values.

Tradisi Motolobalango dan Madduta-Mamanu-manu dalam adat peminangan suku Gorontalo dan masyarakat suku Bugis merupakan tradisi yang telah melembaga dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. Proses Motolobalango dilakukan ketika keluarga kedua belah pihak telah melakukan dulohupa (perjumpaan). Sementara Madduta-Mamanu-manu dilakukan dalam meminang atau melamar gadis. Dua tradisi adat ini memiliki karakter yang dalam hal-hal

tertentu prosesnya memiliki persamaan dan perbedaan. Kajian ini mengangkat tentang penyelenggaraan tradisi adat peminangan dalam perspektif Islam serta menganalisis nilai-nilai pendidikan Islam yang terkandung dalam tradisi tersebut. Nilai-nilai pendidikan Islam adalah sifat-sifat yang melekat pada pendidikan untuk mencapai tujuan hidup manusia yaitu mengabdikan pada Allah SWT. Jadi, nilai dalam pendidikan Islam adalah sesuatu yang bermanfaat dan berguna bagi manusia setelah menjalani proses upaya yang dilakukan secara sadar dan sengaja sehingga perilaku seseorang atau masyarakat berubah dari keadaan tertentu ke suatu keadaan yang lebih baik. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa tradisi peminangan tersebut memiliki nilai toleransi, kerjasama, sosial, ekonomi dan religi.

Keyword: *Islamic education values; tradition.*

Introduction

Courtship tradition of various tribes is certainly different. It is carried out through certain stages based on the prevailing customs. The implementation of tradition is an element of social transformation in a society that links traditional elements to religious behavior. It might continuously collaborate or experience value reduction if it is linked to Islamic teachings. Therefore, with the arrival of Islam in a country or society, there will be an adjustment to Islamic law. Obviously, not all of the elements of tradition are bad. It should be discussed and examined which one is good to maintain and to follow.

Nowadays, dichotomous views often arise between “tradition” and “modernity”. There is an understanding that “tradition” is in contrary to “modernity”, or, conversely, “modernity” is always essentially against “tradition”. Regarding to this problem, Eisenstadt, a well-known modern sociologist, (in Tohopi, 2009), explains that what must be discussed are “modernity” and “traditionalism”, not “tradition”.

Then an attitude of dissatisfaction with a too narrow conception of tradition is developed. Dissatisfaction also arises from the assumption that modern society, because of its orientation to change, is anti-traditional, or non-traditional, while traditional societies, based on the definition, are opposed to change. Not only a great diversity and ability to change in traditional society which is rediscovered, but also a growing recognition of the importance of tradition in modern society- even in its most modern sectors, both “rational” economic activity, science and technology. Tradition is not seen as an obstacle

to change only, but it is seen as an essential framework for creating creativity (Hamid, 2014).

Differences in customs or traditions between tribes are the characteristics of each culture or community. Traditions or customs that have been institutionalized can be called as culture or civilization. If this tradition is associated with the courtship tradition of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis-Makassar tribe, adaptation in many aspects is highly required. Marriage does not only establish a new relationship between a husband and wife, but also between two families. The background between the two families can be very different both in origin, life habits, education, social level, manners, languages, and so on. Therefore, the main condition that must be fulfilled in the marriage proposal is the willingness and the ability to adapt between two families (Sukmasari, 1986). The introduction and effort to know the character of each individual and his/her family is very important to establish a harmonious family later on.

An Overview of Gorontalo Indigenous Tribe and Makassar-Bugis

Gorontalo tribal ceremonies are pretty much maintained and held for generations. Traditional ceremonies related to marriage are called as *pohutu moponika* (Hamid, 2014). This ceremony has several stages of implementation, namely *lenggota lo nika* which is passed before, during and after the main event (*aqad nikah*). This stage of the marriage process is not made to prolong or complicate the marriage, but this solely aims at teaching the spouse to be that marriage requires efforts, struggle and hard work.

Bugis tribe has the concept of *ade/adat* (custom) and *siri'* (shame). The concept of *ade* is divided into four types, namely: *ade maraja*, which is used among the King or leaders; *ade puraonro*, which is a custom that has been used for a long time in the community for generations; *ade assamaturukeng*, the rules determined by agreement; and *ade abiasang*, custom that was used from the past, until now, and has been applied in the community (Mattulada, 1995). *Ade* is a manifestation of a flexible attitude towards various types of regulations in society.

Siri' (shame) gives a firm principle for Bugis behavior. According to Bugis proverb, only people who have *siri'* are considered as human. It is depicted by the following proverb: *Naia tau de'e sirina, de lainna olokolo'e. Siri 'e mitu tariaseng tau*. It means that anyone who does not have a *siri'*, then he is not human being, but only an animal. But nowadays, these customs were no

longer carried out due to the influence of Islamic culture that entered since the 1600s (Milar, 2009).

Siri' in Bugis society is very valuable. It is depicted by the following proverb: *Siri paranreng, Nyawa pa lao*, which means that if someone is being embarrassed, life is at stake. *Siri'* structure in Bugis culture has four categories, namely: *siri' ripakasiri'*, which is related to personal self esteem and family dignity; *siri' mappakasiri'*, which is related to work ethic; *siri' tappelasiri'*, meaning the disturbed of shame for something; *siri' matesiri'*, which is related to faith (Milar, 2009).

Courtship Tradition of Gorontalo Tribe

Gorontalo tribe has a courtship tradition which has several stages (Jowono & Hutagalung, 2005). The first stage is *Mongilalo*. It is the first visit of the boy's parents to the girl's parents as the form of introduction from both families. It primarily aims to know the girl who will become their daughter-in-law. The second stage is *Molenilo/Mohabari*. It is the visit of the boy's parents to the girl's parents in order to find out whether the girl who will be married already has a boyfriend/ husband to be or not. This visit was carried out secretly by the boy's parents. The third stage is *lenggota modulohupa*. It is a stage of discussion between the two families, talking about the amount of costs that must be prepared by the boy's parents to celebrate the marriage and to perform the traditional ceremonies. The fourth stage is *baalanga*. It is the delivery of decision related to the day when the boy will propose to the girl by the representatives of the boy's parents. The representatives consist of father, mother and a boy carrying a container (*tapahula*) wrapped in a white cloth containing *betel leaf (sirih)* and *areca nut (pinang)*. The fifth stage is *Motolobalango*, an official forum attended by most of the relatives of both families which is witnessed by the government (Village Chief/*Lurah*), because at this event all the utterances might formally connects both families.

The conversation in this marriage proposal responds to a long rhyme in poetry (*tujai-tujai*). Poetry in Gorontalo culture is an expression of cultural literature which also implies local wisdom (Baruadi, 2012). At the end of the agreement, the spokesman of the boy's family reveals: "*Ito wau watotiya, huhuluta utoliya, malodaadaatiya, topiduduto loiya, lo taa kohuuwaliya, humaya delo hutiya, buta'o didu motiya, tonulalo uyilo'iya, diila bolo mukiriya meyambula mohuliya*". It means: "You and I, both as spokespersons, are now shaking hands, what has been said, both families, if the word is like rattan, even though it is

split, it will not be separated, what has been discussed, keep it from breaking or splitting.” The girl’s family reply to the conversation: “*Watotiya wao ito, ode tola ngobotu layito, made pilutu lo pito, lalango de molonito, tonulalo uyilulito, diila pomukiri ito.*” It means: “I and you are like a whole fish, cut with a knife, burnt and spread a tasty smell, what is revealed, God willing, is undeniable.” When the discussion at the marriage proposal is over, the mothers who accompany the group of the boy’s family through the spokesman ask permission to look at the bride (Sudibyo et al., 2013).

Courtship Tradition of Bugis-Makassar Tribe

The courtship tradition for Bugis-Makassar girls must fulfill three stages. First, *mappese-pese* or introduction, the boy and his relatives visit the girl’s house carrying gifts and conveying the intention to bring the family together. If the response of the girl’s family is good, then the time for *madduta* (proposing) is set. Second, *massuro* or *madduta* (proposing), the closest family and community leaders are invited to attend the procession. The boy’s family invites the *pabbicara* (spokesperson) accompanied by a group of relatives. The groom to be and his parents may not participate in this procession. The number of the boy’s family groups are around ten people. The girl’s family prepares an appropriate dinner for the guests. In this event, the term “*mamanu-manu*” (a traditional poetry named *pantun ayam*) is known as the analogy of the marriage proposal process. In the process, a spokesman for the boy’s family expresses the purpose of his arrival. The girl’s family then submits the amount of “*panai money*” and *sompa* (gift). This gift can be in the form of land, gardens or gold given to the bride (being the full right of a woman, not to be taken even if the spouse are divorced later on). Third, *mappenre dui/Mappetu-ada*, this process has been considered as the part of the party, the girl’s family has invited relatives and neighbors to witness the process of marriage proposal. At this event, all invited guests dress formally. The boy also invites a large group of people to show that they are a large family. Among the group, there are girls dressed in Bugis-Makassar customs carrying twelve *bosara* containing the bride’s equipment such as gold jewelry, clothes, shoes, makeup (Hamid, 2014).

The custom history of Bugis Makassar people is indeed very long, in the texts of the literary works of La Galigo and Lontara’ it is told about the beginnings of the Bugis civilization, the periods of kingdoms, culture and spirituality, customs and genealogy of noble families (Abdullah, 2008). This shows that this culture and customs must always be maintained as a form of

inheritance from the ancestors of the Bugis people which is certainly full of positive values. Therefore, in the conception of marriage proposal to a girl, it is also necessary to consider that the proposal does not cause legal consequences and the families are free to terminate the agreement. In addition, the freedom to make a decision related to the marriage proposal is carried out in a good manner based on the guidelines and local customs, so that harmony and mutual respect are maintained. (Milar, 2009).

Proposing to a Girl in Islamic Perspective

Marriage which is done without fulfilling all of the above conditions is considered a controversial marriage, or a marriage that does not meet the requirements according to Gorontalo customs and Bugis-Makassar customs. In addition, there are still manners, traditional ceremonies and provisions of the Islamic religion that must be fulfilled in the procession of the marriage customs of these two tribes. Marriage rituals and ceremonies cannot be underestimated because all Gorontalo people or Bugis-Makassar consider that “marriage is something great”, which is now believed to be only “once” for life (Milar, 2009).

The term fiance is not known in sharia terms. However, the closest form is “*khitbah*”, which means to propose. According to the term, the meaning of *khitbah* or marriage proposal is a request or statement from a man to the woman to marry her, whether it is done directly by a man or represented by another person who is trusted based on the provisions of religion. The point is to ask to build up a new family. The *khitbah* itself must still be answered “yes” or “no”. If the answer is “yes”, then the woman becomes ‘*makhthubah*’, or the woman who has been officially proposed. According to Islamic law, she is not allowed to accept marriage proposal from other people. But the relationship between the spouse to be itself is still like a foreigner who is forbidden to have intercourse, *khalwat*, and etc.

In Islam, there is not the term “a half of halal”, although a girl has been proposed. Even though ones are engaged or a man has proposed to a woman, they must wait until the marriage contract is completed to be allowed to have sexual intercourse. But more and more people are being permissive. It is forbidden to just keep silence, even less to encourage the unlawful couple to do things that have been forbidden by God (Al Bukhari, n.d.).

Before proposing a woman, especially before deciding the woman who will be proposed, a man should pay attention to several matters. This is not

only useful for the marriage proposal process, but it can also prevent unwanted cases between the two families. Those matters are: First, knowing and seeing the bride to be. This is not an obligation, but it is recommended that there will not be slander or cases in the future. The term “seeing” refers to meeting the woman who will be married by sticking to the rules of *shar’i* (H.R. At-Tirmidzi. 3: 389, no. 1087; Ibnu Majjah. 1: 599, no. 1865).

Second, the woman is not in the process of being proposed by another man. Men need to gather information first (H.R. Al-Bukhari. 3: 69, no. 2140; Muslim. 2: 1032, no. 1412; At-Tirmidzi. 3: 432, no. 1134).

Third, the woman has the right to choose (accept/reject) the man who proposes to her. At the time when a man proposing to her, the woman is asked and the answer is awaited (H.R. Muslim. 2: 1037, no. 1421; Abu Dawud. 3: 438, no. 2098).

Fourth, do not propose to a woman who is in the *iddah* period. What is meant by the *iddah* period is the time that owned by a woman who is left dead or divorced by her husband. A man are not allowed to directly propose to a woman in *iddah* period, while giving a ‘gesture’ (or indirectly showing an intention to propose) is permissible (Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 235)

Fifth, should pay attention to the piety (H.R. Muslim. 2: 1086, no. 1466; Abu Dawud. 2: 219, no. 2047; Ibnu Majjah. 1: 597, no. 1858). It is also mentioned (H.R. Ahmad. 12: 383, no. 7421)

Therefore, it is also prohibited to marry someone who does not maintain her honor, in which if her husband is with her, she cannot maintain her honor (Sabiq, 2008).

Educational Value in the Tradition of Motolobalango and Madduta

In Islam, marriage or *nikah* is a recommended *sunnah* for Muslims who have entered adulthood. If a man and a woman are going to get married, they must fulfill the terms and conditions of marriage such as the availability of guardians, witnesses, saying *ijab qabul*, giving dowry (*mahar*) to the woman who will be married. However, in the context of proposing to a woman, they should pass through several stages/process. The basic principle of marriage proposal is actually similar, yet the differences are in terms of the tradition or the customs held by each tribes, ethnicities and races.

The courtship tradition is an inseparable part of the marriage process. This paper explores the values of Islamic education contained in the courtship traditions of Gorontalo tribe and the Bugis-Makassar Tribe. Value means

price, numerical value, potential, a lot of content, characteristics that are important to humanity (Marimba, 1989). Value means important qualities that are useful to humanity. Value becomes important because it has a quality that evokes an appreciation response (Tantowi, 2009). Values are practical and effective in human souls and actions and objectively institutionalized in society (Tantowi, 2009: 80). According to Gazalba (cited in Thoha, 1996: 29-33), value is something that is abstract and ideal. Value is not a concrete object, not a fact, not only a matter of right and wrong that demands empirical proof, but a desired and unwanted appreciation. Values can also be attached to something (a belief system) related to a meaningful subject. So value is something that is useful and meaningful for humans as a reference in behaving.

The values of Islamic education are the characteristics or things inherent in Islamic education that are used as the basis of humans to achieve the goals of human life that is to serve Allah SWT. These values need to be taught to the children since they are young because that is the right time to instill good habits in them. Then, the value in Islamic education is something useful and meaningful for humans after undergoing a conscious and deliberate effort so that a person's behavior or society changes from certain circumstances to a better state.

The values of Islamic education contained in the courtship traditions of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis-Makassar tribe are tolerance and cooperation as well as social, economic and religious values as described follows:

Religious Value

Religious value is the highest spiritual value, absolute and eternal, and based on faith and belief of the human beings. An example of a religious value is someone who does his religious orders like prayer. The highest and absolute spiritual value comes from human trust. It means that a person should perform worship. Religious values are the values that we need to be aware of because they involve rules related to the relationship between humans and God. According to Suparyanta, et al (cited in Tjahyadi, 2004: 298), religious values are values related to religion. There are practical statements related to the piety of everyday life. Religious value is the concept of high appreciation given by community members to several key issues in a religious life that is sacred so it is considered as a guideline in behaving in that community.

According to Rachmat (2016, page), religious value is the value bounded to a particular religious teaching, concerning the relationship between humans

and God. In other words, religious values are values that relate to one's trust in the Creator, this can be in the form of trust in things, or trust in God which includes: (a) descriptions of characters with certain physical characteristics or religious symbols; (b) quotes or propositions originating from the holy book; or (c) the depiction of the values of life based on universal religious life, such as honesty, kindness, etc.

In the courtship tradition of *Motolobalongo* for Gorontalo tribes and *Madduta* for Bugis-Makassar tribe, religious value is contained in the relation of the process of communicating with God regarding the noble personality that is metaphorically described in religious dogmas, rites, and myths. Through this religious value, humans relate to their Lord through worship, praise and prayer, loyalty and willingness to sacrifice for God. Therefore the tradition of *Motolobalongo* and *Modduta* must be based on *shar'i* provisions. It could not be implemented in the courtship tradition of these two tribes if the spouse to be hold different religions. Considering that the tribes of Gorontalo and Bugis-Makassar are predominantly adherents of Islamic teachings, the bride to be must be a *Muslimah* (Q.S. Ar-Rum: 30)

If the spouse to be hold the same religion, the customary marriage proposal process will be implemented. The bride to be must be selected by the boy's family, especially by investigating the genealogy, the character (behavior) of the woman being proposed. It aims at ensuring that the woman proposed will be able to give calmness and peace for the family (Q.S. Ar-Rum: 21).

Social Value

Socio-cultural change is a symptom of changing social structures and cultural patterns in a society. Socio-cultural change is a common symptom that occurs throughout time in every society. Changes that occur in accordance with the essence and nature of human beings who always want to make changes.

Islam in Gorontalo and Bugis (South Sulawesi) has actually developed rapidly because of the process of cultural acculturation. Integration of Islamic thought is always adapted to the peculiarities of local culture. In this context, the implementation always considers the socio-cultural environment wisely. This adaptation ability is social intelligence, owned by the scholars who are in charge of spreading Islam (Polontalo, 2002: 3).

For Gorontalo tribe, the social value in the courtship tradition is to integrate the structure of culture and traditional behavior. It means that the social value of the *Motolobalongo* process is the ceremony delivered in the form

of poetry (*tujai*) between the boy's families and the girl's family. "Amenga" must be suffered by a family proposing in the *Motolobalango* tradition if the boy does not marry the girl or if the boy cancels the marriage. Similar to Bugis-Makassar tribe, the social value in *Madduta* custom is emphasized on the agreement of both families. If the marriage proposal process is accepted, it is taboo for those who propose to cancel the marriage. This may not happen because it can embarrass (*siri'*) the family and relatives. *Moduuta* in Bugis language is considered as an absolute requirement in marriage proposal because it is part of the marriage customs of the Bugis-Makassar tribe (Pateda, 2000:192)

Other social values in both *Motolobalango* and *Madduta* traditions are a form of understanding to the public that in the next few days, there will be marriage held in the area between the children of the A family and the children of the B family. They will hold *aqad nikah* and wedding receptions. Both parents of each spouse to be family must keep the results of the discussion as well as take care of the children who will get married.

The social value of marriage is solely to fortify noble morality and sociologically commendable behavior as well as to subdue views. The main purposes of marriage based on sharia are to fortify human dignity from dirty and cruel acts, which can degrade and undermine the noble dignity of human. Islam views marriage and family formation as an effective means to maintain young men and women from damage, and protect people from moral degradation (H.R. al-Bukhari: 1905, 5065, 5066).

The disclosure of the socio-cultural life of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis-Makassar tribe through traditional expressions is information that can provide a positive understanding toward Gorontalo and Bugis-Makassar ethnic. Praised qualities such as courageous, steadfast, honest, obedient worship, obedient, and so on are reflected in their expressions, especially in this tradition. Although the development of civilization is accelerating, it does not change the traditional structure that has been institutionalized in society.

Tolerance Value

Local wisdom is the basis for implementing Islamic values as well as resulting a harmonious relationship between tradition and tolerance. In other words, Gorontalo people continue to carry out cultural traditions while maintaining Islamic values (Tohopi, 2012). Gorontalo Islamic Community highly upholds justice and tolerance in religion. Islam strictly forbids wrongdoing with religion other than Islam by depriving them of their rights (QS. Al-Mumtahah: 8)

Shaykh Abdurrahman bin Nashir As-Sa'diy *rahimahullah* interpreted, "Allah does not forbid you to do good, connect *silaturrahmi*, repay kindness, do justice to idolaters, both from your family and others. As long as they do not fight you because of religion and as long as they do not expel you from your country, then why do not you have a relationship with them because of having a relationship with them in these circumstances is not prohibited and perilous (Raehanul, 2016).

Cooperation Value

The procession of *Motolobalango* and *Madduta* as the series of courtship tradition in Gorontalo and Bugis-Makassar tribe certainly requires collaboration between the parents from those two families. Both events are considered as sacred events so that the involvement of many people are needed. Therefore, without being invited, the family must feel called to determine what is their obligation during the marriage proposal, *aqad* and wedding reception (Q.S. al Maidah: 3).

Economic Value

For Bugis-Makassar people, *siri'* (shame) is their soul, their self-esteem and their dignity. Therefore, to uphold and defend the *siri'* which is considered tainted or defiled by others, the Bugis-Makassar people are willing to sacrifice anything, including their most precious soul for the sake of upholding *siri'* in their lives (Hamid, 2014).

In this era, *siri'* is no longer interpreted as something valuable which must be maintained. In the practice, *siri'* is used as a legitimacy in carrying out anarchic, violent and irresponsible actions. Whereas *siri'* value is the sacred value of the Bugis community. *Siri'* culture must be maintained in the corridor of *ade'* (*adat*) and Islamic teachings. But now there are also many values shifting that occur both in understanding and implementing the concepts and principles of *ade'* (*adat*) and the real culture of Bugis people. The *siri'* culture which should be held firm and upheld in positive values has been faded nowadays. In Bugis-Makassar society, *siri'* is the most valuable principle to defend and maintain.

Before the *aqad* or the inauguration of the husband and wife, bargaining is done about the amount of *panaik* money received. The amount is as requested. *Panaik* money (property and money for wedding reception) is different from *mahar*/dowry. *Panaik* money only exists in Bugis-Makassar tribe's marriage

customs. The higher the education, employment status or family status of the woman, the higher the *panaik* money paid. This tradition reflects that the qualifications of Bugis-Makassar women deserve to be highly rewarded. *Panaik* money is also a symbol of a struggle that must be done by a man to get a Bugis girl whom he adored. The negative side of the economic value of *panaik* money is that it often causes controversy.

In Gorontalo tribal people, the amount of dowry and the marriage expenses/cost are not determined by the status or predicate of the woman who will be married. But it is precisely based on the cost of *aqad nikah* and the wedding ceremony (*walimatul qubra*). It includes *tunuhiyo* (a special gift in the form of rice or beef). While dowry is usually only a prayer equipment, *talaa* money (IDR 250 coins) as a symbol of the cost and gold ring for the bride. In the marriage carried out in the village, the costs are usually borne by the two families through *dulohupa*. It is in accordance with the traditional term *wonu o piyohu to bisala dumbata ma sadi-sadia, hilawo mahilhiya, mamotimangalo duduhiya wau makarjandho u niati mo ponika wala'a* (if good in speaking, the ability of both parties, the place is available, the heart becomes peaceful and the continuation of marriage is equally done by both families who will marry their children). Thus the economic value in *Motolotabalango* tradition for wedding ceremonies is very measurable (Q.S. al Isra: 26-27).

Conclusion

Motolobalango and *Madduta-Mamanu-manu* customs in the courtship tradition of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis-Makassar tribe are considered sacred even though such traditions do not exist in religious teachings. However, Islamic teachings require that if a man marries a woman, then propose to the woman, bring her dowry as a sign that she will be his partner of life. Islam teaches to prioritize *syareat* in proposing to a woman. In sum, if the courtship tradition of Gorontalo tribe and Bugis-Makassar tribe is carried out based on the values of education, it will represent tolerance and cooperation as well as religious, social, and economic values.

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الأديب المسلم وقضية الالتزام في الأدب
AL-ADIB AL-MUSLIM WA QADHIYAH
AL-ILTIZAM FI AL-ADAB

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المخلص

يخضع الأديب في تكوين شخصيته الأدبية لكثير من المؤثرات البيئية والاجتماعية والثقافية والعقدية والاقتصادية والسياسية، كما ينطلق في مزاولة فنه الأدبي من خلال المكونات التي أثرت فيه والخبرات التي حنكته. الأمر الذي يضطره في كثير من الأحيان إلى اتخاذ فكرة من الفكر أو مبدأ من المبادئ أو معتقد من المعتقدات يلتزم به فيما ينتجه من الآداب، لا يحيد عنه ولا يخالفه، بل قد يجاهد مدافعا عنه. وبهذا صارت قضية الالتزام في الأعمال الأدبية مما لا بد منه للأدباء، سواء شعروا بذلك أم لم يشعروا به، لكن الالتزام يختلف من أديب إلى آخر ومن مذهب إلى مذهب. ففي الحين الذي يتسم الالتزام في بعض المذاهب الأدبية بالإلزام والإكراه نجده لدى البعض يتحدد بالإقناع والطواعية. فالبحث محاولة إعطاء فكرة عامة عما ينتظر من أديب مسلم في إنتاجاته الأدبية، وذلك أن تكون أفكاره انعكاسا لمفهوم الإسلام وتصوره، وقد ناقش البحث الجوانب التالية: مفهوم الالتزام في الأدب والتزام الأديب المسلم وتصوره للخالق والإنسان والكون والحياة كما نظر في موقف الإسلام من العلاقة بين الجنسين. واستنتجت الدراسة أن نظرة الأديب المسلم في فنه الأدبي متمسك بالالتزام الإسلامي الشامل في كل ما يكتب فيه من المواضيع، وهو يشعر في التزامه هذا بالإقناع والنشوة، كما يجعل في حسبانته أن عمله الأدبي مما يحاسب عليه

أمام خالقه، فلم يكن مغترا يوما بحرية مزعومة عند بعض الأدباء حتى يخوض فيما يحرم عليه من الأقوال والأفكار.

Abstract

A litterateur (a person who is knowledgeable about literature) is made of different societal influences such as social, religious, economic, and politic. He is merely a reflection of his background, which is why in most cases, when he writes he seems to be committed to certain belief, ideology, and group. Thus, the issue of commitment to a certain belief, ideology can not be out-ruled in literary work. Commitment differs from one individual to another. It is characterized with force or choice and appreciation in accordance to differed school of thought (mazhab). This research gives a general out-look of what is expected of a Muslim persona in his writing or works. To achieve this objective, the study focuses on the following; the term commitment in literary work, commitment of a Muslim litterateur, his view about Allah, man, life, and the entire world. The findings of this study reveal that a Muslim litterateur is committed to Islamic values in his works and shows satisfaction and with such values attached he never writes against the Islamic teachings by hiding under so called freedom of speech.

Keywords: Commitment issue; literature; Muslim litterateur

المقدمة

الأدب الإسلامي كما عرفه بريغش: هو التعبير الفني الجميل للأديب المسلم عن تجربته في الحياة من خلال التصور الإسلامي (بريغش، ١٩٩٦ م: ١١٤). وعند الباشا، هو التعبير الفني الهادف عن وقع الحياة والكون والإنسان على وجدان الأديب تعبيرا ينبع من التصور الإسلامي للخالق عز وجل ومخلوقاته (الباشا، ١٩٩٨ م: ١١٣).

انطلاقاً من التعريفين السابقين نفهم أن الأدب الإسلامي هو الأدب الذي أنتجه أدباء ملتزمون بالإسلام وفق التصور الإسلامي الصحيح للإنسان والحياة والكون، ويستوعب هذا الأدب الحياة بكل ما فيها، ويتناول شتى قضاياها ومظاهرها ومشاكلها. وليس أدب فترة ولا مكان، وإنما هو أدب عالمي، يشمل كل ما أنتج من هذا النوع في بلاد الإسلام وخارجها، كما يشمل كل ما أنتج باللغة العربية وغيرها من لغات الشعوب الإسلامية (الكيلاني، ١٩٨٧ م: ٢٦).

مفهوم الالتزام في الأدب

لقد نشأت قضية الالتزام في الأدب منذ القرن العشرين الميلادي عند قيام الدولة الشيوعية في الاتحاد السوفيتي، وذلك أن أقطاب الشيوعية أدركوا أثر الفنون بعامة والأدب بخاصة في بناء المجتمعات، ومن ثم فقد حرم على كل أديب أن ينتج أي لون من ألوان الأدب يعارض المذهب الذي اعتنقته الدولة وارتضته للشعب. فالالتزام الشيوعيين يقوم على الدفاع عن مبادئ الدولة السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية سواء آمن بها الأديب أم لم يؤمن (الباشا، ١٩٨٥م: ١٢٠).

ولم تقتصر نظرية الالتزام في الأدب على الشيوعيين، وإنما نادى بها الوجوديون أيضاً. فالالتزام لدى الوجوديين يقوم على القناعة النابعة من ذات الأديب بما يعبر عنه، ومن ثم كان للأديب مطلق الحرية في أن يختار الموقف الذي يطمئن إليه ويلتزم به، وأن يجعل نفسه مسئولة عنه أمام نفسه (هلال، ٢٠١٢م: ٥٥٤).

الالتزام عند العرب قبل الإسلام

كان الالتزام عند العرب في العصر الجاهلي ذا منحى قبلي، أي أن مادته من قبيلة الشاعر ولاء لها واعتزازا بأمجادها وافتخارا بأيامها، والتزاما بأعرافها وتقاليدها. حيث يقوم الشاعر الجاهلي بدور الدائد عن قبيلته، وله الرأي المقبول في الحرب والصلح، فعليه المسؤولية العظمى يحملها ويحميها عن قومه (الحنين، ١٩٨٧م: ٣٣).

التزام الأديب المسلم بالإسلام

فالالتزام الإسلامي هو أن يصدر الأديب المسلم فيما ينتج من الآداب من خلال نظرة الإسلام للخالق ومخلوقاته، وهو التزام ينبع من دين الإسلام وعقيدته ومن رغبة الأديب في مرضاة الله والطمع في ثوابه والخشية من سخطه وعقابه (عبد الله، ٢٠١٧م: ١٨٠). وبهذا فقد تم التزام الأديب المسلم قبل ثلاثة عشر قرناً وربع القرن من قيام الدولة الشيوعية، ودعوتها إلى الأخذ بمبدأ الالتزام في الأدب، وذلك منذ نزلت الآيات الكريمة: ﴿وَالشُّعْرَاءُ يَتَّبِعُهُمُ الْغَاوُونَ ﴿٢٢٤﴾ أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّهُمْ فِي كُلِّ وَادٍ يَهِيمُونَ ﴿٢٢٥﴾ وَأَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ مَا لَا يَفْعَلُونَ ﴿٢٢٦﴾ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَذَكَرُوا اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَانصَرُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا ظَلَمُوا وَسَيَعْلَمُ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا أَيَّ مُنْقَلَبٍ يَنْقَلِبُونَ ﴿٢٢٧﴾﴾ الشعراء: ٢٢٤ - ٢٢٧

ويوضح شراد خاصية من خصائص الالتزام الإسلامي، وهي أنه التزام يتسم بالحرية، إذ الحرية الحقيقية هي ألا تعبد أحداً إلا الله، وألا تكون أسير شخصية أو فكرة أو مصلحة أو مال إلا بمقدار اتصال هذه الشخصية أو تمثيل تلك الفكرة أو توظيف تلك المصلحة أو المال للخالق البارئ المصور. (شراد، ١٩٨٩م: ٥)

وقد نشأ الأدب الإسلامي في حضن رسول الله ﷺ في المدينة ملتزماً بالإسلام، وعاش ملتزماً به طوال تلك القرون التي قد خلت. ولقد أعلن الشعراء المسلمون منذ فجر الإسلام التزامهم بالإسلام. استمع إلى نوفل بن الحارث وهو يخاطب المشركين:

إليكم إليكم إنني لست منكم * تبرأت من دين الشيوخ الأكابر
لعمرك ما ديني بشيء أبيعه * وما أنا إذا أسلمت يوماً بكافر
شهدت أن النبي محمداً * أتى بالهدى من ربّه والبصائر
وأن رسول الله يدعو إلى التقى * وأن رسول الله ليس بشاعر
على ذلك أحيا وأبعث موقنا * وأثوى عليه ميتا في المقابر

(الباشا، ١٩٨٥م: ٢٢٧)

فالشاعر كما ترى يتبرأ من دين الآباء والأجداد ويعتنق الدين القيم، وهو يلتزم به حياً وميتاً، فبه يواجه الناس في الدنيا ويلقى الله في الآخرة، وعلى شرعته يثوى في المقابر. وهذا شاعر آخر يلتزم بالإسلام بعد أن طلق صنمه، يقول:

تبعث رسول الله إذ جاء بالهدى * وخلفت فراضاً بدار هوان
شدت عليه شدة فتركته * كأن لم يكن، والدهر ذو حدثان
فلما رأيت الله أظهر دينه * أجبت رسول الله حين دعاني
فأصبحت للإسلام ما عشت ناصراً * وألقيت فيه كل كي وجراني
فمن مبلغ سعد العشيرة أنني * شرعت الذي يبقى بأخر فان

(الباشا، ١٩٨٥م: ١٥٧)

إن صاحب هذه الأبيات هو ذوبان بن الحارث السعدي وحين أشرق نور الإيمان في نفسه هب إلى صنمه (فراض) فجعله هباء منثوراً، ومضى إلى دار النبوة في المدينة، وألقى رحله فيها وأقام في رحاب النور والهدى. وهل فوق هجرة الشاعر قومه والاستقرار في ديار العقيدة الإسلامية من التزام؟

وهكذا يتوقع من كل أديب مسلم أن يكون ملتزما بالإسلام في كل ما يقول، وما يتوقع منه بأية حال أن يتحرر من الإسلام أو يلعب بمقدساته بدعوى أنه أديب أو فنان على نحو أنكار أبي نواس لبعض معتقدات الإسلام في البيتين التاليين:

يا ناظر في الدين ما الأمر * لا قدر صح ولا جبر
ما صح عندي من جميع الذي * يذكر إلا الموت والقبر
(ابن منظور، د.ت)

فهو منكر ما دون الموت والقبر من القدر والبعث والحساب والجنة والنار وغير ذلك. وهو المجترئ على إظهار سيئاته والمستهزئ بقدسية الصلاة والصوم مستخفا بهما في أبياته التالية:

عاذ لي فيها أطعني * وأقل الآن لومي
واشرب الراح ودعني * من صلاة كل يوم
وإذا ما حان وقت * لصلاة أو لصوم
فارفع الصوم بشرب * وأمزج الخمر بنوم
أبدا ما عشت خالف * دأب قوم بعد قوم

(أبو نواس، د.ت: ٢٠٥)

فهذا الشاعر مسلم لكنه لم يكن ملتزما بدينه في أدبه كما ترى. فهو مدمن للخمر طول حياته، لاه عن الصلاة والصوم، وهو يحض القارئ على اشتراكه في هذا الإثم. ومن الشعراء المسلمين غير الملتزمين بالإسلام في أدبهم أبو العلاء المعري الذي له آراء كثيرة تخالف مفهوم الإسلام. ونذكر هنا رأيه الخاطيء في خلق الإنسان، حيث يزعم أن الله قضى بتعذيبه في هذه الحياة، وأنه لا خلاص له من هذا العذاب إلا الموت، فهو في الراحة بعد الموت:

قضى الله أن الأدمي معذب * إلى أن يقول العالمون به: قضى
فهنيئاً ولاة الميت يوم رحله * أصابوا تراثاً واستراح الذي مضى

(المعري، ١٩٦١م: ٧٢)

ليس الأمر كما صوره عقل أبي العلاء، فالإنسان ليس معذبا، ولا حياته مليئة بالعناء، بل وفرّ الله له في دنياه أدوات التمتع وسبل المعيشة تلبي حاجاته ومتطلباته الحيوية. قال الله تعالى حكاية عن رجل مؤمن من قوم فرعون: ﴿ إِنَّمَا هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا مَتَعٌ وَإِنَّ

الْآخِرَةَ هِيَ دَارُ الْقَرَارِ ﴾ غافر: ٣٩.

وليس كل من مات صائرا إلى الراحة، وإنما مرجع الإنسان بعد الموت يكون بحساب ما قدم من الأعمال. قال الله تعالى: ﴿لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا الْحُسْنَىٰ وَزِيَادَةٌ وَلَا يَرْهَقُ وُجُوهَهُمْ قَتَرٌ وَلَا ذِلَّةٌ أُولَٰئِكَ أَصْحَابُ الْجَنَّةِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾ (٣٦) وَالَّذِينَ كَسَبُوا السَّيِّئَاتِ جَزَاءُ سَيِّئَةٍ يَبْتَئِلُهَا وَتَرَهُمْ قَتَرٌ ذِلَّةٌ ﴿يونس: ٢٦ - ٢٧﴾

وممن لم يلتزم بالإسلام في شعره الشاعر العباسي صالح عبد القدوس، الذي ظهرت الزندقة في شعره، ومن ذلك اتهامه النبي ﷺ بغصب زوجة أحد أصحابه، حيث يقول:

غصب المسكين زوجته * فجرت عيناه من درر
عذت بالله اللطيف ربنا * أن يكون الجور من قدر
(المعتز، د.ت: ٨٢)

فالشاعر يشير إلى زواجه ﷺ بحليلة زيد بن حارثة بعد الطلاق الذي كان بأمر من الله سبحانه وتعالى: ﴿فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ زَيْدٌ مِّنْهَا وَطَرًا زَوَّجْنَاكَهَا لِكَيْ لَا يَكُونَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَرَجٌ فِي أَزْوَاجِ أَدْعِيَائِهِمْ إِذَا قَضَوْا مِنْهُنَّ وَطَرًا وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا﴾ (٣٧) مَا كَانَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مِنْ حَرَجٍ فِيمَا فَرَضَ اللَّهُ لَهُ. الأعراب: ٣٧ - ٣٨، وكان ذلك لتشريع حكم إلهي وإبطال ما كان سائدا في الجاهلية من عادة التبني. فدعوى الشاعر في هذين البيتين يظهر مدى عدم التزامه بالإسلام، فلا هو يراعي ما يقول عن الله سبحانه وتعالى، ولا عن نبيه ﷺ.

ومن خلال الالتزام المطلوب من الأديب المسلم توظيف أدبه في نشر الأخلاق الإسلامية وإعلاء غرائز الإنسان والسمو بنفسيته، وألا يكون أدبه سببا من أسباب الانحلال الخلقي، بل هو مطالب بهذا الالتزام في كل ما ينتج، فإذا هيج فكره مثلا في القول عن الخالق سبحانه وتعالى أو عما يتعلق به من الصفات والأفعال يجب عليه أن يكون ملتزما بالإسلام في تصورات عنه سبحانه وتعالى.

تصور الأديب المسلم للخالق عز وجل

إن تصور الأديب المسلم للخالق هو التصور الإسلامي لله سبحانه وتعالى، وهو تصور بريء من انحرافات اليهود والنصارى، وبعيد عن انحرافات المنحرفين في كل عصر ومكان. وذلك التصور يقوم على طائفة من الأسس، منها أن الله موجود، وأن جميع ما عداه من الموجودات إنما هو من بديع صنعته، وأنه ظاهر الوجود، وما من مخلوق إلا وفيه شاهد على وجود الله وقدرته، وتظهر هذه الصفات في قول أبي العتاهية:

أيا عجا كيف يعصى الإله * أم كيف يجده الجاحد

ولله في كل تحريكة * وتسكينة أبدا شاهد
 وفي كل شيء له آية * تدل على أنه واحد
 (ضيف، ٢٠٠٧ م: ٢٤٢).

وهو تبارك وتعالى مالك الملك المتصرف بالأمر والنهي، والمعبود بالحق، الواحد الأحد، ليس له شريك، له كل شيء وله الحكم، فاعل لما يريد. لنسمع إلى النعمان بشير مصورا هذا الجانب:

كل شيء سوى الملك يبيد * لا يبيد المسبح المحمود
 مالك الملك لا يشركه فيه * وله الحكم فاعلا ما يريد
 وله الجاريات في لجج البعد * ر فمناها مواخر وركود
 وله الطير في السماء تراهن * قريبا ودونهن صعود
 ليس لله ذي المعارج فيمن * تحمل الأرض والسماء نديد
 (الباشا، ١٩٨٥ م: ١٢٥)

وهو سبحانه وتعالى يعلم همسات النفوس وخلجات القلوب، إليه الملجأ في الشدائد، وهو الرزاق الوهاب، ومن ذلك قول السيهلي الأندلسي:

يا من يرى ما في الضمير ويسمع * أنت المعد لكل ما يتوقع
 يا من يرجى للشدائد كلها * يا من إليه المشتكى والمفزع
 يا من خزائن رزقه في قول كن * أمنن فإن الخير عندك أجمع
 (الباشا، ١٩٨٥ م: ١٢٥)

ومن الجوانب التي يقف فيها الأديب المسلم موضحا حقيقتها ويردد ضرورتها موضوع توحيد الله واستحقاقه للعبادة وحده على وجه الإخلاص واليقين، وهو ما ألمحنا في أبيات أحمد مخيمر إذ يجلو صورة التوحيد وينفي عن الله الند والشريك بقوله:

رباه إنك أنت الواحد الأحد * والجوهر الفرد لا حد ولا أمد
 وكل شيء فعلم الله موجدته * وأنت وحدك بالأسباب تنفرد
 يا كامل الذات والأشياء ناقصة * تعنو إليك من النقص الذي تجد
 سبحان ذاتك لا ند ولا مثل * ولا شبيهه، ولا جزء ولا عُدُّ
 (القاعود، ٢٠٠٧ م: ٧٤)

ويؤكد الشاعر محمود حسن إسماعيل معنى التوحيد والاستسلام لله سبحانه والانقياد لعبادته وحده، وأن ذلك هو الأمان والاطمئنان للحقيقة الإنسانية التي خلقت لعبادته جل وعلا، وأن الجحود والانصراف عن التوحيد والعبادة لله تعالى يجر الإنسان

إلى الذل والخوف والخسران. وإذا كانت العبادة فطرة في الإنسان، فمن أبي وانصرف إلى عبادة غير الله تعالى من الطواغيت فستكون عبادته وعمله سرايا وهباء منثورا، إذ يقول:

قل لمن أحنى لغير الله رأسه * ولمن صبّ لغير الله كأسه
خائفا يشرب من كفيه نفسه * ومن الذلة لا يدرك حسّه
لست حيا، إن توهمت الوجودا * سادة هشوا على الأرض عبيدا
اسأل الذات تجد فيها السجودا * لسوى الله رياحا وحصيدا

(الشنطي، ٢٠٠٥ م: ٢١٤).

فهذه المعاني كلها موافقة لمفهوم الإسلام للخالق سبحانه وتعالى. وتوجد جوانب أخرى كثيرة يستطيع الأديب أن يسهم فيها بفنه مظهرا صنعه تعالى وصفاته القدسية، مثل منّه على الإنسان بالعلم والعقل والرزق، وحفظه له ليلا ونهارا سرا وجهرا، وتوفيره سبحانه وتعالى له حوائج الحيوية.

ومن واجب الأديب المسلم أن يتجنب في فنه انحرافات المنحرفين فيما يتعلق عن الله وقول كل ما لا يليق بذاته أو صفاته أو أفعاله، مثل إسناد صفة من صفاته تعالى إلى غيره الوارد في قول النمري في مدح هارون الرشيد:

إن المكارم والمعروف أودية * أحلك الله منها حيث تتسع
إذا رفعت أمرا فالله يرفعه * ومن وضعت من الأرقام متضع

(ضيف، ١٩٧٨ م: ٢٩٣)

فالممدوح هو الذي يرفع ويضع من يشاء قبل أن يرفعه الله أو يضعه. فهذا فاسد ومخالف للمفهوم الإسلامي للخالق الظاهر في قوله تعالى: ﴿ قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَلِكُ الْمَلِكِ تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُعْزِزُ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُذِلُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ بِيَدِكَ الْخَيْرُ إِنَّكَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴾ (آل عمران: ٢٦)

ومما يخالف ظاهر مفهوم الإسلام إسناد المشيئة والقدرة لغير الله ونفي القدر، الظاهر في قول ابن هانئ الأندلسي في مطلع القصيدة التي مدح بها المعتز:

ما شئت لا ما شاءت الأقدار * فاحكم فأنت الواحد القهار

(الإسكندري، ١٩١٦ م: ٣٩٧)

فقد جعل الشاعر ممدوحه منازعا للأقدار، فلا يكون شيء إلا ما شاء المعتز، بل جعل ممدوحه في ظاهر قوله: الواحد القهار إلها آخر، فهذه الصفات مخالفة لمفهوم الإسلام، ولا يتوقع صدوره من أديب مسلم، وسواء آمن الشاعر بما قاله أم لا، فقد أخطأ الصواب.

ومن التصورات الإسلامية التي لا تليق بالخالق تشكيك أبي العلاء المعري في قدمه تعالى وكونه بلا زمان ولا مكان في قوله:

قلتم لنا خالق قديم * صدقتم هكذا نقول
زعمتموه بلا زمان * ولا مكان ألا فقولوا
هذا كلام له خبيء * معناه ليس لنا عقول

(العقاد، د.ت: ١٥٠)

فالمعري أديب مسلم وفلسفي معروف لكنه غير ملتزم بالإسلام في هذه الأبيات، ولا ندري ما ذا جره إلى سوق هذه المعاني، هل كان من أثر فلسفته أو تشاؤمه أو شيء آخر؟ ومهما كان الأمر فقد جانب الصواب، فالله لا يعبد بالعقول بل شرعه بنصه منقول. وكما يجب للأديب المسلم أن يكون ملتزماً بالإسلام في تصوراتهِ للخالق سبحانه وتعالى يجب عليه كذلك أن يكون ملتزماً في تصوراتهِ للإنسان فلا يضع من قدره ولا يرفعه فوق درجته التي وهبه الله إياها.

تصور الأديب المسلم للإنسان

ينطلق تصور الأديب المسلم للإنسان من مفهوم الإسلام، الذي يتمثل في أنه خلق ليحقق في حياته على وجه الأرض غاية، وهي إخلاص العبادة لله، قال الله تعالى: ﴿ وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ ٥٦ ﴾ الذاريات: ٥٦ ويسمو إلى ما خباً الله له من نعيم خالد، لكنه مع ذلك يعترف بلحظات تغلب الشهوات عليه وخضوعه للذرائل المحرمة عليه ارتكابها، ولكنه كلما وقع في واد الشهوات أو ظلم نفسه باجتناء ما حرم عليه أسرع إلى مولاه بالتوبة والإنابة، قال الله تعالى: ﴿ وَالَّذِينَ إِذَا فَعَلُوا فَحِشَةً أَوْ ظَلَمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ ذَكَرُوا اللَّهَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا لِذُنُوبِهِمْ وَمَنْ يَغْفِرِ اللَّهُ الذُّنُوبَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَلَمْ يُصِرُّوا عَلَىٰ مَا فَعَلُوا وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ ١٣٥ ﴾ آل عمران: ١٣٥

وليس للإنسان أن يجهر بذنوبه أو يتغنى بها بدعوى أنه أديب أو فنّان أو باسم حرية التعبير، فضلاً عن أن يدعو الجمهور إلى مشاركته فيها، فلا يسمح الإسلام للأديب أو أي إنسان بإظهار إثمه، قال الله تعالى: ﴿ لَا يُحِبُّ اللَّهُ الْجَهْرَ بِالسُّوءِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ إِلَّا مَنْ ظَلَمَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ سَمِيعًا عَلِيمًا ١٤٨ ﴾ النساء: ١٤٨ إلا بقدر ما يتعظ به غيره، بأن يجعل من إظهار إثمه موعظة وعبرة للآخرين، مثل ما نلمس في قول معروف الكرخي وهو يئن من صراعه مع ذنوبه أنيناً يقطع نياط القلوب:

أي شيء تريد مني الذنوب * شغفت بي فليس عني تغيب

ما يضر الذنوب لو أعتقنتني * رحمة؟ فقد علاني المشيب
(الباشا، ١٩٨٥م: ١٤٠)

وهذا سعيد بن وهب يمضي إلى البيت الحرام مشيا على الأقدام ليغسل الذنوب بالتوبة:
قدمي اعتورا رمل الكثيب * وأطرقا الآجن من ماء القليب
رب يوم رحتما فيه على * زهرة الدنيا وفي واد خصيب
فاحسباً ذاك بذا واصبرا * وحذا من كل فن بنصيب
إنما أمشي لأنني مذنب * فلعل الله يعفو عن ذنوبي
(الباشا، ١٩٨٥م: ١٤٠)

وفي الأبيات التالية صور الشاعر محمود سامي البارودي قوة العزيمة بإظهار الموقف الإيجابي للإنسان طلبا للتغيير بعدما كان عليه من الجمود والإخفاق والخيبة، يقول:
من صاحب العجز لم يظفر بما طلبا * فاركب من العزم طرفا يسبق الشها
لا يدرك المجد إلا من هتفت * به الحمية هزّ الرمح وانتصبا
يستسهل الصعب إن هاجت حفيظته * ولا يشاور غير السيف إن غضبا
ينهل صارمه حتفا ومنطقه * سحرا حللا إذا ما صال أو خطبا
إن حل أرضا حمى بالسيف جانبها * وإن وعى نبأة من صارخ ركبا
(القاعود، ٢٠٠٧م: ١٩٢)

فعلى الأديب المسلم أن يعتني بجانب النموذج الإيجابي للإنسان، بأن يصوره مثلا أعلى للإنسانية، بعرض استقامته وعدله وصدقته وحبه وكرمه وعفوه، وكل ما يجعله قدوة حسنة لغيره يقتدى به في المجتمع، وإذا كان من يصور رئيسا مثلا، أبدى عدله وأمانته وحبه للرعية، كما ورد هذه المواصفات في عمرية حافظ إبراهيم:

راع صاحب كسرى أن رأى عمرا * بين الرعية عطلا وهو راعيها
وعهده بملوك الفرس أن لها * سورا من الجند والأحراس يحميها
رأه مستغرقا في نومه فرأى * فيه الجلالة في أسمى معانيها
وقال قولة حق أصبحت مثلا * وأصبح الجيل بعد الجيل يرويها
أمنت لما أقتم العدل بينهمو * فنمت نوم قرير العين هانها
(القاعود، ٢٠٠٧: ١٨٤)

والإنسان يفعل الخير كما يفعل الشر، وهذا بقدر اهتدائه إلى النهج المستقيم، أما القول إن الخير ليس من طبيعة الإنسان، وإنما طبيعته الملازمة له هي أن يفعل الشر، فقول يخالف تصور الإسلام، كما يبدو في قول أبي العلاء المعري:

قد فاضت الدنيا بأدناسها * على براياها وأجناسها
والشر في العالم حتى التي * مكسبها من فضل عرناسها
وكل حي فوقها ظالم * وما بها أظلم من أناسها

(العقاد، د.ت: ١٥٠)

ومما يخالف التصور الإسلامي للإنسان ما أورده وليد قصاب من قول المتنبي في تحقير الإنسان الذي كرمه الله بالخلافة، وحمله في البر والبحر، حيث يقول:

أيّ محل أرتقي * أيّ عظيم أتقي
وكل ما قد خلق الله * وما لم يخلق
محتقر في همتي * كشعرة في مفريقي

(قصاب، ٢٠١٢م: ٣٤)

ففي قول الشاعر تجاوز مرفوض باحتقاره ما خلق الله عز وجل من الأنبياء والملائكة والصالحين والملوك والجبارين، وهو من خلق الله، الذي جميعه عنده كشعرة في مفرقه. هذا وللأديب المسلم تصوير ما يعترض على الإنسان من الأفراح، والأحزان، ومعاملته مع الآخرين من أهله وأصدقائه وجيرانه، لكن بشرط أن ينطلق من التصور الإسلامي أو ألا يصادمه.

التصور الإسلامي للكون والحياة

الكون هو العالم وآية من آيات الله الكبرى، وصورة من صور قدرته العظمى، وشاهد على وجود الله سبحانه وتعالى وقدرته وفضله على عباده، وقد سخره الله لخدمة الإنسان وإمداده بمعطيات الحياة ولذاتها.

والحياة هي الواقع بمعناها الأوسع، وتعني كل ما يتعلق بحركة الإنسان والمجتمع من حرية واستخلاف وأخوة وإنسانية ونشر الدعوة وتحرير البشر من الاستبداد والطغيان والقهر. وترتبط الحياة بالكون ارتباطاً وثيقاً، لأن الكون مجال الحياة، والطرفان يتفاعلان ويتكاملان، فلا كون دون الحياة تبرزه وتعلن عن وجوده، وكذلك لا حياة ممكنة خارج الكون الذي فيه عناصر الحياة واستمراره. والعلاقة بين الحياة والكون في التصور الإسلامي تقوم على الصداقة والتعاطف والصفاء، لا على الخصومة والقهر والبغضاء (القاعود، ٢٠٠٧م: ١٨٧).

وقد صور الأدباء الإسلاميون كثيراً من جوانب الكون والحياة في أعمالهم الأدبية ما يظهر القدرة الإلهية المطلقة، وتسخير الله تعالى ما في الكون من شمس وقمر وبحار

وجبال وأنهار وطيور وحيوان وحشرات لخدمة حياة الإنسان، كما دل عليه قوله تعالى: ﴿الْمَرْتَرُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ سَخَّرَ لَكُمْ مَّا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَأَسْبَغَ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَهُ ظَهْرَهُ وَبَاطِنَهُ﴾ لقمان: ٢٠، فالكون من وجهة نظر الأديب المسلم من صنع الله تعالى ومن ثمرة مشيئته، كما يبدو في أبيات الشاعر محمد الحليوي التونسي:

ربّ، يا من خلقت هذا الوجود * عالما رائعا وفنا مجيدا
أنت ربّي أخذته من هباء * ثم أخرجته قويا عنيدا
قلت كنهه فكان لغزا عميقا * وكتابا مستعجما ونشيدا

(الشنطي، ١٩٩٧م: ٨٥)

ونجد في قصيدة ابن خاتمة الأنصاري وصفا دقيقا للأكوان من حركاتها وسكناتها، وأنها كلها تشير إلى تسبيحها لله تعالى وخضوعها له، إذ يعدد طرفا من نعم الله تعالى السابغة على الإنسان والأكوان بأجمعها، تلك النعم التي تستحق الشكر والتقدير من الإنسان والأكوان كلها، سواء الناطق منها وغير الناطق، حيث يقول الشاعر:

هل تبصر الأشجار والأطيار والـ * أزهار تلك الخافضات الأزوس
تالله وهو أليتي وكفى به * قسما يُفدى بره بالأنفس
ما ذاك من سكر ولا لخلاعة * لكن سجود مسبح ومقدّس
شكرا لمن برأ الوجود بجوده * فتنى إليه الكل وجه المفلس
رفع السماء سقفا يروق رواؤه * ودحا بسيط الأرض أوثر مجلس
ووشى بأنواع المحاسن هذه * وأنار هذي بالجوار الكنس
وأدرّ أخلاف العطاء تطولا * وأنال فضلا من يطيع ومن يسيء
نعم يضيّق الوصف عن إحصائها * فلّ الخطيب بها لسان الأوجس
سبحان من صدع الجميع بحمده * وبشكره من ناطق أو أخرس
وامتدت الأطلال ساجدة له * بجبالها من قائم أو أقعس

(الحنين، ١٩٨٧م: ٢٥٨)

ويرد الشاعر عيسى ألبى أبو بكر آثار الشمس من نورها وطلوعها وغروبها على حياة الإنسان والكون بأجمعه قائلا:

وترى الشمس وهي تصحو من النو * ر قبيل الصباح تحت الحجال
تتمطى لأخذ زينتها قب * ل طلوع على الوري بختال
تتبدى للأفق بعد شعاع * سابق لا يشع بالإعجال

هي في الأفق ساعة يعرف النّاء * س بها وقتهم إلى الآجال
 علقت في السماء نورا مضيئاً * وفق ما جاءنا من الإنزال
 كل هذا لدى الذي عنده الإف * هام آيات ربنا المتعالي
 (أبو بكر، ٢٠٠٥م: ١٢٦)

يصدر الشاعر في الأبيات السابقة من التصور الإسلامي في وصفه للشمس وآثارها من تنوير الكون وجريانها على مشيئة الله، ومنقادة لتسخير الله الخالق لكل شيء، وبها يعرف الناس عدد السنين والحساب، كما ورد في القرآن الكريم. وفوق ذلك كله فهي آية من آيات الله المعجزة المبهتة.

العلاقة بين الجنسين

إن العلاقة بين الجنسين حقيقة لا يمكن تجاهلها، وهي حقيقة من حقائق الحياة الإنسانية، بل هذه العلاقة موجودة في حياة الكائنات الحية كلها. فعلى الأديب المسلم أن يراعي الموقف الإيجابي في تصويره للعلاقة بين الجنسين، وذلك بأن يعرض الجنسين في صورة المثل الأعلى للإنسان، ويصوره ليؤدي الدور الذي أنيط به والغاية التي خلقت من أجلها، وهي عبادة الله والخليفة لله على وجه الأرض. فكلما أراد تصوير ناحية من نواحي العلاقة بين الجنسين، فعليه أن يفعل ذلك ليظهر خضوع الجنسين لشرع الله والتمسك بالفضائل والسمو بالإنسانية، ولا يقف طويلاً في تصوير جزئيات هذه العلاقة أو يعرض مواضع الفتن فيها. وإذا احتاج إلى تصوير جانب الضعف والسلب في العلاقة فعليه أن يصوره كحظة من لحظات ضعف الإنسان، يظهر بشاعة صنيعه ويسعى إلى انقاده من وهدهته التي ينحدر إليها، وتطوير حياته وترقيتها، ولا يصوره أنه بطولة تستحق الإعجاب والتهاتف له.

وفي القرآن الكريم نموذج راقٍ لمعالجة الجنس معالجة تفصيلية بعيدة عن الإسفاف والهبوط ومصادمة الذوق العام والآداب الاجتماعية، فقصة نبي الله يوسف عليه الصلاة والسلام كما وردت في القرآن الكريم قصة جنسية بكل مقومات القصة، ظهرت فيها المواقف الدرامية وعنصر التشويق والمتابعة، ثم الانتصار لفضائل الإنسان وقوة الروح في النهاية، حتى امرأة العزيز الخاطئة انتصرت فيها قوى الخير عادت إلى رشدها (القاعود، ٢٠٠٧ م: ١٨٢).

وقصة فتاة راقصة من قصص مصطفى صادق الرافعي تعتبر قصة جنسية متعففة، التي ظهرت الفتاة مضطرة إلى اتخاذ الرقص حرفة تعيش عليه، حين عجزت أن تجد

سبيلا آخر لسد رمقها، لكن قلبها مليء بالحزن والخيبة، وكذلك مطمئن بالإيمان، فكلما تركت المسرح وخلعت ملابس الرقص رجعت إلى وعيها وإلى شخصية معتدلة، تبدو عليها أمارات الوقار والسكينة والهيبة. وإذا راودها رجل وأراد الاعتداء على شخصيتها تصفعه وتخجله بقولها المشهور: «أما تعرف يا سيدي أنني أصلي وأقول: الله أكبر، فهل أنت أكبر...؟ أقيم لك البرهان على صغارك وحقارتك، أناادي الشرطي...؟» (الرافعي، ٢٠٠٧ م: ٣٠١).
ففي القصة جوانب الفتن المتمثلة في عرض الشابة على المسرح راقصة على مرأى من الرجال، وعليها ملابس الرقص الفاتنة الساحرة التي عادة تكون من مما يخلب العقول ويغري الرجال ويدغدغ في الشعور، لكن الفتاة بعد ترك المسرح تنقلب إلى عابدة واعية ومعتدلة وملقنة الدروس للرجال الذين انقادوا للشيطان وأوليائه واتبعوا الفواحش والشهوات بلا رادع.

وعلاقة الحب بين الجنسين من المجالات التي يجب أن يلتزم فيها الأديب المسلم بتعاليم الإسلام، بحيث يظهر العلاقة بينها علاقة نقية طاهرة، ويجعلها وسيلة إلى تحقيق غاية من غايات خلق الإنسان وكونه خليفة الله على الأرض، وهذه الغاية هي عمران الحياة واستمرارها. وإذا تغزل الشاعر المسلم بامرأة، فينبغي أن يخرج غزله في صورة نقية لا فحش فيه ولا عصيان، يقصد بغزله تحقيق غاية التزواج بين المحبين في ظلال الفضائل والعفة. ومن الغزل العفيف الذي يصون العرض ويتسم بالالتزام الإسلامي ما نجده بارزا لدى ابن خاتمة الأنصاري حين تغزل قائلاً:

زارت على حذر من الرقباء * والليل ملتف بفضل رداء
تصل الدجى بسواد فرع فاحم * لتزيد ظلماء إلى ظلماء
فوشى بها من وجهها وحليها * بدر الدجى وكواكب الجوزاء
أهلا بزائرة على خطر السرى * ما كنت أرجوها ليوم لقاء
أقسمت لولا عفة عذرية * وتقى عليّ له رقيب رائئ
لنقعت غلة لوعتي برضاها * ونضحت ورد خدودها ببيكائي

(الحنين، ١٩٨٧ م: ٢٥٢)

فهذه الأبيات تصور العلاقة بين المحبين تصويراً جميلاً، لكن في ثوب النقاء والنظف خالياً عن الفحش وإظهار المفاتن، حيث كانت تقوى الله رقيباً على الشاعر، فاتصف بالعفة والترفع عن الوقوع فيما ذكر في البيت الأخير.

وفي قصيدة عيسى ألبى أبو بكر بعنوان: "المرأة" نجد الالتزام الإسلامي في وصف الشاعر الجانب السلبي في المرأة، من كونها فتنة للناس، واعتبارها كسهم من سهام إبليس، وهي كثيرا ما تجرّ صاحبها إلى معصية الله، والميل عن جادة الطريق بجمالها الفاتن، وأن كيدها عظيم، يقع فريستها عالم وجاهل، وعابد وفاسق، وهي سر الله في أرضه، يقول الشاعر:

أنت يا امرأة نور أم ظلام * لوثة الأعصر أم ربّة طهر؟
 لفحة النَّار إذا ما ذقت ظلما * أم نعيم الخلد في طيب ويسر؟
 أخت إبليس الذي يغري الورى * بتعاطي الفحش والشر بمكر؟
 أخت هارون الذي ينهى الورى * عن فجور وهو معروف ببر؟
 أهدعت الشيخ في أكل الحرا * م لماذا العصى في أول الأمر؟
 أم غررت العبد في خلوته * فعصى الله لحسن نيّر؟
 أم هو إدراك للجنس الذي * دبّ في الأنفس في سابق الدهر؟
 قد حباك الله حسنا فاتنا * يأخذ الألباب في سرّ وجهر
 أنت سر الله في عالمه * مصدر الإلهام في شعر ونثر
 (أبو بكر، ٢٠٠٥ م: ١٨٣)

ومن الغزل العفيف الذي يبدو فيه الالتزام الإسلامي حوار الشاعر عبد العزيز آل مبارك مع حبيبته من خلال تغزله بها:

وشكوت من أرقى لها وصبايتي * قالت: وهل من شاهد لك حاضر
 قلت: الدجى، قالت: جميع قضاتنا * لا يقبلون شهادة من كافر
 قالت: وما لك دمع عينك جامد * قل لي، وما للجسم ليس بضائر
 إني كتمت هواك حتى ما درى * سمعي ولا بصري بما في خاطري
 قالت: وقد عجبت لحسن مقالتي * لله درك من فقيه شاعر
 (النحنين، ١٩٨٧ م: ٢٥٣).

انظر إلى العفة في الحوار بين المحبين، وإلى الالتزام الإسلامي في العلاقة بينهما، فحب الشاعر للحبيبة مكتوم حتى لم يشعر به سمعه وبصره، وكذلك لم يقع نفسه في الورطة، ولا في الضجر نتيجة الحب، وليس عليه شاهد من آثار الدمع على خده أو ظهور الضنى على جسمه، بل ظل حبه لها مكتوما في خاطره.

أما الغزل الصريح الذي يدعو إلى الفحش ويصور متعة جسدية فبعيد عن الالتزام الإسلامي، مثل ما نجد في قول بشار بن برد:

قالوا حرام تلاقينا فقلت لهم * ما في التلاقي ولا في قبلة حرج
من راقب الناس لم يظفر بحاجته * وفاز بالطيبات الفاتك اللهج

(عبد الله، ١٩٩٦ م: ١٢٣)

فالشاعر في البيتين يحاول بكل قوة تبرير المعصية، فيحل القبلة ويغري باختطاف اللذات الجسدية، ولا يرى إثما في اللقاء والخلوة مع من تهوى نفسه. فالحياة عنده استمتاع وهجوم على هذا الاستمتاع.

الخاتمة

وأخيرا نثبت أن الأديب المسلم كغيره من المسلمين مكلف ومسئول عن أعماله وتصرفاته، يحمل تبعه أعماله بنفسه، له ما كسب وعليه ما اكتسب، وإنتاجه الأدبي جزء من أعماله التي يثاب عليها أو يعاقب، وربما يتضاعف جزاء عمله الأدبي باعتبار أن الأدب يؤثر في نفوس الآخرين، وقد يقودهم إلى عمل، خيرا كان أو شرا، فيكون له مثل جزاءهم دونما نقص من أجورهم، فيجب عليه أن يكون ملتزما بالإسلام في كل ما يقول أو يكتب عن الخالق سبحانه وتعالى أو عن خلقه، وأن يجعل أدبه في بناء المجتمع المثالي الخالد مجده، وألا يغر نفسه بحرية مزعومة للأديب أو ينجرف فيما خاض فيه بعض الأدباء المسلمين غير ملتزمين بالإسلام، مخالفين التصور الإسلامي عند تعبير عن الخالق أو مخلوقاته كما شاهدنا في الصفحات السابقة.

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الالتزام الإسلامي في الشعر العربي في بلاد يوربا، نيجيريا
AL-ILTIZAM AL-ISLAMI FI ASY-SYI'R AL-'ARABI FI
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الملخص

الالتزام قضية مهمة في مذهب الأدب الإسلامي، الأدب الذي يصور الخالق والكون والإنسان وفقا لتعاليم الإسلام وقيمه. فالأدب العربي في نيجيريا بصفة عامة وفي بلاد يوربا بصفة خاصة يجب أن يتصف بهذه الصفات، ولذلك درس هذا البحث أعمال شعراء بلاد يوربا، نيجيريا، من حيث الالتزام الإسلامي. توصل البحث إلى أن أكثر الشعراء اليورباويين التزموا بالإسلام تعاليمه وقيمه ومنهجه في أعمالهم الأدبية إلا أن بعضهم تجاوزوا حد الالتزام بالمبالغة والإفراط في المحبة وعدم الصدق في العاطفة وتجريح حق الغير وإيراد التشبيه بالمحرمات. إلا أن ذلك لم يبلغ مبلغا يخرجهم من حوزة الإسلام، ولا أدبهم من الأدب الإسلامي، بل جعلهم أدباء ملتزمين في بعض القصائد وغير ملتزمين في غيرها. فأعمال الأدباء اليورباويين شعرها ونثرها تحتاج إلى دراسة مفصلة على المنهج الإسلامي لتمام فهمها وتحقيق قيمتها وتقدير جهود المقتصدین من أصحابها وردّ جماع المنحرفين منهم عن غيهم.

Abstract

Consistency is a vital aspect of the school of thought of Islamic literature, the brand of Literature which creatively presents the Creator, the Universe and Man in accordance with Islamic teachings and values. The aim of this research is to study the level of adherence of poets in Yorubaland to Islamic teachings and

norms in their works. To achieve this, it selected four themes of Arabic poetry, eulogy, elegy, love and political poetry. It shows that most of Yoruba poets adhere strictly and consistent with the teaching of Islam in their works, while very few of them were not consistent. It was due to their involvement in exaggerations, false motivation, trampling on the right of others, and drawing analogies from forbidding things like alcohol. These aspects, however, does not stripe their works from being branded Islamic literature in any way, it only connotes that they only lack of consistency in their adherence to the teachings of Islam. The creative works of Yoruba literary figures need thorough research in order to be well understood, ascertain their worth, appreciate the consistent ones Islamically among them and guide the straying ones to the right path

Keywords: consistent adherence; Islamic literature; poetry themes; Yoruba literary figures

مقدمة

الأدب الإسلامي هو الأدب الذي ينبثق عن ذات مسلم، يصور الخالق والإنسان والكون من خلال تصور الإسلام لكل مما ذكر، لأن المؤمن الحق لا ينفصل عن ذاته عند التعبير عن فكره وفنه، وأن آثاره الأدبية ومعتقداته وأحلامه كلها ترتبط بتلك الذات القوية المتماسكة. فالأدب العربي في نيجيريا بصفة عامة، وفي بلاد يوربا بصفة خاصة يحمل هذه البصمة، لأن أصحابه تعلموا العربية أصلاً لأجل فهم الدين الإسلامي. ولكن هناك مؤثرات بيئية وثقافية أخرى تشارك في تكوين الأدباء وآدابهم في هذه المنطقة، فلذلك كانت الحاجة داعية إلى أن تغربل الأعمال الأدبية فيها لمعرفة مدى التزامها بالمنهج الذي رسمه الإسلام. لسد هذا الفراغ قمنا بهذا البحث. ونطاق البحث ينحصر في بلاد يوربا في الفترة بين ١٩٦٠ و ٢٠٠٩ م، وتناول من الأغراض الشعرية المدح والرثاء والغزل والشعر السياسي لضيق المقام.

مفهوم الالتزام في الأدب الإسلامي

قبل الخوض في دراسة الالتزام في الشعر العربي في بلاد يوربا يجدر بنا أن نجعل نقطة التوضيح على ماهية الالتزام في الأدب الإسلامي لتكون على بصيرة من أمره قبل تطبيقه على عمل أدباءنا فنقول:

الالتزام في اللغة، على حد قول الحسيني هو التعلق بالشيء والمداومة عليه وعدم مفارقتة. وفي الاصطلاح الأدبي هو أن يلتزم الأديب في أعماله الأدبية عقيدة من العقائد أو

مبدأ من المبادئ أو فلسفة من الفلسفات (الحسيني، ١٤٠٨هـ/١٩٨٧م: ٢٧). وبالنسبة للأدب الإسلامي فهو أن يلتزم الأديب المسلم بتعاليم الإسلام ومبادئه وقيمه في أعماله الأدبية، لا يفارقها مهما كانت الظروف. ورأى الكيلاني (١٤٠٧هـ: ٧٩) أن الالتزام في الأدب:

يبدأ بالنية الصادقة، والعزم الذي لا يتزعزع، وينطلق من ممارسات واقعية في مختلف جنبات الحياة، إنه وثام بين الإنسان ونفسه، وبينه وبين الآخرين، وهو يضم تحت جناحيه قيم الحياة الإسلامية وقوانينها أو أحكامها، وتصورات المؤمن لما يحيط به من كون وسنن، وحيوان وجماد ونبات، ويمتد ذلك التصور ليربط الحياة الدنيا بالآخرة، ومرجع ذلك كله هو كتاب الله وسنة رسوله. هذا، وقد تكون القصيدة ملتزمة وشاعرها غير ملتزم، وذلك إذا التزم الشاعر بالقيم الإسلامية في القصيدة وانحرف منها في غيرها. نضرب مثلاً لذلك في أحمد شوقي أمير الشعراء المشهور الذي نظم أشعاراً كثيرة رائعة ملتزماً فيها بتعاليم الإسلام مثل قصيدة «على نهج البردة» وغيرها ثم وجدناه في بعض قصائده يصف الخمر ويرغب الناس في شربه، فمنها قوله عند انصرام رمضان وأقبل العيد (الحسيني، ١٤٠٨هـ/١٩٨٧م: ٢٠٦):

رمضان وليّ، هاتها يا ساقى * مشتاقه تسعى إلى مشتاق
ما كان أكثره على آلافها * وأقله في طاعة الخلاق
الله غفار الذنوب جميعها * إن كان ثم من الذنوب يواقي
بالأمس قد كنا سجين طاعة * واليوم من العيد بالإطلاق
ضحكت إلي من السرور ولم تزل * بنت الكروم كريمة الأعراق
هات اسقنيها غير ذات عواقب * حتى نراع لصيحة الصفاق
صرفاً مسلطة الشعاع كأنما * من وجنيتك تدار والأحداق
حمراء أو صفراء إن كريمها * كالغيد كل مليحة بمذاق
وحذار من دمها الزكي نريقه * يكفيك يا قاسي دم العشاق
لا تسقني إلا دهاقاً إنني * أسقي بكأس في الهموم دهاق
فلعل سلطان المدامة مخرجي * من عالم لم يحو غير نفاق

فالخمر محرمة في الإسلام وعقوبة من تناولها في الشريعة معروفة، والذي يساعد على تناولها آثم مثل شاربها، فشوقي بهذا زائع عن الالتزام.

ويجدر بالذكر أن هذا لا يعني أن من قال قصائد غير ملتزمة خارج من الإسلام، كلا بل لا يزال من المسلمين، فإنه بفعله قد خلط عملاً صالحاً وآخر سيئاً، وإن تاب فعسى الله أن يتوب عليه.

الالتزام الإسلامي في شعر المديح العربي في بلاد يوربا

كان الإعجاب والتقدير والحب والثناء والعرفان بالجميل من العواطف التي تدعو إلى قول المدح لدى الشعراء اليورباويين، وتختلف قوة إحساسهم وشعورهم تجاه هذه العواطف بناء على شخصية الممدوح ومكانته لديهم فلذلك نرى منهم من كان مقتصداً في تعبيره المدحي وفي شعوره، ونرى منهم من كان سابقاً بالخيرات بالالتزامه حد الإسلام في ذلك، كما نرى منهم من تجاوز حد التصور الإسلامي في وصف شمائل الإنسان والثناء عليه. فرسول الله الكريم ﷺ أكثر من نال المديح لدى اليورباويين لحبهم الأصيل له وإيمانهم بأنه رحمة للعلمين، وأن نجاتهم في الدنيا والآخرة في اتباعه، فلذلك نراه يطيلون في سرد صفاته وشمائله الطاهرة في قصائدهم، فمنهم من وصفه بالزمزمي الذي يعيش إليه، وبيدر يستضاء بنوره، وكهف يلجأ إليه الخائفون، وبشير للمؤمنين ونذير للكافرين، وهدي، وإمام للمرسلين، ونعمة ورحمة للعالمين، وغير ذلك من الأوصاف الحميدة، أمثال عبد الواحد أريبي جمعة (١٩٩٧م) الذي يقول في قصيدة بعنوان: «رحمة أنت»:

أيها الزمزمي أنت زمام * ظل زادا للراغبين الركوبا
كنت كالبدر عندنا وبشيراً * كنت عفواً للتائبين قريبا
كنت كهفا للخائفين حصينا * كنت كهفا للكافرين عصيبا
ثورة أنت بالوئام تحدث * صفحات أغر تحكي القشيبا
رحمة أنت ألفت مستقيما * ثم سنة بل كتابا غريبا
صبغة أنت في الأمام تسامت * ولديك ذاقت علانا نصيبا
لوحة أنت بالوقار تحلت * قرأت بها العالمون الضروبا
صفحة أنت في المثال تعالت * فوق رسل الله انتقيت نقيبا
نعمة أنت في الوجود استدعت * تتمناها الهود كيما نصيبا

استعان هذا الشاعر بالصورة البلاغية الرائعة ليتم تأثيره على القارئ والسامع مثل التشبيه بأنواعه في جعل رسول الله ﷺ بدرا يهدي العالم في ظلمة الجهل والجهالة، وكهفا وثورة ورحمة وصبغة ولوحة وصفحة بغير ذكر وجه الشبه وأركانه. وهذه الصفات مأخوذة من تصور الإسلام لشخصية رسول الله من غير مبالغة، وفي القرآن: ﴿ وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ﴾ (١٧) الأنبياء: ١٠٧، إلا أن تشبيهه الرسول الأعظم، في البيت الأول، بالزام بيد راكب الحصان نقص لقدره العظيم، كيف يكون الرسول ﷺ لجاما بيد خلق من خلائق الله؟ فهذا يخالف تصور الإسلام للنبي ﷺ.

ومن أخلاقه التي استلهموها من القرآن والسنة الشريفة ومن أقوال السلف الصالح وسردها بغية الاقتداء بها لأنه المثل الأعلى، والحق يقول: ﴿ وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ ۝٤ ﴾ القلم: ٤، فمن هذه الأخلاق: الكمال والأمانة والوفاء بالعهد والصدق والصبر والرحمة والثبات والتخلق بالقرآن وتبليغ الرسالة وغير ذلك. نأخذ أبياتا من قصيدة محمد الثاني (١٩٩٩) بعنوان: «قصيدة وبل الصدى في مدح رسول الهدى» نموذجاً لذلك حيث يقول:

أجمل به من نبي خلقه عجب * ما يعتريه- طوال العمر- نقصان
 عن خلقه قد أتت آي بلا عدد * بل خلقه فإذا قسناه- قرآن
 وهو الأمين ولا يرضى الخيانة في * كل الشئون ولو ساءته أزمان
 ما أخلف الوعد قط مجتبي عجا * وليس من طبعه إفك وبهتان
 نعم الرسول وفي أحواله عبر * الصبر ملبسه والصدق تيجان
 قد أرسل الله يس رحمة وهدى * للعالمين وفي الفرقان سلطان
 فقد دعا قومه بالصبر والحكم * والصبر يعقبه روح وريحان
 وكم يقاسي من الكفار فنتتهم * منها الحصار وتكذيب وعدوان
 وبلغ المصطفى الهادي بلا فشل * رسالة الله لا يعلوها أديان
 نعم الثبات ونعم الصبر يا سندي * يا خاتم الأنبياء للرسول معوان
 بعد تعداد شمائل الرسول ﷺ الطاهرة كالأمانة والوفاء بالعهد والصبر والصدق
 وأنه رحمة للعالمين، قدر الشاعر تضحيته على تحمل الأسي من الذين لا يؤمنون ملتزماً في
 ذلك كله حدود الإسلام. ولكننا نرى بعض الشعراء اليورباويين، إما لأجل حبهم لرسول الله
 ﷺ أو الاقتداء ببعض أعلام مدحه ﷺ جاوزوا حد الإسلام في مدحه له حيث قال جمعة
 (٢٠٠٣م) في قصيدة معنونة بـ «يا مختار»:

يا رسول الله كن حجيبي * إنما أرجوك عن كتب
 أين تمضي اليوم باخرتي * فيك يا مختار منتسبي
 أنا في الإيمان مقتصر * عمل الخيرات أبطأبي
 قائدى العملاق يا سيدي * فأليك الآن مقتربي
 ضل عني اليوم مرتقبي * بل أعود الآن من عطبي
 وأفوز الآن من ثقتي * بك يا مختار في الحلب
 في عباب اللهو قد رسخت * قدمي الممقوتة الصبب
 فصلاتي الطب أو سببي * بدوام الدهر والحقب

جزت الأسباب في سبلي * جئت أهدي إليك بالسبب
 فاقبل الحيران يا أملي * وتداركني فأنت أبي
 تأثر الشاعر في هذه القصيدة بالشيخ ناصر الكبر الكنوي في قصيدته التي استغاث
 بها الرسول الله ومطلعها:

يا رسول الله خذ بيدي * وتداركني وأنت أبي
 (أبو بكر، ١٩٧٢: ٦٠٣)
 فعلى منواله سار هذا الشاعر، صور نفسه كمن أخطأ طريقه ثم صحا بعد الغي،
 وتمنى أن اعتماده على الرسول ﷺ الهادي يساعده على الاستقامة والكمال فاستغاث به
 لأنه أبوه، وقد حذر بوصيري المداحين للرسول ﷺ عن تجاوز حد الإسلام في مدحهم بقوله:
 دع ما ادعته النصارى في نبيهم * واحكم بما شئت مدحا فيه واحتكم
 وانسب إلى ذاته ما شئت من شرف * وانسب إلى قدره ما شئت من عظم
 (بوصيري، د.ت.: ١١)

فالاستغاثة قضية لا تزال تثير الجدل بين العلماء ولا نريد التدخل فيها هنا، أما
 ادعاء البنوة للرسول ﷺ لأمر كرهه الإسلام لأحد بعد أبنائه من صلبه وأمومة أزواجه.
 فإذا قسنا هذه العثرة من الشاعر بما قاله عن رسول الله ﷺ أعلاه، وفي قصائده الأخرى
 نحكم بأنه فقد الالتزام في هذا الصدد فقط، وأنه شاعر إسلامي.
 إن قبة المدح، من حيث الكثرة، بعد المدح النبوي، تبنى على مساجد العلماء، لأنهم
 ورثة الأنبياء. فالعواطف التي تثير وجدان الشعراء تجاه هذا اللون من المديح -بناء على
 المعلومات المتوفرة لدينا- نابعة عن إعجابهم بالمدوح أو حبهم له، أو العرفان بالجميل
 له، أو عن إرادة تهنئته على إنجاز حقيقه، أو الترحيب به، أو توديعه، أو تعريفه للناس، أو
 تأييده على أعدائه أو خصمائه، أو إهداء العمل الأدبي إليه.

فكثيرا ما يعجب التلاميذ تضلع أساتذتهم أو شيوخهم في العلوم والفنون، ويبهرون
 بحسن معاملاتهم لهم ويتعجبون من مدى جهادهم في نشر الدعوة الإسلامية، وجهودهم في
 بذل الأنفس والنفائس في سبيل إعداد التلاميذ وإخراجهم من الأمية والجهل والجهالة، وقد
 قرأوا في الكتاب والسنة وكلام العلماء الصالحين كثيرا عن مكانة العلماء ووجوب احترامهم
 انطلاقا من قوله تعالى: ﴿ إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ ﴾ فاطر: ٢٨، وفي قوله: ﴿ يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ ﴾ المجادلة: ١١ وقول رسول الله ﷺ: « ... إِنَّ

الْعُلَمَاءُ وَرَثَةُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ، إِنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ لَمْ يُورَثُوا دِينَارًا وَلَا دِرْهَمًا إِنَّمَا وَرَّثُوا الْعِلْمَ، فَمَنْ أَخَذَ بِهِ
أَخَذَ بِحَظِّ وَافِرٍ» (سنن الترمذي: ٤٨/٥، رقم ٢٦٨٢) وقول الشاعر:

إِنَّ الْمَعْلَمَ وَالطَّبِيبَ كِلَاهُمَا * لَا يَنْصَحَانِ إِذَا هُمَا لَمْ يَكْرَمَا

(الزرنوجي، ١٩٨١م. ص ٨٢).

فهذه الظاهرة تثير وجدان الشعراء الذين كانوا - ولا يزال بعضهم - طلاباً أو تلاميذاً أو مستفيدين من هؤلاء العلماء، ولا يجدون بداً من أن يعبروا عن شعورهم بالشعر المديحي تجاه شيوخهم.

ومن العلماء الذين نالوا نصيب الأسد من مدح الشعراء في بلاد يوربا، لآثارهم الباهرة في طول البلاد وعرضها، الشيخ آدم عبد الله الإلوري والشيخ محمد كمال الدين الأدبي. فقل أن تجد شاعراً في بلاد يوربا لم يذكرهما في شعره، ولذلك نأخذ نموذجين لهذا اللون من المديح مما قاله شاعران من كبار تلاميذهما.

يقول أبو بكر (٢٠٠٥م) في مدح الشيخ آدم الإلوري:

يا شيخنا النحرير حسبك رتبة * أن العيون إليك دوما تنظر
إرق المناير إنها لك واملأ الآدان * وعظا رادعا من يكفر
وازجر أناسا نوما في غفلة * رعناء واعلم أن قولك ينذر
هل قام قبلك في المحافل عالم * يأتي بكل جديدة لا تنخر؟
من أين تأتيك العقول تسلسلا * في كل فن لا تجارى مبحر؟
والله قد أحسنت صنعك كله * لا عاش شانئك الذي هو أبت
يا وارثا للمجد من أسلافه * قل ما تحب فإن رأيك أزهر
الرأي رأيك لا تقول مفنداً * من قال «لا» فكأنه لا يبصر
إني بلوت الناس بلوا لم أجد * من كان مثلك بيد أني أصغر
فإذا كبرت فمستحيل أن أرى * إلا «البعاث» بأرضنا يستنسر»
يا صاحب الإسلام أنت متيم * في حبه تحميه كاد يكسر
لولا قيامك طاردا أعداءه * من وكره ليكون يوما يوسر
يا راجيا وجه الإله وأجره * عن هذه الأعمال حقا تؤجر
هل كان مثلك قارئ آياته * سبحانه ومبين ومفسر؟
رتل علينا ما تيسر إننا * نصغي إليك وكلنا نتذكر
وإذا بدأت قراءة فكأنها * صوت من المزمارة تصدر

إني شربت الشهد حين قراءتي * لكن صوتي لا يزال يبعثر
الله يكثر مثله في قطرنا * نيجيريا بلد يمد ويجزر
يا شيخنا طابت حياتك إن لي * أملا بأنك في الحياة معمر
هذي القصيدة قوله من ذلك * التلميذ ذى عجز يقال ويعذر

فالقصيدية في سبعة وأربعين بيتا، وبالأسلوب الخطابي الذي يتصف به الشعر المديح استطاع الشاعر أن يظهر إعجابه بالمدوح كأنه واقف أمامه يخاطبه. أعجبه أن الأنظار اتجهت نحو شيخه، وأنه لم ير من يباري شيخه في الفصاحة عند إلقاء الخطب على المنابر خصوصا في يوم الجمعة وأيام العيد. كما أعجبه رده الكفار والمشركين عن ضلالتهم، والفجار والفساق عن غوايتهم إلى الدين الحنيف بزواج وعظه. وبأسلوب الاستفهام البليغ أفهمنا أن المدوح يجدد موضوعات خطبه ومواعظه ليعالج قضايا الساعة في مجتمعه وفي العالم. فعلى سبيل المثال، كانت الخطبة المنبرية في البلاد، قبل قيام المدوح الشيخ آدم عبد الله الإلوري بحركاته الدعوية الإسلامية، منفعة ضائعة حيث تلقى باللغة العربية على الأعاجم الذين لا يفهمونها، وكان الأئمة يكررون عددا من الخطب الموروثة من أسلافهم. فلما جاء الإلوري غير ذلك الأسلوب، فأخذ يكتب الخطبة بنفسه ويلقيها بالعربية ويقوم أحد تلاميذه بترجمتها إلى اللغة المحلية. وقد أصبح هذا الأسلوب شائعا في نيجيريا اليوم (إبراهيم، ٢٠١٢م: ٥٥٢). وعلاوة على ذلك فقد أبدع الإلوري أسلوبا خاصا للتغني بالقرآن والأشعار العربية الذي يعرف اليوم بـ «صوت المركز» (عبد الحميد وغيره، ٢٠٠٧م: ٥٧). أعجب الشاعر بأفكاره النيرة، وآرائه السديدة التي تنال الإقبال لدى الناس، فشبها بالأزهار التي تروق العيون وتلد النفوس، ويرى أن من يعارض شيئا منها فهو أعمى. ولكي نؤمن بأن الشاعر يمدح عن صدق العاطفة، وأن ما قاله عن المدوح حق و«...فإنَّ كُلَّ نَبِيٍّ نِعْمَةٌ مَحْسُودٌ» (الطبراني. الأوسط: ٥٥/٣، رقم: ٥٥٤٢). وأكد كلامه باليمين واستعان بالقرآن ليدعو على شائئيه.

كما أعجبه كذلك شغفه وحببه للنزاهة للإسلام الذي كان لديه بمثابة بيض يحميه ويزود عن حوضه بكل ما لديه من سلاح وعتاد، فقد جاهد في سبيله بنفسه ونفيسه ولا يرجو من ذلك إلا ابتغاء وجه ربه الأعلى، و﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ﴾ (١٢٠) التوبة: ١٢٠. وأعجب الشاعر كذلك صوت شيخه الرنين الذي شبهه بمزمار من مزامير أهل داود. وحاول الشاعر أن ينال الصوت الرنين مثله فاستعان بشرب العسل، لإيمانه أن رسول الله ﷺ قال بأن الشفاء في شرب العسل، كما في صحيح البخاري (كتاب الطب، رقم ٥٦٨١).

ص ١١١٦) ودعا الله له أن يكثر أمثاله في نيجيريا وأن يطول عمره. فالشاعر كما رأينا ملتزم في القصيدة.

إلا أننا نشم رائحة الغلو في قوله: «والله قد أحسنت صنعك كلّه» في البيت السادس لعلّه يقصد بأنه أحسن في معظم أعماله، وليس في كله فالكمال - في الإسلام - لله وحده. وقد يشبه قوله:

هل قام قبلك في المحافل عالم * يأتي بكل جديدة لا تنخر؟

وقوله:

إني بلوت الناس بلوا لم أجد * من كان مثلك بيد أي أصغر

فإذا كبرت فمستحيل أن أرى * إلا «البغات» بأرضنا يستنسر»

حيث لا يرى عالما مثل شيخه يأتي بالأشياء الجديدة من العلوم والفنون، وأنه جرّب الناس ولم يجد من هو أعلى وأعظم مثل شيخه، قد يشبه هذه الأقوال مبالغة، ولكن بإمعان النظر نرى أن الشاعر لا يتكلم بصفة عامة بل يعبر أن شعور نفسه وتجاربه وقد يكون ذلك حقا دون مبالغة منه.

ومن الأوصاف والشمائل التي تتال إعجاب الشعراء من علماء بلاد يوربا إحوأؤهم التلاميذ وإسكانهم في بيوتهم أو في الرواق التابع لمدارسهم، وإغداقهم بالجود والكرم، ومعالجتهم إذا مرضوا، إضافة إلى التعليم والتربية والتثقيف التي يقدمونها لهم بأدنى مكافئة من أهاليهم أو بدونها أحيانا، وتليين الجناح لهم، وهدايتهم إلى سواء السبيل وغير ذلك. وعليه يقول عثمان محمد عبد السلام الثقافي (١٩٨٢م: ٣١) عن الشيخ كمال الدين الأدبي:

وفي منزل الحاج الكمال محمد * يجاد بأنهار ويدر ومكتب
وأعزب مقطوع الرجاء أقاله * من العثرة الكبرى ببكر ومركب
ترى الناس مغسولين بين بحاره * وكم قد مشوا في نوره نحو مكسب
وطبّه شاف للبلاد المريضة * واعرج داوى بالدوا ومعرقب
وهل بقيت في العالمين جماعة * تقول عمينا عن نداء المرطب
هداه صراط مستقيم مقوم * وليس بمعوج معيب مشذب
وأخلاقه لين وصبر ورأفة * وليس بكابوس ثقيل ومتعب
ألا هو صفو عبقرى مثقف * وليس بمختال فخور فينكبى
تراه رقيبا يستلان بحصنه * وطبا لأدواء الفؤاد المقلّب

وأعني بعينٍ قد أعان وأقرع * بشعرٍ وبكم باللسان وأجرب
 ذكي خبير يستعان برأيه * وكم عقدة للقوم حلّ ومصعب
 ورب سراب ظنه الناس مشربا * فلولا لم نعرف ولا نتمذهب
 وأنت بكر لا تجيب لخاطب * بدون صداق واحترام معجب
 وإنك بدر في ظلام لتائه * ورب وليد قد هديت وأشيب
 وكم راغب فيما لدى الناس مرغبا * سحبت إلى نهج الهدى أي مسح
 وكم من رجال في الخطاب تلجلجوا * أعنت ومن أشغالهم عند مرعب
 وإنك صياد حكيم محنك * وكم من أسود قد فرست وتعلب
 أدرت الولاة الغاشمين إدارة * وسست رعاها همهم عند مسلّب

بأسلوب رائع مفعم بالصور البلاغية أثبت الشاعر في هذه القصيدة أن التلاميذ ينالون من الشيخ كمال الدين الأدبي وأهله الكرم والعلم والدراسات الإسلامية والشفاء من الأمراض. وصور الكرم والجود كأنهار، والعلم كالنور والدراسات الإسلامية مثل المكتب. وذكر من شمائل الشيخ وصفاته التي تعجبه: لين الجنب، والصبر عند الشدائد، ومعاملة التلاميذ بالرأفة، وشفاء القلب، والتواضع وسداد الرأي، وأنه مستجاب الدعاء، ويطهر أدران القلب بالمواعظ والإرشاد، ويثقف العقول بالتعليم والتدريس، وقد أعدّ بذلك كله الخطباء والأئمة والدعاة. وهذه السجایا كلها من القيم النبيلة التي ينشدها الإسلام. وكلمة «ولا نتمذهب» في البيت الثاني عشر يقصد بها الشاعر أنه لولا إرشاد معلمهم الممدوح لا يتخذون مذهبا معينا من المذاهب كناية على أنهم لا يعرفون قشور العلم من لبابه أو لا يتميزون حقيقة الأشياء من مزيفها. إلا أننا نتوقع منه كأديب مسلم أن يرجع فضل ما حققه شيخه - كما وصفه - إلى الله القادر المقتدر.

ولكننا عثرنا على بعض قصائد أفرط فيها أصحابها في المدح، وفقدت بذلك عنصر الصدق، فمن أمثلة ذلك مدح عبد الباسط مشهود رمضان جبريل للحاج مدثر حمزة ماشا أو شيلوكن، يقول فيه:

أهلا بشيخ من لغوس ومرحبا * في أرض كيتو شمسها لن تغربا
 شيخ للغوس مدثر ذو كوثر * نالت به دنيا لغوس المطلبا
 وهو الولي ابن الولي مدثر * من ربه نال الولاية منصبا
 اختاره الله الكريم وليه * من خير جد كان قدما أطيبا
 قد ذاق أيام التفاني فيه إذ * عزل البرية فاصطفاه وقربا

سبحان من يختار عبداً بالذي * قد شاء فيه لما أراد وجذباً
قد جال فكري في البلاد وأهلها * هل مثل شيخي في المشيب أو الصبا
ما مثله فضلا ومجداً في القرى * أو في المدينة صاح رمة مشرباً
ما في السماء كبدر ليل إن بدا * للمدلجين إذا أرادوا مذهباً

(جبريل، ٢٠٠٩م)

مدح الشاعر الحاج مدثر أنه ولي الله ابن ولي الله، والله هو الذي يختار من يشاء ولياً
ولا دخل للعبد في ذلك، لا يصح أن نزكي على الله أحداً، فالولاية لا يعرف بمجرد انكباب
أحد في الخلوة ولا بمدى إظهاره العبودية لله أو بخشونة مظهره أو بغزارة علمه، بل يقاس
بمدى صفاء قلبه وسريرته وعلانيته وبإرادة الله وحكمته، وبذلك كان أمر الولاية غيباً،
والله ﴿ عَلِمُ الْغَيْبِ فَلَا يُظْهِرُ عَلَى غَيْبِهِ أَحَدًا ﴾ (٦١) إِلَّا مَن أَرْتَضَىٰ مِن رَّسُولٍ ﴿ الجن: ٢٦ -
٢٧ ﴾ وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُطْلِعَكُمْ عَلَى الْغَيْبِ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَجْتَبِيٰ مِن رُّسُلِهِ مَن يَشَاءُ ﴿ آل عمران: ١٧٩، وما
فيينا رسول! وإن كان «الرسول» بعموم المعنى كيف نعرف المرتضى؟ ثم قرر الشاعر بأنواع
أدوات التأكيد أنه ما مثل ممدوحه في الفضل من الصبيان والشيوخ، فذلك غلو ومجاملة،
لأنه تحجر الوسعى ولا يحبذ ذلك الإسلام فرسول الله ﷺ هو الذي يعز إيجاد مثله.

الالتزام الإسلامي في الرثاء العربي في بلاد يوربا

بناء على ما في متناول أيدينا من المعلومات الشعرية يشتمل الرثاء في الشعر العربي
في بلاد يوربا على رثاء العلماء ورثاء الملوك ورثاء الأغنياء ورثاء الأصدقاء والزملاء ورثاء
الأقارب الأصدقاء والزملاء ورثاء شعب ورثاء أشياء أخرى.

فرثاء العلماء هو الذي أخذ نسيب الأسد في الشعر العربي في بلاد يوربا لأن أكثر
الشعراء من تلاميذ هؤلاء العلماء والشيوخ، وللمكانة المرموقة التي يحتلها العلماء في
قلوبهم لإيمانهم أن «الذي يخشى الله من عباده العلماء» واعتقادهم أنهم «ورثة الأنبياء»
ولأنهم يتلقون العلوم من علمائهم من المهدي إلى اللحد، فإذا جاءت أحدهم المنية، حتى الذين
تقدموا في السن منهم، يأتيهم النعي كالصدمة الكبرى، وكثيراً ما يجعلهم في الحيرة حتى
يكاد يفقد بعضهم وعيه ويلجأ إلى شتم الموت في مقدمة رثائه، فمن هؤلاء عبد اللطيف
أولومي سعيد الذي يقول عند رثاء الشيخ عبد الله الصلاتي المتوفى في يوم الجمعة الموافق
٤/٧/٢٠٠٣م وعنوان القصيدة «يا موت ماذا»:

إذا توفي قبل العهد أجداد * فما الفخار الذي يأتيه أخفاد
بنى الورن لقد حلّ البلاء بنا * موت المشايخ في الأمصار يزداد

إلى أن قال:

يا موت ماذا على الأشياخ من حرج * تصيبهم حيث هم في الأرض أوتاد؟
هذا ترون بنى الأشياخ في حدث * لم يبلغوا الحلم هذا الموت فساد
هناك أزواجهم من بعد موتهم * صرن الأيامى فكيف العيش ينقاد
تبت يدا الموت ما أردى مشائخنا * كأن أشياخنا للموت أوصياد

ترى أن فكرة الشاعر في هذه الأبيات يخالف موقف الإسلام تجاه الموت، فالموت في الإسلام لا يأتي إلا بالأجل، فالقرآن يقول: ﴿وَلِكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ أَجَلٌ فَإِذَا جَاءَ أَجْلُهُمْ لَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَقْدِرُونَ ۗ﴾ (الأعراف: ٣٤) ﴿وَيُؤَخِّرَكُمْ إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى إِنَّ أَجَلَ اللَّهِ إِذَا جَاءَ لَا يُؤَخَّرُ لَوْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ ۗ﴾ (نوح: ٤)، وقال أيضا: ﴿وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْنَا الْمُسْتَقْدِمِينَ مِنْكُمْ وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْنَا الْمُسْتَأْخِرِينَ ۗ﴾ (الحجر: ٢٤). ففكرة الشاعر في قوله: «إذا توفى قبل العهد أجداد»

تعارض هذه الدلائل. وكذلك الموت يأتي من قبل ملك الموت الذي وكل بكل نفس، نلمس ذلك في قوله تعالى: ﴿قُلْ يَتُوبُكُمْ مَلَكُ الْمَوْتِ الَّذِي وُكِّلَ بِكُمْ ثُمَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكُمْ تُرْجَعُونَ ۗ﴾ (السجدة: ١١) ﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَنْ تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ كِنْتُمْ مُّوَجَّلَاتٍ ۗ﴾ آل عمران: ١٤٥، فإذا كان الشاعر يلعن الموت بـ«تبت يدا الموت» فكأنه لا يؤمن بالأجل ولا بملك الموت رسول الله، فكأن الشاعر -كما ظهر في القصيدة- ما دفعه إلى قوله إلا صدمة وفاة الشيخ الشاب وتعاطفه على أهله. وهذه هي التي أوقعته في حيرة، ولكن الصبر، كما قال رسول الله ﷺ، عند الصدمة الأولى (البخاري، ١٤٢٢هـ، ١: ٤٣٠، رقم: ١٢٢٣، ومسلم، ٢: ٦٣٧، رقم:

٩٢٦)، واللفظ للبخاري. وقد اهتدى الشاعر بعد ذلك إلى الرشيد حيث يقول:

يا قوم صبرا إذا جاءت مصائبنا * موت المشايخ في الإسلام إكساد
من ثلثة الدين موت الفاهمين ألا * مثل الصلّاتي الذي في العلم جواد
مات الصلّاتي الذي طابت مناقبه * عليه عفو مدى الأعصار يزداد
يا عبد لي يا صلّاتي في رثائك ذا * والله تأخذني في القلب أنكاد

(أولاوومي، ٢٠٠٦م)

نرى في هذه الأبيات أن الشاعر يعزى أهل المتوفى ويوصيهم بالصبر مع اعترافه أن موت المشايخ كساد للدين وأهله، كما نرى في البيت الأخير أن الحزن هو الذي أوقعه في الخطأ. وقد نرى الشاعر نفسه في قصيدة أخرى بعنوان «الموت سر الحياة» يؤكد أن الموت فرض على كل ذي نفس، وأنه يأتي بالأجل يقول:

سبحان ربى خالق الأكوان * أثنى عليه لأنه ربانى

وعلى الرسول صلواته وسلامه * طه الذي يرثى له الثقلان
 إن المنون فريضة وأداؤها * حق على المخلوق في الأكوان
 وإذا قضى الإنسان فرضا عالقا * بحياته هذا من الإيمان
 وإذا أتت للمرء ساعة موته * لا تأخرن من الوفاة ثوانوقال:
 إن المنون هي الحياة بنفسها * مصداق هذا القول في القرآن

(أولاوومي، ٢٠٠٦م)

فبهذا يمكن أن نقول إن هذا الشاعر شاعر إسلامي ولكنه غير ملتزم.

إضافة إلى هذا، كان رثاء العلماء عند الشعراء اليورباويين يتضمن غالبا تعداد مناقبهم وأهميتهم للمجتمع والأدوار التي أدّوها في نشر العلوم العربية وتعاليم الإسلام وفي الجهاد في سبيل الله وبيان الهوة التي حدثتها وفاتهم، والتي يصعب سدها. ويضيفون إلى ذلك تعزية أهلهم وتلاميذهم وشركائهم ومعاصيرهم أو تعزية الأمة الإسلامية إن كان العالم المتوفى علامة كبيرا مشهورا. وكثيرا ما يعقبون ذلك بالدعاء له بالرحمة والمغفرة والجزاء بالجنة كما نرى منهم من يختم بالوعظ والإرشاد أو النصيحة.

وهناك أساليب مختلفة يستخدمها الشعراء في تحقيق ذلك وكلها تتصف بعاطفة حرّة، فمنهم من يستعمل أسلوب طرح تساؤلات مثل محمد الجامع سعد الله عبد الكريم أسليجو في رثاء الشيخ كمال الدين حبيب الأدبي مفتي ديار إلورن المتوفى يوم الأحد ١٨/١١/١٤٢٦هـ الموافق ١٨/١٢/٢٠٠٥م ففي قسم الأول من قصيدته المعنونة: «مات العلا» يقول أسليجو (٢٠٠٥م):

من ذا يسلى القلب في تأموره * فالقلب في شجو لفقده سروره؟
 من للجهاد يحفظ جلّ أموره * ولقد أصيب بعظمه وطهوره؟
 من للهدى يهدى الأنام إلى العلا * فالصبح في غسق لغيبه نوره؟
 من ينصر الإسلام في أماله * فالدين في حزن لضعف ثغوره؟
 من يعضد الإنسان في إحسانه * ويحثه للخير بل كبشيره
 أو من يكون نذيره في شره * فالمرء في خسر لعدم نذيره
 من ذا الذي يحي شرائع أحمد * ولقد قضى المحي بخير شذوره
 من للفتاوى كان يكشف حجبها * من للمعالي في جميع عصوره
 من للواعظ تقررع الأسماع بال * تقوى وفعل العرف كل دهوره

فبأسلوب الاستفهام المؤثر الذي لا يتطلب الإجابة صور الشاعر إحساسه الحرّ تجاه المفقود، ووصفه بالمجاهد في سبيل الله، والهادي إليه، وناصره، وأنه دال على الخير، ويحي شريعة الله، وأنه واعظ مرشد بطريقة يجعل السامع والقارئ منفعلًا به، ويشعر أن الراحل جوهرة فذة يعزّ ايجاد مثله. إلا أنه وقع في غلو يقع فيه بعض شعراء العرب في قوله:

ألقى إلى الإسلام بعد كمالنا * قول السلام لأجل فقد نصيره
نرى أن الشاعر تأثر بالشاعر العربي القائل:

سلام على الإسلام بعد محمد * سلام على أيامه نضرات

(الإلوري، ٩٨٥: ٣٠)

فهذه الفكرة تخالف تعاليم الإسلام الخالصة، إذ قال الله جل شأنه: ﴿ مَا نَسَخَ مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ نُنسِهَا نَأْتِ بِخَيْرٍ مِّنْهَا أَوْ مِثْلَهَا أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ ﴾ (البقرة: ١٠٦)، وقال رسول الله ﷺ: «إِنَّ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ لَا يَنْكَسِفَانِ لِمَوْتِ أَحَدٍ وَلَا لِحَيَاتِهِ» (البخاري، ١٤٢٢هـ، ٢: ٣٤، رقم: ١٠٤٣)، فالإسلام دين الله لا ينعدم بموت أي علم من أعلامه فإنه ما زال بعد وفاة الذي أرسل به محمد ﷺ بل:

فإننا لقوم كلما انكب كوكب * بدا كوكب تحوي إليه الكواكب

(الإلوري، ١٩٨٥).

وبالأسف الشديد كان هذه الفكرة شائعة في رثاء العلماء الأجلاء. فهذا شاعر آخر، عثمان محمد الأول النفاوي (١٩٩٢م) يقول في رثاء الشيخ آدم الإلوري:

هل من مثيل له ياقومنا انتبهوا * وأين من كان في السودان برهانا؟

لو كان يوجد مثل آدم فغداً * من قال في قرننا هذا فبهتانا

إذا ودّعنا الإسلام بعد الشيخين أو لم نر لهما بديلاً فماذا تركا بعدهما من آثار؟ ألم تكن مجهوداتهم في إعداد حماة الإسلام هباءً منثوراً؟ فما فائدة الكتب والمدارس التي خلفاها؟ فالإطراء في المدح والغلو في إظهار التحسر لا توافق مع القيم الإسلامية. فالأشعار المعروضة أعلاه من الأدب الإسلامي إلا أنها زاغت عن الالتزام.

علاوة على هذا، فقد عثرنا على لون آخر من الرثاء في قصائد الشعراء اليورباويين يقف فيها الشاعر على مقبرة العلماء والصالحين فيدعو لهم ويستغيث بهم، فمن أمثلة ذلك قصيدة خليل الله محمد عثمان بودوفو (١٩٩٩) التي قال فيها:

هنا دار أهل العلم والدين والذكر * هنا قبر أحبّاب النبي ذوي البر

هنا أهل بودوفو الكرام فإنني * على بابهم أوقفت قصدي مع العذر

فقف برهة خير الوقوف لديهم * وسلم عليهم إنهم أمة الخير
 وخذ سورة الإخلاص تدعو بها لهم * عسى نفحة الإخلاص تأتي إلى القبر
 لقد نصروا الله على الدين وابتغوا * إليهم سبيل الرشيد بالزهد والصبر
 حث الإسلام على زيارة القبر والدعاء للميت، ولكن قضية الاستغاثة بالأموات لا
 يزال الجدل يجري عليه بين الأئمة والفقهاء، فلا نتدخل في ذلك هنا. أما أن يجعل الإنسان
 جميع أمنياته وحاجاته بباب مخلوق مثله كما عبر عنه الشاعر في هذه القصيدة فشيء
 خارج عن عقيدة الإسلام الصحيحة، لأنه عبارة عن الاستعانة بغير الله ويخالف ذلك ما
 يكرره العبد لربه دائماً في: ﴿إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ﴾ الفاتحة: ٥، ورسول الله ﷺ
 يقول فيما رواه ابن عباس وأخرجه الترمذي: «... إِذَا سَأَلْتَ فَاسْأَلِ اللَّهَ، وَإِذَا اسْتَعْنَتْ
 فَاسْتَعْنِ بِاللَّهِ» (الترمذي. ١٣٩٥هـ/١٩٧٥م. ٤: ٧٦٦ رقم: ٦١٥٢) فالشاعر في هذه
 القصيدة إذن غير ملتزم.

الالتزام الإسلامي في شعر الغزل في بلاد يوروبا

كان الغزل من أغراض الشعر العربي القابلة لضيافة الفحشاء والمنكر لما فيه من
 وصف محاسن المرأة وذكر مفاتها الجنسية، ولكن تناوله بعض شعراء اليوروبا بدون
 معارضة تعاليم الإسلام. فمن هؤلاء أحمد (١٩٩٨م: ٢٥) القائل:

فدى قلبي لحفصة لا سواها * فقد سمحت لداخله حماها
 حماها يشتهيها الناس طرا * لما يكسوه من درر حلاها
 تدينها بلا شك وقاها * وزادتها ثقافتها وجاها
 بذات الضاد تنطق في هدوء * كعذب الماء تشربه شفاهها
 حياء الدين يكسبها جمالا * وكل الوقت تحجب في كساها
 تطالبها شريعتنا بزِّي * فصار الزِّي رغبة من رناها
 وحشمتها تدل على صلاح * وأبدع ذاك فيها من حياها
 إذا بكر تجمع ذاك فيها * تنور ليلها وصفا غداها
 إذا بكر كحفصة في حلاها * فأنت أحق من يبغي هواها
 ومن يظفر بحفصة من رجال * فصنعتة تباركها يداها

هذا الغزل رقيق وعفيف، التزم فيه صاحبه تعاليم الإسلام وقيمه بحسن اختيار
 الألفاظ والمعاني وبلاغتها. فالتدين، والثقافة العربية والإسلامية، وحسن الأخلاق هي التي
 حببت المرأة إلى الشاعر دون الجمال والغريزة الجنسية ودفعته إلى قول الغزل فهو نموذج
 ينعكس فيه اتجاه شعراء بلاد يوروبا في هذا الغرض.

ومع ذلك لحظنا في بعض معاني الشعراء في هذا الغرض ما يخالف تعليم الإسلام

على غرار ما لحظنا في شعر إبراهيم سعيد أولومي حيث قال:

رفيعة إني أصطفى لك قربتي * لأنك حقا كنت بدر السنينة
 أكنن لك الإكرام فيما عرفته * وأسقيك ماء الحب في كل لحظة
 لأنني أرى حظي وذوقى كله * بجسمك يا قلبي وروحي ومهجتي
 ولم أر مذ ما كنت في الأرض صورة * تدانك حسنا أنت زينة روضتي
 وإنك في وقت الضرام مكيف الـ * هواء بما تعطيني من مسرة
 وإنك لي حين البرودة برودة * أعطى بها جسمي اتقاء المضرة
 وصوت غناء منك يا روح نشوة * وأخلاقك الحسنة سرّ لفرحة
 وضحكك سحر تسحرين فطانتى * به يا عروض النور في كل ظلمة
 ومشيك إذ تمشين للقلب مسكر * لأنك تمشين الهوينى كظبية
 وربك أعطاك المزية كلها * وأعطاك خلقا ذاك سحر المحبة
 حروفك تعطيني إذا ما سمعتها * سرورا ينمي الروح بالحيوية
 فراؤك ريحان وفاء فطانة * ويا يسارات وعينك عدتي
 وتاؤك تاج للحبيب وتحفة * رفيعة اسم فيه عين المزية
 أكان الذي سماك إياه زوجتي * نبيّا أتاه الوحي من رب عزة
 حروفك ترضيني بحب ورحمة * لذا كنت بعد السمع في حال رعدة
 أحبك حبّ المرء ما فيه متعة * وروح وريحان أحسن زوجة
 وكنت لمولانا العظيم مطيعة * لهذا غشتني فيك أنوار بهجة
 فدومي لروحي جنة وأنيسة * وكوني كما كانت خديجة أسوتي
 خديجة تغنيه عن الحب كلها * بلطف وأخلاق وفعل وقولة
 وكانت له في كل شيء يريده * تزملة باللطف يوم المشقة
 كفت هذه الأوصاف فضلا وميزة * فدومي بها أسقيك كأس المودة

(أولومي، ٢٠٠٩م: ٥٣)

لا يترك هذا الشاعر بأسلوبه الرائع أدنى ريب في قلب السامع والقارئ أنه مغرم بزوجته، وإذا أمعنا النظر في السجاي التي حببتّها إليه نراها مستمدة من الكتاب والسنة، يحبها لأنها توافر لديها كلما يبغيه في المرأة، فهي له سكينه، وذلك ما يعنيه قوله:
 وإنك في وقت الضرام مكيف الـ * هواء بما تعطيني من مسرة

وذلك من إلهام قوله تعالى: ﴿ وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ أَنْ خَلَقَ لَكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَزْوَاجًا لِتَسْكُنُوا إِلَيْهَا وَجَعَلَ بَيْنَكُمْ مَوَدَّةً وَرَحْمَةً إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِقَوْمٍ يُفَكِّرُونَ ﴾ (١١) الروم: ٢١، ويحبها لأنها له لباس وستر، فهذا معنى قوله:

وإنك لي حين البرودة برودة * أعطى بها جسمي اتقاء المضرة
استعار ذلك من قوله تعالى: ﴿ هُنَّ لِيَاسُ لَكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لِيَاسٌ لَهُنَّ ﴾ البقرة: ١٨٧. ويحبها لأنها ذات خلق حسنة صالحة ورسول الله ﷺ يقول: «الدُّنْيَا مَتَاعٌ، وَخَيْرُ مَتَاعِ الدُّنْيَا الْمَرْأَةُ الصَّالِحَةُ». (مسلم، د.ت، ٢: ١٠٩٠، رقم: ١٤٦٧)، ولذلك يقول عنها الشاعر:

وربك أعطاك المزية كلها * وأعطاك خلقا ذاك سحر المحبة
وخير من ذلك كله أنها مطيعة لأوامر الله، وصفة المرأة الصالحة عند الله هي:
﴿ فَالْصَّالِحَاتُ قَانِتَاتٌ حَافِظَاتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ ﴾ النساء: ٣٤، ولذلك قال الشاعر:

أحبك حبّ المرء ما فيه متعة * وروح وريحان أحسن زوجة
وكنت لمولانا العظيم مطيعة * لهذا غشتني فيك أنوار بهجة
ونلاحظ أن الوصف الحسي الموجود في القصيدة لم يتجاوز حد المروءة، الصوت والضحك والمشى، فهذه الأشياء يمكن للمرأة المسلمة أن تخفيها لغير زوجها إذا كانت كما وصفها الشاعر. إلا أن الشاعر قد يؤخذ عليه تشبيه مشي زوجته بمسكر، وذلك ينافي وتعاليم الإسلام، لأن كل مسكر في الشريعة حرام وهو رجز من عمل الشيطان يجب على من كان في قلبه إيمان وإسلام أن يجتنبه.

الالتزام الإسلامي في شعر الفخر السياسي

الشعر السياسي هو الشعر الذي يتضمن عدة أغراض مثل المدح والرثاء والوصف والفخر والتحريض والهجاء وغير ذلك، ويمتاز بحماسة حرة. ففي بلاد يوربا يصبغ شعرهم السياسي العربي، كغيره من الأغراض، بصبغة دينية إسلامية، إضافة إلى المدح والرثاء والتحريض والنصيحة، يشكو آلام شعب يوربا وشعوب نيجيريا كما يشكو آلام الأمة الإسلامية في العالم مما يظهر غيرتهم للإسلام وعشقهم للغته العربية. إلا أننا لاحظنا أن بعض الشعراء يلعن ويشتم عند المجادلة والمفاخرة. ولضيق المقام نكتفي ببعض أبيات من قصيدة فولنسو (٢٠٠٧م) بعنوان: «خذ حذارك يا أميريك» ففيه قال:

أبدا ترفرف في الأفق رأيتنا * وصوتنا بصدى يعلو وينسكب
الله أكبر والإسلام مكتمل * فليس يؤله قذف ولا غضب
دين بنى لصرح المجد أعمدة * ترنو النفوس إليها ثم تنقلب

دين منيع تعالى أن يطاوله * دين وعنوانه الإقدام والأدب
يا من يشير إلى الإسلام متهما * تبت يداك ومنك العقل يضطرب
فالله يشهد والأيام شاهدة * أنا على حقنا نغزو ونحترب
نرى أن حماسة الإسلام تلهب وينبثق من وجدان الشاعر بأسلوب رائع يجعل
السامع ينفعل مع الشاعر، ولكنه خالف إرشاد الإسلام في المجادلة حيث لعن وشتّم من
يعادى الإسلام، والقرآن أدبنا بأن نجادل بالتي هي أحسن فقال: ﴿أَدْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ
بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَحَدِّ لَّهُم بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ
هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ﴾ (النحل: ١٢٥)، كما أدبنا أن لا نشتم الكافرين فيسبوا الله حيث
قال: ﴿وَلَا تَسُبُّوا الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَيَسُبُّوا اللَّهَ عَدْوًا بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ﴾ (الأنعام: ١٠٨)،
ونأسف أن يكون هذا دأب شعرائنا في الرد على أعداء ملتنا، وذلك مخالف للالتزام الإسلامي.

الخاتمة

خلال السطور السابقة حاولنا دراسة الشعر العربي في بلاد يوربا من ١٩٦٠ إلى
٢٠٠٩ بغية معرفة مدى التزام أصحابه فيه بمنهج الإسلام الذي ينتمون إليه. ولتحقيق
الغرض المنشود، لضيق المقام، اخترنا من الأغراض الشعرية المشهورة المدح والثناء والغزل
والشعر السياسي نماذج لدراستنا.
ففي آخر المطاف أدركنا أن أكثر الشعراء اليورباويين التزموا بالإسلام تعاليمه
وقيمه ومنهجه في أعمالهم الأدبية إلا أن بعضهم تجاوزوا حد الالتزام بالمبالغة والإفراط
في المحبة وعدم الصدق في العاطفة وتجريح حق الغير وإيراد التشبيه بالمحرمات والزيغ في
العقيدة. إلا أن ذلك لم يبلغ مبلغا يخرجهم من حوزة الإسلام ولا أدبهم من الأدب الإسلامي،
بل جعلهم أدباء ملتزمين في بعض القصائد وغير ملتزمين في غيرها. فأولى لهم أن يدخلوا
في السلم كافة ولا يتبعوا خطوات الشيطان إنه لكم عدو مبين.

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**تجليات الصراع في الأدب العربي المعاصر وأثره في حرب العرب
(من الصراع والصدام إلى ثقافة الحرب في شعر سوريا نموذجا)**
**TAJALLIYAH ASH-SHIRA‘ FI AL-ADAB
 AL-‘ARABI AL-MU‘ASHIR WA ATSARIHI
 FI HARB AL-‘ARAB**

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الملخص

لقد عبر شعر الصراع (المقاومة والثورة والحرب) في بلاد الجزيرة العربية مفردات متنوعة طوال تاريخها من خلال البعدين، منهما البعد المكاني متمثلا في الأرض التي حملها الشعر دلالات ومعان تتجاوز ملامحها المادية لتكتسب بعدا روحيا وقيما عليا. والبعد الثاني يتمثل في البعد التراثي والتاريخي. فشعر الصراعات لا ينفصل من الواقع الاجتماعي، وليس هو الشعر الانعزالي، بل هو الشعر الاجتماعي الذي له علاقة متينة بواقعه، والذي يحمل رموزا تاريخية كثيرة نتيجة لامتداد العمر الزمني لهذا المجتمع من العصور القديمة، وكان المجتمع والأرض تصنع تقاليد تتطور إلى رموز، فهناك رمز للكرام وللمروءة وللعاناة المجتمع وللصراع، وفي الرمز أسلوب فيه تلميح ومداره.

Abstract

Throughout the history of the Arab world, the poetry of the struggle (the resistance, the revolution and the war) has been a varied vocabulary throughout its history

through the two dimensions, including the spatial dimension, in the land where poetry carries meanings and meanings that transcend its physical texture to acquire a spiritual dimension and supreme value. It is the social poetry that has a strong relationship to its reality, which carries many historical symbols as a result of the extension of the temporal age of this society from antiquity. The society and the land made traditions that evolve into symbols. And the suffering of society and the conflict and the virus, and in the code style in which the tip and orbit.

Keywords: conflict; resistance; revolution; Arabic poetry; war; Syria

مقدمة

النزعة الإنسانية في الأوان الأخيرة على الفوضى والمشاغب، وهذه قد ظهرت في الشرق الأوسط، مثل: العراق، واليمن، وسوريا، وتونس، والفلسطين وغيرها من البلدان العربية، وتجليات الصراع في الأدب العربي المعاصر من درس جديد في محور الأدب العربي وهو يتميز على النقد الأدبي والثقافي والدرس النصي والإنساني بصفات مهمة، قادرة على سبر أغوار الإنسانية والثقافية والسياسية. وتجليات الصراع الأدبي نعرفها عن أسباب فوضى النصوص الأدبية وخلفية النصوص المألوفة بين الأدباء في الحرب والمضطر، والعلاقة بين الأدباء المعاصرة والحكومة والشعوب. والقضايا الحربية بين الأحزاب في سوريا واليمن وهذا يدعم الباحث لكشف النصوص الأدبية المعاصرة خاصة الشعر الذي يحول في البلدين المختلفين.

والبحوث المبدئية بهذه الدراسة عن تجليات الصراع وصدامها في الأدب العربي منها: الخصومة بين القديم والجديد في الأدب العربي لطف حسين (عمر، ٢٠١٣: ٢٦)، وتجليات الصراع وآليته النفسية في قصيدة الذبيح الصاعد لمفدي زكرياء، دور المرأة في عراق ما بعد التغيير، تناول الأدباء العرب في أعمالهم الأدبية قضايا الصراع الاجتماعي والنضال الوطني والقومي (محمد، ٢٠٠٨: ٥٦)، تحضير نص الصراع بين التقليد و التجديد، الصراع بين المحافظين والمجددين في الشعر العباسي الصراع بين العربية والفرنسية (إبراهيم، ٢٠١٦: ٦٧) وتجليات الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي في الأدب العربي الى ثقافة الاحتواء (محمد جودي، ٢٠١٣)

ومصدر النظر على تجليات الصراع والصدام مع استلهاها في النصّ الشعر وللنصوص الأدبية عامة والتغلغل إلى مفاصله، والشعراء من سوريا واليمن نموذجاً؛ لأنّ البلدين المذكورين لا يزالان في الحرب، المقاتلة بين الأحزاب، والحكومة مع الشعب وغيرها.

والباحث لا يعرف خلفه الحرب فيهما، هل هناك دور الأعمال الأدبية في الهابها أو الدور لاطئمانها أو الأعمال الأدبية لا أثر فيهما. وهذه القضية مهمة جدا في البحث في هذه الأيام والشهور الأخيرة لكثرة المشاكل والعوائق التي يواجهها الشعب العالمي خاصة في الشرق الأوسط، وبهذا الحال يدرك الغنى النصي في شعرهما عن الثقافية والسياسية والأمنية، والبلدان المختارة للبحث عن النصوص الأدبية يستحق التوقف عندهما بالبحث والدراسة والتحليل، وإن أشارت بعض الدراسات الأكاديمية بإيماءات - لا تغني عن تناول الظاهرة على نحو متخصص.

وأهم شيء في تجليات الصراع في النصوص الأدبية العربية المعاصرة. ويعدّ الفكر الحر فيه جزءاً أصله من النزعة الإنسانية، والمساواة نهاية رئيسية في النزعة الإنسانية. وقد تعددت دلالات هذا المصطلح عبر العصور، وتبدلت أحياناً بتغير الظروف والمحللات، ولا نود أن نقف للمصطلح عند هذه الناحية التاريخية (موسوعة، ٢٠١٦). وهناك البحوث كثيرة في تجليات الصراع والصدام مثل: صراع الأدب في الأدب العربي، صراع الأدب القديم والحديث في الشعر العربي.

الصراع بشكل عام هي ظاهرة اجتماعية تعكس حالة من عدم الراحة النفسية أو الإجهاد الناجم عن عدم تطابق رغبتين أو أكثر أو معارضة من رغبة واحدة أو أكثر. والصراع في الأدب هو صراع بين النصوص الأدبية وبنظرة القضايا الثقافية. وجد أي شخص يرى الأدب العربي بحثاً عن الفوضى في العصور القديمة والحديثة أن هناك فرق في وجود الميول البشرية بين الأدب القديم والحديث، وهذا الاختلاف يتطلب عدداً من البيانات، بما في ذلك: طريقة الوجود والتنوع الثقافي وتطور مراجعه على مر العصور والشعراء، الذين يرتبطون في نهاية المطاف بالفكر والثقافة والموقف، وأنه من المختارات الطليعة الذين يجب أن يساهموا في قضايا المجتمع.

في الحرب العالمية الثانية، دعا الشعراء في تعبيراتهم عن السلام إلى أساليب مختلفة لتسليط الضوء على أسباب الحرب، مستشهدين بقضاياهم، التي ربطت معظمها اندلاع الحرب بالجنون والهاجس الذي سيطر على العديد من القادة، لتحقيق أهدافهم باستخدام القوة في بناء ممالكهم وعروشهم، يتبنون بهذه الطريقة سياسات الاستبداد المتشدد في مختلف المجالات، ويقلّدون بعض صفات «الربانية». كانوا أقزاماً من آدم فقط، يعيشون في وقت لم يعترف فيه الناس بوجود إله واحد، في قصيدته «العام الجديدة» (أحمد، ٢٠٠٧: ٢٥).

من هنا وجدت تجليات الأدب العربي المعاصر التي تعطي إليها البحث هي تلك العواطف الراقية النبيلة التي تحدو بالإنسان والثقافة والحضارة إلى التحليق في سماء الحب والخير والعطاء والنماء. وتتناول دراسة الجهني ثلاثة محاور هي: الصراع في الأدب، والصدام في الشعر العربي على مر العصور، معالم حياة وبذور شاعرية (شمس علي، ٢٠١٥: ٣٤). وهذا البحث شيء جديد وجددير بمعرفة المعلومات الدقيقة عنه: الأول، الدراسة المبدئية السابقة قد طالت دراستها ولا تتعلق بالأدب المعاصر في الأوان الأخيرة وكذلك عن الحرب الحديث. والثاني، النظرية جديدة، عن تجليات الصراع في الأدب العربي المعاصر وأثره في حرب العرب (من الصراع والصدام إلى ثقافة الحرب في شعر سوريا واليمن نموذجاً). والشعراء الذين كانوا في هذا البحث هم الشعراء في اليمن وسوريا، من الشعراء السوريين ابن العاصي، موال دمشقي، محمود درويش، سعيد عقل، ادونيس، سليم غزالة، عماد الدين طه، نزار قباني. وأما الشعراء من اليمن فمنهم عبد العزيز، أحمد بن عبد الرحمن الأنسي، ياسر السفيناني، ابن شهاب العلوي، قاسم لقمان الحسني، كريم النعمان.

بأهمية ما سبق من مقدمة البحث، فيحث الباحثون لدراسة تجليات الصراع تجليات الصراع في الأدب العربي المعاصر وأثره في حرب العرب (من الصراع والصدام إلى ثقافة الحرب في شعر سوريا نموذجاً). لكي يحصل الباحثون حقيقة الأثر الحقيقي بين الشعر المعاصر والحرب الحضاري في الأوان الأخيرة.

وتأتي أسئلة البحث لإجابة مشكلة البحث السابق: (١) كيف تجليات الصراع والصدام في قصائد شعراء سوريا واليمن والنظر الى ثقافة الحرب في العرب؟ (٢) ما العلاقة القوية بين النصوص الأدبية المعاصرة والواقعة الحديثة في العرب؟ وهذا البحث بأهدافه؛ معرفة تجليات الصراع والصدام في قصائد شعراء سوريا واليمن والنظر الى الثقافة والحرب. ومعرفة العلاقة القوية بين النصوص الأدبية المعاصرة والواقعة الحديثة في سوريا.

تجليات الصراع ومواقفه

التجليات جمع من تجلي، لغة: ظُهورُ الأشياءِ وَأَنْكِشَافُهَا. واصطلاحاً: الأفكارُ أو المفاهيم لجعل الشيء دقة وكليا. أو الإجراءات التي تظهر بشكل واضح أو يجسد شيء مجردة أو نظرية (معجم المعاني، ٢٠١٧).

كل شخص لديه فكرة أو مفهوم، في كل شيء، كل مفهوم لا يمكن أن تتحقق في شكل ملموس، وهذا يتوقف على شخص ما. وأما في اصطلاح المتصوف هو الذي ينكشف للقلوب من أنوار الغيوب (ابن عربي، ٢٠٠٤: ٤٥) وإنما جمع الغيوب عن عدد من المتغيرات

التجليدية، كل اسم إلهي وفقاً لبيئته ووجهه المتنوع من المظاهر، والأمهات غير المرثيات، التي تظهر تجلياً للمعدة السبع.

المواقف الصراعية التي يعيشها الإنسان باستمرار هي مواقفها من نشاطه النفسي والبيولوجي (أحمد فائق، ٢٠٠٣: ٥٤) فالجوع مثلاً، موقف صراعي الفرد تتنازع فيه قوة الحاجة للالتزام إلى قوة الطعام وطاقة بالظروف الاجتماعية للاقناع، عندما تكون الحاجة الملحة للقوة البيولوجية ضعيفة، «يميل السلوك إلى أن يكون قوياً مثل الجوع البسيط أو في بداية الجوع على العكس، عندما يتفاقم الجوع في الواقع من حالة الصراع، والصراع بين المتعة والواقع، والصراع بين الحب والكراهية، والصراع بين السلبية والإيجابية (عزة، د.ت: ٣٩).

وتفسر نظريته التحليل النفسي مفهوم الصراع أنه نشأ كنتيجة للصدام الذي حدث بين الرغبات الفردية ومطالب الغريزة وبين التوحيد والتوحيد في التعاليم والقانون العام حيث نظرت الصيغ الأدبية الإنسانية إلى طبيعة السلوك البشري، وسعت إلى استعادة العالم الداخلي للاكتشاف والرؤية الخارجية من التجديد والتواصل مع وتهدف إلى اكتشاف واحة الزهر، وهذا هو ثمرة تفاعل المؤلف مع الواقع الشخصي والثقافي والاجتماعي، مما يجعل المتقدم أكثر قدرة على التفكير والفهم الذوق، وأعمق الغوص في طبيعة النفس الإنسانية (سعاد الناصر، ٢٠١٥: ١٤).

من هنا يصبح السؤال إلى أي مدى يمكن للأدب أن يستجيب للطبيعة البشرية؟ ما هو مرتبط بقيمة السلام؟ إلى أي مدى يعتبر الأدب محرك الوعي البشري لما هو مستمد من المفترض أن يكون؟ تشجع هذه الأسئلة للباحثين على دراسة موضوع القيم الإنسانية وعلاقتها بالأدب.

الصراع الأدبي

تستند نظرية الصراع على فكرة محورية مؤداها أن الصراع هو عنصر أساسي في كافة التنظيمات الاجتماعية (محمود، ١٩٩٦: ١٠٦). ويميل الباحثون بنظرية الصراع إلى بحث مواطن التوتر بين المجموعات المستضعفة والمسيطرة في المجتمع، ويسعون إلى فهم الطريقة التي تنشأ بها ارتباط السيطرة وتدوم (علي مولا، ٢٠٠٥: ٧٥).

يوزع لويس كوزير الصراعات على العديد من الطبقات الأولى، مع التركيز على ما يمكن أن تكون عليه الصراعات الاجتماعية، بما في ذلك أن تكون عملية الصراع مصدراً للقانون والنظام والثاني هو الصراع يمكن أن يؤدي إلى تعزيز التضامن والترابط، وخاصة إذا كان

الصراع مع مجموعات أخرى، والوحدة الوطنية هي واجب الحرب. أضاف لويس كوزر وظائف اجتماعية أخرى إلى الصراع والمعايير الجديدة والأنظمة الاقتصادية والتكنولوجيات الجديدة، يمكن للصراعات أن تؤدي إلى حلول وكيف حديثة. لذا، نرى أن مؤلفي هذا الاتجاه لا يرون أن عملية الصراع هي دائماً مصدر المشكلات الاجتماعية، ولكنها يمكن أن تكون حلاً للمشكلات القائمة. (إبراهيم، ٢٠٠٧: ٣٠٥-٣٠٦).

الصراع والصدام في النظريات الحديثة

في نظرية جورج سيمل، الصراع ليس من الأشياء السلبية. ولكن جورج له رأي الآخر أن الصراع هو شكل أساسي لتفاعل بين الأفراد والجماعات، ويمكن أن يستمر التفاعل. لجورج، الذي يهدّد علاقة الوحدة من خلال، مع عدم وجود تورط من التفاعل بين الجماعة والفرد وجورج، يميز بعض أنواع الصراعات التي يمكن أن تؤدي إلى الصراعات القانونية والنزاعات على المبادئ الأساسية، والصراع بين الأشخاص، والصراع بين الجماعات، والصراع في اتصال الجنسي، وغيرها (فاروق، ٢٠١٥: ٣٦).

ومع ذلك، فإن الصراع أمر إيجابي إذا لم يدم طويلاً، مما أدى إلى التصفية. حوافز لإنهاء الملل يمكن أن تكون الصراعات متعبة، أو بسبب الرغبة في تكريس قوتها لأشياء أخرى. تحليل جورج سيميل للصور أو الوسائل لإنهاء الصراع، الذي يقضي على الصراع، يفوز بواحد من الأطراف لقبول الهزيمة من قبل طرف آخر، أو التسوية، أو المصالحة، أو حتى عدم القدرة على التوفيق.

نظرية جورج تختلف، موضحة أن الصراع هو نتيجة للتفاعل. بالنسبة إلى رالف، فإن المجتمع لديه أنواع هو الصراع والتوافق. اختبار نظرية الاجتماع مع قيمة التكامل واختبار التناقض النظري لتضارب المصالح والإكراه. لا يمكن الحفاظ على المجتمع دون صراع وتوافق، وكلا من الشروط النظرية للصراع. لذلك، لا يمكن أن يكون لدينا نزاع إذا لم يكن هناك توافق في الآراء. بدلا من الصراع يمكن توجيه الإجماع والتكامل (مالكي، ٢٠١٢: ٢٣٦).

تجليات الصراع في المعاصر والمجتمع الحديث

إن الصراع من أجل مصالح أكثرها الجمعيات هو أكثر من مجرد أمل، وهو ما يعني أن السلطات الصحية دائماً ما تكون خطيرة. المصالح والمرؤوسين هي موضوعية بمعنى أنها تنعكس في التوقعات (الأدوار) التي قد تتقاطع مع الموقع. الأفراد ليس لديهم

فهم للتوقعات. إذا شغلوا دور العطية، فسوف يتصرفون بالطريقة المتوقعة للأفراد الذين اعتادوا أو تعديلهم لأدوارهم عندما تمثل الصراعات بين (المرووسين) والمرووسين يذكّرنا رالف بفائدة دور التأمل فيما نتوقعه. أهمية مظهر الحياة هي فائدة التأمل المعمول بها. وتتمثل المهمة الرئيسية لنظرية الصراع في تحليل العلاقة بين الاهتمام بالتأمل وجوانب الحياة (مالكي، ٢٠١٢: ٢٣٨).

اتفق لويس كوزير مع نظرية جورج سيميل بأن الصراع ليس سلبيًا دائمًا. أدرك لويس، وفي الواقع كان الصراع قوة الفرد أو المجموعة المغلقة. عادة في بعض المجتمعات يظهر اتجاه الاندماج، لا يمكن إنكار أن الصراع يستجيب للدمج الداخلي ويؤدي إلى التورط مع مجموعات الأفراد والأشخاص الآخرين. (مالكي، ٢٠١٢: ٢٤١).

ولعل الميزة أكثر تميزًا للبشر هي وجود والروحية فيه الأفكار المجردة والخلقية، حيث تفخر الأفكار التي كانت هي فخر له، إن حقيقة وجودها لا تقل أهمية عن حقيقة وجوده، ومن ثم تريد أن تعطي الحياة معنى، ولكن يجب أن نعيد هذه الأفكار إلى القيم العلمية والعقلية وهكذا، فإن المفهوم (الإنسانية) موجه نحو التنمية البشرية، ودالا على الفكري الأساسي المنحى في النظرية، الفلسفة أو التدفق أو العقيدة أو نظام الحركة، لكنه يظهر على وجهه على وجه الخصوص الشخصية المميزة، والمعروفة باسم، في النظرية الفلسفية أو تشجيع الاتجاهات الواعية التي تميز النظرية (موسوعة، ٢٠١٦)، المشكلة الأخلاقية أكثر أهمية في الميل هي عملية التسامي، وبالتالي التفوق الروحي للبيولوجيا، تظهر البشرية ما يميز جودة الإنسان، واستخدام هذه الكلمة في اللغة العربية هو المعتمد في الشعور الإنسانية في سياقنا هنا القيم التي تأتي من تجارب الناس بهدف بناء العلاقات الإنسانية القائمة على العدالة والانسجام. بمعنى واحد: الفلسفة تؤكد على قيمة القدرة البشرية على تحقيق الذات مع تبني العقل.

تجليات الصراع والصدام في قصائد شعراء والنظر الى ثقافة الحرب في العرب

إن من أقدم الفنون الأدبية هو الشعر، وهو أقدم وسائل التعبير الأدبي ظهوراً وأكثر انتشاراً في الحياة الإنسانية، ويعتبر فناً للتعبير عن انفعالات الإنسان وعواطفهم، فالشعر في الأدب العربي سبق في الظهور بالنسبة إلى النثر الفني، وذلك يعود إلى عهد قديم منذ الحياة البشرية.

ويقول أحمد عبد المعطي حجازي إن الإنسان يحتاج إلى الشعر، والشعر ليس من حاجة فردية أو خاصة وإنما هو حاجة إنسانية عامة، ومن ثم فالشعر ضرورة بالنسبة إلى

الإنسان (مجلة فيصل، ٢٠١٦:٤٨٠). فالشعر يعتبر تجربة الإنسان النفسية عن حياتهم اليومية، وليس تجربة إلهام غيبي وإنما هو إشراق تندلع وفق طبيعة ومكان الشاعر يعيش فيه. والتجربة الشعرية لا يستطيع فصلها من عن تجربة الحياة، فالشعر إنما هو تحويل شكل لغوي إلى شكل من أشكال الحياة وتحويل شكل من أشكال الحياة إلى شكل لغوي. وإذا كان الشعر ينبع من التجربة الإنسانية فإنه وسيلة فعالة لتعبير ما خطر ببال الإنسان من الخيال والانفعالات عما يحول في البيئة التي تحيط به، فمن خلال الشعر تتجلي مشكلات الحياة اليومية، فردية كانت أم اجتماعية. فالشاعر يلعب دورا هاما أمام الجماهير في تغيير الأنماط الاجتماعية، ومن ثم فإن الشعر له علاقة وطيدة بينه وبين الواقع الاجتماعي.

وكان الشعراء سبروا غورَ القضايا الاجتماعية من خلال معاشتهم مع البيئة التي تحيط بهم، وهم ارتبطوا بوطنهم فتعرفوا على ماهية الوطنية وتراثها، فتلاقت الثقافات في فكرهم وتتوالد الأفكار، وذلك يصلح فكرهم وينمي ويوسع أفقهم، ومن ثم فهم مصقولون بخبراتهم التي يقتبسونها من ثقافتهم وتجاربهم وعلاقتهم مع البيئة (مسعد، ١٤١٧: ٤١٣). وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فالشعر ليس كائن ذاتي فحسب بل هو كائن اجتماعي، بالمعنى أنه لا ينزل من الواقع حيث يجعل الشاعر الحياة اليومية تجربة، مادية كانت أم نفسية، يعبر بها من خلال انفعاله وخياله، ويستخدم اللغة كنظام رموز لتوصيل الرسالة إلى الجماهير والمجتمع.

فالشاعر يحاول أن يخلق نوعا من التوافق النفسي بينه وبين العالم الخارجي عن طريق التوقيع الموسيقى الذي يعد أساسيا في طل عمل فني. ومن ثم كانت خطوة تشكيل الصورة الموسيقى للقصيد لأن الشاعر لم يوفق من خلال هذه الصورة الي خلق حالة التوافق بين الحركة التي تموج بها النفس والحركة التي تموج بها الأشياء وإن يكن ذلك على نحو غاية في الخفاء (عز الدين، ١٢٤-١٢٤).

وإذا كان الأدب (بما فيه الشعر) لا ينفصل من المشكلات الواقعية اليومية فذلك يعني بأن احتكاك الأديب أو الشاعر بمشكلات عصره وقضاياه من أمر ضروري، لأنه يتمكن من أن يجعل من قوة التعبير الفني وسيلة فعالة في تنبيه النفوس إلى ما هي رزاحة فيه، وتوعيتها بواقعها ومصيرها. وذلك ليس شيئا غريبا على الأديب أو الشاعر. والأديب لا يمكن أن يعيش منعزلا من قضايا مجتمعه ومشكلاته، بل أنها تشده إليها. ومن ثم فالأديب أو الشاعر ملتزم بموقف أو فكرة في بيئته التي يعيش فيها. فالتزام الشاعر بموقف فكري لا

يصير الشعر ذاته في شيء أو يناقض طبيعته، بل هو يضمن له الفعالة والأهمية، ويحقق للشاعر الوصف القديم، أنه نبي قومه وطفلهم وخدامهم في آن واحد (شوقي، ١٩٩٦: ٣٤٥). وكانت ظاهرة الالتزام في الأدب أو الشعر ليس أمرا جديدا، بل تتجلى منذ قديم، وظهر في الأدب العربي القديم شعراء الغزال والرثاء والمدح والهجاء، وقد مر ذلك منذ العصر الجاهلي إلى العصر العباسي، فشعراء الغزال ينظمون في شعرهم ألوانا من الحب حيث يصورون فيه عن الغزل العفيف، وشعراء الرثاء يرثون الأبطال الذين يقتلون في المعركة، شعراء المدح ينشدون بمدائح زعمائهم أو ملوكهم، وشعراء الهجاء يهجون من يعتدو بهم. وكان التزام الأدب يتطور من زمن إلى زمن، ومن ثم يتنوع صورته فظهر هناك شعراء السياسة وشعراء الثورات وشعراء الشيعة وشعراء الطرد والصيد وشعراء اللهو والمجون (نازك الملائكة، ١٩٦٧: ٩-١١).

إن الشعر كظاهرة لا يثبت أمام الإنسان المتغير، والشعر في حياة الإنسان يبدأ بسيطا ثم يتعقد تدريجيا بتعقد حياة الإنسان فيتضاعف مضمونا من ناحية المعاني وأبعادها اتساعا وعمقا. ولما اتسعت أبعاد حضارة الإنسان وتعدت صورها كان لا بد للمضمون أن يتوسع ويطول، وبذلك ضاق صدر القصيدة أن ينفسح لأكثر من غرض واحد إذا استوعبه الشاعر وأجاد تحليله وتصويره، ومن ثم ظهرت تجديبات في المضمون والشكل. وعلى الرغم من أن التزام الأدب ما زال يظهر في العصر الماضي، فإنه يوجد أيضا في الأدب المعاصر إلا أن صورته تختلف اختلافا واضحا جذريا، وكان التزام الأدب المعاصر ينبع من الإطار الحضاري الحديث؛ الإطار الفكري والإطار الاجتماعي والإطار السياسي. وذهب عز الدين إسماعيل إلى أن ثمة مواقف مختلفة تتمثل في الشعر المعاصر، منها موقف المواجهة الذاتية وموقف الغربية وموقف الفروسية وموقف التمرد وموقف الصوفية الملتزمة. فموقف المواجهة يعني موقف يدل على تنبيه الوعي لدى الشاعر بأن له رسالة الحياة يؤديها، وأن عمله جزء فعال في بنية هذه الحياة وليس مجرد زينة تضاف إليها. ومن ثم كانت رحلة الشعراء في أغوار الذات بغية التعرف عليها وكشف طاقاتها الحيوية. أما موقف الغربية موقف ينطوي على الدلالات الفكرية التي حددت أبعاد هذا الموقف، بحيث يمتص الشاعر كل ألوان المعاناة التي تباعد بينه وبين الواقع، وتحول دون اندماجه فيه (عز الدين، ١٩٩٦: ٤٠٧).

وكان موقف الفروسية هو موقف أخلاقي، وليس السلاح الذي تحمله إلا وسيلة لتحقيق الوجه العملي لهذا الموقف الأخلاقي. كان سلاح الفارس دائما في خدمت عقيدته التي

آمن بها، ولم تكن عقيدة الفارس عقيدة فردية يلتزم بها الفارس وحده، بل كانت مجموعة من المبادئ التي تشكل في جملتها مفهوم الفروسية في مجتمع الفروسية، فإذا كان سلاح الفارس في خدمة عقيدته فإنه في الوقت نفسه يخدم مجتمعه (عز الدين، ١٩٩٦: ٤١٢). أما موقف التمرد في الشعر العربي المعاصر فيتمثل في الوجوه الثلاثة، وهي التمرد الميتافيزيقي والتمرد الرافض والتمرد الثوري. والتمرد هو أن يباعد بين الإنسان وأي فكرة مجتمعه، لأنه يتوجه بصفة أساسية إلى الكليات المنفصلة عن كل واقع تاريخي. والمتردد على الواقع يتضمن رفضه أولاً، لكن التوقف عند مجرد الرفض لا يمثل إلا الوجه السلبي للتمرد، والواقع أن الإنسان لا يستطيع أن يرفض رفضاً حقيقياً إلا إذا كان يعرف بديلاً حقيقياً. وهذا الموقف يتمثل في كثير من الشعر العربي المعاصر، فمرة يماثل في رفض الظلم وإقرار العدالة الاجتماعية، ومرة في رفض البالي من القديم إلى الجديد، ومرة في رفض قوى السيطرة والتحكم الأجنبي بكل أشكاله السياسية والثقافية والاقتصادية (عز الدين، ١٩٩٦: ٤١٥).

والموقف الأخير هو موقف الصوفية الملتزمة، وهو محاولة لوضع الشعر في موضعه الحقيقي بالنسبة لقضايا المجتمع، حي يتعانق الفن والعقيدة ويلتزمان في بنية وموحدة، وبهذا الموقف يريد الشاعر أن يحقق رسالته في الحياة بمنطقه الخاص، ويريد أن يحيي الجوهر الإنساني في الإنسان، وفي اعتبار آخر يريد أن يحرر الإنسان ويرده إلى جوهره الأصيل من أجل صنع لبنات المجتمع السليم حيث الكرامة مكفولة للإنسان الفرد بمقدار ما هي مكفولة للجماعة. (عز الدين، ١٩٩٦: ٤١٥)

ومن المواقف الأربعة السابقة التي تبدو وتتجسد أكثر في الشعر العربي المعاصر هو موقف التمرد، هذا الموقف يمثل في الشعر الذي أطلق عليه «شعر المقاومة»، وكان ظهور شعر المقاومة لا ينفصل من الإطار العام للأزمة الاجتماعية والثقافية التي تثقل على حاضر العالم العربي ومصيره، وذلك في أعقاب الحرب العالمية الثانية. وفي العالم المتعارض والممزق استطاع الشعر العربي أن يلعب دور الرائد والمحفز في مشروع التحويل الثقافي والاجتماعي. (كمال خير، ١٩٨٦: ٤١).

وكان بعض النقاد يقول إن شعر المقاومة يسمى أيضاً بـ «شعر السجون»، وهذا لأن المقاومين في ذلك الوقت يهربون أعمالهم بالعديد من الوسائل التي كانت تتحدى كل جبروت السجن والسجان مما يصيب المحتل بحالة من الرعب عن كيفية تواصل السجنين مع مجتمعه. لنلاحظ إلى الشعر الآتي (رجاء النقاش، ١٩٩٣: ٨٨):

«إن يحبسونا... أنهم * لن يحبسوا نار الكفاح
 لن يحبسوا عزم الشباب الحر * يعصف كالرياح
 لن يحبسوا أغنية * تعلو على هذي البطاح
 شرقية، عربية الألحان * حمراء الجناح
 طلعت على الأرض الخصيبة * مثل آلهة الصباح
 يا طغمة الحكام زيدي * هل لاضطهادك من مزيد
 ألقى القيود على القيود * سوداء باردة الحديد
 سيعود شعبي في ضياء الشمس * من خلف الحدود
 سيعود للطلل المهدم * يبتنيه من جديد
 سيعود للأرض الحبيبة * للزنايق للورود
 سيعود رغم النار، والأغلال * خفاق البنود»

وكان الشعر السابق كتبه توفيق زياد من السجن، وعنوانها «من وراء القضبان»،
 ذلك الشعر يشير إلينا الروح الثائرة المتمردة التي يمتلئ فيها الأمل والتفاؤل، وهو يعبر
 عن الأزمات والصدمات المتعددة، ويتولد من قلب الجرح الكبير، ومن قلب فلسطين المحتلة؛
 رغم أن المستعمرين يحتلون أرض فلسطين لكنهم لن يوقفوا روح الكفاح وعزم الشباب،
 الروح ستكون تحيا دائما. والشاعر ينتمي إلى قوة شعبية تطالب بحقوقها.
 وهناك مثال آخر من الشعر الذي يعبر عن المأساة في الوطن المحتل، لنلاحظ إلى
 ما كتبه محمود درويش في قصيدته تحت العنوان «جواز السفر» ما يلي (رجاء النقاش،
 ١٠٩:١٩٩٣):

«لم يعرفوني في الظلال التي * تمتص لوني في جواز السفر
 وكان جرحي عندهم معرضا * لسائح يعشق جمع الصور
 لم يعرفوني، أه... لا تتركني * كفى بلا شمس
 لأن الشجر يعرفني * تعرفني كل أغاني المطر
 لا تتركني شاحبا كالقمر! * كل العصافير التي لاحقت
 كفى على باب المطار البعيد * كل حقول القمح
 كل السجون * كل القبور البيض
 كل الحدود * كل المناديل التي لوحت
 كل العيون السود * كل العيون

كانت معي، لكنهم * قد أسقطوها من جواز السفر»

يعبر محمود درويش في تلك القصيدة عن مرارة التناقض بين انتمائه هو وأهله منذ أجيال إلى أجيال إلى أرض فلسطين وبين حرمانه من الجنسية في هذا الوطن، حيث يعتبره الإسرائيليون غريبا ولاجئا في أرضه، ويجسد لنا مأساة حرمانه من الانتساب إلى وطنه فلسطين في صورة فنية وإنسانية خصبه ورائعة، والشاعر يكشف لنا عن تلك علاقة الحميمة الصادقة بينه وبين ذرات التراب والعصافير وأوراق الشجر

وكانت عشرات من الأدباء والشعراء العرب سيقوا إلى السجن في مطلع حزيران ١٩٦٧، منهم منصور كردوش وصالح برانسي ووفخري جدي والشاعر حبيب قهوجي والشاعر سميح القاسم والشاعر محمود درويش والشاعر سالم جبران والشاعر توفيق زياد والأديب فرح نور سلمان وعلي رافع ومحمد خاص وعلي عاشور وغيرهم (غسان كنفاني، ٢٨).

ولعل الظلم والاضطهاد والقمع والاستبداد عدو الحياة، وهي التي تؤدي إلى الحياة الذليلة القاسية، وأينما توجد الظلم والاضطهاد والقمع والاستبداد فهناك يأتي المقاومة، فلا تجد الأمة أمامها إلا الهزيمة بمشاعرها السوداء القاتمة، ومن ثم فلم يخطر ببال الشاعر إلا الخلاص من القضية المعانة. ويقول غسان كنفاني إن الحرب النفسية والاقتصادية والسياسية والبدنية تؤثر أثرا كبيرا في الإنتاج الأدبي العربي وخاصة في فلسطين المحتلة (غسان كنفاني، ٢٨).

وكان شعر المقاومة يصدر من نفس شاعره التي تعي بهويتها الثقافية والحضارية بعمق، والتي تتطلع إلى الحرية الحقيقية من أجل مواجهة المعتدي، وهذا الشعر لا ينطلق إلا من الواقع الحضاري وقيمة مجتمعه الفريدة. وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فالمقاومة في هذا السياق يعبر عن مشروع حضاري أصيل لا يستطيع أحد مهما كان سلطانه وجبروته الوقوف أمام سيل هادر من إرادة شعب أو أمة ليمنعهم من تحقيق أهدافهم المشروعة والتي تكفلها شرائع السماء ومواثيق الأرض بكل أنواعها ومشاربها.

وبما أن شعر المقاومة يحمل الرسالة السامية وهي تحرير الإنسان من أي الضغوط والقمع والاضطهاد من جهة، ويتخذ اللغة الرائعة الفنية كوسيلة للتعبير عما خطر بالبال من جهة أخرى، فإنه في مضمونه يكشف لنا الحرية والجمالة، ومن ثم فيقول محمود درويش إن كل شعر يعبر عن الحرية والجمال وحق الذات في الحياة هو شعر مقاومة، والاحتلال لم ينل من قدرتنا على الاحتفال بالحب والشعور بالجمال، فأني شعر جميل هو

شعر مقاومة بالمعنى الواسع للمقاومة، ومحاولة تنزيه شعر المقاومة عن النقد، يؤدي إلى التعويق من إمكانية تطويره.

وكانت روح المقاومة لا تنحصر تجلياتها في مجال الشعر فحسب، لكن تتجلى في مجال القصة، ولاسيما القصة التي تصدر بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية، وإذا قرأنا القصة «عبث الأقدار» التي كتبها نجيب محفوظ مثلا نرى أن فيها روح المقاومة بحيث يعبر فيها عن الشعور بالضيق في مصر الحديثة بين المحتل الحكام المتعاونين معه، ويبحث عن أمل في ماضيها المجيد الذي يكون حافظا لحاضرها الذليل.

وعلى غرار ذلك فعل توفيق الحكيم في «عودة الروح» الربط بين حاضري المصريين وماضيهم في ثنايا قصته وأشار إلى القوة الكامنة في الشعب وإلى الروح النائمة التي تنتظر من يستشيرها في ذلك الحوار الذي أجراه على لسان رجل الآثار الفرنسي والمفتش الانجليزي (محمد زعلول، ٢٦١).

إذن كانت روح المقاومة ليست فقط تنهض في مجال الشعر على سبيل الخصوص، بل تظهر أيضا في مجال الأدب على سبيل العام، وكذلك كانت المقاومة لا تأتي من أجل ضد الخارج (ضد المستعمرين) بل تأتي أيضا من أجل ضد الداخل (ضد الحكام المستبددين). ومن مثال المقاومة في الشعر التي تأتي من أجل ضد الداخل هو شعر شوقي حيث يقف فيه على وجه الظلم والظالمين، والاحتلال والمحتلين، ويصور فيه جماعة من المصريين يكونون جماعات للمقاومة في قصر الملكة نفسه يمثلهم «حابي» (محمد زعلول ٢٦٢). وكانت الروح الثائرة المتمردة التي يمتلئ فيها المأساة والأمل من سمات شعر المقاومة بشكل عام، لا تظهر في الأرض المحتلة مثل أرض فلسطين فحسب بل في أرض الجزيرة العربية، وفيما يلي الشعر الذي كتبه أحمد راشد ثاني، الشاعر من الإمارات العربية المتحدة (شهاب الدين غانم، ٢٠١٠: ١٦):

«جالس فوق تاريخه * جالس بانتظار السماء

حبيبه يابس * تحته الكنز

والقلب منحسر * في الفراغ

جالس * جالس والسلام.»

وإذا نرى إلى العالم العربي الأخر مثل سورية فإننا نرى أيضا ظاهرة شعر المقاومة مثل ما في الأرض المحتلة، فهناك شاعر مقاوم مشهور اسمه عمر أبو ريشة، وهو ما زال يعلم أجيال وطنه أن الفن يواكب الحياة فيستوعبها وتستوعبه، وحينما هو يقول عن الحب

فالحب عنده ليس إلا هو الوطن، وهو الإنسان والبشرية، وهو ينشد في قصيدته (أحمد زكي، ٢٠١٤: ١١٥):

«لنا الحب والكأس والمزهر * وللناس منا الصدى المسكر
مشينا معا وجناح الرضا * يواكبنا ظلّه الخير
وخلف ملاعبنا أنجم * على شوق أوبتنا تسهر
غدا ينقل الكون أحناننا * ويسمر في ذكرنا السمر
فميلي نغب في شذا ضمة * يرف عليها المدى المقفر
أخاف انفلات الرؤي الباسمات * إذا خلج الجفن والمحجر
فأحلامنا يقظات الحياة * ووحى النفوس التي تشعر
ونحن من الأزل المطمئن * تبشر في يومنا الأعصر»

وكان شعر ادب المقاومة لها علاقة بالمعارك العربية خارج الأرض المحتلة، والعلاقة بينها هو تلاحم طبيعي، وذلك يتجلى في الشاعر محمود دسوقي بحيث يدخل هذا العالم المتلاحم من بوابة التفاصيل الصغيرة فيعطيه طعما أكثر بدهاءة، وهو أكثر شعراء الأرض المغتصبة تجاوبا مع الأحداث العربية؛ ولقد غني للجماهير على مدار سبع سنين ملاحم الثورة الجزائرية، وفي إحدى قصيدته يهاجم محمود دسوقي الملوك العرب الرجعيين جميعا حيث يقول (غسان كنفاني، ٢٠١٥: ٤٤):

«وبئالت لبس العمامة * صار في صنعاء شاعر
وطن يباع ويشتري * وزعامة للغرب تاجر
وطن يباع ويشتري * وزعامة تلهو- تقامر
هذا يمجد أصله * ويجده دوما يفاخر
أنا ابن بنت محمد * من جاء مكة بالبشائر
لو كان من نسل النبي * لصرت بالإسلام كافر»

وبناء على ذلك فأدب المقاومة ليس من الظاهرة بالمصادفة، وهو نتيجة الظروف التي يعيشها عرب الأرض، الأرض المحتلة والأرض المغتصبة، تحت قيود الحكم الجبار المستبد المستعمر، وتلك الظروف تعود إلى الأمور الثلاثة، أولا كون الغالبية الساحقة من عرب الأرض المحتلة تنتسب إلى الريف، فمعظم مجتمع الأرض المحتلة هو من الطبقة التي لم يكن لها شرف، وتلقي العبء الأكبر، وهذه الطبقة هم الفلاحون، وثانيا كون هؤلاء الفلاحين يتعرضون يوميا لإجراءات القمع الاغتصابي الذي يحاربهم في رزقهم حربا لا

هواة فيها، وثالثا كون الحكم الاغتصابي وليد الأنظمة الرأسمالية التي خلقته ومازالت تدعمه دعما بصورة متصلة منعكسا على يومياتهم ولقمة عيشهم وحریاتهم. (غسان كنافي، ٢٠١٥: ٦٣):

وإذا كان الأمر كذلك فظاهرة أدب المقاومة له علاقة وطيدة بالمشكلات التي تعاني المجتمع بشكل عام، ومن ثم فالاضطهاد الاقتصادي والاجتماعي والسياسي الذي يندر وجود ما يوازيه سوادا ووحشية في أي نظام عنصري في العالم يصبح مدخلا للتحدي، وحين تنفتح فرص الالتحام يقفز الشعر إلى مستوى يؤهله ليكون حذاء للمسيرة الثورية، وحين يرد على وجود العدو رده اليومي يلجأ إلى السخرية إمعانا في الاستخفاف، وحين يتعامل مع قضايا الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والسياسية داخل الأرض يرنّ فيه نغم التحدي بدل النواحي والشكوى.

ومضافا إلى ذلك، فأدب المقاومة ضمن الاضطهاد الاقتصادي والاجتماعي والسياسي يقدم الحلول باستنفار المستضعفين نحو الحرية، على نحو مبادر، وأن يتعاشى في كل ذلك بالإشارة والبناء على النماذج الإنسانية المشرقة في الفاقة الإنسانية التي نادت بالحرية والعدالة والمساواة، وقدمت التضحيات بعد التضحيات في سبيل قضايا التحرر والنضال والممانعة وربطها مع الواقع الحاضر استشرافاً للمستقبل

فبالنسبة إلى المشكلات الاجتماعية والسياسية يصبح أدب المقاومة مشروعا حضاريا أصيلا لا يستطيع أحد مهما كان سلطانه وجبروته الوقوف أمام سيل هادر من إرادة شعب أو أمة ليمنعهم من تحقيق أهدافهم المشروعة والتي تكفلها شرائع السماء ومواثيق الأرض بكل أنواعها ومشاربها. ومن ثم فأدب المقاومة يستنهض الأمة من سباتها ويوقظها من نومها العميق، ويعمل على تحريك المشاعر والأحاسيس وهي مخرجات لا تتأتى إلا بوجود عوامل تحفيز كالاحتلال والغزو والاضطهاد الذي تتعرض له الدول والشعوب.

ولقد غني شعراء المقاومة مشاكل البلاد العربية وأحداثها، وتجاوبوا بأسرع مما تجاوب كثير من شعراء العربية مع المعارك والصدمات التي حفلت بها الساحة العربية خلال السنوات الماضية، بل إن شعرهم يطل على تلك الأحداث من مواقع أكثر أملا وصمودا، ويزرع الآمال في صدور أهل بلاد العربية، وهذه الروح لا يستطيع أن يفارقه شعر المقاومة على امتداد السنين.

وإذا كان شعر المقاومة لا ينفصل من المشكلات التي تعاني مجتمع البلاد العربية فإن من سمات هذا الشعر هو أنه ينبع من البعد الاجتماعي والبعد الإنساني معا، ويحاول

على معرفة الآخر، وشعراء المقاومة هو أبناء الجماهير التي ربتهم وأعطتهم الجذور. وشعر المقاومة يعكس المأساة الإنسانية والكونية والوطنية، وهذه هي القضية العامة التي يعبر بها قضايا الأدب العربي المعاصر بشكل عام (حسين مروة، ١٩٨٨: ٣٤).

العلاقة القوية بين النصوص الأدبية المعاصرة والواقعة الحديثة في العرب

الصراع والصدام والحرب والمقاومة والثورة يتمشى كل الزمان في بلد من البلدان في العالم. وتجري في الآوان الأخيرة المقاومة والثورة في بلد العرب، وهذه الأحوال دخلت إلى الصدام والصراع، وأما الحرب اصطلاحاً ويكون هذا البحث يتجلى عرضه في المقاومة والثورة والصراع والحرب في الأدب العربي المعاصر. وعند محمد حسن أن المجتمع العربي ألف الحرب منذ أقدم العصور، فكانت شغلاً شاغلاً لكل أفرادها، فظهر تأثيرها في ذلك المجتمع في صور عديدة شملت آل أوجه الحياة فيه، لاسيما اللغة والأدب (محمد الحسن، ٦٣١).

كان الشعر وسيلة التعبير الفني، وهو صوت الروح في مواجهة ما يجري في البلاد، وهو انعكاس للواقع في ذات الكاتب حيث يعبر من خلاله الشعراء عن نظرتهم للواقع الذي يعيشونه، ويغدو الشعر نسيجاً متكاملًا من الألم والأمل والأشواق والحنين والاعتناق من الماضي، والرغبة في تجاوز الحيات التي تكفل تفاصيل حياة أولئك الشعراء، وتحملهم لتجاوز الذكريات التي عاشوها نحو حياة جديدة تفترض التعايش والاندماج مع كل ما تخبئه لهم من عوالم غريبة لم يعتادوها.

لقد عبر الشعر السوري عن مفردات المقاومة طوال تاريخها من خلال البعدين، منهما البعد المكاني متمثلاً في الأرض التي حملها الشعر دلالات ومعان تتجاوز ملامحها المادية لتكتسب بعداً روحياً وقيماً علياً، والبعد الثاني يتمثل في البعد التراثي والتاريخي. ولعل ذلك البعد يتجلى جلياً في شعر عمر أبو ريشة حيث ينشد (عمر أبو ريشة، ١٩٩٨: ٣١٨):

«كم جئت أحمل من جراحات الهوى * نحوي يرددها الضمير ترنما!
سالت مع الأمل الشهي لترمي * في مسمعك فما غمزت لها فما
فحنقتها في خاطري فتساقطت * في أدمعي فرشبته متلعثما
ورجعت أدراجي بأصيد من المنى * حلما أنام بأفقه متوهما
أخستاه! قد أذف النوى فتنعمي * بعدي فإن الحب لن يتكلما
لا تحسبيني ساليا إن تلمحي * في ناظري هذا الذهول المبهما
إن تهتكي سر السراب وجدته * حلم الرمال الهاجعات على الظما

والقصيدة السابقة تعبر أن الشاعر رأى في الصحراء ماء يتموج من بعيد، فقيل له إنه السراب، فتأمله طويلاً وأحس بالرمل الملتهب ظمأً تحت أشعة الشمس ينام ليحلم بالماء، وما هذا الذي يسمونه سرايا إلا أطياف حلمه اللذيذ، وكان الشاعر على حال عاطفية قلقة فوجد في إحساسه هذا منفذاً لها.

ومن خلال تلك القصيدة يتصدر الشاعر عمر أبو ريشة الجميع في حلاوة رومانسية وقوتها معاً، وقد رشفت من جمال الطبيعة السورية ومن الوطن السورية التي هو مضرب الأمثال، وجعل «السراب» رمزاً للأمل الشهي الذي ما زال يترنم ولكنه لم يتوقع وجوده المادي، فمن يستطيع أن يفضحه سوف يجد حلم الرمل. وإذا كان «السراب» يشبه سرا من الأمل فمعرفة حقيقة «السراب» من أمر مهم لتحقيق الحلم الذي يحتلم به أهل الوطن، وذلك ليس إلا بالكفاح والنضال.

لقد ازدهرت بلاد سوريا في العصور القديمة لخصوبة تربها، وفيها آثار بشرية لا تحصى، قامت فيها إمبراطوريات متعاقبة قوية اشتملت أغلبها على الهلال الخصيب برمته، وبرزت منذ القرن الحادي عشر قبل الميلاد الحضارة الأرامية التي استمرت هوية البلاد الحضارية الأساسية حتى استعراب غالبيتها مع حلول القرن الحادي عشر بعد الميلاد، وعلى مر العصور أصبحت بلاد سوريا تحت ظل الاستعمار وخاصة في عصر الحرب العالمية الأولى، وبعد الحرب أعلن استقلال سوريا ٨ مارس ١٩٢٠ من قبل المؤتمر السوري العام إلا أن فرنسا رفضت الاعتراف بالمؤتمر، ثم نالت سوريا استقلالها التام عام ١٩٤٦. ولعل هذه الأزمة تلاحظ نظرة الشعراء السوريين، وكان الشاعر عمر أبو ريشة يصور هذه الأزمة كما يلي (عمر أبو ريشة، ١٩٩٨: ٣١٨):

«صاح! كؤوسي لا تشفي * غصصي .. لا تسكر ألامي
أستعرض أيامي فأري * ما تخجل منه أيامي
فجفوني لا تعرف إلا * أحلامي تقتل أحلامي
ودروبي لا تذكر أنني * نقلت عليها أقدامي
صاح! وأحبك يا دنيا * في الوهج من الشفق الدامي
ما أوجع نفرة أهوائي * مني ... وتثاؤب أصنامي!!»

يعبر الشاعر عمر أبو ريشة من خلال قصيدته «ما أوجع» السابقة عن هموم وطنه، كيف يكون مجتمع سوريا في الحياة المأسوية رغم أنها أرض غنية من الآثار البشرية القديمة ولها تاريخ طويل في الحضارة الإنسانية، وجعل الشاعر «كؤوس» رمزاً للثروات الحضارية

التي ازدهرت في العصر القديم، وهذه الكؤوس لا يشفي المشكلات التي يهيم مجتمع سوريا، والمشكلات أو الأزمات لاتزال تتضاعف من حين إلى حين، ليس لها الحل الذي يعالجها، أما الذي يبقي هو الحلم، والحلم لا يعالج الأزمات التي تعاني الحياة. وكان عمر أبو ريشة ليس هو الشاعر الوحيد الذي يهيم أزمة وطنه، فهناك الشاعر عمر الفراء حيث خطر بباله من المشكلات أو الأزمات التي تعاني بلاده، فجاء هو بشعر الوطنية الجميل حيث ينشد:

«الوطن يا بني شبيه الأم إن رادت ترضع وتفطم
 وإن رادت توهب وتحرم بأي حالة اسمها الأم
 الوطن يسكن خلايا الدم غريزة تسري عبر الدم
 لما نموت بالغربة تظل الروح تلفانا حزينة مشرودة بالهم
 الوطن عزة وكرامة وصحوة الوجدان
 الوطن صبر وعزيمة وقوة الإيمان
 الوطن يا بني ما هو لفلان أو لفلان أو لفلانا
 الوطن يا بني ما هو سايب يصير بلحظة مجنوناً لأي من كان
 الوطن لي جذوره مثبتة بتاريخ يتزاحم مع الأزمان
 الوطن يلي يخلي الصخرة مخضرة ويزرع بالصخر بستان
 الوطن لي سما حتى وصل مرحلة إنسان
 الوطن ساكن عشق بينا ولو غبنا
 الوطن لي بنا اللبني على اللبني
 الوطن لي لأجل أرضة نزر نفسه ورخص بأبنة
 الوطن لي يرد الغارة بالكون
 على الله توكل وجابه ولغيره ما طلب عوننا
 الوطن يا بني رقم واحد وبعد مية يجي العالم
 الوطن ناموس لي يخجل
 بنهايتها الوطن يا بني عرض البني آدم»

وفي القصيدة السابقة شبه الشاعر عمر الفراء الوطن (سوريا) بالأم حيث يرتضع الولد ويفطم، وفيها عشق وحنين وكرامة وعز، والأم هي أرض يزرع فيه الولد أنين الحب وصحوة الوجدان، وهذه الأرض لا يأتي بالمصادفة، ولها تاريخ يتزاحم مع الأزمان، وكانت

سوريا هي أرض لأهلها، لا المستعمرين الذين يغتصبونها، وكانت كلمة «الأم» رمزا لأرض يترعع ويعيش فيها أهل سوريا من زمن قديم، وهي جذور لحياتهم وثقافتهم، ومن ثم كأن الشاعر - من خلال تلك القصيدة - يحث أهل سوريا على الهرب والنجاح ممن يحاولون فرض السيطرة عليهم بالإكراه، والحصول على الحرية.

وكان البعد المكاني يزداد جلاء لاكتساب البعد الروحي والقيم العليا حيث ينشد الشاعر عمر أبو ريشة عن طبيعة وطنه استرجاء إلى ماضيه، فينشد الشاعر بصرح روماني قديم، لا يستطيع غير الظن أن يتحدث عن ماضيه، واسترعي انتباهه خلوه من الشوك، وتالق ترابه النظيف، فقال في نفسه: إن الموت يقف أمام ضحيته، مجروح المبرياء لأنه لا يستطيع أن يفتك أكثر مما فتك (أحمد زكي، ١١٠):

«قفي قدمي! إن هذا المكان * يغيب به المرء عن حسه
رمال، وأنقاض صرح هوت * أعاليه تبحث عن أسه
أقلب طرفي به زاهلا * وأسأل يومي عن أمسه
أكانت تسيل عليه الحياة * وتغفو الجفون على أنسه؟
وتشدو البلابل في سعده * وتجري المقادير في نحسه؟
أستنطق الصخر عن ناحيته؟ * وأستنفض الميت من رمسه؟
حوافر خيل الزمان المشت * تكاد تحدّث عن بؤسه!
فما يرضع الشوك من صدره * ولا ينبع اليوم في رأسه
وتلك العناكب مذعورة * تريد التقلت من حبسه
ولقد تعبت منه كف الدمار * وباتت تخاف أذى لمسه
هنا ينفذ الوهم أشباحه * وينتحر الموت في ياسه»

وبالإضافة إلي ذلك، نجح الشاعر عمر أبو ريشة في تعبير همومه عن وطنه، وكان الحب هو الوطن، وهو الإنسان، وهو البشرية، وهو الله. وهذا يتجلي في قصيدته «نداء الحب» حيث ينشد (أحمد زكي، ٢١٠: ١١٥)

«لنا الحب والكأس والمزهر * وللناس منا الصدى المسكر
مشينا معا وجناح الرضا * يواكبنا ظلّه الخير
وخلف ملاعبنا أنجم * على شوق أوبتنا تسهر
غدا ينقل الكون ألعاننا * ويسمر في ذكرنا السمر
فميلي نغب في شذا ضمه * يرف عليها المدي المقفر

أخاف انفلات الرؤي الباسمات * إذا خلج الجفن والمحجر
فأحلامنا يقظت الحياة * ووحى النفوس التي تشعر
ونحن من الأزل المطمئن * تبشر في يومنا الأعصر»

وجعل الشاعر «الكأس» رمزا للمجد والعز، والرمز جزء من هوية المجتمع، والشاعر يرمز بالكأس إلي النهضة الاجتماعية الحديثة، وإلي إيجاد العوامل المساعدة إلى الانطلاقة الاجتماعية الرائدة التي تدعو إلي العمل والانجاز وإصلاح حال الفرد والمجتمع. ولعل القيم الأساسية التي تتمثل في شعر المقاومة السوري، والتي تمثل أرفع مستويات الالتحام القائم بين النضال القومي والصراع الاجتماعي ليست من ظاهرة الشعر المقاوم في سوريا فحسب، بل تصبح نسيجا إيديولوجيا لشعر المقاومة في بلاد الجزيرة العربية عامة. وهذا يعود إلي أن «وحدة المصيرة» تجمع الشعوب العربية، ومن شأنها أن تعمل على توحيد أساليب النضال، ومن بينها لغة العرب، واللغة العربية أصبحت الركيزة الأساسية في أدب المقاومة (غالي، ١٩٧٠: ١٣)

لنلاحظ الآن إلي قصيدة بدر شاكر السياب، وهو من أشهر شعراء العراق الذين يهتمون بمأساة وطنه، ومن أجل المسؤولية الاجتماعية يستعيد السياب من خلال قصيدته لتاريخ القومي والإنساني، ويجعله دافعة رموز نضال الإنسان عبر التاريخ المحلي والكوني إلي حياة جديدة في كنف القصيدة.

وينشد السياب في قصيدته «المسيح بعد الصلب» (بدر الشاكر، ١١٣: ٢٠١٣):

«ها انا الآن عريان في قبري المظلم
كنت بالأمس ألتف كالظن، كالبرعم
تحت أكفاني الثلج يخضل زهم الدم
كنت كالظل بين الدجى والنهار
ثم فجرت نفسي كنوزا فعريتها كالثمار
حين فصلت جيبي قماطا وكمي دثارا
حي دفأت يوما بلحمي عظام الصغار
حين عريت جرحي، وضمت جرحا سواه
حطم السور بيني وبين الإله»

ومن خلال القصيدة السابقة يؤكد السياب على الطابع الإنساني للانبعاث، وكان انبعاث الانسان عبر الأرض وتجربته في الهبوط ليبين نفسه عند المستوى الحضاري

فحسب، بل إنه يلتحم بانبعثات المسيح الذي يرمز إلي النضال الباطني للفرد، وإلي النضال الاجتماعي من أجل العدالة والكرامة، وإلي معانات الوجود وتضحيات الحياة المناضلة المتوجة بالصلب غالباً، ومن ثم كان السياب -عبر ذلك- يطالب بتحرير المجتمع وانتصار الشعب (كمال، ١٩٨٧: ٤٩).

ومن خلال القصيدة الأخرى جعل بدر شاكر السياب «الأرض» رمزا يكتسب دلالة سامية كحبل سري وكقبر وكانبعث دائم للإنسان، وهذا يمثل فيما يلي (بدر شاكر، ١١١)

«قلبي الأرض، تنبض قمحا وزهرا وماء نميرا

قلبي الماء، قلبي هو النيل

موته البعث: يحيا بمن يأكل»

فهناك شاعر آخر يهتم بمأساة مجتمعه، وهو صلاح عبد الصبور الذي يصور السمات

الدقيقة للشعب المصري حيث يقول (صلاح، ١٩٧٢: ٢٩):

«الناس في بلادي جارحون كالصقور

غناؤهم كرجفة الشتاء في نؤابه المطر

وضحكهم يئز كاللهيب في الحطب

خطاهمو تريد أن تسوخ في التراب

ويقتلون، يسرقون، يشربون، يجشأون

لكنهم بشر

وطيبون حين يملكون قبضتي نقود

ومؤمنون بالقدر»

وفي قصيدة أخرى وصف صلاح عبد الصبور عن حال مجتمع مصر كما يلي (صلاح،

١٩٧٢: ٩٦):

أهل بلادي يصنعون الحب

كلامهم أنغام

ولغوهم بسام

وحين يسغبون يطعمون من صفاء القلب

وحين يظمأون يشربون نهلة من حب

ويلغطون حين يلتقون بالسلام

عليكم السلام

عليكم السلام

وهكذا ينشد صلاح من خلال قصيدة عن واقع المجتمع المصري من صميم الإحساسة والانفعالية، فالسلام هو حياة هذا الشعب الذي لا يتحول إلي صقر جارح إلا حين تهدده قوى الشر، تهدد حياته وسلامه، للتعبير من طبيعته وتهدم حضارته.

ومن الشاعر الآخر الذي لا يمكن تجاهله، والذي يشغف بهوموم وطنه، هو عزيز ضياء، ومن خلال قصيدة «العيد» جعل عزيز ضياء «الهلل» رمزا لأمر منها السعادة بعد الشقاء، والوضوح بعد الغموض، وجعله رمزا للمعشوقة وهو في ذاتة رمز لقدم العيد، وهو رمز للبهجة، وهو يقول (محمد، دس: ٢٥٣-٢٥٤):

رأت الأرض الهلال فقالت:

يا سعادتي بقدمك، فأنت مؤنسي يستبد بي الليل، وانت نجي حين ياسرني الظلام
ورأي العاشق الهلال فقال:

يا للهنائي بقدمك، فانت عزائي حين تهجرني الحبيبة، وانت ملاذي حيم يحفزني

الكري

ورأي الناس الهلال فلم يقولوا شيئاً وإنما ملأوا الدنيا ضحكا وأطلقوا المدافع ابتهاجا
وسأل الطفل أباه الغني قائلاً:

لم تطلق المدافع يا أبت؟

فقال: لأن العيد قد أتى؟

فوثب الطفل صائحا

العيد قد أتى يا فرحتي بالعيد!؟

ومما سبق بيانه نري أن شعر المقاومة في بلاد الجزيرة العربية لا ينفصل من الواقع الاجتماعي، وليس هو الشعر الانعزالي، بل هو الشعر الاجتماعي الذي له علاقة متينة بواقعه، والذي يحمل رموزا تاريخية كثيرة نتيجة لامتداد العمر الزمني لهذا المجتمع من العصور القديمة، وكان المجتمع والأرض تصنع تقاليد تتطور إلي رموز، فهناك رمز للكرام وللمرودة ولمعانة المجتمع وللصراع وللفيروسية، وفي الرمز أسلوب فيه تلميح ومداره.

الاختتام

ظاهرة الشعر العربي في هذه الأواخر مثل سورية يكون شعر المقاومة والثورة مشهورة ومنثورة، مثلما في الأرض المحتلة، فهناك شاعر مقاوم مشهور اسمه عمر أبو ريشة، وهو مازال يعلم أجيال وطنه أن الفن يواكب الحياة فيستوعبها وتستوعبه، وحينما

هو يقول عن الحب فالحب عنده ليس إلا هو الوطن، وهو الإنسان والبشرية، وهو ينشد في قصيدته. وكان شعر المقاومة والثورة والنزاعات والحرب لها علاقة بالمعارك العربية خارج الأرض المحتلة، والعلاقة بينها هو تلاحم طبيعي، وذلك يتجلي في الشاعر محمود دسوقي بحيث يدخل هذا العالم المتلاحم من بوابة التفاصيل الصغيرة فيعطيه طعما أكثر بدهاءة، وهو أكثر شعراء الأرض المغتصبة تجاوبا مع الأحداث العربية؛ ولقد غني للجماهير على مدار سبع سنين ملاحم الثورة الجزائرية، وفي إحدى قصيدته يهاجم محمود دسوقي الملوك العرب الرجعيين جميعا. تجليات الأدب العربي المعاصر التي ترمي إليها الدراسة هي تلك العواطف الراقية النبيلة التي تحدد بالإنسان والثقافة والحضارة إلى التحليق في سماء الحب والخير والعطاء والنماء. وتتناول دراسة الجهني ثلاثة محاور هي: الصراع في الأدب، والصدام في الشعر العربي على مر العصور، معالم حياة وبدور شاعرية.

موقف الصراع في الشعر العربي المعاصر فيتمثل في الوجوه الثلاثة، وهي الصراع الميتافيزيقي والصراع الرفض والتمرد الثوري. والتمرد هو أن يباعد بين الإنسان وأي فكرة مجتمعه، لأنه يتوجه بصفة أساسية إلى الكليات المنفصلة عن كل واقع تاريخي. والمتردد على الواقع يتضمن رفضه أولا، لكن التوقف عند مجرد الرفض لا يمثل إلا الوجه السلبي للتمرد، والواقع أن الإنسان لا يستطيع أن يرفض رفضا حقيقيا إلا إذا كان يعرف بديلا حقيقيا. وهذا الموقف يتمثل في كثير من الشعر العربي المعاصر، فمرة يماثل في رفض الظلم وإقرار العدالة الاجتماعية، ومرة في رفض البالي من القديم إلى الجديد، ومرة في رفض قوي السيطرة والتحكم الأجنبي بكل أشكاله السياسية والثقافية والاقتصادية.

إن للأدب علاقة وطيدة بحياة المجتمع، والأديب حين يؤلف الإبداع الأدبي فإن فكرته لا تخلو مما خطر بباله حوله، فعلاقة الأدب بالمجتمع هي بالذات تشمل علاقة الأديب بمجتمعه ووعيه لما يجري حوله وكشفه ما يخص المجتمع وما يخفى على الآخرين، فلا غرابة يقول نقاد الأدب إن الأدب تنعكس فيه وقائع اجتماعية وهو مرآة الحياة الاجتماعية.

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Nomor 1, Tahun 2018.

