

# *el harakah*

JURNAL BUDAYA ISLAM

**HAMORAON, HAGABEON & HASANGAPON AS THE  
BASIC PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATING CHILDREN**

*Irwan Saleh Dalimunthe and Agus Salim Lubis*

**UNDERSTANDING HADRAH ART AS THE LIVING AL-QUR'AN:  
THE ORIGIN, PERFORMANCE AND WORLD-VIEW**

*Agus Iswanto*

**SPIRITUAL EDUCATION THROUGH ZIARAH  
TRADITION IN SYAIKH SYAMSUDDIN AL-WASIL  
TOMB KEDIRI CITY**

*M. Al-Qodhi Abi Saidil Mahzumi and A. Jauhar Fuad*

**AS-SABAK AL-MU'JAMI FI DIWAN AS-SUBA'IYAT LI 'ISA  
ALBI ABU BAKR: DIRASAH TAHLILIIYAH NAQDIYAH**

*Khalil Mohammad Usman Gbodofu*

**'ILMU AL-BAYAN FI ASY-SYI'R AL-'ARABI AS-SINAGALI:  
SYI'R MUHAMMAD AL-AMIN ANMUDZAJAN**

*Ahmad Dame Diop and Lateef Onireti Ibraheem*

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## 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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## HAMORAON, HAGABEON & HASANGAPON AS THE BASIC PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATING CHILDREN

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### **Abstract**

*Cultural and religious values of life for the people in South Tapanuli form the perspective of philosophy and various local wisdom. One of the principles they hold strongly is known as 3H they are; hamoraon (character and wealth), hagabeon (successful offspring) and hasangapon (influential and respectable). This research focused on how the 3H principles strongly encourage parents to provide knowledge for the future preparation of their children. Muslim communities are fanatics in religion, meanwhile the most dominant value in giving encouragement to school is not religious teachings, since religion is only a supporting factor of learning (Q.S. 58:11), and the cultural view of 3H is as the basis of the education. It was carried out by in-depth interview techniques with a sociological approach to respondents who were intentionally searched and determined, and the parents or families who were relatively successful in school and in changing lives, and also respectable in the community. It is found that the community is firm with the 3H value, in which parents were tireless, even sacrificing everything so that their children succeed in enjoying welfare, prosperity and living respect.*

*Nilai-nilai budaya dan agama bagi masyarakat di Tapanuli Selatan membentuk perspektif filsafat dan berbagai kearifan lokal. Salah satu prinsip yang mereka pegang dengan kuat yaitu yang dikenal sebagai 3H; hamoraon (karakter dan kekayaan), hagabeon (keturunan sukses) dan hasangapon (berpengaruh dan terhormat). Penelitian ini berfokus pada seberapa kuat prinsip 3H mendorong orang tua untuk memberikan pengetahuan bagi persiapan masa depan anak-*

*anak mereka. Komunitas Muslim fanatik dalam agama, sedangkan nilai yang paling dominan dalam memberikan dorongan kepada sekolah bukanlah ajaran agama, karena agama hanya merupakan faktor pendukung pembelajaran (Q.S. 58:11), dan pandangan budaya 3H adalah sebagai dasar pendidikan. Penelitian ini menggunakan teknik wawancara mendalam dengan pendekatan sosiologis kepada responden yang dipilih dan ditentukan, serta melibatkan orang tua atau keluarga yang relatif sukses dalam pendidikan dan dalam mengubah kehidupan, juga dihormati di masyarakat. Ditemukan bahwa masyarakat teguh dengan nilai 3H, di mana orang tua tidak kenal lelah, bahkan mengorbankan segalanya sehingga anak-anak berhasil menikmati kesejahteraan, kemakmuran dan penghormatan hidup.*

**Keywords:** *basic philosophy; children education*

## Introduction

Community and culture are two related things, both form the ethos and profile of society. Because culture is a character that distinguishes one community from another, the community gives birth and develops culture according to the level of education or progress of the mind, taste, character, and intention of their members. Also, it is related to the support of the natural environment of the area. So, it is known that culture as a character (Wulan et al., 2018), value, norm, rule, and guideline to measure the daily behavior of the societies in which it is in a group or private life.

Culture or custom is a value orientation in society. Cultural values become the principle of life and the basic guidelines or philosophy of life for the owner of cultural values to become a reference for seeing and establishing something in their lives. Culture means the habits of the people in their livings, to communicate and socialize with their environments. The culture of the society has drawn the concepts of thinking of the people around South Tapanuli. It builds the philosophy for their livings. This is the starting point of this study, in the case of making culture as the values to encourage the parents to educate their children in one of the biggest Muslim communities in North Sumatera.

The communities are understood to be very obedient and fanatic in religious teachings. Further, this community is also very earnest and persistent in sending children to universities and educational institutions that can guarantee employment for the future of children. The reasons are because the children have a very important and strategic position, more specifically boys

who will continue the family tree and inherit the clan. The people of South Tapanuli are part of Bataknese family and belong to a group that follows father's lineage (*patrilineal*), and clans are very important because they become the foundation for social life (Castles, 2001:7).

Having a son becomes a high honor for a family, if a family is not blessed with a son, it can be a weakness factor for their livings. There is a term for a family who does not have a son, "punu", it is removed from the line of inheritance of clans for families. 'Punu' means finish or extinct, so the family with no son will make their descent extinct, because the daughters are not entitled to inherit the clan, so the clan of their family will be deleted forever.

Among the importance of children can be seen from the structure and kinship system "*Dalihan Natolu*" (the three stoves). The stoves are made from three tapering stones, set up in such a way as to function as a cooking container. *Dalihan Natolu* is essentially a community called *sapanggadongan* (main family) as a manifestation of the kinship of the three elements namely; 1). *Kahanggi*, (a family of one descendant and fellow friends - wife). 2). *Anak Boru* (son-in-law/brother-in-law who is marrying daughter /sister. 3). *Mora* (a family where the wife is from).

The position of the child is very important, that in holding various roles and positions in society, it is illustrated by social relativism with the division of role, namely *harajaon* (the king) because sociologically each clan (client) has territory and from that clan will become king. Customary values and rules are recorded but not in the book but in the mind and practice of life called the *Buku Tumbaga Holing* (Baginda Tengger, interview 30 August 2018).

Besides *harajaon*, there is also *hatobangon*, (who is honored due to many life experiences). It is the position of the people in this culture stated as the people who are in a high position. Then, there is *malim* (religious leader). They are the aspects and responsibilities in which it is absolutely passed on to the sons. They will play a role in the community in handling the activities of *Siriaon* (excitement) and *siluluton* (misfortune). The important position of sons has existed since primitive times (*animistic* and *dynamism* beliefs). Although in 7 M Islam came with cultural propaganda and 13 M structurally (Suryanegara, 2015), the value of this tradition became a very strong philosophy of life. Elaboration occurred and became part of Nusantara Islam (Sahal & Aziz, 2005: 37).

The strong cultural values in people's lives to form philosophy and local wisdom, in caring for the children the community adhere to the 3H principle

namely; *hamoraon* (having wealth; mind and treasure), *hagabeon* (having a successful ancestry), and *hasangapon* (being influential, praiseworthy and honorable) (Harahap, 1987a). These values have an encouragement to fight for a successful child and being honored by providing children's education to universities. It directs the study to see the philosophy or 3H principle as the basis and the encouragement of the community to send their children to school to successfully obtain a bright future, namely *marhasangapon* (successful).

## Methods

This research was conducted with a descriptive qualitative approach using phenomenological methods, and by using the Moleong technique developed from the theories of Bogdan, et al. and Lofland and Lofland (Moleong, 2017: 85). The research subject or analysis unit was a member of the community that accepted and made 3H as a basic value philosophy supporting school children up to the university level. The subject was determined purposively by assessing those who understand and apply the values and basic philosophy of 3H, as well as searching through Snowball techniques so that from one person to more, to find the desired data. The instruments of data collection used in-depth interviews and then it was also processed and analyzed through 1) unit processing, 2) categorization 3) analysis strategy and 4) interpretation.

## Children's Existence and 3H Life Philosophy

The principle of life and the value of local wisdom in the community in South Tapanuli, especially in looking at life in the future and the obsession of each person cannot be separated from the existence of the 3H philosophy (*hamoraon, hagabeon, and hasangapon*). The meaning of 3H is not found theoretically-textually, only in the minds of traditional leaders or in the tradition of the kings and this is what is called *Tumbaga Holing*. The meaning of *hamoraon* and *hagabeon* is almost the same. What is certain is that it does not come out of the presence of children in the household or in the family accompanied by a lot of ownership. Both of these nomenclatures cannot be separated from *hasangapon* because in reaching *hasangapon* eventually it must go through *hamoraon* and *hasangapon*. *Hamoraon* is understood by the public as a matter of pleasure and peace of mind to carry dignity and price (Sihombing, 1989). These three philosophies build the culture in South Tapanuli to influence the condition of people's life.

The dignity and self-esteem of the community can be caused by many achievements to fulfill customary systems and rules, even with the ability to establish social mobility in the form of wealth. In this regard, the existence of a child who stands out for the achievement and success of his life until the achievement of wealth belongs to one form of *hamoraon*. Meanwhile, the *hagabeon* is the family that has sons and daughters, then having children from them. So, if someone in his life already has grandchildren from a son and daughter, then the children have married and have children, they will be called *gabe* which means feeling honor. *Gabe* is the equivalent of another term from *hagabeon* in the community. It is a status related to the recognition of many people over the existence of a person. By having children and grandchildren who are successful, the parent is seen as a person in *mar-hagabeon* (proud of having and being happy with wealth) position. It will make them more confident, increasingly striving and show themselves because they are recognized and positioned as part of a successful, and have offspring. Moreover, it can be judged that they can manage and guide their children to work together and get "*sinagongan*" which means the people who get success in life, or have wealth as a base for getting *hamoraon*. (Sahlan Khair, community leader, interview 29 July 2018).

The terms of *hamoraon* and *hagabeon* are ascertained as someone's media to be able to reach a status namely *hasangapon*. For the Batak people (including Batak people of South Tapanuli), a person can have children and wealth is due to the positive influence and blessing from supernatural power that always follows the human journey, which is called "*sahala*" (Castles, 2001:10; 2018). The *hamoraon* and *hagabeon* in the sense of having children, especially boys as heirs of the clan and wealth, were initially believed to be with the blessing of the "*sahala*". With his blessing, it would be easy to have *hasangapon*, namely respectable and influential people. Even in Castles's research, this "*sahala*" also gave the blessing that people could become kings or inherit the king's status in each clan of the clan power, namely "*sahala harajaon*" because every clan in the Batak tribe has power and lives and is preserved to this day.

The existence of this "*sahala*" is justified by Sutan Raja Harahap Association of a king (17th generation and a Muslim). He is the heir to the region of Losung Batu, one of the territories surnamed Harahap in South Tapanuli. He explained that to the kings there was "*sahala harajaon*" which was a kind of supernatural power, including towards himself. It is used when facing a complicated problem. Without "*sahala harajaon*" he would not be

a king because many customary activities and activities were carried out in fulfilling the needs of many people (Interview 4 August 2018).

The “*sahala*” at this time is only believed by some people, even the descendants of the king himself did not believe in it. Yet, the principle of *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* is always attached to and become a view of life and achieved not on the basis of trust, but with the power of effort. It cannot be denied that people's way of thinking progresses and becomes more rational, being eroded by the adherence to the teachings of Islam.

Thus, the meaning of *hasangapon* today tends to contain the meaning of glory, authority, charisma, honor, and a kind of power to achieve glory. The person is praiseworthy, can be an example, and is perfect and almost flawless; there is no ridicule from others to those who reach it (Harahap, 1987a:133). This *Hasangapon* is illustrated in the advice “*Paet tabo dai ni Sabi, Sabi ni Ranto ni Galagala, Sai sude ma hami dohot pomparan nami, gabe jolma na bisuk jala na marsahala*” (Bitter taste of mustard greens, Sabi Ranto Galagala, Hopefully we are together our descendants, become wise and authoritative people). This advice contained hope to be a person who is authoritative, respected and recognized (Sihombing, 1989: 362).

Further, in society, children as a source of *hamoraon* and *hagabeon* are also reflected in their expressions; “*udut ni tangan na pondok*” means that the child is the connector for the existence of parents and in every marriage advice for children who are living a married life is always expressed “*copat mardakka habara muyu*” means that hope to quickly get offspring or have children. It is also in the event of *mangupah-upah* (encouraging with giving typical bridal food), or in the session *mamangir di tapian raya bangunan*, *mangayup habujingon dohot haposoan* (the event paraded the bride and groom to bathe symbolically into the river with the aim of throwing away or leaving the single period into old age with housemates). At that time, advice emerged as the expectation of the king and parents with the expression: : “*sada dua tolu, hombang ratus hombang ribu, maranak sappulu pitu marboru sappulu onom*” the meaning is; one, two, three, develop into hundreds and up to thousands of children (of course what is meant is that from this new spouse will develop descendants in large numbers), and for this purpose it is expected that the bride and groom will have many and high quality offspring (Asran Pasaribu, a traditional leader, interview 4 August 2018).

Sociologically, the clan or client is inherited by a boy or patrilineal (Koentjaraningrat, 1998: 23). The influence of this system on one side can

emerge gender bias because it tends to privilege men and relate to the “*Dalihan Natolu*” kinship system, the absence of boys make a family not perfect (*punu*-stop the clan successor) and hampered its expansion (clan) and the king’s house (*bagas godang*) also there is no heir because girls do not have the right to occupy the area. The Batak tradition, both Toba, Mandailing, Angkola (South Tapanuli), Karo, Dairi, and Simalungun, have special characteristics, but all come from the Batak Toba (Panjaitan & Sundawa, 2016: 64).

The magnitude of the meaning of child’s presence encourages parents to be willing to sacrifice for the sake of children’s future, because they become a source of strength and glory and respect, as the broad meaning of *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon*. Without the presence of children, especially boys in the family and all traditional traditions and teachings, as well as local wisdom, will disappear by itself.

### 3H Motivation and The Efforts to Send Children to School

Motivation is related to the psychology of behaviorism, but this context cannot be separated from sociology. As in modern sociology theory (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017) “action as a primitive unit”. In analyzing the action, the Mead approach is almost the same as the behaviorist approach which focuses on stimuli and responses. But stimulus here does not produce a human response automatically and without thinking. As Mead said, we imagine stimulus as an opportunity or opportunity to act, not as coercion or an order. Mead identifies that there are four bases and stages of action that are connected dialectically in order to realize a goal (in Clark & Fast, 2019).

The four bases and stages of action are: *First*; impulse, which is encouragement or desire. Hunger, for example, will encourage someone to try to look for food, also poverty and the problem of life’s limitations can encourage people to try to get out of the problem at hand. *Second*, perception means a reaction from someone in finding a way out. He will use his five senses to find an understanding of the environment and circumstances allowing to immediately look for the fulfillment of the impulse stimulus. *Third* is manipulation; the intention is after the awareness and the introduction of something to do. Then, he will make a reaction in the form of action starting from the mind and body, so that *the fourth* is consummation, this stage is the fulfillment or the stage of enjoying the results of the effort taken.

In the context of this study, the pressure and limitation of life becomes stimulation for one to come out through the search for ways to follow the path

towards feasibility. Humans always think and use endeavor with their mind and mental guidance to understand life so that it leads to the action. Until this stage, humans will be encouraged to work hard, in this context a strong motivation to change the status quo appears.

In line with the above perspective, people in South Tapanuli are relatively hard-hearted and do not easily give in to fate. Both parents and children work hard to find a way of life and struggle to get out of limitations. They move towards *hasangapon* or respect, as reaction and awareness for limitations and want to live more prosperously. It is the hard concept of life and also in educating children of Bataknesse people. There are some sources talked about these concepts (Pangaribuan, 2018; Siagian, 2011; Simangunsong, 2013; Simbolon, 2015). An informant, Zainal Efendi Hasibuan (an Islamic Education lecturer in undergraduate program of IAIN Padangsidempuan) lived in *hauma* or coffee and rubber fields in the middle of the forest during his childhood. His father worked hard as a rice cultivator and decided to live in the field and not went home for a while until the harvest of coffee, cocoa and rubber plants to be able to send their children to the Imam Bonjol Islamic Education UIN Padang in Doctoral Program (Interview, 30 July 2018)

Ali Asrun is a son from a small village (Master of Education Technology from UNP Padang, is currently a lecturer in IAIN Padangsidempuan) with parents work as a farmer. After his father died, he and his mother have strong determination and desire to succeed in achieving hope. The key is that they are ready and their parents are willing to sacrifice even though they have to go through bitter situations. The determination is "their children no longer have the way of life as their parents were bathed in sweat to fulfill their needs". As stated in the wise word "*pade hamu sikola amang anso dapot hamu hangoluan, ulangbe hamu songon hami on*", that is; go to school my children, because that is all the way of your life change so that it is not like what we experienced. Motivation arises from the stimulus; they live the education process to achieve expectations and beliefs that with knowledge and skills will achieve a decent life (interview, 4 August 2018).

The hope of a respectable life in this regard has *hasangapon* as one of the main ideal of every parent transmitted to their children. Latif Kahfi Nasution (currently completing his undergraduate program at UIN Sumatera North) stated that after passing Elementary school, he had to leave Siunjam which was a remote village in South Tapanuli, to continue his education even though he had to walk six kilometers to get a vehicle on the highway to find a

place to continue his education. Then, he began the journey of education by becoming a santri in Pesantren Mustofawiyah, and then enrolling university for further study. The hope is that the child can live a successful and honorable life (interview 29 July 2018).

Not far from Lismaida Ritonga, (interview, 4 July 2018) the son of a farmer who was a teacher at MAN Sipirok, graduated from Tarbiyah Faculty UIN North Sumatra. Her parents always gave encouragement to their children to go to school, because that is the only way to change the way of life. Her parents are also very strict in instilling discipline, providing an understanding of responsibility, and having mutual cooperation in the family (*marsitoguan dohot marsigomgomam hamu inang*-holding hands together between son and daughter). Her parents also stated to maintain self-control from negative influences and realize life encouraged by limited living conditions. His mother always said “*hitaon amang host halak napogos, manat hamu dohot tuhik hamu marsiajar diligent marguru tu halak namamboto, hehe hamu sikola bope dao anso ro jalan rasoki*” (we are poor people, so you go to school to study diligently in order to make easy to find life and sustenance).

The tendency to send children for higher education is based on the desire to reach the degree of *hasangapon*. The people of South Tapanuli have a strong impetus as the influence of the mind of the educational figure namely Willem Iskandar who was very famous in the Dutch colonial period, with his poem:

*Iabo ale amang sinuan tunas  
Langkama ho amang marguru tu sikola  
Ulang hum baen song luas-luas  
Tai ringgas ko amang sikola  
Imale nian amang  
Por ni rohangku ho marbisuk  
Ampot sogot madok-dikma ulala pematang  
Anso ho doma ubaen usuk.*

Meaning:

Dear my dear baby  
Go to school  
Don't just play around  
But be diligent to study  
That's my dear child  
I hope you are knowledgeable  
If tomorrow my body feels heavy

So, I make you a place to lean (Harahap, 1987b).

In summary, this achievement motivation is a combination of the motive of the successful approach and the failure of avoidance motive. The fact shows that successful people are those who have a strong urge to succeed and want to get recognition even from the community's achievements, plus the motive of avoiding failure. All the potential and momentum are utilized maximally gives birth to tremendous mental strength.

The flow of existentialism is a school of philosophy that has the understanding that a person's life is very centered on himself, not someone else or strength outside of man. Man lives to choose what is right and what is wrong. Existentialism questions the existence of human beings which is presented by freedom. In Jean's explanation, humans are condemned to be free (In Sya'bani, 2017). It is considered that life is a struggle that is required to make or take various sacrifices. Without sacrifice, it is certainly difficult to get out of the pressure, and if it drifts under pressure it will escape from the surface.

From this principle, there is an extraordinary appreciation for humans, and a high appreciation for human existence, namely humanism (Maslow, 1954: 59). Maslow arranged a hierarchy of human needs, namely physiological needs related to the desire to have sufficient and adequate food. Next is the need or desire to survive the threat, namely the desire of the soul to be more independent and not in a feeling of confinement and the threat of life from other natural and human elements. Besides that, there is also a tendency to have closeness, brotherhood and cooperation. It causes an urge to have self-actualization and to get recognition from others while having influence and benefits for others, this tendency is innocent. The overall needs and desires are not out of a desire to have self-esteem (Rasskazova et al., 2016). Self-esteem is closely related to *hasangapon*.

To achieve encouragement to have recognition from others, to survive in life to self-actualization, the facts show that the people of South Tapanuli is very strong to maintain self-esteem, because all clan owners are *popparan niraja* (descendants of the king). Therefore, the encouragement and enthusiasm towards respect and status valued in society are triggers for parents and their children to be willing to struggle in education. There are some success stories of getting education for children. What was taken by Marzuky Dalimunthe (Sarbaini's father, a tax officer in Jakarta from Sigalangan village); willing to go day and night wallowing with mud in the fields to manage the rice plants

for daily food. He also worked in rubber and chocolate gardens and in the forest to find rattan and firewood for sale on weekends.

Luhut Mata Hasahat Ritonga (father of Maraudin Ritonga-former Metro Jaya Regional Police Chief), every day from one week to another, peddling retail gold, tirelessly looking for money so that only at night can be at home. The earnestness that they do in trying to get their children out of the circle of limitations and various pressures as a consequence of the living conditions they face finally results in achievements for the achievements of the six sons. So does Nurhafsa Tanjung, a young mother left by a husband who has to bear the burden of raising and sending five children to school. She was forced to do *marrenge-rengge* (selling vegetables and fruit by collecting from villages) or selling by delivering or sending merchandise to the week and city the city in need. From the effort she did to her son, he succeeded in completing studies at the Naval Academy and is currently serving in the Indonesian Navy in the Belawan Port area of North Sumatra.

Baun Harahap was also part of a persistent effort for the future of the child, for years living in *hauma* (a cultivated forest that had become a field). She has two successful children until they had a bachelor's degree at UIN Malang. Like all of the respondents in this study who generally became farmers and open fields in the forest, sending children to school means effort to renew their lives. The situation and the reality of life at that time encouraged them to get out of their limitations so they had to work hard and instill the principles of struggle in their children.

### **The relevance of sending children to school with self-satisfaction.**

Respectful and valued status in society is the *hasangapon* value that is added to everyone in South Tapanuli, because that is where a person has self-esteem and gets recognition from many people. Although in the beginning *hasangapon* was related to the principle of trust, over time the shift of views occurred in the community. At present rationalism is the understanding of life that the reason as the source of truth and as a consequence of teachings. It can be seen in its view of life. Besides, materialism also coloring; that is, as an understanding or view of life that seeks the basis of everything that belongs to human life in the material realm, by putting aside everything that transcends the senses.

The indicators of shifting views based on old beliefs have been dim and now the community is rational and thinking logically and even leads

to materialism. The awareness that the authority of life or *hasangapon* is not determined by the law but by one's social status. The phrase in society today mentions "*hepengdo namangatur dihangoluanon*" meaning that in this life money is decisive. Finding the source of life in order to have money is very important. It is just that people often find various limitations due to lack of ability to follow current technological advances. Parents who work more than the average of most people, provide opportunities for their children to school to be educated. Because they believe that *hasangapon* can only be achieved with intelligence and it can be obtained only by taking education. Education for them is an aspect of necessity because it can make a renewal of life, namely by having *hamoraon* and *hagabeon*. This is the way to achieve high social status, namely *hasangapon*.

Talking about social status is certainly related to sociological studies. Max Weber explained that sociology is the science of social behavior. There is a shift in pressure towards the beliefs, motivations, and goals in the members of the community, all of which give content and shape to their behavior. The word 'identification' is used by Weber for actions which for the perpetrator have a subjective meaning (in King, 2017). The perpetrator wants to achieve a goal or he is motivated by motivation. Accordingly, one acts and simultaneously places himself in a social environment, which is commonly known as in order to motive.

In terms of achieving the average *hasangapon*, respondents especially parents reach it by conscious action because they are driven by the desire for changes in social status. Because in general the success was achieved through the process of difficulties and obstacles and the pressure of life in the community, the desire to change and achieve a decent life becomes the dominant motivation.

Thus, of course, the success achieved by their children certainly affects the increasing social status of the family. This is in line with the opinion of Pangaribuan (2018) who stated that the 3H concepts help to build the culture of the people to be developed. While Simangunsong (2013) said that 3H concepts have an influence on gender equity. Moreover, the basis of the occurrence of the social level is due to the size of wealth, power and authority, honor and science. From the opinion, it can be seen that based on the phenomenon in the location of research, the family who struggle to send their children to have high education, intelligence and degree gives a great opportunity to obtain wealth. Then, having wealth will have the potential to

have power because of education and work in formal institutions, they have the potential to be promoted to hold various positions at the institutions where they work. Then, in society too, to occupy certain positions intelligence and education are definitely needed.

Talking about life satisfaction is a cognitive assessment of how well and satisfying things done by individuals in their lives as a whole and on the main areas they consider important in life. The phenomenon in their community enjoys self-satisfaction because they have set a high life target and have changed from their original state and have succeeded in achieving that goal. All of them admit that their lives are successful in achieving their goals so that they have a meaningful life. From this perspective *hamoraon*, *hagabeon* and especially the achievement of *hasangapon* have proven to be very closely related to aspects of life satisfaction. Nurhafsa Tanjung has been financed by her son to go on the pilgrimage and without devotion from her son if relying on his living conditions in old age is now very unlikely to leave. Besides her son has also bought a garden for his mother and from the produce of the garden is to support her life that lives alone in the village. Also, her son was kind enough to repair the old house that was her residence (interview 20 August 2018).

Darhani Sitompul (interview 24 August 2018), is very proud of her children because after they finished school and had a job, the times when she is sick in her old age, get attention and care from her children so she has a living cost. Also from the results of hard work, the children have managed to buy a garden in this village and to repair her father's relic house.

Masdinar Dalimunthe (interview 27 August 2018) has also been sent by her children to perform the Hajj, get costs and care in old age. Such a scene occurs for parents who have children who are successful in school and have a good source of life, including others such as Khoirina Gultom in the village of Marsada Sipirok. They are respected and even become role models for the success of this parents to send their children to school. After their children succeed and serve their parents, *hasangapon* has emerged and now the community respects them.

As a society that adheres to Islamic teachings and values, in the explanation of Sutan Raja Parhimpunan Harahap (interview 4 October 2018) when the teachings of this religion are understood and practiced, the traditional teachings and local wisdom naturally occur in various shifts. The shift is clearly seen when compared to the customs and local wisdom in the Batak Toba or North Batak. Toba or North traditional value of Tapanuli is integrated with

Christian teachings. So, in Toba it is still believed that there is an existence of “*sahala*” and “*begu*” (supernatural spirit) which also determines human destiny (Sugiarto, 2017: 8). In South Tapanuli the teachings of Islam are the most preferred, while the traditional teachings are carried out as long as they are not contrary to the teachings of Islam. In this context, Harahap sees cultural and religious values supporting each other and such relationships need to be explored and preserved because that is the characteristic of Mandailing and Angkola (South Tapanuli) communities (Harahap, 2018: 122).

The views of *Hamoraon*, *Hagabeon*, and *Hasangapon*, still exist today and become one of the values to help building the spirit of life for the South Tapanuli people. Even though it is not explicitly stated in life, Muhammadiyah circles as a group are always considered to be away from traditional values. Hamdan Siregar, the Head of the Office of Religious Affairs explained, “Muhammadiyah people themselves in reality when it comes to the affairs of life and schooling are still encouraged by this 3H value.” (Interview, 10 August 2018).

The implementation of social activities as an indigenous domain, but after Islam came, the teachings of this religion became integrated with customs. This can be seen in parties (*siriaon*) and sadness (*siluluton*). Customary and religious elaboration occurs and appears as a characteristic of society. Tajuddin (traditional leaders, interview 10 August 2018) said that if in pre-Islamic times the *pastak-pastak ni parhutaon* or elements in the community, there were *hatobangon* (elder), *raja dohot anak ni raja* (descendants of the king) and *oppuisian bagas godang* (heir to the king), now the ulama have become an important element in society. It includes one form of interconnection and integration of custom and religion.

Furthermore, this integration is known as in the community, namely “*homardo adatna dohot ibadatna*”, relating between custom values and religion. The point is *adatna* is the implementation of traditional teachings in ceremonies, while *ibadatna* is the implementation of Islamic law according to the context of the event. This is easily seen at weddings parties, festivities of circumcision, entering new houses and ceremonies in death.

This context, the unity of religion and custom in the Islamic Nusantara discourse, draws religious relations with culture or traditional values, seeing religion as respecting the culture and the source of wisdom. In Islam, nationality and ethnicity are seen positively as a source of wisdom confirmed in the Qur’an (Al-Hujurat: 13). Second, seeing culture as a divine heritage inherited through prophet emissaries for humans, and prophets in Islam are understood

to be very many in number. Hence, it is considered for some experts to be understood that culture is the teachings of the prophet as long as it does not conflict with Islamic teachings “.

On the basis of that thought, *hasangapon* can be understood by the community such as the teachings and the message of God that the degree will be elevated according to the Qur'an al-Mujadilah (verse 11) is the person who believes and always studying and many good deeds. Islamic views like this strengthen the survival of cultural values in society.

### Conclusion

The view of the community about the cultivation of *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* (3H), is the value and principle of life that they consider to be a necessity because the value of 3H is the desire and obsession of every human being in South Tapanuli. The 3H is a state of life in which prosperity or *hamoraon* life becomes respected, with *hagabeon* to have children who get a good job and source of livelihood, and *hasangapon* with the high of respect from other people.

The earnestness of the South Tapanuli community in providing their children's education to reach the 3H is shown through how they traveled in various ways, styles, doing business, a hard job as farmers or others in order to get the 3H for their lives and their children. The community has a strong soul and determination, they can send their children to tertiary education so that their children can enjoy life according to the values in the 3H. They will do everything, even borrowing money from someone else or to the bank or they sell goods or property that are available to meet children's school needs or to find work.

The 3H philosophy, *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon*, is achieved by pursuing children's education in the South Tapanuli community. It is the basic concepts and desires to get a good life in the future. These principles are applied in the South Tapanuli communities in educating their children also in order to get the 3H.

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## UNDERSTANDING HADRAH ART AS THE LIVING AL-QUR'AN: THE ORIGIN, PERFORMANCE AND WORLDVIEW<sup>1</sup>

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### **Abstract**

*This article explores hadrah art in Lampung. Hadrah art actually becomes the most played religious music art among Indonesian Muslim in various areas. It focuses on the doctrinal basis of hadrah believed by Indonesian Muslim. By explaining the origin of the hadrah, its performances, tools and poems sung, with the living Qur'an concepts and interpretivism perspective, I found that hadrah is usually performed in religious rituals, then it is always contextual and connotative. Hadrah for Indonesian Muslim can be understood as the living Qur'an phenomenon because the underlying doctrine is shalawat from the Qur'an. As one of the phenomena of the living Qur'an, hadrah group, essentially, is reciting poems praising Allah and the Prophet of Muhammad, and they believe that it is as a command of the Qur'an. Thus, there has been acculturation between the teachings of the Qur'an with the local culture of society.*

*Artikel ini membahas tentang seni hadrah di Lampung. Seni hadrah sebenarnya menjadi seni musik religius yang paling banyak dimainkan di kalangan Muslim Indonesia di berbagai wilayah. Artikel ini fokus pada dasar doktrinal hadrah yang diyakini oleh Muslim Indonesia. Dengan menjelaskan asal mula hadrah, pertunjukannya, alat-alatnya dan puisi-puisinya yang dinyanyikan,*

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<sup>1</sup>The draft of this paper has been presented in The First International Symposium on Religious Literature and Heritage (ISLAGE) in Jakarta in 2015. This article is an enhanced version from that draft.

dengan menggunakan kerangka konsep Al-Qur'an yang hidup dan perspektif interpretivisme, terungkap bahwa hadrah biasanya dilakukan dalam ritual keagamaan, lalu selalu bersifat kontekstual dan konotatif. Hadrah bagi Muslim Indonesia dapat dipahami sebagai fenomena Al-Qur'an yang hidup, karena doktrin yang melandasinya adalah shalawat dari Al-Qur'an. Sebagai salah satu fenomena dari Al-Qur'an yang hidup, kelompok hadrah, pada dasarnya, melantunkan puisi yang memuji Allah dan Nabi Muhammad, dan mereka percaya bahwa itu adalah sebagai perintah Al-Qur'an. Dengan demikian, telah terjadi akulturasi antara ajaran Al-Qur'an dengan budaya masyarakat setempat.

**Keywords:** hadrah; Islamic music; living Qur'an; religious art studies; shalawat

## Introduction

This paper focuses on hadrah art, specifically in the tradition of Lampung, whereas actually, this becomes the most religious music art played by many Indonesian Muslim as showed by Lubis (1996) Eastern Sumatera (Asahan, Deli Serdang, Langkat, Simalungun) and Malay peninsula. Now, we can see this performance in many rituals of Indonesia Muslims in almost all areas. As a region the so called "peripheral" of Malay culture—because of its position that becomes a transit area, for example, by Palembang, West Sumatera, Medan, Riau, Aceh, and Jambi—it would be interesting to see the development of Islamic culture there, including the arts. Indeed, hadrah is not typical of Lampung, but it does not mean that the art is the same in most areas. The study of Lubis (1996) showed the similarities and differences of hadrah in Eastern Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Studies of Islam and music, especially hadrah, have not seen many aspects of the worldview that lie behind it. Usually, scholars focus on debating whether music art in Islam is permissible or not (Shiloah, 1997; Gribetz, 1991). In addition, the existing studies emphasize more on the Arab influence in the music played by Muslims in Indonesia (Rasmussen, 2005). Indeed there has been a study of Islam and music among Sufis, such as Lewisohn's (2008) study of *sama'*, but its context was not Indonesia. Studies on understanding music in Islam as part of the Sufi tradition were already done (During et. al., 2010;), but it has not touched the context of musical traditions in Indonesia. Those studies have not explained about a living Qur'an.

Recent studies on Islam and the development of musical art in the context of Indonesian culture, such as that performed by Notosudirdjo (2003),

Harnish et al (2011), and Rasmussen (2001; 2010), do not focus on hadrah art which clearly get appreciation from people. I have done a preliminary study of the hadrah art in Lampung, specifically about the function of the art in the society (Iswanto, 2015). However, that study has not touched the analysis of living Qur'an which becomes the world view of hadrah art, although, this disclosure can enrich Islamic cultural studies and its complexity in Indonesia. This paper attempts to provide in-depth analysis on hadrah; its origin, performance, and, most importantly, the underlying worldview. This study is based on the assumption that hadrah is a part of living Qur'an, and the Qur'an becomes worldview of hadrah.

### **Understanding the living Qur'an**

According to Ahimsa-Putra (2012: 236-237), living Qur'an is a familiar expression for Muslims. This expression can be interpreted in various kinds. First, the phrase of "Prophet Muhammad" as a real sense. The Qur'an has mentioned that the Prophet Muhammad always performed good examples. It was reinforced by hadith, which said that the character of the Prophet Muhammad is the Qur'an. This means that he always behaves and acts based on the Qur'an. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad is a living Qur'an and it manifests in himself as a human figure.

Second, the phrase could refer to a society of everyday life who uses the Qur'an as a reference or guidance. They live by following what is commanded in the Qur'an and staying away from things that are forbidden. This is then called "living Qur'an" which means the Qur'an manifested in daily life. We do not have a concrete example of this kind of society, and perhaps this kind of community has never existed because any Islamic society always performed life forms, patterns of behavior, actions and activities that are not based on the Qur'an.

Third, the phrase can also mean that the Qur'an is not only a book but also a "book of life," which is manifested in everyday life. The embodiment of the Qur'an in economic activities, for example, would be different in political activities or in arts. Furthermore, how to realize the Qur'an in everyday life is also very diverse, depending on the meaning of God based on each person. In this sense, the Qur'an can manifest itself in the midst of people who are not Muslims, while its manifestations in the life of Islam is also highly variable.

If it is observed, the presence of the Qur'an in the life of Muslims in Indonesia shows various meanings as a book that contains God's words in

Arabic. First, the Qur'an is interpreted as 'book,' and 'readings'. This is the most common meaning given physically. The Qur'an is the form of sheets of paper with passages that are collected together and arranged in such a way. As a book, it is seen as something readable and stands alone.

Second, the Qur'an is interpreted as "a special book," or "a holy book," as the scripture that should not be done arbitrarily or equate with other books. The Qur'an is not an ordinary book as it contains the words of God. It is revealed through the Gabriel, certain signs, and particular ways. God is the holy of holies, therefore, His words are sacred too.

Third, the Qur'an is as a collection of instructions. In Surah al-Baqarah: 2, Allah said: "This Book is not to be doubted. It is a guide for the righteous." This verse clearly and unequivocally said that the Qur'an is a book that contains instructions. Instructions are all things that can bring people to something good or that makes an individual in a good state. If it does not bring the man in such state, it called a "deceiver" or "misleading," i.e everything that makes a person in a circumstance that is considered right or desired.

Fourth, many people interpret the Qur'an as "heart medicine," (*tombo ati* in Javanese), to treat their hearts while being sad. For example, people who are sad can be happy when they read surah 94 (al-Insyirah): 5-6, "Every hardship is followed by ease. Every hardship is followed by ease."

Fifth, the Qur'an is a "physical medicine." There is a statement: "Those who read surah al-Ikhlis when he is hungry, then it will be full, and when he is thirsty, he can be freshened." Regardless of the truth, at least it can provide information to us that the verses of the Qur'an indeed can be a drug for a weak or sick body.

Sixth, the Qur'an was interpreted as a means of protection. Verses or certain letters in the Qur'an is believed to be a mean of obtaining protection from God. It is not only a protection of dangers in life but also of calamity that will befall a person after he died. The protections are those against natural hazards, evil, and torment after death.

Seventh, the Qur'an as a source of knowledge. As a book that contains not only instructions, commands, prohibitions and suggestions, but also a variety of stories about past events, the Qur'an also be viewed as a source of information or source of knowledge. If the Qur'an is believed as a revelation from God, Muslims believe that the information in it is right. Thus, the history written in Qur'an is the most reliable, because it is not from man, but God. Likewise, it also contains God's description about what will be experienced

by humans in the future. Therefore, the Qur'an is believed to be a source of knowledge of the past, present, and future.

The study of living Qur'an is the study of Qur'an, but does not rely on the existence of its text. It is the study of social phenomena associated with the presence of the Qur'an in particular geographic and perhaps in a certain time. Offering the living Qur'an as an object of study is the interpretation of Qur'an in a broader sense than a text.

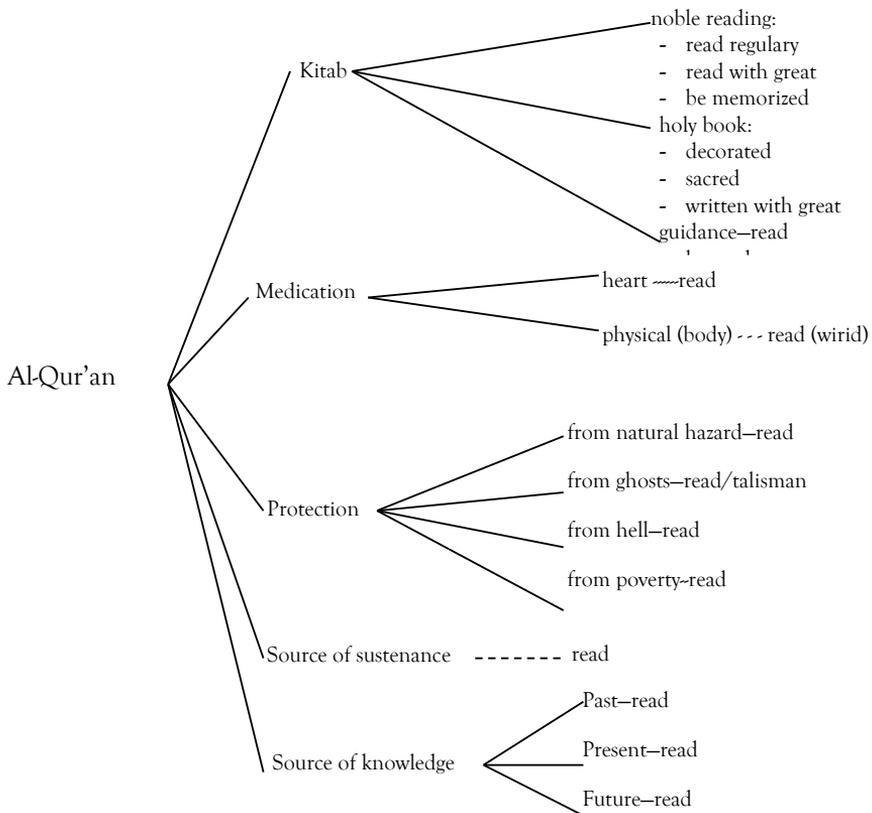


Figure 1. The meanings of the Qur'an were interpreted by Muslims  
 Source: Ahimsa-Putra (2012: 249)

Seeing the living Qur'an anthropologically and sociologically is basically looking at socio-cultural phenomenon, namely symptom in patterns of individual or group's behavior that emerge from understanding Qur'an. With this perspective, a phenomenon which later became the object of study is no longer the Qur'an as a text, but the humane treatment of the Qur'an and

how patterns of behavior based on understanding of Qur'an was realized. The object of this study is how the variety of meanings of Qur'an are presented, practiced and take place in daily life (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012: 250). In this context, the Qur'an can be a worldview, in the form of concepts underlying Muslims' behavior.

Investigating the worldview or concept that underlies human's behavior in cultural anthropology can be approached by the perspective of interpretivism of Geertz. Geertz (1973, 89) proposed the concept of culture as a pattern of meaning embodied in symbols (hence it should be interpreted), which is derived historically. While the symbol itself means an object, either in the form of words, materials, actions, events or personal, which represents, depicts or suggests something that larger, transcendent, the highest or last, i.e. meanings, ideas, values or beliefs of society (Dillistone, 2002: 20). The meaning of the symbol is derived (inherited) historically, it contains a set of concepts. These concepts derived from a synthesis between the 'ethos' and 'worldview' of society. So, it seems, Geertz would like to say that the symbol was a container of meaning and to find the meaning of a symbol, it is important to investigate worldview and ethos of the symbol's owner. The worldview is ideas of cosmic order and human imagined and projected, whereas ethos understood as a way of life that characterizes a society (Geertz 1973, 129).

### Tracing the Origins of Hadrah

There is no clarity about where the art of hadrah in Indonesia comes from, including in Lampung. Speculation is circulating: this art comes with the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, which was brought by migrants from the Arab region. The Oxford Dictionary of Islam states that the word "hadrah" itself in some literature refers to a 'presence.' It is for zikr (prayer of remembrance) in weekly communal gathering of Sufi every Friday and is associated to liturgical rituals, prayers, and song recitals, whether private or public; in earlier orders, the 'presence' referred to God, but since the eighteenth century it has been considered the spiritual presence of Muhammad. Typically it begins with reading poetry and prayers, followed by zikr and its rituals. It is also to celebrate on special Islamic festivals and at rites of passage. It may be held at home, in a mosque, in a Sufi hospice, or elsewhere (Esposito, 2014).

Sonneborn (in Harnish, 2011: 105) examining the zikr rituals of sufi community in America, states that hadrah was associated with ritual zikr derived from *sama'* ritual (hearing) for the sufis. *Sama'* itself is literally an "audition"

(hear), and in the sufi tradition it refers to the hearing “with the heart,” with a musical instrument, a kind of meditation “to meet” and “to talk” with God (Leaman, 2005: 192; Nasr, 1987: 155). The ritual has been practiced since the medieval century in Islam (which began in the 1200s M). As hadrah known among Muslim in Indonesia and Malaysia, *sama'* also consists of a form of dance, sound, and poems presented until the God “presents” (Schimmel, 1975: 179-181). Maybe this leads to a conclusion that *sama'* is similiar with hadrah, although hadrah is better known by Indonesian Muslims. Hadrah much practiced by Muslims in the countries of North Africa, the Middle East, Turkey, Malaysia, and also in Indonesia (Shokouhi and Yusof, 2013: 379; Lubis, 1996).

Al-Faruqi (1999: 196-197) called this as an art of voice (*handasah al-sawt*) on the second level after *qira'ah* art (reading the Qur'an). This art, too, aligned with prayer call (*azan*). Arts in this level usually contains texts or poetry that rhythmic, praising the greatness of the Prophet Muhammad (*madh*). Sometimes it is thanksgiving to God (*tahmid*) with an expression that indicates the meaning of praise. Unlike *qira'ah*, art at this level is less consistent because it always follows the context of locality where it is played. Lubis (1996) has shown that rhythm of hadrah music and dance movements of Eastern Sumatera is faster and dynamic than in Malay Peninsula, but both use poetry in either Arabic or local language which show the praising of Allah and the Prophet Muhamad. Usually, hadrah in either Eastern Sumatera and Malay Peninsula showed in a wedding celebration and cutting hair ritual of the baby (*'aqiqah*). In Lampung, sometimes hadrah played with slow tone and sometimes with a dynamic tone.

However, it is still difficult to track since when and who first introduced hadrah in Indonesia. It is also not easy to track since when and who first introduced the reading tradition of blessings (*salawat*) in Indonesia is. According to Ismail Hamid, as quoted by Hadi (2004: 148), a Muslim historian of the fifteenth century, namely Zainuddin al-Malibari reported that Islam spread successfully in India and South East Asia regions aided by reading of Prophet biography, by singing accompanied by the musical instruments, either through the texts of the *Burdah*, *Mawlid syaraf al-anam*, or *Mawlid al-Barzanzi*. This theory has been presented by Sheppard as quoted by Lubis (1996: 74) that the hadrah or *rudat* is estimated to appear in the mid-13th century. While reading the biography of the Prophet is much done in a variety of Islam with Arabic, especially in the celebration of the Prophet's birth (Kaptein, 1993: 125; 1994: 49).

If hadrah appears along with Islam in Indonesia, then the most likely way is to keep track of where Islam in Indonesia comes from. There are at least three opinions regarding the origin of Islam in Indonesia. The first is from the area of India, namely Gujarat, Malabar, and Bengal. The second is from Persian, and the third is from Arab region (Azra, 2002: 24-30; Shihab, 2001: 8-12). Islam in Indonesia was brought by the Arabs—not Indian people—since the 7th century and started to develop since the 13th century, which had stopped at the territories of India before finally arriving at the archipelago. According to Alatas (2010: xxx), one of the positive impacts of the progress of the trade routes in the Indian Ocean is the origin of Hadramaut sayid (South Arabia) began to spread to various areas in Indian Ocean, including Archipelago after residing in India. In India and Archipelago, while trading, they found religious and Sufism centers. This is about Sufism role in spreading Islam in Indonesia as expressed by Johns (1993) and supported by Azra (2002: 33).

According to the cultural diffusion theory, of course, the Arabs of Hadramaut carried their culture. In relation to art, especially hadrah, as described by Berg (2010: 81), that 'tambourine' is used to accompany praise on the memorial day of the Prophet's birth. According to him, the praise was called '*zikr maulid*'. The use of these tools become important, because according to Sedyawati (1993: 147), the type of music instruments in one headed recently became known after Islam came, while the double-headed (*kendang*) tool is known by the people of Archipelago, as well as *kecrek*, a musical instrument made of metal pieces such as *gamelan* music of Java.

However, it is also not concluded yet about who is the first introduced hadrah in Indonesia and when it began to appear. The statements in the previous paragraph are just about instrument, not the 'hadrah' as an object. So it is difficult to track since when and from where hadrah is known by Lampung society. The most possible is tracing from where Islam came to the region and is acceptable to Lampung society. There are three possibilities; first is from Banten since the 15th century, second is from Minangkabau when Pagaruyung converted to Islam, and third is from the Sultanate of Palembang (Daud et.al., 2012: 91). As such, the sources to get a conclusion or certainty about the origin of hadrah in Indonesia and Lampung are still limited, however, in reality, the current religious art is widely practiced by the Indonesian Muslim community, including Lampung.

### Hadrah performance

Hadrah is played by the group, consisting of a vocalist, backing vocal, and musical instrument players (drums/tambourine/*rebana*). Also, there are people watch or play together. I observe two groups of hadrah in Lampung. Both group play hadrah which consist of literature, music and motion or dance. It is also shown by another hadrah group in other areas, as proposed by Lubis studies (1996) or Suryadilaga (2014). According to Nurdin, "In hadrah, there are music, dance, and song, it is different from '*rudat*' which music players, singer, as well as dancers, is a different one; that is Lampung hadrah. All performance of hadrah was seated with a simple or slow dance. However, this performance also depends on its moment, if it is shown to *ngarak*, then usually the hadrah player is certainly up and running, which occasionally interspersed with dance movements (Iswanto, 2015: 337).

Hadrah group of Nurdin is usually played by eight to fifteen people, each person holding a *teghbangan* (*terbangan/bekhdah/rebana*), a membran musical instrument with round-faced instruments in one head with a diameter of 25-35 cm. In addition, there are three round metal called *kecrek*, its function is to add variations of sounds. According to Nurdin, there are two major types of blows in hadrah commonly used in Lampung, i.e. *tabuhan cakak* and *tabuhan turunan*. *Tabuhan cakak* consists of eighteen types of punches, while *tabuhan turunan* consists of seven punches. When he is asked about the meaning, he only replied "it was taught by our teachers and parents." Indeed, each blow (*tabuhan*) is still adapted to the poem and song. Similarly, the dance just to show the esteem and expressive taught by the parents and teachers in West Lampung (Iswanto, 2015: 337-338).



Figure 2. Performance of Habib Abu Bakar's Hadrah  
Source: researcher documentation (2016)

Hadrah performance, according to Nurdin and Abu Bakr, is usually displayed in the aqiqah ritual, circumcision, marriage procession, or the Hajj

celebration (*walimah al-safar*). It is also performed in other religious events, such as commemorations of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, the opening or closing of *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an*, and the event which is routinely done for silaturahmi. Hadrah performers often read texts of *Mawlid al-Barzanzi*, *Syaraf al-anam*, or other poems of prayers (*doa*) and praises. However, it is difficult to say that hadrah is an integral part of these rituals, because marriage, for example, will continue without hadrah performance. In addition, hadrah is used as dakwah (Iswanto, 2015: 339).

Hadrah performance, as a ritual or at least as accompanist to the ritual, can be characterized by the existence of special time, special object, rules, special place, audience, symbols displayed or read (Schechner, 2003: 15). Hadrah is often shown in a ritual or religious ceremonies, associated with the life cycle, either in the house, mosque, *musalla* or *majlis*. In Lampung society ritual, hadrah can be a 'sacred art.' However, in certain contexts, hadrah is not always in ritual, it can just be 'a spectacle'. It is not merely become entertainment, but the delivery of dakwah Islam. This is called as phenomena of 'transition' in the art performance (Simatupang, 2010: 4). Sometimes, hadrah becomes part of the ritual, or a media for propaganda (dakwah), or/and an entertainment.

### Problems about the Performance of Hadrah

The existence of hadrah performance now is a potential that needs to be maintained as part of efforts to preserve religious traditional arts. Indeed, not all of studios are focused on hadrah art, but at least some studios that have hadrah groups need to be maintained. This is also a sign of excitement of Islam in Indonesia because art such as hadrah is no longer an art that belongs only to and developed in traditional Islamic boarding schools or pesantren as Kuntowijoyo (1999: 45) has pointed out but has expanded to the Muslim community at large. However, in terms of inheritance and preservation, there are several issues to consider.

The first is debate about the issue of heresy (*bid'ah*). Hadrah is shown in various life cycle rituals, such as *aqiqah*, circumcision and marriage, some circles view as a heresy (contrived teachings). Indeed *aqiqah*, circumcision and marriage are religious orders, but in celebration there are many things that are not taught in religion. This is what later led to debate among Islamic groups in Indonesia. Especially in the *maulid* (the Prophet's birth) celebration, which according to some Muslims, is a heresy. For example, there is a debate between traditional people and modernists in the matter of "standing" ritual

in the reading of *maulid* around 1875 to 1930 (Kaptein 1993, 133). This, surely, results in people not doing or displaying hadrah art, which is seen as negative ritual. Furthermore, Sufism debate in Islam becomes “the main reason” for the emergence of musical arts in Islamic tradition (Harnish and Rasmussen 2011, 17).

The second is the problem of globalization and modernization. Globalization will more or less give influence to Indonesian culture. In the context of traditional art, the art of hadrah will also inevitably face this. Young people will become more familiar with their own culture, including hadrah art because they have more honor for playing modern music in band music groups. Along with that, educational institutions do not or rarely care about this. Here the endurance of hadrah as a traditional art is tested. On one occasion, Abu Bakar, the author’s informant said that “If they are mature enough, they are already in *Madrasah Aliyah* (high school) and start to shyly join the hadrah group.” The creativity of hadrah artists bring new things, which is in accordance with the development of modern music, such as the adoption of organ, guitar or other instruments while maintaining that tradition.

### Worldview of Hadrah

One of the informants, Abu Bakar said that “Allah, the God who ordered to recite *salawat*. If we did it a lot, our lives will not difficult and scattered. So, hadrah is actually a *salawat*” (*Allah, Tuhan yang memerintahkan salawat. Jika kita banyak melakukannya, hidup kita tidak akan susah dan tercecera, jadi hadrah itu salawat*). As expressed above, hadrah consists of literature, music, and dance, but the most underlying element is literature, i.e. the texts of poems are sung. After the song of poetry appears music and its dance (Lubis, 1996: 102).

So, to understand the concepts or worldview underlying hadrah, it can be done by trying to understand the meaning behind the texts of the poem. Nurdin dan Abu Bakar mentioned that the poems are mostly drawn from the texts of *Maulid al-Barzanzi*, *Syaraf al-anam*, *Diwan al-hadrah*, *Maulid al-burdah*, and *Mawlid Diba’i*. The most commonly used are the first two texts. *Mawlid al-Barzanzi* consists of poems and prose. The text is written by Ja’far ibn Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Karim al-Barzanzi (1690-1764/6) (Kaptein, 1993: 126).

According to Azra (2007: 107-108), who quoted the author of dictionary of scholars biographies of the 17th and 18th centuries in the Makkah dan Medina, al-Muradi in the Book of Silk al-durar, the name al-Barzanzi belong to one of the exponents of scholars who developed network of ‘ulama’ in

Haramain. According to Azra (2007: 109), actually the title of the text of Maulid al-Barzanzi was *'Iqd al-jawahir*, but it does not belong to the book of *Majmu'at maulid wadi'iyah*, a collection of texts consists of maulid poems and prayers. So, actually, the text of *Maulid al-Barzanzi* has arrived at the archipelago when the network of Middle East and the Archipelago ulama grew.

The information of when the author of *Maulid syaraf al-anam* began writing and since when it was dispersed in Indonesia are still unclear. However, by reading the poetry, it can be assumed that this text was also written by a poet who has sufism background. It contained many themes of love (*hubb*), longing (*syawq*) and praise (*madh*) to Allah and his messenger, the Prophet of Muhammad. This, according to Idris (2014: 306) shows the identity of Sufis. The text of *Maulid syaraf al-anam* consists of prose and poetry (poems), which are commonly sung. This text is also now included in *Majmu'at maulid wadi'iyah*, the tradition of reading *Maulid syaraf al-anam* practiced by many Muslims in Palembang (Idris, 2014: 305).

According to Nurdin, the poems, especially ones sung by hadrah groups in Lampung Barat, is "A kind of Arabic poems that praise the greatness of God, His Messenger and followers". In addition, they have a sort of guide books consist of the poems that are sung in the performance. In this book, there are seven songs, the songs of *lurus*, *diwan surukan*, *mardeh*, *nasib*, *tangguh mulai*, *tangguh berhenti*, and *tangguh penutup*. However, he cannot explain the meaning of song's title. Several tracks can be used for a particular function, such as opening or closing song. Though he was unable to explain its meaning, he is really skillful in singing the songs as taught by his teacher. Each song has a title and poem. Poetry is taken from the texts of Arabic poetry, like *Syaraf al-anam* and *Mawlid al-Barzanzi*. There are also poems taken from the text of *Diwan al-hadrah*, which author is unknown, such as the poem "Sollu Robbuna".

Abu Bakar's group also has a guide book, namely "*Untaian Sholawat dan Qosidah Baginda Nabi Muhammad saw.*" Now the poetry widely used is also collected in *Kumpulan Qasidah Islamiyyah Terlengkap dan Terpopuler Saat ini (500 Judul Lagu)* (Munir 2004). According to Abu Bakar, sometimes in the performance, his group follows the host who invites them. The host usually prefers to read out *Maulid al-Barzanzi* dan *Syaraf al-anam*. The group of Abu Bakar also recites the poetry in Bahasa, such as the poem "*Rohatil athyaru*" followed by the story of the Prophet Muhammad's family in Bahasa. This poem seems to be quite popular in some regions, such as West Java and Jakarta. However, in the guidebook that is used by the group of Abu Bakar, Majelis

Nurul Sholawat Ishlah, and Studio Waya Kenyangan under the guidance of Nurdin, it is different in terms of poems in Bahasa. The poems with Bahasa or native language of Lampung was not sung by the group of “Sholawat Majelis Nurul Ishlah.” It is just that there are similarities in the two verses in Arabic. It seems here, probably, Abu Bakar as an Arab descent think that it is enough to recite poetry in Arabic, moreover, he also joins in a group of Arab community held meeting regularly in Bandar Lampung.

The language which is as a symbol of the poetical texts is important to discuss further to get the meaning. It is more useful to see the reproduction of culture with its relation to hadrah. In semiotics (Danesi, 2004, 13), ‘meaning’ is a ‘connotation’ rather than a ‘denotation.’ In everyday language, we often interpret connotation as “the essence of the message” in a speech or a text. In many poems, there are many connotations or metaphors requiring further understanding, for example in the text of *Syaraf al-anam* there is a poem ‘*ashraq al-badr ‘alayna*’ (had risen a moon to us). The denotative meaning of *al-badr* means ‘a moon,’ but connotative meaning, as well as Sufis, interpret, or at least if you look at the context of the structure of the text, is the Prophet of Muhammad. However, all poems are as a message of the preaching and the love of Allah and the Prophet of Muhammad. This is understandable because, at first, the preaching of Islam is ordering to love God and the Prophet Muhammad, then whatever the duty and the right are should be done. This statement can be justified if a theory of Sufism in the spread of Islam in the Archipelago-Indonesia is taken (Shihab, 2001: 13).

Along with the development of history, the symbol of language was changed due to a shift in the boundaries of culture (Abdullah, 2010: 2). Symbols can be changed in accordance with spaces of locality, but the meanings are maintained, there appear various poems in local languages, including Bahasa, Malay, and Javanese. This is understandable that there are some poems in Lampung dialect as listed in guidebooks of “Studio Waya Kenyangan” group, or in guidebooks of “Sholawat Majelis Nurul Ishlah” that use Bahasa. Compared to some other studies, such as Lubis (1996: 169), it shows that the language in the text of songs in East Sumatra uses and combines the local Malay language with Arabic. Likewise, Rabimin’s study that was quoted by Sedyawati (1993: 136-137), indicates the use of the Java language in Jamjaneng Shalawat group in Kebumen, Central Java. The same thing also happened to a group Joged Shalawat Mataram (Suryadilaga, 2014: 551), that used the Javanese language.

The poems of *Maulid al-Barzanji*, *Syaraf al-anam* sung in hadrah performance is a media of spreading (dakwah) that contains the meaning of monotheism and love of Allah and His Messenger. This reading then leads to a series or a number of other poems, as has been described above, whose essence is the connotative meaning: praise to Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. In the Qur'an, Surah al-Ahzab (33): 56, mentioned that "The prophet is blessed by Allah and his angels. Bless him, then, you that are true believers, and great him with a worthy salutation." The purpose of the verse is: God gives grace to the Prophet Muhammad, and the angels ask forgiveness for him. Therefore, God advises all Muslims to bless the Prophet and greetings with full respect to him. Shihab (2002: 528) in the Tafsir al-Misbah, said *sallu* in that verse is taken from the word *sallah* which means "good mention and greeting containing virtue." Meanwhile, says *sallimu* from *salam* which means "escape from deprivation, destruction and disgrace and peace." This verse is a continuation of the previous verse that commands Muslims to honor the Prophet of Muhammad and his family (Shihab, 2002: 526).

Then, commands in the Qur'an is translated into several hadis (sayings and traditions of the Prophet), as narrated by Bukhari and Muslim, Ahmad and Ibn Majah, then bring up a variety of literary poetry. It is usually performed as hadrah songs, which all have connotations of praise, prayers as well as dakwah (spreading of Islam) and the strengthening of monotheism through the growth of love to God and the Prophet Muhammad. According to Ahimsa-Putra (2005: 252) and Suryadilaga (2014: 555), as one of the phenomena of living Qur'an as well as living hadis, hadrah group, essentially, is reciting poems that praise to Allah and the Messenger. They believe it is as commanded by the Qur'an and hadis, as presented by Abu Bakr in Bandar Lampung and Nurdin of West Lampung.

Hadrah is usually performed in religious rituals, then it is always contextual and connotative (Napier, 1992: xviii). It is one of conception in interpretivism of Geertz. A good way to understand the meaning of hadrah for Muslims in Indonesia, as suggested by Geertz (1973: 129), is understanding the concepts and worldview behind hadrah. The concept and worldview of hadrah is the importance of "shalawat" for Muslims, or "traditional Muslims." It has led to a series of other traditions i.e. sarakalan, diba'an and manaqiban (Fattah, 2008: 302). Shalawat is the command of the Qur'an, therefore Muslims carrying it out with a variety of specific regional characteristics. Thus, there

has been acculturation between the teachings of the Qur'an with the local culture of society.

### Conclusion

Hadrah art, which covers aspects of literature, dance, and music, is often displayed in the religious ritual traditions of the Indonesian Islamic community. Literary aspects appear in the verses sung, aspects of dance appear in expressive movements in the form of respect and martial arts, and aspects of music appear in the technique of wasps or punches to a membrane (drum) with certain musical effects. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say that hadrah art is an integral part of a religious ritual in society, because rituals can continue to run without a hadrah performance, for example, a marriage will still be carried out even without the presence of hadrah art. However, some communities, such as Lampung society, especially West Lampung, a place where Lampung hadrah art groups emerged, still play hadrah art in various religious rituals, although it is not an obligation in rituals.

In addition to being displayed in rituals, hadrah also has a function as a missionary message conveyed through poetry. The art of hadrah is closely related to the *sama'* ritual in the Sufi tradition to present God and the Prophet. The art of hadrah in its original form emerged as the introduction of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago, which was also influenced by Sufi leaders.

The meaning of hadrah art for Islamic society is contained in the worldview underlying the hadrah, namely the view of shalawat and prayer in Islam which is the command of the Qur'an. The reading of the texts of praise verses, such as *Mawlid al-Barzanzi*, *Syaraf al-anam* or other poems sung in the art of hadrah is a medium of propaganda (propagation) in which the meaning of the monotheism and the love of Allah and the Prophet are contained. This reading raises a series or a number of other poems, which is, in essence, are connotatively meaningful in praising Allah and the Prophet of Muhammad. The art group such as hadrah is essentially singing verses in the form of praise to Allah and the Messenger. They believe it is as the commandment of the Qur'an and hadith, so that it can be called living hadith and living Qur'an.

The natural inheritance of hadrah art applies in the family sphere and rituals involving the hadrah. Whereas conservation (which is an engineering inheritance) is carried out with good educational institutions in mosques through study groups and cultural festivals held by the government to revive the arts of Islamic culture. The existence of art studios that also play hadrah art is

quite a potential to continue the continuity of this art. Some of the problems arise in this preservation, namely the issue of the debate about heresy about art and prayer or shalawat, and the flow of globalization and modernization. For this problem, the reconstruction of Islamic thought about important culture and art was revived, and the introduction of traditional arts, including the art of hadrah through educational institutions to deal with globalization. The introduction of traditional arts with religious nuances through educational institutions can also be a vehicle for conservation.

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## SPIRITUAL EDUCATION THROUGH ZIARAH TRADITION IN SYAIKH SYAMSUDDIN AL-WASIL TOMB KEDIRI CITY

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### **Abstract**

*This paper aims to examine the development of spirituality that is traversed through the grave pilgrimage tradition by utilizing symbolic interactionist theory, religious and cultural theory, and spiritual intelligence theory. This study wanted to reveal the process and impact of a person's spiritual change after carrying out the tradition of pilgrimage in the Tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, Kediri city. The results of this study show that first, spiritual process of pilgrims starts from the reason for making the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin Al-Wasil, Kediri city as an object of spiritual education, namely a media reminder for pilgrims, efforts to approach pilgrims to Allah, and as a place of prayer. The spiritual process itself is divided into three stages, namely; (1) pre-pilgrimage by purifying with ablution, (2) the stage of pilgrimage begins with tawasul on special people, reading the Qur'an, reading tahlil and finally reading the do'a, (3) after the pilgrimage by doing shodaqoh. Second, in terms of spiritual changes in the pilgrim's self, namely; (1) inner changes such as calmness of heart and feeling holy heart, (2) changes in the end like feeling in living life more diligently and zealously, feeling lazy disappears, and pilgrims can control emotions.*

*Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji pengembangan spiritualitas yang dilalui dengan cara tradisi ziarah kubur dengan memanfaatkan teori interaksionis simbolis, teori agama dan budaya, serta teori kecerdasan spiritual. Penelitian ini mengungkap proses dan dampak perubahan spiritual seseorang setelah melakukan tradisi ziarah di Makam Syaikh Syamsuddin al-Wasil kota Kediri.*

Hasil penelitian ini menemukan bahwa; pertama proses spiritual peziarah bermula dari alasan menjadikan makam Syaikh Syamsuddin Al-Wasil Kota Kediri sebagai objek pendidikan spiritual yakni, media pengingat bagi peziarah, upaya mendekati peziarah pada Allah, dan sebagai tempat berdo'a. Proses spiritual sendiri dibagi menjadi tiga tahap yakni; (1) pra ziarah dengan melakukan penyucian dengan berwudhu, (2) tahap ziarah dimulai dengan bertawasul pada orang-orang khusus, membaca al-Qur'an, membaca tahlil dan terakhir membaca do'a, (3) pasca ziarah dengan melakukan shodaqoh. Kedua, segi perubahan spiritual yang terjadi pada diri peziarah yakni; (1) perubahan secara batin seperti ketenangan hati dan merasa hati menjadi bersih, (2) perubahan secara dhohir seperti merasa dalam menjalani hidup semakin rajin dan bersemangat, rasa malas menghilang, dan peziarah dapat mengontrol emosi.

**Keywords:** *grave pilgrimage tradition; spiritual education*

## Introduction

Studying a pilgrimage tradition cannot be separated from the face of Indonesian-Islamic culture. Indeed, it cannot be denied, that today there is a trend of religious tourism, where people make pilgrimages to places that have a religious nuance (Mustagfiroh and Mustaqim, 2014: 157). The grave pilgrimage is used as religious tourism for Indonesian Muslims, especially from among the Ahlu Sunah Wal Jamaah (ASWAJA) (Fuad, 2019).

Religious values have a role in realizing local cultural values that are already maintained by the community. Religious values and cultural values will be used as a model for the development of pilgrimage tourism (Indrahti, 2013: 10). Though when viewed in a human ratio, pilgrimage at the tomb, there are no benefits to be gained from these activities.

However, the study of pilgrimage needs more explanation. Geertz in Javanese Islam alludes to a pilgrimage in the tradition of the Modjokuto community. Geertz very carefully explained the tradition of funeral ceremonies ranging from the role of *modin* (which takes care of the problem of death in the village), the participation of local residents, the location of the tomb, to the funeral procession. After the funeral, the *abangans* held *slametan* for up to seven days after death, then followed by a hundred days, a year and a thousand days (Geertz, 2013: 89-94, 1992). Then, after death, someone must make a pilgrimage to his tomb to sow flowers on the anniversary of his death, one day before the fasting month begins. When one of the family members is sick or is often dreamed of the person who died means that the spirit needs to eat.

in the sense of thirst for prayer from relatives. From that, someone needs to hold *slametan* and prayers for those who have died (Geertz 2013, 95).

*Ziaroh* itself is a hereditary tradition by visiting the cemetery with the intention of praying for the grave expert and as a lesson (*ibrah*) for pilgrims that soon will follow the graveyard so that they can get closer to Allah SWT. (Al-Musawa 2007, 65). But Geertz and Hassan said that the more modern a society, the more it would abandon popular religious practices. It can be concluded, that the development of modern humans will undermine the religious culture of society (in Ismail 2016, 149). This can be seen from the habits of modern humans, which are supported by pragmatic culture and hedonism.

Modern humans have indeed progressed science and technology with all its variety. However, it turned out that it was not successful in raising the dignity of human life in an essential manner. What happened was just the opposite, there was a lot of anxiety and increasingly meaningless life and spiritual support (Sholeh and Musbikin 2005, 37). According to Nasr, as quoted by Sholeh and Musbikin (2005), the crisis of modern civilization stemmed from the rejection of the essence of spirit and the gradual elimination of *ma'nawiyah* in life. Humans try to eliminate God and declare their freedom from His bonds.

Humans have ignored or denied the most basic needs that are spiritual. They cannot find the spiritual tranquility that means, there is no balance in their souls. It cannot be denied, that modern humans find it difficult to avoid this modern era. However, there are positive and negative values that have implications for modern humans (Putra 2013, 45). Unfortunately, humans tend to be affected by negative values and neglect positive values.

The emergence of spiritual problems experienced by modern humans today stems from the loss of the vision of divinity caused by modern humans themselves, who are constantly moving to turn the flow away from the center of existence. For this reason, there is no better alternative in responding to the crisis of spirituality that has caused various spiritual diseases today, except that modern humans must return to the center of existence. It requires a way to restore humans as human beings created by Allah SWT.

Various ways are used to foster human spiritual values including (1) Sufism education is self-education done with serious efforts towards the spiritual aspects (Putra, 2013: 45), (2) Sufistic-based spiritual education such as educating Sufistic children through strategic means, disciplining children

to establish congregational prayers, anticipating the trap of time, teaching the substance of the tool and purpose (Aziz, 2017: 132), (3) The grave pilgrimage in this activity found the meaning of the therapy, where the pilgrims felt peace of mind and steadiness to make a decision after making a pilgrimage and praying to the saints (Chair et al., 2019). Therefore, the researchers focused on spiritual education through grave pilgrimage. The study was conducted at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, Kediri city.

The research conducted by Mustopa, as quoted by Sunyoto (2017), mentions that Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil was a great scholar who lived in the 12th century, namely in the kingdom of Kediri. In Javanese historiography the figure of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil was mentioned as a great ulama from Ngerum / Rum (Persia), who came to Kediri to preach and at the request of King Kediri Sri Maharaja Mapanji Jayabhaya discussed the book *Musyarar* which contained special science such as astronomy and fortune (fortune-telling) (Sunyoto, 2017: 64).

The tomb is located in the city of Kediri, precisely in the middle of the city. This tomb is often visited by pilgrims, especially when there is a big event on Friday night, usually there is *dzikrul ghofilin* which is held regularly every Friday night by the citizens of Kediri, and is led by Gus Sabuth, son of Gus Miek, KH Imam Jazuli (Dwi, 2019; Saleh and Chamid, 2018: 2; Mubit, 2016). In addition, political leader Hatta Rajasa took the time to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Meccan Prince Sheikh Syamsudin al-Wasil, accompanied by Mayor of Kediri Abdullah Abu Bakar and artist Hengky Kurniawan, as well as a number of administrators in the city of Kediri. He just wanted to visit the tomb of the scholars who had contributed to spreading Islam in Kediri and its surroundings (Aji, 2014). This is certainly one of the effects of the increasing number of pilgrims from various regions that have led to religious tourism destinations.

Indeed, it cannot be denied, that the existence of the tombs of certain important Islamic figures has appealed to the community to carry out pilgrimage activities with various motivations (Mumfangati, 2007: 152), one of which is the tomb used as a spiritual tourist attraction (Mumfangati, 2007: 158). They make a pilgrimage based on remembering Allah and the death he will take too. Sometimes they do that because they just want to get a blessing from the grave experts. Therefore, this study continues to seek the spiritual education of the tradition. The most important part to be a focal point is the spirituality contained in the tradition of the grave pilgrimage.

## Methods

This study uses a qualitative method that produces descriptive data in the form of written words or words from people and observable behavior. While the approach used is a phenomenological approach as a step to explore the behavior of pilgrimage by means of participant observation. Therefore, this study used in-depth interviews and observations the instrument for collecting data. The informants himself consisted of five pilgrims who often performed pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, Kediri city

## Pilgrimage of the Grave as an Object of Spiritual Development

Today, spiritual education is very important. If associated with modern life, the urgency of spiritual education cannot be negotiated. The modern culture which has the essence of liberalization, rationalization, and efficiency consistently continues to make the process of silencing the spiritual life. Liberalization that occurs in all aspects of life is nothing but the process of desacralization and despiritualization of the values of life. In a process like this, the religion which is full of sacred and spiritual values, slowly but surely, continues to be displaced from various aspects of human life. Sometimes religion is seen as irrelevant and unimportant in life. As a result, as seen very clearly in the general symptoms of modern society, the spiritual life is increasingly dry and shallow (Azra, 1998: 100).

Spiritual development can be done with positive activities. Religion is a guideline for humans to control themselves to act positively. Spirituality can be built through a tradition that is transcendental construction, such as the pilgrimage of the grave. Pilgrimage is a way to deepen spiritual meaning (Narulita 2018; Sari, Wajdi, and Narulita 2018; Ismail 2016).

Pilgrimage is to go to the cemetery/tomb with the aim of praying for the grave expert and as a lesson (ibrah) for the pilgrims to get closer to Allah SWT. (Al-Musawa, 2007: 65). Spiritual development alone by practicing pilgrimage does not necessarily choose careless objects. Spiritual seekers choose tombs that are considered to have special features. In this case, the graves of the guardian were assessed by the community as *auliya* (i.e. those who have the closeness to Allah), including those visiting the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, the city of Kediri.

In this regard, the perspective used in reading the process of spirituality through pilgrimage and the impact of changes that occur on the spiritual soul of pilgrims in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil in Kediri city

consists of three. *First*, the symbolic interactionist theory of Herbert Blumer's perspective. Poloma explains symbolic interactionists have three foundations in this theory (in Jurdi, 2014): (1) someone will do a behavior or action (act) on an object based on the meaning or intent that is in the object; (2) this meaning will emerge if someone does social interaction with other people; and (3) the meanings are then refined by the continuation of the social interaction process.

According to Blumer, human actions are not caused by some "external forces", nor are they caused by "inner strength". Individuals are not surrounded by the environment of potential objects that play with them and shape their behavior. The correct view is that individuals will form these objects. He is actually designing different objects, giving meaning, assessing their suitability for action, and making decisions based on that judgment. This is what is meant by interpretation or acting on symbols. With this, humans carry out their actions based on what they are aiming for (object), which is a symbol (Jurdi, 2014). As well as denying some theories which state that one's actions are based on intrinsic strength and extrinsic power.

*Second*, the religious theory and cultural perspective of Geertz that religion is its own cultural system that can shape the character of society. He defines religion as "A system of symbols that aims to create strong, easily spread and not easily lost feelings and motivations in a person by forming a conception of a general order of existence and attaching this conception to factual emanations, and in the end this feeling and motivation will be seen as a unique reality" (Sardjuningsih, 2015; Geertz, 1992).

In addition, Geertz stated that religion, as a cultural system, was not separated from society. Religion is not only a set of values that are outside of man but religion is also a system of knowledge and a system of symbols which may mean meaning (Syam, 2006: 13; Geertz, 2013). Religion tends to be cultural values, where these values exist in a collection of meanings. With this collection of meanings, each individual interprets his experience and manages his behavior (Marzali, 2016: 57). With these values, the actors can define the world and what guidelines they will use. Therefore, religion can be said as a tool for someone to act in social life.

*Third*, spiritual intelligence deals with solving problems of meaning and value, namely intelligence to place behavior and life in the context of broader and richer meanings, intelligence to assess actions or ways that life has more meaningful than others (Zohar and Marshall, 2007: 3). Signs of people who

have spiritual intelligence themselves have their own characteristics, but people who have one intelligence will also be different from those who have other intelligence, one of which is spiritual intelligence.

According to Zohar and Marshal (2007), there are at least nine signs of people experiencing spiritual violence, as follows: (1) The ability to be flexible is to adjust spontaneously and actively to achieve good results. (2) High level of awareness. The most important part of self-awareness includes the effort to know the boundaries of the area that is comfortable for themselves, many know about themselves. (3) The ability to deal with and exploit suffering, able to respond and determine attitudes when painful or unpleasant situations come. (4) The ability to face and go beyond pain. It includes being able to see a larger life so that they can face and utilize and surpass, misery and feeling healthy and see it as a vision and seek the meaning behind it. (5) Quality of life is inspired by vision and values. A person who has a high spiritual level has an understanding of the purpose of his life. (6) Reluctance to cause unnecessary losses. A person whose spiritual intelligence is high will know when he endangers himself. (7) Holistic view. The tendency to see the interrelationships between things, seeing oneself and others is interrelated. (8) Self-reflection. The tendency to look for my fundamental answers. (9) Being an independent has the ease of working against the convention. Being able to stand up to challenge many people, cling to unpopular opinions if they truly believe them (Azzet, 2010: 10).

### **The Process of Spiritual Education through the Pilgrimage Tradition**

The fading of the spiritual soul belongs to one of current problems. Humans today are in a spiritually ignorant culture characterized by materialism, worthiness, narrow selfishness, loss of meaning and commitment (Zohar and Marshall, 2007: 14). Even Indonesia's leading Islamic leader Said Aqil Siraj explained that in this digital era, various crises hit human life, ranging from social crises, structural crises, to spiritual crises. Modernity with all technological advancements and the rapid pace of industrialization make people lose their orientation. Material wealth piled up, but the soul was emptied. Along with logic and orientation that is increasingly modern, works and materials then become the actualization of people's lives. The idea of the meaning of life is a mess. As a result, humans are like machines. Everything is measured by the material. Humans are also increasingly carried away by heavy desacralization and dehumanization (Siraj, 2006: 48).

Spirituality has an important role in building human morality. Spirituality can make humans able to manage egocentrism, control the impulses of lust, and direct material orientation to more beneficial productivity. With the principles and methods of Sufism, one is trained to put forward the meaning and vision of the Divine in life. Spirituality as the door to God will not be strengthened when the soul is always co-opted by materialistic desires.

One's spiritual shock makes the soul uneasy as the soul began to move away from the vision of God who was carried as a caliph on earth. Then, awareness of humans will arise because they are in need of closeness with God which becomes the tranquility of the soul. They try to get closer to God by doing religious rituals. One of the religious rituals of the Islamic religion that the community believes to be the object of spirituality is the tradition of pilgrimage to the grave of the guardian. This tradition has been ingrained with the Muslim community *nahdliyin*. Including the most visited tomb is the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil located in Kediri.

Pilgrims at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil might belong to those who had problems in their spirituality. They are not a social community, but their existence is limited to pilgrims or spiritual behavior. They come from various circles such as *santri*, tomb guards, *wong nyepi* (people who are looking for peace of mind), and experts in wisdom.

The process of searching for spirituality through this pilgrimage tradition is passed by pilgrims in various stages that have been constructed in Islamic teachings. The spiritual process of pilgrims begins with the objectives of various pilgrims who make the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil a spiritual object. This is related to the understanding of each individual's religious doctrine. Although in developing spiritually it does not have to be a pilgrimage. However, the pilgrimage of the grave in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil has its own essential value compared to other religious practices.

The form of the practice of pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, is a manifestation of respect for pilgrims to him who have fought for the spread of Islam (Mubarak, interview. February 9, 2019). That is, the result of the Islamic doctrine that notes beneath the Java region is the Aswaja community. The doctrine forms a spiritual act carried out through the tradition of pilgrimage at the grave of a guardian such as Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. In this context, Clifford Geertz said, religion underlies the most specific demands of human action in the most common contexts of human exclusion (Geertz, 2013: 50; 1992). This means that pilgrims seeking spiritualism in the grave of

the guardian do not necessarily choose the practice of worship as a spiritual way, but through thinking and acting based on their religious knowledge.

The most urgent thing in spirituality for pilgrims in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil is closeness to Allah. This is natural because their spiritual soul is empty and far from God. In addition, the vertical relationship between humans and God is impossible to separate. However, they have a desire for religious change. Way of life to express love and trust in God. About religious Lynn Wilcox revealed, there are two types of religious orientation. *First*, extrinsic external focus and provide status and security. *Second*, intrinsic, internalized, integrated, and ends in someone (Wilcox, 2013: 334).

Efforts to close the pilgrims to God cannot go directly to the highest level. But the process must go through several stages step by step (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019). How to go to God requires an intermediary as a liaison. In this context, the pilgrim's assumption that before approaching God first is close to Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, because he is a superhuman man who has a closeness to God. In addition, pilgrims believe there is an element of *baraka*.

However, this road must be taken in a special way. The arrival of pilgrims looking for spirituality must be an open and sincere intention *lillahi ta'alla*. In contrast to the general public, coming to the tomb is only limited to the practice of the Shari'a. This, in contrast to the arrival of pilgrims in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil with a truly clean heart. This level of pilgrimage is a level of independence to God.

The contract of pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil gave rise to a view of the teachings of the Islamic religion about the realization of the do'a which pilgrims offered. The prayer, according to the belief the pilgrims will arrive at Allah with the intervention of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil as a liaison or messenger of prayer on the pretext that he is a person of high knowledge and someone close to Allah. (Rudi, interview 3 March 2019). The most urgent thing in this context is the initial intention to come to the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil must be good. This intention correlates with the sincerity of pilgrims to seek spirituality (Syukur, 2016).

In reality on a pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil there is an unnatural interaction between social beings and supernatural beings. This interaction takes the form of communication in the hearts of pilgrims connected with Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. Although this communication is absurd, pilgrims feel there is a reciprocal relationship worthy of communication

between social beings. The pattern of communication is in the form of prayer specifically addressed to Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. The prayer took the form of *tawasul* to him with al-Fatihah recitation. Pilgrims felt the prayer arrived and was heard by him. Although he had died, his spirit still accompanied the pilgrims at his tomb. While reciprocity from him will come back. With this, the context of prayer becomes a form of interaction between pilgrims and Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. With this interaction emerged the symbiosis of mutualism. However, this symbiotic context of mutualism is in the realm of the relationship between living beings and deceased beings.

The interaction between pilgrims and Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil can also mean the relationship of friendship in the form of “*soan*”. In social reality, the meaning of *soan* is to visit the house of a community leader who is considered noble. Even so, the word *soan* is more often used in pesantren environments for *soan* to clerics. As with pilgrims, they came to Sukar to the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. Although the form of Sukar to the Kyai and him is different. Kyai is still alive and Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil has died. The existence of the spirit of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil still exists around the cemetery (Mubarak, interview 9 February 2019).

In addition, the actions of pilgrims in the educational process through the tradition of pilgrimage to the grave in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil are formed by meanings that arise from oneself. The meaning comes from the view of the pilgrims against objects outside themselves when the interaction process takes place. Pilgrims themselves find the meaning of pilgrimage because they look at the spiritual experience of other pilgrims who do spiritual quests by doing Nyepi at the tomb for 4 months and 25 days. In fact, according to the pilgrim's confession, he had never slept during the Nyepi period for 4 years (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019). In addition, pilgrims also get meaning from learning from their spirituality teacher. These experiences, give the views of pilgrims in acting on pilgrimages at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. In this action, Clifford Geertz said that each individual interpreted his experience and regulated his behavior (Geertz, 2013).

Furthermore, the meaning is interpreted by pilgrims through religious knowledge, self-influence (self), and social reality related to the grave pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil as a spiritual object. In this case, the pilgrim is as an actor forming a spiritual process that can be passed on by pilgrimage for reason. They also give meaning, judge, decide to make a pilgrimage based on references surrounding it. In connection with this action, Herbert

Blumer stated as quoted by Umiarso and Elbadiansyah (2014) mentions that humans acted on a basis based on the meanings of something for them. The meaning came from someone's social interaction with others. Further, the meaning is enhanced when social processes are taking place (Umiarso and Elbadiansyah, 2014: 157).

Then, the process of pilgrimage activity in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil goes step by step is according to the teachings of Islam. From the majority of pilgrims in this tomb, they have their own guidelines based on religious knowledge in pilgrimage practice. It raises the presence of various variants of the practice. But the difference is not a problem because the nature of the practice remains the same.

*First*, the pilgrims do before entering the funeral area and start the procession of the pilgrimage ritual first to purify themselves with ablution. This ablution is a form of self-etiquette before entering the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil which is considered a holy place. In Islamic religion self-purity before performing rituals of worship including pilgrimages is highly prioritized. A chastity is a form of Islamic recognition of human nature. On the one hand, chastity is ablution as the readiness of oneself with the best conditions when facing God, not only clean but also holy. In making pilgrimages, a servant must be holy physically and spiritually, clean physically and spiritually, because God cleanses himself. In addition, purification of self is not only sacred in nature. The sacredness of pilgrims in terms of sincere intentions of heart far from the intention of the practice of shirk worship is also highly prioritized. Thus, to produce a good spiritual through the practice of pilgrimage, the purification of the zeal of self must be done both in terms of the heart and the inner aspect.

Entering the pilgrimage stage, right in front of the tomb before entering the tomb area of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, the pilgrims stopped to give greetings to the grave experts (Shobirin, interview 5 February 2019). This greeting is a practice of manners or ethics in visiting, especially visiting the great host like Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, a great guardian. This shows that pilgrims strongly emphasize modesty values on pilgrimage.

Salam, on a pilgrimage, is in the form of greetings in Arabic, which is read softly. The implicit meaning contained in this greeting is in the form of a prayer of salvation specifically for Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. In the trust of the greeting pilgrims who will say they will arrive at the hadirian of

the spirit of Sheikh Syamsuddin al-Wasil and he will reply to the greeting. Although in fact he is gone.

The core process in the search through pilgrimage is the pilgrimage procession at the tomb. This procession requires some time depending on the pilgrim's personal reading of the deeds. In the reality of the practice of pilgrimage, it does not require a long time, but the initiative of the pilgrims who want to be close to God takes a long time. This moment of seclusion is the right thing for pilgrims to empty their minds from worldliness and focus at one point namely God.

The practice of pilgrimage begins with reading two creeds which are a form of belief that his identity is a Muslim (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019). This shows that he has fulfilled the conditions for receiving the pilgrimage. Furthermore, pilgrims read *tawasul*. *Tawasul* is a way that functions as an intermediary to get closer to others (Mubarak, interview 9 February 2019). In this case, the meaning is a way or effort to get closer to Allah SWT by using *wasilah* (intermediary), like Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil who notes beneath those who are pious and close to Allah. The practice of *tawasul* is aimed at specific people who have been determined by their respective pilgrims. In the tradition of pilgrims, *tawasul* is carried out sequentially starting from the noblest person to Allah's side until the tomb grave expert. With this, it seems that the pilgrims apply the teachings of the *nahdliyin* in doing *tawasul*. Pilgrims were groups based on their degree.

The first *tawasul* is to seek the pleasure of Allah. Second, it was devoted to the prophet Muhammad SAW, his family, wives, and friends as the most urgent people in Islam. Third, it is intended for ulama', high priests in Islam as influential people in Islam. Then, the guardians who spread the religion of Islam in Indonesia, including those devoted to Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. there are pilgrims who not only specialize in Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil but also for the guardians in Kediri too. Furthermore, to the teachers of pilgrims, families, Muslims and for themselves. The dichotomy of this *tawasul* has become a regulation in *tawasul* structured based on social classes in terms of the degree of closeness to God.

The activity after reading *tawasul* is reading the verses of the Qur'an. This is one form of practice as a spiritual means. In the practice of pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil the pilgrims read the Yasin. They have the belief that it is the heart of al-Qu'an and have a lot of *fadhilah* or advantages if it is read in the tomb (Hasan, Interview 23 January 2019). Not

only that, there are even pilgrims who read the Qur'an once in peace. But in essence, they read the Qur'an only to read it without knowing the implicit meanings in the Qur'an. However, this is not a problem. The most important thing for them to read is *khusyu'*, with a heart full of appreciation.

Not only limited to reading the Qur'an, pilgrims in developing spirituality also read the practice of *tahlil*. This practice is contained in several sequences of dzikir readings. The *tahlil* reading itself has many variants based on individual beliefs. One of the pilgrims' version of the pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil is *tahlil* based on the meaning of numbers in Java, namely number seven. It shows the cultural acculturation between Javanese Islam (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019).

Pilgrims believe that *tahlil* with seven recitations of dhikr is in the form of creed, *astaghfirullah*, *sholawat*, *lahaula walakuata*, *hazbunallah*, *subhanaallah*, *la ilahaiallah*. Based on Javanese beliefs the meaning of the number of seven readings in Javanese is *pitu* is "pitulungan" which means "help". Indeed, in Java numbers every number starting from the lowest number "one" to the highest number "nine" has their respective meanings. The selection of numbers means that this help is intended so that pilgrims get help from God for all the problems they face, including the empty spiritual spirit (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019). Regarding this meaning, Clifford Geertz revealed, this type of world view that looked inside was most clearly revealed in a Javanese concept of taste. Sense has two main interpretations: "feeling" and "meaning". As "feeling", the taste is one of the senses of the Javanese. Whereas as "meaning", it is applied to the words in ordinary conversation to indicate the type of continuity that is contained between lines and accented suggestions that are so important in the communication and social relations of Javanese people (Geertz, 2013). Thus, the meaning contained in number seven is a form of a feeling of self-confidence of pilgrims.

The process of reading the *tahlil* lasted for a long time. The appreciation of the *tahlil* readings and the deepening point of ignoring the disturbing things. Even pilgrims dissolve in sadness and shed tears. This is a sign that he feels he has many mistakes or sins and is far from God.

The reading of prayer was the closing of the practice of pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. In this prayer, pilgrims do with seriousness. Do'a is not limited to the words on the lips and perfunctory, but prayers of kindness arise from the heart.

The moment in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil is the right moment to talk with God. Do'a is also believed to be quickly granted with the seriousness of asking God. Besides, pilgrims also maximize the prayer in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil, with the intention of the journey of prayer to Allah. Furthermore, do'a with full of confidence and hope have their own strength.

After the pilgrimage, what is not confounded in the minds of pilgrims is doing *shodaqoh* by putting money into the city that is already available in the area around the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. This is a plus for pilgrims with pilgrimage *shodaqoh*. According to the belief, the pilgrims with the charity will quickly come true.

### **Impact of Spiritual Changes after Performing The Pilgrimage Traditions**

Someone in his life needs a kind of religious framework as a guide to living life, such as the mind of the teacher, big, the actions of the former pious people, the rules of religion, the guidelines for human ethical rules. The majority of people who are spiritually weak benefit from the existence of religion to make the path of spirituality. They will be better off by adhering to basic religious beliefs. Without this, people will get lost. One of the religious practices in Islam can help someone from the emptiness of the spiritual soul is the grave pilgrimage.

The spiritual seekers in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil felt that there was a god in its nervous system. This shows that the ability to undergo the practice of pilgrimage in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil has made a change from the pilgrims. This change does not necessarily change efficiently, but this change requires deepening and intensification on pilgrimage. At least there are two aspects of the spiritual change that occur in pilgrims, namely changes in the interior and changes in the end.

This inner change is the calm of the souls of pilgrims. In addition, they feel their hearts become clean, calm and peaceful (Shobirin, interview 5 February 2019). It shows an indication that pilgrim's spirituality is increasing. Regarding this change, Zohar and Marshall said that spiritually intelligent people have inner balance. Spiritual intelligence illuminates the path of someone who knows God. The essence of the spiritual intelligence results in the quantum emptiness and the foundation of existence. It is a calm and ever-changing foundation. (Zohar and Marshall, 2007: 181-82, Ibrahim, 2016).

At the peak, the pilgrims will feel the increasing faith and the divine light that illuminates the hearts of pilgrims. They feel the highest truth that is beyond the reach of ordinary thoughts hidden in the midst of the frenzied life to capture the life of the beauty of His majesty. They feel the pleasure of closeness with the creator through a conscience.

Final changes occur in the visible aspect of the pilgrim's self. In this case his behavior or personality. Actually, it comes from inner change. People whose hearts are clean will be reflected in the level of behavior. It signifies high spirituality as evidenced by the positive attitude of pilgrims.

Pilgrims feel that living life is more diligent and vibrant especially in matters of worship. They felt a sense of laziness had disappeared after a pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. From a physical point of view, they were impressed by the increasing self-confidence. In addition, from a social perspective, pilgrims can control their emotions when they meet friends who have had problems with them (Shobirin, interview 5 February 2019). Not only that, pilgrims after the pilgrimage is easier to give alms to those in need. Zohar and Marshall explained that people with high spiritual intelligence would be friendly, generous, helpful, and kind. Social type of personality symbolizes empathy for others and is very persuasive. They are patient and like to work together (Zohar and Marshall, 2007: 122). Thus, after the pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil they experienced a lot of increased spirituality both in terms of personality, social and so on.

This change must be realized by pilgrims. Therefore, it needs intensification on pilgrimage. Among them, there are pilgrims coming every day to the tomb without getting bored. The intensive goal here is to produce high spirituality.

There are intensive demands on pilgrimage based on the openness of the pilgrim's heart which varies depending on each individual. They call this matter with piety in worship. In addition, pilgrims also view to produce spirituality, looking at the percentage of three things: 80% effort, 18%, and 2% pledge from Allah. This shows that there must be more effort for better spirituality, which is intensive and truly optimal on pilgrimage (Soeharto, interview 23 January 2019). With this, they will be sure that the spirit of spirituality will be better if he often performs prayer in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil.

*Istiqomah* pilgrimage has become a mandatory routine for pilgrims. From the intensive, pilgrims felt that there was a heart that was blocked when they did not make a single pilgrimage. Even though they were very busy for

other activities, they were willing to take the time to visit the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin al-Wasil. Their hearts seemed to be inclined to pilgrimage.

### Conclusion

The spiritual process of pilgrims in the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin Al-Wasil, Kediri city begins with the reason for making the tomb an object of spiritual education, namely a media reminder for pilgrims, an effort to approach pilgrims to Allah, and as a place of prayer. The spiritual process is divided into three stages, namely *first*, pre-pilgrimage by purifying with ablution. *Second*, the pilgrimage stage begins with *tawasul* on special people, reading the Qur'an, reading *tahlil* and finally reading a prayer. *Third*, after the pilgrimage by doing shodaqoh.

The pilgrims after making a pilgrimage at the tomb of Shaykh Syamsuddin Al-Wasil experience two aspects of the spiritual change that occur in the pilgrim's self. *First*, inner changes such as peace of mind and feel manah (heart) becomes clean. *Secondly*, changes in the realm of feeling like living in a more diligent and vibrant life, feeling lazy disappears, and pilgrims can control their emotions.

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## SORONG SERAH AJI KRAMA TRADITION OF LOMBOK SASAK MARRIAGE TO REVIVE ISLAMIC CULTURE

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### **Abstract**

*Sorong serah aji krama is a tradition of Lombok Sasak tribe community and as a symbol of appreciation in the marriage process of the Sasak tribe community. The symbol of this award is marked by the presence of aji krama. It does not merely have the symbolic meaning of the prospective groom to the bride but implied the symbolic meta meaning. That is, there is a profound meaning of the process of sorong serah aji krama that must be understood, internalized, and implemented in the marriage life of the prospective couple. To that end, this study wants to find the symbolic meta meaning of the tradition of sorong serah aji krama of the Sasak tribe community. This research used descriptive qualitative research. The result shows that the tradition of sorong serah aji krama is not only interpreted as mere preservation of a symbolic material tradition, namely the giving of dowry but also as a meta symbolic of the self-esteem as a human being in the life of the household. The Sasak tribe community views this tradition as the honor and respect of the groom to the bride.*

*Tradisi sorong serah aji krama merupakan tradisi masyarakat suku Sasak Lombok dan sebagai simbol penghargaan dalam proses perkawinan masyarakat suku Sasak. Simbol penghargaan ini ditandai dengan adanya aji krama. Aji krama tidak semata-mata memiliki makna simbolik dari calon mempelai laki-laki kepada mempelai perempuan melainkan tersirat makna meta simbolik. Yakni, ada makna yang mendalam atas proses sorong serah aji krama yang harus*

dipahami, diinternalisasikan, dan dilaksanakan dalam kehidupan rumah tangga calon mempelai. Untuk itu, penelitian ini ingin menemukan makna meta simbolik tradisi sorong serah aji krama pada masyarakat suku Sasak. Penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa tradisi sorong serah aji krama tidak hanya dimaknai sekedar mempertahankan tradisi yang bersifat material simbolik, yakni pemberian maskawin semata, melainkan dimaknai sebagai meta simbolik akan harga diri sebagai manusia dalam menjalankan kehidupan rumah tangga. Masyarakat suku Sasak memandang tradisi ini sebagai penghargaan dan penghormatan calon mempelai laki-laki kepada mempelai perempuan.

**Keywords:** marriage tradition; Sasak tribe; sorong serah aji krama

## Introduction

Sasak community is one of the tribal community miniatures of many tribes in Indonesia with historical background, shared values, culture, customs, life system, and interaction patterns as other tribes. In the context of customs, Sasak people have known what is called as *sorong aji krama* for years. *Sorong aji krama* is done in customary marriage procession of Sasak community and as one of the marriage steps that must be passed as a legitimate bond. *Sorong* means trusting, and *serah* means handover, while *aji* means to value or price, and *krama* means handover value or price which has been determined.

*Sorong Serah Aji Krama* is a tradition of the Sasak tribe which is not only limited to the noble class, but also to the ordinary people (*jajar karang*). This tradition is a reflection of respect and appreciation of the humanity value from the prospective groom to the bride. This tradition seems to have a gradual shift both in the context of the process and its definition. Along with the development of today's Sasak tribe, has been reduced and modified in spite of its existence in several locations such as in the south and north of Lombok. Whereas, this tradition has benefits that are not only perceived by the Sasak community itself but also by the public.

*Sorong serah aji krama* has reflected the strength of the relationship between the bride and groom, the bond that is built based on the principle of kindness, openness, sincerity and even as a reflection of religious values. Sasak people believe that whatever is done in a good way and intention will produce something good as well. Marriage is something sacred that means if it does not start with a good procession, it will cause something less good as well. It

means that marriage does not merely allowing or make *halal* something that is prohibited or *harm* (according to Sarah') Marriage strengthens the tradition and connects the kinship and ties the *silaturrahmi* between the two sides.

Being a concern of cultural activists in Lombok, in the last development, there has been a reduction in the meaning of the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* among the young generation of the Sasak community. Whereas this tradition must be retained as part of local wisdom, both in terms of the ceremonial procession and the aspect of its symbolic meaning. The fading of the meaning of *sorong serah* is caused by the attitude and pragmatism of Sasak people generation about the meaning of the *aji krama*. The symbolic meaning of *sorong serah* is less understood as a broker of Sasak tribe local traditions that must be inherited. Beginning from reality and the phenomenon, it encourages the researchers to conduct an in-depth study of the tradition of *Sorong Serah Aji Krama* in the marriage of Sasak people in Lombok.

### Theoretical Framework

Tradition means customs and habits of a certain community commonly done from the past (Tim Pusat Bahasa, 2008: 1543). Custom is the eternal and hereditary practices from generation to another generation, so that their integrity is strong with the behavioral patterns of society. Furthermore, Alisyahbana (1986: 31) states custom is all rules that regulate the behavior of individuals in society from cradle to grave. Customs cover a wide area and encompass every event in the life of a society and its members. Suharsono (1996: 81) argues that a tradition is an act repeated by some societies in the same form and if it is violated, there are no real and deceptive sanctions.

According to Garna (1966: 166) tradition is an inherited habit that reflects the civilization of its supporters. Tradition shows how members of society behave in the world and in invisible life as well as religious life. It regulates how humans relate to other humans or one group to another, and also suggests how humans should treat the environment. It develops into a system that has a norm that also regulates sanctions and threats against violations and deviations against it. While Sztompka (2007: 69) says tradition is a similarity of material things and ideas that come from the past but still exists today and not destroyed. It can be interpreted as a true legacy or a legacy of the past. However, repeated traditions are not done by chance. Accordingly, anything done by a man from generation to generation from every aspect of his life as an effort to lighten human life can be said as "tradition". It means that

it becomes a part of the culture. Specifically, the tradition in van Peursen's term (1988: 11) is translated as a process of inheriting or forwarding norms, customs, rules, treasures. Tradition can be changed or lifted, rejected and combined with various kinds of human actions.

Summer in Wiranata (2002:106) divides the customs into two categories namely Folkways and Mores. Folkways is a daily work that is a habit in life such as saluting, leadership style and timing and so on. Its rules make everyday life orderly and efficient. Mores is a rule of social behavior between members of society related to holiness and belief in religion. Violation towards mores is heavier than Folkways, due to the rule that Mores form embodies the structure of society. The point is that Mores provide the formulation of the principle of inter-individual in the life of a society in which there is a marriage taboo (e.g. marriage between uncle and nephew, uncle with nephew status with father/mother). In the view of Suhardi (2010: 58), it will hold "*sedak basa*" event (the terminology of a Sasak person when mixed with family lines). The vocation line follows the line of the male family (uncle).

*Sorong Serah Aji Krama* is a tradition of Sasak tribe in the process of marriage. This tradition is done when the bride and groom have made *ijab qobul* as a sign of a legitimate couple according to religion. But lately, the tradition of *Sorong Serah Aji karma* has changed in the compliance of the Sasak tribe community. Wirasandi (2016: 12) found changes in compliance toward the culture of *sorong serah* in the community in the Selong district of Lombok. The results show that there are some influencing variables such as education, religion understanding, and globalization. In the aspect of education, the change is generally caused by the determinant factor that is the language factor used in the procession of *Sorong Serah*.

The tradition of *sorong serah aji karma* is a symbol of the marriage of the Sasak people in expressing the meaning of a prospective bridegroom's bride to the bride. Koentjaraningrat (2009:56) said the symbol is something to express the deepest meaning of intent. This happens because humans have limitations to express the intentions of the heart, mind with the existing language. Symbols can be in the form of everyday objects, that already have a special meaning, or the language and gestures of the human body.

Nirmala, et al., (2015: 102) examined the implementation as the effect of *menak* marriage with the *Jajar Karang* in Sasak community. Their findings indicate two views namely adhering to customary law and the willingness to accept change. People still adhere to the customary law since this marriage

violates the custom, then as a consequence, the *menak* (*baiq*) will be discarded from the family. It appears since the *bait wali*, the *mamiq* or biological father does not want to be the *wali* at the marriage. In another case, there is a *wali* or marriage guardian, but later not being accepted for the customary event. *Menak* who gets married with the *jajar karang* will no longer have a relationship with his family. Beside, being automatically dumped (discarded) as the moment of marriage to the *jajar karang*, the *menak* (in this case is *Baiq*) will go down into *Inaq* caste. The second view is to accept change and not merely using customary law but using Islamic law as well as national law. If there is a marriage with the *jajar karang*, indeed the result will be down of the caste. However, in this society, *menak* who get married to *jajar karang* is not discarded from the family and the marriage is accepted by the family. As the result of marriage law between *menak* and *jajar karang* the Rarang villagers consider the *menak* to be heirs and are entitled to get an inheritance.

Rodin (2013: 77) says the tradition of Javanese marriage, set based on numerological calculations that are believed to be valid. There was an event uploading (*ngunggahke*) rice, *manten* gathering (*temu manten*) accompanied by various rituals, doused with flower water, stepping on an egg, made a variety of wedding accessories from the yellow leaf in the form of Mayang twins. Maknun (2013: 129) showed wedding customs in Pekalongan such as *bedhol gelung* to refer to a summarized reception party held on the men's side; and *balik kloso sisan tilik* to refer to the visit of the bride's family to give a donation to the couple for their homecoming. The form of implementing a Bugis traditional marriage begins with the exploratory stage (*Mammanu'manu*, *Mappesek-pesek*, *Mattiro*), application visit (*Madduta*), receipt of applications (*Mappetuada*, *Mappasiarekkeng*), and marriage level (pre-wedding rituals like, *Mabedda*, *Mappasau*, *Manre Lebbe* or *Khatam Qur'an*, *Mappacci* (Kadir & Ma'ful, 2014: 69). These studies show how marriage is related to religious value

Noorthaibah (2012: 26-27) argues that the customs and values of Islamic teachings are complementary. It is as implied in the symbol which is the meaning of *jujuran* or dowry is a form of the obligation of a husband to provide for his wife and the necessary protection. Likewise, the Banjar linkage customs are full of meaning, like baskets *bam-bam* is a symbol for the bride to be desired, not easily emotional, rice is a symbol of hope so that the bride will be given an abundant fortune, and the spices are symbolized so that the bride is good at cooking.

Based on several studies related to the process of *merarik* (marriage), the actual *sorong serah aji krama* is one of the important elements in a procession that must be passed with a variety of knick-knacks provided by the groom to the bride. Even if *sorong serah aji krama* viewed by custom dimension, it will give implication to the emergence of the concept of *beteteh* (marriage of *menak* with the *jajar karang*) in the Sasak tribe.

## Method

The approach used in this research is descriptive qualitative. It tries to uncover and understand the phenomenon, reality, symptom, view, an idea that occur in the field without the intervention of the researchers against the background of the study. The aim is, to deepen the ideas, views, perceptions, phenomena, symptoms and the reality in the development of the *sorong serah aji krama*. It involves two locations, namely Balungadang and Puyung. Both of these locations are representative enough to provide information on the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*.

The data collection was done by an in-depth interview about opinions, ideas, and views about the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. Direct observation was done in the procession of the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* and documentation on the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. Data analysis technique refers to Miles and Huberman (1984: 32) covering data collection, data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions. As for testing the validity of the data, (Sugiyono, 2009: 79), the researchers extended the research time in order to find the data as a whole. The triangulation was done between methods and sources in order to ensure data are related to the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama*. In addition, peer discussion is carried out in order to enrich and get input from experts or colleagues so that research findings can be accounted for scientifically.

## Tradition of Sorong Serah Aji Krama in Sasak Society

The Sasak tribe people who live in Lombok Island use Sasak local language. In general, the language of Sasak is divided into two languages that are soft or polite language and *jamaq* language. Soft language is used to talk to older, elder people and with Sasak noble class. While the *jamaq* language is used in everyday language - especially in daily communication with ordinary people. On the other side, generally Sasak society is divided into two social stratifications that are the noble group or *permenak* and ordinary people group

that is called as *jajar karang* or *kaula*. This distinction of social stratification appears in the procession of the marriage ceremony that is known as the *sorong serah aji karma*. It is a part of the traditional marriage ceremony in Sasak. *Aji krama* (the customary price) of the noble class is higher than the class of *kaula* or *jajar karang* and the implementation of the marriage ceremony is more complicated than the ordinary marriage of ordinary people. But lately, the social stratification difference is not as tight as before, it is because of the influence of the cultural modernization that develops in the society of the Sasak tribe.

Maskur-Mamiq Cekun, a Balu Ngadang Praya indigenous leader, stated that the procession of *sorong serah* is a symbol that the marriage is based on the custom that is known by all relatives and the community. *Sorong Serah* also is known as procession *serah doe* (handovering property) to the prospective bride (interview 14 October 2012)

Sadarudin et al. (2008: 14) reveals that *sorong serah aji krama* is one of the local traditions maintained by the Sasak community until now. One of its procession is called as *tembang sorong serah*. This is a kind of speech in the soft language spoken by the head of the group called *Pembayun* addressed to the family of the bride. This song or *tembang* is the result of human works that are not easily done but must go through the learning process. According to Ratmaja (2012: 34), *tembang* is a rhythmic form of expressions, such as the short length of the voice and the weak pressure of the spoken tone on a particular part in a poem or sentence. The *tembang* in the *sorong serah aji krama* has special messages, especially to the bride, such as how to behave and produce good words, because marriage is actually a new milestone to proclaim themselves as a legitimate bond. *Tembang* contains educational messages to the bride and groom that mainly about how the bride and groom run the household with the guidance of religion, customs, and norms.

Maskur said that the most basic message in the *tembang* is how the bride and groom understand and run the religion pillars. i.e. starting from *shahadat*, prayer, fasting, *zakat* and *hajj*. Especially in performing the prayers, how the prayer is used as the pillar of their life and they carry out with sincerity with the thirteen pillars as standard that exist in the prayer. The meaning of prayer starts with intention and ends with greetings containing messages of married life. Likewise, if marriage begins with good intentions, it will end in the salvation of the world and the hereafter. Both brides are required to be able to synergize the pillars of prayer with the twenty attributes of Allah SWT in marriage life. Meaning, these attributes of God can become a spirit

or household value by displaying, for example, the nature of affection, the nature of receiving, the nature of love and so on. If the attributes are summed with the pillars of prayer, then it will be thirty-three. It means that both brides have the obligation to be able to actuate the attributes of Allah SWT with the pillars of prayer in their household life (interview 14 October 2012)

In the next stage, the bride and groom are not only able to actuate the attributes and the pillars in their own household life, but the bride and groom have an obligation to actuate them in the wider life context, i.e. social life. In this context, the bride and groom have a greater responsibility to embody the pillars of prayer and the attributes of Allah SWT into sixty-six. In the last stage, the bride and groom not only can implement pillars and attributes of Allah SWT but also to articulate the ninety names of Allah SWT and added with his own name so they become a hundred. This is actually the highest level that must be achieved by the bride.

The numbers related to the Islamic culture above represent the levels understood by most of the Sasak community. In Clifford Geertz's (2014: xvi) term, there are *abangan* and *priyayi* communities. But that number cannot be associated with *abangan* and *priyayi* societies or caste in Hindu society, but that numbers are as a symbolic meaning, where the numbers as the meaning of religious teachings to execute. Both the bride and groom as a couple are more capable to understand and implement the teachings of religion, then they are believed to get a higher degree in the sight of Allah SWT. This degree will support the bride and groom in having harmonious interactions with family, citizens, and society.

The symbolization of the *aji krama* above is a substantive meaning and is a reflection of meaning contained in the karma age, which some Sasak tribe people understand only as a symbolic meaning. It means if it is examined in-depth and thoroughly, *sorong serah aji krama* has deep meaning about the importance of starting a married life based on the strength of *aqidah*, the depth of knowledge and the greatness of morals. It actually the concern of the Sasak tribe community that *sorong serah aji krama* is less understood as a meaning held in the household. Whereas according to the religious view, it is a sacred and great procession that must be glorified.

The paradigm of thinking based on local culture or local wisdom has implications for the robustness of local cultural wisdom. Cultural values begin to be rethought and even reconstructed and polished to reminiscent of past memories. Here is the cultural modification. This situation leads to

a history that is integrated with the present era. The existence of *sorong serah aji krama* is not only limited to preserve the culture but contained nuance of education that has togetherness meaning or values among human beings and in solving a problem. It should be done by way of deliberation and mutual consent between the family of husband and wife.

The procession of marriage begins with *Mesejati*. It is the first procession of the whole series of *sorong serah aji krama*. It begins with the process of the men sent some local community leaders or customary leaders to report to the village apparatus such as village head or *keliang* to proclaim the marriage plan. The next stage of *selabar* means the intention to proclaim to the family of the bride that is followed up with the talk of customs, including *aji krama* consisting of values of 33-66-100 which are represented by money or *kepeng bolong* or *kepeng jamaq*. Even this *salabar* procession is combined with a bride guardian's request at once.

Next is taking the guardian at the time of *selabar* or a few days after the implementation of *selabar*. It depends on the agreement of both sides or is called as *kapisuka*. Taking a promise means to talk about the *sorong serah aji krama* in accordance with the customs in the village of origin of the prospective bride.

The core of the implementation of *merariq* custom process is *Sorong Serah Aji Krama*. This procession is a customary official announcement that the marriage of a man and a woman is accompanied by the delivery of the groom's equipment or known as customary symbols. If this procession is not implemented, usually in the future, there will be questions that trigger new internal problems.

*Nyongkolan*, is done when the man accompanied by the family visit the woman's family wearing traditional clothes accompanied by *gamelan* and even *beleq* drum or traditional music such as tambourines. The last procession is called the *Bales Ones Nae (Napak Tilas)* is one of the traditions by visiting a parent's house. It gives the meaning of the importance of starting and strengthening friendship *silaturahmi* as a big family to create a harmonious atmosphere that builds a *sakinah*, *mawaddah* and *rahmah* family. *Sakinah* family means a family which contains calm, peace, security, and peace between family members. *Mawaddah* is a feeling of affection and *rahmah* a family built with love, affection, and also trust.

This procession is certainly inseparable part of the tradition of the Sasak tribe in marrying their son and daughter. This procession consumes much energy and time. It is no wonder, the preparation of the male family for both

in terms of material and energy and morale is needed. This is actually the meaning of the *sorong serah aji krama* that is not merely to give *pisuka* to the female family, but also to emphasize that the male family inwardly appreciate that marriage is not merely ceremonial. A marriage respects the degree of women in the view of human beings as social and religious creation.

### **Sorong Serah Aji Krama as Communication and Education Ethics**

*Sorong serah aji krama* gives meaning that marriage is not just legalizing something. It is a symbol of appreciation to the person as a servant of Allah that must be ordered and always remembered. The *sorong serah* procession actually provides communication manners learning, i.e: *First*, in solving a problem should be done by deliberation or consensus and togetherness. *Second*, human beings must have manners and politeness in communication with others. *Thirdly*, delivering gratitude. *Fourth*, visiting politely the others' home and adhering to the prevailing customs.

Society is an entity that cannot be separated from communication. The interaction and establishing relationships with other communities, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communities, will be able to run smoothly when prioritizing communication. In this case, the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* is a communication tool that provides a specific message to the recipient of the message or object as the target of sending the message. It means culture provides a communication effect.

Marriage is a historical event for the bride and groom, thereby it is as a medium to deliver educational messages to the bride and groom. *Sorong serah aji krama* is a symbol of willingness and readiness in building a household. It is the expression of the groom's appreciation to the bride and also the educational message to humanity and human dignity. These messages can be used as a reference in running a household.

*Sorong serah* pre-procession represents mutual respect among others. There are patterns, symbols or ethics in *sejati* and *selabar* that must be adhered to. *Sejati* is a notification process to the girl's parents and is usually done by the head of the village together with the customary village leader using custom clothing. Likewise with a *selabar* procession. *Selabar* is to discuss the amount of the brideprice, to determine the guardian as well as the determination of the day to *sorong serah*. In a *sejati* and *selabar* procession, there is a difference in clothes used. The clothes actually distinguish them whether they are *nyelabar* or whether they are merchants or entrepreneurs. If they are *nyelabar*, they should

wear the *nyelabar* attribute, otherwise, if they are merchant or entrepreneur, they are free to wear outfits.

Symbols in the pre to post-process *sorong serah aji krama* have positive point in building the value of education and communication ethics among citizens. The values are built based on sincerity for mutual acceptance, mutual respect between the two sides on the basis of built, agreed, upheld, and implied values, in social life. So the parents of both parties have an obligation to provide advice to both men and women. In this context, as a form of tolerance and sensitivity to the emergence of clashes when the messages are misused or misinterpreted by the bride and groom in family and society. This parents' attitude is also as an ethic of communication in order to preserve custom and build family harmonization as a big family that wants to uphold the custom values in centuries.

*Sorong serah aji krama* is a symbol of marriage and symbolizes the mutual respect of each other as a servant of Allah SWT. It gives the meaning that marriage does not merely legalise an illegitimate thing, but also a symbol of respect for oneself as a servant of Allah SWT which must always be ordered and reminded especially to the bride. It is a medium to provide educational messages to the bride and the messages can be used as a reference in running life as a family.

### ***Sorong Serah* Interrelation Tradition in Sasak Interaction**

Culture in society is a symbolic system of meaning, some of which define reality as it is believed, and others determine the normative expectations that are imposed upon humans. In the procession of marriage implicitly treating humans as behavior that plays provisions previously designed in accordance with the norms that exist. From the perspective of functional theory, society is always in a state of gradual change by maintaining the balance of every event and structure that the social system needs, even poverty and social imbalance. Society is seen in dynamic conditions in equilibrium (Graib, 1992: 76).

Sasak society actually does not know caste but they know levels. These levels can be a guide for anyone. The words of noble people are not only seen from the levels, but they are seen from other dimensions. For example, a person with high knowledge is called a scholar and is also known as a nobleman. A person who owns a lot of wealth is called a rich man and can be called as a nobleman. The meaning of nobility is so narrow because Sasak society tends to interpret nobility genealogically.

Similarly, the tradition of *Sorong serah aji krama* for noble person in Sasak indirectly becomes a form of non-formal education, which aims to increase the sense of brotherhood in the framework of *silaturrahmi* to others, and increase the religious elements and animating the cultures with Islam nuance that is conducted through joint initiatives among the people to develop the sense of brotherhood. The people who are involved in this activity are not only the traditional leaders or religious leaders but also the youths so that they have knowledge about the local culture to maintain and preserve. The Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah are two places of many places that still strongly maintain the customs from the past until now. Despite the rapid development of technology and information flows, the custom is implemented there. The villagers of Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah set out custom and traditions in daily life. According to them, the custom is the organizer of their daily life. It is seen from the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* in marriage, the language used, and the socializing ethics.

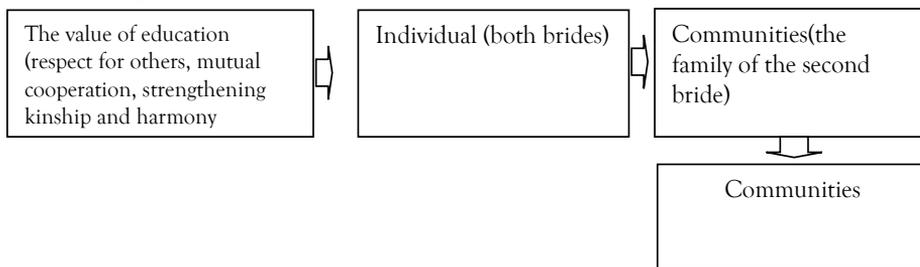
It is a unique phenomenon when the society entity makes culture as an important element in maintaining fraternity (*ukhuwah*) between them. It is not rare for an entity to experience degradation and erosion of *ukhuwah* when many outside cultures present in their midst. Balungadang Praya and Puyung Lombok Tengah villages can be a model of how the culture is used as *ukhuwah* strengthener in various contexts of life and with various levels of the community involvement. Ranging from traditional customary figures to youth leaders, they work hand in hand in building the community as a whole and with strong cohesiveness.

Maskur (interview 14 October 2012) regrets, there is a kind of shift in meaning and the model that develops in the procession of *sorong serah aji krama*. In the contemporary context, the interrelation and internalization of *sorong serah aji krama* are much dramatized through un-Islamic ways. Such a *nyongkolan* is the symbolization of the *sorong serah* but now the model of *nyongkolan* is packed with models that are not cultured and much away from Islamic cultures. Some of the doers of *nyongkolan* (a tradition after the covenant of marriage in Sasak) are drunkards, and also interfere with the rights of others. Actually, *nyongkolan* can give sacred value for both brides because *nyongkolan* becomes *syiar* Islam. Therefore, it is important for the Sasak community, especially for the community to review the procession of *sorong serah* as Sasak custom procession to maintain, so as not to be washed away and degraded by the flow of negative cultures.

Marriage is to be upheld not only seen from the dimensions of *syara* but also from the custom dimension. In Sasak custom, marriage has been regulated in Sasak custom law but when they get divorced, it is not regulated in Sasak custom law. The existence of *sorong serah* as a result of Sasak community is to provide a better color of life and not deviate from the teachings of Islam. Likewise, levels sometimes are used as justification in various contexts of life, whereas the levels want to emphasize the educational messages.

Another form of interrelation is the obligation of Sasak tribe community especially the bride and groom who must understand the real purpose of marriage. In order to perpetuate that noble goal, they have the responsibility of internalizing these symbols in various forms, patterns of behavior in marriage life, and in the broader context of life that is interrelation with the people.

The symbolic meaning that is embodied in the tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* is to uphold the values of marriage as well as the respect for the bride who has been binding with a legitimate bond. It also has a meaning, to maintain its traditions as a Sasak tribe community. These traditions lead to the value of social education and morals to educate on value of divinity, respect for others, mutual cooperation, strengthening kinship, and harmony. It is also related to the moral values of individuals that include responsibility, pleading, independence, patience, obedience, and willing to sacrifice in maintaining the family.



**Figure 1: Sorong serah tradition in Sasak tribe community interaction**

Figure 1 shows that the values are the deepest value of tradition that becomes the strongest spirit in running a household life. This deepest value will be meaningful if it is manifested in various life interactions, individual interactions as a couple in the household, and subsequently used as capital for interaction with both parents from the bride and groom. Then, it is as capital in interacting with the wider society.

## Conclusion

*Sorong serah Aji krama* has become a tradition of Sasak community and is a symbol of the identity and humanity of the bride as well as a metaphorical symbol of self-esteem as a human running the household life. The Sasak tribe community views the tradition as the honor and respect of the prospective groom to the bride. The tradition of *sorong serah aji krama* has actually provided education on the communication ethics to the Sasak community. It is a reflection of how great and sociable the society solves problems, and being ethical in speaking for building kinship ties through marriage. It is an indirect form of non-formal education, which aims to increase the sense of brotherhood in the framework of *silaturrahmi* with others, to increase the religious elements and to revive the Islamic tradition.

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## NGURUP CIMPLUNG: FOOD SECURITY STRATEGY IN BANJARNEGARA HOUSEHOLD

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### **Abstract**

*This study aims to look at the lives of farmers from a survival strategy perspective. An ethnographic approach is used with participant observation and interviews. The results of the study show that despite changes due to modernization of agriculture, local traditions and knowledge are still carried out. There are at least two strategies in overcoming food security in their households, namely the short-term strategy, done by “ngurup cimplung”, utilizing surrounding plants that can be used for daily needs. Whereas the long-term strategy is done by carrying out various rituals, namely “gethekan”, “ujungan ritual”, as well as istisqa prayers, all of which are to wish the Divine pleasure to keep nature-friendly with them. The strategy of performing this ritual also has a large function in food security both at the community and household level and even at the individual level. Each special event usually serves local food. For them, the efforts made are as an exchange effort, as “ngurup cimplung” is an economic exchange effort. Performing rituals by presenting a variety of foods are believed to get an equivalent fortune even more abundant than that given. Although rice is a staple food in every activity, the people of Gumelem, Banjarnegara can still use it wisely as a food security effort.*

*Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat kehidupan petani dari perspektif survival strategy. Pendekatan etnografi digunakan dengan teknik observasi partisipan dan wawancara. Hasil studi menunjukkan meskipun terjadi perubahan akibat modernisasi pertanian, tetapi tradisi dan pengetahuan lokal tetap dilakukan.*

Ada dua strategi yang dilakukan petani yaitu strategi jangka pendek yaitu dengan “ngurup cimplung”, mengambil tanaman di sekitar yang bisa dimanfaatkan untuk kebutuhan sehari-hari. Sedangkan strategi jangka panjang dilakukan dengan melakukan berbagai ritual, yaitu “gethekan”, ritual adat “ujungan”, maupun sholat istisqa yang semuanya mengharap ridha Ilahi agar alam tetap bersahabat dengan mereka. Dengan melakukan ritual ini juga memiliki fungsi besar dalam ketahanan pangan baik di level komunitas maupun rumah tangga bahkan individu. Setiap kegiatan khusus biasanya menyuguhkan pangan lokal. Bagi mereka, upaya yang dilakukan adalah sebagai upaya pertukaran, sebagaimana “ngurup cimplung” merupakan upaya pertukaran ekonomi. Sedangkan melakukan ritual dengan menyuguhkan berbagai makanan dipercaya akan mendapatkan rejeki yang setara bahkan lebih berlimpah dari yang diberikan. Meskipun beras menjadi makanan pokok di setiap aktivitas, masyarakat Gumelem, Banjarnegara tetap bisa menggunakan dengan bijak sebagai upaya ketahanan pangan.

**Keywords:** household food security; survival strategies.

## Background

The issue of food security has become the focus of attention since the economic crisis in Indonesia, in international, national, regional, household, and even individual level (Widodo, 2003). Referring to the World Summit in the 1996 food security has been defined as existing “when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Russell et al., 2011). Thus, food insecurity exists when people do not have sufficient physical, social or economic access to food. This widely accepted definition highlights four elements of food security: availability, access, utilization, and stability. Various policies have been formulated in this direction.

The finding of Limenta and Chandra (2017) shows that the government pays more attention to import quotas, non-automatic import licensing, reference prices, domestic support, export subsidies. While at the household level, Pearson correlation analysis showed that income, knowledge of organic farming, organic rice productivity, and landholding had a significant effect on household food security (Suhardianto et al., 2007). The study employed cross-sectional design shows the difference between urban agriculture coping strategy scores i.e. <14 and fisheries> 14 which means government programs to improve food security should be more focused on households in urban

farming fisheries groups (Suhardianto et al., 2007). On the other hand, household resilience is influenced by the number of household members, per capita income, and the urban area of residence. Besides, it is affected by the education, occupation, age, and gender of household heads, as well as *raskin*'s reception (rice for the poor). Households that receive *raskin* have a greater probability of food security than households that do not receive *raskin* for all household characteristics. The greatest probability of food insecurity is in households headed by women, living in rural areas, having a basic education, and working in agriculture (Sundari & Nachrowi, 2016). From the literature study above, there have been efforts to see how strong food security is owned at the household level along with its influence factors. However, on the other hand, descriptive explanations are very brief without looking at other factors that might affect, such as social and cultural factors that are owned by the community. Therefore this study focuses on the difficulties they feel at the household level and the strategies taken to overcome the challenges to survive.

Banjarnegara Regency, as one of regencies in Central Java Province, is an area with an agrarian economic pattern. Most Banjarnegara people rely on their livelihood from the agricultural sector. Based on the 2015 Central Java BPS data, 464,000 people who work 50% of them work in the agricultural sector (BPS, 2016). Challenges faced by the farmers are very complex, at least the limitations of land, soil conditions, water availability, weather and climate, population, local knowledge, beliefs, technology, and economy including food prices, fertilizer, and marketing. The conversion of agricultural land into developed land is ranked second highest, covering an area of 570ha (2001-2008) and 874 ha (2008-2015), especially in the Districts of Susukan, Mandiraja, and Banjarnegara (Ramadhan & Sudadi, 2016). Population growth, the inheritance of land ownership, and competition between agricultural and non-agricultural land users are increasingly sharp. Drought and water crises increasingly make it difficult for them to work on rice fields.

Challenges also come because the economic system is not yet partial to peasants so that the price of agricultural commodities cannot be a mainstay of life. Various agricultural systems, including wet rice farming systems, have been determined by many factors, including local ecological, economic and cultural social, and national and international policies (Iskandar & Iskandar, 2011). The success of the green revolution program carried out at the beginning of the New Order led to increased agricultural production and spurred rapid socio-economic change in the Javanese countryside. Rice

production in Indonesia for instance increased by 275% between 1966 and 2000 (Khush, 2003).

The introduction of the green revolution has dramatically changed and even not implemented anymore, because the introduction of the green revolution, inorganic fertilizers, and synthetic pesticides, hullers, and hand tractors. With the introduction of commercial crops, market development can damage food security, if the right balance between food crops and commercial crops is not found. When commercial crops replace food crops, there is a risk of greater dependence on food markets. In many sub-Saharan countries, women are traditionally responsible for food production (Gallina, 2010). Also, the emergence of modern agricultural systems causes high dependence on (1) synthetic fertilizers; (2) synthetic chemicals for controlling pests, diseases and weeds; and (3) superior varieties for monoculture plants. The green revolution program also has disadvantages, especially in the field of employment. Job opportunities in the agricultural sector are rapidly decreasing, so activities involving the population are reduced. This eliminates one of the population's access to their food availability.

In 2019, peasants in Gumelem, Susukan sub-district, Banjarnegara Regency must be more patient. A prolonged dry season causes a lack of water and not a few who fail to harvest rice, which means they did not get rice at all. Directly or indirectly, global warming has an impact on changes in spatial and temporal distribution patterns of water availability and causes the chance of drought in the dry season to increase. This condition disrupts food production systems such as early planting backward, cropping intensity decreases, the intensity of plant-disturbing organisms will increase, and what's worse is crop failure.

Even though food is not only rice, it is still very dominant for the people of Gumelem. In addition to daily necessities, rice is also used for donations (giving donations to neighbors who are on a laurel). For neighbors who hold a marriage ceremony at a minimum, each household gives 2 kg of rice. If you have a desire, you will at least give 5 kg plus instant noodles, tea, sugar, raw vegetables, and so on. In addition, rice is very important for the ritual of "caos" which is a means of requesting a ritual. Rice is also used for the *gethekan* ritual, which is to make a cone containing "uba rampe" (equipment that has been determined). During the month of Sura, rice is a food that is never absent because it is used to make a "takir" that uses a minimum of 3 kg of rice. Even in the month of Sadran, rice became a more important element, namely to

make “tumpeng” (rice-shaped like a cone) and “ambeng” (rice with a variety of offerings). The importance of rice to the Gumelem people’s lives does not mean that they do not consume other types of food. Sometimes, they save rice so that they can keep up with various rituals and replace their daily food with other foods. In addition, some consider that tradition is sacred so they must serve the best food.

The intensity of meeting the peasants who were very high gave rise to a sense of solidarity arising. The fact is that farm laborers have uncertain income, wages they receive are not daily, so they cannot fulfill their needs. Claims of living costs, especially the price of basic commodities that fluctuate will greatly affect their condition. For peasants who are still “kembul” (living together with their children, daughters, and grandchildren), it is not uncommon to gabble deeper to share their grandchildren and children. Various strategies are used for the survival of his family.

The survival strategy expressed by Wijayanti is by a corner, which is a social gathering system with a centralized collector, after being drawn, the money will be given to the lucky ones (Wijayanti et al., 2016). Whereas in Gumelem, peasants must cultivate other people’s land in the form of profit-sharing (maro). Referring to the description above, there are many livelihood assets, namely natural resources, human resources, social engagement, customs, and so on. The diversity of resources is a valuable asset for realizing food security. Diversification of agriculture, as well as regulating food expenditure wisely (Manesa et al., 2008). The “mamaselaras” (dinner other than rice) movement replaces the staple food (Irianto, & Anam, 2015). Although Banjarnegara ranks 226th out of 375 districts across Indonesia with a Food Security Index Score of 72.35% and occupies a moderate level, that does not mean that Banjarnegara people are free from food insecurity (Pertanian, 2018).

### **Research Question**

Complex challenges and the burden of fulfilling family needs do not discourage peasants from working. Studies of agricultural sector activity show that the agricultural sector has contributed to the household economy. The phenomenon of farmworkers whose conditions are labeled as “simplicity, accept what is, be diligent, tenacious” under the vortex of the present era is interesting to study, because of the growing needs. Based on this, the research question is on how the survival mechanism is carried out in peasant households.

## Methods

Empirical studies are conducted on peasants' communities by exploring the survival mechanism they are doing in maintaining the socio-economic life of the household. The study was conducted in Gumelem Village, Susukan Subdistrict, Banjarnegara Regency, where households became the unit of analysis because even though work activities were carried out by individual family members, the management was within one household unit. Thus, the pattern of division of labor built by household members, including the role of women and children in helping the family economy.

This research was conducted with a qualitative design on eight farm labor households. The eight households were chosen because they considered demographic factors, such as age (young-old), type of work, low- economy and ownership (assets). It also explored the factors helping to determine the survival mechanism. Data collection is done through in-depth interviews to the eight farming families who have a background of being peasants for 10-20 years, have low economic conditions with various limitations, and aged more than 50 years but are still actively becoming peasants. In addition, the researcher also stayed with them for approximately four months to conduct direct observation in the peasant's household and in the rice fields where they work to find out what they are doing and what the underlying values are. The researcher also participated in gethekan rituals and customary rituals.

## Farming at Gumelem Village

Gumelem located in the Susukan sub-district, Banjarnegara district has a rice field typology. Gumelem consists of two villages namely, Gumelem Wetan and Gumelem Kulon. When entering this village in the rainy season, you will be presented with a wide green carpet surrounded by rows of North Kendeng mountains. Coconut trees along the road to the settlement seemed to welcome the arrival of anyone who passed by. The green expanse is none other than rice fields 168,5000 ha, fields 211,0000 ha, yards 137,0000 ha, plantations 42,0000 ha, village treasury 29,0000, forests 5,1020 with the remainder for settlements, and public facilities. With the superior commodity of paddy rice production which has an average value of Rp. 4,710,185,000.00 per year, clove plantations which occupy the second place and third place are occupied by fisheries production commodities in the form of pomfret, the livelihood of the majority population as peasants with a total of 1,070 men

and 686 (Wetan, 2017, 2019). Not much different, Gumelem Kulon also has almost the same area, with the same characteristics.

Farming habits in addition to being the main sector driving the economy of the population is also a heritage of their ancestors. The teachings about farming they have gotten from childhood. Even though they declared themselves to be peasants when viewed the average land ownership was very low. According to the results of interviews with peasants and community leaders, in the past (the Kademangan period) before there was a village administration, this village was a private land (tax-free land) so that the peasants only had rights to cultivate land owned by kuncen (the person who guarded the tomb of Ki Ageng Giring). The relationship between the tendency of small peasants is a patronage relationship. After the village changes from Kademangan to a village, in the transition period, the law applies to who planted it who will own the land (the results of interviews with peasants and community leaders on April 15, 2019). Unlike today, where land ownership has been regulated by the government. The ownership of the land affected the position of the peasants whether they were owners, cultivators or laborers.

Limited access to agricultural land compared to the needs, causing not only men to be involved in agriculture. Farming experience is more beneficial for them than the maximum education taken in junior high school. Capitalizing on their energy and health conditions, they can immediately work. Being a laborer is a job hunted by residents aged around 45 years and above in the village of Gumelem and there is no limit to retirement. Farm work is chosen because the workplace is close to home. Also, the location of the village far from the city is only passed by transportation which only passes twice with erratic hours, making activities limited.

Each peasant household in Gumelem village cultivated the wet rice field annually mainly based on the local knowledge and beliefs. According to the Gumelem people, the cultivation of wet rice farming has been adapted with local weather and climate. The annual season (*mangsa*) can be divided into three main seasons, namely dry season (*usum gadu*), wet season (*usum rendeng*), and transition season (*usum pancaroba*) from the dry season to wet season and vice versa. In the following sub-sections, we are preparing for rice seedling, land preparation, planting, maintaining, harvesting, and cultivation. post-harvesting of rice-based on gender.

### **Preparation of rice at home**

In the past, local rice seeds were obtained from the previous harvest. Traditionally, during harvesting rice, various planting seasons were chosen. The rice seeds and theirs were chosen which contain full and uniform grains. A few days before rice seeds were spread in the nursery in the rice fields, the rice seeds were soaked in a large basin to select good quality seeds. The good quality seeds were usually sunk, while poor seeds were floating in the water. On the chosen day as a good day, rice weeds are brought to and then spread in the nursery on the chosen day considered as a good day. Female peasants mostly undertake the preparation of rice seeds.

Nowadays, after adopting the Green Revolution, the local rice varieties or High Yielding Rice Varieties (HYVs) is chosen. Today, rice is mostly bought from the shops. As a result, rural peasants have to buy rice from shops. One of the negative impacts of the Green Revolution program was the mass extinction of local rice varieties (Iskandar et al., 2018).

### **Land preparation for rice seedling**

The next phase is the land preparation at the rice field. Firstly, the rice fields located nearby by are selected to make the rice seedling. Secondly, the selected rice field plot was hoisted, flattened, and provided with water from special water flow channel. The male peasant undertook land preparation. The rice seeds were spread by the female peasant. Each rice seed stalk is a bit pressured to avoid drifting away from the water flow. The water control in the rice seedling nursery was initiated by opening and closing the water channel that enters the rice field plot. Male and female peasants traditionally undertook water control. The rice seedling nursery is approximately between 20 and 25 days. The land preparation, the soil is hoed and flattened. After finishing the land preparation, rice seeds are spread. The rice harvested from the previous harvest. These are the seedling places for approximately 15 days.

### **Planting**

A few time-use surveys have data by activity and these show that general weeding and harvesting were done by female (FAO, 2011). Women farmworkers began planting rice at 05.00 a.m. until 11:30 p.m. Someone took rice seeds that had been sown to be distributed, after which she plunged into the rice fields to plant with her friends. The atmosphere was still dark, only the moon was

lighting up. One by one they plunged into the land that had been immersed in water. Some women seem to smear the cooking oil that has been mixed with salt, and some men pick the residue leaves which are then rubbed on their feet until the smell comes off (*langu*). Or they can also use mosquito repellent lotion. All three are powerful weapons for peasants to prevent their feet from getting itchy. Peasants already understand the contours and characteristics of the soil in Gumelem, there is soil that does cause itching, there is also soil containing mud with a depth of 90 cm. Women are usually *nandur* (planting) slowly toward the back (backward), while men line using rakes. One person gets a salary of Rp. 25,000.00 with a half *bahu* (approximately 7.096 m<sup>2</sup>) (KBBI, 2016) calculation is done by twelve people or six people for a quarter of the "*bahu*". If only working a quarter of a *bahu*, the farmworker will finish at 09.00 a.m. However, if six people work half a *bahu* then the wages received will be double.

For the fasting month, there is a slightly different count, which is half the *bahu* calculated at Rp. 380,000.00 for twelve people, on average per person get Rp. 31,600.00. For men with a line assignment, they are paid Rp. 50,000 for 1 *bahu*. The planting time for the fasting month is the same as the usual month, which is at 05.00 a.m, but finishes earlier, at 11.00 a.m. If possible, women farming workers around 1:00 p.m. will return to plant until 17:00 a.m. Or it can be done during the day starting at 11:00 a.m. until 15:00 a.m. Mrs. Partimah and Mrs. Suparni once decided not to fast while planting rice and told the owner. Then the owner will provide food for those who are not fasting *medot* (stopping in the middle of fasting). When the fasting month in addition to getting wages in exchange for food provided, the owner will provide 1 kg of rice and two eggs and two instant noodles. But someone can add money, all depends on the owner. Planting paddy in Gumelem Wetan Village roughly takes around four or five months from the beginning of land clearing until harvest from planting.

### Maintenance of Rice

The weeding of aquatic weeds is one of the main activities in the field of aquatic weeds. The weeding was three times in a growing season. The first weeding was between fifteen and twenty days after planting the rice. The second weeding was carried out about one month after planting. Treatments are carried out such as *nggaram* (fertilizing), spraying pests, and *watun* (weeding), which is done twice for half a month and after two months. If it has been three

months, it is already *meteng* (containing) rice which should not be touched so it is not allowed to weed the grass. The third weeding was only done if we did grow again in the rice field. The weeding was taught by female peasants. The water control is intended to provide water supply in the rice field plots. If the rice field experiences water shortage, the irrigation is provided from the water channel. Conversely, if too much water is available in the rice field, some of the water was removed from the rice field plots. Male peasants undertook water control. After the rice shows the characteristics of the yellowing color, the more it bends and the time is sufficient, then the rice is ready for harvest.

But during the dry season, maintaining rice is very difficult. Because of the lack of water, rice does not develop. Peasants usually know or have an instinct that rice that grows small but is rather dry and tends to wither, will not be able to live later. It's useless if they will "nggaram" (fertilizing). Costs for maintenance in the dry season are not half-hearted can spend. When a peasant decides to rent a pump overnight, he must rent it for at Rp. 600,000.00 (results of an interview with Mrs. Kuat, May 24, 2019). In addition, there is also a tariff of 75,000 per day (27 September 2019). The cost does not include aspirated water. The water that is aspirated to water the rice usually comes from the nearest river. However, if the river water is not available, renting a pump is deemed useless too, after all the water to be sucked does not exist. Peasants can only surrender by letting their fields languish. Like the harvest in 2019. Most people said that the second harvest this year many failed. This can be proven by seeing the stretch of paddy fields that have lots of soil with few rice plants that still survive, and eventually, they will die.

### Harvesting Rice

Usually, the owner of the rice field will contact one of the farmworkers and give money and determine the day. Even women who are given money laborers go to other friends to be asked for their willingness and at the same time make an agreement when and where they will go together. The harvest season for them is a long agenda because it can spend one month sometimes more. Orders for harvesting are sometimes sequential for one month, they also have to work with other *grumbul* (hamlet) workers because of the extent of the fields they are working on.

The sense of togetherness and unity between peasants and nature at that time was still very thick. A peasant has the belief that working on a rice field is not solely an economic activity, but also a religious activity. They have the

belief that the universe is a unity under the control of the Almighty, therefore humans and nature must unite, maintain, and respect each other. In working on a rice field a peasant not only strives to respect and appreciate the realm of things such as earth, water but also strives to respect and appreciate invisible, the ancestors who have died or the inhabitants of a place. Therefore, every time they will do agricultural activities they always try to establish good relations with other creatures, both visible and invisible.

Although the majority are already Muslim, after the death of Sunan Giring in Gumelem, some cultures before Islam are still practiced. Because previously Gumelem had been occupied by a Hindu-Buddhist figure named Singakerti. Until now, the two cultures are acculturated and go hand in hand. However, beliefs about this life are not only humans but there are other creatures who also share life on earth.

On one side of the rice crop that will be harvested, precisely near the shaded rice fields because of the shadow of rice, there are offerings which are lined with banana leaves containing two cigarettes and some whole roses, beside them there is a piece of *tepes* (coconut skin) containing incense that has been burned. The tradition of harvesting is usually accompanied by offerings, some use offerings and incense that are not burned. Some still use “kenduri” or “kepungan” ceremonies where they invite close neighbors to eat together. “Kenduri” is one of the local wisdom having values generally followed and believed by the community. The values contained in festivity include the presence of togetherness. It also contains religious values, which were preceded by reading prayers given to the ancestors. It also has a positive value in order to maintain food security, because in the event festivity or other rituals always present various traditional menus that are rarely found in everyday life.

Peasant women are busy cutting rice with a tool called *ani-ani*. Their activities are called *ngasag*, which is to take the remaining rice that is not cut by men. When harvesting, the task of male peasants is to cut with sickles, there is also the task of collecting pieces of rice carried by carrier (people often refer to the term *sepikul*). While cutting rice, women farmworkers discuss all kinds of things, ranging from children, residents who have rights, and so on. The men of the peasant sometimes joked with women. A happy time for them was when the male peasants deliberately left quite a lot of rice plants. The women then gathered to get a large share. Now and then someone shouted, “let’s fight”. It does not mean the real fight, but precisely for those who are part of joking. They look happy and pleasant. Now and then they *mindho*

(resting) sitting on the embankment and drinking their provisions which they put in the bowl. If the harvest time is only until 9:00 a.m. then they only get snacks, some do not give snacks but are paid Rp. 5,000.00 so if the wages are collected it becomes IDR 30,000.00.

The cut rice is collected on the tarpaulin. It was there that the women pounded the paddy on a board with nails to separate the grain from the stalk. Most rice farming systems in Gumelem Wetan are still traditional, although some have already used modern farming tools, like a rice threshing machine. According to women laborers, the results of paying them more than the manuals. Besides they are not too tired because they have a sack that is held and they automatically get a rice drop. While waiting, they can do *ngasag*. The women farm laborers usually bring grain by using a *tenggok* carried with a scarf. Some get full, some get one sack, or only get half.

### Post-harvesting

The grains are not stored immediately, they have to dry so that the grain that will be stored can be durable and not moldy. Dry grain characteristic is when it is bitten it sounds "*cethak*". After drying, the grain that has dried and overheated does not boil immediately. Because if it is directly dipped, it will be destroyed.

After the rice is separated from the stem and collected into one, usually *damen* (rice plants that are already dry) are then burned, and after that, the fields will be soaked in water. It is a good time to look for eels or ece which (shells) which are usually done by adult men and boys which are then cooked and consumed. The harvest season seems to mobilize a large portion of the population because almost all day residents spend time in the fields. For men (husbands) who usually work outside such as Parsidi, a meatball salesman in a town, then chooses to harvest in the fields. Badi, who usually works as a rice grinder worker in Klampok, chooses to harvest in the rice fields.

### Gethekan Ritual

After the completion of the harvest period, female farm laborers prepare the "gethekan" ritual. The *bahu* (assistant chief of village) who have coordinated with the caretaker of Gumelem, then announced when *gethekan* will be held. One day before *gethekan*, the women prepared the ingredients to be cooked. In the morning they usually wake up at 2:00 a.m. to cook rice cone containing "wader" (small fish) mixed with yellow seasoned coconut

pulp. Also, they also cook fried noodles, papaya vegetables, dried *tempeh* and oinment and are equipped with crackers or anchovies. The dish is then put in a bowl and held in the back. The women farm laborers walked towards Ki Ageng Gumelem's cemetery. This ritual is a medium of prayer and gratitude requests expressed by women farm laborers because of the successful harvest. The ritual begins with prayer and then eats together, the cone bearer will not eat his food. After they have brought home the food "mberkat" and this is mandatory for those who make the cone or not. "Berkat" is believed to provide blessings, welfare to anyone who eats food. Even some people, believe that the food "berkat" is still remain, then discarded in the rice field or garden then it will be a blessing, abundant harvest.

*Gethekan* comes from the word *resikan*, which means to cleanse the graves of the ancestors. This ritual is performed twice during the year after harvest. Although the harvest in August-September 2019 failed because of a prolonged dry season, peasants continue to make "cone" for this ritual. Usually "blessings" that are brought home if not eaten, will be discarded on their farm. They have confidence that the rice and side dishes in the "cone" that have been prayed will also give blessings on the farms (Agus and Jerry, interview 3 October 2019). Aside from being a means of "getting closer" and a form of gratitude to God, this ritual is part of a food security strategy. The food served has been determined and has a certain meaning. For example, "tumpeng" as a symbol of gratitude or happiness, the conical shape means the hope for a prosperous life by being close to God. Some people admit that in ancient times, the rituals that were carried out were eagerly awaited because they considered it as "nutrition day". In their daily lives they never eat "fancy food" as during the ritual. In this ritual, at least 3 kg of rice is consumed, plus the side dishes that have been determined.

After harvesting rice, women farm laborers work again to plant water spinach with the seed bought at the store. Some grow corn or long beans. Women farmworkers start *muwur* (planting kale seeds) at 7:00 a.m. and end at 11:00 a.m. For the first stage, starting from preparing the land, male peasants usually hoe the land. After that, the women partially marked in the fields as a place for kale seeds. They use a tool called *panja* (like a stick with a pointed tip) to make a hole. Some other women fill each hole with 4-5 kale seeds. Usually, they get a salary of Rp. 30,000.00 with additional cooked food, rice and, vegetables complete with sweet tea, and snacks, namely wingko and molen. Food usually changes the menu if it is done for more than one day.

For harvesting, the owner is usually harvested without involving farmworkers or if asking for help only requires the help of one person around 3:00 a.m. by using a flashlight which is then taken to Gombong for sale. After harvesting water spinach, rice fields are then soaked in water and processed for rice field preparation.

### **Ujungan Ritual**

Apart from having limited access to agricultural land, peasants in Gumelem also face water scarcity, especially in the dry season. In the dry season, when water reserves in the hilly area are running low, they must be willing to take turns from the source of the flow. Water is distributed among peasants in hamlets, sub-districts and even in districts. The fight ended in a war that made the village unsafe and became a concern for Demang as the village leader. They often do *ujungan* ritual (concern) to get guidance from God in overcoming the problem of a long drought. This ceremony was held on Friday Kliwon because that is the time of the west rain. This tradition is used for “mujung” or begging the Almighty God for the village to be given rain so that the dry season ends soon. It is from this *mujung* word that the tradition is finally called the *ujungan* tradition, the procession in salvation and pilgrimage to Ki Ageng Giring and the first Demang. *Ujungan* is a tradition of horizontal conflict among peasants fighting for water in the form of cultural innovations. It teaches humans that in solving lack of water problem, people should not be selfish but to struggle together to get closer to God. It also reminds peasants to be close to nature and others (Hudayana et al., 2012). Now the tradition is still done and preserved to be a tourist village.

In this ritual, it is presented fighting over the mountain of harvest. Although in this ritual two players “resemble fighting” because they both try to “snatch” (hit), it goes on peacefully. Once I saw a participant who turned out to be possessed, almost killed the other participants. The audience immediately cheered and was very angry with the person. Because the earth of Gumelem does not want to be spotted with bad things like that.

### **Shalat Istisqa**

That morning, October 13, 2019, the rice field was filled with worshipers who would perform Istisqa prayers. Not only doing *Ujungan* rituals, Istisqa prayer rituals are also performed by the Gumelem community when asking for rain. Wet agricultural land is needed to revive the wheels of the life of

peasants. Rain-paddy fields have become chunks. Only pray to God the only way to be taken.

### Ngurup Cimplung

Women laborers on the other hand as mothers also have duties where they are responsible for managing the household, both regarding health, and regulating family expenses. When these needs are not met, they are the first to feel the impact. Therefore, women farm laborers make a strategy to survive in limitations by developing activities outside the agricultural sector, such as making batik, making carp (peeping rice) which are then sold, selling mortar sellers, garbage collectors, and so on. Because by doing these activities they get additional income. They are very tenacious and persistent to get a job. They are willing to do anything to get income. For male farmworkers, working in the informal sector is another option such as construction workers, salespeople in Perja, working as rice grinders in Klampok by becoming commuters (*penglaju*). Social and cultural reasons are also the cause. Some of them do not want to go to work because if something happens to their family or closest neighbors, then they will come easily compared to if they work in a distant place. But there are also their husbands who are willing to go out of town for days and even months. They go back to the village once a year, especially on Lebaran days. That's when they gather with their relatives.

Besides, they also use food processing strategies to save the rice they have. Among other things, when the cooked rice is not finished, the next morning the remaining rice will be fried and eaten again, otherwise, they will dry the rice and make *rengginang*. They make *meniran* which is food from small rice mixed with coconut pulp and put in banana leaves, then steamed. In almost every house, they have chickens even though there are only two, the function is to give leftovers as well as savings so that when they are going to eat there is no need to buy by slaughtering large chickens and what is left is a small one to grow big again. Usually, the one who takes care of chickens is the mother, from feeding, cleaning the cage, to removing chicken manure.

Also, the strategy is to exchange food, namely *cimplung*, which is how to cook the garden product with *nira* water (from the coconut tree), until soft. Waridah stated that in ancient times, there were not many snacks in Gumelem. Then the women process the garden products which are then boiled with *nira* water. Almost every house boiled *nira* water at that time, because the average population owned coconut trees. Garden products in the form of cassava,

pumpkin, papaya, and coconut are then boiled with *nira* water (interview 6 November 2019).

Previously, “urupan cimplung” sellers sold on the side of the road and brought vegetables from the harvest in their gardens, but now the sales move around to homes and they do not bring vegetables. Currently, the harvested vegetables are sold directly in the vegetable shop. The mechanism of “ngurup cimplung” has changed. In the past, they got cimplung by exchanging it with grain or called exchanging cimplung with an average size of a plate of cimplung exchanged with a paddy grain which is carried out by the process of bargaining. The cimplung seller will usually come after the harvest period is over. They can taste good food at cheap prices without spending money. But now buyers do not have to exchange rice for grain, but can also with money around Rp. 2.000,00 or Rp 5.000.00. The proceeds of the sale are collected to buy rice grain. However, the swap system still applies.

Currently, *cimplung* sellers are increasingly rarely found along with raw materials that have begun to decrease. The aroma of boiling sap is “mbedah” found in the homes of residents. In addition, *cimplung* is no longer popular due to exposure to traveling fast food vendors. Not many young people want to eat *cimplung*. But, for the older generation this is a favourite snack. *Ngurup cimplung* until now has proven to be an effective strategy used in maintaining food vulnerability in farm households. Although, they also have other strategy choices. Aside from being a “savior” for meeting household needs, it is also a solution in household food vulnerability when rice grain deposits have run low. Even for some peasants, cimplung as a substitute for staple food, when they eat cimplung they will not eat rice.

Another strategy is to replace main foods (rice) with “inthil” (made from cassava). Or they replace other foods at low prices such as dage (grout tofu) and so on. If their needs are still urgent, they can also borrow from a mobile vegetable shop. On the other hand, they can also ask for help from relatives or neighbors to just ask for vegetables or rice. In addition, they use yard products such as “the heart” of banana, papaya, etc. as a side dish.

## Conclusion

Farming is a job that supports most people in Gumelem. With farming systems ranging from planting to harvesting villagers get jobs, this is a vital source for earning a living for them. By farming, most of them use the crop as food saving. Besides, even if they need money, they prefer to exchange grain

according to the size of their needs such as “ngurup cimlung” rather than selling grain at once. They also increase assets with small businesses, scavenge used goods, borrow money; controlling consumption and expenses such as repairing homes or own household appliances and changing the composition of the family through migration to the city.

In the burden that must be borne, the rice farming system in Gumelem is not just farming but some rituals accompany rice farming activities. This is because there are still strong people holding their local wisdom. The farming tradition as a form of local wisdom that is integrated into the daily life of the community, both as Javanese and as Muslims. Even though they are socially and culturally bound to the rituals performed such as *gethekan*, or social activities that expect arrival in fulfilling the wedding invitation, or other celebration, they are not so worried about the amount of money incurred because in each activity they do not participate in making them still “obliged to bless”.

There are at least two strategies that are carried out by peasants in overcoming food security in their households, namely the short-term strategy that is by “curing cimlung”, taking plants around that can be used for daily needs, borrowing /asking neighbors. Whereas the long-term strategy is carried out by carrying out various rituals, namely “*gethekan*”, the customary rituals of the utterances, as well as *istisqa* prayers, all of which are to wish the Divine pleasure to keep nature-friendly with them. The strategy of performing this ritual also has a large function in food security both at the community and household level and even at the individual level. Because special events usually serve local food, in addition to being introduced also to remain preserved.

They activate relationships with others to exchange, give and receive. Relationship with the owner of the universe is also carried out, even though they fail to harvest they still do alms that happen to be held after harvest. In addition, they also do “*caos*” for *gethekan* rituals. Food that is not consumed and thrown away in the fields will produce fertile and abundant plants. This is not just about how to maintain food rationally more on the attitude they take so that the community continues to run according to its function. People take action according to their rationality. For them, the efforts made are as an exchange effort, as “ngurup cimlung” as an economic exchange effort. While performing rituals by presenting a variety of foods it is believed that getting an equivalent fortune is even more abundant than that given. Although rice is a staple food in every activity, the people of Gumelem can still use it wisely as a food security effort.

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## PROBLEMATICS IN POSTMODERNISM: AN OPPORTUNITY AND CHALLENGE IN DISCOURSE OF PROPHETIC SOCIOLOGY METHOD

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### **Abstract**

*Almost all aspects of the social life of this beloved nation and country tended to be colonized including for the academicians that up to now have still been subduing and been kneeling under the influence of western epistemology. Therefore, in the case of obtaining the independence of thinking academically to develop the charitable science and scientific charity, it needs the paradigm and alternative epistemology according to the socio-psychological and socio-anthropological of the nation. In addition to the urgent independence demand for thinking academically, it also still opened the opportunity to develop a prophetic based methodology discourse. There is still an empty space in the context of methodological compilation enabling a new methodology emerges in the future. As the first step to construct a prophetic paradigm is formulating the philosophical foundation in the context of ontology, epistemology, and axiology in social science. This paper offered several strategic phases towards the discourse of metaphysical realism to develop alternative methodologies within the circle of postmodernism problematics.*

Hampir semua aspek kehidupan sosial bangsa dan negara tercinta ini cenderung dijajah termasuk para akademisi yang sampai sekarang masih tunduk dan berlutut di bawah pengaruh epistemologi barat. Oleh karena itu, dalam hal memperoleh kemandirian berpikir secara akademis untuk mengembangkan ilmu amal dan amal ilmiah, diperlukan paradigma dan epistemologi alternatif sesuai dengan sosio-psikologis dan sosio-antropologis bangsa. Selain tuntutan kemandirian yang mendesak untuk berpikir secara akademis, masih terbuka peluang untuk mengembangkan wacana metodologi berbasis kenabian. Masih ada ruang kosong dalam konteks kompilasi metodologis yang memungkinkan metodologi baru muncul di masa depan. Sebagai langkah pertama untuk membangun paradigma profetik adalah merumuskan landasan filosofis dalam konteks ontologi, epistemologi, dan aksiologi dalam ilmu sosial. Makalah ini menawarkan beberapa fase strategis menuju wacana realisme metafisik untuk mengembangkan metodologi alternatif dalam lingkaran problematika postmodernisme.

**Keywords:** *discourse; postmodernism; prophetic sociology*

## Introduction

According to Nataatmadja (2003), the scientific works of Aristotelianism and Euclideanism are based on rational intelligence, artificial intelligence, and digital intelligence, so human transformed himself into mind animal and religious animal and modern. It may be exposure referred to as “cancer of epistemology” (Arif, 2008). It is a variety of social deconstructions in the form of despiritualization, deculturation, dehumanization, deforestation and other jarring on land and in the oceans during this time.

Due to that reason, it is starting controversy from scientists, philosophers, theologians and religionists about the impact of disintegration science. Now, it has presented a much diverse opinion of the parallelism model, a model which have subsection dialogic and Islamization. All of that opinion certainly is the reason for the writers to make reviews and construct methodological steps as an attempt of prophetic methodology discourse development. In addition to the writers’ thesis that underlies prophetic methodology discourse, it also has an effort of science integration formulation and it as a version of al-Farabi integrative science paradigm.

Humaidi (2015) concluded that al-Farabi’s universal integrative science paradigm is a form of antithesis for particular integrative science, this is only related to a sub-theme, a method, a source, and a truth. The source and

foundation of al-Farabi universal integrative science is based on The One Paradigm (*Tauhid*). All of these binds every form and structure of ontological thought, cosmological, methodological and axiological (in Humaidi, 2015).

According to Humaidi's opinion, in ontological universal integrative science based on principle, there is a hierarchy existence which is the universe has a level and gradation, both in quality and quantity. Similarly, cosmological, all existences have its origins which starts from the highest existence (God) to the lowest existence and stretches of non-physical existence to physical existence (Humaidi, 2015). Between reality and the other reality is connected coherently, unified and harmonious. There is no separation wall and the boundary that separates it, thus forming a chain of universal order.

Universal integrative science model-based on Oneness (*Tauhid*) is not just limited to explanation about reality with a hierarchy and bound in a harmonious order. However, the principle also implies that the epistemological aspects. Since the reality of the ontological and cosmological have levels, then surely we should use a variety of methodology. That is why al-Farabi uses empirical methods, rational, intuitive: inductive, deductive; quantitative and qualitative (Humaidi, 2015). The diversity of this approach is in accordance with the level of reality itself. All of it has complementary to realize the unity of nature-the microcosm and macrocosm; unity of existence; as well as the unity of knowledge, object and subject knowledge. Thus, the scope of science, not only physics that are considered valid as science, but also mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, aesthetics, logic, jurisprudence, Sufism, and also *qalam* science or theology. These exposures are objective and scientific as well as in accordance with the subject and object of study, as well as the methods used.

The principle of universal integrative science is not only related to the horizontal line but also includes a vertical line. That is, science explains not only the physical objects but also examines the metaphysical objects; and not only limited to the sensory aspects, but also include aspects of rational and spiritual. It is also not only centered on faulty studies, but also the wheelbase on the values of the divinity; and not only related to the social aspect, but also the transcendent aspect.

These integrative science models do not consider that the only senses which become a source of knowledge and truth, or just ratio, or also just intuition. However, these elements belong to scientification of legitimate sources. Based on al-Farabi's integration of the science model, spiritual knowledge is not a pseudoscience. But religion or revelation is valid to be a

source of knowledge and truth. For al-Farabi, the revelation of God becomes a source of knowledge and truth that underlies the entire quadrant of human knowledge (Humaidi, 2015).

At last, in axiological, universal integrative science confirms that the perfection of a man not only in what is known and understood. But, how that knowledge has an impact on our daily lives, both as individuals, community members, citizens, and as well as an integral part of the universe. The principle of integrative science of al-Farabi emphasizes on human perfection intellectually and spiritually, as when people actualize all their intellectual potential through action in the arena of life. In this context, al-Farabi emphasizes the integration of theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, between faith and charity, and between science and action. According to him, there is a mutual symbiotic relationship between faith and charity, between knowledge and action (in Humaidi, 2015).

### **Problematics in Postmodernism**

Various variables are frequently claimed as the determinant factor on the weakness and failure of a research process in a variety of paradigms and approaches that have been used so far. In this context, almost all scientists claim the existence of the positivist paradigm as the main cause of modern science problematic in various forms of deconstructions and their implications. Due to its ontological status and epistemological context, it keeps referring to the centrism of Euro that in turn causes the captive mind for the academicians in the Eastern world. Even, more than that, positivism and post-positivism paradigms still continue to focus on the field of value-free of Guba and Lincoln (in Denzin and Lincoln, 2009; Alatas, 2010).

Indeed, Guba and Lincoln (in Denzin and Lincoln, 2009) noted that except for positivism, the other paradigms discussed here are still in the phase of opening. It means that there is no final agreement achieved on the definition, meaning or its implication. Thus, this explanation should be perceived temporarily so that it can be revised and recompiled. If it must be done with debating, Guba and Lincoln (2009) affirmed that there is no true construction or can become true without making the debating to appear. That is why the supporters of any construction must have more standards on the sense of understanding than the proving in defending their position.

In the philosophical world, postmodernism obtains the ontological and epistemological foundations through the thoughts of Lyotard, a French

philosopher. He refused the basic idea of modern philosophy since the era of Renaissance until the era legitimized by the principle of ontological unity. In the world that is greatly influenced by technological progress, the principle of ontological unity has no longer be relevant. The power has been divided and spread owing to technological democratization (Lyotard, 1984). For that reason, the principle of ontological unity must be delegitimized with the paralogical principle. Paralogy means the principle that accepts the diversity of realities, elements, games with their every logic without suppressing or dominating one another. It is just a game of chess, every pawn has its own rule and step without disturbing the step of another pawn. Whereas, the principles that uphold modernism: ratio, ego, absolute idea, totality, teleology, binary opposition, subjectivity, linear historical progress or grand narrative has lost legitimation. The grand narratives of the above mentioned modernism are solely a mask and ideological, exploitative, dominative, and pseudo mystification (Kang Danar, 2011).

It seems that Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher has an agreement with Lyotard. Derrida with his deconstructive strategy will make the oppressed dimensions under modernism totality appear. The logical implication of this strategy is that the limits defended so far are destroyed. The discourses suppressed formerly: group of ethnics, the feminists, third world, race of black skin, group of gay, hippies, punk, or the group of environmental love, now begins to be paid attention. With deconstruction, the history of modernism will be performed without any mask as what it is. Therefore, deconstruction is the method of reading the whole text critically whose main purpose is to destroy the binary opposition and latent political constructions in the text. 'Deconstruction' as meant by Derrida is not the same as what is meant by Martin Heidegger with the destruction that means demolition. Deconstruction intended by Derrida refers to the effort of transforming the meaning and way of destruction and reconstruction. It is just like when we destroy a building, and then we make a new building with the old ruins (College Living, 2013).

Deconstruction is the taste of postmodern discussed most frequently and is mostly felt in the change of paradigm of social research. Deconstruction is a step of postmodern towards the thoughts of functionalistic, structuralistic, and paradigmatic modernism. Postmodern deconstructs the functionalistic thoughts that are impressed to defend the established nests of the capitalist. Besides, it also deconstructs the structuralist on the conventional meaning and strives to look for the new meaning, so that postmodern is also called

with poststructuralist. In this context, the interpretative deconstruction as well as the hermeneutics, when being integrated with a research method, the deconstruction and hermeneutics give their own sensitivity (Fauzie, 2009).

Postmodern attacks the belief of modernity towards science. Its critics are relevant with human being with three things, namely: (a) problem of representation, can a language help our understanding about reality, (b) problem of power and vested interest because it has been proven that science does not develop neutrally and therefore science must be understood in its cultural context, and (c) problem of continuity, because there is a discontinuity in the knowledge. Regarding with this context, Turner cited several experts with the purpose of showing that the society of postmodern needs seeing in a new manner, namely with sociological postmodernism. But, ironically, the critics towards the theory of postmodernism have also been expressed a lot. One of which is the question about its validity reason because they do not have a normative base to arrange an assessment. The question is that: does “post” mark a change of poststructural thoughts or only want to have a deconstruction attitude? Even though they strongly criticized modern society, the kind of ideal community that they propose never appear in the explanation. A variety of critics towards the theory of postmodernism is called post-postmodernism theory (in Ritzer & Goodman, 2011).

As a matter of fact, postmodernism is a very controversial term. In the context of art and philosophy, it is solely claimed as the shallow and empty intellectual mode or only a reactionary reflection on the social change happened. Postmodernism is employed to protect all isms of thoughts that frequently are not interrelated precisely to one another. There are many kinds of thoughts isms that include in the term of postmodernism, but they can be classified into the group of deconstructive or constructive or revisionary. The deconstructive group consists of the thoughts of philosophical figures like Derrida, Lyotard, Foucault, and Rorty. Whereas, the group that tends to be constructive or revisionary is like Heidegger, Gadamer, Mary Hesse, Frederic Ferre and still many others.

Michel Foucault is one of the important and influential figures in the movement of postmodernism and has contributed critical theory towards the theory of development and modernization from the perspective that is much more different from the other critical theories. The movement of postmodernism is very inherent and is line with Foucault’s thoughts like the order of things, the archeology of knowledge, discipline and punish, language,

counter-memory, practice, the history of sexuality and power-knowledge. Foucault redefined the power by showing its features that the power is spread about, cannot be localized, constitutes an order of discipline and is attributed to the network. It gives the structures of activities, is not repressive but is productive, and is inherent to the willingness to know. The power of Foucault is not a possession but a strategy. In this case, Foucault does not separate between knowledge and power. There is no knowledge without power and there is no power without knowledge. The writing of Foucault is very broad concerning various disciplines like philosophy, sociology, history, psychology, cultural studies, medicines, gender, literature, and others. It has the time to shake the pillars of human science. Nevertheless, he does not want to be classified as a group of structuralist and poststructuralist (Foucault, 2007; 2017).

Postmodern as the intellectual movement wish to protest the modernism paradigm to criticize the project of west modernization that is regarded to have undergone the crisis of *Power of Rationality*. It has made human being got stuck into absolutism and repressive in the form of deconstructive sceptics. Besides, postmodern appears as the opposition front on the modernism views that claim the existence of a single truth and fight as the center. For that reason, it allows all values to go alone according to their every direction and there is a conflict to one another. Postmodern can give the balance of humanism and intellectual to the tendency of dehumanism and lowness of modern mass culture driven by the economic actor of transnational capitalism and innovation of sophisticated technology.

In turn, postmodernism appears to plead a community and narration of life that are isolated by grand narratives of modernism-westerns with its various dominative and imperialistic domination. Postmodernism does relativistic and pluralistic approaches with simplicity and modesty attitude to listen to and appreciate the others. Likewise, postmodernism is keen on the plurality, anticentrism, fragmentation, and locality. In addition, postmodernism re-polemicalizes the irrational and traditional values and regards modernism rationality is merely a repressive mystification. But, ironically, both paradigms were as if two enemies so that they are called as a rebellion towards positivism and modernism. In fact, when being seen from the value context, it turned out that positivism and postpositivism are equally based on the value-free as cited (Peribadi, 2019).

By virtue of the consideration, there are some efforts of paradigmatic reconstructions from the side of post-positivism, critical theory, constructivism,

feminism, and pragmatism (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009; Liliwer, 2018). But, all of them are still categorized as the integral part of left epistemology. Accordingly, the next elaboration offers a discourse of prophetic paradigm as the alternative and solutive recommendation that are expected to be able to analyze and develop a comprehensive and holistic study (Koentowijoyo, 1997; 2008; Ahimsa, 2017, Supraja, 2017; Peribadi, 2018).

The more worrying social implication according to Erich Fromm (in Peribadi, 2018) that one of the acute and latent problems that befall a lot of modern and contemporary humans is alienation and reification. Alienation in accordance with Fromm is a mental disease marked with isolation feeling from everything, fellow humans, nature, God, and himself. It is related to the symptom of reification that this world is solely an object as an accumulation of empty facts without meaning and value, as emphasized by positivism paradigm. As for Nasser that violence, hegemony, and conflict that color the way of global life denotes a reflection of conflict and alienation in the inner of each occupant of this world (in Peribadi, 2018).

This fact, in actuality, protests the presence of alternative integrative science paradigm in various dimensions of social life. The spirit of struggle appears from the adherers of critical theory and phenomenology to overcome hegemony and domination of positivistic science even both of them have a different response (Supraja, 2018). Meanwhile, the prophetic phenomenology is no longer avoidable. The transformative social science has three main pillars developed from the spirit of the Qoran, i.e.: liberation, humanization, and transcendence (Kuntowijoyo, 2008).

The potential contained in the self of human's child as one of the creatures of the God that is full of the mystery is so amazing. It is highly unexpected when Einstein affirmed that creativity appears in the central point of gravitation of emotional awareness and the creational process is even out of logical reach. Likewise, Goedel, a mathematician, invented an extraordinary theorem that the mathematical truth is out of mathematics. Then, this theorem was confirmed by Weisskopf as the nuclear physician that scientific truth is out science (in Nataatmadja, 1982).

The potential of the extraordinary brain and mental faculty and personal and social strength for being educated by prophetic education paradigm makes one to be free and independent. Therefore, it is proper if the Prophet Mohammad has the predicate as the Grand Master above the other Grand Masters. Michael H. Hart (1993) places the Prophet Muhammad SAW as the

number one leader among the 100 most famous and most influential world figure in the historical field of the world leadership.

### **Discourse of Prophetic Sociology Method**

Background of epistemology becomes the determinant in constructing a framework of science and methodology in all disciplines of sciences. The urgency of epistemology design is a certainty for a new paradigm in the context of humanities sciences to adopt the dimension of transcendence and spirituality of human integratively and interdependently. That thing is greatly felt and seen in developing the description, explanation, and interpretation of the action and human behavior both as individuals and as societal members.

The logical consequence of the existence of Islamic philosophy has a strong affinity with a dimension of human's transcendence. It, then, delves the ontological-epistemological potential of Islamic philosophical tradition in the effort of reconstructing a new paradigm of humanity sciences (Abdurrahman, 2007). The reason is that modern western philosophy has been built-in and has been internalized in the mainstream contemporary human sciences. For that reason, it needs further exploration on the interrelation between the type of mainstream modern epistemology with contemporary social sciences that tend to be positivistic and to be fragmented.

Behind the uproar of constellation among a variety of those components, it has been concealed the phenomenon of injustice and various kinds and types of disgusting and terrible uncivility. It happened because of intensive relation factors in the form of the arms race, diverse modus of violence and wars, global injustice, human rights violation, genocida until the sharp competition in natural exploitation creating environmental crisis. All happens due to the factor of "the scientific works of Aristotelianism and Euclideanism based on rational intelligence, artificial intelligence, and digital intelligence, so human transformed himself into mind animal and religious animal and modern cannibalism as the predator" (Nataatmadja, 2003).

In actuality, the pattern and process of interconnection that happens among human beings and contemporary society with a diversity of hardware technologies are not a substantial interconnection if seen from the perspective of system theory. However, it is not more than the crowds of people that watch a football game without the correlation and human relation among the watchers. They do not have the software relation to humanity, although they have the same interest to watch a football game.

The statement of Alvin Toffler in his preface for the book “Order Out of Chaos” (Prigogine, 1984) seems to be in keeping with the critics of Ernst Cassirer and Seyyed Hossein Nasr towards human sciences (contemporary social-humanities department). It has lost the vision that is holistic and fundamental about human (the mainstream theories of modern human sciences lose an intellectual vision on human being as the whole). As a result, the rapid progress in the technical instrument for observation and experimentation of research solely produces the data that are unfinished and disconnected. It cannot contribute to the understanding of the existence and essence of a human. One of the weak points of positivism is that the perception of reductionism in perceiving the reality as the collection of entities that have been permanent, finished, and isolated by the whatness or quiddity. While the reality keeps being dynamic, complex, and interconnected. Reductionism is regarded as increasingly unsuitable with social reality that is much more dynamic, complex, and interconnected as the connection of life (Brush, 1986).

### Universum Organum

This discussion is the elaboration on the discourse of *universum organum* based on revelation system (Peribadi, 2015). One of the important things emphasized is the command of *iqra' bismirabbikalladzi khalaq* is the initial point that marked revolution of Islam, humanity, and civilization (Adhim, 2000). A jump from a very bad, terrible, and uncivilized condition notifies knowledge only with the moral condition at the lowest point to the best condition. It changes a slave becomes a leader with high integrity, noble conduct, and high science. In this context, reading sets the dedication and recognition of God, the Creator as a condition. It is the ideological strategy that makes the reader found out his moralistic and idealistic power (Adhim, 2000).

The prophetic social construction describes the strategy of scientification that even begins from the paradigm of *Al Alaqa* the philosophical base that is in turn followed with the paradigm of *Al Qalam* the vision and mission of civilization. When “Faculty of Brain” Nabiullah has been established through the instruction of reading and writing, God reveals furthermore the methodology of development spiritual faculty through the paradigm of *Al Muzammil* as the spirit of civilization. When faculty of the brain and spiritual faculty of the Prophet Muhammad SAW have been established, God pleased the Prophet Muhammad (the Messenger of God) to begin to compete in the struggle with the paradigm of *Al Mudatsir* as the management of civilization.

When the spiritual intellectual struggle is actuated by the actor that has personal and social strength, it can build a settlement of *darussalam* (the safe place) in the frame of the paradigm of *Al-Fatiha* has civil society methodology.

When the process of placement of faithful principle star in the brain and spirit, it exemplifies the politeness of Angel and the prophetic leadership (*leadership principle*), as well as learn long life (*learning principle*). It is usually called with long-life education, not pragmatism (*vision principle*) and is based on the law (*well organized principle*) (Agustian, 2000; 2003). It is the thing that is intended by Tasmara (2006) that attitude is like the sounding lava that can make the mountains alive, and if it must overflow, its overflowing gives the benefit or significance in the form of fertility for its environment. It does not happen contrarily that many people do the violation of law in a variety of aberrational behaviors and even tends to behave in vandalism and a kleptocracy manner that is very worrying.

How urgent the presence of intellectual scientists is to dedicate themselves to God. Although it is possible, it is just like we dream by daylight, because of the result of Aristotelianism and Euclideanism based on rational, artificial, and digital intelligence (Nataatmadja, 1982; 2003). Therefore, the alumnus of education seems to be very intelligent to arrange the collusion and corruptive collaboration strategy. It is not avoided anymore that social act exploits religion by the crews of executives, legislative, and jurisprudence seem to be increasingly intelligent (Tago, 2014).

Eventually, the benefit of all prophetic paradigms is human beings with good deeds as the top of an internalization of action that in turn changes the cruel conduct into polite one and the slave changes into the leader and the uncivilized human changes into the civilized one. When the good deeds human that becomes the main motivation and drive in developing various vertical and horizontal activities, it goes without saying that it will be avoided from all forms of hypocrisy conduct. Deep concentration in the effort of developing alternative epistemology of worship in Islamic perspective not only intends to be avoided from the danger of breaking points as the poverty rackets of intellectual poverty (Alibasyah, 2003; Kahmad, 2012), but also it does not intend to follow the pros cons of "Science Islamization discourse" as Fazlur Rahman. It considers the science is neutral versus the scientists that support the discourse of "Science Islamization" like Sayyid Qutb, Shaykh Atif al-Zayn, al-Maududi, Syed Naquib al-Attas (Fahmi, 2014).

How many lessons can be developed as the major premise from the spiritual construction of the above preprophetic? Sacralization of the journey of this spirituality in actuality is the strategy of *zero mind process* that aims at moving away from the external factor like meant by the paradigm of social fact and internal factor as intended by the paradigm of social definition. All elements of strengths make someone to be dependent as in the perspective of the theory of dependency. There is not even a social basis that can influence it, except if it is only dependent on God.

Nowadays, the modernism based paradigm has so far been around materialism version like Herakleitos Parmenides, the idealism of Socrates-Plato, the realism of Aristoteles, the rationalism of Rene Descartes, empiricism of John Locke, criticism of Immanuel Kant and pragmatism of John Dewey. Likewise, the paradigm of *Cartesian-Newtonian* that contains the ism of atomistic reductionism that nature as a dead machine without containing symbolic and qualitative meaning. Without value, taste, ethics, and esthetics and spirituality value, it is the cancer of epistemology that actually becomes the conqueror of the heart of the elitist in contemporary society (Syahrani, 2010).

Moreover, one also may not be affected by the deductive logic of Aristotelean and empiristic Baconian. How strong the attack of this *Tertium Organum* is just like the stick of the Prophet Musa that will destroy the magician and modern idolater. However, the one to expect is the discourse of *Universum Organum* that is specifically in line with the Prophetic paradigm and system of descent of revelation.

### **An Ontology Construction of Metaphysic Realism**

The elaboration that is contained in this discussion largely quotes “Discourse of prophetic sociology methodology: an ontology construction of metaphysic realism” (Peribadi, 2016). According to Muttaqin (2012) social sciences prophetic paradigm outlined some things. *Firstly*, prophetic sociology has three important values as its foundation namely humanization, liberation and transcendence. The three values are in addition function as criticism will also provide a research direction. *Secondly*, epistemologically, prophetic sociology has a stance that the sources of knowledge are empirical reality, reason, and revelation. *Thirdly*, this subject is the antithesis to positivism seeing revelation as the myth. Methodologically, prophetic sociology is in a controversial position when confronted with positivism as rejecting the doctrine of free value as well as the knowledge that only comes from the empirical facts *un-sich*. In this

context, prophetic sociology not only attempts to understand but also orient transformative (liberation, humanization, and transcendence) which is almost similar to the purpose of critical sociology methodology (critical theory). It brings transcendence as one of the fundamental values to be the basis for liberation and humanization. *Fourth*, prophetic sociology has ethical alignments that consciousness (superstructure) determines the base of material (structure).

As an effort to avoid any obstacles and controversies, the writers offer a research strategy as an effort to develop a philosophy approach of deductive phenomenology referred by Popper that starts from a grand theory about universal objective truth, and then validated through falsification test. The Popper's design was elaborated further by Muhadjir (2011) to the transcendental empirical realm so that the relevance of the study of prophetic got a chance to enter the room "transcendental empirical truth" within the meaning of prophetic substance itself. There are several arguments on the urgency and relevance of the prophetic-based research strategies.

*Firstly*, all the schools of philosophy and sources of knowledge that have evolved since the beginning until today refer to three kinds of "books of epistemology". They are: (a) organum by Aristotle which reflects realism within the framework of deductive logic; (b) novum organum by Francois Bacon which reflects induction-empiric method; and (c) tertium organum by Ouspensky as a spirituality-based intellectual paradigm (Ouspensky, 2005). However, epistemology of Universum Organum that reflects paradigm of Tauhid (Islamic theology) as the forth epistemology is undeveloped (Peribadi, 2015). The realm of spirituality-based tertium Organum epistemology, can be united with "deductive interpretive phenomenology" referred by Raimund Karl Popper.

*Secondly*, in relation to the phenomenology of religion in the view of Max Scheler, then according to Zainudin (2011), the phenomenological approach should seek to restore fairly study of religion in understanding the complexity and diversity of human belief. It is also reminded by Schwandt (2009) that a religious construction can only be judged worthy or not from the perspective of a particular religious paradigm. Therefore, in an effort to reconstruct paradigm of prophetic-based social sciences, the study is based on the basis of Prophetic spirituality in the perspective of Islam. It is derived from Qoran and Hadith (words, remarks, and behaviors of Prophet Muhammad) as well as pre-prophetic spiritual journey until the period of prophetic leadership (Wibowo and Herdimansyah, 2000; Suharsono, 2011).

*Thirdly*, according to Muhadjir (2011) there are five things that make Popper appears different from the other logical positivists, namely (a) the theory of probabilistic is not used for inductive epistemology but used for the deductive epistemology; (b) the construction of his deductive syllogism started from the concept of universal truth as a major premise. While the various cases that emerge in the field are positioned as the minor premise; (c) Popper admits moral truth; (d) Popper did not use objective mathematical analysis, but interpretive phenomenological analysis; and (e) Popper does not make verification test like other experts of logical positivists, but a test of falsification.

*Fourthly*, all of them complement each other as a relevant methodological design. In this context, according to Yin (2008) case study is a form of qualitative research that enables dialogue (critical theory), interaction (constructivism) combined with the disclosure of the emic views. Specifically, the truth of empirical senses and empirical rationale can be achieved through the process of this study case. Thus, it means that there are two designs of field studies which become the choice of qualitative strategy to be used to sharpen the minor premise to the discourse of prophetic methodology. It involves five types of design (ethnography, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenology and narrative) referred to Creswell (2013) as phenomenology and case studies.

*Fifthly*, the formulation of the prophetic-based theoretical and conceptual constructions as innovative theoretical thought will never be claimed malconstruction in the views of all parties. Further the researcher refers to the methods of research and development developed by Borg and Gall (1989) and further elaborated by Sugiyono (2011).

In connection with the qualitative approach used, it prefers procedure “member checks” as intended by Denzin (2009) as well as the interpretive validity evaluation referred by Altheide and Johnson (1985). Thus, the consistency of paradigms and their methodological approach remained focused and assured. In this context, Schwandt (2009) reminds six properties of construction and one of them is that the construction should be revised when new data is the antithesis to the construction. The fifth and sixth point emphasized that:

“The judgment of whether a given construction is malformed can be made only with reference to the paradigm out of which the constructor operates. In other words, criteria or standard are frameworks specific so far instance a religious construction can only be judged adequate or inadequate utilizing the particular theological paradigm from which it is derived”. One’s construction is challenged when one becomes aware that new information conflicts with the

held construction or when senses a lack of intellectual sophistication needed to make sense of new information.

Actiologic implementation as case the results of the prophetic study. *Firstly*, in the early stages of the research process firstly develop a major premise. This context is relevant to the spiritual prophetic-based participatory development paradigm of the ESQ Power of Ary Ginanjar version and revelation system of Pesantren Hidayatullah version as a community development strategy in building a campus of Islamic Civilization (Peribadi, 2015). The grand theory means that: “for the development actors who have spiritual intelligence with personal toughness and social resilience in performing their duties, roles and responsibilities”. Construction of syllogism which is a “major premise”, is then confirmed with various cases of poverty reduction programs as “minor premise” that spread out in the field. Such matters are as an effort to treat the Qur’an more as a data of life from God so that the statements of the Qur’an can be formulated into theoretical constructs for understanding social reality (Kuntowijoyo, 2008).

*Secondly*, some social facts legitimize syllogism construction of universal truth that poverty reduction actors who possess intellection can carry out the tasks, roles and responsibilities wholeheartedly and successfully reduce poverty. Conversely, for poverty reduction actors affiliated in National Program of Independent Societal Empowerment (NPISP) and Regional Poverty Reduction Coordination Team (RPRCT) of Kendari city tend to be untrustworthy in performing their duties, roles and responsibilities. In addition, they tend to develop a process of impoverishment, so it is not surprising that although Humanitarian funds increasingly flow from time to time, the poverty rate exactly still increases (Peribadi, 2015).

It results in the dysfunction of the Regional Poverty Reduction Coordination Team (RPRCT) in integrating various poverty reduction programs, and inactivity of Urban Learning Community (ULC) as a forum for the presentation social institutions. Similarly, the disintegration of inter-institution, miscommunication of poverty reduction network actors caused controversy logging, degradation of the spirit of Community Self-Reliance Board (CSRB) members and voluntary of stakeholders so that implementation takes place in the cycle tends to be formalistic. In the context of political will, one of the strategic momentums to show the political will is by giving direct development programs with budgets under Rp. 200 million to the local ULC that has been professionally preparing Medium Term Program of Poverty

Reduction (MTPPR). However, it turns out that the budget is given to specific groups that are considered give contribution to the success and the winning in the democratic election. Such exposures that referred by Sjaf (2014) as a strategy of security fund and patron-client to maintain the stability of the status quo. Inevitably, sectoral ego and pragmatism of RPRCT obviously emerge in every department and agency. Overall, it is an empirical case that shows the low of intellection intelligence of actors and is a justification for the truth of the major premise as meant.

*Thirdly*, the phenomenon or reality of the removal of the button up aspirations is a form of deviation toward Regulation of Minister of Home Affairs no. 42 year 2010 on RPRCT and Kendari City Regulation no. 8 year 2011 on Program of Poverty Reduction (PPR). In this context, according to Yudha (2004) and Habermas (2006), the deviation toward the legal umbrella reflects identity as “conventional apparatus”. Similarly, according to Agustian (2003), from the perspective of the prophetic, it does not have the potential to control (well organized principle) against the regularity of natural law and social law. Meanwhile, from the standpoint of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, the top-down aspirations tend to hegemonize bottom up so that the political will of use of public money is more dominant to the apparatus rather than public spending. While the spotlight from dramaturgical theory shows shrewdness and cunning use of public money, so it is not pro-poor, pro-job and pro-program.

*Fourthly*, when the phenomenon and the reality of the results of case studies in the area of the micro premise, criticized and analyzed from the perspective of the theories and concepts of intelligence, then the legitimacy of the process as meant indicates: (a) lack of intelligent quotient, because of the inability of actors and structures to solve the problems in the respective fields; (b) lack of emotional quotient, because of no transparency, accommodating and consistency; (c) low creativity quotient, because of the inability to turn the threat to the challenge and to be a opportunity and have not yet managed to evoke the spirit and self-confidence; and (d) lack of spiritual quotient, because the actor-network is not yet fully uphold the mandate, inconsistent and have not been able to carry out the tasks, roles, and responsibilities as worship (Hawari, 2009).

*Fifthly*, finally one of legitimated theoretical discourses and at the same time can be further developed is that the elite has “intelligence of collaboration strategy” by showing the personification of the Trinity (Pharaoh, Karun, and Balaam) as Qabil community referred by Shariaty (2014) and the duumvirate

community (Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab referred by Peribadi, 2015). Although this seems to be exclusive and may be claimed to be extreme, actually the events of the life of the man are the repetition (*cycle*) in the context of time, place and different media. The personification of the Trinity concept as an integral part of the Qabil community referred to in the framework of Shari'ati's sociological theories (Shari'ati, 1985; Shari'ati, 1996; Nugroho, 2009) is by no means the writer intends to equate it exactly. However, the reality and hyperreality that emerge in the middle of the constellation of contemporary social life seem to show similar behavior and even resemble (Ibrahim, 2008). Certainly, any phenomenal and spectacular cases are booming in Indonesia as criticized by Hidayat (2013), Nataatmadja (2003) and Latif (2011).

### Opportunity and Challenge

Since the first time in dreaming this idea, in actuality, it was not only faced with moral burden from various kinds of perceptions and perspectives concerning the writer. The more burdening one is subjectivity of scientificity referring to the stigmatization that the perspective of this prophetic spirituality is to sharpen the pros cons between the group of established Islamic orthodox and the actor of change as the explanation of constructivist of Adonis (2012). It is claimed to position their own self into the "discourse of Science Islamization" as elaborated by Zarkasyi (2014). It is greatly paid attention to sharpen the struggle of thoughts between "Marxism and Islam" as intended by Hiro (2007). Even, it is claimed as Islam skepticism on Marxism and the other misleading western thoughts as told continuously by Syaria'ti (1996). Whereas, the perspective of Prophetic that is intended in this study is in the case of exploring the significance of prophetic spirituality with the user of scientificity paradigm and developmental paradigm that has alternated so far.

### Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper offers a discourse of metaphysical realism as a prophetic methodology to fill the spaces through several strategic stages. *Firstly*, putting the metaphysical realism ontology under the paradigm of *Tertium Organum* and the paradigm of *Universum Organum* as a spiritual-based intellectual paradigm. *Secondly*, in relation to the phenomenology of religion, then the phenomenological approach is returned to religion fairly in understanding the complexities of religiousness. *Thirdly*, revelation as a source of major premise is developed through the approach of deductive interpretive phenomenology

by Popper. *Fourthly*, the major premise as metaphysical realism is confirmed through a case study as the minor premise. *Fifthly*, construction result is validated by experts through procedures “member checks” and interpretive validity.

The metaphysical realism as Prophetic methodology that becomes an alternative to fill the empty cells, is relevant to the method of “deductive interpretive phenomenology” that develops its syllogism from universal truth variables (Read: Al Quran and Hadith). Imagine, the academic world simply revolved around the realism-correspondence, realism-coherence, and realism-pragmatism, so it much needs the development of a discourse of metaphysical realism. The effort to develop the idea of discourse is not only meant to produce alternative thought that oriented to interpretive phenomenologists versus interpretive positivism. However, the urgency is an academic intention to reduce dependence and also erodes the captive mind from the hegemony of Western philosophy and epistemology referred by Alatas (2010).

The time has come to assemble a Prophetic spirituality-based paradigm that can directly touch the rationalism region, the realm of ethics and transcendental space. It is no longer continue to be hypnotized by Aristotelean deductive logic as well as the induction-empiristic of Francis Bacon considered as the only legitimate scientific method in the development of science. The paradigm of Cartesian-Newtonian contains the concept of reductionism-atomistic that nature as a dead machine without symbolic meaning and qualitative, without value, taste, ethic nor aesthetic as well as devoid of spiritual values. Appropriately, it is time to say goodbye to "epistemology cancer" (Arif, 2008) based on modernism and post-modernism. It only revolved around materialism of Heraclitus Parmenides version, idealism of Socrates-Plato, Aristotle's realism, rationalism of Rene Descartes, empiricism of John Locke , criticism of Immanuel Kant and the pragmatism of John Dewey.

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## UNDERSTANDING OF POLITICAL CULTURE IN CITIZEN OF MUSLIMAT NU IN EAST JAVA

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### **Abstract**

*In the context of its activities, since the NU Muslimat was established, it was almost all the archipelago had the same activities called religious activities, which included (1) manaqiban (2) diba'an, (3) reboan, (3) Muslimat Hajj Association and, (4) recitations with themes around the pillars of Islam. But there is a phenomenon of shifting understanding of the elite and NU Muslimat members to the themes of recitation and the movement of political da'wah, especially in East Java. The activities at NU Muslimat carried out not only as a routine activity of the Muslim community but also for the wider role of the NU Muslimat in general and its members to occupy strategic positions in the government or legislative members. From the above phenomena, the objective of this study is to understand the culture and political understanding of NU Muslimat citizens in East Java. This research was conducted using a qualitative approach. Data collection uses observation, interviews, and documents. Data analysis was carried out using the interactive analysis model of Miles, et al.*

*Dalam konteks kegiatannya, sejak Muslimat NU didirikan memiliki kegiatan yang sama yang disebut kegiatan keagamaan, yang meliputi (1) manaqiban (2) diba'an, (3) reboan, (3) Ikatan Haji Muslimat, (4) kegiatan pengajian dengan tema seputar rukun Islam. Tetapi ada fenomena pergeseran pemahaman elit dan anggota Muslim NU dari kegiatan-kegiatan di atas ke tema-tema gerakan dakwah politik, terutama di Jawa Timur. Kegiatan-kegiatan Muslimat NU yang telah dilakukan tidak hanya sebagai kegiatan rutin, tetapi untuk peran*

*yang lebih luas dari Muslimat NU pada umumnya dan anggotanya untuk menduduki posisi strategis di pemerintahan atau anggota legislatif. Dari fenomena di atas, tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami budaya dan pemahaman politik pada warga Muslimat NU di Jawa Timur. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Pengumpulan data menggunakan observasi, wawancara, dan dokumen. Analisis data dilakukan dengan menggunakan model analisis interaktif Miles, Huberman, Saldhana.*

**Keywords:** *Culture; Political Culture; Politics; Understanding; Muslimat NU*

## **Introduction**

In the context of its activities, since the NU Muslimat was born, in almost all the archipelago had the same religious activities. However lately there has been a phenomenon of shifting the understanding of the elite and Muslimat members towards the themes of recitation and the movement of dakwah. It occurs especially in East Java and the shift began to appear in the last ten years (Zuhri, 1979).

After the birth of the PKB in 1998, the condition of the NU Muslimat began to be concentrated in politics and gradually this organization was drawn to practical political interests (Ridwan, 2008). Starting from the elite in the structure to the NU Muslimat members, they felt like the most important part of PKB supporters. Preliminary interviews conducted with several administrators and members showed that the activities at NU Muslimat carried out not only as a routine activity of Islamic mental religious formation but also for the sake of the broader role of NU Muslimat. They aimed at political interests which benefit NU Muslimat in general and its members to occupy strategic positions in the government or council members. This understanding has an impact on the changes in the themes and contents of the recitation held even though the forms of activity have not changed. Based on the aforementioned phenomenon, the purpose of this research is to understand the culture and political understanding of NU Muslimat citizens in East Java.

## **Literature Review**

There are several previous studies related to the research themes. Haris (2015) found that the political movement as a NU religious and Muslimat organization as an autonomous body visible in the trajectory of the history of the nation. The problem that arises is the extent to which NU participates

in national politics and how much NU Muslimat represented themselves in politics. Through a typology approach, this study explores NU and NU Muslimat political contributions in the trajectory of the nation's history. Various data show that NU and NU Muslimat participate passively and actively in national politics. In the colonial period NU entered the passive participant typology, but in the following period it took the form of non-conventional active participants. This active participant was evident when NU issued a jihad resolution to defend independence. This participation was then channeled through *Masyumi*, then established political parties independently. NU Muslimat passive participation began to be recognized in 1938 and was only recognized as an active participant in 1946. Muslimat became an active participant fighting for gender equality in 1954. Five years later Muslimat became a participant gladiator and began to show the gender role simultaneously by raising the issue strategic information that aims to strengthen rights, resources, and aspirations for women to participate in the public sphere including practical politics.

Political participation is an effort to check and balances the country. The participation of NU as the first largest organization in Indonesia cannot be underestimated. In historical records, the footsteps of the NU organization have never been absent (Fadeli & Subhan, 2007). Participation carried out since the colonial era was seen in influencing colonial government policies, up to the current reform era. As explained above, NU is not silent under any circumstances. Serious efforts are made to defend people's rights in religion. The sacrifices made by figures are not small so that the lives will be willing to be sacrificed. The imposition of colonialist ideologies was obstructed by NU figures. It can be seen from coercion to respect the *Siekeirei* tradition which is considered contrary to Islamic teachings. As an excess, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, as the chairman of the NU Executive Board (PB) finally issued a resolution asking the government of the Republic of Indonesia to act decisively against the Dutch, while at the same time fighting for *sabilillah*. Islamic boarding schools were transformed into the headquarters of *Hizbullah* and *Sabilillah* driven by the Kiai to fight colonialism in Indonesia (Aboebakar, 1957; Yani, 2018). Likewise with NU Muslimat, since the beginning independence took an active role to participate in calling for the voices of truth in the public sphere.

The political role of women is increasingly needed considering that their population is not inferior to men. The level of education of women in Indonesia increased significantly which in the end fostered a new awareness

of the importance of women's involvement in politics. This awareness-raising then gave birth to movements among women about their equal rights with men. Given that so far, the political marginalization of women has taken place simultaneously, so the demands for improving the conditions of their rights and gender justice are very much discussed.

The political role of women in formal political structures needs some strategies: *First*, female politicians must establish partnerships with women's problem assessment institutions and women's activity activists. The results of the research and assessment of these institutions can be useful in decision making. This is important because so far many policies are not in accordance with the needs of the target group as a result of their own input errors. *Second*, it demands political independence in the process of political decision making. Women's political independence has always been a rare item. Emancipation in politics in a short time can be realized. *Third*, in carrying out its formal political role, female politicians must maintain equality with men. Formal political opportunities for women are a form of reasonable political participation. The political survival of this nation also requires the touch of women both as subjects and objects. Again, the opportunity for formal political participation of women needs to be supported and appreciated fairly. For women, this opportunity should not be interpreted as an arena of revenge, because so far it has been the object of male political masculinity.

Zaenuri (2015) stated that *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) was one of the Islamic organizations that emerged during the Indonesian national movement, but in 1952 NU turned into a political party after breaking away from *Masyumi*. The decision to issue NU from *Masyumi* and become a political party was stated in the 19th congress in Palembang with 61 votes agreed, 9 votes refused, and 7 abstained. While the branch of the NU party in Pasuruan regency was established in 1952 after the results of the 19th Congress in Palembang were decided. The purpose of this study was to describe the role of NU as a political party in 1952-1973 in Pasuruan which included (1) the standing background and development of the *Nahdlatul Ulama* as political party in 1952-1973 in Indonesia; (2) the background of the establishment of *Nahdlatul Ulama* in Pasuruan regency in 1935; (3) the role of *Nahdlatul Ulama* as a political party in 1952-1973 in Pasuruan regency.

Zaenuri (2015) concluded that NU left *Masyumi* and established a political party due to the role of Kiai Wahab Hasbullah. Pasuruan regency is one of the biggest bases of NU, this is inseparable from the role of *Kiai* Nawawi who

became a member of PBNU in 1926 and is an influential *kiai* in Pasuruan. However, only in 1935 did the NU branch of Pasuruan regency be officially established by appointing Kiai Muhammad Dahlan as chairman. The role of the NU party in the 1955 and 1971 general elections was inseparable from the role of Islamic boarding schools, *kiai*, *santri*, and the political elite. In the 1955 and 1971 elections, the NU Party in Pasuruan regency always got the most votes. During the campaign to win the NU Party in Pasuruan in the 1955 elections, the clerics did not hesitate to go directly to the field to become campaigners, besides the NU campaign strategy in Pasuruan was also obtained from a “hidden” campaign, namely during the recitation. In the 1971 election, the NU campaign strategy was not much different from the 1955 elections, the difference being in the 1971 campaign there were few restrictions from the government because at that time there was intervention.

### Political Culture

Understanding of political culture is a pattern of behavior of a society and its orientation towards life in politics, be it the administration of state administration, politics of government, law, custom, and norms of habit that are lived out by every individual in society everyday. Political culture is the perception of society in a country manifested in a pattern of attitudes towards political events that occur. So, the notion of political culture is values that develop and are practiced by certain communities in politics.

Politics has touched all of the social order so that it influences the attitudes and behavior of the community. According to Amind and Powel (in Lalzawnga, 2018) the scope of politics includes the way people perceive politics obtained from broad or narrow knowledge and the orientation of society towards politics influenced by attachment, involvement, and rejection. In addition, its orientation assesses objects in political events. According to Widjaja, (1982 in Rosdi, 2015) political culture is the political aspect of a system of values which consists of ideas, knowledge, customs, superstitions, and myths that are known and recognized as the majority of society. This culture gives rational to reject or accept other values and norms. And according to Budiardjo (2012) political culture is the whole of political views, such as norms, patterns of orientation towards politics and views of life in general.

Political culture in a country can be recognized by paying attention to its characteristics. In general, it is characterized by the elements of regulating power in government, both at the center and in the regions. There is a policy-

making process by the government. The Patterns of the behavior of officials and government officials of a country. There are several political parties and all their activities in the community. In addition, not infrequently there is turmoil in the community in addressing the power of the government. There is also political culture related to the issue of legitimacy (Pye & Verba, 2015).

Indonesian people have experienced many things in the political field. According to Kantaprawira (1999), there are three types of the political culture in Indonesia, namely: *First*, parochial political culture, where the level of political participation of the people is still very low. This type of political culture is often found in traditional societies that are simple. According to Mas' oed and Mc Andrews (2000), parochial politics occurs because people do not know or are unaware of the existence of government and the political system. Parochial political characteristics are as follows: (1) The scope is small and narrow. (2) The community is apathetic. (3) Public knowledge about politics is still very low. (4) Communities tend to be ignorant and withdraw from the political territory. (5) The community is very rarely faced with the political system. (6) Low public awareness about the existence of a center of authority and power in a country.

*Second*, the political culture of the Subject/*Kaula*. Subject political culture is a culture where people tend to be more advanced in the economic and social fields. Although the people are still relatively passive, they have understood the existence of a political system and are obedient to the law and government officials. The political characteristics of *Kaula* /Subject are: (1) The existence of full awareness of the community towards government authorities. (2) The community is still passive towards politics. (3) Some residents provide input and requests to the government but have accepted the rules from the government. (4) The community accepts decisions that cannot be corrected or challenged. (5) The community has been aware of and paid attention to the general and special political system of the output object, while awareness of the input and as a political actor was still quite low.

*Third*, the participant's political culture. Political culture participants are a culture where the community has a high awareness of a political system, the structure of political processes, and administration. The political characteristics of the participants are: (1) There is public awareness about the rights and responsibilities of political life. (2) The community does not directly accept the situation but gives a conscious assessment of political objects. (3) Political

life in the midst of society acts as a means of transaction. (4) The community has high awareness as an active and role citizen in politics.

Indonesian people generally carry out this culture in the life of the state, and in everyday life. In Indonesia, political culture has experienced a mix of parochial, *kaula*, and participants. The mixing of various cultures is caused by various factors, including: (1) Diversity that exists in Indonesian society. (2) There are influences from outside cultures, relics of colonialism, feudalism, paternalism, and others. (3) The existence of the nature of primordial bonds where there are regional, tribal, and religious sentiments. (4) There is an interaction between modernization and habits or traditions in society. (5) Indonesian culture which still embodies paternalism, and patrimonial nature (father's inheritance).

The following are some examples of the political culture in Indonesian society: (a) Participating in the election for those who have fulfilled the requirements. (b) Following demonstrations in a peaceful and orderly manner. (c) Participate in community forums to express opinions and aspirations.

## Method

In accordance with the objectives and unit of analysis, this study uses the social definition paradigm. An exemplar of this paradigm is Weber's work on social action. Weber's work helps direct attention to social definitions in the way that social actors define their social situations and the effects of social definitions in maintaining actions and interactions (Ritzer, 1988, 1992, Ritzer & Goodman 2005; Ritzer, 2014). In studies that use this paradigm, they prefer to use in-depth interviews, observations. Observation is a typical method of the social definition paradigm. The social definition paradigm according to Soeprapto (2002: 88-89) emphasizes the nature or substance of social reality, which is more subjective and individual.

This research uses a qualitative approach. This qualitative approach prioritizes the techniques of in-depth interviews and observation. Observation is a typical method of the social definition paradigm. The data obtained are primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using interview guideline instruments prepared for informants that were relevant to the data needs (Patton, 1980), namely, Muslim community members who were active in the NU Muslim organization and were also party administrators. Secondly, the NU Muslimat who became the legislature both at the district and provincial levels from the Pasuruan District. While secondary data is data in the form of

documents or information written or printed. Related to document data, there are differences in terms of documents and records. Denzim & Lincoln (1994), Creswell (2009) define record as any written statement prepared by a person or institution for the purpose of testing an event or presenting accounting. Documentation is any written material or film, other than a record, which is not prepared because of the request of an investigator. This study leads to the use of documents rather than records but does not rule out the possibility that records are also used as long as the researcher finds them.

The documents used in this case, include personal documents and official documents obtained from the NU Muslimat office in the district. In addition, the secondary data are obtained by conducting study decisions and data accessed through the internet. Using this documentation technique aims to complete the data needed.

The subjects of this study were NU Muslimat residents in Pasuruan district, East Java. The Pasuruan regency community has a relatively homogeneous background, both in terms of background in life history, culture, and economic conditions. Apart from being inhabited by Javanese people, Pasuruan city also has Arab and Indian people, but there are not many. The informants and subjects of this study were NU Muslimat members who were active in organizing as well as being active in the party and having knowledge that was considered more extensive than the other members. The selection of informants and research subjects was carried out by theoretical sampling with certain criteria. In qualitative research, the emphasis on data sourced from in-depth interviews is very important. Therefore qualitative research emphasizes the depth of data obtained from the number of informants needed.

The first part of the analysis is carried out by applying an analytical method commonly used in field research. It is in line with the steps written by Babbie (1975: 221-224) as follows: (a) data analysis in field research is conducted intertwined with the process of observation, (b) finding similarities and differences with social symptoms observed, (c) arranging tentatively theoretical propositions, and (d) evaluating temporary theoretical propositions to produce conclusions. Data collected was analyzed using interactive models (Miles, et al., 2014). This model looks at analysis as three concurrent activities: (1) condensation of data, (2) display data, and (3) conclusion drawing/verification. In this way, explore each of these components more deeply when the researcher reads the data.

## Political Culture of NU

The data were obtained from observations, in-depth interviews in the form of dialogue and discussion with the subject of research and documentation. The results are in the form of electronic data in the form of speeches about political culture and their understandings of Islamic politics and politics. From a number of subjects selected in this study, the data that was in accordance with the research questions were then processed, condensed and analyzed to obtain conclusions.

NU followers and elite leaders prefer to say that NU is a cultural movement. Because NU is seen as an Islamic movement that can unite itself with the local culture. Islam will not be able to live without unifying itself with the local culture. The NU movement follows in the footsteps of the “Wali Songo” who penetrate local cultures incorporated into Islamic culture. This kind of Islamic movement is called “reflection” to unite or accommodate culture into Islamic teachings so that any culture and anywhere can be united with Islamic teachings (Ishomuddin, 2006). Reflections on local culture not only concern social, economic, educational problems but also issues related to politics.

In this context, NU followers are always subject to local conditions that are used by propaganda and political tools by clerics or clerics at the local and regional levels. NU followers are subject to the commands and influences of their leaders by holding the principle of “*sam’an wa tha’atan*” in all matters of life. Political problems are a very important matter of life for NU and NU Muslimat citizens because they are considered to determine the fate of the nation’s life, especially the NU and NU Muslimat citizens. The culture that exists within the NU community is a culture created by its elites or ulama as a tool to maintain and control their respective communities. Although it is generally seen that the NU community seems to be the same in matters of mutual interest, in reality, each ulama builds their respective nominations, namely maintaining their followers. A large number of Islamic boarding schools and their respective leaders have different cultures showing different visions. This is what causes the NU and NU Muslimat communities to have different cultural backgrounds. For example there is an NU Islamic boarding school that teaches Islamic education that is very fanatical about a *madzab*, there are Islamic boarding schools that teach Islam to be more open and not too fanatical about certain schools. There are also very moderate Islamic boarding schools.

The conditions of Islamic education institutions or Islamic boarding schools in the NU environment above give birth to graduates or generations who have different insights and thoughts, especially on political issues. This has given rise to the character of political culture in the NU community until now. A political culture based on educational experiences and life experiences of every NU member creates differences in views and thoughts. Why are there different views about politics? Because political culture is built on the basis of “stock of knowledge” science and life experience that it has. Although fellow NU followers, their views and thoughts about Islamic politics and politics show differences. This is evidenced in the data of in-depth interviews and observations of activities carried out by researchers.

The political culture in the NU community always has dynamics and changes depending on the interests of the elite even though it does not come out of the cultural roots of the NU community. For the followers, this is a consequence of their obedience to the elite leaders in all matters of life. The principle of “*sami’na wa atho’na*” embedded in each person of NU followers towards leaders or scholars, gave birth to the characteristics of his political culture.

The difference in understanding the essence, the relationship between Islam and politics has become a long-standing discourse, even this has been a very important topic in the body of Muslims since the time of the Prophet and the Caliphate today (Sjadzali, 1990). Islamic leaders or Islamic political experts are still different in understanding the essence of Islam and politics. It happen because of the stock of knowledge about Islam and politics owned by the scholars and *Umarah*.

This difference continues, especially in Muslims who dominate the Indonesian nation due to the desired group interests and leadership, that Islam is confronted with non-Muslims. Such conditions also influence the thinking, views of people in the Muslim body in Indonesia in seeing the essence of Islam and politics, as well as practical politics.

### **National Awakening Party (PKB) as NU Muslimat Political Aspirations**

NU is a social and religious organization that continues to keep up with the times. NU, as an Islamic organization that has the largest number of followers in Indonesia, feels responsible for human development in Indonesia. If other Islamic or non-Islamic organizations take on roles in other fields, NU tries to play a role in all aspects, especially human development. It was

realized by NU that the task was very heavy considering that there were still many NU people in Indonesia living and living in villages that were not yet affordable from the NU elites who were in the cities. In its dynamics, even though NU is a socio-religious organization, NU is not blind to political problems, moreover, in its history, NU has been a party, and is still active in the National Awakening Party (PKB). Thus, every NU Muslimat may support the party supported by NU. According to the NU Muslimat, politics is very important for every Muslim because the Prophet Muhammad also carried out strategies in broadcasting Islam in his time. The Prophet also set up a strategy for warfare against infidels qurays. In the current context, the strategy is political. It is just that the prophet did not directly establish the party in a narrow sense, namely the political party or practical politics. But all the movements carried out by the Prophet were actually good politics and sometimes had to move Muslims to fight against infidels.

From the statement above, the member of NU Muslimat explicitly said that Islam and its movements were never separated from the party because in its history Islam was very close to political movements, both strategic politics (high politics), as well as practical politics, party politics (low politics). Prophet's da'wah was secretly a strategy to invite people to explain the essence of Islam and then they were attracted to Islam and after that, they converted to Islam. The practical politics carried out by the Prophet were to set a strategy for the war against unbelievers. The Battle of Badr, the Khandak War, the Battle of Uhud, was inflated with Islamic slogans and flags. So the core of the understanding of the narrators of the management informants as well as political actors mentioned above is that political and political practice cannot be separated from Islam itself.

### **Islamic Citizens and Practical Politics**

Muslims in facing life's problems must be politically or strategically defending Islam. This was exemplified by the prophet. So, politics is a strategy of life, the life of Muslims to maintain attacks from outside. To do that then in the present context is through political parties. Because without a party, in Indonesia, it is very difficult to seize power. With that power, one will get the opportunity to take policies and regulate other people to benefit Muslims.

The above understanding has actually existed in the present *nahdhiyin* people. Politics is no longer taboo, especially in the history of NU's dynamics since the organization was founded until now. As the wing of NU, Muslims,

in general, have realized that the current model of NU's struggle is right. Because of that, it must support the political policies outlined by the NU elite, the *ulama*, the *kiai* in determining the struggle of Muslims in Indonesia.

From this expression, it can be concluded that the relationship between Islam and politics is both conceptually and politically very close. In Indonesia, there are still three kinds of views regarding the relationship between Islam and politics. The first view says that Islam is different or has nothing to do with politics including the practical political movement. The most important Islamic figure who built this understanding and thought was Ali Abd. Raziq, and Thaha Husein.

The second view states that Islam is a view of life that is not merely related to vertical relations (*hablum-minallah*), rituals "*mahdhah*" human relations with God, but Islam also regulates horizontal relations (*hablum-min-annas*), between humans and humans, the ritual "*ghairu mahdhah*". In this kind of understanding, it does not distinguish between Islamic affairs and political affairs. Islam teaches the politics of "*siasah syariyyah*", politics (a strategy based on Islamic principles). Key figures in this understanding include Hasan al-Bana, Seyyed Qutb, Rasyid Rida, and Al-Maududi.

The third view is rejecting the statement that Islam is not the same as politics (the first group) and also rejects the statement that Islam is identical to politics (the second group). This third group states that Islam contains in it regulates human life, ethical issues, value problems, leadership problems, and political life. In terms of politics, Islam does not directly deal with politics, but Islam provides general principles and foundations and rules related to human behavior in society and state. The basic values of Islam are used as guidelines and directors for everyone who pursues politics, especially practical politics. Important figures in this understanding include Muhammad Husain Haikal.

### **Difficulty to Distinguish between Politics and Practical Politics**

Practical political or political problems among NU residents are indeed mostly unable to distinguish. Because politics is broadly meaningful. Whatever is done in the form of actions by people with certain goals both for themselves and for other groups can be called politics. In Arabic, it is called "*siasah*" or strategy which has been adopted by Indonesian. While practical politics are often addressed to party politics or movements that involve a lot of time to do certain goals. More concretely are political parties. Most Muslim community members already know the history and work of NU in the political world.

This was obtained from lectures conducted by *ulama* or *Kiai* NU. Although the knowledge of practical politics and politics obtained by NU Muslim community members was given repeatedly, especially in the lead-up to the election or the president's choice, in general, the NU Muslim community, knowledge about it, was not used as the main thing in NU Muslimat activities. For them, it is more important to obey and *tawaduk* to the *ulama* or *kiai*. *Ulama* or *kiai* are all-everything in the NU tradition. Therefore, what is said by clerics or clerics must be followed if they want to survive and enter heaven. So, understanding practical politics and politics is like what is understood by most Muslim citizens in general. Politics is a strategy in life. By scheming, we can survive the world and the hereafter. For example in the verse al-Qur'an it reads, meaning "guard yourself and your family against hellfire," this means that fortifying yourself and your family is very important. How to fortify it is by scheming. If my understanding is drawn more generally, to save myself, my family, Muslim community members, a place of struggle is needed, that is political parties. Political parties are a necessity that must be owned by Muslim NU citizens. This is where PKB is very important to save NU citizens and NU Muslimat in order to maintain the mission of Islam in this country by placing its representatives on the board at the central, provincial and regional levels.

### **Practical Politics for Gaining Power**

Associated with practical political or political understanding. In the NU Muslimat community, administrators often provide insight or knowledge about political concepts. In a general sense, politics is a human strategy to face all threats both from within and from outside. Because of that politics is very much related to religion, because if the religion adhered to faces a threat from the outside, we must fortify ourselves. In the history of Islam, the political nuances are very thick especially in the post-Khulafur Rosyidun period, in Muawiyah's time, Abbasiyah, until now between Shia and Sunnis. Therefore politics is needed for Muslims to know the global developments in the condition of Muslims in Indonesia, or in the world. Meanwhile, if it is called practical politics, it is intended to gain power. The ingredients are a party. NU Muslimat considers that both political and political practice is needed in Muslim life but the movement of the *ummah* and muslimat is more respected. The position of NU Muslimat is only as a supporter and motivator by giving their votes to candidates from NU or NU Muslimat insofar as that support received the blessing of the NU clerics or clerics. NU Muslimat will

obey and follow all the orders and directions of the clerics and clerics whether it is related to community activities in general or those related to politics.

With sufficient experience in the legislature and thanks to direct learning, one of the NU Muslimat administrators was able to distinguish between what is called practical politics and politics. Politics, according to him is all the effort made by everyone to obtain the convenience of life. In everyday life, we actually have played politics. Whatever we do in life to avoid all threats and challenges, it can be categorized as a political activity. Meanwhile, usually, when we call practical politics, the understanding that emerges is party politics, calling the party. So there is indeed a difference between political and practical terms. The word "politics" has a broad meaning, while practical politics has a narrow meaning, which is related to party politics.

Next is about practical political and political understanding. In general, the Muslim community of NU did not consider it important to understand practical political or political understanding. Politics is all efforts made by anyone to get a position of power. Power can be narrow or broad, depending on the goals to be achieved. Our lives are actually political. Without politics, we cannot live until this moment. Usually, the word politics is equated with tactics. The strategy also means strategy. So all the strategies done for this survival are politics. Meanwhile, if it is called practical politics, it will refer to party politics or mass movements. So practical politics are pragmatic and narrow.

In 1952 NU broke away from Masyumi and made NU as practical politics to get internal criticism and all NU exponents sought to restore NU to its original principle, namely as a socio-religious organization as the initial purpose of establishing this organization in 1926. But the event was also repeated in 1973 joined other Islamic organizations in charge of the United Development Party (PPP). It seems that NU did not give up on the previous bitter experiences. In 1998, after the reformation, NU approved the establishment of the National Awakening Party (PKB). This means that within NU's body, it is assumed that politics that do not have party parties are the same as they cannot play many roles in this country. For this reason, they must fight for Islam through practical politics or party politics. On this basis, perhaps what prompted the establishment of PKB as a forum for the aspirations of the NU and NU Muslimat to express their political choices.

Politics has a broad meaning while practical politics has a narrow meaning, namely politics which prioritizes pragmatic interests. If NU already

has a container in the form of a PKB party, the NU Muslim community must support and vote for the party or elect a council that has the same base, namely from NU or NU Muslim. As a board of NU, although it was not a member of the council or a candidate for the council, it obliged to encourage and even force the Muslim community to support the joint candidates because if it is elected or so it will help the NU Muslim struggle in activities carried out to realize activities programs has been proclaimed by Muslimat. So it is mutually beneficial. On the organization's side, they will get funds to launch the activities, while the candidates will get support from NU Muslimat. That was the political meaning understood by NU Muslimat officials. If other people who are not from the NU Muslim organization become the council, it is difficult to get something to support Muslimat activities.

### Politics Adheres to Islam

NU is not only a group that moves on political interests but NU and its exponents, including NU Muslimat, are important wings to bring and realize the Islamic mission in the form of fostering and fortifying Muslims. It is done in order to implement Islam in accordance with the madzab which is followed on the *Ahlu Sunnah wal jamaah*. So, knowledge about politics and practical politics for Muslim citizens was directly obtained for their involvement in practical politics in supporting support since PKB became NU's official party. Knowledge of "politics" is understood as the concept of "*siasah*" in fiqh lessons, namely all efforts and efforts made by everyone in order to defend themselves, their families, Islam, and the *ummah*, that is *siasah* or politics in Indonesian. Therefore, Islam may do politics because politics is a concept inherent in Islam itself. The term *musyawarah* (democracy), *al-adalah* (justice), morality (moral), *ulama* and so on are concepts that have been contained and discussed in Islamic teachings. It is just that NU Muslimat members who do not have a broad base of Islamic education sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between politics and political parties. The graduates of Islamic boarding schools certainly get the lessons of jurisprudence which among them discuss about, the character of leadership, justice, culture, morals and so on, including also "*siasah syar'iyah*" Islamic politics, then, they have understood the difference between politics in research that is very general with politics in a narrow sense. All actions are taken to preserve and maintain goodness for oneself, family, and Islam, and the *ummah* of Islam, are manifestations of

politics in a broader sense. Meanwhile, if we think or do activities in a party container it is politics in a narrow sense.

### **Conclusion**

From the aforementioned expressions, it can be concluded that the understanding of politics is generally the same although some are different because the stock of knowledge is different. In general, citizens have a different understanding of politics and political practice. Politics in general terms is a strategy or “strategy” in Indonesian. Every human being in life and organization in maintaining its continuity is doing politics. In other words, we cannot live without politics. Because of that politics is involving thinking and understanding of the context of life. Meanwhile, people’s understanding of practical politics is interpreted as an effort to achieve certain goals using the means of political parties.

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## SYMBOLIC FUNCTION AND MEANING OF ONTALAN TRADITION IN MADURANESE WEDDING

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### **Abstract**

*Ontalan is a Maduranese tradition at weddings. The term of ontalan (oncal: Javanese) means throwing, which is throwing money at the bride and groom when they are sitting side by side. As a tradition, ontalan is something that has been done and has become part of the life and local wisdom of the Pamekasan community which is still being implemented. The social function of ontalan is to strengthen social relations between families, a symbol of family cohesiveness, and also as a symbol of agreement on the marriage of the bride and groom. While the economic function of ontalan is in order to help families who have an intention and as a provision of life for a new couple. Some people continue to try preserving these traditions through inheritance to the next generation, construction and modification so that the tradition is in accordance with the times.*

*Ontalan adalah tradisi orang Madura di pesta pernikahan. Istilah ontalan (oncal: Jawa) berarti melempar, yaitu melempar uang ke pengantin saat mereka duduk berdampingan. Sebagai sebuah tradisi, ontalan adalah sesuatu yang telah dilakukan dan telah menjadi bagian dari kehidupan dan kearifan lokal masyarakat Pamekasan yang masih dilaksanakan. Fungsi sosial ontalan adalah untuk memperkuat hubungan sosial antar keluarga, simbol kekompakan keluarga, dan juga sebagai simbol kesepakatan tentang pernikahan mempelai pria dan wanita. Sedangkan fungsi ekonomi ontalan adalah untuk membantu keluarga yang memiliki niat dan sebagai bekal hidup bagi pasangan baru. Beberapa orang terus mencoba melestarikan tradisi ini melalui warisan kepada*

*generasi berikutnya, konstruksi dan modifikasi sehingga tradisi tersebut sesuai dengan zaman.*

**Keywords:** *ontalan; symbolic meaning; tradition; wedding*

## Introduction

The Maduranese -including the Pamekasan community as the locus of this research- is a society that classified as having and also maintaining a strong religious value (Islam) (Susanto, 2007: 97-98). Maduranese also has a variety of traditions which are the wealth of their people (Mu'in & Hefni, 2016: 109-112). Bouvier's ethnographic research found a great variety of cultures in Maduranese (Bouvier, 2002). Although Bouvier's research focused more on physical arts, he did not mention -either implicitly or even more explicitly- about the traditions carried out at the time of marriage in Madura, especially about *ontalan tradition* in weddings that are actually rich in uniqueness, symbolic meaning and benefits.

To a certain extent, these traditions become a reference -not to mention the rules that must be complained- because in reality many local traditions are unable to be continued, even eroded by the age or even for certain reasons the traditions are abandoned by their successors. However, it is still found a group of rural communities in some parts of Pamekasan more specifically communities in the District of Tlanakan who are still loyal to the custom of *kona* (ancient tradition). Efforts to preserve these traditions by some Maduranese continue to run from time to time, from generation to generation, both through inheritance and through construction by modifying these traditions in accordance with the times.

One of the traditions survived until now, even though only done at a small part of the Pamekasan community is *ontalan* at a wedding. *Ontalan* is a unique tradition that until now continues to be carried out by some Madurane -and also people outside Maduranese, such as Lumajang (Karyantoni, 2018) especially rural communities. This tradition is carried out at the time of sending the bride, from the bride female's house to the bride male's house (*ngunduh mantu*). This tradition is not only unique but also has symbolic meaning and benefits. They did it just to carry out the ancient tradition, *lalampun bhângaseppo* (traditions of the ancestors) without pervading its meaning.

One of the functions the tradition of *ontalan* is to strengthen and to make strong social solidarity of community members, or in order to strengthen the

kinship (*silat al rahīm*) through the fabric of *ukhuwah Islāmiyah*. The tradition of *ontalan* in its implementation involves most of the families of intention (*hajat*) owners (the bride male's family) and their relatives (*bheleh*), even *kanca* (friends) of bride male. Because of concept of *bheleh* in the Maduranese is not only limited to close relatives (*bheleh tarétan*), but it is also for close friends (*bheleh kanca*) (Wiyata, 2006: 63-64).

The tradition of *ontalan* has symbolic meaning as a sign of cohesiveness and agreement from the family of the groom to the fabric of love through the marriage of the bride and groom. Thus the expectations of both parties (the family of the groom and bride) as the hopes of the Maduranese ancestors "Rampa' Naong Bringin Korong" (Sadik, 2013: 30a) is marriage that gives comfoit, shade to all family members becomes a reality.

Currently, the tradition of unique and has a symbolic meaning as well as a good benefit socially and religious of *ontalan* has began ignored by the owner. Some Madurese - even the majority - are now ignorant and do not pay attention to *pandhuman kona* (the guidelines of ancient society) including when it comes to marrying off their sons and daughters. Maduranese *kona* (ancient Maduranese) was so *jijip* (careful) in marrying her sons and daughters.

This condition is different from the loyalty of Javanese people who are still loyal to the traditions of their ancestors, especially in the tradition of marriage (Roibin, 2013). For example, Surabaya people who are well known to advanced society (metropolis) are still loyal to the ancestral tradition in the implementation of the marriage ceremony of their sons and daughters, in terms of the wedding reception, they are still carrying out the procession of marriage preparations, including *peningsetan*, *siraman*, *midodareni*, *ngerik* ceremonies, *panggih manten*, *balangan suruh*, *tukar kembar mayang*, *wijik*, *kacar kacur* and so on (Solikhin, 2010). While in Madura society - especially Pamekasan - the unique and meaningful *tradisi kona* (ancient tradition) is rarely found anymore. Therefore, a study of the uniqueness and richness of meaning contained in the *ontalan* tradition needs to be explored in depth, especially since the tradition has begun to be unknown to the next generation.

This research focuses on three things, namely: (1) the perception of the Pamekasan community on the *ontalan* tradition, (2) the function and symbolic meaning of the *ontalan* tradition for the community both socially, religiously, and economically, and (3) the efforts made by the community in the continuity of the tradition.

## Method

This research approach is qualitative with the type of phenomenological research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982: 2). It can portray and explore values in human experience and life, especially related to *ontalan* tradition as the focus of this study. The status of researchers in this research is both as research instrument as well as data collector, full observer and participant observer. This was done in order to understand and know the reality of the *ontalan* tradition which up to now has been firmly held and implemented by the community, especially the rural communities in Tlanakan District area. Communities in this region -based on preliminary information from several informants- still uphold this *ontalan* tradition, even though there is a new format in the process, but substantively remains oriented to the functions and benefits of *ontalan* both socially and religiously.

The data sources of this research are community leaders, the community and other parties who are assumed to understand about *ontalan* traditions such as the local government, documentation, i.e. photos of *ontalan* activities, relevant writings and other norms related to this tradition. This research instrument uses participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation studies (artifacts) (Bungin, 2015: 118-119).

The data analysis of this research uses the form of interactive analysis, which is carried out during the collection and at the same time after the data collection. The three paths to be traversed in the data analysis process are data reduction, data presentation, and data verification or drawing conclusions.

The validity check of the findings of this study was carried out by: (1) adding and extending the intensity of attendance, (2) in-depth observations, and (3) triangulation by utilizing various data sources and methods, in the context of this study, the data sources especially interviews were not just one person, but rather a number of people taken purposively (purposive sampling). Therefore the data obtained is truly a reality, not something that happens by chance (Moleong, 2009: 324-327).

## Marriage Traditions in Pamekasan

Marriage is an important rite in human life. It is a process of combining two big families in a family bond into a larger unit. Because marriage is a process of unification of two big families before the marriage takes place, there are steps to do an assessment and measurement of seriousness, not only

in harmony between the couple but also in harmony and equality (*sekufu*) of both parties.

The Maduranese marriage process -specifically in the Pamekasan people- began with a number of activities including selection of candidates, engagement (*abhākalan*) and the implementation of a marriage contract (*akad nikah*). Candidate selection (*bhākai*) is not an easy initial process, because according to Maduranese women are both priceless assets and honours. Maduranese used to feel insulted (*malo*) when their daughters did not get married quickly, even though the girl was not old enough, not yet mature. However, this thinking along with the level of public awareness and regulations from the government has changed and abandoned. Not a few found some people who still violate applicable marriage laws, namely the minimum age allowed to marry for women 16 years and for boys 20 years.

On the other hand, for Maduranese to marry off a daughter is something that gives prestige. The sooner his daughter marries, the sooner the prestige is obtained. So it is not surprising that many Maduranese daughters have been married young. However, Maduranese is very *jijip* (careful) in choosing a partner for their children, including in determining their wedding day.

Determination of a mate is the initial process of marriage. In certain areas of Madura, it is based on several things. *First*, the agreement between parents when they are pregnant, either because of blood-related elements such as marriage between cousins and so on or because of friends, closest neighbours, *tunggal guru* (in the same teacher) or *kiai* or professional friend. *Second*, to engage the bride since childhood, based on the wishes of parents, whether they are happy with their children or not. It often forces children to accept it. The children do not dare to refuse what has become the decision of their parents, because if the rejection occurs, they will get sanctions from the family. Sanctions in the form of for example *ta 'ésapa* (ignored) and their parents will not interfere in the determination of a mate even in their marriage, and will no exception be referred to as a child who is not obedient to parents (*durhaka*). *Third*, determining the mate based on the children's own choices, especially this happens to those who are already educated. However, the determination of a mate like this does not mean leaving parents at all, especially mothers who are closer to them than their fathers. In the research location, the determination of the mate making model like the first (matched the child since in the womb) based on several informants was not found, except the second and third mate making models that often occur.

The consideration in determining wife for Maduranese is inseparable from the guidance of Islam as a religion they believe in. The consideration of wife in Islamic teachings as taught by the Prophet is based on four criteria, namely: because of wealth, descendants, beauty, and because of religion. If the four are not found, then the religion will be the main consideration (al-Asqallany, 201).

In Madura, there is a tradition which until now has been strictly enforced on the choice of a mate before entering the marriage process of their sons and daughters -including at the research location-, except for certain reasons or forced. For example, due to the oath of their parents, “*Sapétong toron ta’ ngala’a manto*” (up to seven offspring will not take a son-in-law). Usually, this oath is a result of communication or relations between the two families that are not good or can be called *moso*, or it could be that one of the families is not good offspring, based on terms of heredity or behaviour.

Even though girls can raise the prestige of the family or parents do not feel ashamed because they have been able to marry their daughter, so that her daughter does not become an old maid who does not get husband (*paju lakéa*). But family honour becomes socially worthless (*tadhâ ‘ajhina*) if one gets an incompetent son-in-law. Therefore, their parents choose a mate since he was a child even from the womb, so they can maintain good offspring or *nasab*.

This Madura song-poem illustrates how careful (*jijib*) of parents are in determining mate for their daughters -and this is the connection with the *Ontalan* tradition- for their sons and daughters (son-in-law):

*Pingpilo ta’ endhâ’ nyimpang loronga*

*Pingpilo loronga étombuwi nangger*

*Pingpilo ta’endhâ’ ngala’ torona*

*Pingpilo torona oréng ta’ bhender*

*Pingpilo ta’ endhe’ nyimpang loronga*

*Pingpilo Loronga étombuwi kolat*

*Pingpilo ta’ endhe’oréng ta’ pélak*

Meaning:

Pingpilo did not want to pass the road

Pingpilo the way is overgrown with nangger trees

Pingpilo did not want to take the daughter-in-law of his offspring

Pingpilo is the offspring of not righteous people

Pingpilo did not want to pass the road

Pingpilo the way is overgrown with nangger trees

Pingpilo did not want to take the daughter-in-law of his offspring  
Pingpilo is the offspring of incompetent people, do not know manners.

*Second*, there is the term “*robbhu bhata*” which means two brothers who want to marry two sisters too. Usually, marriages like this are avoided unless forced. According to Maduranese belief, this kind of marriage will bring *bhâlei* (disaster, the lives of the bride and groom are imperfect and unhappy).

*Third*, *Salêp tarjhâ* which means two brothers and sisters who will marry men who are also brothers and sisters who want to get married. Like the *robbhu bhâta* marriage, the *salêp tarjhâ* marriage in the view of the Madurese is an imperfect marriage.

For those who disgust or be careful of that belief, they must carry out the marriage of their sons and daughters by performing a ritual as an antidote to the *bhâlei* that will emerge. The ritual is that the two men (son and son-in-law) who have been married are walking together, then the son-in-law overtakes (precedes) the boy while *narjhâ* (lunging).

*Fourth*, the avoided marriages are marriages between two children from two siblings, or children from two biological women (*sapopo*, parallel cousin). Marriage between them is called *arellak belli* or *tempor belli*. Among ordinary people, such marriages become taboo. According to people’s beliefs if this marriage is done there will be consequences that will occur to the bride, for example, their child will be *ta’dhissa* (imperfect/physically or mentally disabled), the lives of the bride and groom are also imperfect and so on. This is different from the clerics who do not pay attention to customs like this.

The explanation above shows the observance of Maduranese in upholding their *bengatoa* tradition. Obedience is based on the establishment of a belief in the hearts of the people, that if they violate the tradition, then they will be subject to social sanctions and be subject to public ridicule. In addition, they are psychologically uneasy, feeling guilty and haunted by bad things that will befall him due to the violation, until they carry out *rokatan* ritual as a form of rejection *bhâlâi* (reject bad luck).

The next stage is engagement (*abhâkalan*) before entering the wedding. This activity is a continuation of the selection of candidates or *bhâkal*, starting from the exploratory activities or seeking information from male families about the whereabouts of the girl to be proposed. This term in Madura society is known as *nyalabhâr* activity, it is an activity to disseminate or *ngêngangêng* (preaching to the public) that their daughters or virgins have grown up and are ready for *noro’patona orêng* (ready to be married) by the family (their parents).

News about the girl who is ready *noro 'patona oréng* (willing to apply) will quickly spread to the public. Actively the man will *narabâs jhâlân* (break through the road) by sending an intermediary (usually a distant relative). If there is a signal to get a satisfying answer, it will be continued with *nagghuk* (patting) to convey the interest in applying for the girl by giving a souvenir, as a sign of *pangésto* (compassion).

The next step is *nyaba' oca'* (wooing), it is marked with *matoju 'tandh'* (seated the sign) symbolized by the submission of *topa' toju'* (*ketupat* which can be seated on the underside). After conducting the *matoju 'tandha'* process, the two candidates usually have considered the bride and groom officially, so that the restrictions on women's families to accept other candidates. Because accepting other candidates is against the law, both *sharia* law and social law. If the law is broken, then the family of the daughter will get social sanctions *tadhâ 'ajhina* (loss of strength and self-esteem).

The next step is the visit of the male family group as an official sign of the engagement by holding a *nalé'é paghâr* ceremony (Sadik, 2013: 65b) (binding the fence) to the women's family. This *nalé'é paghâr* event was marked by handing out snacks or market cakes including *leppet* banana, *sérépénang* (betel leaf, betel nut) and others. For the ancient Maduranese, all of the snacks or offerings contained meaning. The rope on the *leppet* means the pair of candidates. In urban communities, this *panyéngset* rope usually uses a gold ring as a binder. The type of banana that is brought will cause a situation for the bridegroom. If the candidate of groom brings milk bananas (*kasusu*), then this means as soon as possible or *bhiru* bananas means *kabhuru* (in a hurry), then this means the engagement period will not be long, or in the near future a wedding will take place. If the candidate of groom bring a young *séréé pénang*, then it simbolizes the engagement will be lengthy. But on the contrary, if the candidate of the groom brings the old betel nut, then the sign of the engagement will be brief and continued with the wedding. The gift brought by the man is automatically understood by the woman's family.

This condition is different from the modern Maduranese who chose to simplify the engagement ceremony by combining all activities in the ceremony of *nyabâ' oca'*, *matoju' tandhâ* and *nalé'é paghâr* into a ring exchange ceremony, accompanied by a set of clothes from the groom. For modern Maduranese, the practical and pragmatic considerations, *abhâkalan* process by using the ancient Maduranese tradition is seen as complicated, time-consuming, costly and labour-intensive. So the *Abhâkalan* process is not effective.

The woman's family does a counter-visit to the men's family home a week later. This visit was marked by the delivery of cakes in accordance with their abilities. This counter-visit activity is known as *tonggebbhân* (installation of a lid), in some areas also known as *nopoé lolos* (closing the former).

Certain villages in this research location, ancient customs are still applied in the application program, although there are modifications that are adapted to the times, for example, cakes brought as gifts are combined between traditional cakes with modern pastries, such as bread, *jhajhan parabân* (application or engagement gift cakes), and other modern cakes, depending on who wants to donate. Because of the villagers habits, if there is a family who wants to apply, other family members or relatives and even other friends, donate cakes and they usually participate in the application program, or for certain reasons such as at the request of prospective in-laws not to bring too many members of the group, they just donate the cake.

After the inauguration of the engagement ties, the two families are equally protecting of this engagement relationship by means of the *masekken betton* (confirming the edge boundary of the halls). One of way the *masekken* is by means of *ter-ater* (inter-delivery of food), for example on holidays, days of *beccé* or at any time especially when one of the two families have an event (*hajatan*). One holding *hajatan* as a ritual ceremony, theologically means people require the response of God from a number of hidden needs in their hearts (Roibin, 2013). Because *abhâkalan* which is not protected properly will result in the failure of the engagement, *épbabung* (severed) by reason of *tadhé 'pasté* (not a *takdir*) (Rifa'i, 2007: 90). *Abhâkalan* in the perspective of Maduranese can be birds or *dhêddhi* (the engagement can fail can continue).

The next stage is the implementation of the *akad nikah* (marriage). A few days before the marriage is held, the male family visits the female family to discuss determining the wedding day, usually accompanied by giving money, *obâng panyeddhék*, as a sign that the two engaged soon to determine the wedding day (Rifa'i, 2007).

Before the marriage ceremony was conducted, there were several traditions carried out by the Pamekasan *kona* people in the form of preparations in the form of the *ngangghi 'dhâlîka* ceremony (binding of bed halls made of bamboo). The bride and groom must make *lencak* (*ambin*, bed halls) other than as a part of the *bâ-ghibâ* to the prospective bride, as well as a bed for the newlyweds.

In addition to *lencak*, other items as *bâ-ghibâ* are money *bâ-tambâ kabellina bujâ* (additional money to buy salt) as a cost contribution to the

in-law, a set of clothes and decoration for the bride to wear on the wedding day, household goods and cupboards. as a place for this luggage. The luggage or *bâ-ghibâ* is usually delivered at *midodaran* evening events, or more familiar to the people at the current research location, *kombhuwan* night or *bhubuwan* night. If the distance between the bride and groom's house is far, then the items are delivered together with the bride's delivery event.

The custom of local community at the research location is the groom after marriage usually staying at the bride's house, both forever and temporarily. In certain villages, those who have implemented a marriage stay at the bride's house for a while, after that they usually return to the groom's house. Their terms are *mon ké 'laké' nyambi* (men bring wives). However, the bride's parents still prepare a home for newlyweds. All home furnishings, ranging from *léncak*, pillows, mattresses, and kitchen utensils are usually carried by the groom. All luggage is the property of the groom, while the bride only has usage rights. If there is somethings undesirable (divorced), the luggage will be taken home by the groom, because it does not include goods of *gono-gini*.

The next event is a wedding reception. There is one custom that is strongly held by the Pamekasan community before the bride and groom join in the wedding, namely a ceremony in the form of dialogue or questions and answer in the form of rhymes or song between *pangadhâ'* (spokespersons) of each bridal group, this event is witnessed by members of the bridesmaid group and surrounding people. This ceremony is known as *mokhâ blâbâr* which is a procession in a traditional Maduranese marriage which is carried out by the groom to open the veil that the bride wears (Researcher Team, 2010: 216).

The contest of rhymes, question and answer, puzzle and singing between the two spokespersons (*pangadhâ'*) sometimes takes a long time until both parties feel satisfied. One side of the rhyme program is a sacred event because in it tucked the hope of both parties, through each spokesperson with *okara matoro'a dhâging sakerra'* (entrust a piece of meat) from the groom's family to the bride's family, and vice versa. The other side of the pantun contest becomes an entertainment venue for the surrounding community who watch the bride, occasionally they applaud their support for the spokesperson (Ridawi, interview August 15, 2014).

After completing the process of rhyming or singing and *silat* (martial art although not all events use the tradition of *silat*), then a ceremony is held for the *mapegghâ' bhâlâbhâr* (breaking barriers) in the form of cutting the seven different coloured threads stretched at the door that the groom has to

go through the aisle. The cutting of the seven different coloured threads is a symbol of removing all kinds of obstacles that hinder the smooth path of the couples life. The hope is that the bride and groom become *jhudu bhâris dhunnya akhirah* (eternal mate in the world and afterlife) and be able to build the *sakinah mawadah wa rahmah* family.

The cutting of the seven strands of various coloured threads was carried out as a symbol of the disposal of things that would be an obstacle to the happiness of a newlywed's life, for example lust, the fury of anger, envy, greed, arrogance and lack of sincerity. The seven bad qualities must be fought. Fighting these bad qualities by the Pamekasan people is symbolized by cutting the strands of seven different colored threads, with symbols: black (impulse), red (fury of anger), white (strings attached), grey (greedy), green (spiteful), yellow (jealous), and pink (haughty) (Rifa'i, 2007: 92-93).

As a completion of the ceremony to cut the strands of this seven threads form, it is usually followed by *mowang sangkal* (throwing misfortune) activities, which are symbolized by removing the outermost fruit from a three-sided shaped banana. Bananas with the shape of three sides are considered to have no mate as other bananas in the same unit. Then this activity is continued with the sowing of *kembang campor bhâbur* (pieces of various types of flowers mixed with fragrant pandan leaves).

*Megghe' bhâlâbhâr* in Madura terms does not contain a single meaning, sometimes it also means the perfection of the first time a newlywed couple sexual intercourse. Maduranese were told that the bride's parents would look for *aré beccé* (good day) before allowing the groom to sexual intercourse with their children like a married couple. Usually, the husband and wife do the sexual intercourse for the newlyweds is held on the third night after the wedding.

The custom of determining *beccé'* day was very possible for Maduranese people in the past, because they did not know each other and were still covered in shame, they met each other only during the greet day (tellasan agung or Eid al-Fitr and *Rérajhâ* or Eid al-Adha), or even during their *abhâkalan* never met. However, that custom is no longer valid and ignored by Maduranese people who during times of *abhâkalan* have often met and walked together. According to some informants, many young people now do not understand their own custom. Custom which is used to be a supporting root for the upholding of Maduranese honour is now being ignored.

### Implementation of *Ontalan*

*Ontalan* is a Madurese tradition in bridal events. The term *ontalan* (*oncal*: Javanese) means throwing, which is throwing money at the bride and groom while they are on display. This implementation of *ontalan* between regions in Pamekasan is different. Some areas in Madura, carried out *ontalan* when the bride and groom were in the aisle (*kuwadé*: Madura).

As a tradition, *ontalan* is something that has been done and is a part of the life and wealth of the Pamekasan community, which is still being carried out by its owner. Even though in some places this tradition has begun to be ignored. For the people of Pamekasan *Kona* (ancient Pamekasan people) does not carry out the *ontalan* tradition when the wedding event means incomplete or inadequate and lack of joy of the wedding atmosphere. Therefore, this tradition should be maintained. Because the most fundamental thing of a tradition is the existence of information delivered on from generation to generation both written, oral and its implementation, without this inheritance a tradition will become extinct.

### Perception and Motivation of Carrying Out *Ontalan*

Not all people who carry out the *ontalan* tradition understand what the meaning and function of this *ontalan* is. They carry out the *ontalan* tradition just to implement the tradition and as a complement to the perfection and joy of the bride and groom.

In the ancient time, it was almost certain that all people who entered into a marriage contract carried out *ontalan*, they considered it imperfect if they did not carry out *ontalan*. Even though they do not know the exact history and meaning, people still carry on this tradition from generations to generation. According to them, the *ontalan* tradition was very good and did not conflict with religious teachings. The implementation starts from a simple method to a rather luxurious way, it depends on the host.

*Ontalan* carried out since ancient times is a form of concern for newlyweds. *Ontalan* is as a gift of blessing and provision for the bride and groom on their honeymoon. *Ontalan* is usually carried out in the groom's house, because the groom does not live with his parents anymore, but rather lives or returns to his wife's house and lives there forever.

Before the *ontalan* event began, the bride and groom were brought into the yard, sitting cross-legged with someone who would tidy up the money from the *ontalan* and in front of him, a tray would be provided. In several places

in this research location, the *ontalan* carried out in the position of the bride and groom that remained at the aisle, then the family gave money.

*Ontalan* activities are guided by someone, usually a *pangadh'* (spokesman) who is like a merchant offering his wares and selling them to male family members and their relatives and friends. The sentences spoken by *pangadh'*: “*kaule samangkén ajuwâle kembhâng konanga ngode sareng kembhâng malaté tompang, pola bedhâ sé kasokan ngéréng éatoré. kéngéng mellé tapé ta' kéngéng abhâkta*” (Now, I want to sell young *kenanga* flowers, [groom's symbol] and *tumpang* jasmine flowers, [bride's symbol], maybe someone will by please, may buy but may not bring).

Usually after the *pangadhâ'* officially opens the *ontalan* event and starts from the *pangadhâ'* throwing *ontal*, then it will be followed by close relatives, namely the father and mother of bride and groom. However, it often happens, the father and mother of the bride and groom do not go outside to throw an *ontal*, so that such a situation requires *pangadhâ'* to call them one by one.

### **Ontalan Function**

*Ontalan* is a unique tradition in the Pamekasan community, *ontalan* also has a very deep symbolic meaning and function, both in terms of social-religious and economic aspects.

First, based on socio-religious, *ontalan* has the meaning of cohesiveness between families who have the event. They *saroju'* (agreed or rightly compact) provide *ontalan* for the bride and groom. It also means as their blessing on the marriage of the bride and groom as a provision for the bride and groom during their honeymoon period. So that the bride and groom's family, in particular, no need to hesitate and worry anymore about the sincerity of the groom's family to accept it as a family.

*Ontalan* means compact and closely related family ties, family ties (*ukhuwah*), both close and far-reaching families, both their homes in close and far distances. In the implementation, the *ontalan* event involved the whole of bridegroom's family and friends.

*Bhâle* in the broader terminology of Maduranese includes *bhâleh tarâtan* and *bhâle kanca* (not including *tarétan*). *Bhâle* in Maduranese life is not only limited to *bhâle semma'*, *tarétan semma'* (close relatives or close kin), but also includes *bhâle jheu* (distant relatives or peripheral kin).

People categorized as *kanca* are people who are bound by social and emotional relations. The quality of social relations determines the position

of their closeness so that Maduranese get to know the *kanca biyasa* and *kanca rapet* (close friends). *Kanca rapet* is often considered a relative, a family member, his position is like *tarétan semma'*/biological siblings and *misanan* (cousin). If for one thing that causes a break in social relations, one also often have the position as other people (not a family) and even called a *moso* (enemy), and *kanca* is because you are so well positioned as a *tarétan* (Wiyata, 2006: 63-64).

The informants agreed that one of the functions of the wedding ceremony was *pol makompol bhâlâ* (gathering family, *silat al-rahîm*) both close and distant relatives. As long as they hear the information that their relatives have events, it is almost certain that they will come, both invited and uninvited because that means family ties to the villagers first. This is certainly different from the current conditions, if not officially invited or not visited their respective homes, siblings sometimes do not want to come.

Social phenomena that occur in almost all villages, especially in the research location- *bhâlê* especially distant relatives will not come to the celebration if there are no invitations, or *peccotân* (invitations delivered along with items such as cigarettes, soap or others). They also came to the extent of the implementation of the marriage ceremony or *bhubhuwana* night (donating to the owner of the event). The reasons for their absence at the event (wedding) held by the owner of the event, ranging from busywork that can not be left to the *todus* reason (shame) for those who are not invited either intentionally or unintentionally. This reasoning often occurs especially for those whose economic status is not the same, especially for their lower (poor) economic status.

Second, economically, the function of ontalan is in order to help relatives who have an event, especially the groom. The custom of Pamekasan people after carrying out a marriage contract, the groom usually lives at the in-law's house (wife), although for some time. In certain villages the groom returns to his home, of course, after counselling with the bride. One informant stated that *mon ké'laké nyambi* (if a man carries his wife to his house). The groom who must go home for some reasons, for example as *ghâghântén* (a substitute for male parents) because it may be an only child, while his parents are elderly. Usually they are only allowed to return to the house of a male family after having children, unless there are urgent reasons, whenever they can, depending on the agreement of the two families, the important thing is that the new family couple is happy, harmonious (*sakinah, wawaddah wa rahmah*).

Pamekasan community custom in ancient times, after carrying out the *mantan anyar* (newlyweds) marriage contract should not work for at least seven

days, usually, the groom's family sends food every day to the bride's house which is devoted to the two newlyweds. During these seven days, his life needs are usually met from the results of *ontalan* money. Therefore, one *ontalan* function is as provision or *sango* for the bride and groom. Nevertheless, there are some brides who use the results of *ontalan* to buy goods for family needs, such as jewelery, household equipment, and so on.

As described above, *ontalan* gives goods (money) to the bride and groom. The items given in the *ontalan* event are pure as assistance from relatives, family and friends of the groom because the amount of the item is not recorded as a debt to be paid. *Ontalan* is different from *bhubuwân* which is recorded as a debt that must be paid when the person giving the donation (*abhubu*) to the people who has the event of marrying his sons or daughters or other events such as *nyonat* (circumcising) his son, *to' oto'* (an event intentionally held by Pamekasan people to return debts, or invite others to donate).

Money in its position as an exchange will increase high integrity in the whole system. Because exchange -by borrowing the term of Levi-Strauss- is an individual's moral commitment to the group, both direct exchange (restricted exchange), and indirect exchange (generalized exchange). All members of the community will be bound by moral ties, so they have a willingness to fulfil their obligations regardless of their personal interests. Therefore, items donated as gifts in the *ontalan* are recorded or unrecorded, in time they will return because they both have the belief that others will also comply with these moral requirements (Johnson, 1986: 58).

In the theory of social exchange, it is stated that initially for various reasons that persuade, people are attracted to each other to build social groups. Then when the bond is formed, the gifts they give each other will help maintain and increase the bond. A reverse situation is also possible, group ties will weaken or even break down if there are not enough gifts. And gifts that are exchanged can be something that is intrinsic, such as love, affection and respect, or something of extrinsic value such as money and physical exertion (Ritzer & Goodman, 2006: 369).

The essence of *ontalan* implies social exchange whether recorded or not, the person who receives *ontal* will someday exchange the results of the *ontalan* and give it to those who provide *ontal*, even though the amount is not necessarily the same. Between the two (who received *ontal* and who gave *ontal*), it is like an automatic transaction or rather a moral bond had taken place. In other words, for those who give *ontal* motivated to provide *ontalan* because

he/she (for those who already have an event) has never given *ontal*. While for those who do not have an event (not married off their sons and daughters) they give *ontal* -even without being asked- one day will reap the fruits of what they do that will get *ontalan* from those who have received *ontal*.

### Efforts to Preserve *Ontalan* Traditions

The role of parents in communicating the tradition of *bengatoa/bengaseppo* to the younger generation is very significant. Especially in the modern era with a global culture that comes in repeatedly through various media. People who are helpless will certainly not be able to engage in dialogue and not be able to filter the flow of foreign culture (global).

The loss of local Maduranese traditions, one of which is caused by the uneasy communication of the family in conveying the traditions referred to the next generation. The role of parents is very significant in order to preserve local traditions including *ontalan* traditions. Efforts to preserve this *ontalan* tradition, ranging from communicating by telling about the existence of these traditions to their children, to carrying out this tradition, both in a simple and luxurious manner. It is also done by modifying the implementation of the *ontalan* in accordance with the current situation and condition is by responding (*nangghâ'*) entertainment such as *orkes*, *rebana/tambourines (terbhang)*, *gambus*, *gamelan (tabbhuwân)* and others, as happened to the Terrak community.

The cultural modification was carried out as an effort to preserve, preserving *kona* (ancient) cultures, so that they would not disappear. Traditions are not only inherited but also constructed or invited. In invited tradition, it is not enough that tradition is only inherited without being constructed with a series of actions aimed to instill values and norms through repetition that automatically refers to continuity with the past. Inheritance shows the process of spreading tradition from time to time, while construction shows the process of forming or instilling tradition in others.

As a result of the absence of efforts to understand the meaning and preservation of traditions (*ontalan*), finally the next generation does not understand what is implied. They only carry out the traditional rituals only, not in substance or what the actual meanings and functions, or even they are not familiar with the tradition. Such is the case with generations in the village of Panglegur. They have heard of the *ontalan* tradition but for now, they have never seen it. There are even some of them who have not even heard about *ontalan* (Fitriya, Dayat, and Didik. Interview September 24, 2014).

## Conclusion

Based on the data in the previous section, it can be concluded that *first*, the *ontalan* tradition is an ancient tradition, existed since the time of *bengatoa/bengaseppo*, (ancestors) which has a unique, symbolic meaning and benefits for the community, both in terms of social, religious, and economically. It is said to be unique because this *ontalan* tradition in its implementation only involves *bhâle* and friends of the groom. Therefore the implementation of *ontalan* carried out at the groom's house.

The motivation of the people carried out the *ontalan* tradition is following the habit of their ancestors, as well as their response to the families who had given gifts in the *ontalan*, for those who already had an event, married their sons. While for those who have not married their sons, they hope that they will receive *ontalan* or they will be given an *ontalan* by their families when they carry out their son's marriage, of course, if an *ontalan* event is held. They have a strong belief that even though the *ontalan* is not recorded no matter how much they give, -because it is a gift for the bride and groom- they will be reciprocate because between them have intertwined a bond of unwritten obligation that must both try to keep that promise. For them, it is an act that will have social sanctions if it is not fulfilled.

*Secondly*, some communities in the location of this study believe that *ontalan* contains many benefits, both in terms of social, religious, and economic. Therefore, those who are still loyal to the *kona* (ancient) tradition always try to preserve *ontalan*. *Ontalan* has a symbolic meaning as well as a function that is the symbol of the consent of the whole groom's family to the marriage carried out by the bridegroom. Thus *ontalan* has the meaning of blessing from the groom's family and as a symbol of family cohesiveness expressed in the *okara rampa* 'naong bringin korong. While the benefits of the *ontalan*, socially can strengthen the social fabric, strengthen the kinship (*ukhuwah*) and economically is to help families who have the event to ease the burden of material needed at the wedding of his son. While for the bride and groom, the *ontalan* can be a provision of life during their honeymoon or can be used to fulfil their family's tools or needs.

*Third*, the efforts made by the community to preserve the *ontalan* tradition are: first, communicating (telling) to the next generation about the *ontalan* tradition, because they are aware that without good communication with the next generation, any tradition will become extinct. Second, giving examples through real activities, namely carrying out *ontalan* when they have

the event of marrying his son. In this way, the young generation will see the process of *ontalan* implementation as well as the meaning and benefits the *ontalan* contain. Third, modifying the implementation of *ontalan* by adjusting to the conditions of the times, for example, coupled with music events, *gamelan*, and others on *ontalan* events, according to their conditions, inclinations, and pleasures, especially the younger generation, so they do not feel outdated.

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**السبك المعجمي في ديوان السباعيات لعيسى ألبى أبوبكر:  
دراسة تحليلية نقدية**

AS-SABAK AL-MU'JAMI FI DIWAN AS-SUBA'YAT LI 'ISA  
ALBI ABU BAKR: DIRASAH TAHLILIJAH NAQDIYAH

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**الملخص:**

يتبوأ الشعر في التراث العربي النيجيري مكانة عالية جدا، يقرض علماء هذه البلاد أشعارهم في أغراض مختلفة، إذ يوجد في أشعارهم الرثاء والمدح والوصف ونحو ذلك، وهؤلاء العلماء يستخدمون أساليب متنوعة، فمنهم من يسلك مسلك البحور الخليلية المعروفة، ومنهم من يؤثر البحور المهملة، ومنهم من ينتهج منهج أصحاب الرباعيات أو الخماسيات أو السداسيات أو السباعيات أو غيرها. وأما هذه الورقة فإنها تهدف إلى إلقاء الضوء على أنماط السبك المعجمي الواردة في ديوان «السباعيات» للدكتور عيسى ألبى أبو بكر. تمثل هذه الظاهرة فناً جديداً للدراسة النصية، وصورة شفافة للشكل المعجمي الذي يتناوله الدارسون المعاصرون في الكتب المقدسة، وفي بعض أعمال العلماء القدماء والمحدثين. استطاع الباحث في هذه الورقة أن يقف عند حياة الشاعر وأعماله العلمية والفنية، وعند مضامين ديوان السباعيات، وتمكن على دراسة أهم عناصر السبك المعجمي، حيث طبق هذه العناصر على أبيات الديوان مركزاً على التكرار، والترادف، والمصاحبة اللغوية؛ مع التقويم النقدي والإشارة - في بعض الأحيان - إلى السبب الذي أدى بالشاعر إلى قرض قصائده.

**Abstract**

Poetry in the Nigerian Arabic Heritage has attained a high level, as Arabic scholars used to compose their poems in different themes including elegy, panegyrics, description and others, while different styles have been explored. In the process of writing the poems, some of them applied the well-known Khalilian prosodic metres, others applied uncommon ones, while the rest was known to write poems in tetragon, pentagon, hexagon and heptagon. The main focus of this paper was to illuminate on the adopted styles of lexicographical shaping in "Diwan As-Subaiyyat" by Isa Alabi Abubakar. This phase stands out as a new art of textual study and a reflect of contemporary lexicographical form which researchers used to study aspect of scriptures and the works of the ancient and modern scholars. The researcher was able to give an account of the poet's biography and his literary and artistic works particularly contents of the Diwan As-Subaiyyat. The researcher, in the course of studying the components of the lexicographical shaping in the Diwan, elucidates the values of repetition, synonymy, linguistic homogeneity with critical comments pointing into the reason that led the poet to writing the poems. In conclusion, the researcher summarized this study, presented its findings, before mentioning the bibliographies and references.

**Keywords:** Diwan; Lexicography; Linguistic.

**المقدمة:**

أخذ الدارسون المعاصرون يبذلون قصارى جهودهم في البحث حول الأرباط النحوية والمعجمية والصوتية من خلال دراساتهم للأبحاث النثرية والشعرية، ويصنعون في هذا الحقل تطورا ونشاطا للعلم والفن، بل يحققون نصرا عزيزا للإنسانية. وأما هذه الورقة فإنها تمثل الدراسة التي يتقضاها الباحث حول السبك المعجمي في ديوان السباعيات للدكتور عيسى ألبي أبو بكر مشتملة على تاريخ وجيز لحياة الشاعر من حيث ولادته ونشأته وتعلمه، ومحتوية على البيان حول الديوان. والباحث يعرض في هذه الورقة عناصر السبك المعجمي ومعالجه، ويسعى نحو تطبيقها على وجوه أبيات الديوان وهذه العناصر تمثل التكرار، والترادف، والمصاحبة اللغوية. وفي الخاتمة لخصنا هذه الدراسة، وذكرنا المراجع والمصادر التي اعتمدنا عليها عند إعداد هذا العمل المتواضع.

## الشاعر: حياته وأعماله:

ينتمي الشاعر عيسى بن أبي بكر بن محمد جمعة إلى مدينة إلورن التي هي همزة الوصل بين شمال نيجيريا وجنوبها، وقد تخرج من هذه المدينة عدد من النساك والعلماء والأدباء. وفي عام ١٩٥٣م أو قبل ذلك ولد هذا الشاعر؛ وأما المكان الذي ولد فيه فمحل النقاش والاختلاف بين الباحثين، منهم من يذهب إلى أنه ولد بمدينة إلورن، ومنهم من قال إنه رأى نور الحياة في لاغوس، ومنهم من يرى أن مسقط رأسه كان بكماسي في دولة غانا الحديثة، وهذا الرأي الأخير هو أرجح الأراء. والأقوال عندنا لما جاء من السباعية رقم ٨٠ حيث يقول:

بِالشُّوقِ جِئْتُكَ زَائِرًا يَا (غَانَا) \* فَالْيَكِ مَنِّي بِالرُّضَا أَلْحَانَا  
وَصَفُوا طَبِيعَتِكَ الْجَمِيلَةَ أَنَّهَا \* سَخِرُ يُزِيلُ نُفُودَهُ أَحْزَانَا  
وَأَرَاكَ تَسْتَضِيئِنِّي بِرِعَايَةِ \* كَالْأُمَّ تُولِي طِفْلَهَا تَحْنَانَا  
مَنْ دَبَّ فِي أَرْضٍ وَإِنْ طَالَ الْمَدَى \* يَصُبُّ إِلَيْهَا قَلْبُهُ أَرْزَمَانَا  
إِنِّي أَحْبَبْتُكَ لَا لِأَجَلٍ وَظِيْفَتِي \* لَكِنْ لِكُونِي ابْنَكَ الْوَلَهَانَا  
إِنِّي أَرَى حُبَّ الْبِلَادِ سَجِيَّةً \* عِنْدَ الرِّجَالِ فَطَابَ ذِكْرُكَ (غَانَا)  
أَنَا شَاعِرُ الْقَطْرَيْنِ دُونَ مُنَازَعٍ \* أَفَلَا أَدِيعُ لِأَجْلِهِ إِغْلَانَا؟

من خلال هذه الأبيات نجد ما ينهض لنا دليلاً قوياً على أن نؤمن بأن الشاعر عيسى من أبناء نيجيريا الذين رأوا نور حياتهم في مدينة كماسي بغانا، ونظراً لبعض الكلمات الواردة في هذه السباعية، مثال كلمة: من دبّ في أرض، وإني أحبك، ولكوني ابنك، وأنا شاعر القطرين. كل هذه الكلمات تبرهن فيها الشاعر بولادته في دولة غانا، ويصور لنا فيها مدى شوقه لمسقط رأسه، ويرسم بها في أذهاننا مكانته في الشعر العربي عند أهل القطرين: النيجيري والغانوي. وبعد عامين من ولادة الشاعر، عادت أسرته إلى نيجيريا، وانخرط في سلك أبناء حيِّ غَمْبَرِ الصغار الذين يغشون يومئذ زاوية الشيخ محمد بن عيسى الزمفراوي لتعليم القرآن الكريم، وبعد ذلك التحق بمركز التعليم العربي الإسلامي أغيعي للشيخ آدم عبد الله الإلوري، وحصل فيها على الشهاداتين: الإعدادية والثانوية، كما حصل على شهادتي الدبلوم والماجستير في اللغة العربية بجامعة باير وكنو، وعلى الليساس والدكتوراه في اللغة العربية من جامعة إلورن (خليل الله بودوفو ومصلح الدين المرتضى، ٢٠١٤م، ص: ٢). وللشاعر إنتاجات كثيرة منها، ديوانه: الرياض والسباعيات، والكتب الآتية أسماؤها:

- ١- دراسات في شعر الجهاد لدى الشيخ عبد الله بن فوديو النيجيري، مطبعة النهار، القاهرة، ٢٠٠٨ م
  - ٢- أساليب بلاغية في بعض مؤلفات الشيخ آدم عبد الله الإلوري، مطبعة مؤسسة المختار، القاهرة، ٢٠٠٩ م
  - ٣- أعمال العلامة الإلوري، قراءة وتلخيص، مطبعة النهار، القاهرة، ٢٠٠٩ م.
- وله قصائد أخرى، ومقالات أكاديمية كثيرة نشرت معظمها في مجلات علمية محكمة في نيجيريا وخارجها.

### وصف ديوان «السباعيات»:

السباعية عبارة عن أبيات شعرية تتكون كل قصيدتها من سبعة أبيات. وقصائد هذه السباعيات تبلغ مائة وسبعين قصيدة، وأبياتها تبلغ ألف ومائة وتسعين بيتاً؛ طبعت بمطبعة النهار للطبع والنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة عام ٢٠٠٨ م، وعدد صفحاتها مائتان وأربع صفحات، وإنها تناقش تسعة عشر موضوعاً. ولا يسعنا إلا أن ننظر في هذا الديوان من الناحيتين: الموضوعية والفنية.

الأولى: إن الشاعر كان موضوعياً، إذ يعرض في هذا الديوان القضايا المحلية والأحداث العالمية أمثال قصيدة «العيد في بلادي»، و«أزمة البترول» و«عام ١٩٤٤ في نيجيريا» قائلًا في مطلعها:

يَا عَامُ إِمُضْ بِالْأَمِّ وَأَحْزَانِ \* أَنْكِي وَأَخْبِتْ مِنْ أَنْيَابِ تُعْبَانِ  
مَلَّتْ جَوْرًا وَحِرْمَانًا وَمَنْقَصَةً \* وَثَقُلُوكَ بِأَهْوَالٍ وَحَدَثَانِ

وله قصائد في «مؤتمر دول الكومنويلث»، «وفي الطفولة» و«عيد الأم» وفي «حادثة سبتمبر ٢٠٠١ م»، وفيها يقول:

حَادِثَةٌ رَوَّعَتِ الْعَالِمَا \* حَوَّفَتِ الْجَاهِلَ وَالْعَالِمَا  
وَالشَّرُّ قَدْ كَسَرَ أَنْيَابَهُ \* فَالْتَهَمَ الظَّالِمَ وَالرَّاحِمَا

وله سباعيات حول التكنولوجيا والعمولة مثل قصيدة «الهاتف المحمول» و«غموض العمولة». وفي نكبات البلدان العربية له قصائد كثيرة منها: «أمن الجزيرة» و«مآسي العراق»، و«معادة السامية أم معاداة الاحتلال» و«تحيا اللغة العربية» و«سماسرة الحرب في السودان» و«الإرهابيون». وإليك السباعية (رقم ١٧٩) حول شئون الشرق والغرب، ويقول فيها:

الْغَرْبُ يَنْمُو دَائِمًا وَيُنْمَقُ \* وَالشَّرْقُ كَالثَّوْبِ الْبَلِيِّ يُمَزَّقُ  
جَعَلُوهُ كَالْكُرَةِ الْمَدْحَرَجَةِ الَّتِي \* لَا تَسْتَقِرُّ فَلَا تَرَى مَنْ يَرْفُقُ

جَعَلُوهُ أَرْضَ بَلَابِلٍ وَقُلُوبُهُمْ \* فِي كُلِّ مَا يَأْتُونَهُ لَا تَخْفُقُ  
وَالْغَرْبُ فِي رَعْدِ الْحَيَاةِ مُنْعَمٌ \* وَالشَّرْقُ يَطْعَنُهُ الْعَدُوُّ الْأَزْرَقُ  
زَرَعُوا بُدُورَ الْحَقْدِ بَيْنَ شُعُوبِهِ \* وَبُيُوتَهُ جُدْرَانَهَا تَتَشَقَّقُ  
مِنْهُ أَتَى النُّورَانَ نُورٌ مُحَمَّدٍ \* وَأَبْنُ الْبَبُولِ لِيَسْتَتِيرَ مَوْقِفُ  
سَيِّظَلْ نُورُ الشَّرْقِ يَسْطَعُ فَوْقَنَا \* فَدَعَاؤُنَا أَنْ يَسْتَقِرَّ الْمَشْرِقُ

لم يفت الشاعر في هذه السباعيات أن يعرض المدح والثناء، سوى أنه يبذل مدحه للرسول الكريم ﷺ والصحابه الكرام، كما نجد في سباعية «محمد رسول الله» و«نهيج البردة» و«عمر الفاروق». وفي الثناء على العلماء له سباعيات كثيرة، منها السباعية التي يثني فيها على الشيخين: الشريم والسديس وفيها يقول:

أَنَاخَ بِقَلْبِنَا حُبُّ (السُّعُودِ) \* وَأَغْرَمَ (بِالسُّدَيْسِ) بَلَا حُدُودِ  
لَقَدْ جَلِيَا الْقُلُوبِ مِنَ الدَّنَايَا \* بِقُرْآنٍ يُرْتَلُ بِالسُّجُودِ  
أَسَلًا دَمَعٌ قَاسٍ خَاشِعِينَ \* أَذَابَا قَلْبَهُ مِثْلَ الْجَلِيدِ  
إِذَا تَلِيَا الْمَنْزَلَ جَوْدَاهُ \* بَلَا صَغَطَ عَلَى حَبْلِ الْوَرِيدِ  
بَصَوْتٍ لَيْسَ يُزْعَجُهُ سُعَالٌ \* أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ وَتَرِ النَّشِيدِ  
إِذَا صَلِيَتْ خَلْفَهُمَا تَجَلَّى \* لِي الْإِسْلَامُ فِي ثَوْبٍ جَدِيدِ  
بَقَاؤُهُمَا لِهَذَا الدِّينِ خَيْرٌ \* فَأَبْقَى قَائِلًا: هَلْ مِنْ مَزِيدٍ؟

وهكذا له الثناء والثناء في شخصيات الدعوة الإسلامية والفن العربي، منها سباعيته لأبي قاسم الحريري، والشيخ يوسف القرضاوي، والشاعر السوداني محمد الفتويوري، والشيخ آدم عبد الله الإلوري، والبرفيسور علي نائبي سويد، والإمام محمد البشير الإلوري، وأم كلثوم، وأبي القاسم الشابي، وطه حسين و خليل مطران، وعباس محمود العقاد، وفدوى طوقان وأمثالهم.

الثاني: إنه يتميز بميزة الإبداع والفن، حيث استطاع الشاعر أن يصوغ أفكاره ومشاعره بطريقة سهلة، واضحة البناء والمعالم، وخالصة التراكيب والجمل، أخذة بعضها رقاب البعض. وخير نموذج في ذلك السباعية رقم ٩٢ (الحب داء) التي يقول فيها:

الْحُبُّ نَارٌ حُبُّهَا صَعْبٌ \* يُحِسُّهَا كُلُّ لَحْظَةِ قَلْبٍ  
عَرَفْتَهُ وَالْحَيَاةَ نَاعِمَةً \* يَسِيرٌ وَالْعُودُ لَيْنٌ رَطْبٌ  
حَاوَلْتُ نَسْيَانَهُ فَأَرَقَنِي \* حَيَالُهُ تَرَكُ مِثْلَهُ كَذْبٌ  
مَنْ عَرَفَ الْحُبَّ كَيْفَ يَعْتَبِنِي \* وَاللَّهُ مِنْ شِيْمَةِ الْوَرَى عَتْبٌ

مَنْ ذَاقَ نَارَ الْغَرَامِ يَغْذِرُنِي \* لَوْمْ مَعْنَى مَدْلَهُ ذَنْبٌ  
وَسُورَةُ الْحُبِّ لَا يَهْدِيهَا \* إِلَّا كَلَامٌ مُحِبِّبٌ عَذْبُ  
الْحُبِّ دَاءٌ يُدِيمُهُ النَّظْرُ \* كَذَا الْحَدِيثُ الْجَمِيلُ وَالْقُرْبُ

يبدو في هذه الأبيات نضوج شاعرية الشاعر وتفوق عبقريته، وفيها معانٍ شامخة، وأخيلة عالية. وبهذا الإبداع نعرف علاقة الشاعر الشخصية والفنية بالأم، وعندما ينقل إلينا شعوره مع عيد الأم يقول في السباعية رقم ١٦٣ ما يأتي:

هَدِيَّةُ الْأُمِّ مَنَى بَاقَةَ الشُّعْرِ \* وَالشُّعْرُ أَفْضَلُ مَا يُهْدَى لِمَنْ يَدْرِي  
مَا أَرْحَمَ الْأُمُّ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالطُّفْهَا \* فَخَلَقَهَا كَنَسِيمٍ مَرًّا بِالزَّهْرِ  
قَدْ جَاءَ عَيْدُكَ بِالذِّكْرَى وَوَجْهَكَ فِي \* يَوْمٍ أَعْرَى يَسُرُّ الْكَوْنَ بِالْبَشْرِ  
حَيْرُ الْبَنُوَّةِ فِي خَيْرِ الْأُمُومَةِ إِذْ \* مِنْ جَيْدِ النَّخْلِ يَأْتِي جَيْدُ التَّمْرِ  
مَنْ لَمْ يَفْتَهُ حَنَانُ الْأُمّهَاتِ فَقَدْ \* نَالَ الْجَمِيلِ وَأَحْلَى لَذَّةِ الْعُمْرِ  
يَا أُمَّ عَيْدُكَ أَجْرُ الصَّالِحَاتِ فَمَنْ \* رَبِّي صَغِيرًا تَلَقَى طَيْبَ الشُّكْرِ  
يَا أُمَّ تَبْقَيْنَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَأَنْتِ لَهَا \* سِرُّ الْحَيَاةِ وَرَمَزُ الْحُبِّ وَالصَّبْرِ

نجد في هذه السباعية أن الشاعر استطاع أن يختار الألفاظ الموحية المثيرة للعطف والحنون مثل: خلق، نسيم، زهر، حنان، جميل، أحلى، لذة، أجر، تلقى، سر الحياة، رمز الحب وغيرها من الكلمات المناسبة لمقام الأم ودرجتها.

ومما ينفث روح الفن في هذا الديوان كثرة صياغة ضروب من التشبيهات والمجازات والاستعارات، فلننظر إلى وصفه للهاتف المحمول في السباعية رقم ٨٦ قائلا:

أَلَّةٌ مِثْلُ غُلْبَةِ الْكِبْرِيَّتِ \* صَوْنُهَا مِثْلُ رَنَّةِ الْعُقْرِيتِ  
نَفْعُهَا لَا يُقَاسُ بِحَمْلِهَا كُ \* لُ عَقِيلٌ مُكْرَمٌ خَرِيَّتِ  
هِيَ أَعْلَى رَفِيقَةِ تَحْمِلِ الصَّو \* تِ إِلَى النَّاسِ وَهِيَ غَيْرُ فُؤَيْتِ  
أَيَّةُ الْعِلْمِ حَرَكْتُ بِصَدَاهَا \* كَلَّ سَاجٌ وَهَامِدٌ وَخَفِيَّتِ  
هَاتِفُ الْعَصْرِ نَاعِمٌ وَجَمِيلٌ \* خَفَّ حَتَّى حَكَى ذُبَالَةَ زَيْتِ  
قَرَّبَ الْبُعْدَ لِلْأَنَامِ وَيَأْتِي \* كَ بِصَوْتِ مِمَّنْ تُحِبُّ حَمِيَّتِ  
فَاقْتِنَاءُ (الْمَحْمُولِ) وَاللَّهِ غُنْمٌ \* فَاحْفَظُوهُ مِنْ نَاقِصِ وَخَبِيَّتِ

ولأجل ما يحتويه هذا الديوان من روائع الأفكار، والعواطف، والأخيلة وما يصاحبه من سلامة الموسيقى الداخلية والخارجية. قرظه العلماء والأدباء، وأثنوا عليه بالخير؛ منهم مشهود محمود جمبا الذي يقول:

هذا الديوان عصاره فكر شاعر علمته الحوادث، وحنكته التجارب، واطلع على العلوم والمعارف، والحضارات المختلفة، والطبائع البشرية المتباينة، وصهرها في بوتقة شعر جميل ذي معانٍ سامية، وأخيلة سامقة، وقواف مرقصة، إنه عمل حافل بحقائق الكون وأسراره، وأحداث الدهر وحوادثه، وبعلاقات الناس مع خالقهم، ثم بعضهم ببعض، ينظم الشاعر كل ذلك شعرا سباعيا كما يقع في نفسه، ويخطر بباله، وكأنه قطعة من مهج نفسه (عيسى ألبى أبو بكر، ٢٠٠٨ م، ص ١٢٥). ومهما يكن من أمر فهذا الديوان يعد فريد نوعه ووحيد عصره، ويعتبر صاحبه حجة في حقل الشعر العربي في غرب إفريقيا.

### السبك المعجمي في السباعيات:

يحسن بنا قبل الخوض في صميم هذا الموضوع أن نوضح معنى السبك المعجمي فهو على حد قول الدكتورة نوال بنت إبراهيم الحلوة: وسيلة لفظية من وسائل السبك التي تقع بين مفردات النص، وعلى مستوى البنية السطحية فيه، تعمل على الالتحام بين أجزائه معجميا، ومعاني جملة وقضاياه من خلال إحكام العلاقات الدلالية القريبة والبعيدة فيه، إذ يؤدي ذلك إلى تلازم الأحداث وتعالقها من بداية النص حتى آخره، مما يحقق للنص نصيته (نصيف الخفاجي ورنا خليل علي، ٢٠١٤ م، ص:٣).

وعلى ضوء هذا التعريف يظهر لنا جلياً أن السبك المعجمي يهتم بدراسة النص، وأنه من فروع علم اللغة التطبيقي، وكان القدماء من علماء العرب يعرفون هذا العلم قبل هذا اليوم، سوى أن العلماء المعاصرين هم الذين طوّروه تطويراً، وكان للعلماء غير العرب نصيب الأسد في هذا التطوير. وأما العلماء النصييون فقد قسموا السبك المعجمي إلى أقسام مختلفة، منهم من جعله في قسمين اثنين هما: التكرار والمصاحبة اللغوية، ومنهم من قسمه إلى أكثر من ذلك، وذكروا أنه ينقسم إلى: التكرار، والترادف، والمصاحبة اللغوية، وعلى هذا الرأي الأخير نعتد، ونبني على أساسه محور هذا الموضوع.

## التكرار:

التكرار لغة، فهو الكرّ بمعنى الرجوع، ويأتي بمعنى الإعادة (مرتضى الزبيدي، ٢٠٠٠م ٢٧/١٤). وأما اصطلاحاً فكان للعلماء القدماء والمحدثين فيه أقوال كثيرة، منهم ابن فارس الذي يقول: إن التكرار من سنن العرب في الكلام، والغرض منه هو إرادة الإبلّغ والعناية بالأمر (الصاحبي، ١٩٩٨م)، ومنهم السجلماسي الذي قال: إن التكرار هو: إعادة اللفظ الواحد بالعدد، أو بالنوع، أو المعنى الواحد بالعدد أو بالنوع في القول مرتين فصاعداً. والتكرار اسم لمحمول يشابه به شيء شيئاً في جوهره المشترك لهما، فلذلك هو جنس عالٍ تحته نوعان: أحدهما: التكرار اللفظي، ولنسمه مشاكلة، والثاني: التكرار المعنوي، ولنسمه مناسبة، وذلك لأنه إما أن يعيد اللفظ وإما أن يعيد المعنى، فإعادة اللفظ هو التكرار اللفظي وهو المشاكلة، وإعادة المعنى هو التكرار المعنوي وهو المناسبة (كتاب المنزع البديع، ١٩٨٠م، ص ٤٧٦).

وأما المحدثون فمنهم هاليداي ورقية حسن اللذان يقولان: إن أية حالة تكرار يمكن أن تكون، (أ) الكلمة نفسها (ب) مرادفاً أو شبه مرادف (ج) كلمة عامة (د) أو اسماً عاماً. (محمد خطابي، ٢٠٠٦م، ص ١٣٢). ومنهم عثمان أبو زنيد القائل إن التكرار كان عاملاً مهماً من عوامل الاتساق المعجمي؛ لما له من أثر في تأكيد المعنى وإبرازه، وتمكينه المتلقي من الإحاطة التذكيرية بالمفوضات السابقة من الكلام. (نحو النص، ٢٠١٠م، ص ٢٣٧)، ومنهم تمام حسان الذي يذهب إلى أن التكرار يعمل على إنعاش الذاكرة عند ما يكون بين صدر الكلام وما يتعلق به فاصل طويل يجعله عرضة للنسيان فيأتي التكرار ليوضح العلاقة بين صدر الكلام وما يليه. (البيان في روائع القرآن، ٢٠٠٠م، ص ١٣٢). وأما حسام أحمد فرج فإنه يقول: إن التكرار يقصد به الإعادة المباشرة للكلمات، وإعادة الكلمة أو الكلمات مرة أخرى داخل النص نفسه يمثل دعماً للربط الدلالي (نظرية علم النص، ٢٠٠٩م، ص ١٠٦).

وعندنا إن التكرار هو جسر التواصل اللغوي بين المعلومات الجديدة والقديمة في النص. وفي هذه السباعيات يكرر الشاعر بعض الكلمات، ويواصل قصيدته عن نفس الشيء ومن ذلك قوله فيما يأتي:

لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ لَيْلَةُ الْإِسْعَادِ \* لَيْلَةُ كُلِّهَا رَشَادُ الْعِبَادِ  
لَيْلَةُ تَجْعَلُ الشَّقِيَّ سَعِيدًا \* بَعْدَ يَأْسٍ يَعْيشُ فِي الْإِرْغَادِ

استطاع الشاعر في هذين البيتين أن يكرر كلمة «ليلة» أربع مرات. ومثال هذا التكرار هو ما يسميه (hoey) بالتكرار المعجمي البسيط (حسام أحمد فرج، ص ١٠٦). وهو أن يكرر عنصرا من عناصر الكلمة من دون التغيير في بنائه وتراكيبه، ومثال هذا العنصر المعجمي ما ورد في الأبيات التالية:

يَا قَوْمُ كُنَّا فِي الْبِلَادِ شُهُودًا \* لَمَّا أَهَانَ طُغَاتِنَا مَشْهُودًا  
وَرَمَوْهُ فِي جُبِّ الْمَنِيَّةِ بَعْدَمَا \* رَفَعُوهُ حَسَبَ مَكَانِهِ مَحْمُودًا  
فِي يُونِيُو أَنْتَخَبُوا رَيْسًا عَرَشُهُ \* قَعُرُ السُّجُونِ وَكَبَلُوهُ قَيْودًا  
فِي يُونِيُو جَعَلَ الطُّغَاةُ أُسُودَنَا \* ذَاتَ الْبِرَآثِنِ وَالنَّفُودِ قِرُودًا  
فِي يُونِيُو جَعَلَ الشَّرَارُ بِلَادَنَا \* أَرْضَ الصَّغِيئَةِ وَالنَّزَاعِ حُجُودًا  
فِي يُونِيُو ظَهَرَتْ سِيَاسَتُهُمْ لَنَا \* نَحْسًا وَتُرْجَى أَنْ تَكُونَ سَعُودًا  
قَدْ مَرَّ عَقْدٌ بَعْدَ ظُلْمِ طُغَاتِنَا \* مَشْهُودٌ هَلْ يُرْضِي الْمَمَاتِ حَسُودًا؟

يكرر الشاعر في هذه الأبيات كلمة «يونيُو» من البيت الثالث إلى السادس تقريبا لوجهة نظره وتوكيدا لها. وتدعيما للسبك النصي: وأصل هذه الأبيات أن الشاعر أنشأها في ذكرى مرور عشر سنين على إلغاء انتخابات رئاسة الدولة النيجيرية التي فاز فيه الحاج مشهود أبيعولا في ١٢ يونيو ١٩٩٣م، ولا نشك في أن العاطفة هي التي جعلت الشاعر يكرر كلمة «يونيُو» عبر نص الأبيات.

وفي بعض أبيات الديوان يشترك عنصران معجميان في مورفيم معجمي واحد، فلننظر مثلا في الأبيات التالية:

زَارَتْ لِنُبْدِي لَنَا مَشَاعِرَهَا \* نَاشِرَةً فِي الْهَوَى سَرَائِرَهَا  
وَالْعَشْقُ نَارٌ تَظَلُّ حَامِيَةً \* نُجَلُّ فِي الْعَاشِقِينَ سَاتِرَهَا  
وَبُعِيَّةُ النَّفْسِ مَنْ يُكْتَمُهَا \* خَوْفَ مَلَامٍ يَكُونُ خَاسِرَهَا  
تَنْشِطُ الْقَلْبُ عِنْدَ رُؤْيَيْهَا \* وَكَانَ قَبْلَ اللَّقَاءِ ذَاكِرَهَا  
وَدَاعَةُ النَّفْسِ مِنْ مَحَاسِنِهَا \* وَكَانَ حُسْنُ الْحَدِيثِ نَاصِرَهَا  
تَعْرِفُ حَقَّ الْحَبِيبِ فِي أَدَبٍ \* فَهَلْ مِنَ الذَّنْبِ أَنْ يُخَامِرَهَا؟  
وَلَا يَذُوقُ الْفَتَى عُسَالَتَهَا \* إِنْ خَافَ فِي دَهْرِهِ بَوَاتِرَهَا

في البيت الثاني من هذه القصيدة نجد الاشتراك من ناحية الجذر الحرفي بين كلمتي (العشق والعاشقين)، كما نجده في البيت الخامس بين (محاسنها وحسن)؛ وكان هذا من أجزاء التكرار المعجمي الذي أطلق عليه (hoey) التكرار المعجمي المركب (عزة سبل محمد،

٢٠٠٩م، ص ١٠٦)، وهذا يعني أن استعمال المكونات الأساسية نوع آخر مما يحقق تماسك النص واستمراريته. وإنه لا يصح للشاعر أن يكرر اسماً إلا على جهة التشويق والاستغراب، إذا كان في تغزل أو نسيب، أو على سبيل التقرير، أو على جهة الوعيد والتهديد، أو على وجه التوجع إن كان رثاء وتأبيناً، أما التكرار المعيب فكقول المتنبي:

عظمت، فلما لم تكلم مهابة \* تواضعت وهو العظم عظما عن العظم  
(يتيمة الدهر ١: ١٤٠)

ويروى أن الأصمعي لما سمع قول الشاعر:

فما للنوى! جذ النوى، قطع النوى \* كذاك النوى قطاعة لوصال  
قال: لو سلط الله تعالى على هذا البيت شاة، فأكلت هذا النوى كله (يتيمة الدهر  
١: ١٤٠)

وهناك عدد كبير من أنواع هذا التكرار المعجمي المركب في الديوان منه قول الشاعر:  
نَامَتْ عُيُونُ النَّاسِ عَيْنِي لَا تَنَامُ \* مَاذَا سَرَى لَيْلًا فَأَعْقَبَنِي الْغَرَامُ؟  
ومنه قوله:

سُنَّةُ الْحُبِّ مَنَعَةٌ وَصُدُودٌ \* وَاتَّخَذَ الْمُحِبُّ لَحْمًا طَرِيًّا

ومنه قوله:

أَعِيشْ فِيهِمْ حَيَاةً لَا أَحَبُّذَهَا \* وَمَنْ يُحَبِّذْ شَعْبًا ضَيَّعَ الذَّمَّامَا؟

فالتكرار في هذه الأبيات يتمثل في «نامت وتنام» وفي «الحب والمحب» وفي «أحبذ ويحبذ» يستخدم الشاعر هذه التكرارات تحقيقاً للعلاقة بين العناصر المكونة للنص. ومن أبرز أجزاء التكرار المعجمي، الاشتراك اللفظي الذي هو تكرر معجمي غير مقترن بالتكرار في المفهوم، حيث يتكرر استعمال كلمتين بمعنيين مختلفين مثل ما جاء في رثاء فدوى طوقان:

فَدَوَى رَحِيلِكَ أَحْزَنَ الشُّعْرَا \* لَوْلَا الْغُلُوبُ لَقَلْتُ وَالشُّعْرَى

هذا التكرار نوع آخر من أشكال السبك المعجمي، ويسمى بالتكرار الجزئي أو الاشتقاقي، أو تكرر جذر الكلمة.

والملاحظ أنّ الاشتقاقات الواردة في النص، قد توزعت على امتداد النص، ومن ثم أصبح السبك بين هذه الألفاظ، وإن تعدد الاشتقاقات من المادة الواحدة هو ما امتازت به اللغة العربية من غيرها من اللغات، حيث الاشتقاق في العربية ثري ومتنوع (جميل عبد

المجيد، ١٩٩٨م، ص ١٠١)، ومن هنا نرى أن التكرار من سمات الفصاحة ولا سيما إذا تعلق الألفاظ والكلمات ببعض.

### الترادف:

الترادف مأخوذ من الردفة، وردف الرجل وأردفه، أي ركب خلفه. والردف: الراكب خلف الراكب. يقول الخليل بن أحمد الفراهيدي في كتابه العين: الردف ما تبع شيئاً فهو ردفه، وإذا تتابع شيء خلف شيء فهو الترادف، والجمع الردافي قال:

عدا قرة تقمص بالردافي \* تخونها نزولي وارتحالي

ويقال جاء القوم ردافي بعضهم يتبع بعضاً ورديفك الذي تردفه خلفك، ويرتدك، ويردغه غيرك ونزل بالقوم (عبد الحفيظ عبد الغني محمد صالح، ٢٠٠٨م، ص ٥٥). وفي الاصطلاح عرفه عدد كبير من العلماء والباحثين، منهم ابن جني، والإمام فخر الدين الرازي، والتهانوي الذي يقول: إن الترادف هو توارد لفظين مفردين، أو ألفاظ كذلك في الدلالة على الانفراد بحسب أصل الوضع على معنى واحد وتلك الألفاظ تسمى مرادفة (نفس المرجع، ص ٥٦).

والعلماء ينقسمون حول ظاهرة الترادف إلى ثلاثة أقسام:

الأول: أثبتوا وجود الترادف في اللغة العربية وجوداً مطلقاً، منهم سيبويه، والإمام الشافعي، وابن خالويه، والإمام السيوطي.  
الثاني: أنكروا وجود الترادف في اللغة العربية إنكاراً مطلقاً، منهم أبو علي الفارسي، وحفني ناصف وغيرهما.

الثالث: أثبتوا وجود الترادف في اللغة العربية مع وجود فروق لغوية: ومن هؤلاء ابن الأعرابي، وأبو علي محمد بن المستنير المعروف بقطرب، وأبو الحسن بن عيسى الروماني، وابن فارس، وأصحاب مجمع اللغة العربية. ويعتبر عبد الحفيظ عبد الغني محمد مسالم من أفذاذ العلماء المعاصرين الذين ينتمون إلى هذه الطائفة. ومن الأسباب التي ذكرها أنها تؤدي إلى إيجاد الترادف في اللغة العربية قوله فيما يأتي:

١. أن تضع إحدى القبيلتين للمعنى اسماً، وتضع الأخرى له اسماً آخر مع مرور

الزمن يشتهر الوضعان ويخفى الواضعان.

٢. أن يكون من واضع واحد وله فوائد منها: أن تكثر الوسائل أي الطرق إلى

الإخبار عما في النفس، فإنه ربما نسي أحد اللفظين فيأتي بمرادفه، أو عسر عليه النطق به، فيأتي بالآخر لخفته على لسانه.

٣. التوسع في سلوك طرق الفصاحة وأساليب البلاغة في النظم والنثر، وذلك لأن اللفظ الواحد قد يتأتى باستعماله مع لفظ آخر للسجع والقافية، والتجنيس والترصيع وغير ذلك من أصناف البديع، ولا يتأتى ذلك باستعمال مرادفه مع ذلك اللفظ.

الألفاظ التي اقترضتها العربية من اللغات الأعجمية ولها نظائر عند العرب، ومن هنا كان المعرب والدخيل من أسباب وقوع الترادف في اللغة العربية (نفس المرجع، ص ٦٥). وإذا كان الترادف وسيلة من وسائل تماسك النص عن طريق استخدام كلمات لها معنى مشترك (عزة شبل محمد، ص ١٠٩). وقد نظر إليه الأستاذ حلمي خليل من هذه الناحية، وقسمه إلى قسمين اثنين، وعلى ضوء هذين القسمين ندرس الترادف الوارد في ديوان السباعيات بالإيجاز. وأما هذان القسمان فإليك بيانهما فيما يأتي:

١. شبه الترادف: وذلك في حالة التشابه الدلالي الواضح بين كلمتين أو أكثر، سواء فيما يشير إليه في الخارج أو في الدلالات الموحية والمتضمنة في الكلمة، ولكن هناك اختلافاً بينهما فيما أسماه زاجو ستا درجة التطابق *range of application*. حيث تستعمل الكلمة في سياق معين، ولا تصلح الأخرى في نفس السياق، وكلاهما بمعنى واحد (نفس المرجع، ص ١٠٨). ومثاله في الآيات الآتية:

اللَّهُ مَجْدَهَا وَعَظَمَهَا \* هِيَ لِلتُّقَاةِ عَطِيَّةُ الْعُمَرِ  
إِنِّي أَرَى قَبْوْمِي لَا يَعْتَنِي \* بِهِمْ رَيْسُ فَاهِمٍ أَوْ أَمِيرُ  
فَتِيَّةُ الْعِلْمِ قَدْ أَهَبَهُمُ الْعَزَّ \* مُمْ فَسَارُوا إِلَى الْعُلَا وَالسِّيَادَةِ  
حَيُّوا جُهْودَ مُجِيدٍ لِلْقَرِيضِ رَأَى \* بَيْنَ الْمُجِيدِينَ عَرْشَ الشُّعْرِ فَاسْتَلَمَا

من خلال هذه النماذج نجد أن الترادف ورد فيما بين لفظة (مجدها وعظمها، وبين رئيس وأمير، وبين العلا والسيادة، وبين القريض والشعر) ونجد أن بين كل الكلمتين نفس المعنى تقريبا.

١. الترادف المطلق، ويقع في حالة التطابق التام أو المطلق بين كلمتين أو أكثر فيما تشير إليه في الواقع الخارجي، والدلالات التي توحىها أيضا، بمعنى الاتفاق في المعنى بين كلمتين اتفاقا تاما، وهذا النوع من الترادف نادر الوقوف في أية لغة (نفس المرجع، ص ١٠٨). ومن هذا النوع (هاتف/تليفون) فاللفظة الأولى عربية والثانية إنجليزية وكلتاهما يتفقان في المعنى والمفهوم. ولهذا يمكن لنا التمثيل في هذا الصدد بالبيت الشعري الآتي:

وَبَاءٌ (إِيدَز) عَمَّ كُلَّ الْجِهَاتِ \* مُسْتَأْصِلًا حَقًّا جُدُورَ الْحَيَاةِ  
فكلمة «وباء» مضافة لكلمة «أيدز» مضافة إليها، وهما من أنواع الكلمات المزوجة في  
الاستخدام، فالكلمة الأولى العربية مرادفة للكلمة الثانية الانجليزية.

### المصاحبة اللغوية:

يكاد الدارسون يجمعون على أن أول من أشار إلى هذه الظاهرة هو فيرث، لأنه يرى  
أن العنصر اللغوي عند وضعه في سياقات مختلفة ينكشف معناه، فالمعنى عنده يكون  
عند استعمالها أو طريقة استعمالها (نصيف محمد الخفاجي وغيره، ٢٠١٤م، ص ١١)،  
ويقصد بها «الورود المتوقع أو المعتاد لكلمة ما مع ما يناسبها أو يتلائم معها من الكلمات  
الأخرى في سياق لغوي ما، مثل البقرة مع اللبن، والليل مع الظلمة» (نفس المرجع).

وهذه المصاحبة اللغوية كثيرة في ديوان السباعيات، ويمكن رصدها على النحو التالي:  
مصاحبة التضاد: أي الجمع بين الشيء وضده في جزء من أجزاء الرسالة أو الخطبة  
أو البيت من القصيدة، مثل الجمع بين البياض والسواد، والليل والنهار. وقد تقع هذا  
التضاد بين الأسماء (رجل وامرأة) كما يقع بين الأفعال (يصمت ويتكلم). ومما جاء في  
السباعيات قول الشاعر:

أَيُّ سَيْرٍ يَدُومُ فِي ظُلْمَةِ اللَّيْلِ \* لِي لَا يَنْتَهِيَ بِنُورِ الشَّمْسِ؟

وفي قوله:

حَدَمْتُهُ فِي صِغْرِي طَيْعًا \* فَجَاءَنِي فِي كِبَرِي هَيْئًا

وفي قوله:

عِرَاقُكَ الْيَوْمَ أَضْحَى أَرْضَ مَنْقَصَةٍ \* بِالْأَمْسِ تَغْبُطُهَا فِي عِزِّ الدُّوْلِ

وفي قوله:

نِعْمَةُ الْبَبْرُولِ قَدْ بَدَّلَهَا \* نِعْمَةٌ قَوْمِي فَلَا قَيْنَا الْهَوَانَا

وفي قوله:

وَأَعِيشُ رَهْنًا تَكَسَّرَ وَتَفْتَتِ \* أَمْسِي وَأُصْبِحُ فِي عَذَابٍ مُسْتَدَامٍ

يجد القارئ أن البيت الأول قيل في موضوع «نكتة الشعر» والبيت الثاني في «من  
أنا» والبيت الثالث في «سقط هبل العراق» والبيت الرابع في «أزمة البترول بنيجيريا»، وأما  
البيت الخامس فهو في «ألم العراق». ومن خلال هذه العناوين نجد للشاعر التمكن في  
اختيار الموضوعات. والتضاد في هذه الأبيات فهو بين الألفاظ ظلمة ونور، وصغري وكبري،  
ويوم وأمس، ونعمة ونقمة، وأمسي وأصبح. ولأجل هذه العلاقة بين الألفاظ. قال الباحثون

إن الجمع بين الشيء ونقيضه في النص قد أبرز كل منهما ما فيه من معنى (حسام فرج ٢٠٠٩م، ص ١١).

#### أ. التدرج التسلسلي:

يطلب العلماء في الشعر والنثر العلاقة التي تخلق وحدات كلية داخل النص الواحد، تترايط فيما بينها ترابطاً منطقياً قائماً على وجود أبعاد زمانية، تدعم فكرة التعاقب بين الأحداث المتسلسلة (حسام أحمد فرج، ٢٠١٤م، ص ١١٢). وهذه العلاقة هي التي اشتهرت في اصطلاح المحدثين اليوم بالتدرج التسلسلي، وفي السباعيات نجد هذه الظاهرة في قصيدة قالها في دمل الإست، وهي كالآتي:

دُمِّلْ زَارِنِي فَأَوْهَى قُوَايَا \* هُوَ لَمَّا أَتَى ثَوَى فِي الْخَفَايَا  
حَيِّيَّ يَعْتَدِي عَلَيَّ بِإِسْتِي \* طَعْنُهُ نَافِذٌ كَطَعْنِ السَّرَايَا  
لَا أَرَى وَجْهَهُ الْقَبِيحَ وَلَكِ \* نَّ أَذَاهُ يُعَدُّ أُمَّ الْبَلَايَا  
مَنْعَ الْأَكْلِ وَالْمَنَامِ فَأَصْبَحُ \* تِ صَبِيًّا مُعَوَّلًا بِالشَّكَايَا  
جَرْنِي أَنْ أذُوقَ مَرًّا كَرِيهَا \* يَكْرَهُ اللِّسْنَ طَعْمَهُ وَالْحَشَايَا  
لَا جُتُوُّ لَا جَلْسَةٌ لَا قِيَامٌ \* لَا كَلَامٌ حَتَّى لِرَدِّ التَّحَايَا  
دُمِّلْ نَغْصَ الْحَيَاةِ عَلَيَّ \* هُوَ كَافٍ لِمَحْوِ كُلِّ الْخَطَايَا

نجد التتابع المعجمي في المراحل التي اجتازها الدمل إلى الشاعر، ويتمثل هذا التتابع التدرج في قوله: (زارني) (لما أتى ثوى في الخفيا)، وفي قوله: (حيي يعتدي علي بإستي)، (لا أرى وجهه) وفي قوله: (أذاه أم البلايا) (منع الأكل والمنام)، (فأصبحت صبيًا) وفي قوله: (جرني أن أذوق مرًا كريها)، (دمل نغص الحياة علي). وبهذا نجد أن هناك العلاقة بين ألفاظ هذه القصيدة والترابط بين معانيها، وهذه الوحدات المعجمية هي التي حققت لها السبك النصي. ولقد تنبه النقاد العرب إلى هذا التسلسل وقالوا إنه من الواجب ان يلتصق له اللفظ الكريم، إذ أن للمدح ألفاظاً خاصة به، لا ينبغي أن نستعمل في الهجاء، وأن للهجاء ألفاظاً خاصة به، لا ينبغي أن نستعمل في الدح، ورأوا أن للجد ألفاظاً، وللهزل أخرى، ونقدوا الكلام الذي فقد هذا التسلسل أو التلاؤم بين لفظه ومعناه.

#### ب. علاقة الجزء بالكل:

تعد هذه الظاهرة وسيلة أخرى من وسائل المصاحبة المعجمية عن طريقة تقديم وصف خاص لمفهوم عام فهو لا يصفه، وإنما يقوم بعرض تصوره الخاص له بذكر بعض

أجزائه المكونة له، وصفاتها الملازمة؛ مما يكمل الصورة المقصودة لهذا الشيء العام. (حسام فرج أحمد، ٢٠٠٩م، ص ١١٤) وقد ظهرت هذه العلاقة في البيتين الآتين.

لَقَدْ حَدَّثْتُمْ عَنْ صِرَاطِ الْمَسِيحِ \* رَسُولِ السَّلَامِ وَطِبِّ الْجَرِيحِ  
وَأَدَيْتُمُوهُ بِإِيْمَانِكُمْ \* وَسَفَكِ الدَّمَاءِ وَفِعْلِ الْقَبِيحِ

جاء هذا الشعر إثر ارتكاب الميليشيا جريمة القتل والتشريد بين صفوف المسلمين في يَلُورَا بولاية بِلَاتُو النجرية، لأسباب ودوافع دينية وقبلية، فأدى ذلك إلى نشوب الاحتجاجات والمظاهرات في كنو في شهر مايو ٢٠٠٤م (عيسى ألبى أبوبكر، ٢٠٠٨م، ص ١٦٥). وفي البيت الأول أتى الشاعر بأجزاء معينة في وصف سيدنا عيسى المسيح، عليه الصلاة والسلام، وهذه الأجزاء هي: (رسول السلام- وطب الجريح) وفي البيت الثاني ذكر (سفك الدماء) توكيدا لأجزاء معينة لـ(فعل القبيح) وهذا من علاقات الجزء بالكل.

### ج. علاقة الجزء بالجزء:

فهذه العلاقة هي ذكر أكبر عدد من الأجزاء بهدف تقديم صورة عامة لما تشكله من كل واحد. (حسام أحمد فرج، ص ١١٥)، مثال ذلك ما نراه في الأبيات الآتية:

هُوَ عِنْدَنَا زَيْنُ الْمَكَانِ \* هُوَ مِنْ أَعَاجِبِ الزَّمَانِ  
مَا مِثْلُهُ فِي حُسْنِهِ \* لَدَيْنُ يَشُوْقُ لَا كِبَانَ  
تَبْدُو عَلَيْهِ رَزَانَةٌ \* أَعْلَى عَلَامَاتِ الْأَمَانِ

قال الشاعر هذه الأبيات في النسب يعارض بها أمير الشعراء أحمد شوقي، ويرسم فيها صورة مفصلة لمميزات المحبوب وصفاته، وذكر لنا كل أجزاء مميزاته وهي: زين المكان، هو من أعاجيب الزمان، تبدو عليه رزانة، فهو أعلى علامات الأمان، ما مثله في حسنه. يقدم لنا الشاعر هذه المميزات والأوصاف باعتباره جزءا مثله مثل غيره من الأجزاء، ويقوم بوظيفة محددة تذكر ملازمة له (المرجع نفسه وصفحة نفسها).

### د. علاقة التلازم الذكري:

يسمى القدماء هذه العلاقة «بمراعاة النظير» وهي أن يجمع في الكلام بين أمر وما يناسبه كقول الشاعر:

كَأَنَّ الثَّرِيَا عَلِقَتْ فِي جَبِينِهِ \* وَفِي خَدِهِ الشَّعْرِي وَفِي وَجْهِهِ الْقَمْرُ

ومما ورد في هذه السباعيات قول الشاعر:

(رُوْنَدَا) مَا أَبْشَعَ وَجْهَ الْجُنُونِ \* وَالْجَهْلِ وَالْفَقْرِ وَعَنْفِ السِّنِينِ

في هذا البيت نجد التلازم بين لفظة «الجهل» و«الفقر» و«عنف السنين». لأن ذكر وجه الجنون استدعى إلى الذهن ذكر العنف، والأفعال للإنسانية التي صدرت من قبل أصحاب الحل والعقد بدولة (رُوئدًا) حينئذ.

#### الخاتمة:

وخلاصة القول هي أننا عرضنا في هذه الورقة حياة الشاعر وأعماله المختلفة بإيجاز، ونظرنا إلى ديوان السباعيات من ناحيتي الموضوع والفن، حيث توصلنا إلى أن الشاعر كان معتدلاً ومتوسطاً في فنه الشعري. وهكذا تكلمنا عن عناصر السبك المعجمي عند العرب وغير العرب مع تركيزنا على هذه العناصر الثلاثة المشهورة عند العرب، وهي: التكرار، والترادف، والمصاحبة اللغوية. ومن خلال دراستنا لهذه العناصر اكتشفنا أن للعرب احتكاكاً كبيراً وأسبقية لا يستهان بها إلى السبك المعجمي قبل عصرنا هذا، إلا أن علماء الغرب هم الذين طوّروا هذا الفن تطويراً كبيراً. وأما بالنسبة إلى هذا الديوان فقد رأينا أن الوصف يكثر فيه، ويغلب على الفنون الشعرية الأخرى مما يجعل الشاعر يتميز بشاعرية كبيرة فذة، ومما أدركنا أن ظاهرة التكرار أقوى وأكثر وروداً في هذا الديوان من ظاهرة الترادف؛ ولعل السبب في ذلك يرجع إلى موقف بعض الباحثين أن الترادف ليس بفن معين مستقل، وإنما هو جزء من أجزاء التكرار. والمصاحبة اللغوية كما نرى فإنها تلي التكرار من حيث القوة والكمية. وعلى كل حال فهذا الديوان في حاجة ماسة إلى دراسة متواصلة بين الدارسين في نيجيريا وخارجها.

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**علم البيان في الشعر العربي السنغالي : شعر محمد الأمين أنموذجا**  
**‘ILMU AL-BAYAN FI ASY-SYI‘R AL-‘ARABI AS-SINAGALI:**  
**SYI‘R MUHAMMAD AL-AMIN ANMUDZAJAN**

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**ملخص البحث**

تعلم السنغاليون اللغة العربية وآدابها لحبهم لها ولفهم القرآن الكريم ومبادئ الإسلام وأحكامه وقضائيه، وقد تمكن منهم أشخاص من قرص الشعر العربي الجيد، ونظم قصائد ومقطوعات بجميع أغراض الشعر غير الخمریات والمجون والزندقة والخلاعة، ولعلم البيان مكانة مرموقة في أشعارهم لما يجدون منه ملجا خصبا للتعبير عن عواطفهم وأفكارهم وخيالهم، والشاعر محمد الأمين بن الشيخ إبراهيم نياس الكولخي شاعر يخدم اللغة العربية، عمدنا إلى دراسة علم البيان في شعره ليكون نموذجا للشعر العربي السنغالي ولبيان أهمية علم البلاغة ودوره في إبراز وإخراج الدرر النفيسة من أعماق أفكار الشعراء السنغاليين. ولمحمد الأمين ديوان وقصائد متفرقة في مختلف الموضوعات، ونظرا لصعوبة استيعاب دراسة علوم البلاغة في شعره لتشعب فروعها في هذه المقالة الضيقة نطاقها، اكتفينا بدراسة علم البيان فيها. استخدمنا في البحث المنهج التحليلي والمنهج التاريخي وتوصلت المقالة إلى أن الشاعر محمد الأمين تمكن من تطبيق علم البيان بأنواعه على وجه أحسن وبليغ. وتوصي الباحثين والدارسين على دراسة الشعر العربي السنغالي لاستفادة والإفادة.

## Abstract

The Senegalese studied Arabic Language and its Literature because of their love for the language of the Holy Quran and in order to understand the principles, cultures and jurisprudence of Islam. In the course of that, some of them mastered the language to the extent of making use of it to compose beautiful poetry. They have composed poems on different themes, except the ones considered offensive to Islam and outlandish to its teachings, like describing alcohol, erotic poems for both female and male and infidelity poems. *Al-bayan*, which is the core of Arabic Rhetoric, was employed by Senegalese poets in their work in order to effectively convey their ideas, feelings and emotions to others. The aim of this study, therefore, is to examine their usage of *al-Bayan* rhetorical devices and evaluate the level of their compliance to its rules in Arabic rhetoric. However, due to the fact that this lofty aim cannot be achieved in a paper with a short scope like this, we chose the poetry of Muhammad al-Amin, the son of Shaykh Ibrahim Niyas, as a case study. To achieve this, the paper was divided in to four sections. The first one is a preamble, the second section gives biography of the poet, and the third section is the rhetorical analysis of his poem, while the fourth section is the conclusion in which the summary, the result and the recommendations were given. It was discovered that Muhammad al-Amin, to a large extent, successfully employed *al-Bayan* in his poetry and adequately represents the height the Senegalese have attained in composition of Arabic poetry in Senegal. We recommended, among other things, that scholars should intensify their study of Senegalese poetry in Arabic, which is hitherto receiving low patronage, in order to uncover its hidden treasure.

**Keywords:** *al-Bayan*; Arabic Rhetoric; Muhammad al-Amin.

## المقدمة:

أ- البيان لغة: الكشف والإيضاح والظهور، يقال بأن الشيء بيان إذا اتضح، فهو بين، فالبيان وسيلة من وسائل إظهار الخفي أو تقريب البعيد، أو للإيضاح أو للمبالغة في التعبير عن العواطف والأفكار، وتصوير الخيال بصورة محسوسة (منظور، ٢٠٠٣م: ٣٠٢)، فمثلاً إذا أردنا أن نصور شجاعة الممدوح مبالغة قلنا: صافت أسداً في المجلس. يحتوي علم البيان على التشبيه والمجاز والاستعارة والكناية.

توجد في القرآن الكريم آيات ذكر فيها البيان مثل قوله تعالى: ﴿ هَذَا بَيَانٌ لِّلنَّاسِ وَهُدًى وَمَوْعِظَةٌ لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ ﴾ (١٣٨) آل عمران: ١٣٨، وقوله تعالى: ﴿ الرَّحْمَنُ ۝١ عَلَّمَ الْقُرْآنَ ۝٢ ﴾

﴿ ٢ ﴾ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ ﴿ ٣ ﴾ عَلَّمَهُ الْبَيَانَ ﴿ ٤ ﴾ الرحمن: ١ - ٤. وللمفسرين آراء في معنى البيان في هذه الآيات الكريمة، وأقرب الرأي إلى ما نحن بصدده هو قول الزمخشري: «أنَّ البيان هنا، هو ما يميِّز به الإنسان عن سائر الحيوان، وهو المنطق الفصيح المعرب عمَّا في الضمير» (الزمخشري، د.ت: ٤٣). وأما في الحديث فقد روي: عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا: أَنَّهُ قَدِمَ رَجُلَانِ مِنَ الْمَشْرِقِ فَخَطَبَا، فَعَجِبَ النَّاسُ لِبَيَانِهِمَا، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: «إِنَّ مِنَ الْبَيَانِ لَسِحْرًا، أَوْ: إِنَّ بَعْضَ الْبَيَانِ لَسِحْرٌ» (البخاري، ١٤٢٢ هـ. ٧: ١٣٨ رقم: ٥٧٦٧). وهذا الحديث يشير إلى قوة البيان وحسن الكلام، وفي الوقت نفسه ينقد الغلو والتعقيد في الكلام.

تتجلى أهمية علم البيان في مكوناته التي هي التشبيه والمجاز والاستعارة والكنائية، وتستعمل هذه العناصر في شرح الأفكار والعواطف والخيال بأسلوب دقيق وواضح، ولهذا نجدها كثيرة في الأعمال الأدبية للشعراء والكتاب، وإذا لم نبالغ نقول: أنَّ البيان أوسع دراسة في البلاغة العربية، وقد نوه إلى ذلك بعض علماء البلاغة. يقول عبد القاهر الجرجاني (ت ٤٧١هـ): «أنك لا ترى علما هو أرسخ أصلا وأسبق فرعا.. من علم البيان، الذي لولاه لم تر لسانا يحوك الوشي، ويصوغ الحلي» (الجرجاني، ١٩٩٢: ٥-٦).

إذا كان الجرجاني يقصد بعلم البيان هنا علوم البلاغة فذلك يؤكد أهمية البيان لأنه سمي علوم البلاغة باسم البيان، ومن المؤكد أن الجرجاني لم يكن يتمثل استقلال البيان بالصورة التي استقل بها عند الزمخشري (ضيف، د.ت: ١٩٠)، بل كان يذكر الفصاحة، ويقول أنها لا تكون في أفراد الكلمات، وإنما تكون فيها إذا ضمَّ بعضها إلى بعض (الجرجاني، ١٩٩٢: ج).

ويقول اليماني: «ومنزلة البيان وموقعه من العلوم الأدبية كموقع إنسان العين من سواد الأحداق، ومن ثم لم يستقل بدركه وإحراز أسرارهِ إلا كل سيِّاق» (اليماني، ٢٠١٠: ج ١، ٣١). وقول اليماني أيضا يؤكد أن علوم البلاغة بنظره أرفع منزلا من العلوم الأدبية، ويرجع ذلك إلى ما تحتويه البلاغة من الجمال والدقة في التعبير وصياغة المعاني الكثيرة في ألفاظ قليلة، ألا ترى أن القول: جاء البحر مبتسما، كلام موجز يحمل في طياته معان كثيرة. وأن التشبيه والتمثيل والاستعارة أصول كثيرة، وأن جلَّ محاسن الكلام متفرعة عنها (الجرجاني، د.ت: ٩).

كانت بلاد سنغال، من أقطار غرب إفريقيا التي انتشرت فيها اللغة العربية وثقافتها بفضل الإسلام، وازدهر فيها الأدب العربي شعره ونثره، ويجب دراسة أعمالهم الأدبية

وتحليلها لكشف اللثام عن قيمتها وتوضيح معانيها، وكان علم البلاغة خير معيار لتحقيق ذلك، ففي هذا تتجلى أهمية هذا البحث.

#### ب- أهداف البحث:

ونهدف من هذه الورقة إلى سبر غور الشاعر محمد الأمين في توظيف علم البيان خلال شعره، ونجعل ذلك نبراسا نستضيء به في معرفة طول باع الشعراء السنغاليين في العلم، فيتجلى لنا خلال ذلك مدى تضلوعهم في اللغة العربية وآدابها، ومواصلة تشييد مستقبل اللغة العربية وآدابها في السنغال. وتوطيد الجسر الثقافي العربي والإسلامي الذي يربط بين الثقافات العربية والإسلامية في غرب إفريقيا عامة والوطن العربي.

#### ج- إشكاليات البحث:

الشعر نسيج محكم يكثر فيه التقديم والتأخير والحذف والإضمار والعبارات والرموز الدقيقة، ولذلك تصعب دراسته واستخراج محاسنه البيانية ومعرفة مضامنه، فإشكالية هذا البحث تنحصر في الأسئلة التالية:

- ١- هل تمسك الشاعر محمد الأمين بقواعد الشعر العربي من العاطفة والخيال والقدرة على التأثير والتأثر؟
- ٢- هل محمد الأمين، الذي يمثل الشعراء السنغاليين، متضلع في البلاغة العربية خصوصا البيان منها؟
- ٣- هل أحسن محمد الأمين توظيف علم البيان في شعره؟
- ٤- هل لعلم البيان أثر في توضيح أفكار شعر محمد الأمين ومعانيه؟
- ٥- من هو محمد الأمين نياس؟

#### د- المنهج المستخدم في البحث

استخدمنا في البحث المنهج التاريخي لسرد ترجمة حياة الشاعر والمنهج الوصفي لتحليل نصوص شعره تحليلا بلاغيا بيانيا. ولتحقيق الهدف المنشود من البحث، قسمناه إلى أربعة أقسام، القسم الأول مقدمة، والقسم الثاني ترجمة حياة الشاعر محمد الأمين، وناقش القسم الثالث ملامح علم البيان في شعره، وكان القسم الرابع خاتمة.

## ٥- الأعمال السابقة

لم نجد بحثاً أو دراسة للأعمال الأدبية للشاعر محمد الأمين، ولعل السبب في ذلك هو كون شاعرنا من الشعراء السنغاليين المعاصرين الذين لم يتقدم الباحثون إلى دراسة أعمالهم الأدبية دراسة أكاديمية، وقد أخبرنا الشاعر أن شخصا من مدينة كانو نيجيريا طلب منه ديوانه لدراسته، ولكن لم يجد أثرا لذلك، وبناء على هذا الخبر لم تكن لأعماله الأدبية دراسة سابقة لهذه الدراسة التي نقوم بها.

## ٢- نبذة عن حياة الشاعر:

### أ- تعريفه:

الشاعر هو محمد الأمين بن الشيخ إبراهيم بن الشيخ عبد الله نياس الكولخي السنغالي، ولد في ١٠ مايو ١٩٤٠م بمدينة كولخ، السنغال، نشأ الشيخ وترعرع في البيئة الإسلامية والعلمية تحت حضانة والديه المتدينين، فأبوه عالم وفقه وشاعر وكاتب ومفكر إسلامي ومعلم وشيخ التربية والتصوف، فقد تأثر به الشاعر كل تأثر وشرب مشربه الشعري وحب العلم وتعليمه، والشاعر شخص عفيف ومتدين، تظهر فيه علامة التقوى والمروءة والأدب والورع، وهو فصيح وبليغ، وجريء على قول الحق، وعلو الهمة والسخاء، وهو شاعر إسلامي وصوفي صادق، يجعل العلم والعمل به، والزهد والتواضع منهجه، يقدم مصلحة المسلمين على مصلحته، كم سعدت به منابع العلم ومجالس الوعظ والذكر.

### ب- حياته ومؤهلاته العلمية:

اعتادت الأسر المتدينة من الأسر السنغالية، أن تعلم أطفالها القرآن الكريم في السن المبكرة، ليتمكنوا من قراءته وحفظه حفظاً جيداً قبل أن يدرسوا العلوم العربية والإسلامية في المجالس أو المدارس. وقد بدأ الشيخ محمد الأمين دراسته بتعلم القرآن الكريم سنة ١٩٤٥م، ثم نال شهادة حفظ القرآن الكريم سنة ١٩٥٣م من مدرسة الفلاح للحفاظ بمدينة كولخ، التي أسسها والده، ووضعها تحت إدارة الشيخ وُلد الرباني المورتاني ليحفظ فيها، وعلى يده حفظ الشيخ محمد الأمين القرآن الكريم، وفي فترة ما بين ١٩٥٣-١٩٦٠م درس المرحلة الابتدائية بمدرسة التعليم العربي والإسلامي بمدينة كولخ. التحق الشيخ بجامعة القرويين بفاس، المملكة المغربية، فدرس فيها المرحلة الإعدادية في فترة ما بين ١٩٦٠-١٩٦٣م، تخرج فيها بالشهادة الإعدادية، والتحق بالمعهد الثانوي الأزهرى بمصر،

فدرس فيه المرحلة الثانوية خلال ١٩٦٣-١٩٦٥ م. ولما أحرز الشهادة الثانوية تمكن من الالتحاق بكلية الشريعة والقانون النظام العام بجامعة الأزهر سنة ١٩٦٥ م، وحصل على شهادة الإجازة العالية، الليسانس، في الشريعة والقانون سنة ١٩٧٠ م، وفي سنة ١٩٧٢ م سجل للدراسات العليا (الماجستير) في الجامعة نفسها. نال شهادة الماجستير في الشريعة والقانون عام ١٩٧٤ م (الكولخي، ٢٠٠٩: ١).

### ج- لغاته:

يجيد الشيخ الشاعر لغة «وُلُوف» لغة الأم، والعربية والفرنسية والإنجليزية بالطلاقة، وهذا مما مكّنه من العمل الدبلوماسي في سفارات جمهورية السنغال في الدول العربية.

### د - وظائفه:

- ١- تدريس اللغة العربية والإسلامية في معهد الحاج عبد الله للدراسات العربية والإسلامية بمدينة كولخ، وفي الأوقات السانحة في حله أو ترحاله.
- ٢- العمل في الدوائر الحكومية بوزارة الخارجية السنغالية مترجماً من وإلى اللغة العربية والفرنسية والإنجليزية.
- ٣- تولى منصب المستشار الثقافي في سفارة السنغال بالجزائر، وبالمملكة العربية السعودية، ثم المستشار الأول في السفارة نفسها، ثم بالقاهرة، ونائب القنصل العام لجمهورية السنغال بجدة عام ١٩٨٩ م، ثم رقى إلى القنصل العام سنة ١٩٩٨ م، ثم عين السفير السنغالي في الجزائر سنة ٢٠٠٣ م (الكولخي، ٢٠٠٩: ١).

### هـ- أنشطته:

- يقوم الشيخ الشاعر بأنشطة عديدة داخل جمهورية السنغال وخارجها، منها:
- ١- إلقاء محاضرات عامة في معهد الحاج عبد الله نياس، الذي أسسه والده الشيخ إبراهيم نياس، وقراءة بعض الكتب لوالده في بيته.
  - ٢- مواظبة الأنشطة التعليمية والروحية، كإحياء الزوايا التجانية بالذكر وخدمة روادها (الكولخي، ٢٠٠٩: ٢-٣)، والمشاركة في الندوات والمؤتمرات والتنظيمات العائلية والدينية.

٣- القيام بجولات دعوية في نيجيريا وأمريكا سنويا، والمشاركة في النشاطات الإعلامية، ومتابعة الأبناء والأحداث الإفريقية والعالمية، ويكتب الشيخ مقالات صحفية تعبر عن مستقبل الأمة الإسلامية، تحت عنوان: «خواطر مسلم» (نياس، د.ت: ٤-٧)

٤- الأنشطة الزراعية أسوة بأبيه وجده، فقد أنشأ قرية ريفية متطورة لتبلور فيها العمل الفلاحي، لخدمة المصالح الإقتصادية للمزارعين وعناية الأراضي، وجمع المحاصيل الزراعية، واسم القرية «أَنْجَايِينُ كُرُكُو» وتقع في المنطقة الجنوبية المتاخمة لحدود غمبيا (نياس، د.ت: ٧).

#### و- عوامل تكوينه شاعرا:

تمكن الشاعر من قرص الشعر بموهبة وفضل من الله سبحانه وتعالى، ثم تأثره بوالده الشاعر المفلح العبقري، وبالبيئة العربية وما يحيط بها من الحياة الدينية والأدبية والثقافية والاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية، إذ درس في الدول العربية من المرحلة الإعدادية حتى الماجستير، وكان مستشارا وقنصلا وسفيرا للجمهورية السنغال في الدول العربية ما بين ١٩٧٧-٢٠٠٣ م.

#### ز- إنتاجه الأدبية:

أسهم الشيخ محمد الأمين إبراهيم في حركة تطور الأدب العربي السنغالي بالإيمان والإخلاص. ومن أشهر إنتاجاته الشعرية:

١- ديوانه: سطور حبّ دافق نبضات قلب وامق؛ يتضمن تسعا وثلاثين قصيدة في مختلف أغراض الشعر والموضوعات لخدمة الإسلام والعلم والإنسانية.

٢- مرقاة الأصفياء إلى كنز الأولياء، منظومة لکنز الأولياء في التوسل بأعظم أسماء الله ألفه والده الشيخ إبراهيم نياس.

٣- بهجة القلوب والقوالب منظومة لكتاب دائرة المطالب، ألفه والده الشيخ إبراهيم.

٤- وللشاعر قصائد أخرى متفرقة، منها أربع عشرة قصيدة، بلغ عدد أبياتها (٣٢٦ بيتا) في موضوعات مختلفة.

ومن إنتاج الشاعر النثري: ترجمة بعض مؤلفات والده الشيخ إبراهيم نياس، فقد ترجم روح الأدب، وكاشف الألباس إلى اللغة الفرنسية (الكولخي، ٢٠٠٩: ٥)

**ح- شعره:**

وعندما يقرأ القارئ شعر الشاعر يشم منه رائحة الشعر الجاهلي والإسلامي وحلاوتهما في استعمال الألفاظ الجزلة، وبدء قصائده بمقدمات طللية وغزلية عفيفة، وحيناً بالشكوى والحكمة، وحيناً آخر بالمناجات أو بالتوسل أو بالبشارة. وشعره مرآة صافية تعكس عن حياة الشاعر الدينية وميوله الصوفية ورموزها وتعبيراتها التي تعبر عن شخصيته الصوفية العميقة، وتأثره بوالده الشيخ إبراهيم نياس، وخاصة في المديح النبوي، ويشهد ذلك ديوانه.

**الأعمال السابقة:**

لم نجد بحثاً أو دراسة تناولت الأعمال الأدبية للشاعر، لأنه شاعر على قيد الحياة، وقد أخبرنا الشاعر أن شخصاً من مدينة كانو بنيجيريا طلب منه ديوانه لدراسته ولكن لم يجد منه أثراً لذلك، وقد أكد لنا إبراهيم مَار كاتب الشاعر وتلميذه أن هذه الدراسة البلاغية أولى دراسة لشعر أستاذه.

**٢- ملامح علم البيان في شعره:**

يتكون علم البيان من أربعة عناصر، التشبيه، والاستعارة، والمجاز، والكناية. استخدم الشاعر تلك العناصر بأنواعها في قصائده. وخوفاً من الإطالة نختار من بعض قصائده مثلاً أو مثالين بالدراسة والتحليل لنقدر مدى جودة عمله وجماله الأدبي.

**أولاً: التشبيه:**

هو عقد المماثلة بين أمرين صفة أحدهما (المشبه) خفية إما لبعدها ويراد تقريبها، أو أنّها غامضة تحتاج بيانها وكشفها وإظهارها، بصفة ثانيهما وهو (المشبه به) باعتبار أن صفته أوضح، وذلك بواسطة أدوات مخصوصة، بعضها حرف (ك)، والبعض اسم (مثل) أو فعل (يشبه). للتشبيه أربعة أركان هي المشبه والمشبه به ووجه الشبه وأداة التشبيه، ويعتبر المشبه والمشبه به عمودي التشبيه، فلا بد أن يذكر. أما الأداة ووجه الشبه فيجوز حذفهما لأغراض ومقاصد بلاغية. وللتشبيه أنواع وهي: التشبيه المرسل المجلد، التشبيه المرسل المفصل، التشبيه البليغ، التشبيه المؤكد، التشبيه التمثيلي، التشبيه الضمني. (القزويني، ١٩٩٣: ١٢١).

استخدم الشاعر تلك التشبيهات في شعره بأغراضه في موضوعات مختلفة، نذكر أمثلة لها فيما يلي:

أ. التشبيه المجل المرسل في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

على الشيخ إبراهيم منى تحية \* مُعْطَرَةٌ مِثْلَ الْبَنْفَسَجِ وَالنَّدِّ  
(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٧)

حيي الشاعر محمد الأمين في البيت على الشيخ إبراهيم بن عبد الله نياس من أجل تقدير جهوده النفيسة بتحية معطرة شذاها مثل شذا البنفسج والنَّدِّ، شبه الشاعر التحية المعطرة بالبنفسج والنَّدِّ مستعملاً أداة: (مثل)، لربط بين المشبه والمشبه به، فحذف وجه الشبه لقصد التسوية، وتقديره: الطيب والكرم. ومثل هذا الأسلوب من التشبيه يسمى التشبيه المرسل المجل، وهو ما ذكرت فيه الأداة وحذف منه وجه الشبهه. يريد الشاعر من هذا التشبيه تقدير جهود الشيخ إبراهيم نياس المثمرة التي ذكرها في قوله: فهو ذلك المقدم في كل ساعة \* لنصرة دين الله بالقلب والأيدي

ونرى الشاعر يحتذى حذو الشعراء القدامى كابن المعتز في استخدام زهرة البنفسج حين يصف السماء بعد تقشع السحابة فيها، فشبه ظاهرة السماء برياض البنفسج، تتخلها زهور الأقاقي، وهو تصوير بديع يوضح ويقرب إلينا صورة السماء البعيدة فنشاهدها في البهجة والسرور، بقوله:

كأنَّ سماءنا لما تجلَّت \* خلال نجومها عند الصباح

رياض بنفسج خضل نذاه \* تَفْتَحُ بينه نور الأقاقي (فرهود، ١٩٧٥: ٣٧)

ويعتقد أن الشاعر محمد الأمين قد تأثر بأسلوب ابن المعتز مما هيجه إلى استعمال البنفسج للتعبير عن عاطفته وميله. والبنفسج — ويسمى الفيولا — وهو جنس يتكون من حوالي ٤٠٠-٥٠٠ نوعاً من النباتات المزهرة، توزعت حول العالم، وتوجد أكثر أنواعها في نصف الكرة الأرضية الشمالي المعتدل، وتوجد أيضاً عدة أنواع من الفيولا في المناطق المتباعدة جداً مثل هاواي وأستراليا والأنديز في أمريكا الجنوبية، وأحد أنواع الفيولا وهو الفيولا أودوراتا "Viola Odorata" يستخدم بالكثرة في صناعة العطور والروائح، فهو ذو رائحة عطرية ذكية ونباهة، وبالرغم من ذلك، فبعض أنواع الفيولا كالفيولا لونون "Viola Ionone" ذو رائحة محيرة وغريبة، تكاد تكون رائحته منعومة، ولكن إذا شمها الإنسان تفقد القدرة على الإحساس بأي رائحة أخرى لمدة دقائق تالية، ولا يقتصر

إستخدام البنفسج على هذا فحسب، فأحد أنواعه الحلو منه «كنديد» (Candied) يستخدم في الطبخ لتزيين السلطات وفي حشو الدجاج والأسماك، ويستخدم رحيق زهوره أيضاً في إعطاء نكهة شهية للحلويات وتزيينها بمواد طبيعية (غوغول ١٧/٧/٢٠١٢م).



زهرة البنفسج

ب- التشبيه المرسل المفصل في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

أعاني من الأشواق ما هيَّج الهما \* فنومي جفاني والفؤاد قد اغتما  
وذاك لبعدي عن ديار ملاذنا \* حبيب إله العرش بدءا كذا ختما  
وقد كان دمع العين كالنهر جاريا \* وكالقطر يطفئ الجمر كيفا كذا كَمَا

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ١٨)

تحدث الشاعر عن شوقه العميق لمدوحيه حبيب إله العرش سيّدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلّم، وقد زاد اشتياقه بعده من دار ممدوحيه مما سبب له البكاء وهطول دموعه كالنهر الجارف وكالمطر المنهمر القادران على إطفاء كلّ حريق مهما كانت قوة لهيبه، وكذلك دموعه المتدفقة الساقطة تطفى نار الشوق والمحبة المتأججة بين ضلوعه وذلك على سبيل التشبيه المرسل المفصل، وهو التشبيه الذي تذكر فيه الأداة، ووجه الشبه ويقصد الشاعر من هذا التصوير البديع؛ تقدير محبته للرسول صلى الله عليه وسلّم، ولفت الأنظار إلى حقيقة أمره وحجمه لعله يجد من يشاركه فيما يعانیه أو يعترف بها، فالمشبه هو: (الدمع)، والمشبه به: (النهر والمطر)، ووجه الشبه (جاريا ويطفئ)، فقد شبه الشاعر شيئاً واحداً وهو الدموع بشيئين هما النهر والمطر، والذي سوغ له ذلك التناسب بينهما.

وقد ألمح الشاعر في البيت تشبيهاً آخرًا وهو تشبيه حرارة الحَبِّ والشوق في قلبه بالجمرة في قوله: (وكالقطر يطفى الجمر) فدموعه تطفى حرارة شوقه كما يطفى القطر الجمرة.

### ج- التشبيه البليغ في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

وَصَلَ الأُلَى هُم نَجُوم الأَرْضِ قاطبة \* هُم آل بيت رسول الله ذي الكرم

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ١٨)

مدح الشاعر آل بيت الرسول ﷺ بقصائد من بينها قصيدة ميمية منها هذا البيت، مدحهم الشاعر لما قاموا به من جهود جبارة، أناروا بها العالم بالعدل، وأهتدى بهم خلق كثير، وهم نجوم يخرجون الناس من ظلمات الجهل والضلال إلى نور العلم والهدى. شبه الشاعر آل البيت النبوي بالنجوم على سبيل التشبيه البليغ حيث حذف الأداة ووجه الشبه ليلفت الأنظار إلى علو مرتبتهم وبيان منافعهم للمجتمع الإسلامي، ففي تشبيهمهم بالنجوم دون الشمس إشارة إلى لطافة أخلاقهم ولين جنابهم، فهم رموز لسيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم.

لاحظنا خلال دراسة قصائد الشاعر أنه استعمل التشبيه البليغ كثيرا في شعره وخاصة في ديوانه سطور الحب، ولعل ذلك يرجع إلى تناسب التشبيه البليغ بالمدح وبالإيجاز، وإبراز الصورة الخفية إلى الجلاء لأداء المقصود، فمثلا لما أرد الشاعر أن يمدح آل البيت بعلو المرتبة شبهم بالنجوم العالية المنيرة لتظهر مرتبتهم واضحة. يرى المبرّد « أن أحسن الشعر ما قارب فيه القائل إذا شبه»، ويقول ابن رسيق «وحسن التشبيه أن يقرب بين البعدين حتى يصير بينهما مناسبة واشتراك» (القزويني، ١٩٩٣: ١٢١)

### د- التشبيه التمثيلي في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

شَمَّرَ فَإِنَّ العَامَ مِثْلَ الشَّجَرِ \* أشهرها فروعها المعتبرة

أَغصانها الأيام والساعات \* أوراقها الملقات والمقتات

أنفاسها الثمار وهي إن تكن \* في طاعة الله فبالخير قمن

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٨٤)

أراد الشاعر أن يبرز حكمة الحياة واضحة بالتشبيه التمثيلي؛ فعقد تشابهاً بين العام الذي يمثل الحياة لوقوعها فيها وبين الشجرة التي تمثل المكاسب، والشهور فروع،

والأيام أغصان، والساعات أوراق بعضها ملقات والبعض مقتات، والأنفاس ثمار؛ فمن أنفق أنفاسه في طاعة الله تكن نتيجتها ثمرة طيبة، ومن أسرفها في معصية الله تكون حصاده ثمرة الحنظل، ويوم الحساب يتبين حلو الثمار من مرّها أي يتبين العمل الصالح من سيّئه. يبين هذا الرسم الناطق نتائج أعمال الإنسان، وذلك على سبيل التشبيه التمثيلي المنتزَع من وجهه صفات، كما نلاحظها في تلك الأبيات.

تأثر الشاعر بوالده الشيخ إبراهيم نياس في قوله وهو ينصح الناس على الحرص بالأوقات والحذر على تضييع الأعمال بالنقص، للوقت أهمية كبيرة:

واحرص على الأوقات أي حرص \* واحذر من ابتئلي بلاء نقص

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٨٤)

اقتطفنا زهورا من أنواع التشبيه خلال جولتنا في ربوع أشعار الشاعر الغنية بالأفكار الجميلة القيّمية والعواطف المليئة بصور المديح المصحوبة بالحبّ والشوق ونبضات القلب الوامق، ومن هذا الركن الخصب ننتقل إلى ركن آخر علنا نقتطف ثمارا يانعا من ثمرات المجاز والاستعارة وكناية لنستكمل جولتنا، ولنرى جانبا من الجوانب التعبيرية العبقريّة للشاعر، نستعين بالأمثلة التالية.

### ثانيا: المجاز:

أسلوب يفسح مجال التعبير وتخيير الألفاظ لتحقيق الأغراض البلاغية كالإيجاز والمبالغة والخيال، ويجري المجاز على المفرد فيسمى المجاز اللغوي أو يجري على الجملة فيسمى العقلي.

#### أ- المجاز المرسل في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

ولم يعرف الشحناء والشر والخنا \* وما فاه بالمكروه وما انفك يخرج

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٨٥)

يمدح الشاعر النبي ﷺ بأنه لا يعرف العداوة والفحش، ولا يلفظ بلسانه مكروها، وذلك على سبيل المجاز المرسل حيث ذكر الفاه وأراد به النطق للعلاقة السببية، والقرينة قوله: "ما انفك يخرج"، فالرسول ﷺ شخص عظيم لا يعمل الشحنا (أي العداوة)، والخنا (أي الفحش) ولا ينطق المكروه. واستعمال الفاه للدلالة على النطق مجاز وتنزيه الرسول ﷺ من نطق المكروه.

## ب- المجاز العقلي في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

يا سيدي يا رسول الله أمّتك \* قد سامها الدهر ضيما بات مغتربا  
أعداؤها في جميع الأرض اتحدوا \* لقهرها وهي تلهو خيرها نهبا

(الكولخي، د.ت. ٢)

يقول الشاعر في البيت الأول وثانيه أن الأمة الإسلامية في الوقت الراهن تعيش في الظروف السياسية والإقتصادية الصعبة، تدهورها أعداؤها في مختلف الأقطار الإسلامية، لدحر الإسلام وإبادة أفرادها، ونهب خيراته وقد عبر الشاعر عن ذلك الإعتداء على الأمة الإسلامية بالمجاز العقلي، الذي هو إسناد الفعل أو ما في معناه إلى غير فاعله في الواقع لعلاقة غير المشابهة مع القرينة المانعة من إرادة معناه الوضعي (الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٢٣)، فقد أسند الشاعر فعل: "سام" إلى الدهر مجازا، للعلاقة الزمنية، وفي هذا التعبير الإيجاز والشمولية. تأثر الشاعر بالقرآن الكريم والشعراء في اعتبار الدهر ساحة للحياة، ينسب بعض الناس إليه مسؤولية ما يصيبهم في حياتهم، وبسبب ذلك قربهم بالدهر أو أنهم يريدون بذلك نفي المسؤولية عن أنفسهم، ونرى ذلك في قوله تعالى حكاية عن الدهريين: ﴿ وَقَالُوا مَا هِيَ إِلَّا حَيَاتُنَا الدُّنْيَا نَمُوتُ وَنَحْيَا وَمَا يُهْلِكُنَا إِلَّا الدَّهْرُ وَمَا لَهُم بِذَلِكَ مِنْ عِلْمٍ إِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا يَظُنُّونَ ﴾ (٢٤) الجاثية: ٢٤، فقد أسند الكفار الملحدون هلاكهم وموتهم إلى الدهر، اعتبارا أنهم يعيشون فيه ويموتون، وذلك مبلغ علمهم ومنتهى ظنهم، والظن لا يغنى من الحق شيئا. ويفهم من هذا الإسناد أنّ الكفار يريدون نفي البعث والحساب ومن نفي بهما فقد كفر بوجود الله. تناول بعض الشعراء الدهر في أشعارهم لأهداف مختلفة، وهذا النابغة الجعدي يقول أن الدهر أهلك أمته وأكلها وشربها في قوله:

سألتني جارتني عن أمّتي \* وإذا ما عي ذو اللب يسل  
سألتني عن أناس هلكوا \* شرب الدهر عليهم وأكل

(الرازي، ١٩٥٠: ٢٠٢)

أسند النابغة هلاك أمته وفنائهم إلى الدهر مجازا للعلاقة الزمنية، ولعله يفرّ من مسئولية بيان عن حال فناء أمته، لأن بعض الأمم السالفة قتلوا في ظروف قاسية أوغامضة، وهو لا يريد أن يدخل في تفاصيل هلاك أمته.

وهذا محمد جميل العقاد يستعمل الدهر للتعبير عن فرحة الأمة العربية وسرورها  
ليوم ولادة الجمهورية العربية المتحدة فأسند هلالاً إلى الدهر لقصد الشمولية ونفي المؤاخذة  
قائلاً:

هَلَّ الدهر ليوم الاتحاد \* وغدا يعرب مسرور الفؤاد

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٢٨)

### ج- المجاز المركب في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

تكالب أعداء الديانة، مهمم \* إعاقه سير الدين بالدهس والصد

(الجرجاني، د.ت. ٣٩٧)

يعبر الشيخ عن دسائس التي يحوكها أعداء الإسلام مجتمعين لإعاقه صحوه وتطوره  
بتكالب الأعداء، فأعداء الإسلام كلاب ستهاجم على الفريسة للقضاء عليها، ويسمى هذا  
الأسلوب: بالمجاز المركب، وهو التركيب المستعمل في غير ما وضع له للعلاقة بين المعنى  
الموضوع له التركيب والمعنى المستعمل فيه مع قرينة مانعة من إرادة المعنى الحقيقي  
والمجاز المركب شبيه بالتشبيه التمثيلي بتعدد الصفات، ويختلف عنه بعدم ذكر أحد  
الطرفين والأداة، وأنه يحصل بالتركيب لاغيره وأن كل كلمة مفردة فيه حقيقة، وهذا مثل  
قول الشاعر:

أشاب الصغير وأفنى الكبير \* كرّ الغداة ومرّ العشيّ

(العقاد، ٢٠١٠: ١٦٣)

يريد الشاعر أنّ تكرر الليل والنهار يسببان فناء الكبار وشيبة الصغار.

### د- المجاز بالحذف في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

بيت النبوة سدم دون أي مرى \* كلّ للوجود بلا شك ولاتهم

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٦)

تحدث الشاعر في النص عن مكانة أهل بيت النبوة وسيادتهم الثابتة التي لا تنكر  
مستعملاً أسلوب المجاز بالحذف الذي هو نقل الكلمة عن إعرابها الأصلي إلى غيره لحذف  
لفظ أو زيادته (اليمني، ٢٠١٠: ٦٨). حذف الشيخ المضاف وهو «أهل» على وجه التقدير،  
بعد حذف أداة النداء، وأقام المضاف إليه «بيت» مقامه على سبيل المجاز بالحذف علاقته

الإعراب، والقرينة قوله «سدم» فالسيادة تكون لأهل البيت. يفيد هذا المجاز الإيجاز في الألفاظ والمبالغة في المعنى. فقد صار البيت عاقلاً سائداً ينتقل من رتبة المضاف إليه إلى رتبة العمدة في المعنى.

### ثالثاً: الاستعارة:

هي اللفظ المستعمل في غير ما وضع لعلاقة المشابهة، وهذا يعطي المعاني الكثيرة بألفاظ يسيرة تخرج من صدفها درر، وتجنّى من غصنها ثمرات. يستعمل الشعراء الاستعارة لمناقبتها الكثيرة في التعبير عن أفكارهم وعواطفهم. وبواسطة الأمثلة التلية تتضح لنا مدى نبوغ الشاعر محمد الأمين في استعماله الاستعارة للتعبير عن عواطفه وخيالاته وأفكاره الجياشة.

#### أ- الاستعارة التصريحية في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

فإننا لنأبى الضيم شيمة أصلنا \* ولا نختشي برق العدو مع الرعد

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٣٧)

يفتخر الشاعر في النص بكرم أجداده وعزّه وشجاعتهم وأنهم لا يخافون من عدوهم شيئاً، ففي قوله: «ولا نختشي برق العدو مع الرعد» استعارة تصريحية حيث صرح المشبه به للمشبه، أي شبه لمعان سيوفهم وأسلحتهم بالبرق، وارتفاع صيحتهم وحركتهم بالرعد على سبيل الاستعارة التصريحية. والقرينة إضافة البرق والرعد إلى العدو. توجد أنواع أخرى من الاستعارات في شعره كالاستعارة المكنية والتخييلية ولكن لضيق المقالة لم نتطرق إليها.

#### رابعاً: الكناية

قسم من أقسام علم البيان ومن تعبيراته الغنية بالاعتبارات والجمال الذي يزيد المعنى قوة ومبالغة وتجسيده في صورة محسوسة تزخر بالحياة والحركة، ولهذا نرى الشعراء يستخدمونها للتعبير عن أفكارهم وعواطفهم.

#### أ- الكناية عن الموصوف في شعره:

يقول الشاعر:

إنني لأذكر عهدا كان يؤنسنا \* بالعلم فيه أبو إسحاق من جبرا

كسر الديانة حتى صار موقفها \* صلبا عزيزا قويا غيره قهرا

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ١٣)

يتذكر الشيخ الشاعر في النصين عن الزمان الذي كان الشيخ إبراهيم يؤنسهم فيه بالعلم، ويصلح أمورهم الدينية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية والثقافية حتى صار الدين لديهم قويا صلبا عزيزا لا يقهر. ومن أجل تلك الجهود المثمرة ثمرة طيبة كنى الشاعر المدوح بأبي إسحاق مدحا وتكريما له على سبيل الكناية عن الموصوف. ونلاحظ في النصين تعلق الأول بالثاني وارتباطه ارتباطا قويا حتى إذا ذكر أحدهما دون الآخر ينقص المعنى، وهذا الأسلوب يسمى الوحدة العضوية، ويعتبر ذلك علماء العروض والقافية عيبا من عيوب القافية وهو التضمن. (محمد، ١٩٥٤: ١٠٥). توجد أنواع أخرى من الكنايات في شعره كالكناية عن الصفة وكناية النسبة ولكن لضيق المقالة لم نتطرق إليها.

#### الكناية عن الصفة:

يقول الشاعر:

ببرهام عبد الله عودي ثاقب \* بحمد إلهي ثوب حبي أقشب

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٤)

أمرغ الخد في شوق وفي طمع \* أشدو جهارا ودمعي هاطل وكف

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ١٧)

عليك صلاة الله ثم سلامه \* فخر لي صحبا فاضلين لهم يد

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٤٤)

أيا سيدي إنني لدى الباب واقف \* وكلي رجاء أن أغيب في السر

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٤٦)

لأحظى بجمع الجمع سرا وجهرة \* وأبقى مدى الأيام في غاية السبك

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٤٦)

#### التحليل البلاغي:

استخدم الشاعر الكناية عن الصفة وهي التي كان المكنى عنه فيها صفة ملازمة للموصوف المذكور في الكلام (الهاشمي، ٢٠٠٣: ٢٩٨)، ليعبر بها عن أفكاره كما نرى في تلك النصوص. ففي النص الأول، تحدث عن حسن حاله وقوة شخصيته ومجده التي

تحقق بفضل الله، ثم بجهود والده الشيخ إبراهيم، فقد كنى الشاعر أحواله بالعود الثاقب، وبالثوب الأقسب. والعود هو الكرم والسؤدد؛ قال الطرماح:

هل المجد إلاّ السؤدد العود والندى \* ورأب الثأبي والصبر عند المواطن

(اليمني، ١٩: ٢٨٩)

والثوب الأقسب هو: حديث عهد بالجلاء.

تحدث الشاعر في النص الثاني عن خضوعه وخشوعه وطمعه في الوصل بممدوحه محمد ﷺ لما وصل إلى دياره منشدا المدايح النبوية ودموعه تتهطل، كنى الشاعر عن ذلك الخضوع بمرغ الخد على الأرض على سبيل الكناية عن الصفة.

نرى الشاعر في النص الثالث يصلى على النبي ﷺ متوسلا به ليكون مع أصحاب الفضل والقوة المادية والمعنوية، فقد كنى القوة والغنى باليد محتذيا بذلك حذو الشعراء. نرى هذا الشاعر يعبر الغنى باليد في قوله:

يدُّ للزمان الجمعُ بيني وبينه \* لتفريقه بيني وبين النوائب

(الزمخشري، ٢٠٠٦: ٤٣٨)

يقول الشاعر أن يد الزمان جمعت بينه وبين ممدوحه بينما يد ممدوحه فرقت بينه وبين نوائب الزمان على سبيل الكناية.

نرى الشاعر في النص الرابع والخامس يؤكد ولاءه وتضرعه لحضرة الشيخ إبراهيم نياس ليحقق أمنياته ورجاءه التي منها أن يحصل على سرّ الفناء عما سوى الله، وهو المرتبة الأحدية، والبقاء مدى الدهر في غاية السكر، عبر الشاعر عن ذلك بالكناية بقوله: «أن أغيب في السر» وقوله: «لأحظى بجمع الجمع» وقوله: «في غاية السكر»، وأما الجمع عند أهل التصوف فهو أن يصير جمع الهمة حال له، أي أن لا تتفرق همومه فتصير بشهود الجامع لها همماً واحداً، ويحصل الجمع إذا كان بالله وحده دون غيره. وجمع الجمع مقام أتم من الجمع وهو الفناء عما سوى الله، وهو المرتبة الأحدية. (ويكيبيديا، ٢٧-١٢-٢٠١١)

#### ب- الكناية بالضمير:

يقول الشاعر:

بدايته تنبيي ويا ألف مرحب \* بمقدم سرّ الله وهو المقرّب  
بمقدمه حلّ الضيا كلّ لأحب \* بمقدمه شهر المحبّة يعذب  
به نلت ما أبغيه والقلب ذائب \* بحبي له كلّ المطالب تجلب  
فمن جاء نا بالخير فالخير طبعنا \* ومن جاء نا بالضدّ جئناه بالضدّ

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ٢-٦)

### التحليل البلاغي:

نرى في تلك النصوص استخدام الشاعر الضمير يعبر به عن ممدوحه ويقول في النص الأول أن بداية شهر ربيع الأول تخبرنا بمجئ الرسول ﷺ، حامل الرسالة والنبوة من الله سبحانه وتعالى إلى الإنس والجن كافة. وقد استعمل الشاعر أسلوب الكناية التي هي ذكر المضمرة موضع الظاهر أو الظاهر موضع المضمرة كناية، فقد استعمل الضمير في قوله: «بدايته تنبي» كناية عن الشهر، وفي قوله: «وهو» كناية عن الرسول ﷺ. وفي النص الثاني والثالث استعمل الضمير كناية عن الرسول ﷺ، الذي عم ضياؤه كل بقعة من بقاع الأرض، وأزبغت فضائله على الأمة، فحبه ﷺ يسهل للمرء نيل مطالبه. وفي النص الرابع يتحدث الشاعر عن كرم أهله ومجده وشجاعته وأن الخير سيرتهم وطبعهم وأنهم يدافعون عن كرامتهم ويحمون حوضهم، وقد استعمل الشاعر كناية وضع الظاهر موضع الضمير في قوله: «ومن جاءنا بالضد جئناه بالضد» جئناه به، في قوله:

فمن جاءنا بالخير فالخير طبعنا \* ومن جاءنا بالضد جئناه بالضد

وهذا النوع من الكناية أثبتتها اللغويون والنحاة، والضمير يمكن أن يكنى به الاسم وبالعكس فقد ذهب أبو عبيد (ت ٢٠٩هـ) إلى مثل ما ذهب إليه الفراء، فأطلق الكناية على الضمائر كلها، (فياض، ١٩٨٩: ١٣) مثل قوله تعالى: ﴿إِلَيْكَ نَبِّدُ﴾ الفاتحة: ٥، كناية عن لفظ الجلال: «الله».

وجدير بالذكر أن الشاعر استعمل الضمير محل الظاهر في أبيات عديدة من ديوانه،

مثل قوله:

محمد وهو عين الحمد إن له \* من اسمه نسبة يدرية من نظرا

فالله أكرمه والله أعظمه \* والله بجّله إذ حُبّه أمرا

أسرى به ثم أدناه وشافهه \* عينا وذاتا فلم يهلج وما زعرا

(الكولخي، ١٩٩٤: ١٣)

نجد خلال هذه الأبيات أحد عشر ضميرا استعملها الشاعر كناية عن اسم محمد ﷺ.

### ٣. الخاتمة:

شهدنا أثناء هذا البحث قدرة الشاعر وعبقريته على التمسك بقواعد الشعر العربي من العاطفة والخيال والقدرة على التأثير والتأثر. فقد تمكن الشاعر من استعمال عناصر

علم البيان بأنواعها للتعبير عن عواطفه وأفكاره، فالتشبيهات في شعره رائعة وممتعة تثير الحب والتقدير. وأما المجازات والاستعارات في شعره فإنها تعطي ثمرات يانعة ومشاهدة قلابة، تجد منها المتعة حيناً وحيناً آخر العظة والهداية. وفي النهاية ترى الكناية في شعر الشاعر تجسد الصور وتجعل القاريء يجول في حديقة ذات أزهار تضرب له الجمال الحقيقي والخيالي، فالتقت يمينه ويسرة في دهشة مصحوبة بالفرح والسرور. وفي تلك دلالة إشارة أن الشيخ قد أحسن توظيف علم البيان في شعره وبالتالي عكس لنا الأوج العالي الذي عليه الشعراء السنغاليون في نظم الشعر الجيد البليغ.

نستنتج من هذا البحث ما يلي:

- أن علوم اللغة العربية وآدابها راسخة في بلاد السنغال.
- أن الشعراء السنغاليين يعنون بالشعر العربي الجيد، وأنهم تأثروا بإخوانهم العرب في قرض القصائد والمقطوعات بشتى الأغراض ومختلف الموضوعات مما يثبت حبهم للغة العربية وبنشرها منذ سنوات عديدة، وذلك قبل دخول المستعمر الفرنسي على أراضي السنغال والنشر لغتها.

وفي الختام نوصي المسؤولين العرب وعشاق اللغة العربية ببذل مزيد من الجهد لإنقاذ اللغة العربية من معاويل اللغة الفرنسية الهادمة بها. كما نوصي الباحثين والدارسين بدراسة الشعر العربي السنغالي لاستفادة والإفادة.

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## PEDOMAN UMUM

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12. Daftar Pustaka disusun diurutkan secara alfabetis dan kronologis.

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## UCAPAN TERIMA KASIH

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