

# *el harakah*

JURNAL BUDAYA ISLAM

**REPRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC MARRIAGE LAW IN  
JAVANESE NOVELS OF THE POST-REFORMATION ERA**

*Bagus Wahyu Setyawan, Kundharu Saddhono, and  
Djoko Sulaksono*

**THE MEANING OF REBBE RITUAL AS AN INTERPRETATION  
OF SHADAQAH JARIYAH IN PROBOLINGGO**

*Danial Hilmi and Halimatus Sa'diyah*

**FEMALE CIRCUMCISION: MOPOLIHU LO LIMU AND  
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WA MA YUSYABIHUHU MIN AL-MUSHTHALAHAT  
'INDA AL-'ARAB**

*Salih M. Jum'ah Alaso*

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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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## REPRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC MARRIAGE LAW IN JAVANESE NOVELS OF THE POST REFORMATION ERA

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### **Abstract**

*The focus in this research is to describe and explain the implementation of the rule of Islamic marriage on the modern Javanese novel post-reformation era. Data resources in this research are some of the Javanese novels published after 2000. This descriptive qualitative research used three phases of research: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The primary data resources were reduced and tested by using a triangulation technique to test data validity. Then, the result showed the examples of implementing the rule of Islamic marriage in Javanese novels of the post-reformation era. The author's point of view influenced the plot and conflict of the rule of marriage in the story. Indirectly, a few examples of the rule of marriage in the Javanese novel of the post-reformation era can provide an illustration based on the Islamic sharia rule. The focus in this research is to describe and explain the implementation of the rule of Islamic marriage on the modern Javanese novel post-reformation era. Data resources in this research are some of the Javanese novels published after 2000. This descriptive qualitative research used three phases of research: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The primary data resources were reduced and tested by using a triangulation technique to test data validity. Then, the result showed the examples of implementing the rule of Islamic marriage in Javanese novels of the post-reformation era. The author's point of view influenced the plot and conflict of the rule of marriage in the story. Indirectly, a few examples of the*



rule of marriage in the Javanese novel of the post-reformation era can provide an illustration based on the Islamic sharia rule.

Fokus dalam penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan mengenai penerapan hukum perkawinan islam dalam novel Jawa moden pascareformasi. Sumber data dalam penelitian ini adalah beberapa novel Jawa yang diterbitkan di atas tahun 2000. Penelitian ini berbentuk penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan tiga tahapan penelitian, yaitu reduksi data, sajian data, dan penarikan simpulan. Data-data dalam sumber data utama direduksi dan dianalisis dengan pembahasan masalah. Terakhir data-data yang diperoleh diuji dengan menggunakan teknik triangulasi untuk mendapat suatu derajat validitas data. Hasil dalam penelitian ini, ditemukan beberapa contoh penerapan hukum perkawinan Islam dalam novel Jawa pascareformasi. Hukum perkawinan yang disajikan dalam novel Jawa sesuai dengan alur dan konflik cerita yang dipengaruhi juga oleh sudut pandang pengarang. Secara tidak langsung, beberapa contoh penerapan hukum perkawinan dalam novel Jawa pascareformasi dapat memberikan gambaran masyarakat mengenai hukum perkawinan yang sesuai dengan syariat Islam dan yang menyimpang dari hukum syariat perkawinan islam.

**Keywords:** representation; Islamic marriage rules; Javanese novel; post-reformation era; sociology literature

## Introduction

Javanese literature has repertoire types and varieties. Judging from the genre of literature, Javanese is divided into three types: *geguritan* (poetry), *gancaran* (prose), and *sandiwara* (drama). Each type is different from others viewed from the form and the aspect of language (Setyawan et al., 2018). One of the Javanese literatures with various aspects of language that needs to be preserved is novel. The novel is a literary work that includes a variety of prose or *gancaran*. It reveals a story contains several supporting elements, including characters, plot, background, point of view, and some other imaginative elements (Sulaksono, 2017). Definitely, the novel is an imaginative work. In this case, the author's work, based on his imagination, can come from the process of personal experience, the experience of people around, social conflicts, and by taking from other literary works. Nevertheless, some novels are the results of the author's personal experience poured into writing.



The novel in Java, or subsequently written in Javanese, is a literary work produced by several Javanese authors using the Javanese language. The beginning of the Java novel was started from the stories in several newspapers and magazines. Initially, the Javanese novelist was the author of a series of his works in several Javanese magazines, such as *Panjebar Semangat* and *Jayabaya* (Damono, 2001). Javanese novels' topics are varied, and the most popular one is a novel about romance or *novel panglipur wuyung* or known as roman. Some of the famous *panglipur wuyung* novelists are Any Asmara, Esmiet, and Suparto Brata.

Novels are capable of presenting developments that feature more elaborate social characters and involve many complicated societal events (Yulianti & Nama, 2018). Like other literary works, the authors in Javanese novels convey their vision and messages - moral values - to communicate with the readers. They try to portray the real-life phenomena in very creative processes of imagination (Laila, 2017). This phenomenon encompasses all aspects of life, such as aspects of social issues, family issues, education, and even political issues (Sulaksono et al., 2018).

The discussion of this paper focuses on the phenomenon of marriage law, which is represented in several post-reformed Javanese novels. In Islam, marriage is defined as a bond allowing both bride and groom to get pleasure from each other according to the demands of the Islamic law (Wirduyaningsih, 2018). Since the couples are already legal and legitimate according to Islamic law, they might feel the joy of both outward and inner pleasure. The law is not about the time of marriage but also includes the rules of interaction, rights and duties, parenting, child caring, and divorce.

Many kinds of research on Islamic marriage law have been carried out. Research on the effectiveness of Islamic instructor's roles in the application of Islamic marriage in villages has been conducted in Mare district, Bone regency by Syamsudin (2019). It revealed a less effective role of the Islamic instructor resulting in the nonoptimal application of the Islamic marriage law. Another research on the customary marriage law in the Melayu Palembang viewed from Islamic Sharia has been accounted for by Fahmi (2019). It showed that there were contributions of the customary marriage law in Melayu Palembang about the procession of marriage. Additionally, a phenomenon of marriage contracts in the social and economic life of villagers in the Islamic law perspective has also been suggested by Arifin (2019) regarding the Islamic law perspective. It found that marriage contracts do not meet the requirements of *nikah mut'ah*

(temporary marriage) and Marriage Act (UUP). These studies become the theoretical backgrounds to analyze the phenomenon of applying Islamic marriage law in the modern Javanese novels in the post-reformation era.

However, previous research mentioned above only focused on Islamic marriage law based on the facts. This present research focuses on the Islamic marriage law application in literary works, specifically modern Javanese novels, in the post-reformation era. Hence, the approach uses a sociological approach of literary works, more focusing on the description of social situations and conditions. It is considered as a new study as it combines the sociology of literature, sociology of religion, Islamic law, and Islamic marriage law.

Novels are selected due to their complex and complete plot compared to other literary works such as short stories or comics. They have long plots, varied conflicts, and more descriptions of problems. Besides, Javanese society has various rules and norms of life that are interesting to be the topics of the stories in the literary works. Therefore, stories in the Javanese novels are closed to society's daily life. One of the unforgettable events in Indonesia, specifically of Javanese society, was the conflicts of the reformation era. This research focuses on analyzing modern Javanese novels published after 1998 as the researcher expects that stories and social settings described in the novels do not have many differences in social settings in this era.

### Islamic Marriage Law

Before discussing more deeply about the representation of marriage in the perspective of Islam in post-reformed Javanese novels, it will first be discussed about the law of marriage from the perspective of Islam. In establishing a family based on Islamic law, there are some rules or laws of every activity. In the Compilation of Islamic Law, marriage is valid if it is done according to Islamic law and fulfill all marriage pillars regulated in *Pasal 14 KHI*, namely bride and groom, marriage guardian, two people, and akad (pledge) (Nuroniya, 2016). While the validity of the marriage itself depends on whether or not it is based on the existing legal basis in the guidance of the Qur'an and Hadith, which later described as the basis of legal jurisprudence (Aziz, 2017).

Marriage by Islamic law begins with the process of *akad*. *Akad* (consists of *ijab* and *kabul*) is a fundamental element of the legitimacy of the marriage contract. *Ijab* is pronounced by the guardian as a statement willingly surrender his daughter to the husband, while *kabul* is testified by the husband as a willing statement to marry his future wife. Furthermore, *ijab* means surrendering

God's message to the future husband, and *kabul* means as a symbol of the willingness to receive God's trust. With the permission of *kabul*, it will be a halal relationship of the husband and wife. According to Ittihad al-Majlis, *ijab* and *kabul* must be done within the time range contained in a marriage ceremony, not done in two separate time intervals (Effendi, 2004).

In addition, the law of marriage in Islam also regulates how to educate children in Islamic families. Theoretically, the child gets protection and assurance in the Indonesian Marriage Regulation, Law no. 1 year 1974 called as Marriage Act (UUP). It was the first law containing the material of marriage that guarantee the rights and protection of a child. Article 105 is about who has the gift and who is responsible for the cost of child care is mandated (1) the mother is more entitled to care when the child is not mumayyiz or under 12 years old, and (2) the father is responsible for the cost of child care (Nasution, 2016). Article 149 confirms that if a marriage breaks up because of divorce, then the former husband (father) is obliged to give the cost of *hadhanah* for his under 21 year-old-children. It is further emphasized in article 156 that all the costs of childhood and livelihood are father's responsibilities.

Moreover, the cancellation of marriage or divorce is also regulated in Islamic Marriage Law. The cancellation can be done if a marriage does not cover the requirements either intentionally or unintentionally. Normative provisions on marital cancellation are in the Marriage Act (UUP) (Imron, 2016). The law of marriage cancellation will be applicable if both parties, husband and wife, agree to cancel appropriate legal procedures of trials in the religious courts.

### **Sociology of Literature**

The approach taken to distinguish the object of study in the form of literary works in Javanese novels of the post-reformed is to use the approach or analysis of the sociology of literature. Sociology of literature is one branch of literature that discusses its relationship with society. The sociology of literature was initially developed in France in 1791 by Herder (1744-1803). In his opinion, the existence of a causal relationship is between literature and culture, race, customs, and social institutions. Next, Taine, an English literature expert in 1871, was appointed as the father of Sociology of Letters. Taine argued that literary work is a national monument representing society's consciousness and the spirit of the times (Setyawan et al., 2017). The theory

of sociology of literature was later developed by Lucian Goldman, who tried to connect art and society.

The development of Goldman's theory is the birth of the genetic structuralism theory that discusses the relationship between the author's social-cultural backgrounds and literary works. Goldman's opinion on the writers' sociocultural background influenced the process of literary works creation. Then, the idea was reinforced by Leo Lowenthal. In 1961, Lowenthal sparked a theory about the sociology of literature. According to him, the author does develop character and is believed to place them in situations involving interactions with others and with the communities in which they live. Next, the work of literature sociologists was to find the connection between the author's imaginary character experience with the historical climate situation from which they originated. The latest literature of sociology theory was coined by Robert Escarpit, in 1970, explained that the readers were as cultural consumers in the literary work (Jadhav, 2014). In other words, the sociology of literature also emphasizes the aspect of readers' literature. It can also be classified into three parts: the sociology of the author's context, the sociology of the literary works as the mirror of society, and the literature sociology of the readers as literary works' consumers (Faruk, 2012).

## **Methods**

This research is a descriptive qualitative one using a sociology literature approach. The focus is to describe and explain the examples of Islamic marriage law in Javanese novels of the post-reformation era. The source of data in the study is a modern Javanese novel published after 2000, namely *novel Sirah* by AY Suharyono (2001), *Candhikala Kapuranta* by Sugiarta Sriwibawa (2002), and *Singkar* by Siti Aminah (2008). The data are collected by using reading and field notes by analyzing the four novels and taking notes of some important points supporting data analysis. Then, the data are analyzed using interactive and comparative analysis, with the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and withdrawal of conclusions (Moleong, 2014). The author also uses triangulation techniques of data sources and theory to test the validity of data. This research also conducts data crosscheck by comparing them with social situations happening in society. Once these data are different from the real ones and fictitious, the data were not included in the discussion.

## Discussion

### Islamic Marriage Law in Sirah Novel

The *Sirah* Novel is a Javanese novel written by A.Y. Suharyono (2001). It talks about a social phenomenon commonly happening in society. However, the novel also discusses about the portrait of Islamic Marriage Law. It can be seen from the description of *Wiwiek Wijayanti*, a female friend of *Carik Kadri* who intends to nominate as the headman of Jati Dhoyong Village. It can be seen in the following excerpt:

“Jenenge *Wiwiek Wijayanti* anake Pak Setro. *Kadri* pernah kuciwa amarga *Wiwiek* pernah nolak dheweke lan milih lanangan sing nduwe akeh dhuwit, nanging dadi bojo simpenan. Tujuane *Wijayani* yaiku dhuwite. Nanging sawise mati, *Wijayani* ora oleh warisan saengga dheweke nyambut gawe ing Jakarta. *Kadri* kaget yen *Wijayani* tetep nduweni mobil kang gedhe.”

‘Her name was *Wiwiek Wijayanti*, a daughter of Mr. Setro. *Kadri* was disappointed because *Wiwiek* refused and preferred another man with a lot of money by becoming a mistress. The only goal of *Wijayanti* was the money. However, after her husband died, *Wijayanti* did not have any inheritance so she had to work alone in Jakarta. *Kadri* was surprised that *Wijayanti* could still have a big car.’

The above description is the representation of the Law of Inheritance in Islam. *Wijayanti* as a mistress did not get an inheritance when her husband died. According to a hadith “There are three sciences, and the other is advantages, there are clear and unclear verses, or *shahih* (legitimate) *sunnah* or science of *faraidh* or inheritance law) a fair share of the inheritance (Hadith by Abu Dawud No. 2499) (Sukardi, 2017).

Qur’an Surah An-Nisa verse 12 also explained that when the husband dies, the wives (both second, third, and fourth wives) get inherited 1/4 of their wealth. However, the wife referred to in Surah An-Nisa verse 12 is the wife who is legally married in religious and Islamic sharia, not a mistress. *Wiwiek*’s status as a mistress is also not appropriate with Islamic lessons. Islam has regulated that a wife is a woman who legally marries a man. Legal means to be legalized by the law with complete documents and recorded in the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) and to be legalized by Religion, namely the *Ijab Kabul* procession witnessed by two witnesses from the bride and groom (Syahraeni, 2018). In *Sirah*, as a mistress, by the time her husband died, *Wijayanti* did not get the inheritance from her husband. So, *Wijayanti*’s character and her status as a mistress who did not get the inheritance from her husband is following Islamic law, namely concerning the law of inheritance or *faraidh* law in Islam.

However, an action of deviating the Islamic marriage law also happens in some cases in the Sirah novel. It is represented in the following paragraph.

*“Sakdurunge lunga Mbah kenci njaluk marang Joyo Dengkek supaya saben tanggal 15 wulan jawa pas purnama supaya njilehake bojone kanggo ngancani Mbah Kenci turu. Joyo Dengkek Nyanggupi kabeh syarat mau.”*

‘Before Joyo Dengkek left, Mbah Kenci asked him to let his wife accompanying Mba Kenci every 15th of Javanese months, a full moon time. Joko Dengkek undertook all those requirements.’

The example above reflects that Joyo Dengkek was willing to let his wife accompanying Mbah Kenci every 15th of Javanese months. It certainly deviates from the Islamic law, in which a husband voluntarily gives his wife to others. This action is categorized as prostitution. A wife in the Islamic view is not a commodity that can be traded, but she completes her husband’s religion. Hence, a husband must glorify his wife who legally marrying him by fulfilling her right and giving her financial support. It is in line with the hadith of Prophet Muhammad SAW, An-Nawawi *rahimahullah*:

﴿ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا ﴾

‘Who has created you from one soul and created from it its mate.’

The prophet Muhammad also explains that a woman is created from ribs. This hadith shows the requirement of being gentle to women, showing good attitudes to them, and being patient with their crooks and lack of minds. Besides, the ayah above also shows how divorcing a wife without any reason is detestable. Another deviation could be found in the following excerpt:

*“Sakwise acara, Senik lan Widodo nglanjutake dansane ning kamar. Wong loro iku bali nglakoni pakaryan kang kalarang lan padha-padha ketuwuhan rasa tresna.”*

After the event, Senik and Widodo continued their dancing in the room. The two then did the forbidden deed again and it should not be done, they both had a sense of love.

In the excerpt, the novel is a negative example that deviates from Islamic marriage law. Senik and Widodo figures who they are not legitimately married couples, engage in sinful activity. It is an adultery.

The above excerpts show that Sirah novel describes the practices of marriage based on and against the Islamic laws. Wijayanti with a mistress status did not get inheritance after her husband died. It is appropriate with the Islamic law of inheritance. It suggests that a wife who has the right to get inheritance is the one who gets married to her husband legally according to the religion and recorded in the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) as well as her offsprings. In contrast, an infidelity occurs between Wiwiek Wijayanti and Carik Kadri when Wiwiek Wijayanti registers herself as a candidate for

the headman of the village and bribes him. It also occurs between Senik and Widodo twice when they are in Senik's house and the election of the headman of the village. Yet the recommendation of not committing adultery is in Qur'an Surah Al Mukminun verses 1-7 (Nasution et al., 2018). What they have done is prohibited by religion. It also breaks a vow of spoken in *ijab Kabul*.

The practice of prostitution was carried out by Joyo Dengkek, who gives his wife to Mbah Kenci every 15th of Javanese months. Both infidelity and adultery are categorized as a breach of the Islamic Marriage Law because infidelity, adultery, and prostitution breach the marriage vows in *ijab kabul*. They also desecrated the sanctity of the marriage resulting in destroyed marriage or even divorce.

### Islamic Marriage Law in *Candhikala Kapuranta* Novel

The second novel is a Javanese Novel entitled *Candhikala Kapuranta*. This novel was written by Sugiarta Sriwibawa (2002). It contains of feminist values by focusing on women as the main characters in the story. Women in the Islamic view are also represented as people who have no obligation to work because they will later get *nafaqah* (financial support) from their husbands after getting married. In contrast to the story in this novel, the female character is described as a worker financially supporting her family because of the demand for her economic situation and condition.

The *Candhikala Kapuranta* novel told the story of the life of Munah, a girl from the village who tried her luck in Solo. The journey of her life was very long and tortuous until in the end, she became the mistress of a landlord named Ndara Puspa. The background of this novel was a portrait of the Javanese society in the old time, in which there were still Dutch colonials, and the society strictly followed the feudalism culture from the Kraton. The main character, Munah, was originally from an underprivileged family in the Jrasah Village. This family economic factor made Munah a female worker because she was chased away by her parents. The condition of Munah's family is reflected in the following excerpt.

*"Pancen wong tuwane mlarat banget, paribasan ing omahe ora ana upa, bongkot puhung, kulit tela, utawa janggal jagung. Satemene wis ana sawatara wong dhukuh kono sing kepeksa tega nundhung anake supaya ngumbara golek pangan jalaran wis ora kuwat ngingoni."*

'Surely, her parents were really poor as there was no rice, cassava, cassava skin, and cornstalks in her house. Many people from that village chased their



children away perforce and heartlessly, so they could work and find their lives because their parents cannot fulfill daily necessities.'

In the *Candhikala Kapuranta* novel, there is also a representation of Islamic marriage law, which is about the law of inheritance. As explained in the previous discussion, it is one of the obligatory laws that must be acknowledged.

This novel also contains a deviation of the Islamic Marriage Law, in terms of the practice of *perseliran* or to make a woman a wife without legal marriage in the Islamic law and government law. This practice was carried out by Ndara Puspa as represented in the following excerpt.

*"Jalaran anak saka wong wadon sing ora diningkah, ndara Puspa ora tau mbopong utawa mangku. Dadi anak selir Asih ora oleh kena kaweruhan dhayoh. Upama ndara Puspa duwe bojo, anak saka bojone iku sing kena pomah bareng ing dalem Kratonanan lan pendhapa."*

'Because this was a child of a woman without getting married legally to Ndara Puspa, he had never held or nurtured his child. Becoming a concubine wife's child, Asih had never been seen by guests. If Ndara Puspa had a wife, their children were not allowed to live together in the Dalem Kratonan and Pendhapa.'

The practice of appointing a concubine wife deviates from the Islamic marriage law because there is no *ijab kabul* based on government law and Islamic sharia. Once this happens, it is categorized as adultery.

The condition experienced by Munah is in contradiction to the marriage law in Islam about child and child custody. A child is a mandate from Allah entrusted to parents. A child has the right to be taken care of, educated, protected, and fulfilled his/her daily needs. Conversely, the context in this novel shows that parents heartlessly chased their children away and did not fulfill their daily needs. It is inappropriate with Islamic religion orders, particularly on parents' obligation in fulfilling their children's and family's needs. Imam Ibnu Katsir Rahimahullah said, "It means that to give financial support and clothes to breastfeeding mothers in a good way becomes the obligation of fathers' children. This support is appropriate with the common habit applying to women in their country, not too much or too little, regarding fathers' ability (economically): rich, ordinary, or underprivileged." It is following QS Ath-Thalaq/65:7.

Besides, the practice of *perseliran* is not justified in Islamic Sharia because it is categorized as an adultery. It is illegal marriage, without the *ijab kabul*, and there is no marriage act. As a consequence, the status of a concubine is an illegal wife and her sexual relationship with her husband is categorized as adultery. Couple years ago, many nobles (rich people, blue blood, and people with high positions) picked concubines. Concubines were usually selected

from commoners with economic crises, and they become concubines with the expectation to have better economic status (Mardianto, 2018). This view was still used by Javanese society with feudalism. As time goes by, this view is gradually faded and it is no longer implemented.

Moreover, a concubine's child is not recognized by his/her father related to his/her legality. S/he is only allowed to live in his/her parents' house but does not get an inheritance. This is based on Islamic law on child caring. It is said that if the child is neither from legal marriage according to the Islamic law nor an adopted child, it does not get into custody and inheritance rights, the relationship is limited to social relations only (Ismail et al., 2016). The adopted child in Islam is a child raised from another family to be treated like their own child by not attaching *nasab* (surname) to an adopted child so the law does not affect tranquility and inheritance (Al Fahmi et al., 2017). When viewed from the situation in the *Candhikala Kapuranta* novel, *Asih* is the son of *Ndara Puspa* with *Munah* whose status as concubine wife (wife not legally married), so the status of *Asih* cannot be said as a child of *Ndara Puspa*. It makes *Ndara Puspa* unwilling to raise *Asih* like his own child.

### Islamic Marriage Law in *Singkar* Novel

The *Singkar* novel is a 134 - page - novel written by Siti Aminah (2009). In general, the *Singkar* novel tells about the love story experienced by Nani, Kurniawan, and Nusa. Their love story had a very complicated twist. In this novel, there is a contradiction among ideology, cultural understanding, and economic condition resulting in a very complex love story.

The first conflict in this novel started when Nani left home because she did not want to do an arranged marriage. It is reflected in the following.

*"Sore iku Nani Lunga ninggalake Ibune, Rama, lan Adhine kang ana ngomah. Nani lunga tanpa pamit. Nani minggat amarga lara ati. Dheweke dipeksa ibune kanggo nampa tresnane Kurniawan. Narumi ngancem umpama Nani ora bakal entuk dhuwit sangu lan gaji yen ora nampa tresnane Kurniawan."*

'That afternoon, Nani left her mother, father, and sibling in their house. She left home without saying goodbye. She was resentful. She was forced by her mother to accept Kurniawan's love. Narumi (her mother) threatened her if she didn't accept him, she wouldn't get her allowance and salary.'

The example above certainly shows a deviation of the Islamic marriage law because one of the requirements of *Ijab Kabul* is that the bride and groom love each other (Wibisana, 2016). Nani does not love Kurniawan, but her mother forces her to accept and marry him. The concept of arranged marriage

is also not supposed to occur to Narumi when she married her husband, Sulaiman. The arranged marriage between Narumi and Sulaiman is shown in the following excerpt.

*“Narumi dipeksa dening ibune kanggo nampa tresnane Pak Sulaiman kang saiki dadi garwane. Nalika iku Narumi duwe sesambungan karo Lik Nurdin kang omahe ana ing sandhinge Narumi biyen ana ing desa.”*

‘Narumi was forced by her mother to accept Sulaiman’s love in which, now, Sulaiman became her husband. At that time, Narumi had a relationship with Lik Nurdin who lived near her house in the village.’

The Islamic marriage law is also reflected by Polan (Narumi’s father) who is responsible for fulfilling his family’s needs. Although their family is economically in crisis, Polan keeps trying to fulfill his family’s needs. It is represented in the following excerpt.

*“Polan kang buruh ngundhuh krambil ana ing kebone Bayan Wira kanggo nggolek dhuwit tambahan. Entukke dhuwit pancen ora sepiraa, nanging bisa kanggo tambah-tambah nyukupi butuhe sakulawarga. Polan iku wong kang tanggung jawab temen marang uripe kaluwargane. Dhewekke kena alangan kang nyebabake keplase nalika nyambut gawe kanggo nyukupi butuh kulawargane.”*

‘Polan who was a laborer, picked coconuts in Bayan Wira’s farm to earn extra money. The extra money he got was not that much, but it could be used to add the money for fulfilling his family’s needs. He was a responsible and attentive person to his family. He got in an accident and caused his death when he worked to fulfill his family’s needs.’

The example above shows that Polan is a father and responsible head of the family. He certainly understands his role as the head of the family, to give financial support and fulfill his family’s needs. However, he finally got in an accident and died when he earned money for his family. The next example is the violation of Islamic marriage law, which is about the representation of the phenomenon of fornication:

*“Bapakke lunga lan nggondhol Sriyati. Samhadi lunga karo Sriyati amarga Sriyati wektu iku wis ngandhut anake Samhadi. Samhadi lunga ninggalake Sartinah lan anake kang isih padha sekolah. Kurniawan isin marang solah bawane bapakke.”*

‘His father left and took Sriyati’s run. Samhadi went with Sriyati because Sriyati at that time had conceived son of Samhadi. Samhadi left Sartinah and his son who was still in school. Kurniawan feels ashamed to see the deeds of his father.’

*Singkar* novel also shows examples of Islamic marriage law with positive element, which is related to the law of living. Despite having divorced and left Sartinah, Samhadi is still obliged to support his children. This is showed by Samhadi who pay Agus’s school fee, brother of Kurniawan. As in the following novel trailer:

“Teka ing omahe sartinah, Samhadi kepengin menehake dhuwit SPP kanggo Agus. Nanging wektu kuwi amung Kurniawan kang ana ing omah. Kurniawan kaget banget marang tekane Samhadi.”

‘Arriving at Sartinah’s house, Samhadi intended to give money tuition for Agus. However, at that time only Kurniawan was at home. Kurniawan was surprised by Samhadi’s arrival.’

The description of Islamic marriage law in the *Singkar* novel is complicated. The deviation of Islamic marriage law is related to an arranged marriage. The arranged marriage is recommended in the Islamic marriage law, but through the *ta’aruf* process. The core of *ta’aruf* is to know each other. If the *ta’aruf* is failed, the arranged marriage will be canceled (Dahlan, 2016). This concept is not reflected in the arranged marriage between Nani and Kurniawan. Nani was forced by her mother to love and accept Kurniawan whereas she was not interested in him. If this arranged marriage is continued, it will not result in a good marriage because there is no commitment between them. This unhealthy arranged marriage also happened to Narumi (Nani’s mother) who got married to Sulaiman (Nani’s father). Although they were successful in maintaining their household and having children, Narumi still felt hatred and hurt about their arranged marriage. In the end, she released her hatred by arranging her daughter to marry a man she chose.

The Islamic marriage law about financial support for the family is also represented in the *Singkar* novel. Polan as a figure of the head of the family, truly understands his role. Despite poverty, he kept trying to give financial support and fulfill his family’s needs. Polan’s character is appropriate with the figure of the head of the family according to Islamic Sharia. A father is a leader in the family, and the requirement to be a leader is to have strengths over women and the ability to financially supporting his wife and children. Even more, leadership is automatically embedded in each man, as explained in QS. al-Nisa’ [4]: 34.

Polan was persistent to support his family financially until he got in an accident, falling from a coconut tree while picking coconuts up, and then finally died. The figure of Polan who cared about his family until his death is reasonable to be a role model for fathers and husbands about his hardship and unyielding spirit in fulfilling his family’s needs. Polan’s death is categorized as a *husnul khatimah* death since he died while worshiping God in supporting his family financially. It is narrated by Imam Abu Dawud by delivering the Prophet’s Hadith: “Whoever is killed because of maintaining his wealth, he dies in

a *shahid* way. Whoever is killed because of defending his family, life, or religion, he dies in a *shahid* way.” (HR. Abu Dawud)

On the other hand, *Samhadi* committed fornication with *Sriyati* until *Sriyati* conceived a child. As in the previous discussion, the sin of adulterers is very bad sin, as it is written in Qur’an Surah Al-Israa verse 32. In addition to the sin of adultery, a child born due to adultery, the *nasab* relationship between the child and his father will be cut off, so that if the child is a female, then the father has no right to become her marriage guardian.

It can be seen that the figure of *Samhadi* still adhered to Islamic marriage law by providing a living despite having divorced with *Sartinah*. This is proved by *Samhadi* who intended to give money for *Agus*’ school fees, brother of *Kurniawan*. Regarding the law to provide the financial support, Article 149 affirms that if the marriage is terminated due to divorce, then the former husband (father) is obliged to provide the cost of *hadhanah* for his children under 21 years old. It is further emphasized in article 156 that all the costs of childhood and livelihood are the responsibility of the father (Pahutar, 2019).

## Conclusion

Literary works are authors’ redesigned works on the description of stories in the society. After analyzing three modern Javanese novels (*Sirah*, *Candhikala Kapuranta*, and *Singkar*), the research finds some representations of the Islamic marriage law in socio-cultural settings of Javanese society. It reveals positive and negative marriage laws. The positive law shows the appropriateness between marriage laws with Islamic sharia, including the obligation of a husband in financially supporting his family, the role of a husband as the family leader, the law of inheritance or *faraidh*, and the rules of taking care of children. The negative law deals with actions deviating Islamic marriage law, including infidelity, adultery, and prostitution practices. Besides, the practice of arranged marriage by forcing either the bride or groom is also found in the *Singkar* novel. It is inappropriate with the rule of arranged marriage in Islam that should be based on love.

The occurrences of Islamic marriage law deviation are also affected by the socio-cultural condition of Javanese society as the social setting in Javanese novels. The practice of appointing a concubine with a feudalism concept is frequently found in Javanese society. Besides, the practice of adultery is also described in some cases in *Sirah* and *Candhika Kapuranta* novels. How the writers described this situation is inseparable from the real situation in Javanese

society, in which the practices of adultery and infidelity still exist. The novels simultaneously describe the socio-cultural situation of Javanese society, mainly related to the implementation of Marriage Law from Islamic sharia.

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## THE MEANING OF REBBE RITUAL AS AN INTERPRETATION OF SHADAQAH JARIYAH IN PROBOLINGGO

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### **Abstract**

*The community of Lemah Kembar Village has a form of local wisdom preserved in fostering relationships, not only about the living but also about people who have passed away through shadaqah jariyah. One way of the cultural wisdom is the rebbe ritual done by the Probolinggo community, which is seen as alms from living families to relatives who have passed away. This study focused on exploring community interpretations and the historical social construction of rebbe ritual in interpreting the meaning of shadaqah jariyah in the community of Lemah Kembar village, Sumberasih district, Probolinggo. The results revealed that the historical social construction of rebbe ritual emerged from the differences of community's understanding about the shadaqah jariyah, which were grouped into three, namely the group of people who believed in rewarding the deceased, the students who carried out the tradition but interpreted it differently, and the students who refused to do the tradition because such rituals were considered contrary to Islamic teachings.*

*Masyarakat Desa Lemah Kembar memiliki suatu bentuk kearifan lokal yang dilestarikan dalam membina hubungan tidak hanya dengan orang yang hidup, tetapi juga dengan orang yang telah meninggal melalui shadaqah jariyah. Salah satu bentuk kearifan budaya tersebut diantaranya adalah ritual Rebbe yang merupakan salah satu tradisi lokal masyarakat Probolinggo yang dipandang sebagai sedekah dari keluarga yang masih hidup kepada sanak kerabat yang*

sudah meninggal. Kajian ini menitikberatkan pada eksplorasi masyarakat dan konstruksi sosial historis ritual Rebbe dalam menginterpretasikan makna shadaqah jariyah pada masyarakat Desa Lemah Kembar, kecamatan Sumberasih, kabupaten Probolinggo. Adapun hasil penelitian ini adalah bahwa konstruksi sosial historis ritual Rebbe berangkat dari perbedaan pemahaman masyarakat tentang Shadaqah Jariyah yang bisa dikelompokkan menjadi tiga, yaitu kaum awam yang meyakini akan sampainya hadiah pahala kepada orang yang meninggal, kaum santri yang menjalankan tradisi namun memaknainya secara berbeda, dan kaum santri yang menolak sama sekali untuk melaksanakan tradisi tersebut lantaran ritualnya dianggap bertentangan dengan ajaran Islam.

**Keywords:** Rebbe Ritual; Interpretation; Shadaqah Jariyah

## Introduction

Indonesian Islamic culture is full of characteristics and distinctive identity with various rituals and practices which combine traditional teachings with the arrival of Islamic teachings. The combination is very thick with the typical nature of the archipelago that distinguishes it from what is found abroad, especially in the Middle East. Yet, it cannot be denied that Islam has experienced its glory in Indonesia.

Al-Qur'an and al-Hadith are the primary sources of Islamic religion and life guidance for every Muslim. As the religion of *rahmatan lil 'Alamin*, al-Qur'an and al-hadith explain a lot about the virtues of doing good to others, such as *zakat*, *infaq* and the offer of *shadaqah* mentioned in the Holy Qur'an (QS. 57: 18). In al-Quran *surah Al-Zalzalah* verses 7-8, it is explained that every good and bad deed has its rewards. *Shadaqah jariyah* is the activity of sharing with others to draw a closer and unconditional relationship with Allah SWT. It is carried out because of one's obedience and faith to Allah SWT. The activity is not only limited to sharing materials but also doing a good deed to others.

One of the local wisdom of the Javanese people is "ater-ater" tradition or sharing food with relatives, friends, or neighbors. This tradition is still heavily preserved until now, especially when commemorating religious holidays such as *Maulid Nabi*, *Isra' Mi'raj*, *Qurban* holiday, *Eid al-Fitr*, and so forth. The community interprets *ater-ater* tradition as the simplest form of alms.

Regarding the virtues of alms, Muslim communities in Java often associate them with the term *shadaqah jariyah*. The alms worth an unbroken reward is called *jariyah*. Thus, the merit of good deeds in the form of alms

can be given to families who have passed (Zuhaili, 1997). The debate over the benefits of those who provide the reward for the deceased relatives has taken place centuries ago.

The traditions that are hereditary among Indonesian people contribute to the diversity of ways of behaving and responding to every event and life experience that becomes a part of the local culture. The traditions do not stand-alone because strong internal, social, and religious impulses often become the main considerations to conduct certain rituals. It has also been experienced by the Probolinggo community in addressing the importance of *sadaqah jariyah* as an effort to carry out the religious message, especially for families who have passed away.

Probolinggo is an area located in the eastern part of East Java province, which is also known as *Tapal Kuda* city. The majority of Probolinggo people are Muslims except for a small number of people living in Bromo mountain. The *rebbe* ritual is one of the local wisdom of Probolinggo community, which is a form of alms from living families to the deceased relatives conducted at home or grave of the deceased. The alms are done in the form of giving staple foods such as rice, side dishes, fruit, and various snacks to relatives, closest neighbors, or families who cannot afford the foods. *Rebbe* is carried out at certain times such as Friday night, Monday night, the birthday of the dead, and religious holidays.

The people of Probolinggo commonly practice this ritual. Even in certain areas, the ritual is also done by communicating with the spirits of the deceased. The peak of the ritual usually takes place on the night of 10<sup>th</sup> *Suro* (*Muharram* month). In this ritual, the reward of alms is not only delivered to one person who had passed but also devoted to all families who had passed while mentioning the names of the deceased based on a family tree (observation result of *rebbe* ritual in Mr. Juhri's house on November 5, 2018).

*Rebbe* ritual is significant to study because of some reasons. First, it is a tradition that elevates Islamic values in the concept of alms to send commended good deeds. Second, it preserves the wisdom of Javanese culture to share food so that close family relations are established. Finally, the ritual preserves Madurese culture in introducing a kinship system to ancestral lines to the younger generation.

There are some previous studies relevant to this present research. The research conducted by Holis (2017) analyzed the phenomenon of charity seekers (donations) for the construction of mosques on the street. The donation

seems to run based on the absolute work ethic that must be done so that it becomes an agreement of a group of people and becomes a social symbol that is difficult to change. In addition, Danel (2015) analyzed the ceremony done by Mukad Ulid Dayak Bulusu tribe for people who had died as a form of respect for the ancestors. The ceremony is considered as the termination of the inner connection between the family of the deceased and the person who died, so that the family is away from harmful things. It is done as the ceremonial delivery of the spirit to the eternal realm called *londoyon*.

Based on the studies above, it can be concluded that the first study focused on people or actors who did *amal jariyah*, while the second was pivoted on the mukad ulid ritual which preserves cultural heritage to honor ancestors who had died by perpetuating the carried message. Meanwhile, the present research focuses more on how *rebbe* ritual is carried out in connection with the concept of *sadaqah jariyah* which is taught in Islam but contained traditional beliefs.

This tangible social reality has been going on for centuries. Therefore, *rebbe* ritual has its special meaning for Probolinggo people. As one form of local cultural wisdom, the ritual is interesting to investigate because it elevates Islamic values in giving alms to the society. Besides, it is also included in the recommended good deeds and efforts to preserve Javanese cultural wisdom. Finally, it will preserve Madurese culture in introducing a kinship system to the younger generation.

## **Method**

This study used field research to explore phenomenological field data regarding the procession and meaning of the *rebbe* ritual in Probolinggo community about *shadaqah jariyah*. The approach used was qualitative research because this research focused more on extracting data directly to key informants.

This study consisted of the villagers of Lemah Kembar, Sumberasih Probolinggo regency consisting of four hamlets, namely Tanah Merah, Kalisat, Parus, and Bibis. In this case, the researcher acts as a key instrument in gathering and analyzing the data.

The data covered the process of *rebbe* ritual activities, key information related to the meaning, history, and development of the ritual as well as the community's view of *shadaqah jariyah*. It also covered how the villagers understood its meaning which became the meeting point of the community's *shadaqah jariyah* concept in the community.

The data were gathered from the community leaders, religious leaders, all citizens as performers of the rituals, and various reference books that described the practice of *shadaqah jariyah* and forms of social construction in the community. The data collection and extracting techniques used were interviews, observation, and document study. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique varied from domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, to cultural theme analysis.

This study used a historical social approach. According to Kuntowijoyo (2003), a phenomenon that occurs in a community will become a part of life in the community itself. The historical social concept is the writing of history which makes society the subject of a study. In this case, a business that can create a comprehensive framework for the whole community is needed.

To gain a full explanation of the meaning of *rebbe* ritual, this research also referred to the study of anthropology. One of the most important keys of the study is holism, namely the view that social practices must be examined in context and essentially seen as practices related to others in the community (Gellner, 2002). In this case, the study of phenomena should look at the relation of religion to other aspects that may emerge as a reflection of reality. The culture in the society certainly has a background as a part of meaningful social interaction for their life.

### **Various Meanings of *Shadaqah Jariyah* for Lemah Kembar Community**

As a pluralistic nation, Indonesia has two kinds of cultural systems, namely national and local ethnic cultural systems. The national cultural system is relatively new and is still in the process of formation. This system generally applies to all Indonesians, but at the same time is outside the boundaries of any local ethnic culture. These values become a sense of Indonesia because they are combined with other values that are derived from old cultural values contained in various local cultural systems (Basri, 2011).

The integration of culture in the identity of the Indonesian nation exists in daily routines through manifestations of behavior that is recognized by the plural society, as well as to be developed and deepened in the local culture. In the meantime, one form of cultural fusion is the tradition of *shadaqah*, which does not come initially from practices and actions that exist in any community. Thus, the practice of *shadaqah* often becomes an urgent matter to instill by religious leaders to avoid misunderstanding in society.



The word *shadaqah* comes from the word “*shadaqa*” which means true. In this case, the word can be interpreted as those who like to give alms are “those who confess his faith”. According to *fuqoha*, *shadaqah* is a Muslim gift to his Muslim brother/sister and is considered a virtue that expects Allah’s blessing and mercies (Wardana, 2018).

*Shadaqah* is the activity of sharing with others as an attempt to be closer to Allah SWT and is carried out because of a Muslim’s obedience and faith to Allah SWT. People who give alms are convinced of the promise of Allah who gives sustenance to each of His creations. For people who understand the true meaning of alms, their belongings will be taken care of only in the path blessed by Allah (Wardana, 2018). Meanwhile, *shadaqah jariyah* is an attempt from a servant to gain closeness to his God, with the hope that other people can take advantage of his *shadaqah* all the time. Even though he is gone (dead), he will still receive his reward (Syukri, 2011).

The community of Lemah Kembar village, Sumberasih district, Probolinggo is a community known to have a close relationship with relatives, which is still well conserved until today. They also hold a belief that they should routinely share *shadaqah jariyah*. The purpose of sharing the *shadaqah* to those in need is that they can deliver the reward to the deceased.

The essential aim of *shadaqah* is to create harmony in social life as well as to create awareness to do good even if it starts with small things. With *shadaqah*, humans are taught to have unconditional and sincere feelings, and have empathy for others (Wardana, 2018).

According to the local religious leaders in Probolinggo, *shadaqah jariyah* is a pious act in the form of giving alms in which the value of the reward is unbroken even if someone has died. The rewards for those who are still alive can continue to increase along with the pious deeds performed. Whereas for those who have died, the merit of *shadaqah jariyah* can still be sent to the deceased by the relatives who are still alive by specializing the merit of *shadaqah* for those who passed away or *mayyit*.

The people of Lemah Kembar village unwittingly agree that the reward of *shadaqah jariyah* is devoted to *mayyit* of the living relatives. Such conditions are often experienced by ordinary people who base their understanding of their parents or ancestors that occur in a hereditary way without trying to study the cleric of *shadaqah jariyah* intensively.

Every deed done by someone will surely receive a reward. Every person who does good will be rewarded with kindness and merit, whereas those who

do bad will be tormented. God gives humans obligations and responsibilities according to their abilities; therefore, naturally, the reward commensurate with the deeds done. Allah is the most gracious because goodness done by humans get a ten-time reward (Anies, 2009).

For students who study at *pesantren* and often go home to meet their parents, they are commonly influenced by the information that their parents get from lectures obtained from television. This is risky because *pesantren* is supposed to be the primary source of getting religious knowledge, instead of being dominated by an understanding that comes from parents. Their understanding is based on hereditary beliefs coming from their ancestors without being equipped with authentic propositions.

The implementation of almsgiving of the earth contains several elements. It can be seen as useful, such as the creation of an atmosphere of togetherness and brotherhood, the creation of an atmosphere of cooperation, and the establishment of the soul sacrifice. These values in principle do not conflict with Islamic values. However, the earth alms ceremony also contains elements that are contrary to Islamic teachings, and sometimes include acts of shirk (Hidayatulloh, 2013).

The understanding of not reaching the reward of *shadaqah jariyah* for people who have died has an impact on the behavior or participation of the students in carrying out cultural rituals that are carried out in the local community. In the meantime, this second group's understanding only excludes prayers intended for people who have died with the reward of passing through that route.

The pattern of implementation of *shadaqah jariyah* that applies among the people of Lemah Kembar village has a characteristic that the reward is delivered to people who have not received facilities from the prayer interpreter or sent the reward. Many charity fundraisers are found for the construction of mosques, small mosques or places of education in the form of giving out an amount of money voluntarily without being limited. This activity is carried out on the roadside, which is the main road for residents to pass.

As has been explained before related to the community's interpretation of *shadaqah jariyah*, which is intended for people who have died have a variety of different views. This is based on the differences in the interpretation of the propositions used and the role of the hereditary ancestors who have carried out traditions that run in the community. Based on this, the differences can be classified as follows.

First, most community members interpret *shadaqah jariyah* as a form of *amaliyah* whose reward continues to flow even if someone dies. Besides, this group believes in the gift of *shadaqah jariyah* reward in the form of food and prayers offered to people who have died as taught by their ancestors.

Second, a part of the *santri* community defines *shadaqah jariyah* as a form of giving whose reward is unbroken even if someone dies. Meanwhile, this group believes in the gift of *shadaqah jariyah* reward to relatives who had died known from the clerics or religious teachers but without knowing in depth truth of the lecture.

Third, a small group of the *santri* community defines *shadaqah jariyah's* reward that will last only as long as the person is still alive in which deeds can be rewarded if someone does good deeds. This group's understanding is based on hadith that if someone dies, then the deeds are cut except for three cases, i.e. alms giving, useful knowledge, or the prayers of a pious child (HR. Muslim no. 1631).

The implementation of *shadaqah* for the poor can function as a gift given by Allah to His servants. The rich as an intermediary will distribute every asset he has because that is his right. In the teachings of Islam, many ways can be done to make *shadaqah*, for example in the form of material, services, or smiles. In Indonesian society, the tradition of giving alms is not only for those who are still alive, but also for family members who had died, even the predecessors in their respective villages. This tradition is known as almsgiving of the earth.

The Islamic view of the arrival of *shadaqah jariyah* brings to its adherents how safe it is to live in an Islamic state. Moreover, the guarantee of heaven and a decent place will bring fresh air for every Muslim who carries out worship, especially to give alms to others. Some of the worships and obedience can bring benefits to those who have died. The worship can be done in the form of human obedience during life in the world or efforts from others to people who had died (Syukri, 2011).

In the meantime, the gift of reward is only limited to sending prayers to both parents or people who had died with nothing to do with offerings that are used as a means to convey the reward. As the tradition of sending prayers in the community is done purely to pray for people who had died in the grave, but it is not a "blessing" which means sending prayers or giving alms to relatives who are often carried out by all people.

### The Meaning of *Rebbe* Ritual for Lemah Kembar Community

*Rebbe* is one of the cultural practices of Lemah Kembar village communities passed from generation to generation. It is the result of acculturation of local culture, religion and myths. Practicing a plurality of rhythms in the local community makes the long-term preservation of *rebbe* culture.

Associated with the tradition that runs in the area, the social construction in understanding the meaning of *shadaqah jariyah* on residents has different characteristics and patterns. The relationship between people who are still alive with people who have died is intertwined if a glimpse of newcomers presents in that environment.

Historically, Lemah Kembar villagers have performed *rebbe* ritual for generations, but there are no detailed historical records related to the beginning of the ritual carried out by the community. Therefore, it can be concluded that the villagers only continue the ritual practice without knowing the exact meaning behind the tradition.

Meanwhile, the village religious leaders explained that the beginning of the ritual implementation was based on local beliefs. The ritual has been ingrained in the villagers for many years, but it is not known exactly when and who started it. In the meantime, even the elders did not know for sure, although they have lived for many periods.

According to some circles, the ritual can be regarded as a myth that was spread orally and passed down from one generation to the next generation as a story or something said by the ancestors. Thus, *rebbe* can be told as a story that has become a belief and has a sacred meaning for the people of Lemah Kembar village, especially in carrying out the myths and constructions that are difficult to change. The people who do not have enough scientific knowledge about this tradition will continue to do it without questioning the origin of the tradition.

The form of social construction that perpetuates the tradition of *rebbe* ritual in the community of Lemah Kembar is the belief that the reward of *shadaqah jariyah* is given to relatives who died so that the ritual becomes a mandatory tradition that cannot be separated from the life of the villagers. *Shadaqah jariyah* pattern is carried out in the form of *rebbe* ritual combined with a myth that has been developed over time. Consequently, there is a shift of motives behind the ritual practice. The recent motives of conducting the ritual might be different from that of the pioneers.

In various rituals, commonly there is a connection between the system's symbol, social cohesion, and social transformation. Likewise, there are two forms of religious rituals in Islam, namely, official and local or popular rituals. One of the death rituals well known in Javanese society is *tahlilan*. In this ritual, the family of the deceased invite relatives and neighbors to recite *tahlil* and other *dhikr* while providing *shadaqah* in the food that is offered to the guests (Mulyadi, 2013: 129).

The community considers *rebbe* ritual to be a mandatory tradition that must be carried out even more, to be done even if they are going to do other activities. Thus, serving parents becomes an obligation and an important thing to do other than doing daily activities. This is also because people who have died have been waiting for *shadaqah jariyah* to be sent to them from their relatives who are still alive.

The social construction of *rebbe* ritual appears as a relationship between myths and symbols in a religious society. Islam as the only religion that is adopted by the people of Lemah Kembar village has several virtues of *shadaqah jariyah*. The virtues are understood and realized through the ritual's activity, which is believed to be able to deliver *shadaqah jariyah* gifts from living families to relatives who have died. This is based on their belief that *shadaqah jariyah* means a form of *shadaqah* whose reward can be continued even if someone has died. Thus, the living relatives can still send the reward of *shadaqah jariyah* for relatives who have died.

### **The Historical Social Construction of *Rebbe* Ritual in Interpreting the Meaning of *Shadaqah Jariyah***

Social construction is a new theory of sociology from Berger and Luckmann (2016). This theory contains two keys, namely reality and knowledge as the two things that are built socially. The reality is various phenomena that exist without depending on human will, while knowledge is real or unreal, and its existence has its characteristics (Manuaba, 2008).

The meaning of each view refers to how the knowledge is obtained and how to process it in a thought that is following the conditions of the local community. Furthermore, the meaning will bring subjectivity in building a whole concept by trying to make it a basis on every step to create a diverse interpretation among the local community. That way, various efforts are made for the creation of good relations.

The theory developed by Berger and Luckmann is the sociology of knowledge based on the reality of everyday life in society (as cited in Jackson, 2012). Berger & Luckman (2016) also argued that the reality of everyday life is not real. It is exhausted by the immediate presence, but embraces phenomena that are not present in 'here and now'. It means that each experiences everyday life in terms of differing degrees of closeness and remoteness, both spatially and temporally.

A life filled with an environment based on everyday contexts will make the surrounding community involved in every initiated ritual. It means that each event in life is processed into a ritual that will lead to a decline in the inheritance. It inevitably will be passed on to the next generation who demands human relations through objectivity in acting.

In this theory, there is a dialectical process consisting of things, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization. Externalization is a process exists in a person and is then devoted to social reality. The objectification is a product that comes from deep thinking in the real form whose results can be felt by reality. The internalization is something that has been conveyed out then included in the self and interpreted deeply (Na'im, 2017).

The reality of life becomes a benchmark of subjective truth and brings a different impression to others. The reality experienced by people from generation to generation has been systematically arranged so that it cannot be traced since when and how the event began. This is where historical study emerges as a form of tracking of every ritual performed by a group of people in realizing the same feeling.

Berger and Luckman (2016) argue that the reality in daily life is continuously organized. In this case, all phenomena are arranged in various patterns that do not depend on one's understanding. Moreover, according to Berger and Luckman, this life contains objectivities, and signs or symbols. It will not be separated from the existence of history or history that descends on the human mind. One of the various signs and symbols that appear in everyday life is language. Language can save the objectivity of meaning from various phenomena and be able to preserve it from one generation to the next.

An event or phenomenon that occurs in society will become a part of life in the community itself. If the phenomenon or event is reviewed, history will be known. The historical social concept is the writing of history which makes society a subject of study. In this case, a business that can create a comprehensive framework for society as a whole is needed (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

Every ritual that is developed in the community certainly cannot be separated from the history that underlies it, whether it is based on mutual agreement or the existence of a myth that is believed to be able to resolve matters. Therefore, a ritual will reflect how the condition of the community at the beginning of the activities that exist in the next era seems to be far from the rational principle.

The word ritual comes from the word rite. There are various definitions of ritual. According to the Indonesian dictionary (KBBI, 2002), the meaning of ritual is a matter of procedure in religious ceremonies. According to Koentjaraningrat (n.d.), the ritual is a special or sacred ceremony performed by religious people. In this activity, there is a place, time, tools, and participants participating in the event.

The existence of rituals for humans is a symbol of religion and human culture. Such symbolic actions become a necessity because humans must communicate with God Almighty. These ritual activities are carried out from generation to generation to maintain certain rituals (Budiyono, 2001).

*Shadaqah jariyah* as a part of religious guidance to give away some of one's property has become an undeniable thing in carrying out religious orders. In the meantime, the agreement established by the ancestors often becomes a tradition passed down to the next generation whose meanings are sometimes unknown as expected by the pioneers.

Indonesian society is inseparable from the beliefs of dynamism and animism that have existed for a long time. Thus, the ritual has become one of the cultures carried out by the community. In Java, including East Java, religious rituals are commonly performed to avoid evil things. From the rituals, people ask the spirit not to disturb them or to bless them (Darori, 2002). Thus, for some group of people, ritual activities are considered negative because they are related to mysticism.

Symbolic representation of *shadaqah jariyah's* pattern prevailing in the community forms awareness and a basic understanding of the ritual for all residents. In the meantime, mutual agreement within the framework of togetherness is based on language, art, history, religion, and the social environment that can be a foothold in acting. Many things affect the implementation of a ritual that will outline the resolution of a problem that is experienced by both individuals and groups.

The meaning of symbolic reality forms a pattern of social construction that is depicted from a community tradition. On the historical social construction



process in interpreting the meaning of *shadaqah jariyah*, three processes accompany the stages of the pattern, namely objectivities, externalization, and internalization.

The objectivities and externalization stages are the formation of a society called primary socialization. It is the moment when the ritual gets recognition from the community after it is initiated and done massively for the creation of a form of social construction that is prevailed among the local community. In this stage, the people of Lemah Kembar village face objective reality and take action on what they experience and act as a form of self-realization.

While the internalization stage requires social institutions to be maintained and continued, there must be a justification for the social institutions. Yet, it should be noted that humans themselves through a process of legitimacy called secondary objectivities made the justification. In the form of legitimacy, there are special nights considered as sacred moments to send a reward of *shadaqah jariyah* to families who have died, namely Monday night and Friday night.

Internalization of *rebbe* ritual as a part of historical social construction illustrates that *shadaqah jariyah* goes down through generations. It is an embodiment of community understanding in the form of rituals traditionalized in shaping interactions and patterns of life together. This social construction describes expressions and patterns of primitive solutions from agreements that exist in social reality.

Related to the form of the social construction of Lemah Kembar village community in the form of internalization of *rebbe* ritual, there is an understanding that the tradition is applied as a form of interpretation of the historical conditions that contributes to shaping the pattern. Reward prizes given in the form of *shadaqah jariyah* are carried out routinely by providing food to relatives and villagers to give prayers. The reward is sent explicitly to families who have died.

In some *santri*'s communities who perform *rebbe* ritual, drinks prepared should not always be coffee but can also be replaced by tea or mineral water. Meanwhile burning *kemenyan* is not considered necessary for these communities. In addition, these communities believe that the provision of food and drink that reflect *shadaqah jariyah* has a reward value given to people who have died.

The use of frankincense in *rebbe* ritual becomes an even recommended mandatory due to efforts to deliver the reward to the unseen world as used by shamans, psychics and others. Meanwhile, the use of incense in the ritual is undoubtedly contrary to Islamic law.

Similar to other rituals carried out in other areas in Java Island, *rebbe* ritual also has a variety of deep and specific symbols. The Javanese themselves are born with full of symbols that carry meaning every performing ritual; therefore, the culture that is born is also full of symbols. Javanese belief offers a variety of symbols from simplistic to complex. In this context, Siti Nurlaili (2009) stated that Javanese is a man who is rich in symbols. Symbols are not words, but rather an object that is representative of a meaning. Throughout the history of human Java, symbols have colored behavior, language, science, and religion. The function of the symbol is as a medium to convey the message smoothly. Sometimes, the symbol is something complicated, so that only humans who have more knowledge (*linuwih*) will be able to understand all forms and purposes. The classic Javanese proverb says “*wong Jowo iku nggoning semu, sinamuningna mudana, sesadone ingadu manis*”. That is, Javanese people place symbols, everything is disguised as symbols with the intention that everything looks beautiful and sweet.

Expressive and communicative symbols are manifestations of rituals. The threat to local wisdom through the swift currents of modernization can be dammed through the interpretation of rituals which have an essential role in maintaining the culture in society. The spiritual relationship between man and his God can be expressed through the behavior that exists in the traditions of religions as a ritual. The experience of one's faith and aesthetics that is sacred in every celebration and ceremony held regularly is also considered a ritual (Ilahi, 2017).

The implementation of a ritual can be held by followers of certain religions or activities carried out steadily by certain communities in the community. Activities carried out in the ritual, cannot be done in vain, but must be by the standard or rules that have been determined. The examples of the rituals are salvation ceremonies, ceremonies for blessing, offerings to be far from the unseen evil, processions, and religious ceremonies.

Trust in ancestral traditions is still widely found and practiced by people in various parts of Indonesia. In the Bugis community in South Sulawesi, for example, such practices are still found. Community appreciation of ancestral mythology and belief in supernatural beings or animals that have supernatural powers is still maintained. However, in some places, especially in urban communities, such beliefs have been lost (Rais, 2010).

In religion, there are also rituals in the form of celebrations that are usually relevant to the people who uphold the values of the ancestors' local

wisdom. Besides, the ritual also functions as social control, which according to anthropologists is the way the ritual of religion aims to strengthen the tradition of social tied among individuals.

In religion, rituals are framed in the symbolization of local wisdom shown at the annual ceremonial as a holy experience expressed through respect for the ancestors. Religious traditions that contain holy experiences, actually have spiritual mystical values conveyed through the symbol of rhythm. The truth of religion and devotion to the creator can also be presented by utilizing this moment of tradition and local culture. The construction of symbols in a tradition among the community illustrates the pattern of interaction between residents and people, and communication between them in the form of giving shadaqah jariyah practiced in *rebbe* ritual.

In general, this tradition is not much different from the salvation ritual done by the Javanese people by praying before giving food and drink in the form of "blessing" which becomes a local tradition. The difference between both rituals is that the implementation of the praying ceremony is accompanied by burning incense as a link with the supernatural world.

*Rebbe* ritual procession in some communities is combined with animism and dynamism beliefs such as calling out the name of the deceased while inviting a chat as if the spirit of the deceased was present. This has the meaning that all efforts to give shadaqah jariyah can be carried out in this form while still paying attention to each other's beliefs.

Meanwhile, when santri performs this ritual, basmalah and al-fatihah in the form of tawassul to the Prophet Muhammad Saw and Shaykh Abdur Qadir Jaelani are added before starting the ritual. This is a symbol of piety to God to ask for the realization of the intended purpose of performing the ritual. Implementation like this is no different than the custom of reading prayers in general, which is often done by all the local communities in Indonesia.

Javanese society with its culture is firmly attached to a belief that is full of mythology, sacredness, and mystification. All of them are mythologies that can be found in people, places, times, and events of the society. Furthermore, the mythologies are seen in names, births, times, letters, numbers, and luck. The Javanese myth's reality is manifested through the form of ritual ceremonies (Fitri, 2012).

The view of religious rites becomes a separate pattern in interacting and giving manifestation to everyday events and activities. In essence, it is to carry out religious rituals that are interpreted together to illustrate the performing

of *shadaqah jariyah*. The tradition can be passed down to future generations so that the pioneers also receive the reward as the initiators of the ritual.

The implementation of a religious ritual within the frame of historical social construction places the pioneer to determine the right place and time to practice what one believes. Therefore, all activities will determine when and where a tradition can be carried out. It is the same as Friday prayers, for example, which can only be held in a mosque or near a building that reflects a lively atmosphere. In the meantime, the ritual is also related to the time and place that is used as a place to pour all the interpretation of one's religion.

Aside from celebrating greatness, a ceremony is also explicitly performed to send reward for relatives who have died. This ceremony also aims to invite the deceased to celebrate the ceremony carried out while he or she is still alive. It is possible to get a blessing together.

The time of the procession of *rebbe* ritual forms a belief in the reward of the deceased by adding incense to the laypeople or *abangan* so that their belief can be seen from the ritual practice. There is a difference in the chosen time of carrying out the ritual. On Friday night the procession is done at home, then the food is delivered to relatives and closest neighbors. Meanwhile, if the ritual is carried out on religious holidays, then it is conducted at home and the food is delivered to the *mushalla* to be eaten together by anybody who is present there. According to custom, *rebbe* ritual is carried out at the home of people who have the intention to send a reward to their passing relative. This tradition is common among Javanese people and is usually accompanied with incense burning.

Myths and symbols in *rebbe* ritual have a close attachment and have full meaning and symbolic interaction. The symbolic interaction perspective helps understanding human behavior from the subject. This perspective suggests that human behavior should be seen as a process that enables humans to shape and regulate their behavior by considering the expectations of others who are their interaction partners (Ahmadi, 2008). This is a form of action carried out in the form of continuous joint actions under stable conditions and at the same time realized cultural values.

## Conclusion

In realizing the content interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith, the social community requires patterns in practicing what is believed and understood. In the meantime, the concept of *shadaqah jariyah*, which has become a religious

suggestion, has various interpretations in the community, especially in daily practice. In recent times, Lemah Kembar community are divided into three groups in terms of understanding *shadaqah jariyah*'s meaning. First is a group of most ordinary people who interprets it as a form of *shadaqah* whose reward continues to flow even though someone dies. The second group is some strict Muslims who interprets it as a form of *shadaqah* whose reward does not stop even if someone dies. The third one is a small group of strict Muslims who defines it as a form of *shadaqah* that lasts as long as the person is still alive and that deeds can be rewarded if someone is doing good deeds.

Meanwhile, the historical social construction of *rebbe ritual* in the community of Lemah Kembar village can be grouped into two. They are a community who considers the ritual as an obligation and those who consider the ritual as something optional according to the situation and conditions. This tradition is descending from time to time with the belief in the prize reward and is a symbolic communication between people who are still alive and people who had died with treats in the form of incense as a medium. It forms a real understanding of the existence of a tradition that will be sustainable with the same structure carried out among the people of Lemah Kembar village.

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## FEMALE CIRCUMCISION: MOPOLIHU LO LIMU AND MONGUBINGO CUSTOMS IN BUILDING LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR

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### **Abstract**

*This article discusses the custom of female circumcision for the people of Gorontalo, carried out for generations. The procession of female circumcision custom process has its symbol, meaning, and purpose, that expects every circumcised girl to be a religious woman, useful for family, community, nation-state life. Besides, she is expected to have a responsible and trustworthy leader spirit. The role of women as leaders and how to behave in leadership is reflected in the custom practices of female circumcision. The results showed that in the perspective of the Gorontalo community, the female circumcision tradition is an obligation because of its values as a translation of religious importance. The persistence of Gorontalo people to always preserve this tradition is maintained, even though some scholars and communities view that female circumscicion is not a compulsory matter.*

*Artikel ini membahas mengenai adat khitan perempuan bagi masyarakat Gorontalo yang dilakukan secara turun temurun. Urutan prosesi adat khitan perempuan memiliki lambang, arti dan maksud tersendiri, yakni mengharapkan setiap anak perempuan yang dikhitan menjadi perempuan yang taat beragama, bermanfaat bagi kehidupan keluarga, masyarakat, bangsa dan negara. Selain itu, mereka diharapkan berjiwa pemimpin yang bertanggung jawab dan dapat dipercaya. Peran perempuan sebagai seorang pemimpin dan bagaimana berperilaku dalam memimpin tercermin dalam tata cara adat khitan perempuan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam pandangan hidup masyarakat Gorontalo, adat khitan perempuan adalah suatu kewajiban karena nilai-nilai yang terkandung*

di dalamnya merupakan penjabaran nilai-nilai agama. Keteguhan masyarakat Gorontalo untuk selalu melestarikan adat khitan perempuan tetap terjaga, meskipun dalam pandangan sebagian ulama dan sebagian masyarakat khitan perempuan bukan merupakan perkara wajib yang harus dilakukan.

**Keywords:** *female circumcision; leadership; tradition*

## Introduction

Nation-state development is a changing process, improving and developing the state progress conducted with a keen awareness and prepared comprehensively based on the planning toward better and modern nation state life. The directed and sustainable development implementation is a responsibility for every individual and all community elements, including women that also involved in every social activity and various leadership activities to achieve the development goals.

One of female roles and responsibilities today can be seen from women's involvement and role in leadership (Astuti, 2019). Women leadership has a particular method and slightly different from men leadership method. Because, women have characteristic by nature such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding that can ask other people to do command under their motivation and expectation. The women's leadership stayed on function, authority, and obligation of each individual to persuade and ask others to implement the instruction, complete some works and responsibilities based on truthness and justice principles. According to Islam, women may take a leadership role if they are able and having the capability to occupy the position intended.

Women also have some activities that tend to social roles, culture, economics, etc. In the family as the smallest environment, leadership is not only male responsibilities but also females (Amin, 2018). Women are directly responsible and having an active role in managing family and household for achieving the *sakinah, mawaddah wa rahmah* family. Hadits Rasulullah SAW says: "Every Eden offspring is a leader, thus male is family leader, and female is the household leader" (HR. al-Bukhari).

Leader does not differentiate between male and female. Therefore, foundation of their struggle is looking for the opportunity and the same right for every individual including female based on the equity of existence as the creature of Allah SWT in the social community environment and various

fields (Mufidah, 2008). The essential of leadership is a duty for everybody to reinforce the truth and justice. Leadership is not based on power, facilities such as a luxury car, official residence, more lumpsum of occupation, and many policy access without giving attention to the other people's rights.

Women also have a role and responsibilities as a leader in every level, both in institutions of government, private, and social organization, even to become leader in the battlefield. Women leadership is not only in household environment in meaning to persuade men to recognize their right, but women role in administration also has the same opportunity and right to participate in various social organization and environment or other community environments. Those roles are realized in the form of active participation of female as people representative, head of village, regent, major, governor, ministry and even president. It shows that women can contribute to development in realizing the equitable social justice for the nation-state victory.

Some people have opinions that women do not have the capacity to be a leader in various sectors and organization, particularly to become leader of nation state. They assumed that their ability, especially for career women balancing with their domestic jobs, characterizes weak and indecisive personality. Novianti (2016) argued that one of restriction encountered by married women when she entered into public sector and leadership activities is the women tend to ignore the parenting issues. All duties of household will be given to house assistants to educate children. Other negative aspects associated to working mothers are not dare to take decisions, easy to give up, unlogical, emotional, tending to believe mystical etc.

Beside differences of opinion about women leadership, some people have doubts for successful women leadership, because many women leader got cases of drugs, corruption, persecution, fraud, infidelity, adultery, destruction, and other issues. Ahmad (2019) looks at many instances, particularly corruption case often happening and involving women leader. The corruption case has been assumed to reduce integrity and public trust values for women leadership in Indonesia in the future. Women leader that get corruptor status will give the negative image for women leadership in organization and community in various sectors.

The issues above become the responsibilities for all community components, such as figures of religion, community, tradition, youth, educator, etc. In some areas including Gorontalo that still strongly hold the local culture and tradition, they always use a discussion approach to resolve some cases.

According to Arpin and Haritsa (2018) the custom approach by discussion can be used as alternative for resolving disputes. It is carried out by harmonizing between the effects of small criminal and civil action. The method was done by mediation.

Gorontalo is one of the cities in Indonesia where the Moslem still firmly hold the local culture and custom. Gorontalo people were known as loving local culture and tradition and also assuming the local custom as the honor that always kept with hereditary. Amin (2012) said that Gorontalo had four aspects of customs, such as tradition of visitor welcome, coronation, marriage, and funeral. Gorontalo also has procedure of *akiah*, circumcision, etc. These aspects are conducted following the philosophy of local Gorontalo, that is “tradition with principle of sharia, and sharia with principle of al Quran” or in Gorontalo language is called as “*adati hulahulaa to syaraa, syaraa hulaahulaa to Qur’ani* (Botutihe & Daulima, 2003). It is also with the form of oral literature, dance, handicrafts, local traditional clothing, and so on, which have very high artistic value created to describe the beauty, wealth, comfort, security as well as the friendliness and politeness of its inhabitants.

Women’s leadership in Gorontalo is not a big problem that is always debated if it has followed the requirements according to custom provisions. For example, a woman who is appointed as regent, or becomes the wife of a regional official such as mayor, governor and others is more likely to get recognition from the community through the coronation procession. In addition to the coronation custom, she should also undergo rituals of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo*, that is a series of practices for female circumcision in Gorontalo (Djibu et al., 2014). This custom illustrates the phase of a woman’s life that starts from infancy. Until she entered adulthood, she is expected to behave gently, be virtuous, graceful and grow according to her nature as a woman. Also, the implementation of custom of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo*, contains religious values, which are essential for human demands. Gorontalo people generally realize how important the dimensions of ethical values in all traditional ceremonies. Therefore, the tradition procession of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* has essential value and meaning that can be a corridor for every community that is doing this tradition. Another value contained in the custom is Islamic culture value that conducted and defended by Gorontalo people until now as the evidence of Gorontalo people’s love for local tradition and culture (Djibu et al., 2014).

*Mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* custom as the focus of the discussion is a series of Gorontalo customs in the form of bathing with lime followed

by a procession of female circumcision. The activity is one of the processions customs that still causes controversy in a small part of Gorontalo society because it is considered hurting women (Isroqunnajah, 2008). This paper describes the female circumcision customs in Gorontalo and their implementation of building leadership behavior. It starts from the assumption that despite differences of opinion about female circumcision, in the view of the Gorontalo traditional community, it is an obligation to maintain the dignity and respect of women in Gorontalo.

## Literature Study

### *Leadership and women leader concepts*

Jurdi (2010) explained that leaders have some values, such as honesty, noble deeds, and consistency between what spoken and the social behavior. But, in many cases, a leader that occupies a position in government is only limited in the occupation period. Appreciation and respect of people or followers are only happening when they hold their position.

Women leader is always becoming a model for other people or their followers for always defending values of honesty and justice. Tombuu (2011:25) explained that leaders should realize that their duty is inseparable from the task of making decision. On that position, consideration and analysis for impact as an effect of decision result should pay attention to truth and justice.

A leader must be able to make alternative transparently about goals and usefulness of the decision taken, and the way to improve effectiveness of duty implementation as effort to accelerate completing the process. It is also necessary to ascertain knowledge about duty and responsibility of leader as decision maker. As decision maker, the leader must be able to make sure the alternative through some information collected. The interpretation will become a consideration for deciding what to do. The next steps are implementing the decision made and stipulated based on consideration and holistic analysis from various information, thought and other consideration. It is assumed more beneficial for common need, based on values of honesty, truth, humanity and responsible.

Women leadership is basically to have a particular model in resolving the duty and authority. Based on their gentle nature, women leadership usually starts to know and feel in family environment, such as caring for children, care and loving. Women's behavior is identified with natural attributes, such

as sensitive, empathy, like to care, cooperative and accommodative (Samani & Harianto, 2012). If those behavior implemented in an organization, leader can make the organization activities process becoming effective in achieving goals. It also shows that women can be responsible for leadership to get more achievement. Women leadership is not rare getting greater success than ordinary administration. It is caused by supporting ability through getting education, experience in organization and motivation from other women (Geotimes, 2017). Generally, leadership is technique or strategy conducted to embed confidence and loyalty of follower for their leader. Commitment and determination will be shown through firm intention to do various duty and instructions given by a leader. According to Prasetya (2019), the strategy implemented to become women leader included self autonomy and quality.

On self-autonomy aspect, the women involved in leadership should start by seeing some previous success of women leaders through political socialization theory. Political socialization emphasizes on family and parent as determinant of children success to involve in civic life. On the self quality aspect, the women leader can minimize various issues about gender in the leadership. To reduce those issues requires the women's active role or participation in some scientific forums, and contribute to behavior that streamlines the women leadership role.

Women leadership becomes crucial in developing process. Makmur (2009) stated that development is an activities process conducted by individual, group, organization, government, and nation state to create growth and dynamical that can create stability in increasing community life well-being. It involves all people including women without discriminating social status, economy, ethnics, and race.

Responding to national development concept, the government specializes in women's role in development. First, on education unit program; the government emphasizes on regulation regarding 12-year compulsory education with giving enormous opportunity to children from pre-welfare households through Smart Indonesian Card (*Kartu Indonesia Pintar*) and Family Hope Program (*Program Keluarga Harapan*). Second, on health unit program; the government prioritizes improving facilities to support the health service quality for women, children and teneegar, with improving and fulfilling nutrition. Third, on employment; the government centralizes on expanding of job opportunities, implementing salary payment regulation following technique or market procedure. The government also intensifies to increase skill and capability by giving training for women with strenghening application of regulation regarding recruitment

of man power that emphasizes on equality of right among men and women. Fourth, the government socializes the violence danger for women and the danger to hire women illegally, mediate women which experiences a violence cases through legal protection (Khumairo, 2019).

Poenk (2016) describes that the women's function is strongly influencing development dialectics to make the nation state becoming more modern and respected by other nations. However, it still has problem on how to revive children and teenage women awareness for their role as state development cadre. Therefore, the woman should have an awareness of her role starting from the family environment, as a mother, and in the nation state life which their right could be equivalent with man. The women role in community and nation state life can be implemented based on the skill and expertise.

Prantiasih (2016) has also argued that women have a significant role in community, starting from household environment, family, and even public purpose. They must protect their family, particularly children and family member, in resolving the entering of communication and information flow that makes worrying in bringing negative impact to the family value order. It will be able to keep and grow the moral value order in family life.

In public or community social field, the women should be able to participate actively in various sectors as efforts to respond the development of digital era today. However, some people still assume that women's participation in various fields not much expected and tends to ignore more the ability to socialize, or many people do not involve women in all activities aspects. The assumption was encouraged by a pessimistic feeling on women's skill, particularly in managing and leading organization. Besides, women leadership is identified with less accurate and ineffective in making decision because women are limited in managing time, preparing power, thinking, having the issue of power struggles, etc. In the household domain and family, the women can become pioneers in creating a safe, secure, and prosperous life through an effort to create interaction among the family member. Women who have expertise in managing family and social community organization and skill in leadership will have the right to become community leaders, organizations, and even national leaders (Makmur, 2009).

Women have the same right with men in participating in leadership activities while they are capable, trusted, skilled, smart and competent. Their capability and skill owned enable them to do various leadership activities aspect. The capable and intelligent women leadership can be achieved through formal



and informal educations. The capability in supporting leadership activities, according to Samani and Hariyanto (2012), is capability in critical thought and problem solving, communication, creative and innovative, collaboration, cooperation, and capacity in contextual learning. Women should also have a function of professional attitude, trust, ethics, accountability, adaptability, personal productivity, personal liability, ability as human, self-control and self-sufficient to be able giving role in development.

Concerning with the arguments of Samani and Haryanto (2012), accordingly, women need to unite three bits of intelligence domain for doing leadership activities, such as Intelligence Quotient (IQ), Emotional Quotient (EQ), and Spiritual Quotient (SQ). The women should learn and develop continually those three intelligence domain without ignoring one field only. Because the smart leader emotionally starts from bright in thought, the intellectual quotient leader can read and count the impacts assumed, perceived, and conducted. The smart leader intellectually without having emotional quotient tends to be not wise and challenging to accept other opinions. Spiritual quotient will play a more significant role in developing knowledge about meaning, and leader needs to conduct something to achieve the target and goals expected.

Women leadership emphasizes on protecting and loving others, but they should be assertive to take decision that starts from family environment, giving the position to working partner, active and participate directly in completing duties related with women roles (Affiah, 2017). Women leaders should also give trust felling and a significant opportunity to others to develop a career and profession. Thus, the women's leadership role can make a real contribution within development which starts from family environment, community, religion, and nation state.

### **The Nature of Women Circumcision (*Khifadh*)**

Female circumcision has got serious attention from many countries around the world since long time ago, based on its relation from point of view of religion, gender, and health. Many experts from various areas, such as figure of religion, health practitioners, academicians etc. have analysed the impact of female circumcision. According to WHO (1997), the female circumcision consists of four categories. *First*, clitoridectomy is the cutting of clitoris or skin covering the clitoris. *Second*, excision is the cutting of clitoris and cutting part of labia minora, with or without cutting part of labia majora. *Third*, infibulation is cutting part or all outsides vagina and

also stitching/narrowing the vagina, with or without clitoris cutting. *Fourth*, all other procedures conducted on vagina for non-medical aiming, including stabbing, perforation, slicing, and scraping for clitoris.

In Indonesia, the female circumcision is not conducted like in Africa by cutting all vagina. The Indonesian female circumcision applied with symbolic, it is suggestive only, without the real cutting of the vagina. Although, some shaman baby or traditional midwife argued that the female circumcision should be bloody around clitoris although only a little in labia minora part (Mustaqim, 2016). The shaman baby put the scissors, knife or razor blade on clitoris, scratching or stabbing a little on the clitoris, touching or cleaning the clitoris with fresh turmeric or moringa leaves.

From the definitions of female circumcision as explained shortly, it can be said that the female circumcision in Indonesia is not the same as circumcision in Afrika. It is not a harmful treatment based on health, although there is difference of female circumcision implementation in each area. The female circumcision in Indonesia usually conducted by shaman baby or or paramedical staff.

Female circumcision conducted by shaman baby is without involving medical staff based on Circular Letter issued by Directorate General of Community Health Education of 2006 regarding prohibitions of women circumcision medicalization for medical staff (Inayati et al., 2016). It said that medical staff may not help anything related to female circumcision practice as commitment to protect women's right for all discrimination form, including violence for women. Through Ministry of Health, Indonesian Government issued again the regulation concerning female circumcision. Regulation of Indonesian Ministry of Health number 6 in 2014 concerning female circumcision on article 2 gave mandate to Consideration Assembly of Health to publish establishment of female circumcision that insures the female safety and not doing a female genital mutilation (Regulation of Ministry of Health, 2016).

Nashichuddin (2010) suggested that female circumcision is different from male circumcision. It is discussed openly in community environment. According to medical, the male circumcision is more accepted because it is useful in its practice. But, the female circumcision is different; it has got many critics because its benefit is not clear. Therefore, there are two assumptions in Muslim community to ascertain the female circumcision tradition: female circumcision as ancient tradition before Islam came that needs a review of

its useful, and there is also the assumption that female circumcision is part of Islamic teaching.

Some people who wonder about the female circumcision is feminist group and also ulema. Feminist see some cases of female circumcision in African countries. They argued that female circumcision should be stopped because it is harmful to women (Maisarah, 2015). It even results in mortality. Therefore, these groups, with some NGO campaign continually the danger of female circumcision. WHO has also supported this campaign.

Ulema rejected the female circumcision tradition based on validity of this teaching. They wonder of female circumcision, because Al-Quran does not explain a single verse about female circumcision tradition. If there is Hadits Rasulullah SAW teaching female circumcision, they will still doubt about the validity of those hadits. Therefore, ulema persuade the people not to do female circumcision. However, referring to Islamic fiqih, the female circumcision got strong support. It can be seen from some opinion of four prominent madzab figures in Islamic fiqih (Imam Maliki, Imam Hanafi, Imam Syafi'i and Imam Abu Hanifah) concerning the law of female circumcision (Khatijah, 2014).

According to Khatijah (2014), different opinion of ulema about law of female circumcision is an effect of differences about analysis of fiqih experts that emphasizes on the study based on text only. This response becomes foundation for deciding to sound the opinion about law of female circumcision that is only centralized on consideration obtained and studied from literature without seeing in depth in terms of female reproduction health. The circumcision implementation for men and women have given a meaningful use both physical health or mental health under shariah.

Imam Syafi'i and his follower assumed that female circumcision is an obligation. Its fundamental norm is similar to men circumcision, that is following the teaching of Prophet Ibrahim. The law of female circumcision is based on male circumcision law. Because, male circumcision is sunnah, then female circumcision is also sunnah. As for the act of female circumcision is *mustahab* (assumed good), as Imam Hanafi's follower and some of Imam Maliki and Imam Hambali's follower said. Other ulema also argued like this based on hadits Nabi Rasulullah SAW, "circumcision is sunnah for male and it is assumed good for female" (Khatijah, 2014).

Three opinions about female circumcision above are the result of ijtihad of classical ulema that strongly influenced by context at that time. Support of

ulema for this female circumcision tradition is universal, because the meaning of people culture at that time put women in subordination position. Women as wife candidate must be holy and having the sign of holiness before marriage. Therefore, part of women organ that is sensitive (peak of clitoris) should be circumcised, so that it is not easily stimulated and misled into evil that breaks the holiness.

### Research Method

This study was conducted by using a descriptive qualitative method, based on level of interest, problem urgency resolved on social context in the value form, cultural, faith, law, and custom. It used technique of interview, observation, and documentation to get data and information related to *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition in building leadership behavior.

Interview technique in this study is as central data resource to know in-depth about the activities conducted during the process of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition. The custom figure becomes informant about the meaning contained in the implementation of this custom. Interview with the educator figure was about the education values contained in female circumcision custom. The government element was interviewed about the meaning of Gorontalo's tradition and cultural in building leader behavior and effort and steps taken by government in conserving local customs and culture of Gorontalo. The interview with the community figure concerned with people's roles and contributions to local custom preservation. Also, the interview was done with shaman baby or doer of female circumcision about steps of preparation and circumcision process.

The researcher did observation technique in Tilongkabila District, Bone Bolango Regency, Telaga, and Tinel Districts Gorontalo Regency, Gorontalo Province. The researcher is not involved directly in observation activities on female circumcision process, but only observed and listened to something related to *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition.

Documentation technique is done when the researcher collected data from various resources, like photos of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition, bulletin, magazine, scientific literature and file. The technique of data analysis in this research uses interactive model that contains four main analysis components that starts from collecting data, data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusion.

### Female Custom in Building Leadership Behavior

Female circumcision in Gorontalo is a tradition since ancient time. It has deep meaning for Gorontalo people that described by action during custom procession of circumcision. In the local language, the female circumcision procession in Gorontalo consists of a series of *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition. It is quoted in the book by Botutihe & Daulima, 2003.

*Mopolihu lo limu* is a tradition that is compulsory. It aims to clean the girl herself. *Mongubingo* is an obligation of sharia or female circumcision to clean female genital from unclean glands carried from birth. Concerning the point of view, another thing that asserts the importance of female circumcision is obtained from parent and custom figure information of Gorontalo, where female circumcision is culturally conducted since ancient times. Circumcision for girls is symbol of holiness and honor for female. If the girl born is not circumcised, then her offspring will bring haram, although from the legal marriage. Because the nature of female circumcision for Gorontalo people is self cleaning of the girl that conducted entirely by custom. The self-purification of girls led wholly based on Islamic sharia, both physically and mentally will be done by village midwife (*hulango*).

The village midwife appointed as organizer of *mongubingo* tradition should meet requirements; (a) Islam; (b) knowing procedure of *mongubingo*; (c) knowing words given by ancestors in doing female circumcision; (d) recognized by people as village midwife; (e) imam (*hatibi*) that reads prayer and shalawat (*mongadi slawati*) and (f) a mother that assumed elder as supervisor of this event. The female circumcision process is conducted following *mopolihu lo lolimu* custom (bathing with lime water). The attributes of custom/cultural object prepared consist of:

1. *Taluhu yilonuwa* (water of lime) with ingredient, such as: seven limes cut into two but not squeezed, the slice of seven kind of puring leaf, fragrance ingredient such as *yilonta*, *onumo* leaf, a type of mayana, jasmine flower called as *moputi*.
2. Seven yellow tube bamboo that covered by puring leaf and filled water and coin valued as Rp. 100, in ancient time called as 10 cent.
3. *Bulowe*, (betel nut, a sprig which is still closed and a sprig has bloomed) *Bulowe*, which has bloomed, hung on the seat of the mother with her child when bathed.
4. One fresh kampong chicken egg.

5. *Dudangata* (coconut grater as the seat for the mother and her baby).
6. *Hulante*, (set of tray contained seven cup of rice, seven eggs, seven nutmeg and cloves, and seven coin valued as Rp. 100,-
7. One plate of *alawahu tilihi* (finely shredded turmeric mixed with whiting) and applied to the forehead, neck, throat, shoulders and grooves of the hands and feet.
8. Set of tray contained glass with small axis to light which called as *tohetutu*, and five cups of colored rice called as *pale yilulo*.

In doing *mongubingo* (circumcision) process, the attribute/cultural object prepared is:

1. *Alumbu moputi'o* (two meter fabrics, to cover the children head when circumcised)
2. Set of circumcision tool put on the tray, on a white cloth, it is small knife, and *yinula monu* (fragrance oil)

Custom attribute/cultural object and the steps conducted on *mongubingo* (circumcision) are as follows:

During *mopolihu lo limu* (bathing with purut orange ingredient) event:

1. *Taluhu yilonuwa*, or water of bathing with lime, consists of various components that means seven kinds of nature needs to removed since her growth, these are:
  - a. *Nene'alo*, means annoying behavior
  - b. *Wetetolo*, means evil speaking
  - c. *Kekengolo*, means busy behavior
  - d. *Kureketolo*, means carelessly practice and speaking
  - e. *Pa'ingolo*, means like denying to parent
  - f. *Bulabolo*, means like to cut speaking other with gibberish
  - g. *Hutatingolo*, means speaking with rough behavior
2. *Limututu* (lime) which is dominant on water of flower, it means to remove the seven bad habits.
3. Seven yellow bamboo tubes. These mean to obtain significant needs to self-purify from birth sin conducted by seven organ. They are: mouth that can lie or *ghibah*, eyes that can see forbidden thing, ear that can listen to bad speaking, nose that can rise hate feeling, foot that can walk and do bad stuff, hand that can break and genital that can have adultery. Coin entered into tube, it means the halal property.
4. *Bulowe* means the fundamental life in their existence in the world as the holder of mandate from Allah.

5. Egg means the beginning of human
6. *Dudangata* (grated coconut) as chair means kept away from crime.
7. *Hulanthe*, means:
  - a. Three liter of rice involves three stages of human life, rice symbolize subsistence.
  - b. Seven limes mean seven natures must be purified (*pohinggi uhiluwiluwita*)
  - c. Seven nutmeg and cloves means inner level that must be refined (*lamahu lo batini*)
  - d. Seven coin valued Rp. 100,- means always looking for a property as life supporting.
  - e. *Alawahu tilihi* (mixture of shredded turmeric and whiting). It shows as; (1) giving a marking on the forehead means a statement not to worship other than Allah; (2) marking on the neck is a statement not want to eat illegal food; (3) marking under throat is a statement of maintenance of breathing in and out with dzikir everytime; (4) marking on shoulder as a statement of responsible for mandate of Allah; (5) marking on the curvature of the hands and feet as a statement will not do despicable acts.
  - f. Glass of *tohetutu*, means life shining, five kind of rices mean: (1) red rice symbolizes red blood on body, (2) white rice symbolizes white blood on body, (3) black rice symbolizes flash on body, (4) yellow rice symbolizes marrow on body, and (5) green rice symbolizes existing veins in the body.

The *mopolihu lo limu* as the beginning stage of procession is continued by *mongubingo*. The object of cultural used in *mongubingo* stage has a meaning as follow:

1. *Alumbu moputi'o* (two meters white fabric), it symbolizes chastity curtain, it means the way to purify the baby.
2. *Yinulo yilonta* (fragrance oil), symbolizes personal fragrant hoped.

The requirements are prepared a day before the process. The event is started by speech and reading shalawat conducted by Imam (prayer leader), in local term called as *hatibi*. It is then continued by *momonto* custom (sticking turmeric mixed with whiting) to the baby and her parent. After *momonto* event, the mother and her daughter brought to the place of *mopolihu lo limu* event.

Mother and her baby are seated on grated coconut facing to east direction. First watering is by her mother represented by her grandmother, if the mother



laps her baby. The second watering is by her father, both mother and father take water from the ingredient pan. The third watering is by custom handler or imam. The water is from yellow tube bamboo, it is the first tube. The second until seventh tube waterings will be done by *hulango* (village midwife). If grandfather and grandmother are still alive, then they have a right to watering water from the tube.

After bathing, the baby wear custom cloths, long dress decorated by golds flowers, and baby's head wear headband, the baby has been ready to circumcised. During *mongubingo* (female circumcison) process, the village midwife covers her body with *alumbu moputi'o* (white fabric), the baby will be smeared with *yinula monu* (fragrant ingredient) as symbol of after circumcised. The event will be continued by lunch together and drinking coffee/tea. Thus, all series of the female circumcison have been done.

Based on observation result, the tradition also functioned as family gathering involving neighborhood and relative come from far area. Visitors and relative can take lesson and suggestion that described during female circumcison custom procession in Gorontalo.

The *mongubingo* custom that begun by *mopolihu lo limu* is a series of tradition that describes the hope of parent, family and Gorontalo people generally in order their daughter become *soleha* women and virtuous character. To make more meaning, the female circumcison is explained by parent to their children when the daughter entering into teenager time. Besides a series of custom process, the female circumcison describes the hope in order the daughter can grow to become noble morals women and emphasizes on her dignity as religious and civilized women.

The core is female circumcison giving profound message and teaching taken from Islamic teaching about the important of noble behavior values for women. Polite behavior and attitude will bring significant effect on household life to accompany husband, educate children and give considerable contribution for community and nation state life. The *saliha* women can accompany her husband in leading and teaching household, even if the husband has an occupation as patron and protector of people. If the occupation will be given to good women based on religion, then she will be able to create a trustworthy and responsible leadership situation.

The female circumcison oriented to build graceful and polite individual characters, who care to parent and loving, protecting to younger. Women are also demanded to avoid lousy attitude and behavior that can harm

themselves and others, such as: stingy, say rude, arrogant, and look down on others (Sartin Djou, interview on November 27, 2018). It reflected the moral message in the form of prayer, hope and suggestion. The harmful practice should be avoided by every women that contained in *mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition is as follows:

1. *Nene'alo*, means annoying. The leader should avoid the annoying behavior, break religion norm, custom and national regulation of Indonesia.
2. *Wetetolo*, means speaking in lousy speech. The leader should be able to control their speaking. Every speaking should give useful for him/herself and others, speaking right and valid.
3. *Kekengolo*, means to behave as if busy. Women with responsible as leader should be not to make busy for herself not giving useful for other. Every activity should be done based on worship.
4. *Kureketolo*, means to behave and speak carelessly.
5. *Pa'ingolo*, means she likes to deny her parent. Although, the women have occupation, she should accept suggestions from her parent as long as the idea is not contradicting with religion and the applicable norm.
6. *Bulabolo*, means to cut speaking of others with a brag. The leader women should give occasion for other to speak. Hearing what deliveries by others or follower is the wise behavior before determining everything.
7. *Hutatingolo*, means speaking rudely. Ethic and politeness of leader, particularly women will seem from word or sentence expressed. More soft the sound of leader will be more showing their authority.

The responsibility of women starts from her family, community, and even broader. To realize commendable, noble, and dignified behavior are not an easy thing. It needs sincerity and tenacity to always learn both formal or informal education, even learning from experience is also very important to get values contained in cultural and custom that are not contradicting with religion. Cultural and tradition are the human thought result applied to social life. It provides message and meaning delivered to community about goals of cultural and custom intended. Beside learning from formal and informal educations, working hard and always praying become the primary key to make women as more dignified leader, professional, trusted and responsible.

## Conclusion

Gorontalo people are one of the tribe in Indonesia, they were born as Muslim that firmly hold on Islamic religion and emphasizing on custom and cultural values. Female circumcision custom started by bathing water of lime (*mopolihu lo limu* and *mongubingo* tradition) is one of the tradition preserved and maintained by Gorontalo people until now. Female circumcision in Gorontalo gives message for women, particularly those who have position and occupation always to avoid negative behavior as like described on circumcision procession activity or meaning or symbol of cultural object used in female circumcision custom procession. The purpose intended is to remove contradictory trait and behavior with religion, custom and applicable norm for maintaining the female honor and self-identity.

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## SUFISTIC SPIRITUALITY: JOINT MOTIVE STUDY IN THE TAREKAT ZAWIYAH NAQSABANDIYAH HAQQANI YOGYAKARTA

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### **Abstract**

*This article discusses the motives of members to join the tarekat of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. Information on the members' motives explains how the spirit of religiosity influences and changes someone's life. This study also examines Karl Marx's view of religion. According to him, the worship of God causes someone alienated from himself. This qualitative research collected the data by doing observation, interviews, and documentation. The results show that there are four motives for members to join the tarekat. They are looking for a mursyid, studying Sufism to learn Islam, looking for inspiration to get to know God, and to get comfort in religion. The members decided to join the tarekat because there was anxiety in religion. Anxiety is what drives a person to take the Sufistic path. The Sufistic path provides peace and comfort in religion. It even strengthens belief in the existence of God and the Prophet Muhammad and leads someone to recognize his identity. The concept of mursyid in the tarekat also becomes a model to be followed in education in the current era since it is believed that he not only transfers knowledge but also shares love to his students.*

*Artikel ini membahas motif anggota bergabung dalam tarekat Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. Mengetahui motif anggota dapat memberikan gambaran bagaimana spirit sufistik dapat mempengaruhi dan merubah kehidupan seseorang. Hal tersebut sekaligus akan menjadi kritik terhadap pandangan Karl Marx tentang agama. Menurut Karl Marx adanya*



pemujaan terhadap Tuhan menyebabkan seseorang teralienasi (terasingkan) dari dirinya. Padahal salah seorang anggota tarekat menyatakan tujuan dirinya bergabung dalam tarekat adalah untuk menemukan identitas dirinya. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan metode pengumpulan data berupa observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat empat motif anggota bergabung dalam tarekat, meliputi: mencari tarekat, mendalami tasawuf sebagai jalan mendekati Islam, mencari inspirasi untuk mengenal Tuhan dan mendapatkan kenyamanan dalam beragama. Para anggota memutuskan bergabung dalam tarekat karena adanya kegelisahan dalam beragama. Kegelisahan tersebut yang mendorong seseorang untuk menempuh jalan sufistik. Jalan sufistik memberikan kedamaian dan kenyamanan dalam beragama, bahkan memperkuat keyakinan atas keberadaan Tuhan dan Rasulullah Muhammad. Konsep mursyid dalam tarekat juga menjadi teladan dalam pendidikan saat ini. Karena seorang tarekat dipercaya tidak hanya memberikan pengetahuan namun juga mentransfer cinta kepada para muridnya.

**Keywords:** Motive; Religious Studies; Sufism; Tarekat

## Introduction

According to Karl Marx, religion is the opium that causes illusions for humans. This illusion makes the proletarian society (class of wage-workers) to accept its oppression by the emergence of hope for heaven, happiness in the hereafter, or life after death (Syadzali, 2014). Karl Marx also holds that worship and praise to God make humans alienated because what is praiseworthy is not God, but human beings who have worked hard to survive and produce work or a value (Pals, 2011).

Different from Karl Marx's view, there is a group of Muslims who join in a tarekat to worship God. These people want to feel love or intimacy with God through *zikir* that is read together (Riyadi, 2014). By doing such worship or remembrance, they are not experiencing alienation towards themselves as Karl Marx views. However, they feel they have found their true identity. That is interesting to study more deeply why Muslims or groups of young people choose to join the tarekat.

There are many tarekat communities in Indonesia. One of them is the tarekat of Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. Although it does not have many members, it survives. The exciting thing from this tarekat is that the activities carried out starting from the recitation of remembrance and routine on Thursday night are allowed for the public. Besides, the members

of the *tarekat* are not limited to men, but women also may join it. This *tarekat* is quite open in its activities, even though men still dominate it. The members of the *tarekat* come from various religious backgrounds, not only from the *santri* but also from the *abangan*. So, knowing the members' motives to join the *tarekat* and their activities is useful information to explain how Sufistic spirits are built and then influence their individual and social lives.

Research on the Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani in Yogyakarta is still rarely conducted. One of them is a study conducted by Ghofur (2010) describing the political choices of the Naqshabandiyah Haqqani *tarekat* in Yogyakarta. His research results show the influence of the Khalwat Dar Anjuman teachings and spiritual teacher (*mursyid*) on the political activities of the *tarekat*. Nevertheless, the influence of the spiritual teacher is limited to the order to obey the leader elected in the election and not the order to choose a particular candidate so that the research is certainly very different from the object of this study about the motives to join the *tarekat*.

A motive is a condition that drives a person to achieve a goal and look for satisfaction. That motive is the power of someone to do something (Masmuh, 2013). So that every human action must have certain motives, it is not surprising that in a murder case, for example, the motive for murder will always be sought first (Nurwatie et al., 2016; Azrina et al., 2016). Likewise, when individuals enter the *tarekat* group, the interesting thing to know is their motives. Based on the theory of goal setting initiated by Edwin Locke and Gary Latham, humans, as individuals, always try to achieve specific goals. Those goals will be a useful motivating factor if the objectives are quite specific and challenging (Masmuh, 2013). Thus, the more specific the individual's goals for joining the *tarekat*, the higher the motivation they have.

To be able to collect the data, the study conducted observation, interviews, and documentation. According to Esterberg, the interview is a meeting of two people to exchange information and ideas through questions and answers (in Sugiyono, 2013). The first interview was conducted on November 5, 2019, with Joko Sulistio, coordinator of the Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Yogyakarta, while the *tarekat* members involved in the interview were six persons. The time for the interview was from November 5 to 21, 2019.

Observation is a complex process composed of various biological and psychological processes (Bungin, 2001). Observations were conducted to bring researchers closer to the subjects and objects under study to get more data in the field than through interviews. The documentation is a record of events

that have passed in the form of pictures, writings, or one's monumental works (Sugiyono, 2013). The documentation is in the form of pictures or photos of the activities of the Thursday night routines held by the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta.

### **Sufism and Tarekat: Inseparable Linkages**

*Tarekat* arises from Sufism, which is part of the Islamic value system. Islam has three-dimensional aspects, namely *Aqeedah*, *Syari'a*, and *Hakikat*. *Aqeedah* produces monotheism, *Syari'a* results in jurisprudence, and *Hakikat* generates Sufism. The focus of Sufism studies is the purification of the human soul (Alba, 2012). The root of Sufism thought comes from the concept of *Ihsan*. A concept of worshiping Allah as if a Muslim saw Him, but if not, be sure that God sees him or her. The other definition of *Ihsan* is Muslim good deeds in the worship of Almighty God and *Muamalah* (Gitosaroso, 2015). According to Gulen, Sufism is a remedy to modern human problems like the problem of human rights violations, the loss of humanism, religious intolerance, and propaganda of hostility and hatred. The remedy for this problem is love and tolerance, which can be brought to life through Sufism. With this Sufism, spirituality can be raised, and the lust of human-animal can be controlled (in Khamani, 2016).

In the Arabic language, *tarekat* means way. Terminologically, it is a straight path that must be passed by a Salik (follower of Suluk) toward the doors of God (Tedy, 2018). *Tarekat* usually consists of purification, religious ceremonies, social awareness, and kinship. Religious ceremonies can be in the form of diplomas or *hirqah*, *bay'at*, *riyadhah* (exercises), *talqin*, wills that are given, and transferred by a *syaikh* to his students. It is the genealogy that is quite important in the *tarekat* because it is related to the benchmark, whether the *tarekat* is *mu'tabar* (considered valid) or not. If a continuous spiritual chain does not connect the teacher or *mursyid* to the successor and the Prophet, the *tarekat* is or disconnected or invalid (Mulyati, 2006).

The *tarekat* and Sufism have a close relationship, although not all individuals who learn Sufism join a *tarekat*. The *tarekat* is a place to institutionalize spiritual teachings to be more easily understood and practiced by followers. The *tarekat* can also be interpreted as an organization consisting of *syaikh*, pupils, and Sufi doctrines or teachings (Andhika, 2019). Sufi teachings can be in the form of teachings about *maqamat*, namely the stages that must be taken by a *Sufi* to get to the *makrifat* level. As an organization, the *tarekat* functions to develop

the teachings of Sufism and empower its members to reach the highest level of the stage and consistently practice the teachings. Some of the *tarekat*s that have flourished and still exist today are the *tarekat Syatariyah tarekat*, *Qadiriyyah tarekat*, and *Rifaiyyah tarekat*.

Although the *tarekat* and Sufism have a close relationship, the modern Sufism movement emerged. This group campaigns Sufism without *tarekat*. The movement was motivated by the spirit of religious puritanism from modernists. This group views that the *tarekat* and Sufism are the roots of *bid'ah*, *khurafat*, and *takhayul* (Rizqon, 2016). The book titled *Modern Sufism* by Hamka provides a new style of thinking about Sufism in modern Islam. Hamka believes that the existence of Sufism does not hamper the progress of Islam because it is considered irrational, but Sufism is part of the teachings of Islam that is rooted in the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (Howell, 2010). Hamka who represents Muhammadiyah *tarekat* rejects the existence of *tarekat*, especially in the *zikir* ritual, which is considered to have no foundation and reject the pattern of relationships between students and *mursyid* in the *tarekat*. Because of that, Hamka showed his Sufism style, namely Sufism without *tarekat*.

In contrast to him, one of the Islamic organizations that are closely-related to the *tarekat* is NU (Nahdlatul Ulama). The relationship between NU and the *tarekat* is like two sides of a coin that are interlocked and have something in common. First, there is a claim that the founder of NU, namely KH. Hasyim Ash'ari is a follower of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah *tarekat*. Second, the pattern of leadership is paternalistic and charismatic. If in NU, a leader is called a *kiai*, in a *tarekat*, a leader is called a *mursyid* or spiritual teacher. The implication of paternalistic leadership is strong compliance for every member of the *tarekat* or NU members towards their leader (Rizal & Nurhidayat, 2018). So it is not surprising that in NU culture, *tarekat* groups rapidly grow. However, every NU member is not required to join a *tarekat*.

This linkage is also strengthened by the statement from the chairman of PBNU KH. Said Aqil Siroj in one of the news posted on the website nu.or.id that "The spirit of NU is the *tarekat*." To support the *tarekat*, an organization to accommodate *tarekat* groups called Jam'iyah Ahli Thariqah Mu'tabarah An-Nahdliyyah was founded in Tegal Rejo, Magelang on October 10, 1957. The organization aims to strengthen the relations among NU members and practice the teachings of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah*. Consequently, the *tarekat*'s activities also cover NU's rituals and ceremonies like *manaqiban*, *shalawatan*, *wiridan*, *khataman Al-Qur'an*, and pilgrimage to *waliyyullah*. In the matter

of Sufism, NU follows the path of Imam Al-Ghazali and Imam Junaid Al-Baghdady (Jatman, 2020).

### A Glimpse of the *Tarekat Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta*

Kulal bin Hamzah The *tarekat* of Haqqani Naqsabandiyah is originally rooted from Naqsabandiyah which has a strong pedigree linked to Prophet Muhammad SAW. Muhammad Amin Al-Kurdi in his book “*Tanwir Al-Qulub*” (Aceh, 1993) explained that Muhammad bin Muhammad Baha’ al-Din al-Uwaisi al-Bukhari Naqsabandi, founder of the Naqsabandiyah’s *tarekat* (Said, 1996) obtained the *tarekat* or *bai’at* from Amir from Muhammad Baba as-Samasi from Ali Ar-Ramitni the famous by name Syaikh Azizan from Mahmud Al-Fughnawi from Arif ar-Riyukri, from Abdul Khaliq al-Gujdanawi, from Abu Ya’kub Yusuf al-Hamdani, from Abu Ali al-Fadhal bin Muhammad al-Thusi al-Farmadi, from Abu Hasan Ali bin Ja’far al-Khirqani from Abu Yazid al-Bisthami from Imam Ja’far Sadiq, one of the descendants of Abu Bakar ash-Siddiq, who also took the order from his grandmother Qasim bin Muhammad who is a child of Abu Bakar as-Siddiq, who took it from Salman al-Farisi who was one of the most excellent companions of the Prophet Muhammad, who also received the gift from Abu Bakar as-Siddiq, the companions of the Prophet and the first *Khalifah*. It was Abu Bakar who received the *tarekat* directly from the Prophet Muhammad. So that the *tarekat* of Naqsabandiyah is legitimate because its genealogy is connected to the Prophet.

The name of the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani is derived from its founder’s name, Maulana Muhammad Nazim’ Adil ibn al-Sayyid Ahmad ibn Hasan Yashil Bash al-Haqqani al-Qubrusi al-Salihi al-Hanafi (Yayasan Haqqani Indonesia, n.d.). From his father’s lineage, Maulana Muhammad Nazim’ Adil ibn al-Sayyid Ahmad ibn Hasan Yashil Bash al-Haqqani al-Qubrusi al-Salihi al-Hanafi is descended from Syaikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani and from his mother’s lineage, he is descended from Maulana Jalaluddin Ar-Rumi.

The *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani entered Indonesia in 1997. It was introduced by the representative of Muhammad Nazim’s Syaikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani. Since then, the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Haqqani has spread to all parts of Indonesia, including in Yogyakarta (Andhika, 2019). Then Syaikh Muhammad Nazim and Syaikh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani appointed Syaikh Musthafa Mas’ud as the representative of *The Naqsyabandi Sufi Order Indonesia*. Syaikh Musthafa Mas’ud was born in Jombang and

studied from the primary school level to senior high school in PP. Darul Ulum Jombang, East Java.

The *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta was established in 2006 and pioneered by Satrio Nugroho, which was inaugurated by Syaikh Musthafa Mas'ud. Initially, the *tarekat* was centered in the Sardonoarjo area and then moved to Maguwoharjo at the residence of Muhammad Darul Trimadyanto. Currently, the Zawiyah Haqqani coordinator is Joko Sulisty, the time being, the coordinator of activities is handled by Ahmad Taufik.

According to Ahmad Taufik in an interview on Thursday, November 14, at 20:00 WIB, *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani has two main activities. The first is *zikir* or called *Khatm Khwajagan* held on every Thursday night. *Khatm* means circle and *Khwajagan* means *syaikh*. *Khatm Khwajagan* is sitting with the *syaikh* in an assembly for remembrance. The second is *ngaji* on Saturday *Pahing*. The aim is to stabilize daily practices or recite daily *zikir* because in the *tarekat* of Naqsabandiyah, Haqqani believes in the existence of specific remembrances that must be done before and after performing the fard prayer (five daily prayers).

Zawiyah *tarekat* has only thirty members. It is not oriented to recruit the huge number of members. However, it is open to anyone who wants to join it. The remembrance that is read is allowed to be known and practiced by the public. There are some branches of the Naqshbandiyah *tarekat* that make the reading of *zikir* exclusively read by only their members.



Figure 1. The members of *Tarekat* Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta attending Thursday night routine in Sogan Rejoani Yogyakarta

### Background and Experience of Members of the *Tarekat*

To collect the data, this study conducted interviews with six members of the *tarekat* on November 21 at 9 pm in Sogan Batik Rejoani Yogyakarta. The six interviewees were chosen based on their educational, family, and



profession background, and one of them is a convert. They joined the *tarekat* at different times. Three of them joined in 2018, another one joined in 2017, and the other two joined in 2006. Also, they have the reason that motivates them to join the *tarekat*.

First is Nur Khalis. He is a graduate of the Yogyakarta Pandanaran Islamic Boarding School. He has actively attended the *tarekat* since 2018. Khalis has no special purpose. He claimed that he does not have any reason to join the *tarekat*, but he wanted to feel intimacy with the almighty God.

“Just want to feel it. I can feel that I have to join the *wirid* and follow the remembrance like someone who wants to eat. We only know the taste if we have tasted the food. If you haven’t tasted it, you will not know the taste.”

To achieve that purpose, Khalis argues that the teacher (*mursyid*) in *tarekat* plays a significant role. He believes that a teacher has the task not only to transfer knowledge but also to guide his students to Allah’s straight path and His messenger. Therefore, every human being must need a teacher.

Second is Adib. He joined the *tarekat* in 2018. Unlike Khalis, Adib did not graduate from *pesantren*. He attended public schools from elementary school to higher education. Adib only studied in *diniyah* school (an educational institution that studies Islam). Adib said that he has been interested in Sufism since he was a university student. His friends invited him to study Sufism. He does not have a specific purpose. Like Khalis, he just wanted to join it and find a *mursyid* or spiritual teacher and cultivate his Sufism spirit.

However, there was an external factor that drove Adib to join *tarekat*. He was inspired by a physician or herbalist who also studied Sufism in Pati named Mohammad Zuhri. Although Mohammad Zuhri actively involved in Sufism, he also served the community or nursed the sick people. That was why Adib concluded that Sufi people do not isolate themselves from their social environment, and they also learn sciences like medical science.

Besides, Adib felt that he was not satisfied only with rational matters. During his involvement in the *tarekat*, Adib has experienced miraculous experiences. For example, Adib had experienced a traffic jam when he was going to attend an event on Jl. Kaliurang of Yogyakarta. Because he was stuck in high traffic, Adib thought he would not have the time to pray *Maghrib*, but when he arrived at the location, the prayer time did not last yet.

In addition, Adib believes that God guided and brought him to the *tarekat* is the reason he survives and actively participates in the activities, especially the weekly program on Thursday night.

“Because I like to join the *tarekat* and then I survive. I also believe that what brought me here is God. I felt I was guided by Allah so I was directed to enter the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani.”

Third is Dewo. He is a convert (from Catholicism to Islam) who joined the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani in Yogyakarta in 2018. Dewo also does not have a specific purpose of joining the *tarekat*, but he wanted to take a part in it. Dewo just wanted to surrender himself in the world of Sufism. The reason for choosing the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani is due to chance, but he felt he had unconsciously been directed to join the *tarekat*.

Although it started coincidentally, Dewo felt at home to join and participate in the *tarekat* activities. Many lessons Dewo felt, like this:

“I realize that we do not expect to continue to feel good. There are times when the test comes according to their respective capacities.”

According to Dewo’s spiritual experience, the condition to survive in the *tarekat* is love, more precisely blind love. The emotional feeling cannot be told but perceived. For this reason, Dewo tried to follow his passion, namely love for God.

“There is this then and believe that what we are living is with the permission of Allah and the will of Allah.”

Fourth is Bondan. He was among the new members of the Naqshabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta compared to his three previous friends. He joined the *tarekat* in 2017. Bondan’s background is also not from santri but public school. Caused by desperation and curiosity, Bondan joined the *tarekat*. He claimed to feel directed to follow the *tarekat*.

The curiosity was evoked by a doctor when Bondan was hospitalized. Bondan was interested and looked for information about the *tarekat* in Yogyakarta. Bondan also intends to look for a *mursyid*, because for him, everything must and need a teacher. After joining the *tarekat* Bondan has the following positive effects:

“I feel not afraid to face life. I also feel confident in God, about destiny, fortune, and so on. I feel that life does not have to complain all the time.”

Because of that positive effect, Bondan decided to survive in the *tarekat* until now and he always tries to be actively involved in the activities because he also needs the spiritual recharging. Even Bondan gained new confidence to enter heaven not because of social charity, but because of the grace of God Almighty.

Fifth is Seta. He is a member who has been participating in the Naqshabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta since 2006. There is quite an exciting



story from Seta regarding the beginning of joining the *tarekat*, starting from the story of his disobedient brother; he doubts the existence of God, does not want to pray, and does not believe in religious teachings and so on. Until Seta's brother went up the mountain and had an incident suddenly felt severe shortness of breath, like even going out of breath, but suddenly his tightness disappeared. After that incident, Seta's brother took the initiative to look for the *mursyid* and meet him with Syaikh Mustafa Mas'ud, a *mursyid* in the *tarekat* of Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani.

Seeing the changes in his brother, Seta was interested in knowing and discussing related changes experienced by his brother. Seta's brother also suggested that Seta read a book by Agus Mustafa entitled *Pusaran Energi Ka'bah*. When there was a remembrance at Seta's house, Seta was interested and decided to join the *tarekat*. So, Seta does not have a specific purpose. Curiosity drove him to join and finally he admitted that he felt something different when he followed the *zikir* and joined the *tarekat*.

"I feel the true sense of religion when I joined this *tarekat*—feeling a religion that feels right when entering here. Because when I was in high school, I studied religion, but I could not immerse myself in."

The reason for Seta's continued commitment to joining the *tarekat* and following each of her activities is that Seta can feel the change in his being calmer in facing life.

Sixth is Ahmad Taufik. He has joined the *tarekat* since 2006 and is also the coordinator of the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. Taufik is not a santri. His school background is from public schools (Brawijaya University economics graduate) but grew up in a religious family. His two uncles are *kiai*. He was also raised in *pesantren* environment which adheres to a very strong NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) tradition.

Taufik has no specific purpose in joining the *tarekat*. Taufik is a traveler or an identity seeker. His meeting with the *tarekat* began with his worries about tradition, about love, and life; even Taufik has felt very pessimistic about his life. Because of that, Taufik assumed that his goal in entering Sufism was to seek inspiration about life, love, religion, and God.

"What is love? I feel I don't feel the love in religion. So I tried to find something that could convince me of God and for His existence. I have also learned about Sufism Al-Ghazali to reach *Ihsan* because I want to convince myself of God. Not only that, but I also questioned the NU's tradition that I often met in my neighborhood. What is the Prophet's Birthday? What is *manaqib*? Why should all that be done? Until in the end, I question what is religiousness?"

Taufik also wants to learn Islam from other dimensions besides fiqh, which for him contains only laws and rules, namely through the dimensions of religion or Sufism. Taufik also started reading books written by Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jailani and surf the internet for *tarekat*. When a Sufi gathering was held in Malang, Taufik also joined and coincidentally met with Syaikh Mustafa Mas'ud. After joining the *tarekat* several times, Taufik decided to take *bai'at*. The reason for Taufik has remained in the *tarekat* until now is because he feels comfortable and like finding a companion in a *tarekat*.

“Just follow it. Because in this *tarekat*, I find that religion is optimism and it turns out that the presence of the Prophet could be felt.”

### **Strengthening Motives towards the Way of Love**

The majority of members claimed that the motive for joining the *tarekat* was only to join in. They wanted to try because they were curious. Nevertheless, the members also have clear objectives, like wanting to feel intimacy with God, looking for a *mursyid*, resigning to the world of Sufism, even looking for inspiration for life, love, and God. This shows that the members experienced a search process, a love process, and the process of understanding Sufism as a way to approach Islam through *tarekat*. Based on these processes, the members' motives to join the Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta *tarekat* can be classified as follows:

#### **Looking for *Tarekat* as a teacher of love**

The *tarekat* or spiritual teacher in Sufism indeed plays a significant role. It is believed that someone who has gone through the path of guidance but not guided by a teacher or *syaikh* will be considered sinful (Akhmansyah, 2015). There is a well-known phrase among Sufi that whoever learns *tarekat* without a teacher, the devil is his teacher. Apart from that, there is another belief that someone will not reach his God (*wushul*) without the intermediary of a teacher. From those beliefs, there is a fear of being lost to reach God without a *murshid* teacher or a spiritual teacher.

Like the views of members of the Zawiyah Naqshabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta about the position of the *mursyid*, Nur Khalis views that the task of a *mursyid* is not only transferring knowledge but also transferring love to his students so they can feel love for Allah SWT and Rasulullah Muhammad SAW to achieve *Ihsan*. Therefore, to be a *mursyid* in a *tarekat* requires excellent

spiritual knowledge and must have a scientific pedigree that links to the Prophet SAW.

Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta members also feel they need a teacher who can guide and assist them on the journey to true love as was the experience of brother Seta when he had an incident at the mountain, and suddenly there was an intention to find a *tarekat* who could guide him to approach God. As a student, then it is appropriate that what is done by members of the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta is to practice in a manner of devotion recitation of *zikir*, which has been licensed or taught by Syaikh Musthafa to them. Not only practicing *istiqamah* but also hears and carries out any advice or advice taught by Syaikh Musthafa to take the path of guidance. The *makrifat* path includes the process of cleansing the soul from all impurities, which hinders the process towards God.

However, the next question regarding the position of the *mursyid* in Sufism, is whether someone who learns Sufism without being accompanied or without following a particular Syaikh is genuinely sinful? In fact, in the millennial era, like now, many young people choose to study Islam, including learning Sufism through social media like Instagram and YouTube. Related to this view can be attributed to Said Hawwa's opinion as follows: If someone can understand *Syari'a* and the *Makrifat* by themselves (learning from books, Instagram and Youtube), then it does not matter if you do not have a spiritual teacher. Nevertheless, if a person is not able to understand *Syari'a* by himself, he must look for a *mursyid* (Akhmansyah, 2015).

Thus, having a *mursyid* as a spiritual teacher, on the one hand, is a necessity in every individual who wants to take the path of guidance, for example, for members of the Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. For them, the *mursyid* will show and guide the members to purify the soul and feel the presence of the Messenger of Allah, even feel close to Allah SWT. High level of religiosity and spirituality is the requirement for a *mursyid* that are not easy to fulfill.

### Studying Sufism as a Way of Approaching Islam

Some members of the *tarekat* claim to feel dissatisfied if Islam is approached only by the rules of laws like *fiqh*. For this reason, they use other dimensions in Islam besides *Syari'a* and creed, that is, on the dimension of nature, which includes the teachings of Sufism. One of the members of the *tarekat* is even a convert (Dewo) who declared himself wanting to surrender in the world of Sufism. Other members like Adib and Ahmad Taufik also have an interest

in Sufism. Adib even stated that he was not satisfied with rational matters. Ahmad Taufik also felt emptiness in his mind.

Sufism arises because it is motivated by a materialist-consumerist social life and the codification of Islamic law and the formulation of *kalam* science that is too rationalist (Zuherni, 2011). His condition encouraged Sufism leaders in his time, such as Hasan Basri, to do the Zuhud doctrine and Rabiah Al-Adawiyah to spark the teachings of Al-Mahabbah. The members of the *tarekat* also felt the same way. They are confronted with an era that requires them to work quickly, absorb information quickly, the extraordinary development of e-commerce, the phenomenon of hoaxes in religion, and hate speeches that affect one's mentality and other problems that arose in the industrial era 4.0.

Seeing these conditions makes it natural to study Sufism as another dimension in Islam when someone feels dissatisfied with rational matters. Because learning Sufism is believed to be a medicine for the emptiness of the soul and satisfy something that feels lost in him (Rubaidi, 2019). Adib admitted that when he accessed YouTube with Islamic content, what he often found was an unfriendly face of Islam. Whereas in Sufism, he sees a different style of Islam, namely Islam, that brings peace to himself and his mind.

Although Sufism is seen as irrational teaching, avoiding excessive world love, and focusing on the recitation of *zikir*, but the members of the *tarekat* still carry out worldly activities. The majority of the members who are already married continue to work, doing *muamalah*, entrepreneurship, and other social activities. That is someone who learns Sufism does not then make themselves anti-social or anti worldly. Because Islam does not only regulate human relations with God (*Hablum Minallah*) but also regulates the relationship among people (*Hablum Minannas*). For this reason, every human being should be balanced in carrying out spiritual piety and social piety.

### Looking for Inspiration to Know God

According to Rudolf Otto, in his book *The Psychology of Religion*, humans are born with a tendency to know their God. Rudolf also stresses that the potential or tendency to know God is part of human nature (Otto, 1967). Thus, it has become intrinsically innate for humans to believe in God. Hence, they always try to rely on and maintain a good relationship with God. Every religion has its way of reaching God. Islam, in this case, provides two ways for its followers. The first is through the implementation of formal worship, such as prayer and fasting. The other is by *taqorrhub*, to get closer to Allah as

if he were one with Him (Anieg, 2016). The second method was adopted by members of the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta.

For Ahmad Taufik, one way that can be used to know God is to join the *tarekat*. Taufik had experienced a terrible inner struggle before he finally decided to join the *tarekat*. Taufik wants to meet the existence of his Lord, even wants to meet his God. He also experienced extraordinary pessimism about his life. It was in the lowest point of his life that Taufik felt directed by Allah SWT to get to know and to join even to take *Bai'at* in the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta.

In terms of knowing God, the phrase below is very well-known among the Sufis:

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

It means: "He who knows himself truly knows his Lord."

According to Ibn Taymiyyah in Imam As-Suyuthi in his *Al-Hawi lil Fatawa* on the discussion of *Al-Qaulul Asybah Fi Haditsi Man Arafa Nafsahu Faqad Arafa Rabbahu*, the phrase is not a hadith. Nevertheless, according to Az-Zarkasyi, the expression is the utterance of a Sufi cleric named Yahya bin Muadz Ar-Razi. Even though it is not the Prophet's hadith, this expression gives the idea that to be able to know one's God, he, first, must know himself. For example, to know God's attributes, one can see the qualities in him because God has the opposite of human nature. Like when someone knows that he can be destroyed (mortal), he realizes that God is eternal (*baqa'*).

### Feeling Comfort in Religion

Some members who joined the *tarekat* felt a change in him. These changes include: not being afraid to face life, feeling more confident with Allah SWT, feeling the pleasure and peace of life, feeling that religion contents are positive things, can feel the presence of the Messenger of Allah, and feel comfortable and can feel the true meaning in religion. That is, members of the *tarekat* get positive benefits when joining the *tarekat*. That is what caused them to stay in the *tarekat* and *istiqamah* to participate in every activity, especially on Thursday night routines.

Comfort in religion can be felt by members when religion functions as a medium of self-calm. They can feel the calmness, for example, when their financial difficulties are not hopeless and stressed. However, they believe that God will provide humans fortune in many ways based on the condition that

humans must work and try. Another example is when they lose something (such as a motorcycle), they are not necessarily disappointed, but they realize that everything that is lost will surely be replaced by God with something better.

His comfort does not indicate that members of the *tarekat* then do not maintain their security because they believe that God will protect them. For example, he is deliberately leaving the motorcycle key in the parking lot. The same is true of Karl Marx's view that religion is opium. That is something that provides illusions and illusions for adherents about the enjoyment of life in the afterlife. So when someone in his life experiences oppression, he must surrender because someday in heaven will get a reply from heaven.

Of course, the concept of comfort and calm in religion is not the same as Marx's argument. Feeling comfortable in religion does not mean feeling comfortable with oppression because it is assumed that oppression is a gift from God. Members of the *tarekat* feel calm because their minds and souls are not empty. They have felt religion as a carrier of peace of mind, spirit, and inner. So they do not feel uneasy or stressed when a disaster struck because they have tried to purify or cleanse their souls from bad traits such as *hasud*, spiteful, arrogant, showing off, favors *kufr*, *dzalim*, and other vices. If they experience oppression, they will fight because they have gained full awareness as an *abid* (servant) and the *khalifah* (leader) in the world who also must prevent damage on earth.

## Conclusion

Religion not only provides illusions for its adherents such Karl Marx's view but also gives comfort and peace for lovers or Sufis in their life. Through Sufism, the members of the *tarekat* get a sense of religion. Starting from anxiety and various questions about religion, life, God, and love, each member then chooses the *tarekat* as an answer to the anxiety. The choice of joining *tarekat* is driven by the irrational (spiritual) experiences, the boredom of the science of jurisprudence, and the proofs that Sufism deals not only with spiritual but also social life.

Although initially, the members of the *tarekat* did not have a specific purpose; however, in the end, they found a strong joining motive; namely, after the members of the Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani felt they received positive benefits. The found a higher Sufistic spirit for purifying the soul becomes than before. There are four motives for members to join in *tarekat* Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. They are looking for *mursyid* as a teacher

of love, studying Sufism as a way to approach Islam, looking for inspiration to get to know God and get comfort in religion. The motive is among them, and the most powerful is to find a *mursyid*. The position of the *mursyid* in the millennial era as it is today is still taken into account and considered necessary. Because a *mursyid* is believed to not only transfer knowledge but also share love to his students. Love is a provision towards *makrifat* or true love, that is to feel as close as possible to God, even as if the student were fused with Him.

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## VALUES OF ISLAMIC TEACHING IN CANDUNG KAWIK FOLKLORE

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### **Abstract**

*Folklore is part of the community. So that there is no extinction then done as documentation such as folklore Candung Kawik who came from Lampung. Folklore is currently less desirable and does not have a place from the community; therefore, the research is done so that the story still exists. The purpose of this study is to describe the values of Islamic teachings contained in Candung Kawik folklore. The method used to find the values of Islamic teachings is a descriptive qualitative method with content analysis. The primary data source in this study is Lampung folklore. The technique of data collection is done by literature study and recording. The result showed that there were eight values of Islamic teachings, namely faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa, sincerity, trust, gratitude, and patience. All the values of Islamic education are obtained from the learning and actions of the characters in the story and can be used as learning material.*

*Cerita rakyat merupakan bagian dari kebudayaan masyarakat. Agar kebudayaan tidak punah maka dilakuakn suatu pendokumentasian seperti cerita rakyat Candung Kawik yang berasal dari Lampung. Cerita rakyat sekarang ini kurang diminati dan tidak mendapatkan tempat dari masyarakat, oleh karena itu dilakukan penelitian agar ceritanya masih ada. Tujuan dari penelitian ini untuk mendeskripsikan nilai-nilai ajaran Islam yang terdapat dalam cerita rakyat Candung Kawik. Metode yang digunakan untuk menemukan nilai-nilai ajaran Islam adalah metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan analisis isi. Sumber data primer dalam penelitian ini adalah cerita rakyat Lampung. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan studi pustaka dan pencatatan. Hasil*

*penelitian menunjukkan ada delapan nilai-nilai ajaran Islam yaitu iman, islam, ihsan, taqwa, ikhlas, tawakal, syukur, dan sabar. Semua nilai-nilai pendidikan Islam didapat dari perilaku dan perbuatan para tokoh di dalam cerita dan dapat dijadikan bahan pembelajaran.*

**Keywords:** *Candung Kawik; folklore; Islamic teaching; values*

## **Introduction**

Candung Kawik is a story in the form of oral literature originating from Tanggamus regency, Lampung. The origin of the story of Candung Kawik was from the Semaka Bay. The entire research was carried out in Lampung area from 1980-1981 but was only published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1984. The four stories are in the collection of “Cerita Rakyat Daerah Lampung”.

The collection of stories published has gone through the research process includes direct observation, interview, literature review, transcription, and translation into Indonesian. Transcription is done because the data taken is oral literature, so it needs to be converted into written form and translated into Indonesian because the direct speakers for folklore are native Lampung tribes who know the origin of the story.

Folklore included in the literary work in the form of oral literature because the speech is carried out directly passed down from generation to generation. Parents speak oral literature in daily life to their children, a grandfather to his grandchildren, a narrator to his listeners, a teacher to his students, or fellow members of the community (Indiarti, 2017). In this case, oral literature is distinguished from written literature, which is literature that is scattered with writing while oral literature is traditional. The oral literature in the form of tradition still exists today, it is giving a title to newly married boys, traditions ranging from the birth of a human child to death.

Oral literature and written literature are one part of Lampung tribal culture which is still preserved until now, However, the public does not know much folklore, although it has been transcribed into written form, many people, especially residents of Lampung do not know the story. That way the cultural heritage of the ancestors will disappear even though documentation has been carried out.

Not only in the community folklore is unknown, in education context such as schools in Lampung many students do not know the folklore of Lampung.

Literary works in the form of folklore taught in schools are usually fixated with textbooks. The teacher rarely provides folklore material in the surrounding environment. The material given to students in all regions and even cities is the same, so the stories delivered are the same. In this case, the folklore that is in the book alone is well-known while the stories in other areas are still many with their story uniqueness. Aside from being a teaching material, it can also preserve the cultural results of the ancestors and education for its readers.

Ancient ancestors gave more examples through oral traditions such as storytelling. One such oral tradition is folklore. Usually, stories are read when children are going to sleep, after dinner, sitting together with families which makes oral traditions more sustainable. But in reality, now many folklore is unknown, especially the younger generation. Millennials now watch more soap operas, foreign films, more often access social networks via smartphones (Wiguna & Al, 2018). It can trigger oral traditions to be left along with the loss of speakers (Kurnianto, 2016). Therefore, according to Kristanto (2014), the existence of noble values contained in folklore should continue to be examined so that the younger generation can understand it.

The folklore that develops in an area in a particular society usually has a high educational value because it contains advice given by the ancestors verbally and hereditary (Al-Pansori & Herman, 2014). Folklore not only functions as entertainment but also as an educational medium (Hakim, 2018). Kurniawan (2009) states that to instill education in children can be through folklore because it is unwittingly advantageous. Many folklore contains moral values and ancestral characters that can serve as role models in life (Setyawan et al., 2017). When carefully understood, folklore has an example and learning in it both through the characters in the story and direct narration.

One of the values of education in folklore is the value of Islamic teachings. Islam is spread through several media, such as in Java, that Islamic teachings are spread through puppet shows, songs, dances, and others. Folklore is also able to teach Islamic teaching because it is easier to teach only through a speech without the need for other media. Islam entered Lampung around the 15th century through three directions namely through West Lampung, Palembang, and Banten. From here, folktales begin stories that involve religious teachings as a medium for da'wah. Da'wah is carried out to spread Islam because not all Lampung residents embrace Islam. The religions that first came to Lampung were Hinduism and Buddhism, but over time the Islamic teachings came to the land of Lampung, brought by the chaplains of another region.

The entry of Islam in the archipelago greatly influenced the development of previous traditions and culture (Hartini, 2007). The prior development of Lampung's tradition and culture was believed in inanimate objects, superstition, or evil spirits. All the beliefs began to shift and lost as the entry of Islamic teachings into the archipelago, especially Lampung. Islam teaches what is wrong and right, so that the people of Lampung begin to say the shahada, perform prayers, study the Koran, establish places of worship such as mosques. Until now, Lampung people are famous for the Islamic religion, there is even a slogan that they should never be called the Lampung tribe if they are not Muslim. Until now, the native population of Lampung is mostly Muslim. The Indonesian nation is known as a religious and cultured nation, so religion and cultural education are vital (Yayah, 2017).

Some fundamental religious education values must be taught to a child. The types of religious values referred to by Madjid (2000) are faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa, sincere, trust, gratitude and patience. Faith is an attitude of trust in Allah SWT. It is widely discussed in monotheism, which is divided into four types namely Ar-Rubuubiyah (Allah as creator God), Al-Uluuhiyah (Allah as a place of worship), Al-Asmaa (the oneness of Allah in names and attributes), Al-Mulkiyah (Allah as king/ruler) (Prayitno, 2005). Islam is human obedience, there are all Sharia laws taught by the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Muhammad, 2008). Ihsan is the application of worship based on the presence of God who always watches everywhere the eyes of the heart. In terminology, taqwa implies guarding against something that is against Allah SWT and carrying out His commands (Shihab, 2007). Ikhlas is a person's attitude just for the sake of getting the pleasure of Allah SWT without expecting something in return or reward (Damanhuri, 2010). Tawakal is the surrender of all to Allah, but before surrendering to do everything possible first then submit all right decisions, destiny from Allah (Al-Kaaf, 2001). Gratitude is an attitude of gratefulness to Allah for all that He has given. says Patience is every obstacle and temptation is carried out with courage and without complaining to achieve goals (Mubarok, 2001).

Religious education can be interpreted as an effort to shape personality according to Islamic teachings to students through teaching, guidance, or training in a formal or non-formal environment (Djamal, 2017). The existence of religious education is expected to provide guidance and lessons for children, especially in adolescents who are currently experiencing a moral decline. Many teenagers lack religious knowledge, but a lot of knowledge about the

western world. Religion is only as a status of self if not studied and practiced seriously (Veronika et al., 2017). Case in point many children do violence against friends, parents, teachers and even strangers on the street. They were performing dishonorable actions such as cheating, offering, smoking, drinking. If left unchecked this will make the future of the nation's children destroyed.

The need for religious guidance can be taught by parents or teachers. Religious guidance can be taught informally as well as in non-formal environments. In formal contexts such as schools, folklore can be a learning material full of moral teachings. In non-formal context such as family environment, reading folktales before going to sleep will make children happy, familiarize the relationship between parents and children, and foster a sense of understanding.

There have been many studies on folklore in the archipelago using several different theories and objectives (Al-Pansori & Herman, 2014; Gusal, 2015; Nurfitri, 2018; Sukrawati, 2015; Wiguna & Al Ashadi, 2018). All these research on folklore assessed the value of character education from various regions in the archipelago. The research that is still relevant to this study is Isnaeni's (2018) carrying out religious civilization to shape the student's character behind the fading of religious values that shift with the development of the times resulting in moral damage. Then the research of Yunus (2015) concludes that religious/Islamic values can influence local effectiveness in society because Islam has become the majority that affects everyone in Indonesia, particularly in Bugis culture. What makes this research different from other research is in the field of Islamic values, especially in Lampung folklore. Not many people have researched Lampung folklore, therefore this research was conducted to find out the Islamic values contained in folklore.

Lampung, especially in Tanggamus regency has a lot of folklore, but most of the stories have never been used as children's reading material. The publication conducted by the Ministry of Education and Culture is the first step to document the legacy of ancestors, but if it is only in the form of paper/documents without any other study as well as not able to preserve ancestral heritage. Accordingly, this research is held so that the ancestral heritage is maintained and can be taken positive values contained therein. Oral tradition exists to provide life lessons for future generations, but if it has no successors, it will become extinct. The purpose of this research is to examine the values of Islamic teachings contained in the Lampung folklore as positive teachings for the next generation of the nation so as not to lose ethics as a cultured and religious Indonesian society.

## **Research Method**

The method used in this study was qualitative descriptions with content analysis. The primary source of this research is the text of the folklore in a collection of books called "Lampung Regional People's Stories" published by Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah Jakarta in 1984. In the book "Cerita Rakyat Daerah Lampung" there are twenty folk stories from across the area in Lampung. This research takes one Tanggamus folk tale from the book as the focus, "Candung Kawik".

The data collection techniques in this study were library and logging studies. It is done by reading the text of the Candung Kawik repeatedly so that its content can be understood. There are also notes on matters related to the values of Islamic teachings found in the story of Candung Kawik.

The instruments used in this study were the researchers themselves with stationery and paper notes. Researchers as human instruments function to set the focus of research, conduct data collection, evaluate data quality, data analysis, interpret data and draw conclusions from their theory (Sugiyono, 2012).

The collected data were then analyzed by content analysis techniques. The primary purpose of content analysis is to draw conclusions based on existing data from a cultural phenomenon message (Endraswara, 2012). Furthermore, the data analysis was conducted by referring to the theory of Madjid (2000) which explained that the values of Islamic teachings included faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa, sincere, tawakal, gratitude and patience. It makes easier to describe Islamic values that exist in Lampung Tanggamus folklore.

## **Summary of Candung Kawik Folklore**

When Islam began to spread in Lampung, many people started converting to Islam especially in Semaka Gulf and Lampung Gulf. There is one person among many people in the area who is very obedient to the law and devout to Allah SWT, has good morals, is very talkative but he speaks to the heart of the listener. Many villagers seek advice and advice to Candung Kawik since his speech contains truth. Candung Kawik is not only famous in his area, but people from other areas know him. The benevolence and persistence of Candung Kawik can build an area along with other residents. The area is considered to be a fertile, peaceful and orderly village. No wonder so many people learn from him on how to become leaders and also to learn martial arts.

One time the village where Candung Kawik lived was in disaster, the once fertile and peaceful village was ruined. Many villagers were devastated by the loss of trees and houses. Candung Kawik was sad seeing his village, he prayed to Allah for guidance and offered forgiveness. Later in the evening, after performing the prayer, Candung Kawik consulted with the residents at the village hall. He said that it is possible that he and the villagers committed many sins and were cursed by Allah. But he has been honest, well, doing all the commandments of Allah diligently.

The next morning at dawn, he said goodbye to the family and asked for a prayer of thanks before leaving. He walked along the Gulf of Semaka, walking without direction and purpose, his determination when he began to get tired then he stopped and his place will be used as a retreat. Candung Kawik then reaches the forest which is mostly overgrown with Cantigi trees. Because he was too tired, he fell asleep under a shady tree. In his dream, he met an old man who discovered the purpose of Candung Kawik. Therefore, Candung Kawik must be by his instructions to do asceticism for 45 days and 45 nights to meditate with monitor lizards with arms clasped in wood and straight legs. Then Candung Kawik woke up and realized what was happening just now. Finally, he started to do austerities.

The people left by the Candung Kawik started to panic, they always prayed to Allah for his safety and began to repair the damaged village. Not felt already 37 days Candung Kawik imprisoned, that was when the temptation of the most frightening demons and the most beautiful angels began to come. Still it did not shake the courage and obedience of his faith. The next day the venomous dragon snake came back and it rained for three days and three nights, which was still unable to shake his faith. Then on the last night, Candung Kawik was approached by the old man whom he met once in his dream.

The old man came to congratulate Candung Kawik for the strength he had gained and then disappeared. Halfway through the return of Candung Kawik, many chirping birds rejoiced over his success. Not felt already 45 days Candung Kawik did hermitage without eating and drinking, it was done with no tired or hungry at all.

On Candung Kawik's journey home, he began to feel the hot air and the wind was blowing very hard. It turned out that the form of the wind was the Wind Queen that had a cruel and sinister face. The Wind Queen wanted to kill him, but he quickly pounces on her neck. Finally, without any more resistance, the Wind Queen admitted to her defeat, apologized, and said her



real name was Nyakhu. An a warrior, Candung Kawik forgave the mistake of the Wind Queen. Finally, they are friends and do not interfere with each other.

When Candung Kawik arrived at his village, the people were surprised. During the deliberations, Candung Kawik recounted all the incidents he had experienced while traveling and told him that he had gained the strength to fight the winds that had been disturbing the villagers. So far when residents hear the strong wind they say, "Let the wind pass, do not break. We are the Prophet Muhammad and the grandson of the Candidate, so the wind will soon go away.

### **Islamic Teachings Values**

There are so many values of Islamic teachings that have been used as studies in various fields of research. The values of Islamic teachings that will be used as theories to study folklore in this study are faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa, sincere, tawakal, gratitude, and patience. This theory was chosen because all the values of Islamic teachings exist by the teachings of Allah SWT in the Koran. Humans need to have faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa to face life in the world. Humans also need to have a sincere attitude, trust, patience, and patience so that life becomes peaceful and focused. Therefore, the values of Islamic teachings need to be owned and taught by students from an early age to have the provision of religious teachings in future lives. The analysis is presented by first reading the "Candung Kawik" folklore, then looking for the values of Islamic teachings according to the order of the theories used and finally classifying the data taken from the "Candung Kawik" folklore into eight Islamic teaching values.

#### ***The value of faith***

The results showed that faith shows how much human obedience to God. The value of Islamic teachings in the form of faith is in the story of Candung Kawik taught through the character of Candung Kawik himself. When he held a meeting for 45 days 45 nights, always came the temptation that began to bother him.

This can be seen in the original version of folklore published by Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah Jakarta in 1984 page 22 as follows:

*"Waktu terus berjalan, tak terasa sudah 37 hari Candung Kawik bertapa, waktu bertapa tinggal 8 hari. Saat itu mulailah datang godaan. Dari para setan yang paling*

*menakutkan sampai para bidadari yang paling cantik menggodanya ia tetap tabah dan tak tergoyahkan imannya.”*

[“Time continues to run, do not feel it has 37 days Candung Kawik imprisoned, only eight days remain ascetic. At that time the temptation began to come. From the scariest demons to the most beautiful angels teasing him he remains steadfast and unwavering in his faith.”].

It shows that the faith of Candung Kawik is great, he is not tempted at all for the temptations given by the devil and angels. Candung Kawik is someone who has the principle that he will not be tempted by the form of any scary devil and beautiful angels. The excerpts from the Candung Kawik story also add to the understanding that his faith is strong:

*“Godaan lain dengan munculnya ular naga berbisa akan menerkam Candung Kawik. Hujan selama 3 hari 3 malam tak menggoyahkan iman Candung Kawik.”*

[“Another temptation comes with the appearance of poisonous dragons ready to pounce on their prey. Even the rain that comes for three days and three nights without stopping will not shake the faith of Candung Kawik.”]

After the temptations of demons and angels came, again came the temptations of the serpents who have can be very deadly while rain continues without stopping. Candung Kawik remained steadfast in his stand, his faith was a little unwavering. He believes that God will protect him from any temptations and distress, as long as he obeys Allah SWT.

His belief is said in monotheism as in the Al-Uluhiyah part that the oneness of God as a place of worship/service. Wherever Candung Kawik is, he has never left his worship as a Muslim.

*“Malam hari sesudah sembahyang isya, ia pun mengadakan musyawarah dengan penduduk desa. Dengan perasaan yang berat ia pun mengutarakan maksudnya.”*

[“At night after the evening prayer, he also held a meeting with the villagers. With a heavy feeling, he expressed his meaning.”]

Although the duties and problems of Candung Kawik were burdensome at that time, he never left the command from his Lord, namely prayer. The village inhabited by Candung Kawik suffered a calamity in the form of strong winds that came to knock down trees and ransack villagers’ houses. Therefore, Candung Kawik held a meeting with the villagers, community leaders. But before leaving for mediation, he carried out his obligations first as Muslims, namely prayer.

The inner attitude is full of trust in God in the monotheism of Al-Uluhiyah not only in Candung Kawik, but also in the villagers who live right in Candung Kawik.

*“Lain dengan penduduk desa yang telah ditinggalkan oleh Candung Kawik. Semenjak prahara itu terjadi semua penduduk mulai menata kembali desanya. Sehabis sembahyang*

*mereka berdoa mohon keselamatan dan tak lupa mendoakan Candung Kawik agar kembali dengan selamat”*

[“After Candung Kawik’s reluctance to meditate, the villagers rearranged their homes that were damaged by strong winds. After praying they pray and ask for safety and do not forget to pray for Candung Kawik always to be healthy and return safely.”]

The villagers also have strong faith. Since Islam came and spread to the Lampung area, many people began to learn about the teachings of the Islamic religion such as prayer, recitation, reading the Koran. It was done also by the villagers who did not forget to worship God and pray and ask for the safety of Candung Kawik.

### ***The value of Islam***

Islam is the rule of Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad to be disseminated to all humankind to be saved in the world and the hereafter. The rules are derived as a refinement of the previous regulations. Islam is reflected in the villagers and Candung Kawik.

*“Dahulu sewaktu agama Islam mulai menyebar ke daerah Lampung, khususnya di pantai Teluk Semangka dan Teluk Lampung banyak penduduk yang mulai memeluk agama Islam”*

[“In the past, Islam began to spread to Lampung, especially in Semangka Bay and Lampung Bay. Many residents began to convert to Islam.”]

It is illustrated that the villagers and Candung Kawik had converted to Islam after the Islam religion entered Lampung. It was once told that Lampung residents still believe in myths, still believe in mystical objects, believe in superstition to change because they have started to recognize Islam.

### ***The value of ihsan***

Ihsan is all human actions that are carried out like worshiping, as Allah is watching them. Worship solemnly that Allah is always watching his actions. Ihsan was in Candung Kawik when he got into a calamity and realized then he asked about whether he made a mistake to Allah.

*“Ia berdoa mengadahkan tangan ke langit, meminta petunjuk dari Allah SWT. Kemudian ia bersujud meminta ampun Apakah dirinya dan penduduk telah berbuatan salah”*

[“He prayed to raise his hands to heaven, asking for guidance from Allah. Then prostrate asking forgiveness for all his actions so far. Whether he and the population made a mistake. May Allah forgive his sins.”]

Candung Kawik realized that whatever he did could not be separated from the supervision of Allah SWT, so Candung Kawik begged forgiveness

and asked about what sins he and the villagers had done to make Allah angry by bringing strong winds to damage his village. Whatever is done by living creatures created by Allah will not be separated from the supervision of Allah SWT.

*“Dengan perasaan yang berat ia pun mengutarakan maksudnya. Mungkin aku dan ada penduduk desa kita ini yang melanggar ajaran dan hukum Allah hukum Allah”* [“With a heavy feeling, Candung Kawik expressed his intentions. “Maybe I and the villagers here have violated Allah’s teachings and laws,”]

Candung Kawik felt that he and the villagers had made a mistake so that God’s law befell him and the villagers. That means Allah is always watching, watching whatever has been done by humans. Candung Kawik realizes this, that everything in the world is inseparable from the vision of Allah. Hence, he recognizes whether he has a mistake and violates what has been determined by Allah.

### *The value of taqwa*

Taqwa has the meaning always to obey Allah SWT, carry out God’s commands, and stay away from all its prohibitions. Candung Kawik has shown that he is always taqwa to Allah for all the teachings and prohibitions revealed from Allah SWT to the Prophet Muhammad to be carried out by all His people.

*“Dari sekian banyak penduduk di daerah itu, ada seorang penduduk yang sangat taat kepada hukum dan di samping itu taqwa kepada Allah SWT.”*

[“Of the many residents in the area, there is a resident who is very obedient to the law and is taqwa to Allah SWT.”]

Since Islam entered the land of Lampung, especially in the Lampung Bay area there is someone who is God-fearing, he is Candung Kawik. He has a praiseworthy attitude, is honest and kind, always helps people who need help, and is modest. He does not talk much, said more meaningful, and always carries out worship like praying five times a day. Everyone was reluctant to him, most people came to ask for his advice. Thus Candung Kawik became famous, not only in his area but in other areas he began to be recognized by others. The nature of taqwa is also possessed by Candung Kawik when he is holding a meeting with the villagers to discuss a solution that is done so that no more disasters occur.

*“Mungkin aku dan ada penduduk desa kita ini yang melanggar ajaran dan hukum Allah hukum Allah. Sehingga kita dikutukNya. Padahal aku telah berusaha berbuat sebaik mungkin, berbuat kejujuran, melakukan semua perintahNya dengan tekun”*

[“Maybe there were some villagers and me who committed violations so we were condemned. Though I have tried to do my best, be honest, do all His commands diligently.”]

Candung Kawik did the obedient attitude towards God. He said that Allah’s commands had been carried out, but God still punished them by bringing calamity in the form of strong winds. That was said by Candung Kawik directly in front of the leaders, traditional leaders, and other villagers.

### ***The value of sincere***

Every action does not ask for compensation, all is done solely for the sake of Allah SWT, does not expect a reply from others, that is what is called sincere. Actions that have been carried out without coercion, everything is clear just to get the blessing of Allah SWT. Sincere performed by Candung Kawik when he helped the villagers after being exposed to strong winds, people’s houses were damaged and fallen trees.

*“Mereka bekerja membereskan desanya. Penduduk yang menderita luka-luka karena tertimpa pohon dan rumah, diobati oleh Candung Kawik. Bekerja dan bekerja tanpa mengenal lelah”*

[“They work to clear the village. Residents who suffered injuries due to falling trees and houses, treated by Candung Kawik. Work and work tirelessly.”]

Candung Kawik does all that solely to get God’s blessing. He did not expect a reply from those he had helped, he also helped tirelessly. Residents suffered injuries due to falling trees and ruins of houses. There is also the sincere attitude of Candung Kawik when fighting with the Wind Queen.

*“Ia pun berkata ‘Ku patahkan batang lehermu. Memang sengaja kau ku tunggu. Kau sombong dan telah berani merusak desaku. Kini apa maumu?’ Ratu Angin tidak berlutik lagi dan ia meminta maaf kepada Candung Kawik. Ia juga menyebutkan namanya secara jelas bahwa ia bernama Nyakhu. Secara ksatria Candung Kawik memperkenalkan diri dan mengampuni kesalahannya. Akhirnya mereka bersahabat dan tak saling mengganggu”*

[“He also said ‘I broke your neck, I deliberately wait for you. You are arrogant and have dared to disturb my village. Now, what do you want?’ The Wind Queen did not move anymore and she apologized to Candung Kawik. In a warrior, Candung Kawik introduces himself and forgives his mistakes. Finally, they are friends and do not interfere with each other.”]

The Wind Queen caused the riots that had occurred in the village where Candung Kawik lived. The Wind Queen also caused many fallen trees and damaged houses. He is an evil creature who likes to disturb humans, since Candung Kawik cannot be tempted, there is a great fight. He can defeat the Wind Queen, then she apologizes. Candung Kawik is a knight, so he forgave

her and she promised not to disturb the villagers and descendants of Candung Kawik later.

### ***The value of tawakkal***

Tawakkal means giving everything to Allah SWT. It does not depend on anyone, both humans and other objects. Humans only try, the rest who decide is Allah SWT. Candung Kawik gave everything to Allah SWT for the disaster he experienced and the villagers.

*“Desa yang teratur dan subur tak lagi tampak. Kini semua tinggallah puing-puing. Betapa pilu dan tersayat hati Candung Kawik melihat semua ini. Ia berdoa mengadahkan tangan ke langit, meminta petunjuk dari Allah SWT. Kemudian ia bersujud meminta ampun.”*

[“An organized and fertile village is no longer visible. How sad and heartbroken Candung was married to see everything. He prayed to raise his hands to heaven, asking for guidance from Allah SWT. Then he pleaded for mercy.”]

The village where Candung Kawik lived and other villagers were affected by a calamity in the form of strong winds. Candung Kawik is unable to do anything, just surrender to the almighty. He did not ask for help from other objects, only asking for help from Allah SWT. Because he believes that only God can help him and other villagers get out of the disaster.

### ***Gratitude Value***

An attitude of gratitude is a behavior of appreciation for what is given by Allah SWT, without asking for others. Whatever is in him, in front of him is a gift from Allah SWT. In Candung Kawik’s story, he never asks for excessive things, nor do other characters. He is grateful for all the knowledge he gained when he was imprisoned, the knowledge that he could use to help villagers or others when they were having difficulties.

*“Matahari bersinar dengan ceria. Burung-burung berkicau seakan-akan turut bergembira atas keberhasilan Candung Kawik”*

[“The sun is shining brightly. The birds chirping as if they were also happy for the success of Candung Kawik.”]

Candung Kawik is a respected person, not only in his village but also respected by people outside the village. His goodness makes others reluctant. Not only humans, animals like birds join in the fun when they see him returning safely and at the same time gain knowledge to help others who are experiencing difficulties.

### ***The value of patience***

Patience is an attitude of restraint from emotions and desires, and survive without complaining. Whatever is done with sincerity and can control himself in any situation.

*“Tak terasa sudah 45 hari ia berada dihutan untuk bertapa tanpa makan dan minum. Namun tiada lelah atau lapar sedikit pun. Candung Kawik bersiap diri untuk turun. Ia akan pulang ke desanya.”*

[“It feels like 45 days of Kawik Candung have been imprisoned in the forest without eating or drinking. But no tired and hungry at all. Candung Kawik prepares to come down and go home.”]

The ascetic period of Candung Kawik was over. He did everything without complaining, full of sincerity, even though during his meditation he did not eat and drink. Candung Kawik can control himself during asceticism even though temptations come from the demon king, beautiful angels, and poisonous dragons. He continued his asceticism to gain strength to help those in distress.

### **Discussion**

The first value is faith. The most important thing in Islam is to believe that Allah as God is worthy of worship, there is nothing that deserves to be believed except Allah, that attitude of trust is called Faith. Faith is believing and believing that Allah is One, spoken with words and done by deeds. Convinced that Allah is One in the Qur'an surah Al-Ikhlâs verse 1 which reads “Say: ‘He is the One Allah.’” The first lesson recognizes Allah where humans worship and ask for help wherever they are, words and deeds the same in one belief. Faith is a condition of being a Muslim, who is consistent throughout his life.

The value of Islamic teachings in the form of faith is found in the character of Candung Kawik in Lampung's folklore. The faith of Candung Kawik is unshaken even though the temptation comes from the most beautiful angels and ugly demons. The temptation comes when he conducts his hermitage for 45 days 45 nights. It is an example that in any situation Candung Kawik still holds fast to his Lord, he still believes that God always helps in any circumstance. Lampung folklore can be used as a media for the introduction of faith in students, the bias starts from the family, teachers, community. The most basic learning about monotheism begins with the family. Lubis (2016) said in the naming of monotheism that became a prominent example is a family, such as accustoming greetings, forgiveness, basmallah, performing prayers, fasting, zakat and so on. In addition to the family, teachers also become very



important in preparing and educating the young generation with science, technology, and personality. So the teacher not only teaches science but also teaches about a noble character. Science as high as anything will not work without religion and belief in the One.

The next value is Islam as the religion that brings people to safety in this world and the hereafter, a religion full of peace, submission and cleanliness. Allah revealed Islam to the prophet Muhammad as a religion that is a mercy for all nature. In it, there are rules and guidelines for living to survive in this world and the hereafter.

Islam began to enter Lampung in the 15th century from Minangkabau, Palembang, and Banten. Once upon a time, Lampung residents were Hindus and Buddhists, after the clerics and scholars came to Lampung to spread the religion of Islam, Lampung residents began to embrace Islam and learn to worship such as reciting, praying, fasting. People in the Gulf of Lampung are learning religion and martial arts from Candung Kawik. The name Candung Kawik is famous not only in his village but also in other communities. Many residents come to learn from him because Candung Kawik is a person who is obedient to Allah, his behavior is outstanding, praiseworthy and modest. After Islam entered Lampung people began to abandon belief in objects, superstitions, and myths. The most influential are myths because myths can affect the worldview. Syaripulloh (2017) says that a myth can be valued as truth so that it can change the perspective of society, therefore the community does not dare to come out of the myths that already exist. But with the presence of Islam, people began to abandon everything they believed in from their ancestors.

Another value found is *ihsan* that has a meaning whatever is done by humans is always supervised by Allah. Likewise, Candung Kawik felt guilty and guilty, because his village had been damaged by the strong winds that came. He was very sorry and wondered if he had made many mistakes in his life so that Allah had destroyed the inhabited village. Candung Kawik apologized to Allah for what he and other villagers had done by praying earnestly that Allah was watching over everything that happened in this world. It makes Candung Kawik and the community feel watched over whatever he does. Even though humans cannot see Allah, God can see what He created. It is written in the Koran surah Al-Fajr verse 14 that says "Verily, your Lord is watching". Worship and deeds performed by humans can all be watched by Allah because Allah is all-seeing.



The value of *taqwa* is also contained in the folklore. Religious humans should fear God, fear that they will fall into sinful acts so that they will consciously and sincerely carry out all the commands that Allah has given and stayed away from His prohibitions. Among the inhabitants of the Gulf of Semaka, there was a man named Candung Kawik who was fearful of Allah, he always carried out his orders and kept away from restrictions that could lead him to sin.

After the wind damaged the village incident, Candung Kawik felt the villagers and he had violated what his Lord had commanded. He also said in front of all the inhabitants, the customary leader, said that he had tried to do his best, be honest, like to help and do all the commands from God, but still the village where he lived had a disaster.

Candung Kawik folklore involves the value of sincere. Candung Kawik has a very sincere heart, helping fellow humans without expecting anything in return for merely obtaining God's blessing. He helped a lot of villagers due to the houses he lived in and the villagers were destroyed due to falling trees, many people were injured, Candung Kawik still helped without knowing tired.

Not only was he willing to help the villagers, but he also became a noble knight when he forgave all the mistakes of the Wind Queen that had made the village where he lived to fall apart. The Wind Queen is a creature that likes to disturb humans and mislead humans, but Candung Kawik does not have the slightest grudge, instead, he forgives the Wind Queen.

Tawakal's attitude is the attitude of surrender to Allah for all decisions received and keep trying as much as possible for the better. Candung Kawik surrendered everything that happened to God, asking for help and not begging for objects or other beliefs. He has tried his hardest and might to carry out Allah's commands and stay away from His prohibitions, but Allah willed others not following the wishes of Candung Kawik. Humans are ordered only to ask for help from God, may not ask with other objects or beliefs. Humans can only ask and try, the rest that determines success or not is Allah SWT.

Gratitude must be planted in the hearts of people to get God's blessing, accept all His gifts with pleasure, sincerely and do not ask for excessive. Usually, people forget to be grateful for Allah's thoughts so that they have thoughts that humans feel as if Allah has never given them something. Give thanks do not look over the favors given a lot or a little. The attitude of gratitude can be done with three things, namely by heart, oral and body. In Lampung's folklore, not only humans have an attitude of gratitude, but even animals have gratefulness

to God. It is shown to the birds chirping as if happy to see Candung Kawik returning from his hermitage safely and getting the desired strength to help people who are experiencing difficulties. Even though there is no significant impact for the birds on his success to do hermitage, whatever is in this world is on God's will, so other animals are grateful for what he has seen.

Patience is done so that life is nobler, but patience is difficult to do. All trials that come in life must be done patiently, namely to refrain from lust, emotions, evil deeds that can plunge into sinful deeds. In life on earth, humans will never be separated by the name of a variety of problems, thus patience will be a controlling tool of all issues encountered. Patience is done to increase human obedience to his Lord. Persistence has been carried out by Candung Kawik by conducting austerities for 45 days 45 nights in a pitch-black cave. During that time, he did not eat or drink, run it with sincerity. Not only does he not eat and drink, but he also patiently faces temptations that come from demons and angels.

### **Conclusion**

Lampung society has several folklore, one of them is Candung Kawik folklore in Lampung Bay. He is a man who is obedient to his Lord, always carrying out all the commands and avoiding his restrictions. These stories show the values of Islamic teachings namely faith, Islam, ihsan, taqwa, sincere, tawakal, gratitude, and patience. All values of Islamic teachings found are obtained from the attitudes and behavior of the characters in the story. It is by the attitude of Lampung people who are religious, diligent in worship, immediately ask for forgiveness if they make mistakes, help each other, have gratitude, and be patient in facing trials. After Islam entered Lampung, the community began to recognize Islamic teachings and renounce their beliefs, so that the people of Lampung lived side by side, having a culture of Islamic character. From here the values of Islamic teachings relate to Lampung culture such as always praying before starting traditional ceremonies, helping each other without expecting anything in return for farming, or building a house. Many Lampung people as social creatures tend to live together in the community, have the will, the mindset, to help and cooperate, to give birth to culture. Existing culture influences human behavior.

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## THE ISLAMIC CULTURE OF “WETU TELU ISLAM” AFFECTING SOCIAL RELIGION IN LOMBOK

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### Abstract

*This writing is motivated by a very abundant religious culture in Indonesia, including the phenomenon found in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara which is famous for “Wetu Telu Islam”. It contains the religious system filled with ceremonies and rituals which are accompanied by special symbols that have certain meanings. The method used in this paper is historical descriptive, by systematically explaining the history of the people of Lombok, the cultural patterns of “Wetu Telu Islam”, including its historical figures, doctrine, development, and existence. Then the writer uses structural semiology in analyzing the meaning of symbol elements found in the religious rituals of “Wetu Telu Islam” in Lombok. “Wetu Telu Islam” according to the people of Lombok is a very perfect Islam as it is built from two solid dimensions, namely dzohir and ihsan. For that reason, “Wetu Telu Islam” for them is the teachings of Sufism which emphasize the spirit, and soul. It is the spirit of holistic Islamic teachings, namely: shari’a, thoriqot, haqiqot, and ma’rifat. Everything is building up, mutually reinforcing, and inseparable.*

*Tulisan ini bermuara dari budaya agama yang sangat berlimpah di Indonesia, termasuk fenomena yang ditemukan di Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat yang terkenal dengan “Islam Wetu Telu”. Sistem keagamaan yang terkandung di dalamnya sarat upacara dan ritual yang disertai simbol-simbol khusus bermakna tertentu. Metode yang digunakan dalam makalah ini adalah deskriptif historis, yaitu secara sistematis menjelaskan sejarah masyarakat Lombok, pola-pola*

*budaya “Islam Wetu Telu”, termasuk tokoh sejarah, doktrin, perkembangan dan keberadaannya. Kemudian penulis menggunakan semiologi struktural dalam menganalisis makna elemen simbol yang ditemukan dalam ritual keagamaan “Islam Wetu Telu” di Lombok. “Islam Wetu Telu” menurut masyarakat Lombok adalah Islam yang sangat sempurna karena dibangun dari dua dimensi yang kuat, yaitu dzohir dan ihsan. Karena itu, “Islam Wetu Telu” bagi mereka adalah ajaran tasawuf yang menekankan hati dan jiwa. Ini adalah semangat ajaran Islam holistik, yaitu: syariah, thoriqot, haqiqot, dan ma’rifat. Semuanya membangun, saling menguatkan, dan tak terpisahkan.*

**Keywords:** *Islamic culture; social religion; Wetu Telu Islam.*

## **Introduction**

Culture and religion have a very close relationship. In anthropology, the discussions about religion are rarely overlooked as part of the main topic. This relationship can be seen in the expression “religion reflects culture” and vice versa, “culture reflects religion”. The form of religion is part of the culture in the view of several figures of anthropology and sociology. One of these figures is Malinowski who stated that the elements of culture, in general, are seven, namely: language, technological systems, livelihood systems, social organizations, knowledge systems, religion, and the arts (in Sulaeman, 1995). The father of Islamic sociology Ibn Khaldun stated that things that are included in culture are the system of kingdom or government, power, livelihood system, craft or industry, and science. He added forms in culture, namely: dynasty, religion, urban or rural society, values or morals, and all phenomena that occur as well as the hopes and ideals of society for the future. All these cultural forms are explained based on the law of causality (Kholdun, 1918). Thus, almost all elements in human life individually and socially are part of cultural studies, including religious and language as mentioned above. In the study of religious culture, some of the elements it are the focus of attention, namely: religious beliefs, human attitudes toward the occult, as well as religious rites and ceremonies. Koentjaraningrat as an anthropologist in Indonesia added that five religious components separately have their roles, however, they have close interrelationships with others. The components are religious emotion; belief system; system of rites and ceremonies; rite and ceremony equipment; and religion or people (Keontjaraningrat, 1987).

Language in general is an object that is very concerned in cultural studies because language is the main difference or the most striking aspect between cultures found in animals and humans (Linton, 1984). Language in culture has a very broad scope, including language in the form of symbols.

A religious anthropologist, Clifford Geertz mentions that diversity is part of the cultural system. Religion is a guideline in interpreting human actions. He also said that religion is a system of symbols. These religious symbols will be easily understood in realistic applications. Geertz sees the system of religious symbols can be elaborated or interpreted in various ways. Most religions interpret these religious symbols through rituals and ceremonies (Tohopi, 2012). In this way, the world as imagined and as experienced is combined through symbols. These symbols have varied and speculative meanings and refer to a sign that is agreed upon and conventionally formed together by the community or culture that is living in it. As a social product, symbols are not only meaningful collectively, but can be more meaningful and pervasive in person. Symbols are the embodiment of various thoughts or ideas, attitudes, decisions, longings, and beliefs (in Sutiyono, 2010).

By resting on the theoretical foundation above, culture, religion, and language (symbol) are elements that are interrelated and form a “conclusion” that is full of meaning. It can be easily found on social societies in Indonesia, including in West Nusa Tenggara on the island of Lombok. The island is located between several islands, namely the islands of Bali, Java, and Sumbawa. The indigenous people who inhabit this island are known as the Sasak tribe. One of the cultural-religious phenomena which are full of religious and very popular meanings found in this society is Wetu Telu (Rasmianto, 2009).

Many assumptions are developing around Wetu Telu. Among these assumptions, namely: 1) a belief in spirits residing in dead objects or certain objects that have power but are subject to God’s power; 2) it is a description of three basic principles that exist in life, such as past, present, and future; 3) distribution related to geographic territory, namely: there are mountains, land, and beaches; 4) division related to human life, namely: born, develop, then die; 5) while it is related to the implementation of formal worship, the prayer is performed three times and fasting is only performed at the beginning, middle and end of the month; 6) it is a form of belief that is influenced by Animism, Dynamism, and Hinduism; 7) in the political sphere, it is a picture of three structures in society that are always related, namely: custom, religion, and government; 8) Wetu Telu is the acculturation of Islamic teachings and the



rest of the old beliefs of Animism, Dynamism, and some beliefs of Hinduism; 9) life consists of three elements, namely water, wind and land. These three elements also become the main basis of all living things that exist in the face of the earth so that they can grow, live, and breed well (Sutiyono, 2010).

Some of the assumptions and understandings above are different from the understanding found (antithesis) through interviews with several figures in the village of Pengaduk, Pringgasela District, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara (First interview conducted on November 25, 2018). When connected with prayer, according to them, *Wetu Telu* is a subject, while *Wetu Lima* is an object. As a subject, it is the one who works, while *Wetu Lima* is the object that is done. The term *Wetu Telu* does not refer to prayer or prayer times, but an understanding originating from the Science of Sense. It starts from “insight” and is expressed in the form of *qolbi*, *qouli*, and *fi`li* (ate-angen, *ongkat pemuni*, then heart-feeling, speech, and behavior) then incarnate in the form of a culture that is popular with the term *Wetu Telu*.

When readings or beliefs are wrapped up in a culture, often people are trapped in the outer layer, language, or symbol without further digging the substantial meaning stored behind it. In fact, according to (Barthes, 1977, 1988) the sign (semiology) is not limited to linguistics but includes all sign systems, whatever the substance and boundaries. Image, gestures, attitudes, musical sounds, objects, and associations are complex of all these that makeup content, rituals, conventions, or public entertainment. This constitution, if not a language, is at least systems of significance. These systems certainly refer to an idealistic concept.

Furthermore, Barthes said that semiology is not only involved in human language as Saussure said. In today’s social life Barthes found a very broad system of signs outside the language. Every semiology system has a linguistic mixture. Between the sign system (semiological object) and language is an interrelation that cannot remain alone (Barthes, 1967). So, from a semiological point of view, *Wetu Telu* is not merely a collection of symbols in the form of tradition (in the form of a party (*begawe*) or others, but refers to other more meaningful substantial.

On the other hand, the existence of political pressure in the past, namely the conquest carried out by the Balinese kingdom/period, had an impact on the freedom of the Islamic ummah in Lombok. The phenomenon of the burning of mosques carried out by Balinese royal soldiers caused the Muslims of Lombok, in general, to pray in secret and highly dependent on

security conditions. Such condition also has an impact on the reconciliation of prayers and sometimes at certain times only show the execution of three prayers, namely *ashar*, *isya*, and dawn. This condition, as if revealed a part of *shari'a* and hid some of the others (completing prayers imperfectly/only three times/*Wetu Telu*).

Sometimes it involves five times praying, namely: *Asr*, *Maghrib*, and *Isha'* on Thursday, and *Subuh*, and *Zduhur* on Friday. The following week was the same, working on five prayers, but not every day. This condition occurred because they were under the pressure of Dutch political power and the kingdom of Bali. This pattern of worship continued even though the occupation of the kingdom of Bali, Dutch and Japanese colonization was over.

### History of the Lombok Community

Lombok Island is a third of the area of Sumbawa Island. However, the population of West Nusa Tenggara, which numbered more than three million, two-thirds live on the island of Lombok. This happens because the island of Lombok is more fertile than Sumbawa Island. Lombok Island residents are Sasak people, most of which embraced Islam.

Lombok and Sasak are two names that cannot be separated. Lombok comes from the Sasak language; "Lombo" means "straight". Sasak comes from "sak-sak" which means "boat with a joke" which is read *lombo* in the Sasak dialect, then, the word *sak-sak* is also read *sa`-sa`* if it is viewed in terms of meaningful language "only". Meanwhile, when viewed in terms, this expression shows the meaning of an activity oriented to a single goal. In a religious context, the word emphasizes one goal, namely God. In the process of carrying out all activities, human beings in their lives must have understanding and sincerity, that is, everything that is related to the person must be based on *lillahi ta`ala* (everything from, by, and for Allah).

Many people misunderstand. Lombok is interpreted as "chili" so that there is a meaning of Lombok island as a "spicy island". Even though chili in Sasak language is "sebia" (read "sebie"). The name Lombok in various oral and written stories in the *lontar takepan* is one of the names of Lombok Island. Another name that is often referred to is the island "Meneng" which means "quiet" or "clear". Some say "Gumi Sasak", some say "Gumi (earth) Selaparang", according to the name of one of the kingdoms that were famous in Lombok in ancient times, namely the kingdom of Selaparang (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019)

The island of Lombok since the days of the Majapahit kingdom was famous. This is evidenced by the mention in the *Negarakertagama* book written by Empu Prapanca. *Negarakertagama* is also found in Lombok. The legend of the Sasak people tells that the Old Mataram kingdom in Central Java was led by a female king named Pramudawardhani who married Rakai Pikatan. It is said that the Empress was a government expert, while the husband was an expert on warfare. His power to the west reaches Sumatra, to the east to Flores Island. It was then that many Mataram people went sailing eastward through the Java Sea using junk boats.

Their destination for sailing is unknown. Is it to expand power or avoid heavy work, because at that time the Borobudur Temple, Prambanan Temple, and Kalasan Temple were being built by the king. So they sailed straight east and landed in a port. The port was named Lomboq (straight), to commemorate a long journey. They are straight east. Furthermore, Lombok is now not only the name of the port where the boat landed but also the name of the island of Lomboq which later turned into Lombok. They sailed using a junk boat called "sak-sak", and they were called the Sak-Sak, meaning people who came by boat. Then, they blend in with the natives. At that time, on the island of Lombok there was a kingdom called the Kedarao kingdom.

They then founded the kingdom of Lombok which is based in Labuhan Lombok (now). The Kingdom of Lombok became large, developed in five centuries, until it was known throughout the archipelago, as a port visited by traders from Tuban, Gresik, Makassar, Banjarmasin, Ternate, Tidore, even Malacca. When you come to Lombok, the Malacca buys rice, tarum and sepang wood (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019)

The kingdom of Lombok was later defeated by the Majapahit kingdom. The king and his empress ran to the mountains and established a new kingdom which was named Watuparang later known as the Selaparang kingdom. When the name Lomboq changed to Lombok, and the name Sak-Sak changed to Sasak it was not known for certain. What is clear is that now the island is famous for the name Lombok Island and its tribe is known as the Sasak tribe. The name Selaparang has been enshrined as the name of a protocol road and the name of the airport in Mataram, the capital of the province of West Nusa Tenggara (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019)

Lombok Island is an island in the Lesser Sunda Islands or Nusa Tenggara which is separated by the Lombok Strait from Bali in the western part and the Alas Strait to the east of Sumbawa. The island is more or less round in shape

with a kind of “tail” on the southwest side that is approximately 70 km long. The area of the island reaches 5,435 km (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019), placing it at number 108 from the list of islands based on its size in the world. The main city on this island is the city of Mataram.

Besides Indonesian as the national language, the inhabitants of the island of Lombok (especially the Sasak tribe), Sasak language is used as the main language in everyday conversation. Throughout Lombok, the Sasak language can be found in four different dialects, namely the Lombok dialect north, center, northeast, and southeast. In addition to the large number of Balinese tribes who reside in Lombok, in some places especially in West Lombok and the Municipality of Mataram, Balinese is used as the language of everyday conversation.

Most of the inhabitants of the island of Lombok, especially the Sasak tribe, adhere to Islam. The second largest religion is Hinduism, embraced by residents of Balinese descent, which account for around 15% of the population. Christians, Buddhists, and other religions can also be found, and are mainly embraced by migrants from various ethnic groups. The largest religious organization in Lombok is Nahdlatul Wathan (NW). This organization also established many Islamic education institutions with various levels from the lowest level to tertiary institutions.

In Cakranegara (formerly called the kingdom of Cakranegara), an ancient lontar manuscript was discovered by the Dutch Expedition (KNIL) taken to the Netherlands. It was actually in the Selaparang Kingdom (now around Pringgabaya, East Lombok). During the war between Bali and Lombok, the Selaparang kingdom had been defeated because it was attacked suddenly, and finally all the property belonging to the Selaparang kingdom was seized by Balinese troops. The remains which were not carried away were then burned. These include Raja Selaparang’s gold crown (Pemban Selaparang) and the lontar of Kertagama State which are being studied by the Selaparang royal sons and officers (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019).

The history of the Sasak people is still not arranged to reach the appropriate level of local content in recognizing the history of the region. Some of the existing documents are still in the form of inventories and have not yet arrived at a complete and comprehensive level of preparation (Ansori, 2005).

The native inhabitants of the island of Lombok are called the Sasak tribe. The name Sasak in one version said it was taken from an incident when someone who wanted to find a place of residence from Java to Lombok used

sasak which means raft. This version was then used as an argument that the ancestors of the Sasak people came from Java. It is said that the Sasak word is taken from the ancient Javanese language, namely from the word “legitimate” which means “go away” and “saka” which means “origin or ancestor”. So, etymologically, the Sasak word means people who go from their hometown by using a raft as their vehicle, namely going from the island of Java to the island of Lombok and settling there. This story is reinforced by the many Javanese scripts called *jejawen* used in various Sasak literature and lontar (Suwondo, 1978).

If this word (Sasak) is analyzed in terms of language, we can also find this word among Sundanese. The word *sasak* in Sundanese means “crossing bridge”. The character of a straight crossing bridge has similarities with the word *lombok*, which in Sasak language means straight. It could be that the absorption of the name of the island of Lombok was taken from this Sundanese language because the power factor of the Sundanese kingdom in ancient times was so extensive known as the Great Sunda and the Small Sundanese.

While in terms of understanding, this expression (*sa’sa’*) shows the meaning of something that shows on one activity or at one goal and does not turn to another (just one). In a religious context, the word emphasizes one purpose, God. In the process of carrying out all activities, the word also teaches that humans in their lives must have understanding and sincerity, that is, everything related to the person must be based on the concept of *lillahi ta’ala* (all from, by, and for Allah).

### Cultural Patterns of Islamic Wetu Telu and Wetu Lima

Lately, various studies have found that there are two variants of Islam in Lombok, namely Islam, Wetu Lima, and Islam Wetu Telu. These two terms are like binary opposition. When mentioned in Wetu Lima Islam, it will signify that there is Islam in another form. This kind of polarization can be found almost in various regions in Indonesia, even the world. On the island of Java, for example, there is Islam and Islamic Abangan, which was initiated by Clifford Gerth. In the island of Lombok, it also found a similar pattern, namely Islam of Wetu Lima and Wetu Telu. Hasty conclusions are then present in the minds of the general public, that Islam in its other forms is Islam that comes out of the main path, imperfect Islam, and various other oblique images (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019) .

The manifestation of the attitude of obedience and bigotry of society, including the Sasak people of Lombok, can be seen in carrying out the Islamic Shari'ah followed by consistency in carrying out the five pillars of Islam (arkanul Islam). They are saying two kalimah syahadah, praying five times a day, fasting in the month of Ramadan, performing zakat, and performing the Hajj. The five bases are strengthened by the six points of belief (arkanul iman), namely belief or belief in God (tawhid), belief in angels, belief in the holy books of the Qur'an and the scriptures revealed to the previous prophets, confidence in the Prophet, the belief in the end of the Hereafter, and believe in the provisions and destiny (qodho and qodar) of Allah.

By fulfilling the five pillars of Islam and being followed by six convictions that strengthen them, the Islamic community in general, especially the Sasak Lombok people in particular are said to carry out the Islamic Shari'ah completely or perfectly. For the Sasak people, the level of Islam in a person will be seen from his/her consistency in carrying out the five pillars. Those who consistently carry out the five pillars that form the basis of Islam are the ones who are called the *Wetu Lima Islam* (Budiawati, 2000).

Etymologically "*Wetu Lima*" means "five times" meaning practicing the five pillars of Islam (arkanul Islam) completely and perfectly or Sunni Islam" (Adonis, 1989). This condition indicates that in the Sasak community there are some groups that do not carry out the Islamic Shari'ah as a whole or perfect. The Islamic group that does not carry out the five pillars of Islam as a whole is what is then called *Islam Wetu Telu* (Budiawati, 2000). While in matters of belief, both the *Wetu Lima Islam* and *Wetu Telu Islam* both believed that Allah was one and the Prophet Muhammad was the messenger of Allah. In principle, the two are the same, namely believing in Allah and His messenger.

The pattern of behavior or daily behavior of the Islamic community of *Wetu Telu* does not fully reflect the actions ordered or advocated by Islam and they are often referred to as imperfect Shari'a. In the view of Islam in the *Wetu Lima*, the five daily prayers are the standard to find out whether they are included in the *Islam Wetu Lima* or *Wetu Telu*. Thus, if there is a group of people or even individuals who run part of the Islamic Shari'a, then they are associated as *Islam Wetu Telu* (Budiawati, 2000).

In the present, these two terms have become a trend and are popular not only among academics observing the development of Islam in Lombok but also among the Sasak Islamic community in general. The typology of Islam in these two categories is like something conventional, where *Wetu Telu Islam*

is a term for those who do not carry out the Islamic Shari'ah in full or even summarize it and vice versa, the Wetu Lima Islam is those or a Sasak group that runs the Sayari'at Islam in full and perfect.

The Islamic community of Wetu Lima provides an overview of what the Islamic groups of Wetu Telu summarize worship in Islam. They explained that Islam of the Wetu Telu only carried out three pillars of Islam, namely saying two times of prayer, carrying out daily prayers, and fasting. Furthermore, in the view of Wetu Lima, the followers of Islam in the Wetu Telu only pray three times a day and night, namely Subuh, Magrib, and Isha. While the midnight and Asr prayers are not fulfilled. Wetu Lima Islam also said that Islam of the Wetu Telu did not fulfill a month of fasting, but only three days, namely the first day or the fasting month, the middle, and the end of Ramadan (Budiawati, 2000). The typologies of Wetu Telu and Wetu Lima Islam are attached to each group according to their worship system, even though both of them claim to be Muslims.

### **The Cosmological Concept of Islam Wetu Telu**

The term "Wetu Telu" comes from the word "metu" which means "appears or comes from" and "telu" means "three". This term illustrates that all living things emerge through three kinds of reproductive systems, namely giving birth (raising), such as humans and mammals, laying eggs like birds, and reproducing from seeds and fruit (mentiuik) such as grains, vegetables, fruit materials, trees, and various other plants. Water, lay eggs, and breed are representations literally from wetu or metu telu. The focus of trust Wetu is not only limited to the reproductive system, but the word also has other meanings. The Wetu Telu adherent explained, that the Wetu Telu does not only explain the three types of reproductive systems but also points to the omnipotence of God that allows living things to live and breed themselves through the reproductive mechanism system (Budiawati, 2000).

The meaning contained in the term "Wetu Telu" is very diverse. This is because Islam in the Wetu Telu on the island of Lombok does not exist in one place but many places including suburban places. Thus each adherent or community of Wetu Tlu also has a different interpretation (Ansori, 2005).

The various interpretations contained in the term Wetu Lima and Wetu Telu are caused by the existence of leaders from each community or adherents of the Wetu Telu who are referred to as stakeholders. It is these stakeholders



who then provide a different interpretation of the Wetu Telu following the place, culture, and environment. (Syakur, 2001).

There is another opinion saying that Wetu Telu symbolizes the dependence of living beings on one another. Related to this, they divided the cosmological region into a small universe and a large universe. The big universe they call *mayapada* or universe consisting of the world, sun, moon, stars, and other planets. While humans and other creatures they consider to be a small universe that depends on the universe. This interdependent relationship unites the two worlds in a balance, therefore the cosmological order becomes spinning or working. This condition also shows the omnipotence of God behind him who moves or causes this interdependence (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019).

The form of dependence between the small universe and the big universe is reflected in the need for a small universe of important resources needed for survival, such as land, water, air, and fire or the sun as a power-generating heating system. The opposite condition, where the universe depends on the small universe in terms of maintenance and preservation. Like humans as a small universe too greedy in exploiting the universe, they will destroy the equilibrium system of the universe. The balance of the natural order reflects a harmonious dependence between the macro world and the micro world (Ansori, 2005).

As a religious system, Wetu Telu Islam has the belief that every living thing goes through three stages of a series of cycles, namely being born (begotten), living (*urip*), and dying (*mate*). Ritual activities will focus on three levels of this cycle. Each stage of this cycle is followed or accompanied by a ceremony. This represents the transition and transformation of one's status to the next or subsequent status and also reflects one's obligation to the spirit world (Budiawati, 2000).

Important elements embedded in the teachings of Islam Wetu Telu according to adat leaders, namely: first, the secret that manifests in the five senses of the human body. Second, the deposit of God's examination which is manifested in Adam and Eve. Symbolically Adam represents the father or male line, while Eve represents the mother or female line. Each of them spreads four organs in the human body. Third, God's nature is a combination of five senses (originating from God) and eight organs inherited from Adam (male line) and Eve (female line). Each of God's nature can be found in every hole in the human body.



Stakeholder conclusions, that faith in God, Adam, and Eve was the center of belief in Wetu Telu. This idea according to them comes from Lontar Anbiya. They explained that God created Adam's body from a handful of clay and on the sixth day He blew the spirit on Adam's head, so Adam was a living being. Stakeholder explained that Eve was created from parts of Adam's body, but it was not explained which part of Adam's body was used to create Eve (Budiawati, 2000).

With the above explanation, some points related to the Islamic belief of the Wetu Telu can be drawn, namely that they have different interpretations from the groups that are not adherents of the Wetu Telu. For the groups of Wetu Telu, they symbolically believe in three types of reproductive systems, a balance between the world of macro and micro. The ceremony accompanies each stage of the transformative process in one's life, namely: birth, life, and death, and the recognition of God's omnipotence and recognition of Adam and Eve as their ancestors.

Wetu Telu is not only in the form of ideological teachings and doctrines that are vertical, but it is incarnated in culture and customs, both in social traditions in general and in the form of horizontal religious rituals. Wetu Telu in the form of culture is based on the basic principles or doctrine of ideology, in the form of honesty, sincerity, and obedience (Interview with Khidir, May 21, 2019).

Wetu Telu in the form of an understanding concept is also called *laek* time (ancient times), while concerning cultural traditions it is called "*laek way*" (ancient ways or behavior) which is also called *adat* (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019). Islamic custom known as Wetu Telu is found in eight months in a year, namely: *putek* porridge, *abang* porridge, *mulud*, *mi'roj*, *rowah* moon, fasting, Eid (*lebaran belo*), Eid (*lebaran pontak*). That is an Islamic custom of Wetu Telu. At eight months, there is a lot of information about procedures that can guide individuals, especially Muslims. The contents of the meanings of these eight months need to be understood and practiced in life. If not practiced, then an individual is very far from something called "ideal". The things done in the eight months are harmonious, the procedures, and explanations about the foundation or basics, as well as the sources of *adat* and religion, all of which are closely related to human beings. While the rest is for people outside of Islam, including Balinese people (Interview with Papuk Diana, May 7, 2019).

Some traditions and rituals can be found in Lombok society. It includes Sorong Serah or ceremony for proposing a bride. A wedding must go through the Sorong Serah ceremony (Ahyar & Abdullah, 2019). There is an assumption in the community that there is no marriage if there is no “Sorong Serah” ceremony and if there is a marriage but does not carry out the ceremony, then the marriage is considered a disgraceful act or will get scorn from society (Zakaria, 2018). In this ceremony, the symbolic rituals are spoken by adat leaders (from women/advocates) to the bridegroom in the form of mentioning numbers (Anggraeny, 2017). The adat leader said: ajin (price) Panjak (servant) is (one), the price of Karang Jajap (general public) 10, the price of Peroaksa (official) is 33, while Menak (king) is 66 (Interview with Pak Khidir, June 21, 2019).

### **Leaders in the History of Wetu Telu Islam**

The development of Wetu Telu Islam goes through a very long and winding history and is filled with various obstacles. The figures who have been influential in the history of the growth and development of Islam, especially Wetu Telu in Lombok, namely: The historical figures above are: 1) Songopati, 2) Sriketip Stop, 3) Syarif (Sriketip Shepherd), 4) Bulangsa (Teacher “Bulet Beams”), 5) Bangkol teacher, 6) Amaq Pahrudin (T.G.H. Ahmad Nurul Adhzim) and Ratnata (Papuk Senan), 7) Muhammad Nur, 8) T.G.H. Ahmad Nurul Adhzim, and 9) H. Azhar (Interview with Muhammad Insan Karyadi, Khairul Hadi and Mukhlis, May 18, 2019).

### **The doctrine of the period of Wetu Telu**

All religious leaders who have been mentioned previously from Songopati up to now, namely Azhar had a very big influence on the existence and development of religiosity until now. Based on the history of the emergence of Wetu Telu, then Wetu Telu from the early figures to the present has the basic teachings of tasawuf. It has become doctrine and ideology from time to time that is attached to the Wetu Telu. The model may be different for each character, but the substance is the same, which is to lead to the “inner depth” of man who is considered to be the main “identity” that can deliver it to God.

Songopati as the first famous figure with its main teachings, namely the single form. This teaching is evidenced by the existence of a single pillar mosque or one in the hamlet of Sukatain (an area where this was the beginning of Pengakaran, now a village because of the division of the Pengaduk village). Something that remains in the area from this mosque is the former foundation.

This mosque has one column and is surrounded by supporting pillars, where each pole has meaning. The Songopati teaching about the single form is then interpreted as the doctrine of a tarekat. The tomb of Songopati is in Sukatain (Interview with Muhammad Insan Karyadi and Khairul Hadi, May 21, 2019).

Sukatain's name itself is an identity of a religious movement, that is part of a tarekat model, because the name of this original place, as mentioned in the historical document of the reserve is "Samarkaton Village" which at that time was ruled by Demdung under the rule of Raja Lombok. The historical document stated that Suka Tain comes from the word "Shahadatain" because it was at that place that the first pillar of Islam was taught first, namely two sentences of the creed by a first Islamic religious announcer named Songo Pati originating from Java.

In the following period, with a very long period from one figure to the next, both Sriketip Mengenti, Sriketip Menggala, and Balok Bulet continued to emphasize the teachings of Islam that were colloidal, especially its tenets. Sriketip Mengenti still has a connection with the teachings of the single form of Songopati. While Sriketip Menggala originating from Arabic is a reflection of the fertility of the reserve with the teachings of Islam. This condition is evidenced by the establishment of the first Islamic mosque in this area. Then the figure of Balok Bulet and the Naqshabandiyah order which he practiced and taught reflected that mysticism teachings were the basis of the religion of the ancient revival community.

During Muhammad Nur's religious life in the form of tarekat flourished very rapidly. When viewed in terms of the historical development of the Naqsyabandiyah Order in Lombok, as described by Martin van Bruinessen (1996). Especially around Central Lombok and East Lombok, the order taught by Muhammad Nur is this tarekat. Muhammad Nur himself was one of the students of Muhammad Ali (Interview with Amaq Nur, July 2019). He is now a student and son-in-law of Muhammad Nur and a murshid teacher in a place which was once the place of establishment and preservation of the Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah congregation in Timbanuh (in Pringgasela sub-district, Lombok district East). He is famous for Haji Muhammad Ali, a teacher of the Naqsyabandiyah Order in Sakra (now, East Lombok). Haji Muhammad Ali himself died in the initial battle in 1891. Haji Muhammad Ali built and developed his tarekat teachings. Many people came to him, both from nobility and ordinary people asking to be pledged. The followers

of Haji Muhammad Ali mostly came from East Lombok, including Masbagik, Kopang, Batu Kliang, and Pringgabaya.

From the interviews, the author found that Muhammad Nur in his tarekat movement remained on the same track as the predecessor religious leaders. The teachings on prayer which are famous for the term *Wetu Lima*, in a very soft or slow way then began to be introduced and practiced. He often said “we fight, but did not leave the prayer”, even, according to the confession of his students, let alone the obligatory prayer, the sunnah prayer was very emphasized to the students or members of his congregation (Interview with Muhammad Insan Kariadi and Khaerul Hadi, May 21, 2019).

His students also often listened to his expressions, namely “we are entitled to the Shari’a”. Unification or integration of nature and Shari’a is the vision and mission of Muhammad Nur and then this effort was championed by his students as his successor. This is his top priority because it is said that the majority of the ancestors of the community who refer to ancient traditions or *Wetu Telu* think and understand, even believe that the spiritual area is capable and will deliver humans to their God (Interview with Khidir, May 21, 2019).

The teachings of the *Qodiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah* (TQN) order inherited by Muhammad Nur were also continued by the student and successor, T.G.H. Ahmad Nurul Adhizim. While the *naqsyabandiyah* order which is practiced and developed by Balok Bulet also gives influence and is also taught by T.G.H. Ahmad Nurul Adhim. This is evidenced by several books which were read and became a guide, namely the book *Bayanul alif* and *Bayanulloh*. The *naqsyabandiah* is not pure, because he often goes to Java and there he gets a lot of information and books related to religion, especially about tarekat (Interview with Mr. Diana, May 7, 2019).

### **Islamic Network of Wetu Telu**

From the description of the figures described earlier, *Wetu Telu* is interpreted as a doctrine of the science of mysticism, both concerning an understanding and in religious traditions. This movement can be drawn from the very downstream, namely lately to the era of the figure of Muhammad Nur.

During the generations above, namely Guru Bangkol and Balok Bulet this movement is a local archipelago, namely the island of Lombok. This could be summed up because of the involvement of the leaders in the liberation or expulsion movement of the invaders from the island of Lombok. This eviction movement led by groups adhering to the *naqshabandiah* order took place not

only in East Lombok, but also in Central Lombok and West Lombok. All of them worked together and helped each other in a very difficult effort to get rid of the Dutch colonizers, the occupation of Bali, and Japan.

The previous generation, namely Sriketip Menggala coming from Arabia allowed having links with religious movements in the area, especially those related to his religious teachings. While Sriketip Mengenti was included in the local regional movement. As explained in the history of the beginning of Wetu Telu, Songopati came from Java, then logically it can be concluded that this religious movement is trans-island, namely the island of Java-Lombok. The movement at that time was very much related to the religious movement which was pioneered by the Walisongo.

Thematically, the religious content in general which is behind religious and cultural movements at the Wetu Telu is not only local, trans-island, and national, but international. This is clear because the tasawuf movement in the form of tarekat is flourished throughout the world from the Middle Ages. While in the form of understanding and belief there was a time from Rosululloh, even before his apostolate (Suryaningsih, 2013).

### **Existence of Wetu Telu**

The existence of the Wetu Telu until now can still be obtained in the form of religious teachings, as well as in practice in the ritual of proximity, as has been historically-chronologically described in the history. Despite its existence in the form of cultural rituals, there are still many that can be obtained and witnessed, although some of them are only found in historical documents. This condition occurred because the flow of change as a result of the culture of modernization and also technological advancements that penetrate almost all the joints of Indonesian society in general, especially the Pengandangan community. Accordingly, the local traditional culture is very difficult to survive and also gets very little attention, both by adherents of culture itself or by the government.

### **Conclusion**

The meaning contained in the Wetu Telu Islam culture influencing the social religion in Lombok, implies the doctrine of monotheism, namely all human activities must be directed only to Allah Almighty. So this is drawn from the word "lombok" meaning "straight" which refers to the Almighty. The religious-cultural patterns found in Wetu Telu are manifested in various

customs and are full of meaning related to birth, life, and death. The example of the patterns found in Lombok about birth is Molang Malik ceremony. Concerning life, there are Sorong Serah, Mulud, and Blayar ceremonies. While the most number is related to death, as in the symbol of the culvert, the form of the grave of the corpse, Ancak, Neneklung, Mituk, Nyiwa, Empat Pulu, Nyatus, Nyiwu, Nyenyantekin. In addition to the aforementioned ones, namely: Begawe Ceremony, Mal-Mal Mall, Begamelan Blek, Makon, Sesimbing, Wetu Telu Day, Date Determination Method of Muharrom, and Tuak Recitation.

Wetu Telu is often understood as an imperfect Islam, because it reduces all teachings or worship in Islam to three, such as the meaning of the word "time" which means "time three". Allegations directed at followers of Islam Wetu Telu as imperfect Islam, for example, praying only three times, understanding dynamism and animism, understanding the spirits of the ancestors, as well as understanding related to the other three things. The meaning is different from the Wetu Telu understanding found in Lombok. The time for the Pengluuf community is almost entirely related to the understanding of Sufism either related to ideology or manifested in customary traditions in general, especially those related to religious traditions. For the people of Lombok who believe in Wetu Telu, it is a very perfect Islam because it is built from two solid dimensions, namely dzohir and inner or Islamic, faith, and ihsan. Wetu Telu for them is Sufistic teachings or Sufism and is attached to the heart and feelings. When it is related to dzohir, Wetu Telu is words and deeds or sharia. It manifested in the phenomenon of society as a way of behaving, and a way of speaking or communicating. Wetu Telu is that if left, then someone is in the status of "very heavy disbelief", while, "Wetu Lima" is when left, then someone is in the status of "lighter disbelief".

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## DEVELOPING RELIGIOUS CULTURE THROUGH INTEGRATIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN INDONESIAN STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY

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### **Abstract**

*Higher education has been accused as an environment which has less moral and religious values. The negative stereotype became more evident when some higher education institutions involved in some disputes such as brawl among students, and riots in Ramadhan and at the time of sahur. There is also State Islamic Higher Education Institution (PTKIN) among the campuses. However, some SIHEIs have constructed religious culture through Integrative Religious Practices (IRP). The paper aims at evaluating the IRP as a strategy in building campus religious culture. Interview, participant observation, and data analysis lead to the finding that IRP development was formally done in class and was informally and ceremonially applied outside the class through ma'had, students' organizations, cooperation with religious institutions, and relation across region and professions can build campus religious culture. Moreover, it also improves students' ethical behavior, empathy, and tolerant. The study suggests that religious subject in higher education and schools is developed using IRP and involves relevant units and religious organizations outside campus to improve the understanding on the socio-religious value to establish ethical, tolerant, empathy, and cooperative behavior.*

Perguruan Tinggi telah dituduh sebagai lingkungan yang kurang mencerminkan nilai-nilai moral dan religius. Stereotip buruk ini makin diperkuat dengan keterlibatan PT dalam beberapa kericuhan seperti tawuran mahasiswa serta tawuran di bulan Ramadhan dan di waktu sahur. Di antara perguruan tinggi tersebut terdapat Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri (PTKIN). Namun ada juga PTKIN yang telah membangun budaya religius melalui Praktik Keagamaan Integratif (PKI). Tulisan ini mengevaluasi PKI sebagai strategi dalam membangun budaya religius di kampus. Wawancara, observasi partisipan, dan analisis data yang dilakukan menghasilkan temuan bahwa pengembangan PKI yang dilakukan secara formal di kelas dan diaplikasikan non-formal dan seremonial di luar kelas melalui ma'had, organisasi kemahasiswaan, kerjasama dengan lembaga keagamaan, dan pergaulan lintas daerah dan profesi dapat membangun budaya religius di kampus. Selain itu, hal itu juga dapat menumbuhkan sikap etis, empati, dan toleran di kalangan mahasiswa. Tulisan ini menyarankan agar materi keagamaan di PT dan sekolah dikembangkan dengan praktik keagamaan integratif dan melibatkan berbagai unit terkait dan organisasi keagamaan di luar kampus untuk meningkatkan pemahaman nilai-nilai sosial-keagamaan sehingga menumbuhkan perilaku agamis, toleran, empati, dan sikap saling menghargai.

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**Keywords:** *Islamic higher education; learning tradition; religious culture; religious practice.*

## Introduction

Higher education as a medium to generate competent future leaders is considered failed to bring skill-full graduates who can compete in the era of ASEAN community and industry revolution 4.0. Besides, many students have been involved in criminal acts and brawl. The acts destroyed learning facilities, ruined students' physical and psychological condition, and even caused the death of some students. Some social and educational figures are upset and ashamed for the acts due to the assumption that some lecturers may be involved, and it leads to egocentricity among faculties. The condition affects society trust who believes that higher education becomes place for learning and role model (Maulana, 2019; Ramadhan, 2017; Reinhard, 2019; Sulis, 2018). The campuses have responded to the bad news related to their students' attitudes. An issue reported that among the campuses, there is an Islamic higher education (Sulis, 2018). It emphasized that the dispute occurred in the Islamic university was caused by interest difference, system

misuse, the disappointment on bureaucracy, and even worse, following the senior's habit. This condition can trigger conflict among students (Ghony, 2018). Therefore, it is essential to make lecturers and leaders more creative in carrying out curricula activities to develop an academic and religious culture on campus (Kameliah, 2017).

Several previous studies dealing with religious culture have only focused on three aspects; first, analyzing the causal factor of juvenile delinquency at school and the importance of religious value building through religious culture, Islamic ceremonies, religious activities, and role model (Hamidah, 2016; Suyitno, 2018; Syaifuddin, 2018; Maulana, 2019). Previous researcher suggested that many religious activities can build religious culture, such as accustoming students to do worship on time (Zamzami, 2015). Second, some studies focused on the prevention of juvenile delinquency by improving parental care, creating an excellent social environment, and choosing good friends (Syifaunnufush & Diana, 2017; Andrianto, 2019). The principal, teachers, and staff should be the role model in practicing the Islamic values (Suyitno, 2018; Zamzami, 2015). Third, the impact of juvenile delinquency at school and students brawl at campuses show the parental dysfunction, the lack of educator's innovation and creation, youth identity crisis, and value shock brought by advanced information technology and social media (Ariyanik & Suhartini, 2012; Andrianto, 2019). The three tendencies have not critically analyzed the religious culture and religious practice implementation, and also the religious learning tradition potency in building religious culture in the level of higher education.

Religious culture (RC) is a religious atmosphere supporting all the campus members in conducting worship, ritual and religious practices, and studies on religion and science integration as well as religious literation innovatively and properly in a peaceful, calm, and serene situation. The condition is the implementation form of values taught by religion. There are three essential religious materials needed to teach in balance, namely *aqidah* (behavior), *sharia* (Islamic law), and *akhlaq* (morality) (Khuzaimah, 2017). They can be actualized through three aspects: physic, activities, and behavior (Setiyawati, 2015). Muhajir Effendi (in Setiyawati, 2015) offers two approaches in realizing the values to build RC. The first is a formal approach usually employed through a regular curriculum in the form of learning activities in class. However, the activities face the time limit and class regulation and it leads to the fact that religious values cannot be implemented in class optimally. The second is an informal

approach usually done through extracurricular activities outside the class. Its implementation needs educators' creativity and innovation to optimize the function of various supporting facilities to actualize religious values in the form of religious culture.

Meanwhile, Logan & Hartwick (2019) suggest the importance of the integrative approach in building a culture that can help developing religious literacy and understanding of how religion becomes an integral part of various social science fields. Using the method, the lecturers or teachers can build a culture that can bring the campus and school to be more educated and respectful. Moreover, they can conduct studies on religion and science integration at once (Ali, 2019). Therefore, Integrative Religious Practices (IRP) and tradition as the effort to implement educational activities by using all educational components and elements become urgently needed to achieve the goal. Previous study (Ali et al., 2018) proves that a learning activity based on IRP and tradition can see the opportunities and social needs for highly competitive and ethical graduates. The integrative learning used by educational institutions generally has unique characteristics since it is based on their institution's vision and core values (Fitri et al., 2019).

IRP and tradition include all activities and atmospheres outside the class and formal learning, which can be employed by the students to achieve educational goals. Some studies on religious practices and learning tradition suggest that they refer to unsaid or implicit values, attitudes, and norms in the educational environment (Alsubaie, 2015). Meanwhile, Jerald (2006) notes that learning tradition is an inherent activity representing behavior, knowledge, and attitude indirectly, and it should be actively shown as part of social life. Hence, educators have to play positive role in the educational system at school or campus. They have to be aware and organize their part to build religious culture.

Related with the implementation of religious value in building RC at school and campus, some studies on religious culture and religious learning tradition found that Islamic education should emphasize on the learning experience and spiritual value implementation aspect. Therefore, both educational institutions and educators need to conduct activities and religious practices both inside and outside the class (Irsad, 2016). The importance of building RC is shown by educators, leaders, and parents' high commitment through religious activities outside the class by relating relevant elements (Hamidah, 2016). The event is usually known as the religious practice and learning tradition. They become

solutions for educational institutions dealing with time limit in the class to achieve learning goals by optimizing the available facilities. Three approaches can be used as the basics of implementing integrative religious practice. The first is the social demand approach which is based on society needs nowadays. The plan emphasizes on the educational goals achieved through educational mission. The second one is the human resources approach, which orientates the empowerment of graduate with the job-world expectation. The concept believes that the high number of unemployment is caused by the failure of education in addressing the problems. The third one is a cost-effectiveness approach which emphasizes on the cost optimization to achieve optimal result, both quantitatively and qualitatively (Ali et al. 2018).

This study is to respond to the lack of attention on higher education potency in building RC. It has a great power to create a good shield to prevent student delinquency through IRP. Therefore, the study consists of three problems namely (1) how to build the religious culture through IRP in UIN Malang, (2) how the factor of IRP determines the success of RC building in UIN Malang, and (3) how to formulate an IRP model which can guarantee the realization of RC in UIN Malang as a reference for other general and Islamic state higher education. The questions are expected to answer the dynamics of the RC building.

Furthermore, the study is based on three arguments. First, the Islamic higher educational institutions are responsible for building RC, peace, and serene atmosphere in implementing religious values and local wisdom norms. The second is IRP implemented in educational institutions has significant impact on preventing juvenile and student delinquency. The third one is the lack of studies on IRP in the literature and conceptual models. However, it is important to consider the IRP during the building of religious culture.

## Method

The authors chose Islamic higher education and its potency in building religious culture through Integrative Religious Practices (IRP) for two reasons. The first is the concern on the high number of student brawl in campus involving students and lecturers which can lead to criminal acts. The second reason is the religious and social activities outside the class, in *ma'had* (a Muslim student dormitory) and outside the campus have strategic roles in building religious culture, empathy, and tolerance among students. The material of the IRP can be considered as a soft strategy in implementing long term religious culture.

The research is based on primary data from observation and interviews. The observation itself is carried out by observing and visiting the places of religious and social activities practice in the class, in *ma'had*, and outside the campus to get the dynamic pictures of the religious culture-building process. The interview is done by asking the questions on the chosen material aspect, the used strategy, and activity experiences. The choosing of informants is based on the qualitative principle. The researcher decides six informants using purposive sampling with the criteria of educational background and different workplaces. They include religious lecturers, the leader of the *ma'had*, and students.

The primary data consisting description of religious and social activities in building RC is analyzed using stages such as data reduction, data display, and data verification. To check the data validity, the researcher employs triangulation and focus group discussion (FGD).

### **Building Religious Culture**

Integrative Religious Practice (IRP) is one of media to shape student's character in addition to building a mindset and religious culture with a particular orientation. IRP has the potential to directly function to develop student configuration in presenting the values of spirituality and moral grandeur in social reality. Accordingly, four aspects of the IRP can be evaluated for their relevance in the creation of religious culture.

The first one, the IRP can be implemented inside and outside the classrooms. Inside the classrooms, the IRP is done by praying before the class activities begin. Some lecturers also ask students to read the Quran for the first 5-10 minutes before teaching and learning activities. This is why in every class, several Quran are placed in a bookshelf so that students can use it for reciting before learning. Outside the classrooms, IRP can be held in the form of religious ceremonial events such as Islamic-theme speech after *dhuhur* prayer at the *at-Tarbiyah* mosque using Indonesian language meanwhile at the *Ulul Albab* mosque, the speech is in Arabic or English because there are many foreign students. Every Thursday in the fourth week, there is a monthly agenda in the Students Center building called *Khotm al-Quran* held at 19.00. This activity was attended by all campus members from the leader board, lecturers, staff, and students. After finishing the Quran reading, the participants will listen to the religious and motivational speech by invited speaker—sometimes, the college invites famous figures to fill in this session. In *ma'had*, the IRP is

implemented in the form of socio-religious study, religious practices, as well as religious and art rituals e.g. the practice of Hajj performance and watching inspiring movies. Students' organizations usually conduct flexible activities, for example charity for orphan and other social services. There are also activities held by UIN Malang charity organization called "Elzawa" in collaboration with students, community, and public figures around Malang City. These activities are the implementation of the university's vision and mission and the UIN Malang curriculum in the form of the integrative religious practice and religious learning tradition.

Second, religious culture is reflected in rituals or practices and religious studies conducted in a calm and solemn atmosphere. It is realized in several activities; inviting *kiai*, *habaib*, leaders of Muslim community organizations either in regional, national, or international level to give religious speech as well as inviting *majlis taklim* and *sholawat* groups from East Java Province to read *shalawat* together. These activities are not only followed by university member (i.e. leaders, lecturers, staff, and students) but also opened for public. In these forums, all participants gain understanding on socio-religious values directly and other benefits. Another activity is holding activities which allow students and all university members to experience direct interaction across educational background and profession in UIN Malang. It can be realized by inviting communities from outside university. The campus can also conduct cross-study programs which are beneficial for not only lecturers and staff but also for students. Furthermore, in the context inside *ma'had*, *kiai* and *murobbi* or *murobbiyah* as the ones advising every activity in the dorm must show exemplary behavior that can be the direct exposure for students to learn, especially in religious aspects implemented in daily life. Also, every routine activities followed by students can be the learning source; those are performing *shalat jama'ah* (congregational prayer) in mosque both *at-Tarbiyah* and *Ulul Albab*. Those aforementioned activities show that religious culture in UIN Malang has been going consistently well.

Third, IRP also depends on the competence of the lecturers and the *kiai* in *ma'had* council in carrying out the integrative learning tradition that guarantees social and religious understanding and religious power. To understand the religious and social-religious culture, the lecturers and the *kiai* deliver the integrative material flexibly and functionally that is appeared in three aspects; the first one, the course material presented by lecturers in the regular class of the department is related to religious and social values that



take place in daily life on campus by looking at the function of integrating religious values; the next aspect, the religious material delivered by the *kiai* in *ma'had* is related to general science and the surrounding problems that are happening, by looking at the function of religious education in daily life; the last aspect, the behavior exposed by students, lecturers, staffs, and leaders in everyday communication and interaction influences the assessment of campus residents on the level of individual religious culture.

Fourth, the lecturers, the *kiai* in *ma'had*, and the students of UIN Malang take part in the implementation of the integration of college and *ma'had* life. They conduct discussion on certain issues in their respective faculty and dormitory. The continuation of activities will lead to the development of learning tradition socialization activities. Based on the aforementioned four aspects of IRP, religious culture in UIN Malang is then realized because of the existence and the consistency of holding numerous activities which integrate religious and scientific values.

### **Determination of The Creation of Religious Culture**

The use of IRP as a potential of creating religious culture can be seen in the relationship between the learning tradition and the movement. The significance of the IRP on the level of religious culture influences student's behavior, attitudes, and integrative learning. To create religious atmosphere, religious culture allows every campus member to carry out religious services, rituals, and practices, as well as social studies in peace, calm, and solemn atmosphere. This aims at avoiding negative behavior and attitude which are not in line with social and religious norms. Also, this aims at realizing the profile of UIN Malang graduates i.e. moral grandeur, spiritual depth, breadth of knowledge, and professional maturity. Students and other member of UIN Malang (i.e. lecturers and staff) are accustomed to living together through academic and non-academic activities. In the academic aspect, they participate in religious and socio-cultural learning held by their respective majors/faculties and by *ma'had*. Non-academic wise, especially in social and religious activities, they in certain occasion hold social activities and religious rituals in each and across faculties as well as in collaboration with religious organizations outside campus with different educational and professional backgrounds. From these activities, they value the tolerance, peace, and solemnity in religious and cultural atmosphere.

Discussing about IRP signification in creating religious culture is inseparable from the presence of *kiai*, *habaib*, and leaders of Muslim organizations (e.g. *majlis*

*taklim* and *majlis sholawat*) in regional, national, and international levels. They unite to not create any gap even though they may have different background in *mazhab* (schools). The process of religious activities can be described as; first, students get an understanding of the religious and social values taught by religious community leaders to produce polite, harmonious, religious and cultured behavior in addressing academic, socio-political, and religious issues on campus. Second, leaders of student organizations along with the students of UIN Malang are accustomed to helping each other. They usually target to help new students in *ma'had* to get used to campus life. They also help community leaders and religion worshipers from across regions and educational backgrounds to build openness, brotherhood, and not discriminating one another in a peaceful and solemn atmosphere. Third, the difference acceptance shown by religious figures in campus environment will teach students about tolerance and mutual respect. Fourth, there is brotherhood and comfort in religious and social activities carried out by students across faculties, regions, ethnicities, and countries. These four things reflect the significance of the IRP on the level of religious culture at UIN Malang.

The emergence of integrative learning in the era of globalization and information technology, learning materials and activities can be obtained through various integrated media and learning resources. In UIN Malang, cognitive, affective, and psychomotor integration aspects of religion and science are practiced in addition to face-to-face classrooms in respective faculty. They are also done in spaces in the community and through religious activities outside classroom. *Ma'had* uses intensive activities by incorporating religious values with the curriculum of each study program facilitated by the deans, the *kiai* council, and leaders of units within UIN Malang. The movement to create religious culture in UIN Malang uses the principle of flexibility and relevance as demonstrated by the practice of religious activities outside the classroom and the internalization of religious values according to events and moments. The data show that the ease in holding religious activities integrated with study programs and faculties encourages students and lecturers to improve the religious culture on campus.

### **Religious Culture Model**

Integrative Religious Practice (IRP) is necessary as a reference to create religious culture that can be implemented as a solution of any problem in

universities in Indonesia. Three things need to be fulfilled to develop the model that can be a solving for student and youth delinquency problems.

The first one is the principles of RC model. The IRP in UIN Malang was formulated using (1) the principle of flexibility as demonstrated by the willingness of advisors and supervisors in *ma'had* so that the *taklim afkar* activities and religious practices are in line with the mission of the institution; (2) the principle of openness shown by *kiai* and *murobbi-murobbiyah* in *ma'had* to accept input from faculties in UIN Malang; (3) integrative principles as stated by Suhadak, chairman of *Taklim Afkar* in *ma'had* that one of functions of *ma'had* is to shape morality and spirituality of UIN Malang; and (4) the humanist principles demonstrated by the IRP is oriented to build a campus that is religious, peaceful, solemn, and equal through *Khotmil Quran* program followed by all campus residents and continued by eating together without differentiating the position and rank. The four principles encourage campus residents to work together, empathize, and to be civilized.

The second is construction model. UIN Malang uses IRP model made by (1) incorporating elements of religious values and character of *Ulul Albab*; (2) carrying out local wisdom activities to preserve an ancient religious ritual tradition that is still considered good and appropriate and not in contradiction with religious values; (3) integrating the rules in *ma'had* and faculty e.g. if there are students breaking the rules and acting crime in *ma'had* and outside the classroom, it will affect their assessment in the faculty. These three encourage campus citizens to behave in accordance with religious and social values.

The last one is the prerequisite model. UIN Malang compiles integrative religious practice and learning tradition shown by building an integrative facility, namely (1) establishing *ma'had* (students' dormitory) integrated with the campus; (2) building two mosques i.e. *at-Tarbiyah* and *Ulul Albab*. *At-Tarbiyah* mosque is mostly used for male students since it is located near male dormitories, meanwhile *Ulul Albab* Mosque is intended for female students as it is located near female dormitories; (3) integrating religion and science studies as well as religious practices; and (4) lecture halls and meeting rooms in the campus can be used for *taklim afkar*, and religious activities carried out by *ma'had*. The data shows that the facilities and infrastructure that are built in an integrated manner can guarantee the realization of religious culture. This can be a reference for other universities in Indonesia.

## Discussion

Culture has significant relationship with maturity, behavior, and religious values, while religious beliefs encourage subjective norms and positive attitudes towards behavior (Aksoy & Yusuf, 2019). The IRP and learning tradition implicitly expressed attitudes, knowledge, and behavior, which are indirectly communicated and shown through actions that are part of life in society (Jerald, 2006). Fimansyah, W. & Kumalasari (2015) in their study reported that learning tradition that emphasizes rules, regulations, and routines could take the form of investment value, creating a conducive social climate, provision of physical facilities, or interaction patterns developed by educators. Cornbleth (1984) found that various elements have an impact on shaping religious cultures, such as teachers, students, society, knowledge, and awareness. In the context of UIN Malang, religious practices are integrated inside and outside the classroom (in this paper referred to as IRP). The implementation of the IRP in the regular class is in formal way led by each lecturer, while the IRP held outside the class is in the form of ceremonial such as in *ma'had*, mosques, and outside the campus. The implementation of the IRP outside the classroom involved student leaders in each faculty, every dormitory (*mabna*) in *ma'had*, *takmir* (staff) of the campus mosque, and in *Haijah Tahfiz al-Quran* (an organization in charge of managing students in memorizing Quran).

The involvement of all leaders in each element inside and outside campus leads to at least two new consciousness. First, their existence can provide comparative perspectives and diversity to enrich students' insight and campus leaders to build togetherness and create Religious Culture (RC). Second, the experience gives new values and reference in communicating with various parties and forming a peaceful, solemn, fraternal, and religious environment. In this way, students and other members in the campus will gain a wealth of experience that enables each of them to be more open toward different belief and ethnic leading to the creation of RC. According to Vygotsky (in Alsubaie, 2015), the development of higher psychological processes can arise through implicit or hidden messages. Vygotsky suggests that lecturers improve and contribute to help and encourage students to communicate socially. This process is called the presupposition of values and moral commitment. When lecturers realize the importance of IRP and learning tradition on students, they will apply it using collaborative strategy.

IRP is a medium and a mean of expressing and representing the attitude, knowledge, and behavior, delivered indirectly through the implementation of educational activities and religious practices by integrating religion and science as well as take advantage of various relevant elements to achieve institution's vision, mission, and goals. In the implementation of IRP in UIN Malang, religious practice material is reviewed by using an interdisciplinary framework and is developed by linking the problems that occur and rise in daily life. The material was delivered in the regular class, in the *ma'had* class, in the mosque, and outside the classroom as well as through modeling, exemplary, and religious symbols in writing and signs in the stone monument. While the strategies used include tutorials, lectures, religious ritual practices, and habituation. The activity is intended so that students and the academic community can understand the relevance of religion, science, and problems in the campus environment. These activities also gained the benefits and experience of learning to build a religious culture to foster religious attitudes and behavior for students and campus residents as the implementation of religious values in daily life.

The creation of religious culture is an effort that allows every campus citizen to apply religious values that are trusted and believed in good, innovative, and creative ways in a peaceful, calm, and solemn atmosphere. This activity will create religious atmosphere that is considered correct and conditional. Muhaimin et al. (2001, p.306 -307) classify four models of religious culture i.e. structural, formal, mechanical, and organic. In the context of UIN Malang, models that are practiced include structural models built through regulation and building *public image* both from the internal and external environment realized through monthly *Khotmil Quran*. Moreover, there are also other activities such as the socioreligious-theme speech (*kultum* i.e. seven-minute speech) after *dhuhur* prayer in the mosque delivered by lecturers of UIN Malang and figures outside campus (set in a schedule) and several religious rituals led by *kiai* and the *murobbi-murobbiyah* (*kiai's* assistants) in UIN Malang. The mechanical and organic models are demonstrated through the functioning of existing units such as *Haiah Tahfiz al-Quran* fostering students from various majors who are interested in memorizing Quran and doing *tahsin* (checking and revising the Quran reading), the center for studying science integration that examines and gives consideration in positioning *Quran* and *hadith* as primary sources related to human's daily life and behavior. They can be learned in the classroom, in the office, and outside the classroom.

The involvement of all campus elements in the creation of RC following their respective authorities will create and maintain religious environment. They will feel uncomfortable to witness misbehavior in their surrounding environment since it will make negative atmosphere. In this way, the campus community will gain experience of religious behavior and be accustomed to not acting negatively. Religious and self-regulated culture have positive influence on students' religious behavior (Pratama et al. 2019). Thus, the application of religious values will be realized through integrative religious practice as a tradition and become a religious culture in the campus environment.

### **Conclusion**

It turned out that the religious culture on campus can be built by integrative religious practice (IRP) by inserting religious values, local wisdom, as well as implementing the rules which have been agreed upon. This condition can foster a comfortable, peaceful, and religious atmosphere. The IRP is integrated through teaching and learning activities. Involving various elements of religious organizations and community leaders outside the campus can increase brotherhood, togetherness, and insight in building and maintaining religious atmosphere in the college. This also emphasizes the need for the religious culture through the development of the IRP to get out of the narrow space of the textual curriculum, which closes the space for interaction based on diversity and religious values.

This research is limited to the analysis of religious culture through IRP, which is practiced in UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang so that it has not been able to reach an explanation of whether the religious culture does not contribute to the formation of a culture of radicalism. In other words, the potential of *Pancasila* (Indonesian five-basic principles) education and religion courses in tertiary institutions develops a comfortable, peaceful, and religious culture. The analysis of the learning tradition in higher education—by looking at how each course can encourage the creation of religious values, togetherness, brotherhood, and tolerance—becomes important in looking at the position of higher education in reproducing freedom of opinion and behavior by considering religious values to power base religious culture.

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## MORAL VALUE ANALYSIS IN SERAT KITAB KALAM QODRAT FOR WOMEN'S MORAL EDUCATION

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### **Abstract**

Morality is a personal guide of distinguishing goodness from badness with their mind. Indonesian women, especially Javanese, are perceived to be moral when they possess noble character reflected in gentle, polite, loyal, and religious attitudes. Many Indonesian cultural products portray the ideal female figure in terms of physical to a moral image. One of the cultural products dedicated to illustrate the typical moral for women is *Tembang Macapat*. *Macapat* songs containing moral values for women are the song in *Serat Kitab Kalam Qodrat (KKQ)*. This study focuses on examining the content and moral values of *Serat KKQ* using gender perspective, with a primary emphasis on women's gender. The results can be used as a model for Indonesian women and their character education support. This research is qualitative descriptive with a content analysis method. The primary data are the literary works in *KKQ* from Mpu Tantular Museum collection, Sidoarjo and the thesis of Sri Sulistianingsih (2016) titled *Kalam Qodrat book: text edits and structural analysis*. The study results are related to women's morals, respect to parents and a husband (obedient to a husband, loyal, and harmonious), determination, maintaining self-esteem (honor) and the motivation of study.

Moralitas merupakan upaya untuk membimbing manusia menggunakan akalanya untuk membedakan kebaikan dan keburukan. Wanita Indonesia khususnya wanita Jawa disebut bermoral ketika memiliki budi pekerti luhur yang tercermin

dari sikap lembut, santun, setia dan taat beragama. Banyak produk budaya Indonesia yang menggambarkan sosok perempuan ideal dari segi fisik hingga moralitas. Salah satu produk budaya yang didedikasikan untuk menggambarkan moral ideal bagi perempuan adalah tembang macapat. Salah satu tembang macapat yang memuat nilai moral bagi perempuan adalah tembang macapat yang ada di dalam serat Kitab Kalam Qodrat (KKQ). Fokus studi ini mengkaji isi dan nilai moral dari Serat KKQ menggunakan perspektif gender, dengan fokus utama pada gender perempuan. Hasil kajian dapat digunakan sebagai model bagi perempuan Indonesia serta untuk mendukung pendidikan karakter perempuan. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian deskriptif kualitatif, dengan objek kajian serat KKQ. Menggunakan metode analisis isi. Data utama penelitian ini adalah serat KKQ koleksi museum Mpu Tantular Sidoarjo dan skripsi Sri Sulistianingsih (2016) dengan judul *Kitab Kalam Qodrat: suntingan teks dan analisis struktural*. Hasil dari penelitian berkaitan dengan moral (akhlak) perempuan, hormat pada orang tua, hormat kepada suami (sikap patuh pada suami, tidak durhaka, setia dan rukun), akhlak berpendirian teguh, menjaga harga diri (kehormatan) serta semangat menuntut ilmu

**Keywords:** *Serat Kitab Kalam Qodrat; Moral Values; Women's Moral; Education.*

## Introduction

Morality is a guide to perform the best according to the sense and to give an actual weight for the interests of individuals who will be affected by such action (Rachels, 2004). For example, women are perceived to be moral when they speak softly and politely. It denotes a common perception that women have to set up a better attitude upon daily conduct than men, yet it does not merely mean that men do not need to be moral. Instead, it is due to the different roles and portions of every gender in practice (Rahminawati, 2001; Suhra, 2013).

Endraswara (2013) in his book, *Sexology Jawa*, argues that Indonesian women, especially Javanese, will be considered moral when they possess a noble character such as tender, loyal, righteous, humble, forgiving, and highly devoted. Thus, moral is the identity of Indonesian women, which needs to preserve and invest in every woman in Indonesia. The image of the ideal female is implicitly and explicitly portrayed in various cultural products not only from physical but also moral aspects (Indradjaja, 2017).

Tembang Macapat is one of the cultural products with a lot of moral values that women may adapt and use in daily life, such as Serat Dewi Murtasiah, Serat Candra Rini, Piwulan Estri, Resi Pranawa Kenya, Wulang Putri, and much more (Wulandari, 2016; Saddhono & Pramestuti, 2018). It is a literary work that functions as entertainment and has positive values worth consuming for society (Basir & Marifatulloh, 2018). Besides, it also serves to preserve Piwulang Jawa and to evoke the spirit of heroism, education, history, magical, and religiosity (Marsono, 1992). Furthermore, it is a medium that can refine one's character and the taste of beauty, as well as a model of attitude formation of the nation in everyday life (Tedjohadisumarto, 1958; Setiyadi, 2013). Macapat, in the form of a song, becomes one of the developing art among society in all layers (Darmasti, 2011). Therefore, they can easily enjoy and understand Tembang Macapat. Besides, Macapat contains a value and message in which the society can adapt upon daily life (Wangsa et al., 2019). The knowledge and local wisdom of Java, which is usually called Piwulang Macapat, is universal, so its values do not only benefit Javanese (Budiono & Wiratama, 2017).

There are several types of Macapat songs that mention how women should behave, speak, and live in the community. Macapat portrays women as capable of speaking politely, gracefully, smoothly, and patiently with control in any condition (Wulandari, 2016). Therefore, in addition to media entertainers, Tembang Macapat also contains a reflection of a moral recommended for humankind, including women.

One of Tembang Macapat, which contains adaptable moral values for women, is Serat (the Javanese literary works) *Kitab Kalam Qodrat (KKQ)*. The manuscript collection of Mpu Tantular Museum, Sidoarjo, is Tembang Macapat. It is written in Arabic pegon, and it uses Javanese language and Arabics for some postulates and excerpts from some classical Islamic books. Arabic pegon is employed in the Islamic literary works, including Serat KKQ (Purnama, 2011). Serat KKQ is a Javanese Serat with the history of Arabic King called Imam Sujana, who fought against the infidels (Sulistianingsih, 2016). Besides entertaining cultural products, Serat KKQ also provides moral values and influential Islamic teachings (Sulistianingsih, 2016). Although Serat KKQ tells the history of the King of Saudi Arabia in general, several stanzas are dedicated to discuss the values of morality, which can be adapted by women. The moral values teach how a woman should behave based on religious values in the Quran.

The description above bases this study to examine the contents and moral values of Serat KKQ with gender perspective. In this study, the researchers focus on women as the main viewpoint. The study results can be used as a model to inspire Indonesian women and support the character education of women.

## Method

This research is descriptive qualitative, examining the text of *Kitab Kalam Qodrat*. It employs a *content analysis* method by collecting some information related to the manuscript content (textology). Content analysis is a kind of research that aims to produce an objective and systematic description of the content and meaning within communication (Krippendorff, 2004; Ratna, 2008). There are six processes of data collection and analysis in the current research. The processes are unitizing, sampling, recording/coding, reducing data to manageable representation, abductively inferring contextual phenomena, narrating the answer to the research question. Unitizing, sampling, recording, and reducing data to compliant representation is one unit of a process called data making (Krippendorff, 2004). Krippendorff (2004) explains that unitizing is the process of systematic classification upon parts of the document with the desired classification form. Sampling is the process of driving excerpts from text or document, which represents the population data to analyze. Recording/coding converts text to be easily understood and interpreted. Abductively inferring contextual phenomena is an analysis process by the researchers based on the context of the document. Narrating the answer to the research question is the process of writing the results of the analysis for an easily understood research report. After all of the data making processes, the researchers analyzed the data using a qualitative approach.

The primary data of the current research are from the manuscript of *Kitab Kalam Qodrat*, the collection of Mpu Tantular Museum, Sidoarjo and the thesis of Sri Sulistianingsih (2016) titled *Kitab Kalam Qodrat: suntingan teks dan analisis struktural*. The secondary data to support the research are from books and scientific papers related to the focus of study such as the Quran, the interpretation of Quran, the dictionary of Bausastra. The data were analyzed by using a pragmatic approach. The researcher performed thorough reading, examined the purpose, and found the intended meaning of a text (Sumaryono, 1999). The pragmatic approach was used to understand the text in the manuscript of *Kitab Kalam Qodrat*, by which interpretation was made. The purpose of the interpretation is to reveal the inferred meanings so that

it can be correctly understood. According to Martin Heidegger (in Mueller, 1986), every interpretation is an attempt to disclose the hidden meanings.

### **The Aspects of Moral Education**

Sjarkawi (2014) suggests that moral or morality is the understanding of good and lousy beliefs in specific communities. Meanwhile, according to Suseno (1987), moral always refers to how good or how bad a man is as a human being. Moral values in Indonesia tend to be derived from religious teachings (Sugiyo & Purwastuti, 2017). In Islam, moral is closely connected to akhlak. Akhlak etymologically refers to ethics, attitude, behavior, and character. Meanwhile, it terminologically means the state of the soul motion that drives into acting by neglecting mind intention (Marzuki, 2015). Moral education generally includes the doctrine and practice of being moral to ourselves, people, environment, and God (Zuriah, 2010).

### **The Importance of Moral Education for Women**

Women are the source and center of human civilization. In their hands are the future of the nation and humanity at stake. *Maqolah of ulama* (the saying of Islamic scholars) states *Al-Mar'ah 'imad al-bilad. Idza shalihat shaluha al-bilad, wa idza fasadat fasada al-bilad*. It means women are the pillars of a state. If they are good, the country is too, and if it is bad, the country is damaged. Also, a hadith reveals that a good woman (shalihah) is the best jewelry in the world. The hadith shows the importance of having a shalihah woman in the world according to Islam. Besides the fact that a woman (mother) is the first school for children, an Islamic saying which mentions "*al-mar'ah 'imad al-bilad*" (a woman is the pillar of a country) proves that a woman plays a prominent role in building the moral society.

According to Arwanti (2009), a woman plays a highly significant role, not only a companion to man but also a regulator to the family, the key of the successor of the descent, the supervisor of the child, and the performer of religious activities. Meanwhile, according to Abduh (2011), women, especially those who become mothers, are the central figure of the child's personality formation to possess noble characters.

Thus, being moral is crucial within the woman's life for their significant role in social life. It is the nature that every woman will become a mother. A mother is a central part of a family. Her responsibility is not only to accompany her husband but also to be the first *madrrasah* or school for her children, and

children are the future generation. Therefore, this nation is expected to have moral women from which the moral and well-mannered generations grow up.

### The Moral Values of Women in Serat KKQ

The analysis of the data in Serat KKQ found some moral values for women. The values are respect to parents, being kind to the husband, strongly determined to the goodness, diligent during study, and capable of maintaining self-esteem and honor. Below are the explanations of moral education:

#### 1. Respect to parents

26. *Miwah Dewi Manik Wulan/Ngujung marang sang aji/Pan sampun tata alenggah/Sang nata andika aris/Kulup sira kang prapti/Dene lawas sira/Kelawan iku sapa/Wong wadon ujung mring mami/lon matur sang perabu Iman Sujana//*

27. *Punika putra panduka/Manik Wulan putri Ngacih/Kang darbe tirta bilayat/Kawula rebut ngajurit/Sang nata ngandika aris/Yen mengkononimbok mantu/Pan dene sira ngayuda/Den iring para nerpati/Ratu endi kabeh kang melu ing sira//*

**XV Sinom, 26-27** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 286)

[26. Dewi Manik Wulan approached Sang Aji (the Lord). After sitting down, the king said gently, "My son, now you've come. It has been very long, my son, and who is the girl that gives her honor to me?" Then Prabu Imam Sujana said softly.

27. "She is your daughter, Manik Wulan Putri Ngacih, who has water Bilayat that I seize in the war." The king said slowly, "Then my son-in-law, why do many kings accompany you at war? Which kings do come with you?"]

The excerpts of Tembang Sinom verse 26-27 in Serat KKQ above show the value of respect to the older people. The moral can be learned from the woman called Dewi Manik Wulan. It tells that when Prabu Imam Sujana (the son of the king) came to see her father with Dewi Manik Wulan, Dewi Manik Wulan honors her father-in-law. Respecting parents-in-law is a form of noble character because they are necessarily the second parents for us. When viewed from religious teachings, respect for parents is suggested to possess by humankind. Quran explains in An-Nisa 36

36. Worship in Allah and do not associate anything with Him. And do good to both your mother-father, relatives, orphans, poor people, close and distant

neighbors, and peers, ibn sabil and servants. Indeed, Allah does not love those who are arrogant and self-proud (Q.S. An-Nisa' verse 36).

The above excerpts of the song of Sinom explain about the application of a human attitude to parents commanded by Allah in An-Nisa' 36. Therefore, Serat KKQ portrays the attitude of Dewi Manik Wulan, the noble character of a woman to parent-in-law, that can be emulated.

## 2. The attitude of wife

Javanese creates a term *kerata basa* for a woman, which means *wani ditata* or willing to be governed by various norms of society and by a husband as the leader of the family. Therefore, her conduct must refer to the norms to have morals and noble character. The social order of Javanese and Islamic teachings suggest that women are the main madrasah (school) for their son so that each should showcase the right attitude as a role model. Besides, they are supposed to be respectful to the husband and the leader of the family, according to Islam. Serat KKQ exposes some lessons about the attitude of a woman or wife in the family, for example, the excerpt of the song Dandhanggula below.

8. *Eling-eling putu aja lali/Wong centhola marang ing wong lanang/Apan gedhe durakane/Pan padha klawan guru/Lawan malih kula tuturi/Pertikele wong akrama/Papat kathah hipun/Titi surti lawan guna/Kaping pate anenggih ingkang piranti/Titi pan tegesira //*

9. *Dipun waged angrawati wadi/Yen wong lanang lagi kedhayohan/ Den arum manis tembungge/ Klamun bisa sesuguh/Yen tan bisa ngucap den ririh/Tegese wong surti ika / Weruh semune kakung/Yen kala lakine duka/Aja lunga lan aja ngucap kang nyengit/ Den age ladenana//*

10. *Yen dhaharan ulate kang manis/ Arane guna iku pakarya/ Penggawehane lakine/ Piranti pan tegesipun/Dipun manut karsane laki/ Biso montera kilasa/Manut marang kakung/ Lamun abang meluha abang/ Lamun putih ya sira meluha putih/Ampun ngantos sulaya//*

**XXIII Dandhanggula, Stanza 8-10** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016:328)

[8. Bear in mind not to forget the grandchildren, a person who argues against the husband, she is severely sinful, the same as the teacher, and again I suggest, the way people get married, four things to consider; Titi, Surti, Guna, and the forth is Piranti. Titi means

9. Should be able to keep a secret, if her husband welcomes a guest, talk about something good, and give him a treat if you can, if you can't speak softly. Surti means knowing the husband's character; if her husband is angry, if her husband is angry, don't go and don't talk



fiercely, serve him immediately

10. Serve food in a sweet face. Guna is a job, the responsibility of her husband. Piranti means being obedient to the will of the husband, be attentive as much as possible, if he wants red come in red, if white come in white, do not quarrel]

The above excerpt teaches about the attitude within a marriage, which Serat KKQ group into four: Titi, Surti, Guna, and Piranti. Of the four attitudes in marriage offered in Serat KKQ, three of them are intended for women. It explains that Guna should be practiced by the husband, working hard to provide for his family. While Titi, Surti and Piranti are supposed to be practiced by women within a family.

#### 1) Titi

Titi in Serat KKQ suggests for women to keep the privacy of their family. Besides, if the husband welcomes a guest, the wife should never talk about the wrong side of the family and should give him or her a lovely dish. However, if she cannot afford to serve it, talk about something good.

#### Surti

Surti in Serat KKQ suggests for a woman to know what makes the husband happy. When her husband is angry, she may not go, may not listen to the husband, and may not offend him. She needs to serve him immediately. If she serves him food, she should also serve him with a smile to please the husband's heart.

#### Piranti

Piranti includes a woman who suggested attitude to the husband. As a wife, she should follow the will of her husband. If the husband chooses red, she should also choose red. If he chooses white, she also comes with white. It is not encouraged to go against him. As a wife, she is supposed to follow all the decisions of the husband as her sacrifice to keep the family harmonious that no fight between the husband and wife. Common Javanese proverb says, "*wong wadon iku swarga nunut neraka katut.*" It means that a woman is in a position to always come with all the husband's decision.

The three points of the wife's suggested attitude - *Titi, Surti and Piranti* - further explained separately in the stanzas of Serat KKQ.

a) **Respect to the husband**

Javanese woman holds the principle of respect to the husband and with other people. The principle of respect is based on the opinion that all the relationships among society have been regulated in the hierarchy, that the regulation is worth applying for herself. Therefore, an individual should maintain and act with them (Suseno, 1991). Respect must be addressed to the husband because he is perceived to be the head of the family, fully responsible for the wife's life. Javanese proverb which shows the position of Javanese women within a marriage relationship is *suwargo nunut neroko katut*. The proverb subjects women who have already been married. It implies that husband achievement in a job, for example, will also bring about happiness to the wife. The moral values of wife's obligations to respect her husband in Serat KKQ is written in Pupuh VII Asmaradana, the fourth stanza:

*Upamane wong alaki/Wong wadon gampang binuwang Cowek gopel upamane/  
Yen ala gampang binuwang/Mila den bekti sira/Anuta karsane kakung/Laki  
minangka panutan//*

**Pupuh VII Asmaradana, Stanza 4** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016:238)

[For example, within marriage, a woman is easily discarded, like a cracked mortar. If she is bad, she will easily be removed. Thus, serve him best, fulfill what he wants. The husband is the role model.]

As portrayed in the fourth stanza of Pupuh VII Asmaradana above, a woman is responsible for respecting her husband. Like a mortar, if it has been *gopil* or a part of it cracks, it is easily discarded. A man has the right to divorce his wife in some conditions, such as the one described in the book "*Fiqh Sunnah Women*". It explains "if the wife is bad-tempered, rude, or unexpectable to be an ideal partner to achieve marriage goals (Kamal, 2007). Therefore, a shalihah woman should respect her husband to maintain the harmony of the family.

The respect of a wife towards her husband may be performed in various ways such as the one denoted in the common Javanese wisewords, *aja miyak ing wewadine wong kakung* which means that a woman is not allowed to spill the secret and disgrace of her husband. It is described in the sixth stanza of Kitab Kalam Qodrat, Pupuh VII Asmaradana:

*6. Aja kaya wong sak iki/Alaki pan pepulasan/Alaki pan kaya kebo/ Meksih  
den aku keramat/Ngulari tandhing liyan/Ngrasani alane kakung/ Ladak  
juweh calak lancang //*

**Pupuh VII Asmaradana, stanza 6-7** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 239).

[6. Never imitate today's people. Getting married for a decoration, Getting married like a beast, claiming for respect, comparing with others, spilling around the badness of her husband, being haughty, talkative, presumptuous upon speaking and behaving].

The first sentence of the sixth stanza of the excerpt reads "never imitate today's people!". The prohibition is written at the beginning of the stanza to strengthen the ban that women should not be violated. In addition, the sentence denotes that the moral or character of women nowadays has been degraded, so they may not be emulated. Today's woman's unrecommended attitudes are portrayed in the next line, which is spilling the badness of her husband and comparing him with others. The bad attitude prohibited in Serat KKQ is relevant to Javanese ethics and Islamic teachings such as the following translation of the Quran:

*"... they, your wives are garments for you, and you are garments for them..."* (QS. Al-Baqarah: 187)

The above verse describes the duty or role of a wife, which depicts a woman or wife as a cloth for the husband and vice versa. A cloth functions to cover the aurat (body parts which should be covered according to Islam), so it interprets that a woman is responsible for covering the aurat or disgrace of her husband and vice versa.

The other form of a wife's respect to her husband encouraged in the current serat is to follow the orders of the husband. It is described in the second stanza of Pupuh VII Asmaradana which reads

*Den bisa sira alaki/Ngladeni marang periya/Aja sembrana lakune/Amanut sembarang karsa/Laki minangka iman/Bongsa iman iku guru/Aja bangkang marang perintah//*

**VII Asmaradana, stanza 2** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 238).

[You can get married, serve the husband, do not show a bad attitude, follow every wish he has, a man is the leader, a leader is a teacher, don't argue against his orders].

Following the will of a husband is prominent. This is the application of a wife's respect towards her husband. It is suggested that serving the husband should watch over on attitude, she may not carelessly behave because the man (husband) is the leader. A leader in Serat KQQ is interpreted as a teacher, a man who teaches and guides her, so she must respect and obey all of her orders.

Therefore, a moral woman must respect her husband. It can be performed in various ways. Somehow a wife can show respect to the husband as suggested

in Serat KKQ. It suggests to follow all of the orders of the husband, not to argue against the husband, closing the badness or the privacy of the husband, and not to compare her husband with other men.

**b) The prohibition to rudely argue against a husband**

The discussion related to the morals of a woman may lead to the social perspective that she is a weak, emotional, and maternal creature (Munir, 1999). It is the universal norm among society and religion which demands a woman to apply. The excerpt of *Serat KKQ* portrays the recommended moral values of a woman, which suggests not to talk rudely to the husband. It reads:

7. ... /*Yen den undang laki nipun/Sumahur sarwi anyentak//*

8. *Lamun den tuturi becik/Ajawal pan jaluk talak/Iku pengagone lunthe Sebaiknya "lonthe")/Pan gugu ujaring tongga/Pan saguh unkulana/Iya marang laki nipun/ Bagus anom tegal sawah//*

**VII Asmaradana, stanza 7-8** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016:239).

[7. ... if her husband calls upon her, she answers in a high volume.

8. If she is given advice, she is impudent and asks for divorce. She was hussy; she believes in the words of neighbors, more than what she does to her husband—handsome, young, and rich].

The above excerpt teaches the moral value of a woman, not to say rude to the husband. The excerpt explains that a woman who replies rudely (loud and rough) upon her husband's call and who is impudent when given advice is hussy (not a good woman). Therefore, she must behave the other way around, in contrast to the attitudes portrayed above, such as speaking gently to the husband, listening to his good advice, and not quickly asking for a divorce.

**c) Obedience to the husband**

Disobedience is reprehensible against both social norms and religion. *Serat KKQ* bans a wife from being disobedient against the husband.

6. *Dipun bukti marang guru laki/Apan laki minangka panutan/Apan guru sejatine/Sampun bangkang marang kakung/Datan becik ingkang pinanggih/Lan sampun dhingin karsa/Dosa kang tinemu/Lan lawan ampun centhula/Raden ayu dhumateng ing guru laki/Pan sampun manah ngiwa//*

7. *Cecadhange duraka marang laki/Neng ngakherat ula lan kelabang/Segunung kawi gedhene/Siyungira salumbang/Landhepira kadeya keris/Nguntal marang wong duraka/Metu saking dubur/Amanjing marang neraka/Luwih panas neraka geni puniki/Ping pitu geni dunya//*

**XXIII Dandhanggula, stanza 6-7** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 327).

[6. "Prove your husband, that he is a role model, the real teacher, do not be rebellious to the husband, you will not find (obtain) something right, and do not go before your desire (selfish), because sin you will get, and do not be impudent, O Raden Ayu to the husband, and do not follow your heart to the left (bad).

7. If disobedience to the husband, in the afterlife of the snake and the centipede mountain number *siungnya* of the barn sharp like a dagger swallowing the man of sin and out from the rectum to the entrance to hell, is hell hot from the fire that is seven times the fire in the world.].

The above excerpt from the two stanzas of the song *Dandhanggula* demonstrates that a woman should not be rebellious to her husband. This attitude is essential because a husband, as portrayed in the sixth stanza, is the teacher or role model for the wife, so she is encouraged to follow his will and prioritize him than her interest. The reason why a woman is discouraged from challenging her husband is that she will be sinful if she goes against him. Besides, the impact of the sin for being rebel to the husband in the hell is that giant snakes and centipedes will eat her up and find the heat of the fire seven times as hot as the heat of the fire in the world. Therefore, it concludes that the recommended moral for a woman is to be obedient to the husband.

**d) Loyalty**

Another moral of women in *Kitab Kalam Qodrat* is loyalty to the husband, as stated in the excerpt of *Serat KKQ* below.

*Tan laki pindho ping katri/Tan becik temahanira/Pan amrih ing dunnya bahe/  
Nora katemu ing akherat/Mligine wong akrama/Panggiha akherat bayuk/  
Alaki padha ngulama//*

**VII Asmaradana, stanza 5** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 239).

[Do not double or triple your husband, it is not good in the end, wishing in the world only, they will not meet in the hereafter, the main reason for getting married, meeting up in the hereafter, getting married to a man like an Islamic leader].

Being loyal is the noble character of a woman. Loyalty is manifested and struggle not to cheat with other men. Besides, it also explains that being disloyal or cheating always does not end well. People who are not loyal to their spouse, mentioned in the above excerpt, will not meet each other again in the hereafter. Loyalty is considered prominent because it may reunite a

spouse in the hereafter. Therefore, it includes one of the woman's morals within marriage by which she could be fortunate in the world and hereafter.

#### e) **Harmony**

A good woman will always set the family orientation into maintaining the understanding and harmony with either her spouse or other people. Keeping the harmony is her priority. The kind of harmony described in the personality of a female figure in *Serat KKQ* is in the following excerpt of Pupuh XXXII Pucung, stanza 11-12.

11. *Johar Manik angujungi sang perabu/Lajeng lampahira/ Pinarak aneng sitinggil/ Johar Manik wus lajeng ing jero pura//*

12. *Sampun panggih lan Manik Wulan sang ngayu/ Langkung aturira/ Dene maru padha putri/ Sameya amrih ganjaran aneng ngakherat//*

**XXXII Pucung, stanza 11-12** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 374).

[11. Johar Manik visited (met) Sang Prabu. Then, when he walked, sat on a throne, Johar Manik had come inside the palace.

12. When meeting the beautiful Manik Wulan, she said, "we are the same wife of a king, and we both want a reward in the hereafter."].

The excerpts show that one of the morals of a woman, which is prominent to every individual, is harmony. They suggest the importance of maintaining peace depicted in the harmonious relationship between the Dewi Johar Manik and Dewi Manik Wulan. They are both the same, the wife of Raden Imam Sujana, who get along well during living together. Harmony is constituted from their noble intention of getting married, which is to gain the reward and blessing of God for provision in the hereafter. The balance between both wives is a woman moral to emulate.

The story of the two wives of Sujana also suggests to strengthen an intention. Both female characters' intention upon marriage is to wish for God's blessings to get His reward. It implies a religious teaching, which is straightening the purpose of getting married because marriage primarily aims to worship in Allah.

### 3. **Strong determination**

Strong determination is a noble character which human should keep. Determination comes from confidence or belief within individual, that the action or decision taken is the truth for him (Rahma et al., 2013). If human beings do not possess determination, they will be more easily trapped in life, leading them to forget about conscience, for example, easily ignoring the spiritual values of truth for the sake of success.

24. *Raja putri putrane nalendra Ngacih/Karsane kang rama/Den oleh ken ratu kafir/Sang retna den plahur pejah//*

25. *Retna ayu angkala priyayi mukmin/Punika pan arsa/Kang rujuk elmu sejati/ Amrih slamet ing akherat//*

**XXI Maskumambang, stanza 24-25** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 319).

[24. The king's daughter, the daughter of King Ngacih, her father intended to match her up with a non-Muslim king but the queen will commit suicide.

25. Queen Ayu should get a Muslim, it was the wish of hers, who mastered the actual science to be fortunate in the hereafter].

The excerpts of maskumambang song above, verses 24-25, suggest the example of strong determination. Determination can be learned from the character of the Princess from the Country of Ngacih, when he will be matched up with a non-Muslim king. Then, he firmly refused it because she believed in one thing that she must have a Muslim husband. The above excerpts indicated that the princess from Ngacih refused the recommendation of her father to marry a non-Muslim king. It is not a disgraceful moral because the refusal was not grounded from selfishness but rather religious belief, Islam. Islam forbids a woman to marry a non-Muslim. Thus, she was strongly determined to be married to a Muslim to perform God's command. This is a role model of a proper determination due to religious motifs, not just following the ego and desire.

#### 4. The motivation to study

Studying is a noble deed. Quran reads in Al-Mujadalah 11:

*God will exalt the degree of those who believe among you and those who were given knowledge (Q.s. Al-Mujadalah: 11)*

In compliance with the above Quran verse, KKQ also portrayed the model of a highly motivated woman to study as below.

2. *Sang pendhita aturira/Kawula matur sang putri/Pan wonten karsa punapa/Tedhak dhukuhipun kaki/Dene kadingaren gusti/Sang retna ngandika arum/Dhingin tinja marang tuwan/Anenggih kang kaping kalih/ Rujuaken ing elmu rasa kang mulya//*

**XXII Sinom, stanza 2** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 320).

[2. The Pandita said, "I asked the princess, what do you want, stepping (come) to my small village? It is uncommon for your majesty to come



here". The queen said gently, "the first is to meet you, the second is to study about noble values].

The above excerpts contain a moral value for women, which was the motivation to study. The value can be learned from the figure of the princess. It strengthens the proves that when the princess came to Pandita for the second time to study about the true science. The character of the princess suggests the importance of education for a woman. The need to study does not only apply to a man but also a woman. We must learn from the spirit of the princess when picking up Pandita to study.

### 5. Keeping the honor

Keeping the honor is an obligation for women in Islam. Allah said in An-nur verse 30:

*Say (o Muhammad) that women are subjected to keep their eyes and genitals (Q.S An-Nur:30).*

The verse shows that keeping the eyes and genitals or basically maintaining dignity is Sharia (suggestion) of Allah that should be implemented by every woman. One of the moral educations for women is provided in KKKQ, which is maintaining self-esteem and dignity. It is described in the following songs:

2. *Aja kaya prawan jaman akhir/ Derengesan sesaba ing tongga/Lakune den gawe-gawe/Yen ngucap sarwi gumuyu/Cekakaan sarta ceriwis/ Matane pendirangan/ Yen ana wong bagus/Yen mandeng kumedhep tismak/ Bungah-bungah kelamun tinari laki/ Gumuyu latah-latah//*

3. *Saben dina angon jaka sigit/ Sarwi lagon gendheng tetabuhan/ Susune den umbar bae/ Nyambut gawe tan purun/Panganane emoh sethithik/ Sabendina lonthang-lonthang/Ngiceng omah suwung/Yen ana jaka anendra/ Iya iku manut penggawene iblis/Ingelmu pan ora doyan//*

**XXIII Dandhanggula, stanza 2-3** (Sulistyaningsih, 2016: 326).

[2. Don't be such girls nowadays, going around neighbors and gossiping, making up the way they walk, speaking while laughing, roaring without control (hard) and talking a lot, mashers, when they find a handsome man, they stare at him without a single blink, severely delighted with a man's offer, roaring with laughter.

3. Looking for a virgin handsome guy every day, while singing in drum-like a crazy girl, showing off their aurat (her breasts), unwilling to work, reluctant to eat little rice, going around every day, window seeing an empty house to hunt a virgin guy, they follow the act of the devil, they do not love knowledge].



The above song of Dandhanggula suggests a woman keep her self-esteem and honor to be noble. The author of Serat KKQ suggests the reader through the excerpts "Don't be such girls nowadays". This phrase portrays the author's view in Serat KKQ against women nowadays who degrade the quality of moral and ethics, so a role model is highly needed. Below are the characters of women who should not be a role model according to Serat KKQ: those who make up the way they walk. It refers to woman who waddles her steps during walking to attract her opposing sex. The second is the woman who cannot speak gently and who roar with laughter because it is impolite. The third is the woman who cannot keep his views down and happy to stare at men who are not her mahram. The forth is a slacker woman. The fifth is the woman who cannot keep her genital (love to commit adultery).

### **Conclusion**

Tembang Macapat Serat KKQ shows that a song is an expression which becomes a cognition system of Javanese and cultural symbol for education or Piwulang. The examined Piwulang discusses the moral of women, such as respect to parents, respect to the husband which is the act of being obedient to the husband, unprodigal to parents, loyal and harmonious, strongly determinated, maintaining self-esteem and honor as well as highly motivated to study. The different presentation lets the implied knowledge in the song become Javanese wisdom and local culture. Piwulang which is found in Serat KKQ portrays the values which agree with the suggested women's moral in Islam such as being loyal to parents, maintaining self-esteem, obedient and respectful to the husband, studying, consistent, and so forth. Thus, the moral education of a woman in Serat KKQ can be employed as teaching material to build a noble character.

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**الثقافة العربية الإسلامية في إمارة إيلورن-نيجيريا من خلال السيرة الذاتية (عبرات الأمل) لعبد العزيز محمد سلمان الياقوتي**

ATS-TSAQAFAH AL-'ARABIYYAH AL-ISLAMIYYAH  
FI IMARAT ILORIN-NIGERIA MIN KHILAL  
AS-SIRAH ADH-DZATIYYAH ('ABARAT AL-AMAL)  
LI 'ABD AL-'AZIZ MUHAMMAD SALMAN AL-YAQUUTIY

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**ملخص:**

تعتبر الثقافة مجموعة العلوم والآداب والعادات والتقاليد التي يتميز بها قوم أو شعب أو قبيلة من سواد العالم. وكانت إمارة إيلورن النيجيرية تعزُّ بثقافتها العربية الإسلامية التي أتاحت لها سيادتها على عدد من البلاد والقرى التي أسلمت تحت سيطرتها، ومن بعض تلك البلاد تكوّنت إمارتها. وكتب الله لبعض أبنائها أن يخلدوا تلك الحقائق التاريخية، ومنهم السيد عبد العزيز محمد سلمان الياقوتي الذي أطال الكلام عن عادات إمارة إيلورن وتقاليدها المنطبعة بدروس الكتاب والسنة وأثار السلف الصالح، وذلك بأسلوبه الفني في كتابة سيرته الذاتية العربية «عبرات الأمل». وسيقوم الباحثان بتحليل مضامين سيرته الناطقة بثقافة إيلورن العربية الإسلامية من العبادات والمعاملات والشخصيات، حتى يبدو الصدق الفني في تأثر الكاتب ببيئته ويتحقق اهتمامه بعالم الواقع الذي يعيش فيه وبالعالم الخيال الذي ينقله إلى الوجود بخصائص صياغته، وإحساساته الجمالية وانفعالاته العاطفية. والمنهج المتبع يشمل التاريخي والوصفي. فالمنهج التاريخي يكون في عرض نبذة

من تاريخ إمارة إلورن في ثقافتها العربية الإسلامية، ثم ترجمة حياة الكاتب «الياقوتي». والمنهج الوصفي يقوم بتحليل ملامح الثقافة العربية الإسلامية في إمارة إلورن كما نجدها في سيرة الكاتب «عبرات الأمل». وتوصل الباحثان في دراستهما إلى إقرار إسلامية الثقافة العربية في إلورن إمارةً وشعباً. وحاول الباحثان تفصيل الخطاب في بعض القضايا الشرعية على ضوء تعاليم الكتاب والسنة والسلف الصالح.

### Abstract:

*Culture encompasses knowledge, civilization, tradition and norms owned by people of a group, state or nation. Ilorin Emirate of Nigeria has been known for its propagation of Arabic and Islamic culture which enhanced it a pride of place, especially by the people whose cities and villages were colonized by Ilorin for Islam or those whom it thought the Islamic values and jurisdiction. These facts were literarily documented by 'Abdul 'Aziz Muhammad Salman al-Yaquitiyy's Arabic autobiography entitled "The Tears of Hope". This article will research into the afore-stated facts based on the teachings of the Qur'an, Prophet Muhammad's tradition and jurists' verdicts. Indeed, the Islamism of the autobiography confirmed the Ilorin Emirate's Islamic way of life, inculcated in its citizens and being observed to have had impact on the writer's work. The methodology is both historical and descriptive. The historical method was used in shedding the light on the Islamism of Ilorin Emirate culture, then documenting the writer's biography. The descriptive approach was used in the discourse analysis of the work's ideational features on the Ilorin Emirate culture Islamism.*

**Keywords:** Arabic; Culture; Ilorin Emirate; Islam

### مقدمة

تتناول هذه المقالة ملامح الثقافة العربية الإسلامية في إمارة إلورن النيجيرية. وهي عبارة عن النظر في الظواهر الفكرية الثقافية التي أفرها الكاتب عبد العزيز محمد سلمان الياقوتي في سيرته الذاتية العربية «عبرات الأمل»، حيث يبدو تأثره ببيئته الداخلية التي نشأته قبل غيرها من البيئات الخارجية. ولقضاء أوطار المقالة، سيتناول الباحثان الموضوعات الجانبية التالية: إمارة إلورن وثقافتها العربية الإسلامية، وترجمة حياة الكاتب الياقوتي، والتعريف الوجيز بالسيرة الذاتية العربية «عبرات الأمل» وتلخيص مضامينها، ثم ظاهرة الثقافة العربية الإسلامية والإلورنية في السيرة «عبرات الأمل»، فالخاتمة.

### إمارة إلورن وثقافتها العربية الإسلامية

كانت إمارة إلورن تقع في جنوب نهر نيجر River Niger حيث تحدّها شمالاً مدينة جَبِيَا الجنوبية Jebba South، ومدينة بَيْدِي Gbede جنوباً، وبلد غاما Ganmo شرقاً، ومنطقة أَلَا Alapa غرباً. وتقع مدينة إلورن التي تعتري إليها الإمارة عاصمة لولاية كوارا (الثقافي، ٢٠٠٩م: ص ١٩). وتشمل الإمارة خمس محافظات محلية هي آسا، وإلورن الجنوبية، وإلورن الشرقية، وإلورن الغربية، ومُورُو.

ويسكن إمارة إلورن الهوسويون والفلانويون واليوروبويون والنوفويون والبرنويون، على الرغم من كون اسم المدينة التي تحافظ على المحافظات كلها من اللغة اليوروبوية بمعنى إلو إيرن Ilo Erin خمائل الفيل أو إلو إيرن Ilo Irin مشحد الحديد الموجود في إحدى ديارها وهي دار بَنْدِيلِي Bandele (أحمد-إكوكورو، ١٩٩١م: ص ٢٣). وقد وفدوا إليها لشتى الأغراض من بين التجارة والدعوة، والتعليم العربي الإسلامي، وتأسيس الدولة الإسلامية التي تمت على يدي الشيخ عبد السلام الأمير الأول نجل الشيخ صالح (عالم) بن جُنْتِ الفلاني. وكان تأسيس مدينة إلورن من أوّل أمرها-والتي أسلمت لها مدن الإمارة وقراها أخيراً- منذ أواخر القرن الثامن عشر الميلادي (جمبا، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٧).

ولا خلاف في أنّ حامل لواء الدولة الإسلامية في مدينة إلورن التي اتسعت منها الرقاب إلى قراها، هو الشيخ صالح بن محمّد بن جُنْتِ الملقّب بعالم الذي أطلقه عليه ابن فودي، وكان يناديه بهذا اللقب دائماً حتى يتفرّس أنّ له مستقبلاً باهراً ونجماً لامعاً في الدعوة إلى الله فأشار له بالتوجه إلى جنوب نهر نيجر، واجتاز بعض المدن لبلاد يوربا أمثال أويولي وإسيين وأوبوماشو وإيكوي، ثم كوهو ومنها إلى إلورن، فضيفه أفنجا وزمرة من العلماء، حتى علماء ربوة السنّة الذين تتلمذوا له أخيراً فأسسوا معه الدولة الإسلامية (الإلوري، ١٩٧٨م: ص ١٣٢).

وكانت البلدة مقسّمة إلى أربعة أحياء قبل نزوله؛ وهي:

- حيّ الفلانيّين الذين ضيفوا الشيخ عندهم، وزعيمهم رجل يسمّى أولوفدي.
- حيّ الهوسويين التجار الذين هم شبه رُحْل، ورئيسهم يدعى باكُو.
- حيّ المسلمين في ربوة السنّة، وهم مزيج من يوربا والبرابرة، وقائدهم يسمّى شولابيرو.
- حيّ اليوروبويين الكفار، وزعيمهم الأوّل أيتنلا وهو فلاح صائد، ولما نزل أفنجا تنازل له عن الزعامة (الإلوري، ١٩٧٨م: ص ١٣٤-١٣٥).

هكذا كانوا قبل نزول الشيخ عالم وبعده إلى أن توفي عام ١٨٢٣م الموافق سنة ١٢٣٦هـ، وذلك بعد ستة أعوام من نزوله، وبعد ذلك انتظمت المدينة واستقر بها الأمن واستتب فيها السلام، وزاد عدد سكانها الذين وفدوا إليها من كل صوب سواء من بلاد هوسا أو من بلاد يوربا، وشكل المسلمون الأغلبية الساحقة بسكان المدينة. وازدهمت حضارتها السياسية إلى جانب العلم والدين، واختارها بعض النخبة الممتازين من علماء هوسا وفلاتة ونوفي ويوربا موطنًا لهم إلى أن ماتوا بها (الإلوري، ١٩٦٥م: ص ٥١ و ١٠١). وربة السنة التي هي قرية قريبة من الورن تعتبر أول معالم الحضارة الإسلامية للإمارة، وقد تأسست منذ حوالي عام ١٧٠٠م، وكان جميع سكانها من المسلمين النازحين إليها من البلاد المجاورة (الإلوري، ١٩٧٨م: ص ٣٤-٣٥).

ولم تكدم الإسلام تثبت في إمارة الورن حتى تأثت ثقافته فيها، وظهرت لها مدرستان عربيّتان: أولاهما المدرسة القرآنية للصغار، والأخرى مدرسة العلوم للكبار (المعهد). وتفتح القرآنية لأطفال المسلمين صباح مساء في بيوت العلماء أو الأئمة الذين يلازمونهم حتى يكملوا قراءة القرآن سردا من المصحف أو حفظا عن ظهر الغيب، ثم تقام لهم وليمة فاخرة يحضرها زملاء التلاميذ وأباؤهم ليشاطروهم الفرح ويرغبوا في مثل شأنهم، وقد يعود بعضهم تاجرا أو زارعا أو صانعا أو متماديا في التعلم والتعليم (ببأوي، ٢٠١٩م: ص ١٩-٢٠).

وتفتح مدرسة العلوم للكبار، حيث يتصدى للتدريس فيها الماهرون في قواعد العربية وفي أصول الشريعة الإسلامية، وتمثل مكانا خاصا في بيت العالم على الحصر، مع مقررات التوحيد الأشعري والفقهاء المالكي والقصاصد الوعظية ومتون اللغة ومختار الشعر الجاهلي وفنون الأدب وأصول التفسير والمنطق والفلك (الإلوري، ١٩٧٨م: ص ٥٢-٥٥). ولقد كفانا عدد من المؤلفين بالعربية والإنجليزية واليوربوية القدامى والمحدثين مؤونة الكتابة عن تاريخ إمارة الورن في طرق معيشة أهلها ومتنوع صناعاتهم، ومختلف عاداتهم وتقاليدهم، ونظمهم السياسية، والحضارة الإسلامية، والثقافة العربية، ومشاهير علمائها وإنتاجاتهم الشعرية والنثرية، العلمية منها والفنية.

وأما الثقافة العربية فهي التعلم العربي والأدبي الإسلامي، المنطبع بالفكر من آثار الشعر الخالد الرفيع، والخطابة البليغة، والكتابة الناضجة، التي تخلق في الإنسان ملكة يقتدر بها الإنشاء البديع المنسجم نظما كان أو نثرا.

وكان من عوامل انتشار الثقافة العربية بالورن، تلك المصطلحات الإسلامية التي دخلت فيها مع الإسلام بلغته العربية، وكذلك تأسيس المساجد في كل قرية نزلوا بها للمكث، وإنشاء المدارس القرآنية لتعليم الصغار، ومعاهد التعليم للكبار، ومنها الحروب الدفاعية التي قام بها الأمير عبد السلام بن الشيخ عالم (١٨١٣-١٨٤٢م)، ومن وليه من الأمراء إلى أن توقفت في عهد الأمير ماما (١٨٩١-١٨٩٦م). ومن تلك العوامل: الحركة العلمية والأدبية التي قام بها علماء الطبقة الثانية في عهد الأمير شئت، ومعظمهم العلماء المستقدمون في عهد الأمير عبد السلام إلى اليوم؛ كل ذلك في القرن التاسع عشر الميلادي (الثقافي، ٢٠٠٩م: ص ٢٣-٢٥).

وأما في القرن العشرين، فمن العوامل التي ساعدت على انتشارها: إنشاء المدارس القرآنية والثانوية والكليات والجامعات، وحركة الشيوخ المخضرمين، والعلماء المثقفين بالثقافتين العربية والغربية حتى العصر الراهن (الثقافي، ٢٠٠٩م: ص ٦٣-٦٥).

#### ترجمة حياة الكاتب عبد العزيز محمد سلمان الياقوتي

هو السيد عبد العزيز بن محمد بن سلمان بن عبد الله الياقوتي من مواليد السبعينيات بالقرن العشرين في نيجيريا لأبوين إورنيين كريمين، فنشأ وترعرع في كفالتهما. وتلقى القرآن الكريم سردا في كتاب الراحل الشيخ محمد الثاني أكنبي أولوسن في حارة أدنبا بالورن، ثم بدأ رحلاته العلمية لدراسته العربية النظامية -بعد أن اقتبس نور القرآن الكريم والمدرسة الابتدائية الحكومية- في دار السعادة للتعليم العربي والإسلامي أوكيجيبا-أومدا بالورن، ونال شهادتي الإعدادية والثانوية بدار العلوم بتقدير ممتاز في عامي ١٩٩٧م و٢٠٠٠م. وحصل على شهادة الدبلوم في اللغة العربية والدراسات الإسلامية بكلية التربية والعلوم الإنسانية (جامعة الحكمة حالياً) إلورن بتقدير جيد جداً عام ٢٠٠١م، ثم رافقه الحظ الأوفر بالمنحة الدراسية من كلية الدعوة الإسلامية بمعهد اللغة العربية والثقافة الإسلامية في جمهورية بنين فحصل على شهادة الليسانس من جامعته في أبومي كلابي في اللغة العربية وآدابها بتقدير ممتاز عام ٢٠٠٥م، ثم شهادة الدبلوم العالي في التربية بكلية التربية الفدرالية في كنو عام ٢٠٠٦م، فشهادة الخدمة الوطنية في كلية التربية لولاية زنفارا، مرو عام ٢٠٠٧م، وفي الأخير شهادة الماجستير في اللغة العربية وآدابها بجامعة ولاية نصرأوا-كيفي بتقدير ممتاز عام ٢٠١٣م. وهو حالياً يعد الدكتوراه بالجامعة نفسها منذ عام ٢٠١٧م (محمد الأول في الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: وقفات مع الكاتب الياقوتي).



ويعتبر السيد الياقوتي من أعلام الشاعرية العظيمة إذ أقرَّ بها عباقرة النقد وأساطين الشعر وعُشاق الأدب العربي في سلسلة برامج مهرجان العقد الرابع من تأسيس مدرسة دار العلوم بالورن، حيث أحرز قصب السباق في أمسياتها الشعرية عام ٢٠٠٣م، بالإضافة إلى ديوانيه المخطوطين: الصدى ووحى الخيال، ونشرت له مجلة الطريق في الورن إحدى قصائده بعنوان "مع الصحابة"، وله قصائد أخرى في ديوان "البنينيات" مجموعة قصائد الطلبة في معهد اللغة العربية والثقافة الإسلامية بجامعة أبومي كلابي في جمهورية بنين عام ٢٠٠٥م، كما نشرت له أيضا جامعة ولاية كوارا قصيدته بعنوان "أيام الإجازات" في مجموعة حصاد المأدبة (الإصدار الأول). ويشهد بكتابته العلمية مشاركته في ضبط تاريخ عمداء دار العلوم لجبهة العلماء والأئمة بالورن بين ١٩٦٣-٢٠٠٠م تحت إشراف الفوج العاشر من خريجي المدرسة. وأما كتابته الفنية فمن شواهد ما كتبه المخطوط: الضأن الأسود (قصة عربية فنية)، وكتابه المطبوع: عبرات الأمل (قصة عربية فنية) عام ٢٠١٥م. وقد درّس في دار السعادة للتعليم العربي والإسلامي أونيكيجا-أومدا بالورن بين عامي ١٩٩٧-٢٠٠١م، ولا يزال مدرّسا في كلية الإيمان لافيا بولاية نضراوا منذ عام ٢٠٠٧م، وفيها عُيّن رئيس القسم العربي بين عامي ٢٠٠٨-٢٠١٠م، وعمل محاضرا موقّتا بمعهد التربية لجامعة أحمد بلو بزاري فرع مدينة لافيا بولاية نضراوا. (محمد الأول في الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: وقفات مع الكاتب الياقوتي). ويحاضر حاليا بالجامعة الفدرالية، لافيا منذ عام ٢٠١٩م.

وقد تتبّوأ شتى المناصب الإدارية التي منها رئيس الشؤون الثقافية لاتحاد الطلبة النيجيريين، وعضو فعّال في أمانة المؤتمر الطلابي في معهد اللغة العربية والثقافة الإسلامية، ونائب الرئيس لجمعية طلبة نيجيريا بجامعة أبومي كلابي في جمهورية بنين، كلها بين عامي ٢٠٠٤-٢٠٠٥م. وتمّ تعيينه منسقا لبرنامج الدبلوم في كلية الإيمان بلافيا منذ عام ٢٠١٠م، ولم يزل مع ذلك عضوا فعّالا من هيئة الأدب الإسلامي بالورن منذ عام ٢٠٠٤م، بالإضافة إلى رئاسته كالمُرشد العام لجاليات مدينة الورن في ولاية نضراوا من عام ٢٠٠٨م. وله كذلك عضوية رابطة علماء يورنيا في مدينة لافيا (محمد الأول في الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: وقفات مع الكاتب الياقوتي).

وأما حركاته الدعوية فمنها حلقة تفسير القرآن الكريم التي يقيمها بمدينة لافيا في ليالي رمضان، ومزاولته الصحافة بصفة مراسل غير منتظم بالقسم العربي لصوت نيجيريا (V.O.N) منذ عام ٢٠١٢م (محمد الأول في الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: وقفات مع الكاتب الياقوتي).

### التعريف الوجيز بالسيرة الذاتية العربية «عبرات الأمل» وتلخيص مضامينها

هذا الكتاب «عبرات الأمل» سيرة ذاتية للكاتب عبد العزيز محمد سلمان الياقوتي. وقد كتبه عام ٢٠١٥م، وطبع بمركز المضيف في إلورن؛ ويحمل غلافه مزاج الألوان من بين الأصفر الغالب يخالطه الأبيض والأسمر، مع صور العين المدمعة للدلالة على العبرات، ومنارة المسجد والقرآن للدلالة على خصائص مدينة إلورن، يعلوهما شعار الإمارة. وفي الصفحات التالية هوية الكتاب كعدد الطبع الأول وحقوق الطبع، ثم الإهداء وتقديم الأستاذ الدكتور أحمد شيخ عبد السلام للكتاب ثم فاتحة القصة.

وفي السيرة احتراف الكاتب بالحياسة ونساجة اليواقيت كعادة أسرة أبيه وبيع المسواك الذي كان من التجارة التي تعودتها أسرة أمه، ثم مراحلها الثقافية العربية الإسلامية بدار السعادة - أُونِكِيَجِيَا، ودار العلوم - إَسْلِي كَوَتُو بعد مرحلته الابتدائية الحكومية، ثم كلية الدعوة والعلوم الإنسانية في أدْيُوُولِي - إلورن حيث حصل على الدبلوم، فالتحاقه بالجامعة البنينية؛ وقد اعتبر الفتى ذلك الالتحاق سرورا مَسَحَ عِبْرَاتِ الأمل، وحقَّقَ الرؤية بعد التقرب إلى الله بدعاء الصالحين. ومن الأحداث المفككة تنصيبه لبعض العلماء وأخبار الأعلام أمثال: الشيخ آدم الإلوري والشيخ يحيى مرتضى أَعُوْدِي والشيخ سَمْبُو أُوغَنِجَا والشيخ يحيى أترابا.

### ظاهرة الثقافة العربية الإسلامية والإلورنية في السيرة «عبرات الأمل»:

والظاهرة هي ما يدور الحديث حوله من وجهة النظر في الحياة (مجمع اللغة العربية بالقااهرة، ٢٠٠٣م: ص ٤٠٢). وتكون الظاهرة عند الأديب ميلا لاتجاه من الاتجاهات الدينية والثقافية وغيرهما أو انفعاله نحو شعور ما، ناقدا فيه أو مؤيدا له (صالحة، ٢٠٠٩م: ص ١٠). وفيما يلي استقصاء الظواهر الموجودة في السيرة كما سنبيِّنُها إن شاء الله.

### ظواهر الثقافة الإسلامية

وتشمل هذه الظاهرة الدينية العقيدة الإسلامية من حيث أهمية التقرب إلى الله بالدعاء والصيام، والتداوي بالقرآن، والتخلي عن الإلحاد، ومزاولة الثقافة الدعوية الإسلامية كالإفتاء، والتخلي بالأخلاق الطيبة، والثقافة العلمية العامة. وفي السيرة «عبرات الأمل»، يغلب على رحلة الكاتب الحياتية الطابع الديني الإسلامي، المتمثل في كل ما ذكرنا من النقاط كما نجدها فيما يلي:

• أهمية الدعاء والصيام

لقد ورثت أمُّ نعيم من عمِّها مصحفها الذي كانت تلازمه وردا وتقرُّبا إلى المولى العظيم، كما يبدو في قولها لابنها نعيم:

«نعم! الثقافة العربية والدراسات الإسلامية تعلمنا وتعلِّمنا ونسخا، مهنة الأجداد وتراث الآباء المقلِّبين في ظهور الساجدين، انظر سأريك من آثارهم! هذا مصحفي الذي كتبه لي عمِّي البرُّ بخطه اليدويِّ لمناسبة نكاحي، وقد فعل ذلك للسيدات قبلي...» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٦).

ومنه ظاهرة اهتمام الإمام والد زميله الذي كان يدعوهم إلى الدعاء الجماعيِّ، ظاهرة استظهاره للتقرُّب إلى الله بأسمائه العليا، الأمر الذي يطالب به كلُّ مسلم حقيقيِّ مؤمن برَّبِّه القريب الذي يجيبه إذا دعاه، ويستحسن ذلك بأحسن الوسائل التي تخلو من الإلحاد في أسمائه كقوله تعالى: ﴿وَلِلَّهِ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَىٰ فَادْعُوهُ بِهَا وَذَرُوا الَّذِينَ يُلْحِدُونَ فِي أَسْمَائِهِ سَيُجْزَوْنَ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ﴾ (الأعراف: ١٨٠)، ولهذا وصف نعيم الإمام بقوله:

«وقد صادف حضور الأمير ومن معه في السفر وقت قراءة أسماء الله الحسنى التي تعدُّ كنزا ثميناً من الكنوز الربانية التي يستقطب بها الإمام قائد الدعاء وجه ربِّه الأعلى، وما كان الله ليعاكس بها رغائبه» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٣٥).

ولا تخفى على نعيم وبقية زملائه بدار العلوم؛ ظاهرة إيمانهم بفاعلية الدعاء إذ كانوا كما وصفهم:

«تفانوا في النسك الأسبوعي تالين القرآن الكريم منذ بداية السنة الأخيرة من المرحلة الثانوية، فتراهم في محاربتهم وفي ملتقياتهم وفي أوقات فراغاتهم في الفصل -ليل-نهار- رافعين أيدي المسألة وأكف الضراعة إلى الله الصمد المجيب زرافات ووحادنا، بنية تذليل الصعاب وتحقيق المآرب، بعون الله تعالى الذي ما خيب أمل المضطربين الراجين، وما ردَّ أكف السائلين المتضرِّعين» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٤٨).

وكذلك يعلمنا الفتى فضائل الصيام التطوعيِّ رغبا ورهبا، وهو ظاهر في شأن الفتى نعيم وصديقيه يوم زيارتهم للحاجة العابدة التي طالبتهم بالأكل فامتنعوا:

«فطلبت الحاجة الحاجة من ذلك الصنع، وكان جوابهم أنهم كتبوا على أنفسهم صيام أيام معدودة، رهبا من الرسوب في الامتحان واستنصارا لنفقات ما بعده من الحفلة وغيرها، ورغبة في تكليل مساعيهم بالنجاح والتقدم بعد التخرُّج، والصيام -يا ترى- عبادة حقة، له حدُّ صارم في نسف جبال همِّ، وتقريب كوابل خير من عنان السماء على الأرض، ذلك لمن أدرك أسرارها، وجربه في بعض شؤونه الحيائية على ثقل أحجامها، واستصعاب تحقيقها أو استبعاد نيلها» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٤٣).

ومن التربية الإسلامية التي زوّجت به نعيماً أمه، شأنها في نصح ابنها بملازمة بعض الآيات القرآنية المختارة في ورقتها المتقدمة العهد حين يسافر نعيم إلى دهومي بقوله: «... إذ أخرجت من أوراق أنكارها اليومية ورقتين مكتوبتين بالخط اليدوي، وعلى الورقتين أثر تقادم العهد، وفيها من الآيات الكريمة، فقدّمتها إليه على أن يلزم القراءة منها في الصباح والمساء طيلة مكثه في داهومي، فلعلّ الله يحدث بالآيات بعد ذلك أمراً» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٨١).

وقد قام نعيم بالأمر من أمه خير قيام حتى في يوم انتظاره لدوره في تسليم الأوراق، وكان قد فرض على نفسه صوماً، مستحضراً بعض الآيات والأذكار، وخاصّة ما قدّمت له والدته قبل الرحلة، فتنصرم بها إلى الله تعالى، ليجعل النصر حليفه، والفوز رفيقه (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٠٢).

وتجدر الإشارة إلى أنّ اشتراط النسك للدعاء ليس بمنظور الإسلام الموجب، إلّا إذا كان في ودّ المتقرب إلى الله القيام بالصلاة والنسك والصيام وغيره كمجموعة شؤون يسترضى بها ربّه؛ وهو ما أشار إليه الكاتب في ربيع الجمع بينها لا مشترطاً مسaire أحدها مع الآخر كما يظهر في قوله:

«وأما الاستعداد الروحي ففي أنه ذبح كبشا أقرن بعد سلسلة من أذكار وأدعية، مزاجاً بصيام أيام متوالية، فلا حرج في ذلك من المنظور الديني، فإنّ الصلاة والنسك لله ربّ العالمين» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١١٢).

#### • جواز التداوي بالقرآن والعقاقير

ومنها اتّجاه العقيدة الإسلامية في جواز كتابة آيات قرآنية مقصودة للشراب، والذي رخص فيه بعض السلف كابن تيمية وابن قيم الجوزية، ولم ير منه بأساً ابن باز والعلامة ابن وهف القحطاني، وإن كان الأصل القراءة في الماء ثمّ الشراب، وهو السنّة التي ليس فيها خلاف، لكن لا يشدّ النكير على الفاعل ولا يرمى بالبدعة، والله تعالى أعلم (الجوهري، ٢٠٠٩م: ص ١١٣). وقد دعت الحاجة العابدة إلى ملازمة بعض الآيات وردا وشراباً، كما ذكرها الكاتب على لسان الفتى نعيم بقوله:

«... وسأوتيك آية من الكتاب تلازمونها ورداً، وتكتبونها شرباً، فستكون الآية بإذن الله من دواعي سرعة فهم وأسباب قوّة ذاكرة، وعوامل إصابة في القول، وثمة آية أخرى من سورة الطلاق ﴿ وَمَنْ يَتَّقِ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ مَخْرَجًا ۚ ﴿٢﴾ وَرِزْقَهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا يَحْتَسِبُ وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ ۚ ﴿٣﴾ الطلاق: ٢ - ٣ فإن شاء الله تعالى تيسر لكم النفقة على حوائجكم» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٢٥).

ومنه ظاهرة التداوي في الإسلام الذي لا خلاف فيه ما لم يضادَّ تعاليم الإسلام، وليس تداوي نعيم بالعقاقير وبعض الأعشاب المستوردة المحللة بحرام عليه، إذ لا بأس بشرب العقاقير التي تكون من الأوراق والأشجار بعد طبخها أو بغير الطبخ، فيشربها المريض العليل أو يغسل بها (الإلوري، ٢٠١٢م: ص ١٢٢)، كما يبدو في قوله: «وأما المرض فما زال يلعب دور عرقله قوية في سبيله؛ ويتمثل حاجزا منيعا أمام التقدُّم، ونعيم يعارضه ويصارعه -بعد الاعتماد على الله الشافي- بالعقاقير على مشورة المجربين المخلصين، وبعض الأقراس المستوردة بإشارة المتخصِّصين الدراكين، ... وكانت أمه تقوم بإحضار العقاقير يغسل بها نعيم ويشرب منها» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٦٦ و١٤٢).

#### • اجتناب التطير والشعوذة

ومن أبغض الأمور المعاصرة ظاهرة تطير كثير من المسلمين على الرغم من مزاولتهم الأذكار وصيام أيام معدودة كشأن نعيم، فإنهم يسندون الأحلام التي ساءتهم إلى عيون الساحرين، أو إلى نفاثاتهم في العُقد أو إلى رباط الكهنة. وموقف الإسلام من ذلك، حتَّى ولو صدق ظنُّ المسلم فيه، فعليه الاستعاذة بالله بوسيلة بعض الآي والسور والأدعية النبوية كما ذكرها القحطاني (١٩٦٨م: ص ١٠٦).

لقد استسنَّ نعيم بهذا الموقف الإسلامي في أمره متريثًا لتأويل حلمه حتَّى لا يسنده إلى أحد المذكورين، واستظهر أخيراً أنه لون من وسادته التي تذوب بحمرة كلما توسد بها، ومتى بلل يديه للوضوء ماسحا الرأس، ولولا ذلك التريث لقام بما ذكره في الكتاب: «ولربما يؤدِّي الأمر إلى هجرة بيت والديه كذبا وبهتاناً، أو يحرم عليه بعض المأكولات والمشروبات المبالغة بغيا وطغيانا» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٦٦).

وفي زاوية أخرى يجدر بالباحثين ذكر بعض المتداوين الذي يسخرّون غيرهم بالطلاسم أو يستعينون عليهم بالجنّ أو الرقى غير الشرعية كما أخرجه أبو داود السجستاني وابن ماجه في حديثي ٣٨٨٣ و ٣٥٣٠ عن ابن عبد الله قال أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول: «إنَّ الرُّقى، وَالتَّمائم، وَالتَّوَلِّةَ شِرْكٌ» (القحطاني، ١٩٦٨م: ص ٧٨).

وقد كبر الكاتب من شأن الطلاسم حين أعجب بدفع أحد معاريفه إليه بعض ديونه بعد طول الأمد، كما يظهر في قوله:

«فأخيرا دفع لنعيم بكل احترام بالغ ما عليه نقدا بعد التسوية مع الشكر والثناء المحمودين على سماحته إلى ميسرة، فكأن نعيما سخره بطلاسم أو استعان عليه بجنود سليمان أن يأتيوا به حيثما كان، ذلك أن نعيما يستغرب من رؤية مصادفته في حالته...» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٧٣).

• الثقافة الدعوية الإسلامية

ولم يزل الكاتب بشئى الجوانب التي يستطيع بها الداعية المثقف بالعربية تحقيق دعوته إلى الله حتى تبقى دعوته في حياته وبعد مماته، وذلك من خلال بيان الكاتب: «وعلى أثر ذلك تتربّع على أيديهم مشاعل الدعوة إلى الله عبر كتابات عربية إسلامية فنيّة متميّزة، كتابات ذات أهداف سامية متأصلة، وخطابات علمية ثمينة لها مغاز جليلة في قلوب المثقفين عشاق الإبداع الأدبيّ المستنيرين» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١١٦).

ومن الثقافة العلمية الدينية مقدره أمّ نعيم في الإفتاء، الأمر الذي تطالب به بقیة النسوة المسلمات كشأن أمّه، ويبدو ذلك في قول الكاتب:

«وبقیة النسوة المسلمات يأتين إليها مستفتيات عن بعض القضايا الدينية، ممّا يمّسُّ أداء فريضة الصيام قضاء، وجبر الصلوات قبلها أو بعدها، وفيما يخصُّ شؤون النساء الشهرية، وما يأتي عقبها من الغسل وقضايها» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٥١).

ذلك أن لا بدّ من تعليم الفتاة المسلمة لأنّها المدرسة الأولى للأبناء، وهي بمثابة البلد الطيب الذي يخرج نباته بإذن الله ولا يستحسن نكادها وجهلها وبداءتها التي يخالطها القبيحة والفساد الكبير في المجتمع الإسلاميّ. وقد ذكر النبيّ فضائل تربية الفتيات المسلمات فقال: «مَنْ عَالَ جَارِيَتَيْنِ حَتَّى تَبْلُغَا، جَاءَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنَا وَهُوَ» وَضَمَّ أَصَابِعَهُ (مسلم، د.ت. ٤: ٧٢٠٢، رقم ١٣٦٢)

• تعليم الأخلاق الطيبة

ومن ملامح استظهار نعيم للتعاليم الإسلامية محاولته استبقاء العلاقة الطيبة بينه وبين زملائه بكلية الدعوة بأديوولي، فكانت محاولته بالصبر وتبيين الأخبار المقصودة عليه كما قال الكاتب عنه:

«... إنه لا يصبر أحد في شأن من الشؤون فتناله حسرة منه فالله أبدا مع الصابرين ولو بعد حين... وعلى هذا يتمنى استبقاء روح العلاقة الطيبة بينهم على خير مودة ورحمة، فكيف يسبب شيء غير واقعي مشكلة عويصة قد لا تعرف مداها» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٣٠).

• الثقافة العلمية العامة

ولا يزال الإسلام ينوه بالعلم وأهله فقال: ﴿يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ وَاللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرٌ﴾ المجادلة: ١١. وفي هذه السيرة تحتوي ثقافة نعيم العلمية على أهمية المكتبة، والتنصيص المركزيّ الجود، وقواعد النحو والصرف والجغرافيا وغيرها.

وأما الثقافة اللغوية والدلالية العربيتان، فمنها تحبيذ نعيم لعلوم القواعد باختصاص الإعراب قبل التحاقه بدار العلوم وبعده، وقد بينَّ منافع الاستظهار منها، ومسالب التخلي عنها بقوله في الكتاب:

«...ولكان قبوله بعد المقابلة في السنة الرابعة، لولا إخفاقه في بعض الأوجه الإعرابية، فالإعراب -يا ترى- جماع العلوم ومفتاحها الذي لا بدُّ من التزود به وامتلاكه للتوغل إلى حدائق العلوم والمعارف...» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥ م: ص ٢٦-٢٧).

ومن مظاهر علم الصِّرف ذكره «دَرَعَمِيَّ» نسبة إلى الطالب من دار العلوم، فقام بنحت المضاف والمضاف إليه، حيث أخذ الدال والراء من اللَّفْظ الأوَّل، والعين والميم من الثاني، ثم زاد ياء النسبة إليهما. ومنُّ صورة ذكره «قمرِيَّ» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥ م: ص ٦٨) نسبة إلى صديق له من جزر القمر الذي هو قطر عربيِّ إفريقيِّ، يتكوَّن من جزر تقع في المحيط الهنديِّ، محصور ما بين أرض قارة أفريقيا غربا، وجزير مونغشوق شرقا، أي إنَّها تقع عند المدخل الشمالي لمضيق موزمبيق. وقد طبَّق في صياغة الاسم المنسوب إليه قاعدة الاستغناء بالمضاف إليه دون المضاف (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥ م: ص ١٠٠).

ومن الثقافة اللغوية ظاهرة العامية التي ورثها كثير ممن درسوا بالأزهر الشريف، حيث أنَّ المصريِّين قد أثر كثيرهم العامية على الفصحى، ويحاول زوَّار بلادهم معرفتها للعلاقة التعبيرية التي تجري بينهم. ولم تخفَ هذه الظاهرة على لسان أحد الإخوة النيجيريين الذين درسوا بالقاهرة، وكان يحبِّذ نعيما وأصدقاءه على أمر التقدُّم بعد الثانوية، كما يبديه الحوار بينهم أن استخدم (ماليش) لمعنى: لا مشكلة واسمع.

أهلا وسهلا بكم يا أحباب! كيف الدراسة بدار العلوم؟

انتهينا من الدراسة الثانوية!

انتهيتم، ما شاء الله... الحمد لله، ما شاء الله تبارك الله، فما ليش! (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥ م: ص ٥٩).

وتبدو ظاهرة الدلالة اللغوية المتباعدة بين الدولتين النيجيرية والبنينية في لغة يوربا فيهما، والتي بينَّ الكاتب على لسان نعيم عددا من الأسباب الدافعة إليهما كمثل الفتاة بائعة الأقراص إلى حدِّ ما يظهر في قوله:

«وأما الفتاة بائعة الأقراص، فهي لم تفهم كثيرا مما يعنون من خلال محادثتهم معها؛ من أجل اختلافات في دلالات بعض الكلمات، من حكم تباعد البيئتين بين الدولة النيجيرية والجمهورية البنينية، فتلك بالنسبة إلى بعض الكلمات في لغة يوربا فيهما على إثر المؤثرات الخارجية والداخلية التي تلعب فيها دورا كبيرا في خلق التنوع المعنوي للكلمة» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥ م: ص ١٠١).



هذا، ومن أدلة الاحتجاج السالف، تمثيل نعيم تركيبين يوربويين يختلف مقصودهما في الجمهورية البنينية عمّا يكون المقصود في نيجيريا كقوله:

«وأما الحديث عن اللهجة اليوربوية التي احتار فيها فهم نعيم، فقد حاول مشافهة أحد البنينيين من قريب عن معنى تلك العبارة (حملته للرقص) فأخبر نعيما أنه يقصد بها (سلم أوراقه Mo Gbe Jo)، وقد ضرب له بمثال آخر أنهم يقولون (نعَم الحمل Eku Oyun) تهنئة لنجاح الإنجاب» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٠٥).

ويحيطنا الكاتب علما بأهمية حسن الاستغلال لفرصة الاطلاع الواسع على الكتب بالمكتبة لما فيه من الاستزادة، إذ أفاده رجوع وحيد شيخ الكتاب من أغيعي كما وصفه نعيم: «وقد أفاد رجوعه نعيما إفادة جمّة وجميلة؛ إذ فتح له مكتبته الخاصة، يقرأ منها حيناً، ويستعير منها الكتب المقررة حيناً آخر كلما انتقل من فصل إلى آخر، وكما استنسخ زملاء نعيم منه بعض هذه الكتب المقررة، وغالبا ما تكون لديه نسخة أصلية واضحة منقحة» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٣٠).

ومن ثقافة نعيم العلمية حسن معرفته للقواعد التجويدية والتنصيص المركزي الذي أصله العلامة آدم عبد الله الإلوري. وقد نال بها نعيم نصيبه كما ذكره في قوله: «... قد عيّن فيها نعيم من القراء منضّصا الآيات القرآنية، منذ أن اكتشفت أصالة صوته المركزيّ الأصيل الرنين، وآمنوا بمقدرته التجويدية الواعية على هدى من التجارب التي حصدها في الدراسة المسائية» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٣١).

وحبذا شأن نعيم في اهتمامه بالاستزادة من العلم، لا أن يقف على العلم الأبر، فلم يثابر على التدريس به عاكفا، لما رأى في منع ذلك للمواصلة والتحصيل، وقد وصف مفاصد العلم الأبر وأهله بقوله:

«... العلم الذي يشوّش به طائفة من الدجالين على المجتمع البشريّ وهم الجهال في الدرجة العليا، وبزينة الحياة الدنيا وزخارفها يتغطرسون على العلماء الدراكين! ومن المحقق أنه يحترس من فتنة العلم الأبر ويجور، مثل ما ينفر من خطورة من قرأ كتابا واحدا لما فيها من الفساد الأكبر، ولم يجادل الجهال ذوو الرؤية الضيقة من فوقهم في العلم والمعرفة والإدراك، أو يعارضون من أحرز قصب السبق في البيان والتحليل مشاكسين بلا هدى ولا كتاب منير...» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٦٦-٦٧).

ولعلّ الكاتب يحيطنا علما من سيرة نعيم بمستويات المقابلة الشفهية، من الأمور التي تدرس في المقابلة ويمتنح لها. ولعلّ ذكرها يفيد الآخرين بتفصيل مدقّق محنك لها: «تجفّحت الأسئلة الشفهية لصاحبنا نعيم أمام لجنة تكوّنت من أربعة أعضاء، عضو أنيطت على عاتقه جرأة الطالب وبداهته في التجاوب معهم، وعضو كان هدفه في سبر أغوار الطالب من الناحية الثقافية العامة، وعضو غايته في حسن تنسيق الطالب وبلاغته في



التعبير، وعضو مهمته تكمن في فحص سيكولوجيته انضماما إلى بعض المقاييس الدقيقة التي وضعت» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١١٠).

ومن مجموعة الثقافة العامة إقرار الكاتب ببيضوية الأرض التي قد أنكرها القدامى مسيئين فهم قوله تعالى في عديد من الآيات القرآنية بأن الأرض هو الذي دحاها وطحاها وفرشها ومهدها، إلا أن الإلوري (١٩٨٩م) بين في كتابه (الجغرافيا والتاريخ: ص ٤) بأن ذكر ذلك لمواقعة سياق خطابه لعقول المخاطبين، من علمه تعالى بصغر حجم الناس على الكرة الأرضية كالذرة على الكرة؛ لكن الأرض كروية بيضاوية لاختلاف مطالع الشمس ومغاربها واختلاف فصولها ومناخاتها وطقوسها وليلها ونهارها، ولذلك أعجب الفتى الكاتب ببدايتها في قوله:

«تظل بيضوية الأرض مستقر بني البشر إلى حين، وقد سخر الله لهم معانها البرية والبحرية، وكانت المناظر الطبيعية... تبهر العقول بنفحات كمالها، وتدهش الانطباعات ببدايع جمالها... وفيها ترى الجبال ضخمة شامخة، والبحار ساكنة طامية متموجة، والأرض منطوية صامدة، والنجوم ساطعة مرفوعة مضيئة، فبالشمس والقمر تتزيّن السماء بشروق أنواء وشعاع أضواء، فيستفيد بهما بنو البشر لتعداد الحساب على تعاقب العمران» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٨).

### ظواهر الثقافة الإلورنية النيجيرية

وتتنوع هذه الثقافة إلى الدين والرحلة العلمية والدعوة الإسلامية والأدب الشعبي الإلوري واللغة الشعبوية البنينية. ومنها الحضارة التي تعتبر المغزي الذي يمكن فيه الكاتب اطلاعه على بعض معالم الحضارة ورقيتها والعمران ورونقه.

وأما الرحلة العلمية التي قام بها الفتى نعيم للتخصيل في جمهورية بنين فهي وسيلة تربوية ناجحة وقديمة قدم التربية نفسها، بل هي سبيل إلى تكميل بناء الشخصية، لما فيها من الاحتكاك الثقافي والتوجيه التربوي خلال اللقاءات والمصاحبة (ابن خلدون، ٢٠٠٤م: ص ٦٩٣) أو من الوالدين وأفراد السادة والزملاء.

وتُحصّل الثقافة العلمية من الرحلة التي لا بدّ منها في طلب العلم لأسباب الفوائد والكمال بلقاء الشيوخ ومباشرة الرجال (يوسف أحمد، ٢٠٠٠م: ص ١١٢-١١٣).

وفي السيرة «عبرات الأمل» تشمل هذه الظواهر تاريخ إمارة الـورن وألعاب الصبا، والحرفة والصناعة، والرقي العلمي والدعوي والحضاري، وظاهرة الوليمة وأنشودة اكا، والأدب الشعبي في الـورن وفي جمهورية بنين؛ وبيان كلها فيما يلي:

• تاريخ إمارة الورد وألعاب الصبا

ومن مظاهر التاريخ ذكر سبب تسمية الديار الإلورية بالحوادث المناسبة، ومنها عزو بكاء نعيم إلى شأن أجداد أبيه المنتسبين إلى أسرة أَوْجُوْعِيْكُنْ أو نسبة تسرُّع البكاء إلى عين والده الجريء من قديم الزمان كقوله على لسان الحضور يوم بكائه في حفلة الشهادة: «منهم من قال: كيف لا يبكي وأبوه - كما تعلمون - خفيف الروح سريع البكاء، أتسنون بكاءه الشديد في مطار الورد الدولي يوم رحلة أبيه (جد نعيم) إلى الحج؟ ومنهم من قال: يجب أنه يبكي، وقد عرفتم انتساب أسرة أبيه الكريم إلى دار قيل أَوْجُوْعِيْكُنْ (وجه البكاء) البرناويين في الورد» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٥٣).

وكذلك مظهر أشهر الألعاب التي كان يتعاطاها صغار إمارة الورد كغيرهم من الصبيان، ومنها ركوب الدراجة الدموية وكرة القدم، وإن كان نعيم لا يجيد الأول في أوائل صباه كقوله في الكتاب:

«وممَّا له حق الجدارة بالذكر ذلك الحين، أنَّ الجدَّ والمثابرة من نعيم على شغل بيع المسواك وشدة مراقبة الأسرة إياه، منعتَه وصدَّته عن بعض اللعبة التي اعتادها مع قرنائِه في الحارة؛ إذ لا يجيد ركب الدراجة الدموية إلا بعد ما ناهز العشرين عاما من عمره، فأما لعب الكرة فقد كان يمارسها منذ أيام بيع المسواك، وعرف بها عند بعض أولاد أحياء المدينة، وكم انكسرت الزجاجات الأمامية للسيارات من ويل جرياته الكرة؟ ضربات تتفجَّر رعوها من رجليه اليسرى، وكم مارس من لعب الكرة معاقبا ومرينا في بعض الأقياس؟ وكم حرَّ نعيم نفسه من ربة ذلك بالدفع بماله الخاص؟» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٧).

• الرقي العلمي والدعوي بإمارة الورد

ومن هذا المنطلق، ندرك تاريخ المساهمة التي قد تقوم بها إمارة الورد منذ إشراقها بنور ربها، أن انتشرت الثقافة العربية والحضارة الإسلامية في بلاد يوربا على أيدي رجالها الأعلام الوافدين إليها من شتى القبائل التي معظمها من بلاد نوبى وهوسا وبربر وبرنو وغيرها (جمبا، ٢٠١٩م: ص ٩)؛ ولم تزل الإمارة على هذا العمل في نشر الدعوة والثقافة كما يظهر في قول الكاتب على لسان نعيم:

«تلك البيئة المباركة التي لا شرقية ولا غربية، وقد عظم جدُّها عرفانا، وجلَّ قدرها إيمانا، وطاب بحرها إحسانا، وساعت فيها الإقامة أمانا، وهي قد عاشت مركزا للدولة الإسلامية الزاهية لجنوب البلاد وما جاورها، ولم تزل مرتعا خصبا لشدة العلوم بكنوز الثقافة العربية الثمينة، ومنطلقا أمينا لمآثر الدراسات الإسلامية الرشيدة، فما أحسن موقعها الجغرافي من بين عواصم الشمال توسطا وتلاحما، وما أكرم شراء ثقافة سكانها تنوعا وتعددا، وهم جميعا على هدف سام وفريد، ويمثل الهدف في غرس الحضارة الإسلامية المحيطة، وفيها تترفرف ألوية الإيمان دفافا، على عناد المعارضين المعتدين، فما مسَّهم

من أجل تمسكهم بالشعائر من نصب، وما مسَّهم على حفاظ بيض الإسلام من لغوب» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١١٦).

ولا يُنسى تاريخ دار العلوم التي تم تأسيسها على يد أمير الورن التاسع الشيخ ذي القرنين محمد الغمبري بالتعاون مع جبهة العلماء والأئمة، ولم يبخل الكاتب بطموحات الإلوري الذي كان وكيل الأمور الإدارية والتعليمية لها، ومن تلك الطموحات حسن موكله فيها حتى تلتحق مع ركب دار العلوم بالقاهرة، فيقول الكاتب:

«... فأعزز بمدرسة دار العلوم لجبهة العلماء والأئمة قلعة علمية شابته بأهداف تأسيسها وتصميم مغازيها بدار العلوم في مصر أرض النيل العريقة العتيقة» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٢٦).

ولم يزل الكاتب يذكرنا على لسان نعيم ميادين الأعلام العابرة القدامى الذين بهم يقتدي الأديب المثقف، وسيهتدي إلى سواء السبيل وإلى رافقة توفيق من الله ممثلاً للإلوري أحد من اتخذوا سبيل أولئك في إحياء تراث السابقين فقال:

«فنعيم قد اختفى بقرب حيّه من بيت أحد عمالقة الفنون المعاصرة وأساطين العلوم المفدى، شخصية شهد العرب والعجم بسبق أقدامه في فنون اللغة العربية وأدائها، وله رؤية حسيّة وصائبة في تسديد خطأ الثقافة الإسلامية إلى الإمام... المتخذ ابن خلدون أمثلة في التاريخ، والإمام السيوطي أنموذجاً في التأليف، والغزالي قبله في الفلسفة، وحسن البناء قدوة في الجهاد، وأحمد بلو سردونا إماماً في السياسة» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٨).

وإلى جانب ذلك يحيطنا الكاتب علماً بأن الإلوري قد ابتداءً توجيهه الدعوي بحارة أوّمداء، ولذا رشح أحد ربابته الذي أذن له بالإقامة في الورن وبتأسيس مدرسته، كما صار تاريخ المناسبات حضوره لعدد من الأمسيات العلمية والأدبية فيما عقدها أبو الطلبة في ألوري-الورن، ويحيى مرتضى في أغوي بالورن، وحفلة الترحم على روح الشيخ سمبو الأنمو، والدعاء لسركن مالمي الشيخ أترابا، كلها بعد مجلس الدعاء لروح شيخه أيس نيو بوا في فناء مسجد الأوسا-الورن، والترحم على روح نائب رئيس الدولة السابق عبد الباقي إيعابن، وروح الشيخ أبي بكر المسكين بالله، ويوم حفلة ترقية تلميذه البروفيسور ديريمي أبي بكر (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٩-٢٤).

وتجدر الإشارة إلى أن الإلوري توفّي عام ١٩٩٢م ويستحيل حضوره مجلس الترحم على روح إيعابن المتوفّي عام ١٩٩٩م، فكان الحاضرون هم أبناء الإلوري وتلاميذه.

ظاهرة الوليمة وأنشودة واكا الشعبية في مدينة الورن

ولم يكن حفاظ إمارة الورن على الثقافة العربية والحضارة الإسلامية في نشرهما ببلاد يوربا فحسب، بل عنيت بتعويد أبنائها لتنويهم بالقرآن الكريم تعلمًا وتعليمًا،

وتثقيفا بدروسه، وتحبيذا لمجده، كظاهرة الوليمة الكبرى المناسبة لحفلة زف البنات إلى أزواجهن، وعقد جلسات توجيه الرجال إلى حقوقهم تجاه زوجاتهم. ويا روعة الوليمة الكبرى كما وصفها الكاتب بقوله:

«أما المحتفل فتراه في رداء سَدِينٍ على الطراز المحليّ النفيس والفريد، وعلى رأسه عمامة متوسّط حجمها، وفي جوفها قلنسوة في صورة الأهرام الشامخة... ويبيده ذلك اللوح المزخرفة أطرافه بنحاس على القبة المحليّة الشائقة الرائعة... وهو في أخلاط الحفل يلتف حياله الأهل من جهتي الأب والأمّ، وطائفة من الأصحاب والأحباب... تبرُّكا بالقرآن الكريم وتعظيما لربّه العزيز الحكيم... والحفل يشتمل على جماهير في الميادين العديدة على المستوى الثقافي والعلمي والاجتماعي والروحي... وأما نساء الأسرة في مشاطرتهن فرح الوليمة فتراهن مسرورات بعد إتمام القراءة من قبل صاحب الوليمة بلا خلل، وقد أمرن بتغطية عوراتهنّ فغمر أعراف الحبور ونفحات السرور أعضاء الحفل فرحين مستبشرين... فيُنشِدْنَ وَاكا من روائع الأدب الشعبيّ الإسلاميّ، ناصبات ثياب أو قمصان لاستجلاب النقود من حضور الحفل، وما ذلك إلا رمز لإبداء آيات الشكر الكبير والنعمة العظيمة على المحتفل وأسرّه، بتدفق الصدقات وتقديم الإحسانات إلى العلماء الأوفياء في مجلس الوليمة، وقد سبقها من خلال وَاكا الشعبيّ الإلوريّ الإسلاميّ» (الياقوتيّ، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٤٥-١٤٧).

وفي الحقيقة لا ترمي هذه الثقافة الإلورنيّة بالبدعة علماً بأنّها موروثه من آثار الصحابة، إذ ذبح عمر بن الخطاب شاة بعد إتمام حفظ سورة البقرة محتفلاً بتلك النعمة الكبيرة (الإلوريّ، ٢٠١٢م: ص ٣٦).

ولا تخفى فاعليّة شعر وَاكا من الثقافات العلميّة والأدبيّة الإلورنيّة في تهنئة المحتفل بوليمة القرآن وترغيب الآخرين في معرفة أهميّة التنويه بمجد القرآن. ويعتبر وَاكا أغنية شعبيّة إسلاميّة تختصّ بها مدينة إلورن وتُنشدها عند وليمة ختم قراءة القرآن والنكاح دون عامّة أناشيد وَاكا التي يقولها الوعاظ منذ القديم في البيئة اليوربويّة في حلقاتهم الوعظيّة (جمبا، ١٩٩٧م: ١٢). وفي مفهوم الوليمة والنكاح ذكر الكاتب بأن وَاكا: «...من روائع الأدب الشعبيّ الإسلاميّ... الذي هو رمز الإبداع لآيات الشكر الكبير والنعمة العظيمة على المحتفل صاحب الوليمة وأسرّه...» (الياقوتيّ، ٢٠١٥م: ص ١٤٦-١٤٧).

#### • الرقيّ الحضاريّ في إمارة إلورن:

وأما ما يمسّ الاحتراف من تلك الحضارة فهو قول الكاتب مستعيداً القرءاء إلى تاريخ اعتناء القدامى بالاكْتساب حتى لا يَجُنُوا إلا من الحلال كمثّل الحياكة التي يزاولها عمّه أَيْنلاً، ونساجة اليواقيت التي يحترفها أسرته الكريمة مع الثقافة العربيّة الإسلاميّة، كما نفهم ذلك من قوله:

«وبنوا بالحيافة أقدم طابق في الحارة من فضل نجاح التجارة... وذلك إلى جانب ممارستهم لمهنة نسافة الیواقیت... وإن كان یرید ترك بیع المسواك الذی كان من التجارة الّتی تبنتها كثیرات من متزوّجات أسرة أمّه الفاضلة» (الیاقوتی، ۲۰۱۵م: ص ۹-۱۱).

فالحيافة هی الثقافة الّتی احترف بها نعیم، وقد تبوّأ بها آباؤه مكانا شاهقا في قلوب الخیار في أواسط بلاد یوربا، ولا بدّ للمسلم أن یتزوّد من العمل لأن نبیّ الله داؤد كان یأكل من عمل یده، كما ذكره لنا الحدیث النبویّ، وهذا صاحب السیرة الذی:

«قد احترف بالحيافة... الّتی بنى بها أجداده وآباؤه أقدم طابق في الحارة من فضل نجاح التجارة وسعادة كدّ الكسب، فذلک إلى جانب ممارستهم لمهنة نسج الیواقیت الّتی تتزین بها النساء المتزوّجات، وطائفة من أقیال بلاد یوربا منذ أیام أمجادها الراهنة» (الیاقوتی، ۲۰۱۵م: ص ۹).

وأما الحدیث عن بیع المسواك فكان نعیم قد باع المسواك لمدة قليلة قبل تركه لبیع المسواك الذی یحتاج إليه أهل إالورن خاصّة في العهد القديم، حتّى عند بعض البقیّة من كبارها في العصر الراهن، ولا بأس ببیعه وإن كان نعیم یرى سلبیّته لاهتمام بالثقافة العربیّة الّتی یقصد الالتحاق برکبها من أثر التجوال الكثير لبیع المسواك، ولكنه لم ینکر منفعته كما یدو في قوله:

«فالأولّ أنه یرید أن یرك بیع المسواك الذی كان من التجارة الّتی تبنتها كثیرات من متزوّجات أسرة أمّه الفاضلة وبناتها الکریمة منذ أمد بعيد» (الیاقوتی، ۲۰۱۵م: ص ۱۱).

وكذلک وصف نعیم لحضارة إمارة إالورن من حیث بناء مكتب الصحافة والإعلام فیها إلى جانب إیراد الكتب الكثیرة إليها اعتباراً بكونها من البلدان الراقیة في نيجیریا، وكان یطبّق تعلمه نظریا عند معلمه الدهلیزیّ علی التلّفزة والإذاعة منحصّصا، فنال بذلک شجاعة خطاب الجمهور كما قال:

«تربّی نعیم عند المعلم الجلیل علی الدراسة النظریّة والتطبیقیّة معا، فالنظریّة علی صفحات الكتب العلمیّة قراءة وترجمة، والتطبیقیّة فی جلسات الوعظ والإرشاد علی شاشات التلفاز، وهواء الإذاعات الولائیّة، وفي النوادي والقاعات علی اختلاف الحارات، فی تباين الموضوعات والمناسبات، فلم یصبها فی التنظیر فتور، ولم یعتوره فی التطبيق عُثور» (الیاقوتی، ۲۰۱۵م: ص ۲۵).

ومن مظاهر الحضارة العمرانیة أیضا دولة إمارة إالورن الإسلامیّة الّتی استدعت التنفيذ السیاسیّ والترتیب الإداریّ لأمر الرعیّة حتّى أتباع الأمير الذین حفّتهم شخصیّة الإمارة فی أریافها كما ذكره نعیم:

«... فدخل الأمير وأمامه ووراءه عدد من عساكره في أعيادهم الرسمية المتلوثة بما فيها أخضر وأحمر وأصفر، ولعل الأخضر بالنسبة لهم إشارة للطبيعة الإنسانية العادلة في حين، ولربما يقع الأحمر دلالة على القوة والفداء في حين آخر» (الياقوتي، ٢٠١٥م: ص ٣٥).

### الخاتمة

استطاع الباحثان دراسة السيرة الذاتية العربية بعنوان «عبرات الأمل» للكاتب «الياقوتي» قصد تسليط أضواء على ظواهرها الفكرية التي تمثل الثقافة العربية الإسلامية التي ورثتها إلورن واستتبّت بها دولتها الإسلامية إمارة وشعباً.

وظهر من خلال الدراسة أنّ الكاتب «الياقوتي» كان ذا مقدرة علمية ومملكة فنية في وضع سيرة حياته في مغامراته التعليمية والتعليمية على الإطلاق، متأثراً بالثقافة العربية الإسلامية في بيئة إمارته الإلورنية. وذلك دليل على إسلامية فنّه الروائي المطالب به كل مسلم كامل الإيمان وسابق بالخيرات بإذن الله.

ويقترح الباحثان اختيار هذه السيرة لطلاب العربية ودارسيها في المعاهد والكليات والجامعات -التي تُدرس فيها العربية- ليطلّعوا على حوادثها فيكتسبوا تجارب صاحبها، بالإضافة إلى ما احتوت عليه السيرة من القضايا الدينية والثقافية والاجتماعية والإصلاحية؛ وعلى الله قصد السبيل.

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**مفهوم المثل السائر وخصائصه وما يشابهه من المصطلحات عند العرب**  
**MAFHUM AL-MATSAL AS-SA'IR WA**  
**KHASHAISHIHI WA MA YUSYABIHUHU MIN**  
**AL-MUSHTHALAHAT 'INDA AL-'ARAB**

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**المخلص**

تتركز هذه المقالة على تحديد مفهوم الكلمة «المثل» ومشتقاتها المختلفة في المعاجم العربية وفي التعبيرات القرآنية، وتمعن النظر فيما للكلمة من المدلولات المتباينة كالمثل الخرافي / الفرضي، والمثل القرآني والمثل السائر، وتدرس بصفة خاصة مفهوم «المثل السائر» وما يشابهه من العبارات العربية والمصطلحات الأدبية والبلاغية كالحكمة والتشبيه والمجاز وغيره، وذلك لبيان ما بين المثل السائر وبين هذه المصطلحات من الائتلاف والاختلاف، وأهم خصائص المثل السائر وأسرار استعماله مما تتناول المقالة، وذلك لكسب المفهوم الصحيح للمثل السائر ولزيادة الاهتمام به ودراسته. ومما توصلت إليها المقالة من النتائج أن إطلاق اللفظة «المثل» مجردا لا تظهر المقصود منها إلا بإضافة صفة إليها فيقال المثل الفرضي أو المثل السائر، وأنه لا يسمى مثلا سائرا إلا ما يكون سائرا بين الناس من التعبير، وأن المثل السائر يستعمل لتشبيه بين حالين: «المورد والمضرب». وقد نسج الباحث في جمع المعلومات وتحليلها على منوال المنهج الوصفي التحليلي كما استعان بالاستبانة المعبئة



الإلكترونية والورقية. وأخيرا اختتمت المقالة بعدد من الاقتراحات والتوصيات التي تمت الصلة بمفهوم المثل واستعمالاته.

### Abstract

*This paper focuses on explaining the concept of the Arabic word "almatsal" and its various derivatives in the Arabic lexicology and Qur'anic expressions. It equally explains different usage of the word (Almathal) as Almatha alkhurafi (legendary proverb) almathal alQur'ani (Quranic proverb) etc. The paper particularly concentrates on what is known as "almatsal as-sair" (Common Proverb) and other related literary and rhetoric terms such as idiomatic/ wisdom expression, simile, figure of speech etc, in order to distinguish and make clarification of similarities and dissimilarities among them, characteristics of the said proverb were also discussed. Some of the findings of the paper include: the term "almatsal" has several meanings and usage pending on adjective attached to it, alMathel as-sair can only be used for a common expression and that it is for comparing two different instances (almawrid: where the statement is made for the first time and almadrab: (where the statement is quoted). The researcher followed a descriptive analytical method, and administered both electronic and paper-based questionnaires. The article concluded with a number of suggestions and recommendations.*

**Keywords:** Arab; analytical study; proverb

### المقدمة

المثل السائر من فنون الأدب الذي نال أقل الاهتمام لدى الباحثين مما جعل البعض يعتبرونه مجالا جافا بالرغم من أنه فن عرفته جميع الشعوب إذ «أكثر من نصف الأمثال في أمة يتكرر بلفظه أو بمعناه في أمثال الأمم الأخرى» (العقاد، ١٩٤٥ م، ١٢٢-١٢٦) وللمثل أهمية كبيرة في المجتمعات الإنسانية جمعاء ولا يخلو مجتمع إلا وله نصيب معين في القدرة على استعمال المثل في مناسبات مختلفة إذ هو من أساليب كلامية تستخدم للتعبير الدقيق، وهو أداة من الأدوات التي يلجأ إليها المتكلم لتوضيح ما هو غامض في كلامه. وتعتبر الأمثال عند العرب صورة لحياتها ومرآة تعاكس عاداتها وتقاليدها المختلفة، ولذا يستعين بها الحكماء والشعراء والأدباء العرب لتوضيح فكرة أو تقريب معني من المعاني، والمثل من خصائص الخطيب الفصيح ومن صفات الكبير الحكيم حيث لا يعتبر من لا يجيد استخدام الأمثال في كلامه حكيما. ولكلمة المثل عند العرب دلالات مختلفة ومفاهيم متباينة، كما أن هناك مصطلحات متعددة شبيهة لها في المدلول والاستعمال، ولهذا عرّضت

هذه المقالة على تناول بعض هذه المصطلحات وفحص معاني كل واحد ومدلوله وإسناد لكل ما له وإخراج منه ما ليس فيه. وتشتمل المقالة إضافة إلى المقدمة والخاتمة أربعة مباحث:

- دراسة معجمية واصطلاحية لكلمة «المثل»
- مدلولات متباينة لكلمة «المثل»
- المثل السائر وما يشابهه من المصطلحات
- خصائص المثل السائر وأسرار استعماله في الكلام
- الخاتمة

### دراسات معجمية واصطلاحية لكلمة المثل:

تدل الكلمة «م ث ل» في المعاجم العربية على جملة من المعاني، وذلك على حسب مشتقاتها متعددة. منها: المَثَل (بفتح الميم والثاء)، والمِثْل (بكسر الميم وسكون الثاء)، والمِثَال (بكسر الميم)، والمِثْل (بكسر الميم)، والمِثَال (بفتح الميم وفتح الثاء المشددة)، والمِثْلِي والمِثْلِي، والمِثْمَال (بكسر الثاء وسكون الميم)، والمِثْمَال (بفتح الثاء وسكون الميم)، والمِثْلِيَّة (بفتح الميم وضم الثاء)، والمِثْلِي والمِثْلِي والمِثْمَال والمِثْمَال وغيرها (الأشو، ٢٠١٠ م، ٢٤). والاستعمالات اللغوية المختلفة لهذه الكلمات تثبت أن المثل (بفتح الميم والثاء) والمثل (بكسر الميم وسكون الثاء) أكثر شيوعاً، وأبعد استدلالاً على معانٍ مختلفة من المشتقات الباقية. والمثل (بفتح الميم والثاء) أدل على معانٍ متباينة من مشتقات أخرى، إذ هي تستعمل لتدل على المعاني الآتية:

- العبرة، كما جاء ذلك واضحاً في قوله تعالى: ﴿فَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ سَلَفًا وَمَثَلًا لِلْآخِرِينَ﴾ (٥٦) الزخرف: ٥٦، فمعنى ﴿وَمَثَلًا لِلْآخِرِينَ﴾: عبرة لمن بعدهم (ابن كثير، ١٤٢٠هـ / ١٩٩٩ م، ٧: ٢٣٣).
- الصفة، يقال مثل الشيء، أي صفته كما في قوله تعالى: ﴿ذَلِكَ مَثَلُهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَمَثَلُهُمْ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ كَزَرْعٍ أَخْرَجَ شَطْأَهُ، فَفَازَرَهُ، فَاسْتَعْلَظَ فَاسْتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ سُوقِهِ يُعْجِبُ الزُّرَّاعَ لِيغِيظَ بِهِمُ الْكُفَّارَ﴾ الفتح: ٢٩ أي صفتهم (ابن كثير، ١٤٢٠هـ / ١٩٩٩ م، ٧: ٣٦٢). وقوله تعالى أيضاً: ﴿مَثَلُ الْجَنَّةِ الَّتِي وَعَدَ الْمُتَّقُونَ﴾ محمد: ١٥ أي صفتها ونعتها (ابن كثير، ١٤٢٠هـ / ١٩٩٩ م، ٧: ٣١٢).
- الآية والحجة: كما في قوله جل شأنه عن عيسى ابن مريم ﴿وَجَعَلْنَاهُ مَثَلًا لِّبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ﴾

الزخرف: ٥٩ ومعنى مثلا آية وعبرة يستدل بها، ودلالة وحجة وبرهاننا على قدرتنا على ما نشاء (ابن كثير، ١٤٢٠هـ / ١٩٩٩ م، ٧: ٢٣٣).

• الحكمة: وقد سمي المثل الحكمة لانتصاب صورها في العقول، باعتبار أنها مشتقة من المثلول والانتصاب. وفي ذلك يقول أبو هلال العسكري: إن كل حكمة سائرة تسمى مثلا. (العسكري، ١٩٨٨ م، ٧).

• الأسطورة على لسان حيوان أو جماد كأمثال كليلة ودمنة. (أنيس وآخرون، ١٩٧٢: ٨٩١).

• التسوية: يقال هذا مثله ومثله كما يقال شبيهه وشبهه بمعنى. (ابن منظور، ١٩٧٩: ٤١٣٢).

ويلاحظ من العرض السابق أن الكلمة «المثل» لغويا تستعمل غالبا لتدل على المشابهة والمقارنة بين شيئين وهذا هو المعنى الأكثر لها ولكثير من مشتقاتها.

ولا تبعد المعاني الاصطلاحية للكلمة كثيرا عن المعاني اللغوية السابق بيانها حيث إنها أيضا تدور حول المشابهة والمقارنة بين شيئين. فيقول المبرد: المثل مأخوذ من المثل وهو قول سائر شبه به حال الثاني بالأول، والأصل فيه التشبيه (الطرابلسي، د.ت. ١٠). وذهب ابن السكيت إلى أن المثل لفظ يخالف المضروب له ويوافق معناه معنى ذلك اللفظ، شبهوه بالمثل الذي يعمل عليه غيره (الطرابلسي، د.ت. ١٠). ومال الآخرون إلى أن المثل حكمة قائم صدقها في العقول لانتصاب صورها في العقول مشتقة من المثلول الذي هو الانتصاب (الطرابلسي، د.ت. ١١). وقد اشترط بعض الأدباء أن يجتمع في المثل أربعة لا تجتمع في غيره من الكلام: إيجاز اللفظ، وإصابة المعنى، وحسن التشبيه، وجودة الكناية، فهو نهاية البلاغة (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٢ م، ٥٣٦). كما أن العسكري اشترط فيما يسمى مثلا أن يكون سائرا بين الناس، فيقول: «جعلت حكمة سائرة مثلا، وقد يأتي القائل بما يحسن من الكلام أن يتمثل به، إلا أنه لا يوافق أن يسير فلا يكون مثلا، وضرب المثل يعني جعله يسير في البلاد، من قولك: ضرب في الأرض إذا سار فيها» (العسكري، ١٩٨٨ م، ٧). وأخيرا لخص الهاشمي مفهوم المثل بأنه: عبارة موجزة مأثورة يشبه الناس بها جديد أحوالهم بقديمها، وهو نوعان: حقيقة، وفرضية؛ فالحقيقة ما حدث موردها في الوجود. والفرضية ما لم يحدث موردها في الوجود وإنما اخترعت على ألسن حيوان أو غيره. وكما تكون الأمثال نثرا تكون شعرا وتضرب كما وردت دون تغيير في لفظها (الهاشمي، ١٩٧٨ م، ٣٣٦).

والمثل في اصطلاح البيانيين: اللفظ المركب المستعمل في غير ما وضع له لعلاقة مع قرينة مانعة من إرادة المعنى الأصلي (أبو موسى وآخران، ١٩٨٧م، ٢٠٧).  
 تمكن الملاحظة من الاستعمالات السابق بيانها للكلمة «المثل» من الناحية اللغوية والاصطلاحية أنهما تدلان على المشابهة والمقارنة بين شيئين مختلفين. فالمعاني اللغوية تشير إلى الصفة والعبارة والآية والحجة والحكمة والتصوير والتشبيه وفي هذه المعاني إشارة إلى أن معنى معيناً مشترك بين شيئين مما يؤدي إلى المقارنة والمشابهة بينهما.  
 مدلولات متباينة للكلمة «المثل»

تستعمل الكلمة «المثل» عند العرب لتدل على ثلاثة أنواع من الكلام وذلك إذا نظرنا إلى المعنى والغرض في استعمالها وهذه الأنواع هي:

### المثل الخرافي أو الفرضي

وهو عبارة عن تأليف لا حقيقة له في الواقع، وهو في أغلب الأحوال قصة قصيرة، هدفها التعليم الناجح والإرشاد النافع، أبطالها البهائم والطيور ومسرحها الطبيعة. وهذا النوع من المثل عالمي في طبيعته حيث تتناقله الأفواه من عصر إلى عصر، وتتوارثه الأعراب من جيل إلى جيل. وقد نشأ هذا النوع من المثل في الهند، ثم انتشر منها إلى بلاد الصين، ثم إلى فارس، ثم إلى بلاد العرب (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٤م، ٦٩). وفوائده كثيرة منها: نزهة البال، وترويح المخاطر، وتقويم الأخلاق بالحكمة، ورياضة النفوس بالموعظة عن طريق التعريض والرمز. وهو طريق الضعفاء إلى آذان الأقوياء المستبدين، وبذلك ذهب بعض الباحثين إلى أن هذا النوع من المثل وليد الشرق لأنه موضع الحكم المطلق والاستبداد العنيف. وأشهر من كتب في هذا المجال من الأدباء العرب ابن المقفع مترجم «كليلة ودمنة» وسهل بن هارون صاحب كتاب «ثعلة وعفرة» واين الهيارية ناظم «الصادح والباغم» (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٤م، ٦٩)، ويمكن تقسيم هذا النوع إلى ثلاثة أقسام: أولها؛ الأمثال الخرافية الممكنة وهي ما نسب فيها النطق والعمل إلى عاقل كالحكاية إلا أنها تختلف عن الحكاية من وجهين:

الأول: أن لها مغزى، والثاني: كونها غير واقعية وإن كانت في حيز الإمكان، ومن قبيل هذا النوع الأمثال التي كان أبطالها أشخاصاً معروفة بصفة من الصفات كجحا والباقل وغيرهما، ومن ذلك أيضاً الطرائف، والمضحكات التي الهدف منها نزهة البال، وترويح المخاطر، وإضحاك المستمعين لإفادتهم بحكمة ما، وإرشاد وتعليم وتنبيههم إلى أمر ما عن طريق التلميح والتعريض.

وثانيها؛ الأمثال الفرضية المستحيلة، وهي ما جاءت على السنة الحيوانات والجمادات فيعزى لها النطق والعمل وتعتبر مستحيلة، لأن روادها وأبطالها من المستحيل الحدوث، منهم ما نسبت إليهم كما في قولهم: قال الخشب للمسمار: لقد فلقنتني! فقال له المسمار: لو سمعت الدق فوق رأسي لعذرتني (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٤ م، ٦٩).

وثالثها؛ الأمثال الفرضية المختلطة، وهي ما دار فيها الكلام أو العمل بين إنسان وحيوان، وأطلق عليها مختلطة لأنها بين ما يمكن أن يحدث وما هو مستحيل، ومن ذلك قيل: أن رجلا صاد قبرة فقالت له: ماذا تريد أن تصنع بي؟ فقال: أذبحك وأكلك، قالت: والله ما أشفي من نهم ولا أغني من جوع. لكنني أعلمك ثلاث خصال، هي خير لك من أكلي، أما الواحدة فأعلمكها وأنا في يدك، والثانية إذا صرت على هذه الشجرة. والثالثة إذا صرت على الجبل. فقال: هاتي، قالت لا تتحسر على ما فاتك، فخلى عنها، فلما صارت فوق الشجرة قال: هاتي الثانية، قالت: لا تصدق بما لا يكون أنه يكون. ثم طارت فصارت فوق الجبل فقالت: يا شقي لو ذبحتني لأخرجت من حوصلتي جوهرة زنتها عشرون مثقالا، فعرض الرجل على شفتيه وتحسر، ثم قال: هاتي الثالثة: فقالت له: أنت نسيت الاثنتين فكيف أعلمك الثالثة؟ ألم أقل لك لا تحسر على ما فاتك، فقد تحسرت علي إذ فتك، وقلت لك لا تصدق بما لا يكون أنه يكون، فصدقت أن حوصلتي جوهرة وعظمي ولحمي وريشي لا تبلغ بعض ذلك (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٤ م، ٦٩).

### المثل القرآني

وهو سرد وصفي أو قصصي، أو صورة بيانية لتوضيح فكرة معينة عن طريق التشبيه والتمثيل والتوضيح والغاية التي يرمي إليها المثل القرآني كثيرة ومتعددة أهمها تقريب المعقول إلى المحسوس وتقريب الأمور الغيبية إلى عقول الناس. واستعمال القرآن للفظ «المثل» كثيرة متباينة وذلك باستعمالها مضافة إلى الضمائر أو بغير إضافة وتكررت فيما لا يقل عن ١٠٣ مرة (عبد الباقي، ١٩٣٨ م، ٦٥٩-٦٦١). فالتكرار القرآني لهذه اللفظة بهذا العدد الكبير إن دل على شيء فإنما يدل على أهمية اللفظة وفروعها في اللغة العربية. هذا ويمكن تلخيص الأمثال القرآنية في أنواع أربعة: الأول، المثل القرآني الحقيقي؛ وهو الاستعمال القرآني للفظ «المثل» تدل على نفس الشيء وذاته بدون أن يكون في صورة التشبيه كما في قوله تعالى: ﴿كَمَنْ مَثَلُهُ فِي الظُّلُمَاتِ لَيْسَ بِخَارِجٍ مِّنْهَا﴾ (الأنعام: ١٢٢)، أي كمن هو في الظلمات. الثاني: المثل القرآني الفرضي؛ فهو عبارة عن قول يشبه قولاً آخر بينهما مشابهة ليبيين أحدهما الآخر ويصوره فهو من قبيل تمثيل المعاني المعقولة بالصورة

الحسية وعكسه ويأتي على صورة التشبيه ويسمى فرضياً، لأنه وإن كان في حيز الواقع فإنه ليس له حقيقة في الوجود ومن ذلك كثير من التشبيهات القرآنية التي استعملت فيها اللفظة «المثل» وهو كثير الورد في القرآن الكريم منها قوله جل شأنه: ﴿مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ حُمِلُوا التَّوْرَةَ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَحْمِلُوهَا كَمَثَلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَسْفَارًا﴾ الجمعة: ٥. شبههم الله بالحمار الذي يحمل أسفار العلم والحكمة ولا ينتفع بها، ووجه الشبه حرمان الانتفاع بما هو أبلغ شيء في الانتفاع مع المد والتعب. (الصابوني، د.ت. ٣٧٩) الثالث: المثل القرآني القياسي؛ وهو سرد وصفي أو صورة بيانية لتوضيح فكرة معينة عن طريق التشبيه والتمثيل، ويسميه البلاغيون التمثيل المركب أو التشبيه المتعدد، وهو من أجل تشبيه شيء بشيء آخر لتقريب المعقول من المحسوس. (الزين، ١٩٨٧ م. ٢٠) الرابع: ألفاظ القرآن الكريم التي جرت مجرى المثل السائر؛ وذلك أن في القرآن الكريم عديداً من العبارات تشبه حكماً سائراً بين الناس، أي أقوالاً نابغة عن تجربة إنسانية وأصبحت منتشرة بين الناس يضرب في المواقف الشبيهة بها. ومن ذلك قوله تعالى: ﴿الْفَنِّ يَصْحَصَحُ الْحَقُّ﴾ يوسف: ٥١، يضرب وقت ظهور الشيء واتساعه. وقوله جل شأنه: ﴿كُلِّ حِزْبٍ بِمَا لَدَيْهِمْ فَرِحُونَ﴾ المؤمنون: ٥٣ / الروم: ٣٢، يضرب للمتعارضين الذين -رغم تعارضهم والاختلاف الذي هم عليه- تكون كل فئة منهم فرحة بوجهة نظرها (الزين، ١٩٨٧ م، ٢٠).

### المثل السائر

هو نوع من الفلسفة الشعبية الأصيلة التي تنبثق عن تجربة شعبية بلا تكلف أو تصنع تلميه الحياة الواقعية فينطق به أشخاص مروا بتلك التجربة تعبيرا عن تفكيرهم أو إحساسهم. ويشترط العسكري (كما سبق ذلك) فيما يسمى «المثل السائر» أن يكون سائراً بين الناس. ويمكن تقسيم هذا النوع من المثل إلى ثلاثة أقسام: الأول: المثل السائر الخالي من القصة أو الحكاية؛ وهو أقوال تأتي على لسان أهل العلم والخبرة من الأشخاص فاننتشرت هذه الأقوال بين الناس واستعملوها في مناسبات مماثلة للحالة الأولى التي قيلت فيها، ومثال ذلك قوله ﷺ: «إِنَّ مِنَ الْبَيَانِ لَسِحْرًا» (البخاري، ٢٢٤١ هـ، ٧: ٨٣١، رقم ٧٦٧٥)، وقولهم «رب أخ لك لم تلده أمك» والذي يقول «الندم على السكوت خير من الندم على القول» والذي قال: «ما قل ودل خير مما طال وضل». وهذا النوع من المثل عالمي بطبيعته عرفته جميع الأمم بلفظه وبمعناه، وهذا النوع من المثل هو الذي يشير إليه العقاد بقوله: «أكثر من نصف الأمثال في أمة يتكرر بلفظه أو بمعناه في أمثال الأمم الأخرى». (العقاد، ١٩٤٥ م، ١٢٢)، الثاني: المثل السائر الواقعي؛ وهو أقوال ذات قصص وحكايات أصبحت

أمثالا عن طريق حادثة حدثت لأشخاص معينين، وقيل المثل أو نقل عنهم أقوال صارت فيما بعد أمثالا سائرة بين الناس. ومن ذلك: «تسمع بالمعيدي خير من أن تراه» يضرب لمن يكون خبره خير من منظره وقصته: كان المعيدي (اسم قيل) يغير على مال النعمان، وكان النعمان يطلبه فلا يقدر عليه وكان يعجبه ما يسمع عنه من الشجاعة والإقدام إلى أن أمنه فلما رآه استزرى منظره لأنه كان دميم الخلقة فقال: تسمع بالمعيدي خير من أن تراه. ومنه أيضا المثل القائل: قطعت جهيزة قول كل خطيب، يضرب لمن يقطع على الناس ما هم فيه فجأة ومن ذلك أيضا المثل الذي يقول: «الصيف ضيعت اللبن» يضرب لمن يطلب شيئاً فوته على نفسه بسوء تصرفه (مقبول وآخرون، ١٤٢٥هـ، ١٧١). الثالث: المثل السائر الفرضي؛ وهو أقوال مأثورة قيلت على لسان حيوان أو غيرها ومن ذلك قول العرب في مثلهم: «كيف أعادوك وهذا أثر فأسك» ويضرب لمن سبق منه الغدر. وقصة المثل: زعموا أن أخوين عاشا بجانب واد خصب فيه حية قاتلة فذهب أحدهما لرعي إبله فقتلته الحية فقال أخوه: لأطلبن الحية فأقتلها، فعرضت عليه الحية الصلح لقاء دينار يأخذه كل يوم، وغير على ذلك حقبة ثم تذكر أخاه فعمد إلى قتل الحية فلما مرت ضربها بفأسه فأخطأها وأصابت الحجر فأثرت فيه، فقطعت عنه الدينار، وندم وخاف شرها فعرض عليه العهد فقالت الحية ذلك المثل (مقبول وآخرون، ١٤٢٥هـ، ١٧٣).

#### المثل السائر وما يشابهه من المصطلحات عند العرب

النظر إلى تعريفات المثل السائر السابقة نجد أن هناك اصطلاحات تتضمن تلك المعاني من حيث الدلالة والاستعمال ومن هذه الكلمات أو الاصطلاحات:

- الحكمة:

تستعمل الحكمة في كثير من الأحيان مقارنة للمثل، ويقال: الحكم والأمثال، وأنه كثيرا ما يطلق على المثل حكمة وبالعكس ولبيان أوجه الائتلاف والاختلاف بينهما ننظر إليهما بنظرة عميقة.

الحكمة لغة: العلم والتفقه والحلم والعدل والفلسفة والكلام الموافق للحق (أنيس، ١٩٨٦، ١٤٦). واصطلاحا: عبارات موجزة قوية الألفاظ دقيقة المعاني، بارعة التصوير (ابن منظور، ١٩٧٩م، ٩٠١). وهي ثمرة الحنكة ونتيجة الخبرة وخلاصة التجربة. وبالقول الأخص هي القول الصادر عن تجربة ناجحة، ويمكن النظر إلى الحكمة من ناحيتين: الحكمة من الله تعالى هي: العلم بالأشياء وإيجادها أو خلقها على غاية الإحكام. والحكمة من الإنسان، هي: معرفة الأشياء وتسييرها للغاية التي أوجدت لها مما يؤدي إلى فعل



الخير على وجه الصواب، وهذا ما وصف به لقمان عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ في قوله تعالى: ﴿وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا لُقْمَانَ الْحِكْمَةَ أَنْ شَكَرَ لِلَّهِ﴾ لقمان: ١٢، وبناء على هذا الفهم لمعنى «الحكمة» من الممكن أن يؤتى الإنسان العلم، ولكن لا يحسن استعماله في وجه الصواب، فيكون قد أعطى العلم ولكنه لم يعط الحكمة. والحكمة بالاختصار إصابة الحق بالعلم والفعل، فهي أفضل هبة وعطاء يعطي الله عبده، قال تعالى: ﴿يُؤْتِي الْحِكْمَةَ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَةَ فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا﴾ البقرة: ٢٦٩. لأن من أعطي الحكمة وإن كان علمه وماله قليلين فيحسن التدبير فيهما يكون ممدوحا في الدنيا ومرضيا عنه في الآخرة.

هذا هو المفهوم العام للكلمة «الحكمة» وفي اصطلاح الأدباء: الحكمة هي كل كلام موجه إلى إنسان في سبيل هداية أو إرشاد أو تقويم اعوجاج، وذلك ضمن نطاق الحياة العملية والتصرف في حقل الدين والدنيا (الفاخوري، ١٩٦٤م، ٥٣٥).

وقد اتفق الأدباء على أن الحكمة عبارة موجزة ذات مغزى أخلاقي، أي تكون مما يسمونه «جوامع الكلم» التي هي أقوال مرصوفة، موجزة العبارة، غنية المعنى، سهلة اللفظ، والتركيب فيها متماسك الأجزاء، مترابط الألفاظ توحى فيه اللفظة باللفظة، وتسوق فيه الكلمة بالكلمة، في تناغم موسيقى وتجارب صوتي. من هذه البيانات للكلمة نفهم أن الحكمة موافقة إلى حد ما مع مفهوم المثل السابق بيانه ونجد أنهما اتفقتا فيما يلي:

- كل منهما يهدف إلى توجيه الإنسان في حياته من نواحيها المختلفة عن طريق الفطنة وخلاصة التجربة.
- كل منهما مرصوص العبارة يفيد بألفاظ قليلة معاني كثيرة فيها جمال الصياغة وقوه التأثير.
- كل منهما سهل الحفظ لبلاغة تركيبها وتجاذب ألفاظها وموسيقى تقطيعها.
- كل منهما يستعمل مرادفا للآخر حيث يسمى المثل حكمة وذلك إذا أريد بالمثل عبرة وتسمى الحكمة مثلا إذا أريد بها أقوال ذات مغزى أخلاقي.
- وبالرغم من هذا الاتفاق بينهما إلا أنهما اختلفا فيما يلي:
- الحكمة عبارة تجريدية تصيب المعنى الصحيح، وتعبر عن تجربة أو خبرة هدفها عادة الموعظة والنصيحة وأما المثل فهو في معظم عباراته حسيا وهدفه تشبيه مضر به بمورده.
- لا يلتزم أن يكون المثل صحيح المنحى فقد اشتهرت أمثال لا يصح معناه في كل وقت



ومكان ولكنها صادفت ظرفا شهيرا فانتشرت به. فالمثل القائل: «القتل أنفى للقتل» ليس صحيح المنحى لأنه ليس كل قتل أنفى للقتل، ومن القتل ما يكون ظلما فيكون سببا للقتل، وإنما يكون أنفى للقتل إذا كان على وجه القصاص، وتصحيح المثل أن يقال: القتل قصاصا أنفى للقتل ظلما. وأما الحكمة فلا بد أن تكون صادقة في جميع الأحوال.

• يجب أن يكون المثل سائرا بين الناس بحيث يكون مشهورا ومعروفا بينهم وذلك إذا ذكر المتكلم بداية مثل يعرف الخبير باللغة نهايته، فأما الحكمة فليس بواجب أن تكون سائرة.

• يجب أن يكون للمثل حالان: حالة المورد (أي الموقع الذي قيل فيه المثل للمرة الأولى) وحالة المضرب (أي الموقع الحالي الذي استعمل فيه المثل) وأما الحكمة فليس لها ما يشبه ذلك، وإنما هي تفيد المعنى الذي ترمز إليه ألفاظها. فالحكمة التي تقول: «لسان العاقل في قلبه، وقلب الجاهل في لسانه» فهذا الكلام يسمى حكمة وهو مرصوص العبارة يفيد بأن العاقل من ضبط لسانه والجاهل من لا يحسب كلامه. فالحكمة كهذه تهدف إلى توجيه الحياة عن طريق الفطنة والتجربة السليمة ولا يقف فهمه على معرفة أي مورد كما هو الشأن في المثل.

• في المثل حسن التشبيه حيث يراد فيه المعنى من وراء معنى آخر. والمثل القائل: «جزاه جزاء سنمار» المعنى منه راجع إلى المعنى المستقى من حادث تاريخي حيث جرى ملك مهندس اسم سنمار جزاء سيئا مقابل عمل ممتاز قام به له (خليفة، ١٩٧٩م، ١٩) وهنا نجد أن الهدف من استعمال المثل تشبيه حال بحال آخر وهذا غير وارد في استعمال الحكمة.

• المثل إنتاج الناس جميعا فهولا يمثل عقلية طبقة معينة وإنما هو يمثل عقلية الأمة برمتها لأنه قد يصدر من أي إنسان عاقل مميز بخلاف الحكمة التي لا تصدر إلا عن مفكر أو حكيم. فالحكمة وليدة عقل مميز ذي ارتفاع وهي ثمرة الحنكة ونتيجة الخبرة وبذلك تكون صحيحة في كل مكان وزمان.

• غالبية العظمى من الأمثال العربية لها موارد اتخذت منها حيث تتركز معظمها حول أفراد أو شخصيات أو أشياء عرفت بصفات خاصة كما في أمثال: أبخل من مارد،

وأجود من حاتم، وأكسى من بصلة، وأما الحكمة فلا تتركز حول هذه الأشياء وإنما هي عبارة ذات مغزى أخلاقي.

- كثير من الأمثال لها قصة وحادثة تحكى عنها وتسمى قصة المثل ولا يمكن فهم كثير من الأمثال العربية بدون معرفة هذه القصة وفهمها، فالأمثال: «قطعت جهيزة قول كل خطيب» و«خطب يسير في خطب كبير» وأشأم من البسوس لا يمكن فهمها إلا بعد فهم القصة المتعلقة بها، وأما الحكمة في الغالب فليست لها قصة نسبت إليها.
- الأمثال تحكى أي أنها تضرب على ما جاءت عن العرب ولا تغير صيغتها فتقول للرجل «الصيف ضيعت اللبن» فتكسر التاء لأنه حكاية

### التشبيه

يستعمل المثل لإظهار التشابه أو ادعائه بين حالين وذلك لتوضيح الصلة بينهما من ناحية أو أخرى ويعرف هذا النوع من الاستعمال عند البلاغيين بالتشبيه. إلا أنه يمكن أن نفهم أن التشبيه من قبيل الحقيقة والمثل السائر الذي نحدد معناه من قبيل المجاز فإذا نظرنا إلى المثل الذي يقول: «أبخل من مارد» أو الذي يقول «أفوق من السهام» أو «نال جزاء سنمار» في هذه الأمثال مقارنة بين حالين ولكن هذه المقارنة تفهم عن طريق قرينة خارجية وعلاقة معينة معروفة. وبهذا نفهم أن المثل وإن كان فيه معنى التشبيه إلا أن التشبيه من قبيل الكلام الصريح أي الحقيقة والمثل من قبيل الكلام الضمني أو التلميحى أى المجاز.

### المجاز

المجاز في اللغة: من الجواز والتعدية من جاز المكان يجوزه إذا تعداه ثم نقل إلى الكلمة المستعملة في غير ما وضعت له من حيث إنها جائزة مكانها الأصلي (أبو موسى وآخران، ١٩٨٧م، ١٥٥). فالمجاز قسمان: العقلي واللغوي وأهم فروق هذين المجازين أن الأول مكانه الإسناد وموطنه التركيب في حين يكون الثاني في الألفاظ والمفردات. فالمجاز العقلي هو إسناد الفعل أو ما في معناه إلى غير ما هو له في الظاهر من المتكلم لعلاقة مع قرينة تمنع من أن يكون الإسناد إلى ما هو له (أبو موسى وآخران، ١٩٨٧م، ١٥٥). وذلك كإسناد الفعل إلى الزمان والمكان أو إلى السبب وغير ذلك. والمجاز اللغوي هو الذي يقع في الألفاظ والمفردات، وكلمة المجاز إذا أطلقت بدون تحديد يكون المقصود منها المجاز اللغوي لأنه الأصلي، وهو أربعة أقسام: المجاز المفرد المرسل وهو الكلمة المستعملة في غير معناها

الأصلي للملاحظة علاقة غير المشابهة مع قرينة دالة على عدم إرادة المعنى الوضعي، وله علاقات كثيرة، أهمها: السببية والمسببية وغيرهما. والمجاز المفرد المسمى بالاستعارة، وهو كالنوع الأول السابق بيانه إلا أن علاقته المشابهة بين المعنى الوضعي والمعنى المستعمل فيه، وذلك كقوله تعالى: ﴿ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَرَضٌ فَزَادَهُمُ اللَّهُ مَرَضًا ﴾ البقرة: ١٠ لفظ «المرض» مجاز فيه تشبيه النفاق، وهو العلة الروحية بالمرض، وهو العلة الجسمانية للعلاقة المشابهة بينهما والقرينة هي أن الكلام مسوق لذم المنافقين على فعل صدر منهم والمرض الحقيقي ليس من فعلهم حتى يذموا عليه. (أبو موسى وأخران، ١٩٨٧م، ١٥٥) والمجاز المرسل المركب وهو الكلام المستعمل في غير المعنى الذي وضع له لعلاقة غير المشابهة مع قرينة مانعة من إرادة معناه الوضعي. ومن أمثلة هذا النوع الجمل الخبرية المستعملة في الإنشاء أو عكسه لأغراض لم يوضع لها الخبر أو الإنشاء كإظهار التحسر أو الضعف أو السرور كما في قول الشاعر:

ذهب الصبا وتولت الأيام \* فعلى الصبا وعلى الزمان سلام

فهذا الخبر وإن كان في أصل وضعه للإخبار إلا أنه في هذا المقام مستعمل في إنشاء التحسر على ضياع الشباب، وذهاب أيامه.

من أنواع المجاز أيضا المجاز المركب المسمى بالاستعارة التمثيلية، وهو تركيب استعمل في ما يشبه معناه الأصلي بحيث يكون كل من المشبه والمشبه به هيئة منتزعة من متعدد، وذلك بأن تشبه إحدى صورتين منتزعتين من أمرين أو أمور بأخرى ثم تدخل المشبه في الصورة المشبهة بها مبالغة في التشبيه، ويسمى بالاستعارة التمثيلية مع أن التمثيل عام في كل استعارة للإشارة إلى عظم شأنها كأن غيرها ليس فيه تمثيل. وهذه الاستعارة كثيرة الاستعمال فمن أمثلتها الأمثال القياسية القرآنية. ومن قبيل هذا المجاز أيضا الأقوال المأثورة عن العرب والأمثال الموروثة التي تستعمل في حالات شبيهة الوقائع التي قيلت فيها وهذا ما أطلق عليه «المثل السائر» أو «الأمثال السائرة» وهذا ما نحن في صدد تحديده معناه.

### الكنائية:

- تجدر الإشارة هنا إلى أن المثل السائر كما هو في البيان السابق، فكما يختلف عن التشبيه وعن كثير من أنواع المجاز، فإنه يختلف أيضا عن الكناية في وجوه منها:
- أن المعنى الأصلي قد يكون مقصودا في الكناية ليكون وسيلة إلى المعنى المراد وأما المثل فلا يكون معناه الأصلي مقصودا.
  - أن العلاقة في المثل مانعة من إرادة المعنى الأصلي حيث يوجد في الكلام ما يثبت أن

المقصود ليس المورد (الحالة الأولى للمثل) بذاته وإنما المقصود هو إظهار التشابه بين الحالين، وأما الكناية فعلاقتها غير مانعة.

### خصائص المثل السائر

بعد هذه الجودة حول مفهوم المثل السائر وما تميز به عن بقية ما يشابهها من المصطلحات عند العرب بخصائص عديدة نوجزها فيما يلي:

- إيجاز اللفظ: مما يلاحظ في الأمثال السائرة عند العرب أن أغلبيتها العظمى عباراتها موجزة وألفاظها قليلة والاقتصاد في الكلمات سمة من سماتها، وهي مع ذلك غنية بكثرة معانيها ومن العجائب أنها مع إيجازها يعمل عمل الإطناب، لها روعة إذا برزت في أثناء الخطاب. كما شهد بذلك عديد من الأمثال العربية كما في الآتية: الحب أعمى، والبعد جفاء، والجار ثم الدار، والجنون فنون، والحرب خدعة، وفي الحركة بركة، ومن هاب خاب. فكل هذه الأمثال مع قلة ألفاظها مملوءة بعدة معانٍ ومحتاج إلى الشرح والبيانات. وهذا شأن كثير من الأمثال العربية السائرة.
- إصابة المعنى: تضرب الأمثال لإظهار ما خفي من المعاني وتقريبها إلى الأذهان، فالأمثال تعطي السامع العبرة الواضحة عن المعنى المقصود بأقصر اللفظ وأحسنه وتنقل المعنى إلى صورة كسته وضوحاً ورفع من أقداره، وتأتى بالمعنى وفقاً لما أراد ضارب المثل. فمثلاً عندما تواجه شخصاً يتحداك بقوته ويحاول أن ينال منك مغتراً ومزهواً بقدرته، ويدعي أن له قوة الريح، وترد عليه بالمثل العربي القائل: «إن كنت ريحاً فقد لاقيت إعصاراً» وضارب المثل هنا استخدم الفكرة التي تبين حقيقة ثابتة، وهي أن الإعصار أقوى من الريح. والمثل هنا قد قرب المعنى المنشود حيث يفهم السامع هذا المعنى مباشراً ويعرف فكرة ضارب المثل وقصده من ضرب المثل.
- حسن التشبيه: فالأمثال وإن كان الهدف منها تشبيه حال المورد (الحالة الأولى التي قيل فيها المثل) بحال المضرب (الحالة الثانية التي استعمل فيها المثل) إلا أنها أرفع من التشبيه مرتبة، وأحسنه عبارة، وأبلغه مقصداً، وأوجز منه لفظاً. فالأمثال الآتية: هو كالقالبض على الماء، وكالراقم في الماء، أو كمبتغي الصيد في عرين الأسد، وكالضارب في حديد بارد، كلها أمثال في صيغة التشبيه الصريح تشير معانيها إلى عدم حصول

المضروب له على فائدة مرجوة فيما يقوم به من الأعمال. وواضح أن هذه العبارات فيها ما لا يكون في التشبيه العادي من المبالغة والوفاء بالهدف المنشود إذ ليس من الضروري أن يشبه فيها جميعها الشيء بالشيء بعينه، ولكنها على أية صورة أتت بالمعنى المراد وتقربه إلى العقل.

- جودة الكناية: تستعمل الأمثال للتلميح والإشارة حين لا يريد المتكلم أن يصرح أو يشير مباشرة إلى ما يقصده وذلك كما لو حدث لرجل صنع إلى صديقه معروفا فبدلاً من أن يجزيه أو يشكره صديقه على الخير الذي نال منه أذاه ، فلو سئل صانع الخير عما لقيه من صديقه قال: نلت منه جزاء مجير أم عامر (أم عامر كناية الضبع)، قيل: إن أعرابياً أجارته أم عامر فأجارها وأطعمها فلما صادفت منه فرصة أفرسته (مقبول وآخرون، ١٤٢٥هـ، ١٧-١٧٣).

- مرآة لحياة العرب: إن الأمثال صورة لتجارب العرب في حياتهم الاجتماعية والسياسية والثقافية والدينية وغيرها. ومن الأمثال التي تصور هذه الحياة المثل الذي يقول: «الصيف ضيعت اللب» وقصة المثل أن فتاة تزوجت من شيخ كبير كثير المال فطلبت منه الطلاق فطلقها وتزوجت من فتى صبح يافع الجسم غير أنه فقير وكان ذلك وقت الصيف ولما جاء وقت الشتاء اشتدت بها الحاجة وأرسلت إلى زوجها الأول تطلب منه لبناً فرد عليها بقوله الذي هو المثل السابق «الصيف ضيعت اللب». فهذا المثل يصور الحياة العربية التي اعتمدت على رعي الأغنام، وأن اللب من الأطعمة النفيسة لا يملكها إلا إنسان ثري، وأنه كان من عادات نساء العرب طلب الطلاق، وأن الأخذ بالتأثر وعدم العفو من العادات المشهورة لديهم.

- ديوان العرب: إن الأمثال ديوان العرب كما كان الشعر ديوانهم فكثير من الأمثال يذكر ما قد نسي من العادات والتقاليد إذ إن الكثير منها (وخاصة الأمثال ذات القصص والحكايات) تحتوي على العادات التي قد لا يعرفها الأجيال الحاضرة فالمثل: «خلا لك الجو فيضي واصفري» قاله طرفة بن العبد الشاعر الجاهلي المعروف، حيث كان مع عمه في سفر وهو صبي فنزلاً على الماء وذهب طرفة يصطاد القنابرة بفخ كان معه، فلم يصد شيئاً. فلما بدأوا الرحيل رأى القنابرة قد كثرت يلتقطن ما نثر من الحب (مقبول وآخرون، ١٤٢٥هـ، ١٧-١٧٣). فهذا المثل يوحي ما في حياة العرب من

العادات والتقاليد التي قد لا يعرفها الأجيال المعاصرة.

- لون أدبي متميز: إن الأمثال تتميز بميزة غير موجودة في بقية أنواع فنون الأدب الشفاهي، وهي أنها تبقى على صورة قيل فيها، فالأمثال التي في صيغة التأنيث أو التذكير أو في صيغة التعريف أو التي في صيغة الإفراد أو التثنية أو الجمع لا تغير سواء استعملت للإناث أو الذكور أو المفرد أو الجمع وغيرها.
- شيوعها بغير شروط: الأمثال تنتشر وتشيع بدون أن يكون هناك شروط تكفل لها البقاء على الحتم والالتزام، فإن شيوع أي مثل لا يأتي بإرادة قائله وإنما بإلماس الحاجة إلى تكراره ارتجالاً بغير روية ولا اتفاق. فكثير من الأقوال تسقط مع بلاغتها لأنها لا تخطر على البال في أهم المناسبات وترى أقوالاً أخرى مع بساطتها شائعة ومشهورة لأنها تلقي تقبلاً واستعمالاً لدى العامة.
- عدم حصرها في طبقة معينة: إن الأمثال لا تمثل عقلية طبقة معينة وإنما هي تمثل عقلية الأمة جميعاً، لأنها تصدر من أي إنسان عاقل بخلاف الحكمة التي لا تصدر إلا عن مفكر أو حكيم. ومن الملحوظ في جميع الأمثال السائرة أنها تجمع بين السهولة والبساطة ودواعي الشعور المشترك بين العدد الأكبر من جملة الطوائف والطبقات، وأن الحكم بالمصادفة فيها أقوى من الحكم المجرب المختبر.
- للأمثال السائرة العربية رواد وأبطال: كثير من الأمثال العربية يتركز حول أشياء وشخصيات عرفوا بصفات خاصة واتخذهم الناس مضارب الأمثال كما في الأمثال: أبخل من مارد، وأبلغ من قس، وأجود من حاتم، وبعض الأمثال مأخوذة من نبات وحيوانات مثل: أعقد من ذنب الضب. وبعضها الآخر من حياتهم الحربية كقولهم: أفوق من سهم، واعط القوس بأريها. وبعضها نسب القول فيها إلى البهائم تخيلاً في قصص أريد بها نصح وتوجيه كما في الأمثال الفرضية الخيالية.
- الأمثال السائرة: المثل قول سائر، يسير من جيل إلى آخر بلفظه وبمعناه، ولذلك يقال لمن جاء بالمثل في كلامه إنه «ضرب المثل» أي جعله يسير في البلاد

## الخاتمة

من خلال الجولة السابقة استطاعت المقالة أن تكشف ستار عن مفاهيم مختلفة لكلمة «المثل» من النواحي اللغوية والاصطلاحية، وأن الكلمة تستعمل لدلوات ثلاث؛ المثل الخرافي والمثل القرآني والمثل السائر، ثم تتركز الدراسة على مفاهيم المثل السائر والتي منها أنه عبارة مميزة موجزة مفعمة بالحكمة والعبرة والخبرة والتجربة والحنكة، وأنه يختلف عن كثير من العبارات والمصطلحات العربية التي تبدو من نظرة عاجلة غير فاحصة أنها والمثل السائر سيان، وذلك مثل الحكمة، والتشبيه، والمجاز وغيره، وانتهى الأمر إلى أن الأمثال السائرة أقرب من حيث المفهوم والاستعمال إلى ما يطلق عليه في البلاغة المصطلح «المجاز المركب» أو «الاستعارة التمثيلية»، وأخيرا تناولت عددا من الخصائص والمميزات التي تميز بها المثل السائر عن غيره من العبارات والتراكيب. ومن النتائج التي توصلت إليها المقالة أنه لا يسمى من الكلام مثلا سائرا إلا ما كان سائرا بين الناس، وأن بين المثل والحكمة والتشبيه والمجاز تشابه من حيث المفهوم والاستعمال إلا ان للمثل السائر خصائص ومميزات تفرد به، وأن المثل السائر من المجاز المركب المسمى بالاستعارة التمثيلية. وأخيرا يقترح الباحث ضرورة الاهتمام بدراسة كلمة المثل بجميع أنواعها، وذلك لما لهذه الكلمة من الأهمية في التعبيرات القرآنية إذ إنها تكررت بمشتقاتها فيما يزيد على مائة وثلاث مرات في الأماكن المختلفة.

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## PEDOMAN UMUM

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2. Naskah diketik dengan font: Goudy old style, ukuran 12 pts, 1.5 spasi, pada kertas A4 sepanjang maksimum 25 halaman. Berkas (file) dibuat dengan Microsoft Word (ekstensi RTF).
3. Judul disajikan secara ringkas, informatif dan tidak lebih dari 14 kata (Font: Goudy old style 16 capital bold, paragraph rata tengah).
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12. Daftar Pustaka disusun diurutkan secara alfabetis dan kronologis.

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