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Mohammad Syairozi Dimyathi and Ahmad Satori

AL-MUWAZANAT AL-ADABIYYAH FI MUALFAT ADAM ABDULLAH AL-ILORI (DIRASAH TAHLILIYYAH NAQDIYYAH)
Khalil Mohammad Usman Gbodofu

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUNAN KALIJAGA'S DA'WAH STRATEGY IN *SULUK LINGLUNG* AND ITS IMPLICATION TO INDONESIAN RADICALISM MOVEMENT

Mohammad Muslih, Abdul Rohman, Ahmad, and Ahmad Saifullah, ...1

DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11672

FAMILY-BASED CORRUPTION PREVENTION THROUGH PESANTREN VALUES

Samsul Arifin, Mokhammad Baharun, and Rahmat Saputra,.....21

DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11657

THE VISUAL ANALYSIS OF MUSLIMAH CLOTHING STYLE IN JAVA (15-20 TH CENTURY)

Pingki Indrianti, Oki Kurniawan, and Faridah Hj. Hassan, ...41

DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11709

CHARACTER EDUCATION VALUES IN JAVANESE LITERATURE

Umi Masfiah, Darweni, Zakiyah, Umi Muzayanah, and Tauseef Ahmad Parray, ...65

DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11455

RELIGION AND MALAY-DAYAK IDENTITY RIVALRY IN WEST KALIMANTAN
Yusriadi, Ismail Ruslan, Nunik Hasriyanti, Mustolehudin, Chong Shin, ...85
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11449

GUS DUR'S MULTICULTURAL DA'WAH AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MODERN SOCIETY
A. Fikri Amiruddin Ihsani, Novi Febriyanti, and Abdan Syakuuroo S.K, 103
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11642

SYMBOLIC MEANING ANALYSIS OF *KESANDINGAN* RITUAL IN PROBOLINGGO
Nurhadi, Faisol, Faisal Mahmoud Adam Ibrahim, ...123
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.10545

INTERPRETING *RUH* AS AN ECOLOGICAL SPIRITUALITY IN RELATION TO ISLAM AND JAVA MYSTICISM
Ubaidillah 139
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.10268

ISLAMIC VALUES BEHIND THE RITUAL OF A COW HEAD BURIAL IN *GREBEG SURO*
Penny Respati Yurisa, Rika Fu'aturosida, Yusuf Ratu Agung, and Ulfah Muhayani, ...157
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.10576

مظاهر الازدهار الحضاري الإسلامي في إندونيسيا في أوائل القرن الحادي والعشرين
MADHAHIR AL-IZDIHAR AL-HADHARI AL-ISLAMIY FI INDONESIA FI AWA'IL AL-QARN AL-HADI WA AL-'ISRIN
Mohammad Syairozi Dimyathi and Ahmad Satori, ...173
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.11910

الموازنات الأدبية فى مؤلفات آدم عبد الله الإلوري (دراسة تحليلية نقدية)
AL-MUWAZANAT AL-ADABIYYAH FI MUALFAT ADAM ABDULLAH AL-ILORI (DIRASAH TAHLILIYYAH NAQDIYYAH)
Khalil Mohammad Usman Gbodofu, ...199
DOI: 10.18860/eh.v23i1.10527

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.18860/eh.v23i1.11672

SUNAN KALIJAGA'S DA'WAH STRATEGY IN *SULUK LINGLUNG* AND ITS IMPLICATION TO INDONESIAN RADICALISM MOVEMENT

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Abstract

Sunan Kalijaga was known as a creative da'i in spreading da'wah. One of the media for his da'wah is a literary work entitled Suluk Linglung. In the Suluk Linglung manuscript, two da'wah strategies had been employed by Sunan Kalijaga, both of which were expected to be relevant if applied in Indonesia today, considering the many issues of radicalism. This research is a literature review. Data were collected by using documentation method through a research on Suluk Linglung. Therefore, to dissect the contents of the manuscript, the authors used qualitative research methods and Gadamer's hermeneutic approach. Finally, it suggested that Sunan Kalijaga used two da'wah strategies, Sufistic da'wah strategy and multicultural da'wah strategy. It is expected that the use of the strategies in the current da'wah can dismiss the radicalism movement. Therefore, it brings out the principle of da'wah that is gentle, friendly, and nurturing to people, or da'wah rahmatan li-l 'alamin.

Sunan Kalijaga dikenal sebagai seorang da'i yang kreatif dalam menyebarkan dakwah. Salah satu media dakwah beliau adalah melalui karya sastra yang berjudul Suluk Linglung. Dalam manuskrip Suluk Linglung tercermin dua strategi dakwah yang pernah dilakukan oleh Sunan Kalijaga, yang keduanya

itu diharapkan akan relevan jika diterapkan di Indonesia pada zaman sekarang meninjau banyak sekali isu radikalisme. Penelitian ini berjenis kajian kepustakaan. Metode pengumpulan data menggunakan metode dokumentasi melalui penelitian manuskrip Suluk Linglung. Oleh karenanya, agar dapat membedah isi manuskrip Suluk Linglung, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan menggunakan pendekatan hermeneutika Gadamer. Adapun untuk teknik analisa data menggunakan teknik analisis isi. Akhirnya, setelah melakukan penelitian lebih lanjut peneliti mendapatkan hasil bahwa dalam manuskrip Suluk Linglung, Sunan Kalijaga menggunakan dua strategi dakwah yang meliputi strategi dakwah sufistik dan strategi dakwah multikultural. Jika dua strategi dakwah tersebut diterapkan pada zaman sekarang, maka diharapkan akan berimplikasi terhadap gerakan radikalisme yakni menepis gerakan radikalisme. Oleh karena itu, akan memunculkan prinsip dakwah yang lembut, ramah, dan mengayomi kepada mad'u atau dakwah rahmatan li-l 'alamin.

***Keywords**: da'wah strategy; radicalism; Suluk Linglung; Sunan Kalijaga*

Introduction

Today, issues of radicalism from groups that claim to be ISIS and al-Qaeda, known for global radicalism networks, spread widely around Indonesia. The emergence of the two groups follows the changes in the social and political order, coupled with Arabs from Hadramaut. Their arrival helps change the constellation of Muslims in Indonesia. The ideologies they bring from their home regions tend to be tough and intolerant of groups with different beliefs. The radicalism they bring derives from Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab, the founder of the Wahabi sect which is now the official ideology of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Asrori, 2015).

The radicalism movement contradicts the way Islam first entered Indonesia peacefully as it was done by Wali Sanga without disturbing and destroying the customs and beliefs of the people back then. Wali Sanga's Islamic teachings were conveyed simply and easily through a cultural approach by blending them with the traditions and beliefs of the local population (assimilation-syncretization) (Sunyoto, 2016). The implementation of such da'wah took quite sometimes, but it was peaceful.

One of the members of Wali Sanga known as a *waliyullah* (lover of Allah) and a creative and innovative *da'i* is Sunan Kalijaga. In da'wah he did various methods, from being a puppeteer, composer of *Tembang*, traveling storyteller, mask dancer, designer of agricultural tools, advisor to the king,

the spiritual protector of regional heads, and a spiritual teacher of *thariqah* Syathariyyah and *thariqah* Akmaliyah (Sunyoto, 2016). Islam was massively spread throughout the island of Java peacefully at that time.

One of the *da'wah* media of Sunan Kalijaga is literary work, such as *Suluk Linglung*. *Suluk Linglung* contains several stories of his spiritual journey, searching for genuine truth. In this *suluk*, the pen name of Sunan Kalijaga is Syekh Melaya (Hadinata 2015). The researcher finds two points that reflect Sunan Kalijaga's da'wah strategy which may be appropriate to prevent the current radicalism. Therefore, this paper will analyze the contents of the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript related to the da'wah strategy of Sunan Kalijaga and its implications for the radicalism movement in Indonesia.

Method

This research is a literature review with a qualitative methodology. It employed Gadamer's hermeneutic approach, an attempt to fuse the past text with the present horizon of the reader to produce new meanings from past texts to be relevant to the present context (Gadamer, 2003).

The data are collected through documentation of the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript and related books and articles. Because this study refers to the interpretation of the text content of a manuscript, the authors use content analysis techniques, which cannot be separated from the interpretation of a work (Stempel, 1983).

The Description of *Suluk Linglung*

Suluk Linglung is one of Sunan Kalijaga's literary works which is a transliteration of the ancient book inherited from the direct descendants of Sunan Kalijaga, R. Ng. Noto Soebroto (13th descendant) to Mrs. R. Ay. Supratini Mursidi (14th descendant), both of whom are Kadilangu elders, Demak. This ancient book was written in 1806 Caka/1884 AD based on *candrasengkala 'ngrasa sirna sarira aji'*. It is a transliteration of the ancient Javanese Pegon Arabic script by the descendant of Sunan Kalijaga named Imam Anom, a poet from the Surakarta palace. *Suluk Linglung* is derived from an excerpt of *Kitab Duryat* written on a paper made of animal skin fibers (Kalijaga 1993). Even though *Suluk Linglung* was the writing of Imam Anom, it must be the original work of Sunan Kalijaga because it excerpts from *Kitab Duryat*.

The *Suluk Linglung* manuscript has several parts: (1) Al-Fatihah (Opening), (2) Bhramara ngisep sari (Pupuh Dhandhanggula): Honey Sucking Beetle, (3)

Kasmaran Branta (Pupuh Asmaradana): Missing Affection, (4)) Pupuh Durma: Pupuh Durma, (5) The Prophet Khidir (Pupuh Dhandhanggula): The Prophet Khidir, (6) Pupuh Kinanthi: Pupuh Kinanthi, (7) Pupuh Dhandhanggula: Pupuh Dhandhanggula (Kalijaga, 1993).

Sunan Kalijaga's Da'wah Strategy in *Suluk Linglung*

Da'wah strategy is what is needed to achieve da'wah goals. According to Zuhdi, da'wah strategy can be interpreted as a method, tactic, or maneuver used in da'wah activities (Zuhdi, 2016). Al-Bayanuni (quoted by Ali Aziz) suggests that da'wah strategy is the decisions and basics of planning designed to smooth da'wah activities (Aziz, 2016). In communication activities, the strategy is defined as planning and management to achieve goals (Efendi, 1993). The essence of da'wah strategy is the designs and provisions to use as tactics to accelerate the achievement of reaching goals.

Sunan Kalijaga applied two kinds of da'wah strategies, namely the sufistic and multicultural da'wah strategy. Both strategies are reflected in ilustrations built by Sunan Kalijaga in *Suluk Linglung* by narratives of its spiritual journey. As explained in the introduction of this paper, one of the Sunan Kalijaga's *da'wah* media is a literary work such as *Tembang*.

Sufistic Da'wah Strategy

Sufistic da'wah is derived from the words 'da'wah' and '*shufi*'. Sufistic da'wah is a da'wah movement through the Sufism/*Shufi* approach. Scholars have various opinions regarding the meaning of Sufism and *Shufi*. Etymologically, according to Amin al-Kurdiy, the word Sufism is taken from the word *Shufa'* (clean, clear) and *Shufi* refers to the person whose heart is clean/clear from defilements and full of kindness (Al-Kurdiy, 1995). 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani argues that *Shufi* is taken from Arabic, namely *Shaf* which means purely clean. The title of *Shufi* is given to those whose hearts and souls are pure and clean, so they are illuminated with the light of *ma'rifah* and *tauhid* (Al-Jilaniy, 1993). Their hearts are clean from despicable qualities and full of praiseworthy qualities (Al-Jilaniy, 1997). A different opinion is expressed by Abdul Qadir Isa that the word Sufism is related to the word *al-Shuf* (fleece) because Sufi's heart is always with Allah like fleece that is prepared and because of their sense of trust in Allah Swt (Isa, 2007). Even though there is a slight difference in meaning, the terms of Sufism and Sufi are the same, it shows someone who has a clear heart and good moral.

According to Abdul Qadir Isa, Sufism is a science that discusses the purity of the soul, moral cleansing, and physical and spiritual processing to obtain eternal happiness, or it is the training of the soul through worship in God (Isa, 2007). According to Abu Bakr Syatha, Sufism is a science to know the conditions of the heart and its characteristics, both despicable and praiseworthy, the fruit of Sufism, namely the cleansing of the heart from the world and the adornment of the heart with a witness to Allah (*musyahadah*), and it is obligatory to study science (Syatha, n.d.).

Sufistic da'wah refers to the strategies, methods, and efforts to form a complete human being by a *murshid* to his students consistently, measurably, and in control. The emphasis is on a spiritual approach to form praiseworthy morals, aiming to obey Allah (getting closer to Allah) and get his good pleasure (Zainab, 2008). This da'wah strategy was carried out by Sunan Kalijaga as contained in *Suluk Linglung,* conveyed through the stories of his spiritual journey.

In *Suluk Linglung*, Sunan Kalijaga used tasawuf and *thariqah's* doctrinal of Sunan Bonang and Prophet Khidir As, ideas that didnt't mean it was not what Sunan Kalijaga taught. Sunan Kalijaga was indeed famous for his teachings of the *thariqah,* namely the Akmaliyah of Syekh Siti Jenar, where the lineage path of the line reached Sayyidina Abu Bakar al-Shiddiq Ra, and the Syathariyah of Sunan Bonang where the lineage reached Sayyidina Ali ibn Abi Thalib Ka, (Sunyoto, 2016). Besides, Sunan Kalijaga had also studied with Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Sunan Gunung Jati, Shaykh Dara Petak, Syekh Syamsuddin al-Tabrizi, and Prophet Khidir As (Khaelany, 2014). What was presented in *Suluk Linglung* was from several narratives although not written directly by Sunan Kalijaga, yet it can also be said to be a teaching from him based on lineage (Arabic: *sanad*) although the *thariqah* pedigree was brought by him from his teachers.

This opinion also refers to the Mulyati's view in his book, that there is a family of *thariqah* like *mursyid* (teacher) of *thariqah*, disciple and follower of *thariqah*, and *ribath* (*zawiyah*) as the place for *riyadlah*, books, systems, and methods of *dhikr*. In addition, there is a religious ceremony in it like a *baiat*, *ijazah* or *khirqah*, pedigree, drills, *dzikir*, *talqin*, a testament that is given and rendered to his disciples by a sheikh *thariqah* (Mulyati 2004).

Thariqah's lessons by Sunan Kalijaga in spiritual deep, *mujahadah*, *muraqabah*, and *musyahadah* are pruriously covered in private (*sirri*) and open. A private lesson are given to the students as a learning process in *thariqah*. Meanwhile, the lesson is done by esoteric expose from symbolic narratives in

performance of Wayang, so it is a special charm for people to enjoy performance of Wayang by Sunan Kalijaga (Sunyoto 2016). In addition to the teachings of his *thariqah*, he used several literary works, and the famous ones were *Serat Dewa Ruci*, *Suluk Linglung*, and *Syair Tembang Ilir-ilir* (Khaelany, 2014). All are the styles of the Sufism *da'wah* performed particularly and generally by Sunan Kalijaga and Wali Sanga.

The example of this *da'wah* strategy is written in the 3rd verse, stanza I Dhandanggula. It explains the struggle of Sunan Kalijaga to always guard his heart against the temptation of lust. His heart is always fighting against his lust. The stanza reads as follows:

> *Ling lang ling lung sinambi angabdi/ saking datan amawi sabala/ kabeka dene nepsune/ marmanya datan kerup/ dennya amrih wekasih urip/ dadya napsu ing obat/ kabanjur kalantur/ eca dhahar lawan nendra/ saking tyas awon perang lan nepsu neki/ semende kersaning Hyang//* (Kalijaga, 1993)
>
> "*Ling lang ling lung* (indecisive heart, confused mind) is still devoted, even though without anyone to help, always tempted by his lust, because he is unable to overcome it, various attempts are made to end his life, be able to overcome/ treat his nose, do not fall asleep, satisfied to eat and sleep, because his heart lost the war with his lust, only Allah is a place to surrender."

In the realm of Sufism, the term *tazkiyah al-nafs* is known, which means to cleanse the heart of all despicable qualities which are impure *ma'nawi*, and adorn oneself with praiseworthy qualities (Al-Kurdiy, 1995). According to Abu al-Hasan al-Syadzily, controlling lust and the presence of the heart when worshiping is indeed difficult when we observe obedience, dhikr, and read the Qur'an. To combat lust, we must know its every move, contain it with fear of Allah every time it appears, and control it by relying on Allah wherever we are (Al-Syadziliy, 2008). These practices were carried out by Sunan Kalijaga as in *Suluk Linglung* and what he taught to his disciples.

On the other hand, al-Ghazzaly had other solutions to train lust as contained in *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, which is staying away from worldly things that are the pleasure of lust. Because with that our hearts will be motivated to isolate ourselves from human and be busy with *dhikr* and meditation (Al-Ghazzaliy, n.d.). It is what Sunan Kalijaga presumably applied on the advice of Sunan Bonang, his teacher, when doing *uzlah* and meditating on the riverbank, as in stanza II Asmaradhana verses 4th and 5th, as follows:

> *Anulya kinen angalih/ pitekur ing kali jaga/ marih karan jejuluke/ sawarsa tan kena nendra/ utawi yen dahara/ tinilar ing Mekah sampun/ dhumateng Sinuhun Benang//*

Nyata wus jangkep sawarsi/ Syeh Melaya tinilikan/ pinanggih pitekur bae/ Jeng Sunan Benang ngandika/ Eh Jebeng luwarana/ jenenga wali sireku/ panutup panatagama// (Kalijaga, 1993)

"Then ordered to move, meditate (contemplating) on the banks of the river which later changed to his nickname (Kalijaga=guarding the river), one year he was not allowed to sleep or eat, then left to Mecca, by Sunan Bonang ... It was already a year, Syeh Melaya looked , when he was still in contemplation, Kanjeng Sunan Benang said, Eh Jebeng (child), please stop your *tafakur*, you will be called the Wali, the one who participates in spreading religion."

Another example of the teachings of Sunan Kalijaga's tasawuf in Suluk Linglung is that he described through Prophet Khidir's lessons about the essence and purpose of pray movement. It is reflected in stanza V Kinanthi verses 23rd to 25th, as follows:

Den kawang-wang maring neqdu/ ghoib aneng sira iki/ pagene ya ngadeg sira/ sedakep marwasa wening/ sedhakep tunggal kahanan/ tunggal spari polah neki//

Pangucap nunggal sireku/ wedale rukuk tumuli/ kerasa duka lan cipta/ tumetes banyu kang wening/ ning urip ruh sekalirnya/ rahsa iman saderahi//

Kang saderah ananipun/ pegene sujud neng bumi/ paran dadi duk wahuya/ cahya ingkang sasmitaning/ ya iku semuna rupa/ semurupeku sejati//(Kalijaga 1993)

"According to the old rules, the invisible you felt at that moment, were you not up right too? Folding (*sedekap*) made the heart clear, folding brought concentration together, Got your moves together."

"You also united your words, finally you bowed to submit to the one who created you, felt sad because you were embarrassed that it created arises, your clear tears would come out, so that all your spiritual life could be calm, you could absorb the secret of faith."

"After feeling all that, why you had to bow down to earth? The starting point of doing prostration started from the existence, the light that was a sign of the importance of prostration, namely feeling faced with God's form even though we could not see the real form, and believe that Allah saw all forms of our movement (lesson about Ihsan)."

With this mental purification effort, positive things will be obtained. After the heart is pure, the heart will be decorated with commendable morals in the form of patience, *tawakal*, honesty, *tawadlu*, *qana'ah*, and so on (Ma'arif, 2015). These teachings are referred to in the treasures of Sufism with the term '*thariqah*'. *Thariqah* is the life journey of a being to the Creator. And, the effort in taking that path is called Suluk. The law carried out must be on a particular path (Hamka, 2016), so they do not fall behind and stray from the goal, namely Allah.

Through the sufistic *da'wah* strategy, Sunan Kalijaga and Wali Sanga can easily spread Islam in Java which is oriented towards moral values/*akhlaq*

al-karimah (Rubaidi, 2019). In other words, it was dominant in Sufism (Shihab, 2004) in all things such as teaching, education, art, culture, and other social activities (Tajuddin, 2014). Theoretically and factually, the missionary efforts that are assimilative and syncretic have never been found in the da'wah of fiqh scholars with their various schools of thought. Sufi scholars are quite flexible, open, and adaptive in dealing with teachings other than Islam (Sunyoto, 2016). The sufistic da'wah strategy is considered compatible when applied in Indonesia from the ancient times until now.

Multicultural Da'wah Strategy

An understanding of multicultural da'wah departs from the root word multicultural. Multicultural comes from the words "multi" and "cultural". "Multi" means many, varied, various, while "culture" means customs. So, multiculturalism is the life of a diverse society regarding values, systems, culture, habits, and mindsets (Huda, 2016). Diversity in people's lives is often referred to by different terms. There are at least three terms to express a society consisting of different cultures, races, religions, and cultures, which are plurality, diversity, and multiculturalism (Huda, 2016). Multiculturalism builds social awareness about the diversity of cultures within a community life. This awareness has an ethical dimension by demanding respect, appreciation, attention, and recognition of the existing diversity (Nawawi, 2012). Everything refers to the awareness o races, cultures, and traditions. Indonesia is a clear example of a country with its diversity, including religion, race, culture, custom, language, etc.

Qur'an explains about the will of Allah SWT, to create all creatures in pairs and tribes, as in the verse Al Hujurat 13:

> "People, actually We created you from the male and female types and We also made you nations and tribes so that you know each other. And indeed the noblest person in the sight of Allah is the most devouted among you. Allah is *al-'Alim* and *al-Khabir*."

If da'wah is in a multicultural society, its principles need to be known to deliver da'wah messages effectively and efficiently. The principles of multicultural da'wah include: (1) the principle of *tawhid*; (2) the principle of *bil hikmah* (wisdom); (3) the principle of *bil mau'izhah al-hasanah* (good speech); (4) the principle of *wa jaadilhum billati hiya ahsan* (arguing in the most beautiful/ precise and accurate way); (5) the principle of universality; (6) the principle of rationality; (7) the principle of *yatlu 'alaihim ayatih* (reciting); (8) the principle of *wa yuzakkihim wa yu'allimuhum al-Kitab wa al-hikmah* (purification of the soul

with the teaching of the Qur'an and wisdom); (9) the principle of upholding ethics based on cultural diversity (Aripudin, 2012). These principles will be a determining factor for the success of multicultural da'wah and will be very good if applied in Indonesia, considering that Indonesia is a heterogeneous country.

Sunan Kalijaga is an excellent example of a *da'i* who carries out a multicultural *da'wah* strategy. When Islam first came to Indonesia, it used a cultural approach and local traditions. He simply inserted Islamic values into Javanese culture and traditions. Like other Wali Sanga members, Sunan Kalijaga in *da'wah* always pays attention to the sustainability of existing local wisdom such as culture and tradition. Sunan Kalijaga's multicultural *da'wah* efforts were carried out through assimilation and syncretization of local culture with Islamic teachings. It is a brilliant step that is implemented simply. In the modern world, this effort is called a model of development from within (Ashoumi, 2018). The effort that Sunan Kalijaga made by absorbing elements of local culture and traditions but still relying on Islamic principles was a tremendous breakthrough.

The multicultural *da'wah* movement of Sunan Kalijaga is of course the same as what other Wali Sanga members did. The Wali Sanga *da'wah* movement in conveying Islamic teachings to the community includes many aspects, such as art, puppetry, education, and Sufism (Gaus & Sahrasad, 2019). The approach used is socio-cultural-religious through the assimilation and syncretization of local cultural customs and traditions that have existed for a long time (Sunyoto, 2016). Slowly, the saints incorporated Islamic teachings into Javanese culture so that without realizing it, the pre-Islamic culture slowly changed to Islamic culture (Chodjim, 2014). It takes tenacity and a long time to implement such *da'wah*, but it occurs peacefully.

One of the most prominent traditions that have been preserved up to now is the ceremony to save people who have died on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 30th, 40th, 100th, 1000th day. Sunan Kalijaga in *Suluk Linglung* describes the journey of a person's death on these days. As in stanza V Kinanthi verses 61st to 66th:

> Johar awal mayit iku/ sasmita sirna ananing/ ya iku kang pati padha/ mangkono yen wis mati/ donya urip ing akhirat/ telung dina perkara dadi//
> Saking bapa saking babu/ Ba pangeran tunggal katri/ yeku sasmita telung dina/ kang titipan pitung ari/ mulih iku kang titipan/ titipan kadi ing nguni//
> Pan taukhid makriatpun/ titipan sadasa katri/ iya iku kang titipan/ semune kang pitung ari/ yen nangis metokken toya/ sing cipta netra yekurip//

Lir duk uninge saking nur/ king cahya pinangka neki/ iku semunu karuna/ dene mengku iki sami/ sira mati sun kelangan/ mati sirna ngawandesi//
Kadi pundi samonipun/ sami wrasta ing sakehing/ Allah Muhammad pan tunggal/ nyatus tunggal wujud neki/ sasmita oleh ing cahya/ cahyane Muhammad jati//
Tunggal karo yen manuwun/ ruh jasad ilang sajroning/ pangayune sewu dino/ nora ana ingkang ken/ olihe sampun sampurna/ sampurna kaya duk uning// (Kalijaga, 1993)
"Johar's early death (pearl of early death) signals this loss of self. Everything that is created will die. After all meet death in the world, they will change to live in the afterlife. Approximately three days the life change occurred."
"Humans were originally born from the existence of a father, mother, and God the Creator. One birth comes from three birth origins. Yes, that's the cue of the three days. After being entrusted for seven days, it is returned to the one who entrusted it (who gave the mandate). The deposit must be as usual."
"Isn't monotheism a means of meaning? The 30-day deposit also includes deposits, which are similar to seven days. When you cry, you will cry tears because you regret it while you are still alive."
"As we remember during life it came from nur. Which light manifests you. It is what causes prolonged sadness and regret. No exception anyone will feel it all, as you die, I feel lost. Die lost coincided with the 40th day of death."
"How can we more accurately describe the equality of fellow living beings as a whole? Allah and Muhammad each number one. One hundred can be described as one form. As compared to the existence of light, which comes from the real light of Muhammad."
"It's the same when you ask for something. The souls of the bodies were lost in them in the presence of the Giver of God. Right on the 1000th day, nothing was left. The return to God is already in a perfect state. Perfect as it was first created."

The above verses are a review of Sunan Kalijaga regarding the journey of the soul of a person who has died to return to God in a perfect state from the first day of death to the 1000th day after death. In Javanese cultural treasures, death is considered an event of returning the spirit to its origin. Or in a Javanese proverb called *sangkan paraning dumadi* (Karim, 2017; Layungkuning, 2013), the search for Javanese people about the origin of life and where to return. It is what Sunan Kalijaga is trying to explain in the above verses. Through this description, it becomes clearer that Sunan Kalijaga in *da'wah* also through cultural and traditional approaches.

The salvation ceremony for someone's death can be a form of multicultural *da'wah* strategy because it is a combination of several cultural and religious traditions. It is related to the arrival of the Champa residents. There was a migration of Champa residents who fled to Indonesia during the period

between 1446-1447 AD in historical records. During this period, it was known as the early days of Wali Sanga when it carried out massive Islamization in Nusantara (Sunyoto 2016). What Sunan Ampel and Raja Pandhita have done is proof of the strong influence of the Champa Muslim tradition on Islamic society in Java.

H.J. De Graaf notes that in the 15th and 16th centuries traders from the southern China region and the present-day Vietnamese coast (Champa), were increasingly active in Java and elsewhere in Nusantara. That means, the spreaders of Islam from Champa in Java in the 15th and 16th centuries AD brought the influence of religious customs and traditions to people in Java and other places in Nusantara. The greatest influence of Champa refugees in Indonesia is the assimilation of Champa culture into socio-religious traditions in Nusantara such as the custom to commemorate a person's death on the 3rd, 7th, 40th, 100th, 1000th day that is not known during the Majapahit era. The tradition of *kenduri*, *talqin* the dead, the typical *Wednesday wekasan* or *arba'a akhir tradition*, *tabarrukan* at the wali's grave, praising the glory of Ahlul Bait were parts of the Champa religious traditions brought to Nusantara (Sunyoto, 2016).

The multicultural *da'wah* process performed by Sunan Kalijaga and other Wali Sanga members, such as salvation or ceremony, shows that Islamic *da'wah* in Wali Sanga era entered the customs related to new religious traditions, through the influence of Islam Champa. It experienced a process of assimilation to replace religious traditions through a process of assimilation with the Hindu-Buddhist tradition called *Sradha*, for example, the ceremony of *meruwat* someone's spirit after twelve years of death. It also generated a new Islamic tradition called *Nyradha* or *Nyadran*, which is the ceremony to send prayers to the spirits of the dead every year which partly means thanking God for giving fertility in agricultural business by offering offerings to *Sri-Sadhana* (Sunyoto, 2016).

There is also an opinion regarding the origins of the 'salvation/*selamatan*' tradition from Kerala, South India. Woorward in his book said that in Kerala, India, a ceremony was also carried out which included the giving of a ritual meal, offering food that was then distributed to all male members. In Java, this ritual is called *slametan* and in *Kerala* it is called *nercha*. Both serve similar forms of food. Rice flour pancakes (Javanese, apem; Madurese., appam) are served and distributed in the spirit's name who protects the community (Woodward, 1999).

The tradition of the funeral ceremony from the 1st to the 1000th day is the result of a multicultural *da'wah* strategy carried out by Sunan Kalijaga and other members of Wali Sanga, which combines the Islamic religious traditions of Champa with Hindu-Buddhist, also with the traditions of the Kerala people.

The Implication of Sunan Kalijaga's Da'wah Strategy on the Radicalism Movement

Epistemologically, the word 'radical' comes from the Latin 'radix', 'radicis', which means root, source, and origin. It has an extreme, comprehensive, fanatical, revolutionary, ultra, and fundamental meaning (Baidhowi, 2017). Meanwhile, radicalism in the religious sphere refers to religious 'motive' activities to carry out a total overhaul of the social and political order through violence (Rubaidi, 2007). So, this group will do a frontal way if there are religious practices which they consider not following the main teachings of Islam based on their understanding.

The ideology used by Islamic groups, categorized as 'radical' towards religious texts, makes them feel they are the truest group in religion (Sumbullah 2010). It leads to a narrow understanding of religion by contrasting two paradoxical, right-wrong, Islam-infidel, and heaven-hell values. Because for radical groups, religion is only related to the aspects of right-wrong, halal-haram, and transcendent matters in religion (Rosidi, 2013). Therefore, people who try to tinker with their religious concepts perceive them as a form of intellectual 'coziness' (Husaini & Hidayat, 2002).

There is a typological classification, based on the history of radical Islamic groups in the Middle East. It is pre-modern represented by the Wahabi movement and contemporary represented by the Ikhwanul Muslimun (IM) with al-Bana, Qutb, and Mawdudi who talk more about the depravity of modernity, so it needs to be rejected. The second typology is classical radicalism pioneered by the more extreme Khawarij group with the motto 'there is no law, except Allah's law' (Azra, 1996). This history proves that radical Islamic ideology experiences relay from time to time even though it continues with a different face.

The entry of radical Islamic groups began with changes in the social and political order, especially after the arrival of young Arabs from Hadramaut, Yemen to Indonesia who brought a new ideology to their homeland adopted from Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab or Wahabi which is currently an ideology of the official government of Saudi Arabia. They help change the constellation

of muslims in Indonesia. The new ideology brought was more violent and intolerant (Asrori, 2015). Then, it was followed by groups that claim to be ISIS and al-Qaeda, both of which are major global radicalism groups.

Radicalism doesn't just appear. According to Azyumardi Azra (in Widyaningsih et al., 2017), radicalism comes from several things, which include:

a. Literal religious understanding, fragments of the verses of the Qur'an;
b. Misperceptions in understanding the history of Muslim are combined with excessive idealism towards Muslim at certain times;
c. Social, economic, and political deprivation that has not been resolved in the community;
d. Not yet resolved social conflicts related to intra and inter-religious issues during the reform period.

It is necessary to find a way out to stem this ideology with the rampant issue of radicalism. The researchers consider Sunan Kalijaga's advice in *Suluk Linglung* as a solution to this problem. He suggests that a *da'i* has the character of a true scholar and according to Islamic teachings, namely a scholar who himself is like a puppet. In *Suluk Linglung*, Sunan Kalijaga describes Allah (Javanese: Hyang Sukma) as the puppeteer. Like a puppet, every movement and speech must follow the puppeteer, in other words his heart must be cleaned from lust, always fear Allah, rely on Allah's guidance, and have good manners. As reflected in stanza VI Dhandhanggula verses 34th to 36th:

> *Aja kaya mengkono ngahurip/ badan ira dipun kadi wayang/ kinudang aneng enggone/ padhange blincongipun/ ngibaratake panggungireki/ damare ditya wulan/ kelir alam suwung/ ingkang nengga-nengga cipta keboh bumi tetepe adage ringgit/ sinangga maring naggap//*
>
> *Kang ananggap aneng dalem puri/ datan den usik olah sakersa/ Hyang Premana dhedhalange/ wayang pangadekipun/ ana ngalor ngidul tuwin/ yeku ngulon lan wetan/ sliring solahipun/ pinolahaken ing dhalang/ yen lumaku linakokken kabeh iki/ libanabehken hing dhalang//*
>
> *Pangucape ngucapaken ugi/ yen kumecap ilate punika/ anutur-nuturake/ sakarsa karsanipun/ kang anonton tinoleh sami/ tinonaken ing dhalang/ kang anggap iku/ sajege mangsa weruha/ tanpa rupa kang ananggap neng jro puri/ tanpa werna Hyang Sukma//*(Kalijaga 1993)
>
> "Don't live like that. Think of your body as a puppet. Moved in place. The light of that lamp, is like the stage of your life. The light of the full moon, the screen is like a universe that is lonely and empty. Who are waiting for thought/ human creation. Banana stems are like the earth where puppets/humans live. His life is supported by those who respond."
>
> "The respondent is in the house/palace. Not being bothered by anyone can do according to his will. Hyang Premana is the mastermind/director. The

> puppet is the culprit. At times it was moved north, south, and west and east. All movements, driven by the director. When all is moved, walk. Everything is in the hands of the puppeteer."
>
> "The dialogue conveys a message too. When speaking, his verbal conveys various advices according to his will. The audience was fascinated. Directed attached to the puppeteer. As for those who think it will forever not know. Because it is formless and he is in a castle/house/palace. He is without color that he is Hyang Sukma.»

When a *da'i* can behave as suggested by Sunan Kalijaga above, he will preach wisely (*bil-hikmah*). As in *Suluk Linglung*, Sunan Kalijaga recommends that in conveying a religious teaching one look at the conditions and situations of *mad'u*. The religious teachings to be conveyed are likened to seeds, and *mad'u* are likened to land. If you are going to plant the seeds, it must be placed in suitable land so that the seeds can grow well. As with religious teachings, in preaching, one must be wise and careful in the method of delivery. A desire to be acknowledged by other people for intelligence or to feel that he has the truest opinion is not allowed. It is suggested in stanza VI Dhandhanggula verse 11, as follows:

> *Wuruk iku pan minangka wiji/ kang winuruk umpamane papan/ poma kacang lan kedhele/ yen sinebar ing watu/ yen watune datan pasiti/ kudanan kapanasan/ yekti nora thukul/ lamun sira wiceksana/ ningali ira sirnakna tingalireki/ dadya tingal sukmasa//* (Kalijaga 1993)
>
> "Teachings are like seeds. What is taught is like land. For example, beans and soybeans, which are spread on a rock. If the stone was without soil, it would not grow in the rain and it was hot. But if you are wise. Seeing you destroys your eyes! Make it a sight of soul and taste.

Sunan Kalijaga also teaches us that we must always maintain good manners and politeness once we preach because it is a religious recommendation. Automatically in da'wah, one must also obey the religious rules and customs within the society. Do not play da'wah arbitrarily regardless of the existing rules, both religious and customary rules. Stanza II Asmaradhana verse 6 explains:

> *Den becik gama nireki/ agama pan tata karma/ kramat-kramate Hyang Manon/ yen sira pranata syarak/ sareh iman hidayat/ hidayat iku Hyang Agung/ agung ing nugrahanira//* (Kalijaga 1993)
>
> "Fix existing irregularities, religion is a manner, politeness is for the glory of God who knows the best, if you adhere to the syariat, as well as all the provisions of the *hidayat* faith, *hidayat* is from God the Almighty God, who is very blessed."

The *Da'wah* strategy of Sunan Kalijaga contains several efforts to face radicalism. They are: *first*, the proper and adequate extension of Islamic material; *second*, enrichment of dialogue in Islamic learning; *third*, controlling religious mentoring activities and materials; *fourth*, the introduction and application of

multicultural education (Munip, 2012). Other solutions to offer to prevent radicalism include: *first*, it is necessary to promote religious methods that prioritize spiritual deepening and as much as possible avoid violent methods in religion; *second*, it is necessary to develop a more inclusive view of dealing with differences; *third*, we need to strengthen the *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* faith by an inclusive and accommodating attitude (Nurrohman, 2010). Spiritual and multicultural education has the most vital place to contain religious radicalism.

The *da'wah* strategy of Sunan Kalijaga in *Suluk Linglung* is one of the solutions to stem radicalism. Sufistic *da'wah* strategy tends to strengthen spirituality and flexibility in *da'wah* and multicultural *da'wah* strategy emphasizes local wisdom in religion. With these *da'wah* strategies, probability to ward off the existing radicalism movement will be replaced by the principles of wise Islamic preaching (*hikmah*) and *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. All of this is the opposite of the principles and ideology of the radical groups who are tough in attitude and rigid in understanding religious teachings. Affirmed by the word of Allah SWT, in Q.S. Al-Anbiya 107: "And we did not send you (Muhammad) but to (be) a mercy for all nature."

Da'wah of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is the *da'wah* of the Prophet Muhammad, with the basic spirit of love and gentleness, by holding fast to the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet, by paying attention to the value of the balance between *hablun min-allah* and *hablun min al-nas* (Hefni, 2017; Zabidi, 2020). It tends to be dynamic because the aspects emphasized are conveying Islamic teachings based on tolerance, respect, respect, love peace, display a friendly Islam (Rubaidi, 2007). It also has broad understanding, open-minded, and strengthen feelings of brotherhood (Hamka, 2018). It is very different from radicalism, which tends to half-understand religious teachings, so it is rigid and tough in dealing with differences and diversity.

Da'wah rahmatan lil 'alamin is the principle of *da'wah* carried out by Wali Sanga in Islamizing Javanese society and Sunan Kalijaga as a member of Wali Sanga. Like Agus Sunyoto's statement in the book 'Atlas Wali Songo', "The Wali Sanga *da'wah* movement shows efforts to convey Islamic *da'wah* through peaceful methods, primarily through the principle of *mau'izhatul hasanah wa mujadalah billati hiya ahsan*, the method of *da'wah* through a good approach, smooth, and flexible in speaking (Sunyoto, 2016). Wali Sanga firmly embed the Islamic building of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* in every teachings they conveyed to the people of Java and the archipelago in general, either through education (*pesantren*), teaching, art, culture, and tradition.

Conclusion

The *da'wah* strategy of Sunan Kalijaga written in the *Suluk Linglung* manuscript includes aspects: (1) Sufistic *da'wah* strategy related to aspects of Sufism; and (2) multicultural *da'wah* strategy, which is delivering the Islamic teachings through cultural and traditional channels. Sufistic *da'wah* strategy concerns on the aspects of spirituality and flexibility in *da'wah* while multicultural *da'wah* strategy emphasizes on local wisdom. It automatically rejects radicalism movements. It is more directed to the principles of Islamic *da'wah rahmatan lil 'alamin* (bringing mercy/compassion to all nature).

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FAMILY-BASED CORRUPTION PREVENTION THROUGH PESANTREN VALUES

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Abstract

Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) has a great potential for family-based corruption prevention. This study aims to determine the values of pesantren and portraits of sakinah family personalities in the texts of "Zadu Az-Zaujayn" and "Syair Madura" in relation to corruption prevention. It uses an ethnographic-hermeneutic qualitative approach. The research concludes that the value of pesantren associated with the prevention of corruption lies in the expression "Mondhuk entar ngabdi bhen ngaji (the intention of going to pesantren is to learn and to serve)" and "Mon ngecok jerum e pondok mon mole ka romana ngecok jheren (if *you steal a needle in pesantren, you will steal a horse once you get back home)". Through the values, students are accustomed to serving people and being careful of taking others' belongings. Meanwhile, the values of sakinah family within the text are wara' (being cautious and able to self-control), zuhud (living a simple life and prioritizing others' need), and patient (being tender and dare to face difficulties); qona'ah (accepting life as it is), ridha (accepting the provisions of God); and self-presentation. This research is vital to develop to achieve sakinah families free of corruption.*

Pondok pesantren memiliki potensi besar dalam mencegah korupsi berbasis keluarga. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memaparkan nilai-nilai pesantren dan

potret kepribadian keluarga sakinah dalam teks kitab "Zadu Az-Zaujayn" dan "Syair Madura" terkait pencegahan korupsi. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif tipe etnografi-hermeneutik. Hasil penelitian: nilai-nilai pesantren yang terkait dengan pencegahan korupsi yaitu "Mondhuk entar ngabdi dan ngaji (mondok untuk mengabdi dan mengaji)". Santri juga menghindari ngecok (mencuri):"Mon ngecok jerum e pondok mon mole ka romana ngecok jheren, (kalau mencuri sebuah jarum di pondok, pulangnya akan mencuri seekor kuda)". Dengan kedua nilai tersebut, santri akan terbiasa melayani orang lain dan menjauhi mengambil hak milik orang lain. Sedang kepribadian pasangan suami-istri sakinah yaitu mampu mengendalikan diri: yaitu wara' (hati-hati dan mampu mengendalikan diri), zuhud (hidup sederhana dan lebih mementingkan kepentingan orang lain), dan sabar (lapang dada dan berani menghadapi kesulitan-kesulitan); penerimaan hidup apa adanya: qona'ah (menerima kenyataan yang ada), ridha (ketenangan hati menerima ketentuan-ketentuan dari Allah); dan presentasi diri. Penelitian ini penting untuk dikembangkan, agar tercipta keluarga sakinah yang bebas dari korupsi.

Keywords: corruption; sakinah family; pesantren values

Introduction

Pesantren should participate in preventing corruption because, according to pesantrens and Nahdhatul Ulama, it belongs to *tasharruf* or *ghulul* (betrayal of trust) that can harm people financially, morally, and socially. Some corruption elements are extremely close to property crimes, which are known for; *sariqah* (theft), *risywah* (bribe), *ghulul* (embezzlement of public property), and *hirabah* (any action of damaging public order). Corruption violates the law, and it is a form of betrayal of the people's mandate (Muzadi, 2006).

Pesantrens are also increasing every year. In 2009/2010, there are 25,785 pesantren around Indonesia (Setjitden Pendidikan Islam Kemenag RI, 2010). Also, it plays as an educational and social institution that teaches religious values *(tafaqquh fiddien).* As a social institution, it is responsible for controlling the surrounding social life, including but not limited to corruption prevention (Arifin, 2018).

Pesantren teaches almost all aspects of life (from the ethic of washing to trading). Thus, the study program is a process of immersing an absolute value. The values created daily are then popular as "the life of santri" (Wahid, 2007). Pesantren is rich in values in relation to corruption prevention, such as what lies in the expression *"Mon ngecok jerum e pondok, mon mole ka romana*

ngecok jheren" which means "if we steal a needle in pesantren, we will steal a horse when returning home". This expression teaches santri not to steal one's stuff for fear of being the real thief once back home. Almost all pesantren implement sanctions to repatriate santri who have been proven to steal (Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2019).

Pesantren also has a great potential for family-based corruption prevention as it teaches several books about a good family management. For example, Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo teaches *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* for the students who will get married. *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* is a book about reaching sakinah family by Nyai Zainiyah As'ad, Sukorejo. Sakinah family means a calm and peaceful family physically and spiritually. Families spare some evils and immoralities, including corruption (Arifin, 2019; Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2019).

Meanwhile, *Syair Madura* (Madurese Poetry) contains advice for young Madurese. It is the work of KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin, which consists of 232 lines. It was written in Ramadan around 1922 (Arifin, 1992). It emphasizes more on the description of ideal personalities in choosing a wife/husband to be. They will be manifested in everyday life and lead to sakinah family, which is safe, peaceful, orderly, neat, and diligent. The relationships with family members and neighbors are good, and all problems are well-addressed (Arifin & Zaini, 2021; Arifin et al., 2021; Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2018).

Teaching *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* and *Syair Madura* is basically a marriage counseling driven from uncommon local wisdoms. Some researches on marriage counseling have been so far about the importance and concepts of marriage counseling. No study explores the personality portraits of the wife/husband to be. Psychologically, personality, including corruption behavior, has a great influence towards a couple in making decision to choose a partner. Moreover, some corruptors have lately involved their family members. At the end of 2016, there were nine cases involving families. Some cases are committed by husband and wife, and some are by brothers and sisters (Angraeni, 2016). Therefore, studies on family-based corruption prevention are essential.

Studies on family-based corruption prevention from social traditions are prominent. So far, the dominant discourse and anti-corruption practices have experienced gaps with daily practices among societies. The discourse brought by the government and anti-corruption activists through the narrative of morality is global. Therefore, a research on local wisdom about the morality of corruption prevention and eradication is needed (Pertiwi, 2019). Besides,

narratives about spirituality and morality must be internalized into values that may lead officials to avoid corruption (Sahama et al., 2019; Zaini & Arifin, 2018).

This study aims to examine the values of pesantren associated with corruption prevention and to find out the characters of the sakinah family's personality in the texts studied by students, especially those found in *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* and *Syair Madura* related to corruption prevention. The theoretical framework of this study uses the perspective of indigenous counseling theory. Indigenous counseling presents a contextual approach (family, social, cultural, and ecological context) content (meaning, values, and beliefs) explicitly incorporated into the research design. Indigenous psychology is a scientific study of natural human behavior or thoughts that are not transported from other regions and are designed for the people. Thus, indigenous counseling advocates to examine the knowledge, skills, and beliefs that people have about themselves and examines these aspects in their natural context (Kim, 2006; Alwood, 2019).

The researchers also use pesantren-based counseling called *at-tawazun* counseling. A counseling with *at-tawazun* approach uses a balanced approach of various elements and oriented to the benefit. It helps the counselee manage anger, which always leads to bad deeds, to become *khaira ummah* who always invites good and prevents badness with great faith in God (Arifin & Munfaridah, 2018).

In addition, this study uses the perspective of marriage counseling as it deals with married couples. Marriage counseling is organized as an educational method to reduce emotional tension, to help couples solve problems, and to discover better patterns of problem-solving (Riyadi, 2013). It builds and changes the mindset, attitude, willingness, and behavior of a couple or future husband and wife. The focus of marriage counseling is to generate a system of solving premarital and marital problems.

Culture-based prevention is prominent. Collectivity has a positive predictive correlation with the tendency to avoid corruption. Thus, the collectivity of every group, as a solid moral identity, needs to develope to prevent corruption in Indonesia (Abraham et al., 2014; Arifin, 2018).

A culture and environment of corruption also produce corrupt entrepreneurs. Successful rulers in a corrupt environment will tend to be authoritarian, cunning, and communicative. They create a business model that exploits all resources (Shurkina et al., 2013). It will endanger people's

lives. When government are arrested, and the corrupt businessmen have no more connections, they no longer have a competitive advantage (Liu, 2016). Therefore, governments and civil society organizations should work together to eradicate corruption (Ngendakuriyo & Zaccour, 2017). Also, it is done through the education involving media and culture, for example through the development of storybooks and the use of information technology (Nordin et al., 2012; Nurinten & Mulyani, 2018; Pramanta et al., 2016).

Research on corruption prevention with Minangkabau and Lampung cultural approaches was carried out by Kurniawan (2019). To avoid a money politic, which is a part of corruption, people in Minangkabau have the principle of "*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah* (religious-based tradition, a religion based on the book of God"). Besides, people in Lampung uphold the moral order called *piil pesenggiri*. Both local wisdoms play as shields in preventing money politics (Kurniawan & Hermawan, 2009). The study of local wisdom to prevent corruption is also to compensate for bribery and gratification as a fair gift from the social consensus. The issue-contingent model theory states that social agreement on an issue determines how it is considered ethical or unethical. When a bribery and gratification reap a common agreement, the community will judge that unethical acts are ethical (Mapuasari & Mahmudah, 2018).

Methods

This research uses a qualitative research method for an ethnographic-hermeneutic type. An ethnographic approach is employed to assess pesantren values related to corruption prevention while hermeneutic aims to examine texts related to the personality of a married couple in the *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* and *Syair Madura* under a marriage counseling perspective. It adopt Gadamer's hermeneutics (Gadamer, 2004). The steps of this research are collecting texts and sourcebooks, making pre-interpretation, and conducting historical exposures.

Results and Discussion

The values of "Ngabdi" and the Bad Effect of "Ngecok"

The value of *ngabdi, khidmah,* or serving others is provided in the main teachings of pesantren. In serving a santri, one must perform wholeheartedly and avoid *ngecok* or stealing other people's belongings. If a santri steals one's

stuff in a pesantren, they believe they will get plagues and their lives will not be blessed (Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2018).

For pondok pesantren, serving others is a path that students must take in obtaining blessed knowledge (Abdusshomad, 2018). Pondok Sukorejo is popular with the motto "*Mondhuk entar ngabdi dan ngaji* (going to pesantren is for serving and learning)". We are willing to serve kiai, religious teachers, fellow students, and others to study religious knowledge.

According to Kiai Azaim (the scholar of pesantren), serving must be prioritized over science. It does not mean that science is less important, yet it will be easily gained through serving or devotion. Devotion will also lead to blessed and useful knowledge. According to Kiai Azaim, Pondok Sukorejo becomes a great pesantren because of the devotion of the founders; Kiai Syamsul and Kiai As'ad in serving students (Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2018, 2019). Thus, both teacher and student have similar responsibility of devotion to serve. The only difference lies in the duty and obligation. Both must have an attitude in serving. The teacher must serve the student, and the student must also serve the teacher. Even, the scholar usually called himself as *khadimul ma'had* (boarding school servants) (Hasan, 2003).

Pesantren believes that devotion to teachers will lead to the mastery knowledge. Pesantren believes that the students must be diligent in learning and devoted to the teachers to get useful knowledge and blessings. The knowledge is the dream and hope of every santri interpreted as the following:

> *Barokah* means more value than the material. *Barokah* refers to one's limited material, and it brings about kindness that prevents the owner to be insulted before God and man. *Barokah* is *jawami' al-khair* (the coffers of goodness), which is the number of favors from Allah SWT, so it brings happiness to live in the world and the hereafter .... *Barokah* in science is when a person's knowledge increases and s/he can practice it and spread it to others and bring him/her closer to Allah SWT. (Abdusshomad, 2018).

Ngabdi refers to serving others that can lead to *ta'zhim* (honor), respect, and care. For pondok pesantren, this character not only applies to students but also serves as a courtesy for teachers. *Ta'zhim* is not only seen through the physical attitude but also the inner aspects. For students, *ta'zhim* and devotion must be taken to obtain blessed knowledge.

When the students return home and become public officials, the job can be a means of worship and even deliver them to the God's pleasure and happiness in the hereafter. Thus, Kiai Afifuddin said: Good deeds should be prioritized by holders of public office, making policies that benefit people;

fighting for prosperity, welfare, and justice, creating a safe, peaceful, and conducive atmosphere to prepare for the hereafter. With mediocre rituals, without *tahajjud, dhuha,* fasting on Monday and Thursday, and holding the *Istighatsah Kubra* in a grave houses or another palace, officials can easily go to heaven and get God's blessing as long as he carries out the public mandate as well as possible. Rasulullah SAW. said, "a day of a fair leader is better than sixty years of worship." (Arifin, 2020)

This model of behavior changes, emphasizes mental testing and experience. It follows the models of character formation applied by ancient Sufi sheikhs. They tested someone who wanted to enter a congregation for three years. In the first year, the prospective student was told to serve the community. In the second year, he was told to serve God and in the final year to watch over his heart. If he passed through, he could enter the *tarekat* and deserve to use *murraqqa'ah*, a symbol of true mystics. The prospective student could serve the community well if he positioned himself as indiscriminately a public servant (Al-Hujwiri, 2003).

Ngabdi is similar to the concept of unconditional positive regard in person-centered counseling. Unconditional positive regard is also referred to as acceptance, respect, or prizing. It involves the emphasis on respecting the counselee as a person or organism whose thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and whole self are openly accepted, without any conditions. *Ngabdi i*s similar to the concept of altruism in psychoanalysis. Altruism includes mature defenses when someone gets inner satisfaction by serving others (Arifin, 2020).

The devoted attitude embedded in the hearts of the students and religious teachers of pesantren is one of the explanations why they still enjoy teaching at pesantren to help the Kiai. Even though they are given less honorarium, or even no honorarium at all. In addition to devotion, pondok pesantren is also known for being careful of controlling selves, so we are qualified to kiai. Santri is strictly forbidden to steal. Pesantren holds a jargon, "*mon ngecok jerum e pondok mon mole ka romana ngecok jheren*" (if we steal a needle in pesantren, we will steal a horse once we return home). A bad action in pesantren will cause fatal in later life.

Therefore, the values of serving and avoiding stealing other's belongings in pesantren are highly prominent in preventing corruption. Serving people wholeheartedly will never lead to corruption. By avoiding and fearing the bad effect, people will not corrupt, and they will live in blessings and happiness.

Personality Quality is the Foundation of the *Sakinah* Family

Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo teaches two interesting books relevant to marriage counseling. The first book is *Syair Madura* by KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin (1897-1990). This book contains poems of advice for young people who speak Madura and Arabic-Pegon letters. The second book is *Zadu Az-Zaujayn* written by Nyai Zainiyah As'ad (1944-2005). It is taught to students who will get married (Hasan, 2003; Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2019).

The personality of the husband and wife defines sakinah family, which also functions as a corruption prevention. It includes:

1. Capability of Making a Self-Control: Wara', Zuhud, and Patient

There are three characters in the texts of the Syair Madura and Zadu Az-Zaujayn, which are related to the ability of a married couples to control themselves. They are very important to deal with family problems, including avoiding corruption.

Kiai As'ad describes female santri, the ideal wife, as:

Bejheng ngajina waro' tengkanah,
cokop elmonah raje himmanah
(Studying diligently, behaving *wara'*,
adequate knowledge, great advantage)
(Arifin, 1992)

A husband must also have the same personality. He must be careful in supporting his wife. He does not give her money from forbidden work, including corruption, so the wife is safe. Nyai Zai illustrates:

Ya Allah dzul jalali wal ikrom, kami di dunia tak dihiraukan
Ilmu yang benar diajarkan, kini celaka kami rasakan
Kami diberi makanan haram, sandang dan pangan semua haram
Hati-hatilah jadi suami, apa yang wajib terhadap istri
Dhahir dan batin wajib nafkahnya, terhadap istri jangan tinggalkan
Tempat tinggalnya disediakan, walaupun sewa atau pinjaman
Yakni tak wajib memilikkannya, dan wajib pula beri khadamnya
(O Allah Dhul jalali wal ikrom, we in the world are ignored
True knowledge is taught, now we feel bad
We were given unclean food, clothing and food all unclean
Be careful of being a husband, what is required of a wife
Dhahir and batin support is in the world a must, so do not leave her

The place of residence is provided, even if it is rent or loan
You are not required to give it, yet you must grant the *khidmat*)
(As'ad, 1992)

Another personality which a married couple should have is patience. According to Nyai Zai, a married couple must possess patience so that the family can survive. If we are patient with our partner, our lives will be glorious. Nyai Zai quoted a hadith, "Whoever is patient on the bad deeds of his wife's morals, Allah will reward him as the reward given to the Prophet for being patient for his calamity. As for a wife who is patient with the bad deeds of her husband, Allah rewards her like the reward of those who die in wars upholding the religion of God".

Nyai Zai suggests to be patient and holding on to the pain, not telling our partner's weaknesses to others. The husband and wife must complement each other and cover the weaknesses. Allah says in Al-Baqarah: 187, "They (wives) are clothes for you (husbands) and you (wives) are clothes for them (wives)". If a wife is patient with her husband, she will rank like Siti Asiyah and Maryam.

Bila suami berwatak kejam, hanya menangis pedih dipendam
Di dalam surga dapat khasiat, pangkat sepadan Siti Asiyah
Dianiaya Fir'aun suaminya, serta dicincang tangan kakinya
Lalu dipukul batu yang besar, imannya tetap beserta sabar
Dia pemimpin para wanita, yang sama patuh pada suaminya
Tersebut pula Maryam namanya, di dalam surga pemimpin wanita
(If the husband is cruel, cry and bury your suffer
In heaven, you gain the benefit, a rank equivalent to Siti Asiyah
Persecuted by her husband, Fir'aun, as well as her legs are chopped
Then, she was hit with a large stone, her faith remains with patience
She is the leader of women, who is also obedient to her husband
Maryam, her name is also mentioned, in paradise she is the female leader)
(As'ad, 1992)

The characters of *wara'*, *zuhud*, and *sabar* need to be possessed by a married couple. *Wara'* refers to being cautious by leaving doubtful (*syubhat*) and things not useful. It is the stability of the heart, when somebody is passionate about doing an action, so s/he can distinguish the right and wrong. It means leaving something doubtful and choosing the undoubtful one (Al-Muhasibi, 2001). *Wara'* is the beginning of *zuhud*. A person who is *zuhud* will not feel

proud of the world's pleasures and will never complain because of losing his/her belongings.

Wara' and *zuhud* are included in *maqam* or stages of the path that must be passed by a Sufi (Al-Qusyairi, 1998). According to Al-Muhasibi, people who are *zuhud* will leave lust, cleanse themselves from the dangers of lust, invite the soul to do what science advises, don't like to relax, and increase the ethos in good deeds (Al-Muhasibi, 2001; Al-Qusyairi, 1998).

Meanwhile, according to Shaykh Abdullah bin Alawi Al-Haddad, in terms of *batiniyah,* the essence of *zuhud* is to rid the world of the mind and erase it from the bottom of the heart. In his view, problems in the world seem very small (Al-Haddad, 2005). *Wara'*, *zuhud*, and *sabar* contain moral values which teach to avoid corruption. People who have the values will avoid corruption because they will always control themselves and be careful by leaving something doubtful *(syubhat)* and less valuable. *Zuhud* means simple life and more concern on the interests of others. The essence of *zuhud* is eliminating worldly values, feeling enchanted towards it, and freeing the soul from the gratification of desires and pride. Patient can also prevent corruption acts. It is an attitude of grace and courage to face difficulties, to always show a rich attitude by hiding poverty in their life, and to behave well. Thorough patience, they will reach maturity. They have the resilience to suffering without complaining and demonstrate humanity that can tame anger and lust (An-Najar, 2001; Arifin, 2020; Shafii, 2004).

2. *Acceptance of Life as It is: Qona'ah, Ridha, and Ikhlas*

A married couple should have a personality of accepting life as it is, such as *qona'ah* (accepting the reality), *ridha* (accepting the provisions of Allah wholeheartedly) and *ikhlas* (cleansing and purifying the heart from other than Allah). The three characters are important for a couple to serve a family and to face life problems.

Kiai As'ad describes that the ideal married couple should be simple; neatly-dressed and sincere.

Nganggui pakaian ngalak bedhenah,
tadhe' pokallah bhen saderhana
Wakto ajelen tertib tengkanah,
rapi ben berse ikhlas atenah
(Wear the clothes as they are,
no show off and simple
Walking, she has an orderly step,

Her heart is neat and clean)
(Arifin, 1992)
Nyai Zai suggests to intend to worship once serving the husband:
Niat ibadah bagi si istri, pahala besar sudahlah pasti
Jikalah ridha ikhlas hatinya, tahulah istri ke urusannya
Walau bukanlah kewajibannya, hanya menambah amal baktinya
(When the wife intends for worship, she obviously gain a great reward.
If she is sincere, she must know her responsibility
Although it is not an obligation, she only does it for devotion)
(As'ad, 1992)

Ridha is the peace of heart to accept the provisions of God. He will not complain about the bitter fate. He accepts reality, gifts, and provisions from God *(nrima ing pandum). Ridha* usually comes from *qonaah. Qonaah* is accepting the reality. People who are *qonaah* will stay away from delusion and consider what happens in the future. It is related to psychiatric and self-concept. One will feel rich even if s/he is starving physically. S/he always helps others even though his/her wealth is negligible. S/he is rich in heart, not greedy. The soul feels free from suffering and delusion that will never happen (Al-Qusyairi, 1998).

Pleasure means eliminating hatred against the God's provisions that will or have occurred (*qadha* and *qadr* of Allah) and always living life with fun even though the reality is disasterous. S/he does it after trying hard and surrenders fully to God *(tawakkal). Rida* does not mean leaving the natural law *(sunnatullah),* but s/he must try hard and pray to God (Suhrawardi, 1998).

Ridha is categorized into three kinds: 1) being pleased with bitter experience for love *(mahabbah)* in God. Such love can eliminate the bitter feeling; 2), being pleased with the willingness to endure any sufferings. This is like drinking bitter herbs for curing acute diseases; 3) being happy because of the belief that God will grant a happy return behind the bitterness (Al-Ghazali, 2000).

Ikhlas is an act of cleansing and purifying the heart of something other than Allah. Those who are ikhlas will act no difference when receiving praise and scolding, not look at their work, and not demand a merit (Al-Qusyairi, 1998). *Ikhlas* has three pillars. The first pillar as a sincere foundation is intention. Intentions are motivations that drive abilities from knowledge. Knowledge raises motivation, and motivation raises ability, then the ability to help motivation moves the members of the body to do something. The second is the *ikhlas* of intention, which is pure motivation. The third is honesty, which is the perfection of *ikhlas* (Al-Ghazali, 2000).

Qonaah, ridha and *ikhlas* are psychologically accepting life as it is. The manifestation of the three characters brings one's soul calm, peaceful, loving, empathetic, humble, and sincere. S/he will feel trustworthy, secure, and free from all desires and false hopes, including the desire to live in dissipation and corrupt behavior.

3. Self-presentation

Married couples (or married couple to be) must always create a good impression of their partners; both through appearance, speech, or other attitudes. This character, in social psychology, is known as self-presentation. Self-presentation is an effort made deliberately to act in a certain way that creates a special impression about yourself (Bordens & Horowitz, 2008; Shelley et al., 2003).

The first manifestation of self-representation is maintaining appearance. A married couple must maintain their appearance before their partners. Ibn Abbas once said, "I like to dress up for my wife, as she likes to dress up for me". The Prophet Muhammad SAW said, "The best woman is that who if you look at her, she pleases you, if you command her, she obeys you, and if you stay away, she keeps her property and herself" (As'ad, 1992).

According to Kiai As'ad, a married couple should maintain their appearance, for example, wearing simple but clean, neat, and pure clothes. She is calm, rarely speak, always smile, and appear sweet. He said:

Berse tor suci angghui bhedennah,
berse bhen rapi roma tangganah
Panika putri raddin atenah,
panika kufu' padhe santrenah
(Her body and clothes are clean,
Her family is clean and neat
She has a beautiful heart,
She is santri)
Potre kakdintoh ayem tengkanah,
angghuiah sangat saderhanah
Tadhe' ghejek rang rang dhebunah
ghellekna mesem manis dhebunah
(This girl is calm,
her clothes are very simple
No joking, rarely talking,
laughing sweet at her words)

(Arifin, 1992)

Nyai Zai said, a wife must be obedient to her husband and beaming face. A wife should not be surly.

Para wanita tiap harinya, haruslah taat ke suaminya
Berseri-seri wajah mukanya, menghadap suami tiap tingkahnya
Bermuka masam pada suami, inilah istri yang dimurkai
Murka Allah dan malaikat, akan terpukul yang tidak tobat
Women must obey their husbands every day
Their faces are bright, following their husband in every attitude
Being surly to the husband is enraged
The wrath of God and angels is unrepent hurt
(As'ad, 1992)

Kiai As'ad also hopes that we avoid couples who always live in hedonism, makeup, and tacky clothes, and those who like walking around and shopping.

Sifat panika nyu'un jeunah,
mandher luputtah ce' tak terronah
Sangat tak hajat tekka deddinah,
sangat bahaya dhe' kapotonah
Ngaksi malolo rajeh bandanah,
nyalajeh ngator kembeng beddhe'na
Nyalajeh ngator samper jingiknah,
nyalajeh anggui sareng lipennah
Ngajek ngalencer tadhe' ambunah,
lebur kapasar tadhe' busennah
(These characters are suggested to keep away,
avoid it as it is badly unwanted
Very unexpected until it happens,
very dangerous to the grandchilds
Showing off costs a lot,
the makeup is too thick and one-sided
The nip is also one-sided,
the clothes and lipstick do not match
Inviting to travel around always
like going to market without boredom)
(Arifin, 1992)

The second form of self-representation is keeping the words. A married couple must always keep his/her words to the partner. Nyai Zai writes, every

couple should not say bad, make something that the partner dislikes, and s/he may not say, "may God make you ugly" (As'ad, 1992). According to Kiai As'ad, a husband and wife must have smooth words, sweet words must be able to distinguish rough and fine language.

Cacanah alos tadhe' kasaknah,
saling atanya asal molanah
Wakto akompol sareng kancanah,
orengah ayem tadhe' gejeknah
Cokop sem mesem tadhe' gelleknah,
rang-rang cacanah manis dhebunah
Putri parabhen sopan tengkanah,
begus akhlakkah muljeh budinah
Dhebu se alos kasar basanah,
oning bidhenah mabhe tengginah
Bhidenah mator dhe' sasepona
bhidenah caca padhe ngodenah
(His/her words are subtle with no sound,
asking each other at first
When hanging out with friends,
s/he is quiet with no joke
Smiling with no laugh,
speaking a little unless expressing sweet words
The girl is polite,
morally good and noble
Her words are soft,
knowing the difference between high and low intonation
Knowing how to talk to the elderly,
and to the others in her age)
(Arifin, 1992)

The third self-representation is maintaining attitude. According to Nyai Zai, a wife must always be obedient to the husband, but the husband should not treat her like a slave.

Wajiblah taat pada suami/dalam istimta' harus pahami
Jangan istrinya jadikan budak/dipaksa kerja atau memasak
Itu semua atau lainnya/tidaklah wajib bagi istrinya
Hati-hatilah kaum wanita/tiap menghadapi suaminya
Kalau tak untung di dunia ruwet/dan di akhirat nan lebih sangat

A wife is supposed to obedient to husband/she must listen and understand
Don't make his wife a slave/forced to work or cook
All or the others/are not mandatory for the wife
Be careful, o women/once treating your husband
If you are not lucky, you will be complicated in the world/and will be more complicated in the hereafter
(As'ad, 1992)

According to Kiai As'ad, a family should hold: love affection, sweet smile, glowing face, using fragrance, and not dirty:

Lebur bhen eman dhe' kalakenah,
padhe sem-mesem saking bungana
(In love with her husband,
smiling for being awfully pleased)
Terro paraben raddin atenah,
begus akhlakkah tengka lakonah
(Loving a girl with a beautiful heart,
good moral and behavior)
Sedheng rajenah sedhe' tengkanah,
badanna sing sing terak cahyanah
(She is ideally mature with a good behavior
Her body shines light)
Berse bhen soce wajib ngartinah,
sunnat hukumah ro'om bheunnah
Cellakna mata pacar kokonah,
manis matanah tanang duwaknah
Manussa odhik bedhe bheunnah,
oreng se jebbeh jubek robenah
(Her body is clean and she understands what she should do,
recommended to smell good
The woe to the eyes and the nails,
the eyes and two hands are sweet
The living human smells bad,
dirty and apparently ugly)
(Arifin, 1992)

The focus of marriage counseling of pesantren is personality improvement and development of the prospective married couples because if they have a

good personality, the problems in a marriage can be solved. They will avoid despicable acts; like corruption.

This research is in line with pesantren-based counseling research, at-tawazun counseling, initiated by Arifin and similar in concept to person-centered (Arifin, 2020; Corey, 2009; Rogers, 1942; Samsul & Risma, 2020). The pesantren model of marriage counseling focuses on the personality of a married couple, not the problems that arise in interpersonal relationships between husband and wife (Sunarty & Mahmud, 2016).

According to Kiai As'ad and Nyai Zai from the Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo, the (prospective) married couples should develop their personality that that they can do a self-control: *wara', zuhud*, and patient; accepting life for what it is: *qona'ah*, *ridha*, and *ikhlas*; and self-presentation. The personalities will radiate thinking and acting daily. They will achieve peace within the family. *Sakinah* will lead to the outer peace, such as the brightness of the expression on the face, and inner calm, such as being graceful (Shihab, 2006). They will reach *sakinah* family, dynamically calm, which refers to the peace that always develops. They sometimes experience turmoil problems within the family, yet they can deal with it. The problem is a necessity that must exist in life.

Conclusion

Pesantren has an enormous role and potential for corruption prevention. The values of pesantren associated with corruption prevention are "*ngabdi*" (serving others wholeheartedly). It upholds a motto, "*Mondhuk entar ngabdi dan ngaji* (the intention of going to pesantren is to serve and study). Pondok pesantren prioritizes the service over learning, the formation of character over science. Pesantren also avoids stealing others' belonging through a motto, "*Mon ngecok jerum e pondok mon mole ka romana ngecok jheren,* (if you steal a needle in pesantren, you will steal a horse once you return home)". Both values let santri accustomed to serving others and staying away from stealing others' stuff.

Meanwhile, the personalities of a husband and wife that might also support corruption prevention are capability of doing self-control: *wara', zuhud,* and patient; accepting life for what it is: *qona'ah, ridha*, and *ikhlas*; and self-presentation. They will be manifested in thinking and acting in everyday life. They will achieve calm and peace (*sakinah*) within the family. They will avoid evil actions, such as corruption.

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THE VISUAL ANALYSIS OF MUSLIMAH CLOTHING STYLE IN JAVA (15-20th CENTURY)

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Abstract

Islam entered Indonesia in the 7th century and began to spread out in the 13th century with the establishment of Demak Sultanate. After the expansion of Islamic kingdoms or Sultanates, the spread of Islam in Java and Sumatra had strengthened the application of Islamic law (Sharia). It was slowly replacing customary law yet still maintaining and even acculturating the local culture, with nohout exception concerning Muslimah clothing style (hijab or jilbab). This non-interactive qualitative research analyzed the factual data related to the transformation of Muslimah clothing from the 15th to the 20th century focusing on Java island. The data were analyzed using the fashion design components theory to get detailed visualization of Muslimah clothing style in those eras. The results showed that the Islamic values influenced the fashion clothing style of Javanese Muslim women in terms of silhouettes, colors, details, and materials (textures) without neglecting the local culture.

Islam masuk ke Indonesia pada abad ke-7 dan mulai menyebar pada abad ke-13 Masehi dengan berdirinya Kerajaan Islam Demak. Penerapan hukum Syariah Islam secara perlahan menggantikan hukum Adat namun demikian tetap mengakomodasi bahkan berkakulturasi dengan budaya setempat, termasuk

dalam hal penerapan busana Muslimah (jilbab). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis visualisasi busana Muslimah di Indonesia khususnya di Jawa pada abad 15-20 Masehi. Penelitian kualitatif non-interaktif ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif yang menekankan pada data-data faktual terkait perkembangan busana wanita Muslim. Data dianalisis menggunakan teori elemen desain mode yang terdiri dari siluet, warna, detail, dan tekstur untuk mengetahui gambaran bentuk busana Muslimah pada masa tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukan ajaran Islam mempengaruhi gaya berpakaian wanita Muslim Jawa, baik dari segi elemen visual bentuk (siluet), warna, detail, dan material (tekstur), namun demikian tetap mempertahankan budaya lokal yang berlaku.

Keywords: *jilbab; hijab; muslimah clothing; Indonesian muslim fashion; Islamic fashion history.*

Introduction

Islam entered Indonesia in the 7th century by the mutual relation between local citizens and foreign traders (Arabians, Indians, and Persians). It began to spread peacefully in several ways in the 13th century. After the decline of the political and economic power of the Srivijaya kingdom, the first Islamic kingdom, Samudera Pasai, appeared in 1285. Meanwhile, Demak stood as the first Islamic kingdom in Java by the collapse of Majapahit Hinduism Kingdom in the 14-15th century. During the penetration of Islam among Indonesian people, syncretism influenced the application of Islamic law (Sharia) in many areas, including economics, marriage, criminal, art, music, architecture, et cetera. It indicates that Islamic practice in Java has been mixed by local pre-Islam religious elements (Salim, 2013). The presence of Islam does not erode the cultural values and traditions but creates dialectics between these two elements, which results in inculturation (Marhamah, 2020).

Inculturation also appeared in traditional costumes, especially for Muslimah (Muslim women) clothing. The term *aurat* mentioned in the Qur'an was interpreted differently and moderately by society, especially the rule of wearing headcover. The transformation of clothing style began after Islam entered Java when the Muslimah added one type of clothing called *kemben* to cover the bosom (*aurat*). Islam had influenced the change (Lombard, 1996). Previously, during the Hinduism era, Javanese women showed the upper part of the body as much as possible (Reid, 1988).

The transformation of Muslimah clothing continued to change along with the acculturation of other cultures, for example, *kebaya* from China and modern dress from Europe along the 15-19th century. During these eras, few women wore specific Muslim clothes, likesuch as headscarves,s for daily activities. In the past, they wore headscarves only for praying or attending ceremonies until the early 20th century when more Islamic organizations introduced headscarves or headcovers to wear daily. Today, Muslimah clothing, especially headscarves, started to be accepted by most communities in Indonesia and even became the world fashion trend (modest fashion).

The transformation of Muslimah clothing from the early 15th century until today is very moderate and dynamic. Syncretism and inculturation influence the changes. This research aims to reveal the transformation of visual elements (the form of Muslimah clothing), specifically focusing on the 15th century when the first Islamic Kingdom arose in Java until significant changes appeared along the 20th century. It captures and analyzes the developments and changes of visual elements of Muslimah clothing style from the 15-20th century focusing on the model of Muslimah clothing in Java (including the way they wear the headcover) from the transformation of Hinduism to the Islamic culture. The elements of fashion design are fashion silhouettes (the shape or form), fashion details, textures or materials, and colors.

Method

This research is a non-interactive qualitative study. Non-interactive qualitative studies mainly concern with historical analysis or content analysis. It establishes descriptions and comes up with explanations of what has occurred (Khaldi, 2017). Non-interactive qualitative research is also called document analysis research, a study based on data analysis. The researchers collect, evaluate, analyze, and organize the synthesis of data. Then, they tinterprets the concept and the policy through the facts directly related (Sukmadinata, 2012).

The primary data employed in the current research are literature studies from scientific journals and books on Islamic dress, Islamic lifestyle, traditional Javanese clothing, history of Javanese culture, and history of Islam in Indonesia. This research emphasizes gathering factual data related to the transformation of Muslimah clothing from the 15th to 20th century.

The theory used for data analysis is 'The Fashion Design Components' from Stone (2006) and Seivewright (2012). The components include silhouette (shape), detail, texture or material, and color.

Theory of Muslimah Clothing

The Term *Aurat* and Sharia

The Qur'an (Surah An-Nur:31, Al-Ahzab:32-33, 55, 59, and Al-A'raf:26) mention the term *aurat* of Muslim women (Muslimah) and the clothing. The phrase *bikhumurihinna* (Surah An-Nur: 31) from the word *al-khumr* (plural forms of *al-khimar*) means something (cloth) used by Muslim women to cover head, bosom, and hips (Asyraf in Suhendra, 2013). The phrase *al-libas* (Surah Al-A'raf: 26) also defines the term of clothing. Arabic-Indonesian dictionary, Al-Munawwir, defines the word *libas* (plural forms of *lubs*) as clothing with the word derived from *fi'il madhi: labisa-yalbasu*, which means to wear. Besides, the term *tsiyabun* (plural forms of *tsaub*) and *saraabiil* (plural forms of *sirbalun*) in the Qur'an mean clothes.

The term hijab and jilbab has a different meaning in The Qur'an and Hadith. The etymology of headscarves comes from Arabic *jalaba* (جلب) or the plural form *jalabib* (Surah Al-Ahzab: 59), which means to cover the *aurat*, all parts of Muslim women body including the head, except the face and palms (Suhendra, 2008). In the context of Muslimah clothing, there are different views among scholars to describe the visualization of jilbab. One says jilbab is like *rida'* (turban), while another describes jilbab as the veil bigger than *khimr* or scarves (Suhendra, ibid). However, most scholars and interpreters describe jilbab as Muslimah clothing with a loose-fitting silhouette to cover the *aurat* (Marhumah, 2014; Surtiretna, 1995). The Arabic-Indonesian dictionary, Al-Munawwir, defines the jilbab as Muslimah clothing to cover the entire body from head to toe.

Hijab (حجاب) comes from the word *hajaba*; it means a sheath, curtain, veil, or separator (El-Guindi, 2001). Qur'an mentioned the word hijab as something to block or divide between two people, so both could not see each other. The hijab is a social separator between men and women (Suhendra, 2008). Regarding this definition, the term hijab is not proper to define Muslimah clothing because even though Muslimah had covered the entire body with the cloth, they can still see someone around them (Syuqqah, 1998). These words imply that the hijab is not similar to clothing; the hijab is a curtain or barrier to block the sight of a man to a woman and vice versa.

However, nowadays, it is familiar for Indonesian to define jilbab and hijab as a headscarf or cloth to cover the head and the body, especially for Muslim women (Marhumah, 2014; Nurhayat, 2018; Suhendra, 2013). The

Indonesian Language Dictionary (KBBI online version) defines the word hijab as a wide cloth worn by Muslim women to cover the face and the body. Jilbab has a similar meaning to hijab, but it does not cover the face, palm, and feet. Both the words hijab and jilbab have identical meanings as informal (slank) words in KBBI online: A wide cloth or veil worn by Muslim women to cover the head including hair, ears, neck, and chest.

Therefore, in this research, the author uses the term Muslimah clothing as garments to cover all the *aurat*, while jilbab or hijab as the headscarf or veil to fully covered the head, including hair, ears, neck, and chest. *Kerudung* mentioned in this research refers to a loosely-fitted headscarf that half covered the head and still exposed the hair and neck.

The Fashion Design Components

People are supposed to understand that the terms fashion and clothing are not identical in meaning. In general , "fashion" is much more than what is called the fashion industry, which deals with apparel, although that is a substantial part of the global economy (Pan et al., 2015). Fashion includes some categories of products, such as luxury items, cosmetics, bottled water, and other aspects such as furniture, housing, and automobiles. Fashion can also be interpreted as a popular trend in the community in a certain period and always change along with various events, lifestyles, and interests of the textile industry. Fashion has four principal design elements or 'the components of fashion' consisting of silhouette or shape, texture (fabrics and textile techniques), detail, and color (Seivewright, 2012; Stone, 2006).

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the term clothing has a more specific meaning; clothes of a particular type, especially of an item made to protect the body against cold, heat, water, or machinery. Kodzoman (2019) describes that clothing can suitably cover the body, provide a barrier between skin and the environment, show a social norm or values, and help people to express their taste or style.

Silhouette, refers to the area, contour, or shape with a definite outline or a visible structure. The general types of silhouette (Stone, *ibid)* are Bell-shaped (fit and flare), back fullness, straight or tubular, slim, tent, rectangular, wedge, A-line, I-line, O-line, and H-line. While Dineva and Ilieva (2016) determine the term silhouette as 'non-volumetric' and 'volumetric' ones. Non-volumetric silhouettes are defined by the fitting at the waist; they include 'close fitted at the bust and waist', 'fitted at the waist', 'semi-fitted at the waist', and 'non-

fitted at the waist' silhouette. The volumetric silhouettes have a bigger size than the relevant form of the human body. Volumetric silhouettes are usually determined by geometrical shapes, letters, and objects for example Y-line, Y turned-line, X-line, flower (similar to bell-shaped or fit and flare), and vase (balloon).

Based on the description above, the term 'close fitted at the bust-waist' silhouette and the 'fitted at the waist' silhouette are more popular with the term 'Sheath' silhouette in the community. On the other hand, the 'non-fitted at the waist' silhouette could be defined as 'Shift' silhouette (resembling the letters H and I).

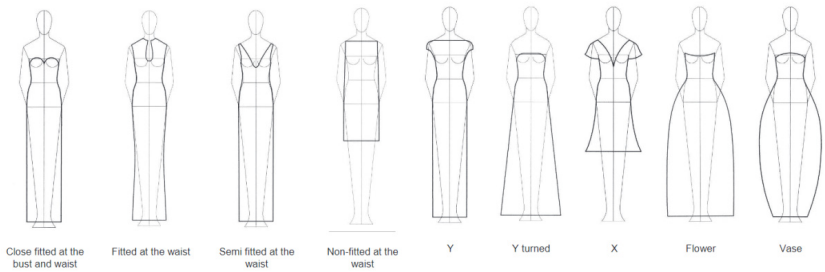

Figure 1. Volumetric dan and Non-Volumetric Silhouette (Source: Dineva & Illieva, 2016)

Detail is the individual element of clothing to attract attention to clothing. The examples of detail are the shape of the collar, the shape of the cuff, the shape of the arms and shoulders, trimming (buttons, zippers), ruffle (wrinkled fabric), pleats (folds), pockets, and so forth.

Color is the first element noticed by most people. Colors can affect one's psychology and feelings. The fundamental theoretical of colors consists of primary, secondary, and tertiary colors with their combinations (chromatic, analogous, split complementary, etc.). Color also refers to the dark or light intensity of color.

Texture refers to a fabric or material. Frings (2010) defines the term texture as the surface interest in the fabric of a garment. The texture includes ornaments, printing, surface embellishment, or other textile techniques: embroidery, applique, batik, laser cutting, beads, and smocking.

Muslimah Clothing during the 15-20th Century

In the reign of the Hindu and Buddhist kingdom, women in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Java and Bali), wore a piece of cotton cloth with batik motifs (called *jarit)* which were not sewn then wrapped once around the

body paired with *udat* or a cloth tied at the waist (Raffless, 1817). This clothing lets as much as possible the upper part of the body (the shoulder and bosom) open, especially on formal occasions (Reid, 1988). According to Crawfurd and Verhael in Reid (*ibid*), after Islam entered Java and began to spread in the 15th century, the Javanese women added one type of clothing called *'kemben'*, a piece of cloth wrapped tightly around the chest to cover the bosom (*aurat*).

Stockdale (2020) mentioned that in the 18th century Javanese women (in which Islam has dominated religion in Java) wore a piece of cotton cloth or *sarong* wrapped around the body and tied at the chest to cover the bosom meanwhile, the traditional clothes also affected by European styles at that time. Hendriatmo (2006) explained that the government of Amangkurat II, including the officials and nobles, wore the European clothing style of Dutch officials, e.g. black velvet coats, furry hats, and stockings. European style was also adopted in a loose blue dress with knee-length worn by Javanese women (Raffles, 1817).

Figure 2. Kemben and jarit for Javanese women including Muslimah in 19th century (Source: Steel engraving art by Domeny de Rienzi, 1836 (left); Book of History of Java by Raffless, 1817 (right))

Even though European-styles clothing has beenwas adopted, most Javanese women, including Muslim women, wore a cloth more often, for example, *kemben, jarit,* and *a sarong* or plaid-woven fabrics which wrapped up from the ankles and tied at the waist using *udat* (Raffles 1817). There were also accessories worn at the head and arms. This picture showed that Javanese Muslim women, during the period, did not recognize *jilbab* or headscarf.

There was also Chinese influence on Javanese clothing, for example, the *kebaya* inspired by the Chinese clothing or *beizi* from the Ming Dynasty in the

15th century (Pambudy & Khoiri, "Aku dan Anugerah Kebaya," KOMPAS, 22 April 2007). The kebaya was originally shaped like a tunic or *baju kurung* with long sleeves, covering the body from neck to knees. In the late 18th century, the first Chinese *kebaya* developed into *kebaya kutubaru* which using '*bef*' or a piece of cloth on the chest that connects a collar from left to the right. Most Indonesian Muslim women in Java until the early twentieth century did not cover their heads except when they prayed or attended religious gatherings (Tantowi, 2010). This condition was probably influenced by Sufism in the early days of Islam in Indonesia because Sufism is generally seen as accommodative to local beliefs and practices.

Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of "Modern Islam" or "Reformist Islam" in Egypt grew up rapidly in Southeast Asia (Tantowi, 2010). The thought of "Modern Islami" was first introduced through the Al-Manar Journal by Egyptian reformers, Muhammad Abduh and his student Rashid Rida in 1865. The messages contained in this journal were to invite Muslims to return to the *Qur'an, Sunnah, Hadith*, and the *Salaf al-Salalih* tradition. This movement was responded positively by the Indonesian clerics in Mecca, then finally spread to Indonesia and accepted by many intellectuals, including KH. Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah organization), Ahmad Hasan (founder of Islamic Unity organization or PERSIS), and Ahmad Surkatti (al-Ishlah wa al-Irsyad organization). Besides, Reformist Islam also spread in Minangkabau, West Sumatera, through the Paderi movement founded by Tuanku Nan Tua, son of Sheikh Burhanuddin (a great scholar from West Sumatra who spreaded Islam in Pagaruyung in the 18-19th century).

One of the Reformist Islam ideas adopted by the Indonesian Muslims is the use of headcover. In Java, headcover or headscarf was first introduced by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, founder of Muhammadiyah organization in Kauman, Yogyakarta, Central Java. Together with his wife, Siti Walidah (Nyai Ahmad Dahlan) through the organization of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah (firstly named *Sopo Tresno*), he proposed the use of headcover while supported the formal and Islamic education among Muslim women in Kauman (Mu'arif & Setyowati, 2018). Before the movement of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, most Muslim women wore headscarves only if they came back from pilgrimage in Mecca. But since then, many Muslim women started to wear them especially the members of Aisyiyah Muhammdiyah (Seniwati & Lestari, 2019).

The headcover was named *kerudung* Aisyiyah or *Songket Kauman* (Mu'arif and Setyowati, 2018:47) shaped like a scarf with colorful floral embroidery

at the edges, made with *Paris* cotton textile and ABC yarn to create high-quality handmade embroidery (https://ibtimes.id/songket-kauman-budaya-muhammadiyah-yang-hilang-ditelan-zaman/). This type of headcover then became a fashion trend among Muslim women in Kauman and was still preserved until 1956. Today, this kind of clothes hashave become increasingly rare. Besides *kerudung* Asyiyah, Muslim women in Kauman used *kain sarong* from Bombay, India, with the style of a female turban wrap (*sorban puteran*). Outside Jogjakarta, Muslim women of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah also wore headscarves, some of which were in Banyumas, Purwokerto, East Java, despite facing public humiliation (Suwarno & Kosasih, 2014).

Even though Muslim women of Aisyiyah wore headscarves, many Javanese women still used short *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth without the headcover (Lombard, 1996). This evidence strengthened by the event when Abdul Karim Amrullah (one of Islam reformist activists from West Sumatera) issued a *fatwa haram* (Muslim ulema rules of any act that is forbidden) of short *kebaya* in the early 20th century (Tantowi, 2010). The *fatwa,* then debated by Nur Sutan Iskandar, proposed that it could not be applied because most Muslim women in Java still wear short *kebaya.* According to Prasetya (2010), until the end of the 19th century, the strong influence of Javanese tradition had encouraged many Javanese Muslim women to wear clothing appropriate to the tradition and culture (*kebaya*) in which headcover was not part of it.

Islamic Unity organization or *Persatuan Islam* (PERSIS) in Bandung, West Java, also actively propagated Indonesian Muslim women's rights and convinced them to wear headcover or headscarf as women's daily wear. According to Natsir in Tantowi (2010), the Muslim women in PERSIS wore a different style of headcover. The headcover completely covered the head (show only face), neck, ears, and bosom. Muslim women in PERSIS wore it for performing religious rituals or activities and for daily wear as well. Based on the aforementioned former explanation, the author assumes that the PERSIS headcover is similar to *Jilbab* (the style of Muslim headcover, popular in Indonesia after the late 1980s). Amrullah (2008) describes *jilbab* as a long cloth covering Muslim woman's *aurat* includes hair, neck, and bosom, except the face and palms.

The Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran brought seismic changes to many Muslim countries globally, including Indonesia. One of the changes was the use of a headcover, which became widely worn by many Indonesian Muslim women. However, the headcover was still considered unusual, suspicious,

and radical. The Indonesian New Order government in the 1980s banned the veil in several formal educational institutions and offices (Prasetya, 2010). The scarves were allowed to use only at certain times, such as Eid ul-Fitr, *Maulid Nabi*, *Isra Mi'raj*, *Qur'an* recitation, and by women who performed hajj (pilgrimage) (Tantowi, 2010; Yulikhah, 2016). This situation led to a mass demonstration in some regions by senior high school students known as "The Revolution of *Jilbab* (headcovers)."

However, the demonstration intensified communication between Indonesia Ulema Council (MUI) with the Indonesian Ministry of Education and various parties, such as the Attorney General of Indonesia, MENPAN, Chairperson of Commission XI DPR RI, including BAKIN. Finally, on February 16th, 1991, the government edstated officially a decree Number 100/C/Kep/D/1991 of school uniforms that allowed Muslim students to wear the headcover.

Jilbab revolution in the 1980s, along with the new political direction, had changed people and the government's perception of Muslim headcover. In the 1990s, Muslims were finally allowed to show their Islamic affiliation. Religious symbols began to appear in the community, including headcover. Siti Hardijanti Rukmana or known Mbak Tutut (Former Indonesian President Soeharto's daughter) appeared to wear headscarves in front of the public. Her style was then popular as "*Kerudung Mbak Tutut*" or Mbak Tutut's Scarf (Kompas, 23 April 1990), made from thin fabric with colorful and gold embroidery on the edges. In the 1980s, even some designers had started to popularize headscarves, Ida Royani, Anne Rufaidah, and Ida Leman (Wardiani, 2019:88), headscarves just sprang up in the 1990s. Many Indonesian designers and public figures wore headscarves. It began more popular than ever. Designer Ranti (Ranti Muslim fashion), Fenny Mustafa (Shafira House), Jenny Tjahyawaty, Iva Latifah, actress Astri Ivo, and Neno Warisman were some of them. In 1996, the Indonesian Fashion Designers and Entrepreneurs Association (APPMI) opened a special department for Muslim labels and designers, Muslim fashion had a place on the fashion week runaway (Amrullah, 2008).

Nasida Ria, a group of women performing Islamic music band (*kasidah)* from Semarang, Central Java, which was popular around the 1980s and early 1990s, had a unique style of hijab of their personnel. They wore loosely fitted headscarves with an inner cap (*ciput*) that half covered the head and still exposed the neck. This kind of headscarf was popular among Muslim women at the time. However, the *jilbab* completely covered the head, neck, and body, also

worn by some Muslims, even less popular than the other. Neno Warisman is one of the public figures who wears this kind of headscarves.

In the late 1990s, some Indonesian women graduated from the Middle East, for example, Al-Azhar, Egypt, had a significant role in bringing a 'new style' of Muslim fashion to Indonesia. They introduced a new type of material of the veil, which was colorful and more transparent and stylish (Amrullah, 2008). Eventually, headscarves or *jilbab* became widely worn by many Muslim women in Indonesia. It was no longer identic to worn bythe lower economic class, but it was worn also socialites or the upper-class women.

Figure 3. Inner cap worn by personnel of Nasida Ria in Album 1993 (left), Siti Hardiyati Rukmana or 'Mbak Tutut Soeharto' (center), Neno Warisman in Album 1995 (right). (Source: Qasidah Lagu Negeriku (2012); Instagram of Tutut Soeharto July 2018; Kaset Lalu (n.d.))

Results and Discussion

Fashion Silhouette

After the fall of Majapahit Kingdom and the raise of the Demak Islamic Kingdom in the 15th century, Javanese women wore *jarit* or *sarung* cloth and wrapped the upper body with *kemben*. This clothing created a close-fitted silhouette at the bust and waist. Along with the transformation, the Muslim women also wore long *kebaya*, inspired by Chinese clothing, shaped like a tunic or *baju kurung* with long sleeves, covering the body from neck to knees. The long *kebaya* then continued transformed into *kebaya kutubaru* in the late 19th century, with shorter size and using '*bef*' (a piece of cloth on the chest that connects the left to the right side of the collar). The long *kebaya* and *jarit* created an I-Line silhouette or non-fitted at the bust and waist, the short kebaya with the semi-fitted at the bust and waist. Until the end of the 19th century, most Javanese Muslim women still wore kemben or kebaya with jarit

or sarung cloth and without the headcover. They only wore the headcover during performing prayer or attending religious occasions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the use of *kebaya* and headcover as daily wear became more common, especially in the West and Central Java initiated by women of Aisyiyah (Muhammadiyah Yogya) and PERISTRI (PERSIS Bandung). The women of Aisyiyah wore loosely fitted headscarves (half cover the head and still exposed the hair and neck) called *songket kauman*, paired with *kebaya* and *jarit*. The women of PERISTRI preferred to wear the more covered headscarves or *jilbab*.

In the middle of the 20th century, some Muslims still wore *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth but only for formal occasions. In a picture of a book of Bintang Muhammadiyah by Djarnawi Hadikusuma, Muslim women wore *kebaya* and *jarit* with loosely fitted headscarves at a coronation day of President Soekarno as Bintang Muhammadiyah in 1965. The silhouette was semi-fitted at the bust and waist. Similar types of clothing, found in a picture of Nyai Ahmad Dahlah around the 1940s.

In the late 20th century, modern western clothing replaced *kebaya* and *jarit* cloth. Based on the interview with a Muslim woman from PERISTRI Bandung, a few Muslim women in the 1980s wore headcover or *jilbab* paired with a loosely-fitted garment in western style. For example, long sleeves blouse, shirt, belt, trousers, and a long skirt. They wore *jilbab* with a square cloth folded into a triangle to cover the head. Both sides of the *jilbab* cloth, pinned on the neck and left the two ends hanging over to cover the chest. The style created I-line or H-line and bulky silhouettes (non-fitted silhouette).

Until the 1990s, many Javanese Muslims wore headcovers with a modern style of clothing. Some were a mixture of western and local styles. Besides, around the 1980s and 1990s, some Muslims wore *Gamis, Tunic,* and *Abaya* with non-fitted silhouettes (A-Line, H-Line, and I-Line) (Rusmana, 2015). Even today, these types of clothing are common for Muslims in Indonesia, including the Javanese.

At the end of the 20th century, Muslim fashion designers sprang out with new fashion styles and types, including the headcover or *jilbab.* In the late 1990s, many designers mixed the western and traditional styles, which created more variant silhouettes such as X-line, Y-line, Y-turned, and bell-shaped (fit-flare) silhouettes.

Figure 4. The silhouette of kemben with jarit cloth for Javanese women (left). GKR. Hemas wife of Pakubuwono X in short and long kebaya (center, right) (Source: Book of History of Java by Raffless, 1817; http://infobimo.blogspot.com)

Fashion Detail

There were only a few details in Muslim women's clothing of the 15-19th century. For example, *wiron* (multiple folds in front of *jarit*), drapery effect made from shawl (*selendang)* or *jarit* tied around the waist, v-neck collar (*kerah kebaya*), and *kutubaru.* Started in the 20th century, fashion detail became more varied as the influence of modern western and oriental style in Muslimah clothing, for example: more collars (turtle neck, ruffle neck, mandarin, wing, sailor collar, cape collar, bib, etc.). Other details were padding on shoulder suite, frill, ruffle, pleats, variants of sleeves (raglan, batwing, kimono, cape sleeve, bell sleeve, bishop, etc.).

Figure 6. Examples of fashion detail on Muslimah clothing in early 20th century (left to right) wiron, v-neck kebaya (kerah kebaya), drapery from selendang and jarit, kebaya kutu baru. (Source: www.aisyiyah.or.id; digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl; https://twitter.com/BBCIndonesia/status/525096882050461696

Fashion Color

The color used in Javanese clothing (including Muslims) in the 15-19th century was the natural dye, brown, black, yellow, blue, and red. Some of these colors are were also used in *Batik* and *Lurik* cloth. Brown and black arewere obtained from the *tingi* plant *(Ceriops tagal).* Yellow from *soga* (*Peltophorum pterocarpum*) and jackfruit rind. Reddish-brown from the outer bark of the roots of *mengkudu* called Noni (*Morinda citrifolia*). Blue from eggplant (*Solanum melongena*) or *nila* plant (*indigofera tinctoria*). Stockdale (2020) mentioned that *nila* plant (*indigofera tinctoria*) was is cultivated in Jaccatra (now Jakarta) in the 18th century and exported to Europe.

The traditional inland *Batik* clothes of *Keraton* Surakarta and Jogjakarta in East Java still used natural or earthy colors, for example, black, white, brown, brown-yellow (*sogan*), blue or *indigo* (Wardani and Sitindjak, 2014). While the coastal *Batik* (*pesisir*) used the combination of bright and more variant colors.

Synthetic textile dyes began to enter Indonesia in the 20th century (Jasper & Pringadi, in Subagiyo, 2008). The *Indigo* and *Alizarin* dye wereas used in 1900, while the *Griesheim* synthetic dye from Germany and *Benzidine* from Switzerland used in 1920 for coloring *Batik* cloth (Rouffaer, 1914 & Steinman, 1947 in Subagiyo,2008). *Benzidine* or known *Soga-soga* has a similar quality of color of natural sogan brown color in *Batik* cloth. The synthetic dyes then influenced the mass use of variant and bright colors on Javanese clothing, including the Muslims.

In the 1880s and 1990s, after Muslim fashion designers sprang up, the styles of Muslimah clothing were a combination of local and western culture. It created more variant and attractive colors. In the late 1990s, some Indonesian women who graduated from the Middle East also introduced a new type of veil material, which was more colorful and transparent (Amrullah, 2008).

Texture (Fabrics and Ornaments)

From the 15-19th century, most of the Javanese people (including Muslims) used cotton cloth. In the 18th century, cotton yarn was a vital trading commodity from Java (Stockdale, 2020). Indonesia became one of the cotton-producing countries in Southeast Asia around the 19th century (Reid, 1988).

Besides cotton, the Javanese wore silk fabric or *chintz* imported from India. Before the mass wore of *Batik* cloth in Java, Indonesia imported *patola* cloth (a cotton cloth with specific motifs) from India before the 19th century. After entering the 19th century, the Indonesia-Indian textile trade decreased (Ngatinah, 2008) so that the *patola* was not used anymore. When the king of *Amangkurat II* (*Keraton Kasunanan Surakarta*) began to be influenced by the European clothing style in the 18th century, some Javanese people wore velvet silk fabric and linen, especially the king, nobles, and royal officials. In the middle of the 20th century, the development of regenerated and synthetic fiber technology (rayon, polyester, polyamide, nylon, acrylic, etc.) created new variants of synthetic fabric, for example, tetoron cotton (polyester-cotton blended), synthetic chiffon, polyester sateen, etc.

Batik was known as a decorating textile for Javanese people in the 17th century (Reid, 1988). *Batik* was widely worn for *jarit* cloth paired with *kemben* or *kebaya.* The motifs used on *batik* cloth were *Parang Rusak, Larung Ireng, Sawat, Garudaan,* etc. Raffless (1817) mentioned, there were around 100 types of motifs used on Javanese *batik* cloth in the 19th century. People from Panarukan and Pasuruan, East Java, also wore *lurik* cloth from cotton.

In the early 20th century, women of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah wore *songket kauman* with colorful flower embroidery decoration. Mu'arif explained that the *songket* first made by Haji Mochtar's wife (one of the board directors of Muhammadiyah organization in 1918-1921) with material Paris cotton fabric and 'ABC' yarn (cotton yarn) (Mu'arif, 2020). Around the 1990s, Mbak Tutut (Former Indonesia Ex-President Soeharto's daughter) popularized *Kerudung Mbak Tutut* made from thin fabric with colorful and gold flower embroidery on the edges.

Until today *batik* motifs and embroidery were still used for textile decoration in women's Muslim fashion. The table below resumes the style of Javanese Muslimah clothing during the period of the 15th to 20th century.

Table 1 Visual Analysis of Javanese Muslimah Clothing in the 15-20th Century

Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	Detail	Color	Texture
15th to mid 19th century	Source: Raffless, 1817:217 Source: Situs web kepustakaan	• *Sheath* silhouette (fitted and semi-fitted at the bust and waist) from *kemben*, short *kebaya*, and *jarit* • *Shift* silhouette (non-fitted at the waist) from long *kebaya*	• *Drapery* from *selendang* and *jarit* • *kutubaru* • *Wiron* • *V-neck* collar (*kerah kebaya*)	• Use natural dyes (*tingi*, *soga*, *mengkudu*, *indigofera*, etc.) • Natural dyes usually produce pale colors (colors that have been heavily tinted with white) • *Batik keraton* use natural (earthy) color palette • *Batik pesisir* use more bright colors	• Cotton fabric (*Batik* cloth, *patola)* • *Lurik* cloth used in East Java • *Chintz* silk fabric • Velvet silk and Linen fabric for royals (exported from Europe)

Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	**Detail**	**Color**	**Texture**
End of 19th to early 20th century	 **Women of Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah** **Source: aisyiyah.or.id** **Women of Aisyiyah** **Source:** **Seniwati, 2019:224**	• *Sheath* silhouette (semi-fitted at the waist) created from short *kebaya*, and *jarit*. • *Shift* silhouette (non-fitted at the waist) created from long *kebaya* with *jarit* and *baju kurung* • Some Muslim wore fully covered headscarves, others wore half covered headscarves (exposed the hair and neck)	• Drapery from *selendang* and *jarit* • *kutu baru* • *Wiron* • V-neck collar (*kerah kebaya*)	• Use natural dyes • Some began to use synthetic dyes • Synthetic dyes produce a more durable, variant, and bright colors • The embroidery motifs of *Songket kauman* use colorful palette	• Cotton fabric (*Batik* cloth) • *Lurik* cloth used in East Java • *Chintz* silk fabric • *Paris* cotton fabric and ABC yarn for *songket kauman* with flower embroidery decoration

Period	Visual	Fashion Components			
		Silhouette	Detail	Color	Texture
Middle to End of 20th century	**Nyai Ahmad Dahlan (center) Source: Mu'arif, 2020.** **Muslim fashion in the late of 20th Source: Rusmana, 2015** **Siti Hardijanti Rukmana in 1996 Source: DEWI Magazine, No.8 August 1996**	• Mid. 20th century, *Sheath* and *shift* silhouette created from short and long *kebaya* • End of 20th century, variant type of cloths created variant silhouettes: *Shift, sheath, A-line, X, Y, fit- flare (bell-shaped), clock,* etc. • Some Muslims wore loosely-fitted (half covered) headscarves, while others wore headcover (*jilbab*) completely covered the body from head to toe, leaving the face and palm exposed. The style created shift silhouette and volumetric silhouette or bulky.	• *Wiron* • Pleats • Drapery • Frill • Variant collars, sleeves, and pocket	• Many use synthetic dyes • More combination of attractive and bright colors especially in the 1980s and 1990s	• Cotton fabric (*Batik and Lurik* cloth) • Silk fabric • *Rayon/ Viscose fabric* • Synthetic fabrics e.g. mixed tetoron-cotton, polyester-sateen, nylon-chiffon, etc. Embroidery decoration with variant motifs on scarf, tunic or blouse.

Source: Courtesy of author

Conclusion

The application of Islamic law (Sharia) in the past among Javanese went through the acculturation of local culture, including Muslimah clothing. Acculturation between Islamic values and local culture affected the transformation of the clothing style of Javanese Muslim women. It occurred from the use of *kemben* to others, adopted to better cover up the *aurat*, for example, *kebaya* from China, European clothing, and *baju kurung* from Malay. This research showed that the visual elements of Muslimah clothing of the 15th to 20th century in Java were influenced by local culture, specifically the silhouettes, details, and textures (materials). The change of all elements from the 15th to 19th was not significant until the 20th century.

The silhouette of 'semi-fitted' and 'non-fitted' at the waist always dominated the style of Muslimah clothing from the 18th to 20th centuries. Based on Sharia rules of Muslimah clothing, women should cover the *aurat*, including the curves. Fashion details of Muslimah clothing were simple until the middle of the 1900s. At the end of the 20th century, people began to combine local and western inspiration to get more variant and unique clothing yet modest for complying with the Sharia. The color of clothes was made from natural dyes that produced pale colors, used until the early of the 20th century. The inland *batik* of *Keraton* Surakarta and Jogjakarta used natural (earthy) colors, and the coastal or *batik pesisir* used more bright colors. At the end of the 20th century, synthetic color dyes influenced the mass use of variant and bright colors on Javanese clothing, including that of Muslims, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, with more attractive colors. Javanese people wore natural cotton fibers and silk for clothing. Regenerated fiber (rayon) and synthetic (polyester) were more popular in the middle of the 20th century and widely worn in the late 1990s.

Even though Muslimah clothing goes through some polemics in the application of Sharia, it continues adapting the community dressed from time to time. Indonesia is currently known as one of the world's centers of Muslim fashion trends (Islamic-Fashion). It eventually becomes a part of the culture and the lifestyle of Javanese and Indonesian. This research was conducted in 2018 to 2020, and all sources were taken during this period. Further research requires specifically visual data or picture documentation. It is was expected to help the Muslim fashion industry and designers in product research and design development.

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CHARACTER EDUCATION VALUES IN JAVANESE LITERATURE

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Abstract

Javanese manuscripts as the legacy of ancestors and poets contain important values related to character education and moral values. Manuscript of Serat Wulang Darmawiya (SWD), for example, promotes character education through caring behavieor. The values of character education are fundamental to internalize and implement within the life of Javanese. Javanese poets in the past inherited the noble values through a lot of literary works. This article discusses the values of character education in SWD. Using text-based qualitative research methodology, the values of character education in SWD were analyzed with content analysis. manuscript teaches values of character education regarding the importance of breastfeeding as a process of building an intimate relationship between children and parents (mother). At the same time, it also explains the importance of communication between children and parents during education process, the principles of child education, the role model and advice from the parents to the children. In addition, the philosophy of SWD is closely integrated with Islamic teachings.

Naskah-naskah Jawa peninggalan para leluhur dan para pujangga, sarat dengan nilai pendidikan karakter dan budi pekerti luhur. Naskah Serat Wulang Darmawiyata (SWD) memiliki keunikan pada penanaman nilai pendidikan karakter khas Jawa, yakni membentuk anak mandiri dan cerdas berdasarkan laku prihatin. Nilai-nilai pendidikan karakter bagi masyarakat Indonesia merupakan hal yang amat penting untuk dimiliki dan diterapkan dalam kehidupan berkeluarga dan bermasyarakat, demikian pula dengan masyarakat Jawa. Para pujangga Jawa masa lalu telah banyak mewariskan nilai-nilai luhur melalui berbagai karya dalam sastra Jawa. Artikel ini secara khusus membahas tentang nilai-nilai pendidikan karakter dalam SWD. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif berbasis teks sastra Jawa, naskah yang memiliki makna nilai-nilai pendidikan karakter dianalisis dengan metode analisis isi. Dalam serat tersebut, terdapat nilai-nilai pendidikan karakter tentang pentingnya menyusui sebagai proses kedekatan anak dengan orang tua (ibu). Selanjutnya dalam serat tersebut, dijelaskan pula tentang pentingnya pendidikan komunikasi anak dan orang tua, prinsip-prinsip mendidik anak, dan keteladan serta nasehat orang tua terhadap anak. Selain itu, bahwa falsafah dalam SWD memiliki hubungan atau terintegrasi dengan ajaran Islam.

***Keywords**: character education; Javanese literature; Serat Wulang Darmawiyata*

Introduction

Character education is a fundamental element for Indonesian society in the context of the nation, religion, and even local culture that it needs to be internalized since childhood. In regard, Javanese poets write the values of character education in numerous books known as *serat* that contains the noble teachings of Javanese. Most of the works contain character education, such as *Serat Kalatidha* by Ranggawarsita (Purwadi, 2015), *Serat Wedhatama* by KGPAA Mangkunegara IV (Wiratini, 2017), *Serat Wulangreh* by Sri Susuhunan Pakubuwana IV (Retnowati, 2020), *Serat Cebolek* by Kiai Jasadipura I (Astuti, 2018), *Serat Sana Sunu* by Kiai Ngabehi Yasadipura II (Suhanjati, 2004), and *Serat Centhini* by Sunan Pakubuwana V (Wibawa, 2013). In addition, there are also the works of Kiai Sastradipura (Naif, 2016), Maswadiharjo, Raden Mas Wiryasusastro, Mas Reksatanaya, and Mas Prawiryasudirya (Khasani, 2015). They are productive in transferring the noble values of Javanese culture into literatures.

Therefore, this article explicitly discusses *Serat Wulang Darmawiyata* (SWD), which contains character education perceived as the inheritance of

KGPAA Mangkunegara IV. Several reviews on character education in the Javanese literature have been previously written. (Deswijaya & Nurnaningsih, 2016; Maknun, 2017; Ridlo, 2018; Mustolehudin, 2018; Masfiah, 2018). They examine character values within these manuscripts: *Serat Kridhaswasita, Serat Wasitawala, Serat Wirid Wedharaning Cipta Sasmitaning Ngilmi*, *Suluk Seh Ngabdul Salam, and Serat Munasiat Jati.* The illumination in the Javanese literary work titled *Babad Pecina* that takes a Javanese decoration, known as *Rerenggan,* of flower petals and crown, Deer, Bull Head, Banana Blossom, Dragon King, royal lamp, and Jamang Susun Tiga describes the values of leadership character education (Ekowati et al., 2017). It is the representation of a compelling, brave, humble, and pure-hearted leader. Also, the decoration asserts that a leader should possess a religious value, such as being obedient with God as the highest authority in the universe.

The character education in those Javanese manuscripts depicts that there are Islamic values in Javanese society. Mulyono and Sahlan, (2012) mention that *Macapat* songs in Javanese literatures written by Walisongo are media to disseminate Islam in Java. Thus Javanese philosophy embedded in Javanese ethic can be defined as part of the Islamic mysticism (Kholil, 2007; Rubaidi, 2019). It is similar to the SWD text that teaches character education for children based on Javanese philosophy, whose idea is also part of the Islamic teaching.

Aside from the above discussion, many Javanese manuscripts contain various themes like history, philosophy, Islamic teaching, horoscope, and others. Some of them have been discussed by previous scholars in Babad Kandha, Babad Kraton and its variation in Javanese literature (Day, 1978) and also in Kidung literature (Robson, 1979). How Javanese converted to Islam was explored in a manuscript called "A Book of Thousand Questions" (Ricci, 2009), and how Javanism met Islam presented the Serat Darmagandul (Drewes, 2013). The production of Javanese literary works in the nineteenth century was explored (Behrend, 1993) and examined in the work of K.P.H. Suryanagara (Behrend, 1999).

The previous studies prove that Javanese literary works contain important values of character education and other important aspects that should be reviewed since they reflect the characters of Javanese society. One of the Indonesian cultural practitioners, Mochtar Lubis, in 1977 mentioned that some of the poor traits of Indonesian are hypocritical, less responsible, feudal, superstitious capricious, extravagant, and shortcut-taking (Yahya, 2017).

The poor characters can also be found in Javanese literary work titled Serat Wulang Darmawiyata (SWD). They grow within Javanese children because during the childhood, they were breastfed by their mother too long. In addition, the content of SWD also mentions that good characters grow since breastfeeding period to the childhood and eventually until the children understand the good and bad teachings. The main characters of children to avoid are laziness and anxiety.

The advice or *pitutur* in regards with the formation of the child characters in SWD are essential to study. The advice and the teachings of building children's character in each phase of development play as tools for the parents to educate their children. Therefore, the current study completes the gap, which is about character education values for children since the early ages. Therefore, the current research investigates the procedures of building children's character during breastfeeding according to SWD, and the procedures of growing character values among children under five to pre adolescent according to SWD

Method

This article was written based on the research conducted in 2019 concerning the character education in the manuscript of SWD, translated by Darweni (2017), one of the librarian of Reksa Pustaka. It employed a qualitative research method with the historical approach and content analysis. Holsti (cited in Eriyanto, 2011), states that content analysis is implemented to answer the question of 'what, to whom, and how' from the communication process. The question word "what" is implemented to answer the content of a message, a trend, or any differences among the messages delivered from various communicators. Meanwhile, "to whom" is used to test the hypothesis about the content of the message proposed for public. "How" aims to describe the form and the technique of the message (Eriyanto, 2011). Moreover, a content analysis refers to "what has been apparent (heard, perceived, or read), but, the meaning refers to what has been implied, invisible, or directly heard." (Eriyanto, 2011). Similarly, content analysis refers to the concept of literature that has been used to uncover, understand, and capture the message of literary works (Endraswara, 2008).

Content analysis is performed in two ways, inference and data presentation analysis. Inference is the preliminary step before conducting analysis and systematically drawing an abstract conclusion (Endraswara, 2008).

The subsequent step is performing data analysis. This stage analyzes a context related to the structure and the construct of the literary works.

Krippendorf suggests the following analysis: (1) defining unit of analysis; (2) defining unit of the sample; (3) defining unit of record; and (4) defining unit of context. Meanwhile, this article mainly concerns the concept of child character formation in SWD by reviewing the sentences and exploring the context and period of SWD creation (Krippendorff, 2004).

Description of *Serat Wulang Darmawiyata* (SWD)

Serat Wulang Darmawiyata (SWD) was written in Javanese language and script. A catalogue written by Florida (2000) mentions that *Serat Wulang Darmawiyata* is under a code; MN. 399 A. 83. SMP 67/20 with an anonymous author. The manuscript was written in Surakarta in 1862 or at the end of the 19th Century. The size of the manuscript is 84: 33.30 x 20.50 cm. It belongs to a Javanese traditional poet named *macapat*.

The text contain "*sinome kinarya mulang, pamulange lare cilik*." Furthermore, it displays the teachings related to marriage, child-rearing practice, characters, and the reminders of family responsibility and Islam. The text of *tembang*, or Javanese folk song, was composed on 23 Dzulgangidah 1790je or May 23rd, 1862 AD. The writer of SWD was unknown. Instead, there found only a stamp on the manuscript of SWD with the following handwriting: "Pangeran Harijo Gondohatmodjo. Mangkunegaran S.K." The manuscript of *Piwulang* (Darweni et all, 2016:56) mentions that SWD is stored in the Reksapustaka Library, Pura Mangkunegaran, Surakarta written on the European-type paper, with 90-page in length, and in a good condition. The size of the manuscript is 31.50 x 20.00 cm with text size 25.00 x 14.50 cm.

The History of Javanese Manuscripts

The existence of Javanese manuscripts are closely associated with the history of the dissemination of Islam to Java. Islam was brought by businessmen through the coastal areas. They lived in a place known as *Kauman*, a complex of the settlement located nearby a mosque. They brought religious scriptures as their reading materials, which were copied and rewritten by them and the craftsmen nearby. Some of the manuscripts were inspired by the Arab-Persian culture such as *Serat Anbiya* (the Book of the Prophets) which contains the story of the Prophet Adam PBUH until that of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, *Serat Raja Pirangon* (the Book of Pharaoh), and *Serat Johar Manikam*

which contain the story of the Princess of Baghdad who married the King of Persia. In addition, there are also several Malay-language manuscripts, such as *Serat Ahmad Muhammad*, *Serat Abunawas*, *Serat Bagenda Seh Mardan* (the Chronicle of Syah Mardan), *Serat Yusup*, *Serat Abdurrahman Abdurrahim*, and *Serat Latikusuma* (Ras, 2014).

Furthermore, many manuscripts were rewritten by royal palace through the royal poets under the support of Javanese kings. The power of Javanese, who had been taking a turn in serving the throne, could not eliminate the script-writing tradition (Simuh, 1999). KGPAA Mangkunegara I and his successors paid attention to the manuscripts inherited from their ancestors by maintaining and ordering Javanese literary manuscripts. In addition, people who lived in that era also participated in disseminating the Javanese literary manuscripts, as many people handed over their manuscripts to their kings. The manuscripts then become the collections of Reksa Pustaka Library Surakarta now.

Socio-Historical Aspects of Serat Wulang Darmawiya (SWD)

SWD was written at the end of the 19th Century, according to colophon, specifically on *Jumat Kliwon 23 bulan Dzulqaidah tahun 1790 je* or May 23rd, 1862 AD. It explains that "the text was completely composed on *Jumat Kliwon*, *bulan Dzulkangidah*, *tanggal dua puluh tiga*, *tahun Je* at that time. It was on 1790 as far as I remember" (Darweni, 2017: 31).

The above colophon mentions that it was written in 1862 AD or at the end of the 19th century. It was the time when Mangkunegara Palace was under the throne of KGPAA Mangkunegara IV. He had reigned Mangkunagara from 1864 until 1881 AD. His reign was at the golden age. Mangkunegara Palace could stand independently in economics, politics, and culture between Surakarta and Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace. The author mentions that the objective of composing SWD is to salvage the readers in terms of religion and to prevent them from misconducts. He writes:

> "The poet prays the dearest readers that they may always be healthy, be redeemed by the religion, be avoided from misconducts, be in the path of righteousness, so that they remove all disasters" (Darweni, 2017: 4).

After reading SWD, readers are expected to understand religion, so they are safe, spare from any misconduct, and always guided to the righteousness.

Character Education in Serat Wulang Darmawiya (SWD)

SWD contains the subject of family-based character formation for children. It suggests that such character grows since the early childhood especially during breastfeeding until the age of 11. During the breastfeeding period, the mother should consider the weaning time, ideally at about 0-17 months (about two years). The breastfeeding period is recognized as the ideal period to build children characters, like building independency and intellectuality. On the other hand, they are weaned until three years old, they will have bad characters, such as being stupid and hard to be apprehensive.

SWD mentions that the phases of children's character development starts from five until seven years old. During the period, they should recognize good characters and know bad things to avoid. They should be free and directed. Then, during seven to eleven years old, parents should give more attention and be assertive. Parents should give clear direction what is allowed to do and what is not. All of the teachings of character education are based on the Javanese values. Moreover, the values are similar to those in Islam.

Values of Education during Breastfeeding

SWD suggests that breastfeeding can influence the children's character formation. Children who gain breastfeeding too long will be stupid, lazy, less apprehensive, and rebellious against their parents. The statement is written in the following Javanese traditional poem:

> "Some people want to be rich but they do not want to be apprehensive just like the others. People who want to eat less but do not want to be apprehensive are equal to the fools and dwell in the dark because they only care about eating and drinking" (Darweni, 2017: 36).

The fools refer to the people who do not want to be apprehensive since they only care about eating and drinking, getting a too-long breastfeeding. following Javanese traditional poem confirms the statement:

> "It is the characteristics of a child who is too long in the breastfeeding time will become stupid and lazy. Both boys and girls will not have merits in their life if they do not want to be apprehensive" (Darweni, 2017: 37)."

The situation is different from the children weaned during childhood. They will be clever and apprehensive. Weaning children is suggested in the following poem:

> "Children will be troublesome and stupid. Although they are smart, they only have few merits in their life and their mind is more inclined to the misconducts since they do not want to be apprehensive. But for the children who have been

weaned during their childhood, they shall be clever and more apprehensive" (Darweni, 2017: 38).

In addition to being lazy, stupid, and less apprehensive, children who gain a too-long breastfeeding will be rebellious against their parents. They will find difficulties returning the kindness of their parents, such as massaging or feeding their mother. Also, they will not attain a high quality of life. They usually come from the villages. A poem writes:

> "If the children are in their breastfeeding time for a long time, then they will be insubordinate and be rebellious toward their parents. It is very difficult for them to return to their parents' kindness, such as massaging or feeding their mother, and they will be far away from attaining a higher degree in their life. These children usually come from the villages" (Darweni, 2017: 40).

According to SWD, the criminals in the world have been breast-fed too long in their childhood, and they are less apprehensive as well. The following poem explains:

> "Usually, in this world, the criminals are everywhere and they have been too long in their breastfeeding time. People who have been a robber and doing misconducts for a long time must have been too long in their breastfeeding time and must have also been less apprehensive" (Darweni, 2017: 42).

Furthermore, it also describes that the children who have been too long in their breastfeeding time internalize little knowledge. They do not understand religious knowledge and cannot internalize *ilmu rahsa* (knowledge of introspection). This situation is found in the following poem:

> "That explains why these children internalize little knowledge. The children who were too long in their breastfeeding time will internalize little knowledge and not understand religion's knowledge. If they learn about the secret knowledge (*ilmu rahsa*) it will be like heaven and earth and the situation will be the same when they learn about kindness" (Darweni , 2017:43).

The children who were weaned a little bit late will find difficulties in attaining success especially in terms of occupation even though many jobs, such as gardening, trading, and farming activities, are available. On the contrary, children who are weaned earlier will be more alert and smarter to be success.

> "The children who were weaned later will have difficulties. There are many ways to gain glory such as gardening. In the beginning, it is difficult because people will be hungry, but, in the end, they will be full. This kind of situation will only be found among people who exercise their body" (Darweni et. all, 2016:44).
>
> *Kinira-kira keni, wiweka manah grahita, kang sugih lawan miskine, ulaha kadursilan, adaganga tanena, yen kanga nom susonipun, wiwek manah grahita* (Pupuh Asmarandhana, nd.:75).

> "Problems are unpredictable and it is a part of the alert in our mind, for both the rich and the poor, in terms of doing misconducts, trading, and farming. For the children who have been weaned earlier, they will be alert and smart" (Darweni, 2017: 38).

Late breastfeeding may also lead to being unemployed, breaking plates, breaking bowls, breaking mortars, breaking jugs, losing knives, scratching buildings, scratching clothes, talking too much, saying bad words, and shy. As they grow up, they usually become bearers.

> *Tan wande ngewang-ngewangi, rare katuwan sesepan, destun saanggur-anggure, mecahaken piring pinggan cowek kendhi, myang layah, ngilangaken pangot wedhung, bedhakaken sasandhangan* (Pupuh Asmarandhahana, nd.:76).
>
> "No one can change the fate of the children who are too long in their breastfeeding time. They will be fond of being unemployed, breaking plates and bowls, breaking mortars, breaking jugs, losing knives, scratching buildings, and scratching clothes" (Darweni, 2017: 38).

The Ideal Time for Breastfeeding

Parents are responsible for shaping their children to be intelligent, cautious, and apprehensive with self-control skill to be reach a successful life. They can educate the children since the infancy period, during the breastfeeding time, and several months after the children are weaned. SWD suggests that the ideal breastfeeding time is between 0-7 months and 17 months:

> "Therefore, when they are still young, the children should be weaned, specifically at around eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth month."

The children who are weaned earlier in their infancy (within 7 to 17 months after their birth) will be apprehensive with a good self-control, and they attain a higher quality in life:

> "But for the children who are weaned earlier in their infancy, they will be more apprehensive and more able to control themselves. Therefore, they will attain the higher degree. On the other hand, people who are fond of committing misconducts are too long in their breastfeeding time. If the children are weaned earlier in their infancy, they will not be evil" (Darweni, 2017: 41).

The concept of the ideal breastfeeding time, which is between 7-17 months in the SWD, is in line with that outlined in Al-Qur'an, which is 2 years. It is suggested in *Surat Lukman*: 14 and *Surat al-Baqarah*: 233, which translate:

> "And We instruct to human being to do a good deed to their partners – their mother who are pregnant in a weak condition, and she becomes weaker and weaker, and the weaning is in two years – Give thanks to Me and their parents. Me is a place to come back." (Q.S (31) Verse 14).
>
> Similar statement is also found in *Surat al-Baqarah*: 233.

The breastfeeding time, which lasts until 2 years, will help children grow well physically and mentally since the period is crucial for the children. Today, it popular as exclusive breast milk. This term refers to the feeding of pure breast milk to the infant for the first six months without any complementary food. The feeding of pure breast milk is highly recommended because the nutrition of the milk is beneficial for developing the infant's brain cells (Dacholfany & Hasanah, 2018).

The breastfeeding for two years benefits the children's growth, yet providing it longer gives different results. According to SWD, children who are breastfed too long will develop poor characters, such as lazy, stupid, and less apprehensive because they are only fond of eating and drinking.

On the contrary, the children who are weaned between 7 to 17 months will be cautious, smart, and more apprehensive. Apprehension, or known as *tapa brata*, is a means for the Javanese to bring themselves closer to the Almighty. *Wedhatama* by Mangkunegara IV explains:

> "Absorb the prominent deeds, for those who live in the Land of Java (Javanese society), the noble people in Mataram (Panembahan Senapati) is very serious in striving or learning, and controlling the desire, by being apprehensive, both in the day and in the night, and always do the good deeds to the mankind" (Susetya, 2016: 47-48).

The description of apprehension for shaping the fundamental human characters is modeled by Panembahan Senapati, the leader of the Mataram Kingdom, through the control over desire, the conduct of *tapa brata*, and good deeds to others. Somebody who performs *tapa brata* will do *cegah dhahar lawan nendra* (decreasing the intensity of eating and sleeping), so his/her desire will also be decreased. It is the great ancestors' value that leads people to be a prominent figure.

The Stages of Child Character Formation

After the breastfeeding is ended, children will be in the toddler period (under five years old) and the childhood (seven years old). When they are seven years old, the procedures of teaching an ethic are: (1) explaining the good and the right things; (2) directing them to the right behaviors (the prominence of life); and (3) adjusting the teachings to their behaviors without any force. These procedures should be performed on the daily basis. The following Javanese traditional poem explains:

> *Lan maning pituturingwang, lamun sira asisiwi, yen wus umur pitung warsa, awit tuntunen wruh mangi, dedalan mrih utami, nanging ta aja kesusu, sapakantuking boocah, aja sira perdi-perdi, saben dina kudu den telatenana* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d: 7). "And this is my advice, if you have a child, when your child is seven years old, start teaching the good and the right things, lead them to the right behaviors, namely the path of life prominence. However, such teaching should not be in hurry; instead, the teaching should be adjusted to the behaviors of the child, do not force the child too much, just teach the child every day diligently" (Darweni, 2017: 6).

Concerning the character formation in the age of 7-11 years old, according to Piaget, children in this age group have already reached the Operational Concrete Development. This stage is the beginning for the children to start reasoning. In this stage, they have understood logical that can be implemented in the concrete problems. Suppose the children should deal with the contradiction between the mind and the perception. In that case, the children will be able to make logical decisions, instead of perceptual decisions as they experience in the previous stage.

The subsequent stage of child character formation occurs when the children reach the age of nine. In this stage, the procedures of building the child characters are: (1) guiding the children to the path of righteousness; (2) getting the children to the right track of education; (3) trying sincerely, (4) inviting the children to review the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad slowly; (5) teaching the children to speak politely; and (6) being patient with the children so they will not feel that they are being forced. The teaching concept for the nine years old children is mentioned in the following *Pupuh Sinom*:

> "When the children are already nine years old, start the teaching process by leading the children to the path of righteousness, getting the children to the right track of education, trying sincerely, inviting the children to understand the teachings of Prophet Muhammad slowly. Teaching the children to speak politely as well, and be patient so that the children will not feel that they are being forced" (Darweni, 2017: 6).

Then, when they are 11 years old, the character formation is made by: (1) getting a total control over the children without any mercy; and (2) educating them to the righteousness. These procedures are found in the following Javanese traditional poem:

> "When the children are 11 years old, they should be completely controlled, there should be no mercy, although they might be the only one in the families, while they are young because when they get older the education will be more difficult and, thus, it might not be successful especially, if it is without great

effort. Therefore, education to the path of righteousness becomes an important attempt" (Darweni, 2017: 6).

When the children are 12 years old, (1) it is permissible to beat them, if they deny doing a good deed; and (2) it is not suggested to spoil them. These procedures are written in the following Javanese traditional poem:

"That is the way to educate the children. When the children are twelve years old, but they deny the teachings of righteousness, it will be better to beat them, but do not beat them hard. If the children still deny the teachings of righteousness, then beat them. It is the way to educate the children; if the children's education is late, their development will be at a disadvantage. Therefore, teach the children about the path of righteousness while they are still young" (Darweni, 2017: 6).

Intuitively, parents will always work hard for the happiness of their children, as mentioned in the following Javanese traditional poem.

Abot entheng datan ana, tinimbang kalawan siwi, suka susah datan ana, tinimbang kalawan siwi, lewih sukaning siwi, datan liyan sangking sunu, luwih susah jroning tyas, tan lyan sangking ing siwi, luwih abot tan dadya boboting anak (Pupuh Sinom, n.d, : 9).

"The parents work lightly and hard for the sake of the happiness of their children, whether they are happy or sad is fine because they work for the happiness of their children. They do every single thing for their children despite of the hardship they face; this is because they only care about the happiness of the children" (Darweni, 2017: 7).

Educating children is not easy. When they ask for something and the parents cannot afford to buy it, they will certainly cry. It sometimes urge parents to steal to fulfill what they ask. Therefore, the parents are prohibited from spoiling the children. If the children become criminal, parents will be in a serious problem. On the other hand, if they are happy, the parents will also be happy. This poem explains:

Susahe wong anak-anak, kalamun den jajaluki, yen pinuju during ana, anake mangka anangis, tambuh rasaning ati, yen terkadang nekat mandung, labete tinangisan, enthenge wong asi siwi, saben bengi lunga mring canthang balungan (Pupuh Sinom, n.d. : 10).

"The difficulties in taking care of the children, when they ask for something, if the parent does not have what they are asking for, meanwhile the children are crying, this will be very difficult for the parents' heart, sometimes it leads parents to steal. Then the happiness of having children, if they achieved fortune without any payment" (Darweni, 2017: 7).

The following poem mentions:

Dene yen anake ala, bapa tan wurung kacangking, yen anake tuk nugraha, bapa biyung milu mukti, nadyan tan milu mukti, andulu bungah kalangkung, mila padha yen yitna, mring anak ja dumeh asih, tuduhena sabarang karya utama (Pupuh Sinom, n.d., : 13).

> "If the children have bad behaviors, they will stain the name of their father, if the children gain happiness, their father and mother will also be happy. Although they do not take a part in the children's happiness, seeing the children happy, the parents will be very happy. Therefore, the parents should be careful in taking care of the children, children should not be spoiled, and children should be guided toward the path of righteousness" (Darweni, 2017: 8)

Therefore, the procedures of introducing the righteousness to the children are: (1) providing a meticulous explanation about the path of righteousness; (2) delivering the manners; (3) providing guidance clearly and carefully; and (4) displaying the bad behaviors. These procedures are explained in the following poem:

> *Apan marang kabecikan, wijang-wijangen den titi, miwah tata kramanira, anak kang wajib nglakoni, den cetha den ati-ati, supaya haywa kaliru, myang kang ala tuduhna, den dumunung amrih eling, yen wes weruh nuli age tutupana* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d., : 13)
> "In terms of righteousness, explain the path of righteousness meticulously, introduce the manners as well, because it is compulsory for the children to implement the path of righteousness, guide the children clearly and carefully so that the children do not make any mistakes. In terms of bad behaviors, these behaviors should also be displayed to the children to understand and memorize it. If the children already have sufficient understanding, then let them keep them as their memories" (Darweni, 2017: 8).

In general, parents have four responsibility with their children and grandchildren: (1) providing a good education; (2) treating them when they are sick; (3) teaching them about farming activities; and (4) praying for their goodness. These are explained in the following Javanese traditional poem:

> *Iku mungguh duga-duga, yen arsa amrih basuki, mila gonang-gonang tuwa, patang prakara kang wajib, kang dhingin mituturi, anak putu mrih rahayu, nyembur ping tiganira, mring anak putu yen sakit, ngelu mules wong tuwa pan kuwajiban.* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d.,: 14).
> "Those are the ways of salvation in this life. Thereby, parents are entitled with four responsibilities, first, educating their children and grandchildren so that they will be save in their life, second, treating them when they are sick, dizzy, having abdominal pains, these are the duties of the parents" (Darweni, 2017: 9).
> *Nenandur ping tiganira, sabarang ywa milih wiji, lamun non atuwuhira, kinarya neng eneng siwi, kaping sekawaneki, wong tuwa becik pitekur, wong tuwa kuwajiban, dedana maring Hyang Widhi, andongakna marang anak putonira* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d., : 15).
> "The third, teaching them to plant any seeds, without selection, so when the seeds completely grows, the fruits can be eaten together with the children. The fourth, parents should contemplate, ask, and pray to the God Almighty for their sake" (Darweni, 2017: 9).

The Principles of Educating Children

Principally, educating children (especially the little ones) should be performed by: (1) showing the path of righteousness; (2) being steady during the education process regarding the children's capability; (3) being persistent and continuous with the education process; and (4) being careful for the long process of education. These principles are explained in the following Javanese traditional poem.

> *Wit ning kaya mengkonoa, kudu pedhes ing pamidih, lamun kasep dadi baya, dene mupung misih cilik, wruhna dadalan becik, nanging ta aja kasusu, sapekantuk kewala, pasthi kudu nelateni, datan beda lawan wong anambut karya* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d., : 21).
>
> For such things, you have to work harder. Because if it is too late, it brings about negative consequence. Thereby, when the children are still young, show them the path of righteousness, but do not be in hurry, adjust to their capability, be persistent and continuous. It is the same as the way of people working (Darweni, 2017: 12)
>
> *Kudu lirih kudu lawas, mrih rapet don-adoneki, myang becik ing wawangunan, tan beda kalawan bayi, winuruk den susoni, lan winuruk mangan sekul, lawas-lawasing dina, bayi gedhe saya ngreti, aja sira ngarani takdir Hyang Suksma* (Pupuh Sinom, n.d., : 21).
>
> It should be performed carefully, and it takes a long process, so all aspects will be well-maintained, and the results will be good. The way is similar to take care of the baby, at the beginning, the baby is taught to breastfeed from the mother, and then the baby is taught to consume rice, as time passes by, the baby grows older and understands. This is the reality, so do not take all things like the fate destined by Lord the Almighty (Darweni, 2017: 13)

Advice from the Parents to the Children

One of the parents' important advices to the children is about controlling desire, especially the desire to eat and sleep. According to SWD, indulging the desire of eating and sleeping is considered misconduct. The advice is written in the following Javanese traditional poem:

> *Eling-elinga ta kaki, aja sok angumbar hawa, kang ora becik dadine, angel lakune ngagesang, kang amrih kautaman, aja pijer mangan turu, satemah nora prayoga* (Asmaradana, n.d.,: 18)
>
> "Remember this, my children, do not indulge your desire, because the result will be bad, your life will be difficult, you will have difficulties in attaining happiness. Do not eat or sleep too much, because both of them are misconduct" (Darweni, 2017: 33).

The following Javanese traditional poem mentions that people who like eating and sleeping too much will become impatient and lazy. They have the

following traits: (1) being fond of stealing; (2) never keeping any promise; (3) speaking too much and being lazy to work:

> *Luwange wong doyan guling, nora sareh tur sukanan, sarta adoh daulate, luwange wong doyan mangan, titiga watekira, ambeler linyok gadebus, kalawan sukmaning karya (Asmaradana, n.d.,: 19)*
>
> "People who only like eating and sleeping will usually be impatient, lazy, and far away from their fortunes. People who like overeating usually have these three traits: fond of stealing, never keeping any promise, and talking too much and lazy to work" (Darweni, 2017: 33).

In addition, people who are too full cannot spend less time sleeping and their heart will be dark. The statement can be found in the following Javanese traditional poem:

> *Wateking wong kurang guling, sinung padhang jroning manah, lamun sira lungguh dhewe, gampang sakeh kang sinedya, wong amaregi pangan, tan miyat ngurangi turu, dadya peteng jroning manah* (Asmaradana, n.d.,: 20).
>
> "The heart of the people who want to decrease their sleep time is pure. When they sit alone, many ideas and expectations appear. On the other hand, people who overeat and unable to balance their sleeping time will have a dark heart" (Darweni, 2017: 34).

The above poem explains that people who eat less and sleep less will have a pure heart and many ideas and expectations come up. Then, the following Javanese traditional poem explains specifically that those who eat less and sleep less will attain: (1) convenience in terms of clothes and food; (2) discernment; (3) influence; and (4) subtle vision:

> *Sing sapa angirangirangi, anyegah turu lan mangan, lami-lami pinanggihe, sinung sandhang sinung pangan, tur sinung pangawikan, akathah daulatipun, lan sinung tingal kang lembat* (Asmaradana, n.d., : 19)
>
> "Those who can eat less and sleep less will eventually gain convenience in terms of clothes and food, and they will internalize discernment, gain influence, and also gain subtle vision" (Darweni, 2017: 34).

As mentioned, the great values in the SWD are integrated in the Islamic teachings. For example, the fact that breastfeeding period should ideally last in the age two is also suggested in the Qur'an. Qur'an refers breastfeeding as *al-radha'a*. Linguistically, the meaning of *al-radha'a* is breastfeeding, and this term applies to both women and female animals. Terminologically, the meaning of *al-radha'a* is breastfeeding the baby whose age is below two years old (Ismail, 2018). Furthermore, Ismail (2018) explains that the term *al-radha'a* is repeated for 10 times with multiple derivations in the Qur'an and it is distributed in 5 *Surat*: (1) *Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]:233*; (2) *Q.S. Al-Nisa' [4]:23*; (3) *Q.S. Al-Hajj [28]:7*; (4) *Al-Qashash [28]:7 and 12*; and (5) *Q.S. Al-Thalaq [65]*. Thereby,

psychologically, the children who are breastfed for two years and weaned are different from those who are breastfed for more than two years in terms of characters. The difference is asserted in both SWD and the Qur'an. SWD explains that those who are breastfed for the whole two years will have a good personality and will be independent, and those who are breastfed more than two years will be less confident and will be indecisive in their adolescence.

Conclusion

SWD proposes the urgency of child character formation with apprehension as the main character. The formation of the child character, according to the text, starts from the infancy through weaning them from their breastfeeding between seven and seventeen months old. At the age of seven, they should be introduced to the path of righteousness by: teaching them about the good and the right deed; leading them to the right behaviors (the path of righteousness); adjusting the education process to the children's behaviors without any force; and being persistent in teaching the path of righteousness on the daily basis. Then, at the age of nine, the procedures of building the child characters are: teaching them about the good and the right things; getting them on the right track of the education process; putting the sincere efforts in education; inviting them to review the teachings of the Prophet; teaching them to speak politely; and being patient with the education process, so they understand that they are not forced. At the age of eleven, the character formation of the children should be pursued by: controlling the children without showing any mercy; educating them towards the path of righteousness. Eventually, when they are twelve years old, the character formation should be achieved unless parents are allowed to beat them.

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RELIGION AND MALAY-DAYAK IDENTITY RIVALRY IN WEST KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

Ethnic rivalry triggers competition among individuals, certain actors, and groups. Often, the competition is due to political factors while religion becomes a structural legitimacy. This paper examined how the rivalry between Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan affected certain groups' identity. The data of this paper were obtained through a documentation study by reviewing publications and writings on the issue of rivalry and interviews with some figures in West Kalimantan. The result concluded that the rivalry between Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan was tight due to political factors. The two equally dominant communities have long competed since the colonial period in West Kalimantan. Today's rivalry has taken place since Indonesia's reformation in 1998 and let both groups maintain their identity, and, in some cases, lead to unclear boundaries. They do not live as neighbors but brothers. However, religion remain an essential factor amid the situation and cause the rivalry stronger.

Persaingan etnis memicu persaingan antar individu, aktor tertentu, dan melibatkan kelompok. Seringkali persaingan disebabkan oleh faktor politik, sedangkan agama menjadi legitimasi struktural. Makalah ini berupaya untuk

melihat bagaimana persaingan antara Melayu dan Dayak di Kalimantan Barat berimplikasi pada identitas kelompok. Data untuk makalah ini diperoleh melalui studi dokumentasi dengan melihat publikasi dan tulisan tentang isu persaingan, serta wawancara dengan sejumlah tokoh di Kalimantan Barat. Kesimpulannya, persaingan antara Melayu dan Dayak di Kalimantan Barat sangat kuat karena faktor politik. Kedua komunitas yang sama-sama dominan ini telah bersaing sejak jaman penjajahan di Kalimantan Barat. Persaingan saat ini telah terjadi sejak reformasi Indonesia pada tahun 1998. Melalui kompetisi ini, masing-masing etnis Melayu dan Dayak mempertahankan identitasnya, dan dalam beberapa kasus menciptakan batasan yang kabur. Mereka ditempatkan sebagai tetangga, tetapi sebagai saudara. Namun, agama tetap menjadi faktor penting di tengah situasi ini, dan membuat persaingan keduanya semakin kuat.

Keywords: *religion; ethnic rivalry; identity; Dayak; Malay.*

Introduction

The reformation in the late 1990s has changed the face and structure of ethnic relations in Indonesia (Jones, 2013; Alfarabi et al., 2019). When various problems were initially centered, they were handed over to the regions. It became the business of local community. The competition caused a stronger rivalry, and each ethnic group strengthened solidity and solidarity with various considerable efforts.

West Kalimantan was one of the areas directly affected by Indonesia's 1998 reforms. Big eruptions accompanied these changes. In 1997 there was a conflict between Dayak-Madura, and then in 1999 there was a conflict between Malay-Madura (Amirrachman, 2019; Klinken, 2007). Although what surfaced was Dayak-Madura and later Malay-Madura, Madura was targeted by two large groups in West Kalimantan, after the reformation, the subsequent rivalry showed Malay-Dayak (Djajadi, 2004). As two large groups with balanced strength, on the scale of West Kalimantan, it was uncertain who was stronger, or who was lost. Compared to Madura, the situation was different as a small group, Malay and Dayak quickly came up as the winners in the "war".

Malay-Dayaks rivalry has long been standing up to now. Although the scale is not as intense as what happened in 1997 and 1999, it is difficult to compare with the current situation. However, their relationship is certainly dynamic. Iqbal Djajadi (2004) calls it tidal; sometimes intimate and sometimes unstable. The battle is also expanded into the terrain, not only in politics but

also religious, social, economic, and cultural aspects. (Yusriadi, 2018; Yusriadi; & Muttaqin, 2018).

Haitami Salim, a scientist who was also the Secretary of the *Majelis Adat dan Budaya Melayu*/Malay Customary and Cultural Council (MABM) of West Kalimantan, wrote:

> "Especially in cases of violence in West Kalimantan, the author does not dare to declare a religious conflict because the group involved is an ethnic community who incidentally differed beliefs by using religious symbols and involving religious adherents" (Salim, 2012).

Traditions clash in Kalimantan. There has been an adaptation between local traditions and those brought by nonnatives. One of the examples is the acculturation of the tradition *Baayun Anak* to Maulid Baayun in South Kalimantan. Before converting to Islam, Dayak Kaharingan people who lived in Banua Halat Village usually held an Aruh Ganal ceremony followed by *Baayun Anak* (Jamalie, 2014). It is certainly different from the local culture in West Kalimantan. Yusriadi's study of *Kebahan* tradition shows that speakers of *Kebahan* have terms and narratives about living in harmony. The concept of pirate resistance, ngawa, criticism of *Kerampak Kebahan*, etc. An example of how they reminded themselves of their role and position as a counterweight in pluralistic society (Yusriadi; Ruslan & Hariansyah, 2018).

Cultural intersections can create conflicts, such as what happened to Madurese, Dayaks and Malays. There were some violence and ethnic clashes (Haba, 2012). One of the ethnic tragedies in Indonesia was the bloody conflict of Sangau Ledo and Sambas, which forced Madurese to leave West Kalimantan Province, where they had lived for many years. After the uncertain social and ethnic relations among Madurese, Dayaks and Malays due to the conflict, the situation gradually improved. Social interaction at the conflict site was much better than that during the dispute. Social institutions in ideology, religion, economy, politics, language, education, culture, and other social norms theoretically led to social friction and ethnic stereotypical views prone to raise the seeds of conflict in social reality. Selfishness and fanaticism respect ethnicity (Al Humaidy, 2007).

Melayu and Dayak ethnics uphold the values of local wisdom, such as togetherness, obedience, and religiousness. The historical inheritance (custom house) of Melayu and Dayak ethnics reflects local wisdoms, which are community unifying element and essential meaning of what is good and bad in life. It also contains inter-community interactional organization, community solidarity development organization, social organization, cultural art center and

inspiration to the formation of specific personality as well as the realization of higher community cultural values in West Kalimantan (Batubara, 2017). Besides, study also found that Dayak women played a role in maintaining their culture (Suminto & Ermawati, 2018).

This article discusses the situation of rivalry between Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan and the influence on identity construction of each group. The basic assumption is that the rivalry influences each other's efforts to maintain identity, and the maintained identity related to culture improves their relations. In contrast, identity related to religion brings their relations stronger.

This study is prominent to provide an academic solution in suppressing cultural conflicts between tribes, especially the Dayak ethnic groups of West Kalimantan and the Malays. The solution to this identity competition can be sought, one of which is cultural diplomacy between the disputing ethnics. A study shows that cultural diplomacy can be interpreted as exchanging information, ideas, arts, and other cultural aspects to create mutual understanding in establishing interactions with other groups (Sutantri, 2018).

Another article that strengthens this study is written by Joko Tri Haryanto. The dynamics of religious and cultural relations in Java and Kalimantan ethnicities can be the glue of harmony. A research conducted in Central Java, East Java, and Central Kalimantan at least suggests that the dynamics of Muslims' internal relations in the three regions show three patterns of relations: the relationship between religion and local traditions, religious and ethnic relations, and religious relations and thought. Among the three relations, the strongest social cohesion in Muslims' internal relations is the that between religion and local tradition (Haryanto, 2015). Meanwhile, the other two forms of relations still leave dissociative interactions in the internal relations of Muslims. Religious and cultural relations can be a strategy to build internal religious harmony in general.

Another study on social exchange is the folklore of Dayuhan Intingan as a suggestion of harmony. The results denote that the folktales of Dayuhan and Intingan are the source of the norms of harmony between Banjar and Meratus Dayak Tribe. Dayuhan and Intingan are two brothers, brothers who, despite their different beliefs, still maintain brotherhood. The values of harmony in Dayuhan and Intingan stories are humanitarian unity, mutual trust, fulfillment of tolerance, cooperation, mutual respect, and conflict resolution. This story inspires Banjar and Dayak tribes that they are brothers; therefore, harmony

must be maintained (Haryanto, 2018). Studies show that identity competition between Malays and Dayaks in West Kalimantan can be carried out through a cultural approach to reduce a conflict.

Method

This research employed a qualitative approach. Data ware explored in deeep and comprehensive understanding. Field data ware obtained through the collection of library sources. The materials had been published that they had been read and assessed by public. They are scientifically reliable. An argument needs to be supported with data and scientific studies, so it can be on concern.

In addition to books, materials from other sources such as news, research reports, and blogs, ware also used to construct the information needed. Data or information clarification was carried out with relevant informants. Some people from the Dayakology Institute and the West Kalimantan Malay Cultural Customary Council had been contacted and interviewed. This approach helped researchers better understand the dialectical process and the phenomena behind the rivalry.

Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan were chosen as the object of this study because both communities were dominant in the province. Both are indigenous people, each of which are amounted to 38-40%, so their gaps in number ware small. The data were then analyzed using a structural-phenomenological qualitative approach. The phenomena, actors, their meanings and implications are interpreted and summarized in a framework of arguments. Following the purpose of this study, it identified the rivalry between Malay and Dayak that affects preservation identity and makes them closer.

Ethnic Rivalry and Identity

Ethnic rivalry is a battle or competition between ethnic groups in a multi-ethnic society. When Deutsch introduced the concept in 1949, rivalry was perceived negative because there lies a desire to win the competition and brings down others. However, it has also been gradually used for a positive meaning. In competition, every ethnic group wants to look dominant, or not to be defeated and controlled. Therefore, solidity among group members is built and maintained. Ethnocentrism arises unexpectedly, looking for formulations by pragmatic interests. There are efforts to "compete" to be the best in the midst of rivalry.

Rivalry occurs in the middle of a majority situation or when the power is balanced. The examples of this situation can be traced in several places, such as the dispute in Malaysia between Chinese and Malay (Embong, 1999; Crouch, 2001) and in Ambon between indigenous Muslims and Christians (Collins, 2001:385). Meanwhile, when the power is not balanced, one ethnic group usually absorbs another ethnic group, build alliances or collaboration. It happens to ethnic minority groups, i.e. Arab/Muslim descendants and residents in East Kalimantan and West Nusa Tenggara (Magenda, 2014), Chinese and Javanese in Central Java (Markhamah, 2000), and Malay in Singapore (Riyanto et al., 2018).

In rivalry situations, and usually more related to politics, ethnic identity is formed and confirmed to show strict boundaries between one group and another. Sometimes the forms of identity are not always the same, changing according to circumstances. Eventually, identity can come up from various elements, including culture, language, and religion (Embong, 1999; Yusriadi, 2014). These elements are chosen and used for pragmatic purposes to determine whether an identity will be equated or differentiated. It is not essential how far the distance or the difference between one identity and another; even in many instances minor differences can be the decisive differentiators (Labov, 1978; Collins, 2001; Yusriadi, 2014).

Malay Dayak in West Kalimantan

Malay and Dayak are the names of two largest ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. Malay refer to the residents, Muslims, who speak Malay and claim to be Malay. While Dayak refer to the non-Muslim residents, speak their mother tongue instead of Malay, and claim to be a Dayak. However, from this identification, they can be easily identified from their religion. So, Islam is used to see whether a person is a Malay or Dayak (Yusriadi, 2008). The number of Malays and Dayaks in West Kalimantan is relatively balanced. Although there is no official data on their number, Malay estimates in West Kalimantan reach 30 percent, while Dayak is estimated at 40 percent (Yusriadi, 2008). This amount is supported by pockets of settlement of each region that forms ethnic geopolitics, such as Pontianak, Mempawah, Sambas, Kubu Raya, Kayong Utara. Whilst, Hedgehog, Bengkayang, Sanggau, Sekadau, are Dayak pockets. The number of the two communities is balanced in Kapuas Hulu, Sintang, Melawi, Ketapang. Because of this situation, the rivalry between the

two groups is always intense. They fight for political and economic fronts, while culture is made as a tool for this purpose.

In the interest of rivalry, these two groups are trying to strengthen ethnic solidity. The potential is mobilized, especially concerning politics and economics. These two issues are always related to the history of the region. In West Kalimantan, in the early days, Malays were the dominant group. The Malay kingdom has several trading points, and controls the regional economic activities (Ishar, 2015). Tax or belasting is an important source in this political-economic situation (Veth, 1854). The power of these Malay kings, which is conveyed today, is often mentioned in Malay-Dayak relations in West Kalimantan. For example, when talking about the regional regulation plan on the protection and recognition of indigenous and tribal peoples, the definition of indigenous territories is linked to the Malay kings' territory, not only Dayak.

The differences in ethnicity, religion, and culture among Malays and Dayak tribes in West Kalimantan that are potential for conflicts can be mitigated by local cultural exchanges or cultural marriages of each of the conflicting ethnicities. Haryanto's study can be a reference for how various ethnic groups can live in harmony through the media of Dayuhan and Intingan folklore in South Kalimantan (Haryanto, 2018). The two main forces balance the ethnic of Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan. They become a social capital for the two groups to build harmony.

The Preservation of Malay Identity

Malays affirm their identity in some ways and agendas. Important actors in this matter are the elite, which consist of intellectual circles. Campus figures together with political figures confirm certain symbols to give the Malay a character. The Malay organization's birth, the Customary and Cultural Council (MABM) of West Kalimantan in 1997 must be regarded as an important factor behind the preservation of Malay identity today (Kristianus, 2016). The structure involves Ismet M. Noor, a police from PAN, Khasmir Bafiroes and Awang Syofyan Ghazali from Golkar, Imien Thaha from Golkar. While from campus, they are Chairil Effendy, who later becomes the Chancellor of Pontianak Untan, and Hadari Majeri. The religious element, the cleric for example, is not involved in this process.

Now the situation is more or less the same, MABM shows a combination of campus intellectuals/politicians and politicians, and also bureaucracy. Critical

management in MABM especially in the regions now has more politicians, some of whom serve as regional heads. MABM is formed at the provincial level, and then it branches in the district area. Although the focus is on culture, politics cannot be ignored. This organization organizes various activities, especially cultural activities that are routinely held. Academic activities also received attention, such as seminat and book publishing. MABM carried out the seminar and several times socialization activities. Besides, semi-religious activities are also held such as *halal bihalal* after Idulfitri and breaking the fast together.

In these activities, the symbol of Malay is displayed. Malay cultural forms are promoted. The Malay permanent event is West Kalimantan Malay cultural festival, with 14 stemas (branches) of the race, including: Malay singing competition, silat art, Malay bridal make-up, Malay motif design, Malay dress for children, traditional *Jepin* dance, traditional ceremony of plain flour, Malay poetry, unrequited rhymes, laps and uring tops, *hadrah* art, speech contest, and bidar sampan competition.

Besides, similar activities are also held by Regional MABM. The scale of this activity depends on the ability of each region. It depends on the local government's attention to the local MABM. Malays have assemblies of Malay kings who symbolically have a significant role in society. There are 13 Malay kings in West Kalimantan: Pontianak, Mempawah, Sambas, Ngabang, Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Matan, Tayan, Kubu, Ketapang, Silat, Bunut (Ishar, 2015; Ruslan, et al., 2019). This royal institution has been built since the 17th century before the Netherlands' arrival (Ishar, 2015; Purba, 2014). After the Dutch and Japanese arrival, some kingdoms were lost because their roles were politically and economically insignificant. After the reforms, these institutions were revived, especially when ethnic politics were at the forefront of issues and movements.

Under the Malay kingdom's informal authority, cultural activities in a tourism format were organized, for example, Pontianak with *haul and ziarah kubur* activity (grave pilgrimage), Mempawah with *robo '-robo'* (praying for a sea on Wednesday), Tayan with *mandi bedil* (washing heirlooms), Ngabang with *tumpang negeri* (event for safety), and Sanggau with *paradje'* (rejecting danger). In addition, certain regions have a tourism plan that seems to be cross ethnic. For example, Pontianak holds activities to commemorate city birthdays, commemoration of culmination points, and Malay bridal contests; Ketapang

has a roll poetry contest; Sambas has activities between *Ajong* and *Salo* spills, Singkawang has saprahan activities; and Kubu has *haul* activity, Kubu.

Through these activities, Malay identity is displayed. One of Malay features displayed is Malay clothing, which is used by everyone involved. The result, in recent decades a unique form of fashion has been seen. Today's Malay clothes are related to Muslim clothes, and *Koko* clothes, as well as *Songket* and batik 'Malay". Women wear headgear or veil while men wear headgear, in the form of skullcap. *Tanjak Melayu* now also has a place.

Regional specialties are served and even some are contested. Spicy and sour Pacri pineapple is considered a typical Malay food. Likewise, with *Temet*, Regional arts such as poetry, *Hadrah*, *Jepin*, dance, song are displayed on stage. The performance was accompanied by Malay rhythms and parts of the Middle East. Society refers to Malays and cross ethnicity, competing and participating, displaying, modifying, creating creations related to their fields, and becoming "part of Malay". The public or the general public has been constructed with thoughts about the form considered as West Kalimantan Malay.

Malay identity can also be seen from the names commonly used. Malay people have names related to Arabic; for example Abdullah, Muhammad, Nur, Siti, etc. The use of English, Javanese, or names popularized by artists also begins to be found in Malays. This option is seen more attractive. Meanwhile, Malay language cannot be a Malay identity today although they use it as the primary language because it is used in cross-ethnic interactions. It is also popular among non-Malay people (Yusriadi, 2018).

The Preservation of Dayak Identity

What happens to Dayaks in West Kalimantan today is the result of a community empowerment movement initiated by many actors in Pancur Kasih Social Work Foundation. The movment is organized in an institution called Pancur Kasih Empowerment Movement (GPPK). The name Pancur Kasih, and later facilitated the establishment of the Junior High School, St. Francis Asisi in Pontianak, reflected the Christian paradigm in the early movement (Giring, 2013). The social philosophy of the church is the breath of this movement. GPPK activists consider that Dayak identity needs to be strengthened, more precisely to re-establish that identity (Efraim, 2013). In 1940-1950, Dayak reached a political peak when Ovang Oeray, a student of the Catholic seminary in *Nyarumkop*, Chairman of the Dayak Party of

Communion, became a constituent member, and served as governor of West Kalimantan in 1960-1966 (Aju & Usman, 2012).

The GPPK activists are young people, including AR. Mecer, teachers at the Brothers School, Thomas Lay, Saikun Riady, Kadus Firmus, Maran Marcellinus, Pastor Heliodorus, Aloysius Milon Somak (Widjaya, 2013: 70). Also, they establish the Dayakology Institute (ID) driven by activists, such as Stefanus Djuweng, Jhon Bamba, and several other names written in the researches and publications, such as Plorus, Herman Ivo, Seselia, Albertus, Sujarni Alloy, Yovinus, etc.

On the other hand, *Dewan Adat Dayak/* Dayak's Customary Council (DAD) was formed as a forum for cultural and customary movements, in 1985. In the beginning, DAD was formed in Pontianak District, in one of the crucial areas of Dayak Kanayatn. Later, DAD districts and provinces were formed, and in the sub-districts. The institution met with the knot of the indigenous community, formed by traditional leaders in the villages or local traditional areas. These activists explore politics and bureaucracy. Supriyadi (2009) records in detail several regents held by Dayaks; for example Porcupine, Bengkayang, Melawi, Sintang, Sekadau, Sanggau.

Synergy is built with politicians because this movement promotes the community empowerment movement in education, economy, social, culture, and politics. Besides, the political situation does open up space for the rise of local power - and this applies throughout Indonesia, regents, deputy regents. Even at its peak, the position of governor of West Kalimantan can be controlled. The presence of Dayaks at the top of provincial and district leaders opens more expansive space to develop and maintain Dayak culture. Cultural activities are organized, and cultural houses are established. In all cities, there are traditional Dayak houses. At the provincial level, there is *Rumah Radakng* which is adjacent to the West Kalimantan Malay House.

Activities that have become fixed calendars are *Dayak Gawai, Naik Dango, Notokng*, etc. This activities are now held live in all regions. Many art galleries support them. The activities, as well as Malay cultural festivals, display a variety of arts, such as songs, dances, carvings, Dayak clothing, characterized by beads and ordinary clothes with the elements of bark and carvings of plants or animals; Dayak cuisine, such as food from growing ingredients; certain plants and animals, Dayak literature with arts in the form of *Sengayong, Bekana, Bekondan, Bujang-Dara Dayak*, as well as display of agricultural tools;

hammer, mortar, *penangkin*; and types of Dayak games; such as chopsticks, *mandau*, shields.

Community participation in this activity is extraordinary. It is always crowded. Therefore, not only the committee facilitated the activity, participants are also actively involved. They prepare themselves to come to the event since a few weeks and even months before. The visitors are also enthusiastic. They give supports while also learning from what is displayed. What they see is inherent in memory, and it generates concepts about Dayak. Religious institutions also provide space for the maintenance of Dayak culture. In addition, Christmas activities with Dayaks are routinely carried out. The police are united to support this event. Banners and publications are installed to revitalize the organization. At this event Dayak cuisines and Dayak clothings are displayed. Dayak dances and songs are also performed.

Dayak Islam is present in that situation. Formally, this group is converted to Islam in 1999. The founding figures of this organization were academics from Tanjungpura University, the Bureaucracy and Politicians. They bridged the gap between Malay and Dayak, by giving a special impression. This movement was influenced by Central, South and East Kalimantan, where many Dayaks who embraced Islam continued to come up as Dayaks. Aside from that, the Association of Kebab Katab also appeared. This group was taken into account and included in the Malay group, and categorized as Islamic Dayak. *Katab Kebahan*, presenting itself to be no longer Dayak Islam, and also not Malay (Widjaya, 2013; Yusriadi, 2018; Prasojo, 2011).

Preservation in the Rivalry

Malay and Dayak rivalry is alluded to in the previous section. In addition, the political fields discussed by Djajadi (2004), Kristianus (2016), and Yusriadi (2018), occur within the cultural sphere. Culture has become a front in that rivalry. Malays have a Malay house, Malay culture festival, and various cultural activities. Dayak also have Rumah Radakng, Gawai Dayak, and various cultural activities. In terms of history, Malay history is longer because it is related to the kingdom, while in terms of cultural movements, Dayak is more advanced. In terms of supporting organizations, DAD was established in 1985, while MABM was established in 1997. Dayak activities are also held earlier than the Malay Festival. But even so, the two ethnic groups mutually make the other group as a comparison. Dayak community empowerment movement make

a long history of Malay republic and kingdom as a comparison. While the Malays found MABM organization, they make DAD a comparison.

Gawai parade on the city road's main section will be a record for the march during the cultural festival. Malay festival activities will be more meaningful if more festive than the Dayak device, and the Dayak device will be more meaningful if it is more crowded than the Malay festival. In such situations, rivalry generates positive impacts. Creative ideas of activity and culture develops among the two communities. Clever and intelligent creators from each community come up, mainly through art galleries.

Interestingly, there are efforts to build a connecting bridge between Malays and Dayaks amid the rivalry. Especially after the West Kalimantan conflict between Dayak-Madura in 1997, and Malay-Madura in 1999. The birth of Islamic Dayak in West Kalimantan in 1999 is an example of this effort. So, the position of binaries in frontal politics is bridged with cultural efforts. Culture becomes a connecting bridge.

On the more technical side, cross-ethnic dance creations are now packaged. Cross-ethnic dance is a dance of Malay, Dayak and Chinese. There is also the narration of *Tidayu*, which means the Chinese, Dayak and Malay fraternity. Differences in musical accompaniment, clothing, and the basis of movement are united. On several occasions, the dancers are not always of certain ethnicities. So, as part of cultural performance, they can dance three types of dance at once.

Discussion

The preservation of ethnic identity in West Kalimantan, both Malays and Dayaks, moves to follow religious keel. Religion and religious figures of Islam and non-Islam, have become symbols and important parts since ancient times when the Malay kingdom came to power and shaped Malay characteristics through art and cultural traditions. Islam has become an essential role for defining groups. As mentioned above, Islam is a part of Malay's meaning, so Malay and Islam become two sides of a coin.

On the reverse side, Islam is also a part of the meaning of the Dayaks. When Dayak are interpreted as non-Muslim natives, all other than Malay (Islam) will be included in the Dayak category. If Dayaks are seen as adherents of traditional religions - the term was previously not a religion, Gawai was a part of traditional Dayak religion rituals. The program's beliefs reflect old beliefs about the spirit of rice, rice gods or gods and Jubata. Although the

flow in Protestantism is quite resistant to local culture, it is compromised in this situation.

The same placement also allows Dayaks to hold "Christmas Together Dayak" activities in cross-ethnic and non-Islamic cross-religious situations. This activity has even been considered an inseparable part of annual rituals, in Pontianak, Sanggau, and several other places, to show examples. In terms of language use, choice of names for example, there are two critical situations. There are two "strong" groups in each group. Malays who adhere to devout Islam and devout Christians, choose names that reflect their Islamic identity and Christianity. Arabic and Latin names are apparent, even forming a stigma among society. Muhammad, Abdul, Nur, Siti, the suffix Din, is the name of devouted Malays, while names with "Us-us", like Marius, Martinus, Albertus, are the choices of Christians (Aditya, 2018). Although in other situations, with the choice to give names based on the names of artists or mixers and the father and mother's names, leading the names not to become a collective identity for these two groups.

Malay clothes and brackets, hoods, plain black skullcap and white skullcap, in addition to climbing, are "mandatory" clothing in the Malay community. While in the Dayaks, ordinary clothing is paired with beads and bark, or embroidered with a root pattern and a particular image, is an essential their characteristics today. Tattoos (sometimes written with markers or coloring), long ears, are still considered essential but are no longer considered significant as a distinctive identity (Yusriadi, 2008). Whereas in the past, this characteristic was the identity of Dayaks (Widjono, 1998). It is what is called the pragmatic choice of identity (Yusriadi, 2014).

Looking at what happened to Malays and Dayaks in West Kalimantan, the statement of Galtung (1996) is quite relevant, "conflict flows like an endless river; where it starts and where it ends. Religion becomes part of the conflict, as the conflict of individual actors who transform in their life-cycle, while culture becomes part of structural conflict ". These two dimensions fill the Malay and Dayak intersection spaces in West Kalimantan.

Conclusion

Rivalry between Malay and Dayak in West Kalimantan has been happening for a long time. The early 1990s, especially after Indonesia's reforms, let local groups rise and strengthened the competition. Rivalry occured (again) and influenced the cultures. Although, in this case, Islam has culturally and

religiously become a legitimate difference and similarities, Malays and Dayaks have chosen religous identities to widen the differences with other groups, and some have tried to choose identities that eradicates the differences.

Actors from each group give and take the way in that direction. The way has been shown: The God for Malays, because they are Islam, is Allah *Subhanahu wa ta'ala*, and the God for Dayaks who come from the Garden, is *Alatala*. The important spells in Malay must begin with the expressions of Allah and Muhammad's formulas, and many Dayak spells also begin with God and Muhammad.

Malay and Dayak names can share the names of artists on TV, or names from a combination of fathers and mothers. The most striking is *Rumah Radakng* owned by the Dayaks, and the Malay House owned by the Malays in Pontianak, in the same place, next to each other. They live together as neighbors that they can see each other's situation quite well. As a result, this is why the religious and cultural identities in Dayak and Malay relations in West Kalimantan are unique and attractive.

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GUS DUR'S MULTICULTURAL DA'WAH AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MODERN SOCIETY

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Abstract

This research aimed to describe and identify the concept of Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah, the efforts and relevance to modern society. It used qualitative research methods with a descriptive approach. The data were collected through observation and documentation. The findings suggested three main concepts of Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah: Gus Dur's central values, his Islamic ideas, and his struggle for the indigenization of Islam. The da'wah covered three domains: cognitive, affective and psychomotor. The domains were then framed into various activities, such as lectures/speeches, writings, forums, and social actions. Besides, it affirmed the need of wisdom that da'wah is relevant to the conditions of modern society. The relevance of da'wah can lead to the effective and efficient interaction process.

Penelitian ini membahas mengenai dakwah multikultural Gus Dur dan relevansinya bagi masyarakat modern. Adapun tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan, dan mengenali konsep dakwah multikultural Gus Dur, upaya-upaya dakwah multikultural Gus Dur dan relevansinya bagi masyarakat modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah obeservasi dan dokumentasi. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa dakwah multikultural Gus Dur mengacu pada tiga konsep utama, yakni nilai-nilai

utama, gagasan keislaman, dan perjuangan pribumisasi Islam Gus Dur. Upaya-upaya dakwah multikultural Gus Dur ini mencakup tiga ranah, yakni ranah kognitif, afektif, dan psikomotorik. Upaya-upaya melalui tiga ranah tersebut kemudian dibingkai dalam berbagai kegiatan seperti ceramah/pidato, menulis, forum diskusi, dan aksi-aksi sosial. Dengan demikian, dibutuhkan kearifan agar dakwah relevan dengan kondisi masyarakat modern, sehingga pelaku dan penerima dakwah tersebut bisa memberi makna yang sama. Dalam hal ini, apa yang diidentifikasi oleh masyarakat modern bisa memasuki proses interaksi yang efektif dan efisien.

Keywords: *da'wah; Gus Dur; modern society; multicultural*

Introduction

In the Indonesian context, da'wah has many issues, especially those related to differences, traditions, culture and understanding, which is always linked to the less harmonious communities. Even in some instances, it can lead to social conflicts, which are obviously quite detrimental. Disputes for different tradition and understanding have occurred internally among Muslims and extended to the realm of interfaith. It certainly alarmed the sustainability of the state. Other problems followed when MUI issued fatwas that were arguably controversial, including the misleading labeling and assessment of Ahmadiyah sect and the prohibition of westernized ideas, such as pluralism, liberalism, communism, Marxism, Leninism and secularism (Bhaidawi, 2005).

Differences among religious communities happen due to their respective interpretations of the sacred text which is believed to be a direct expression of God to humans. However, in society there is no single interpretation that can be interpreted (Abdullah, 2005). It occurs due to several factors, such as culture, politics, economy, or education.

Regarding the development of different interpretations, it is an obstacle when someone thinks that only their party has the right to interpret the holy text. Then, they consider that the party's interpretation is the rightest, and that of other parties are wrong or inappropriate. Consequently, it raises several negative labels on other parties, such as kafir, apostasy, and heresy. Meanwhile, absolute truth only belongs to God, the owner of the holy text (Abdullah, 2005).

Da'wah (the act of inviting or calling people to embrace Islam) with a cultural approach such as a dialogue is a major need in this era. The model

of *da'wah* approach is an effort to create harmony in interreligious relations. The occurrence of various conflicts under religious motives distracts interfaith harmony. The practice of violence in the name of religion, from fundamentalism and radicalism to terrorism, has recently become more prevalent in Indonesia (Arif, 2011; Saifulah, 2014). For example, the conflicts in Papua and Ambon might one day explode, even though it had been muted several times. (Suseno, 2006). This phenomenon claimed many lives and destroyed several places of worship, including mosques and churches (Achmad, 2001). Based on PPIM UIN Jakarta research in 2001 on countries with a majority Muslim population, including Indonesia, the more "pious" a person is, the more "intolerant" s/he tends to be. Many have justified anarchist actions, including destroying places of worship and beatings of other parties they consider heretical (Arif, 2011).

A survey on religious harmony in Indonesia conducted by the Research and Development and Training Agency of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2015 suggested three leading indicators to measure harmony: tolerance, equality, and cooperation. The survey results proved that fourteen provinces have a high level of harmony above the national average (75.36). Meanwhile, ten provinces have the lowest level. It concludes that the national religious harmony has been good, with a high average rate, exceeding the cut-off level of 66. Therefore, to maintain the religious harmony index, it is necessary to increase the harmony program down to the village level (Balitbang Kemenag, 2015).

Researches on violations against religion freedom show the prevalence of 52% with the main state actors including government officials, and the remaining 48% are non-state actors or socio-religious groups (The Wahid Institute, 2015). Significant problems are facing the nation today. The main problem lies in the decrease of respect among society for diversity, especially that in religion and belief. Even worse, most of the acts of violence, intolerance, against people of different religions or beliefs occurred within the state institutions, including education (Salim et al., 2018). What has happened recently made increasing issues, from the volume of actions to defend Islam, speech of hatred, the emergence of neo-conservatism groups in controlling public opinion, to the phenomenon of suicide bombings. This incident was more or less the result of misconception in the da'wah approach models, especially those under Islamic teachings (Salim et al., 2018).

Da'wah plays a very important role when the state, with its policies, participates in violation against the rights of citizens to freedom in terms

of religion. For example, the history of Samin community and adherents of other religions who are forced to choose a religion recognized by the state as a prerequisite for obtaining an ID card (Baso, 2006). In addition, the challenge of multicultural da'wah lies in the rapid increase of public fanaticism towards personal or group opinions, so they reject the opinions of other parties outside the congregation or its affiliates.

Therefore, efforts are needed to improve the model of da'wah approach. Strategic reforms including concepts and techniques must always be echoed continuously, considering that society is a very dynamic and unique group of people, completed with the inevitable advances in communication and information technology. Accordingly, it takes a concept of da'wah that leads people to have an open, tolerant, inclusive, and plural character. Obviously, it is not easy. There will be many obstacles for updating the current da'wah approach model.

Gus Dur adopted da'wah with a cultural approach model. He provided a new perspective in the world of da'wah. He paid careful attention to building tolerance and togetherness in the Indonesian and international context. His work in humanity, democracy, human rights, peace, and tolerance is recognized by the people and institutions around the world. However, as a human being, Gus Dur indeed invited the pros and cons of his thoughts and existence.

Many studies on multicultural da'wah have been carried out with the following findings: first, Gus Nuril's multicultural da'wah concept recognizes and respects various cultures and religions (Mu'jizah, 2016). Second, the Prophet's methods of da'wah include a dialogue, story, and analogy (Huda, 2016). Third, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)'s multicultural method, thought, and missionary movements involve a friendly and peaceful respect for differences and fight for the cultural da'wah as a manifestation of Islam rahmatan lil' alamin (Rosidi, 2014). Fourth, Islamic Boarding School of Ngalah has close ties with interfaith communities (Saifullah 2014). Fifth, the Gusdurian network implements multicultural lues in the people of Surabaya through social activities (Rochmawati & Jatiningsih, 2018).

The specific point of the research lies in exploring the understanding of multicultural da'wah for modern society. It is expected to bring up a fresh new perspective and understanding of Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah and its relevance to modern society. The purpose of this research is to describe, explain, and identify Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah concept, efforts, and their relevance to modern society. It will provide a comprehensive understanding of how Gus

Dur performs da'wah and spread his ideas of intercultural understanding and respect. Besides, it also contributes as thought in the scientific treasures of society for the development of related knowledge.

Method

This study used a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach. The data were collected through observation and documentation. The results of observations and documents that have been collected were then analyzed, compared, and combined to form a systematic, coherent, and complete study result.

The primary data sources were Gusdurian pocket book, Gus Dur's thought class pocket book, and Gus Dur's writings in various media. Meanwhile, the secondary data sources were journals, books, magazines, and other documents about Gus Dur. In this case, qualitative data analysis is an effort made by working with data, organizing data, sorting data into one unit that can be managed and integrated.

Multicultural Da'wah

Etymologically, da'wah is derived from Arabic which means a call or invitation. Da'wah is an invitation to mankind with wisdom to follow the instructions of Allah and Rasulullah (Asmuni, 1983). According to Thoha Yahya Omar, da'wah is the process of inviting people wisely to the right path according to Allah's orders for welfare in the world and the hereafter (Aziz, 2009).

Meanwhile, Abu Bakr Aceh explained that da'wah was an order to invite fellow humans to return and live according to the way of Allah wisely (Aziz, 2009). Da'wah is an activity to people to carry out God's commands, towards the path of goodness and away from all the prohibitions of Allah and Rasulullah.

In Ainul Yakin's notes, many scientists in the world provide the definition of culture. Among others, E.B. Taylor (1832-1917) and L.H. Morgan (1818-1881) define culture as a universal way of human's life in various levels that all members of society share. Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Marcel Maus (1872-1950) revealed that culture is a group of people who adhere to symbols that bind in a society to be applied. Mary Douglas (1921) and Cliffort Geertz (1926-2006) hold the view that it is a way used by all members in a community group to understand who they are and to give meaning to their lives (Yakin,

2005). Culture refers to all forms of human dialectics regarding their daily life patterns (Maksum, 2011).

Based on some of the descriptions above, the understanding and meaning of multiculturalism can be developed. Multiculturalism is a concept that emphasizes the disparity and equality of local cultures without neglecting the rights and existence of existing cultures, in the sense that it has a major emphasis on cultural equality (Naim & Syauqi, 2008). Meanwhile, Bhiku Parekh stated that multiculturalism was a reality of cultural diversity (Molan, 2015).

Liweri (2003) states that multiculturalism is a concept or social condition composed of many cultures. It is a concept in which a community in the context of nationality can recognize diversity, difference, and cultural diversity, both race, ethnicity, and religion (Mahendrawati & Syafei, 2001). Multicultural societies are divided into groups of different cultural backgrounds and sub-cultures. They have social structures divided into institutions or agencies that are non-complementary, lack of awareness of carrying out consensus, so conflicts among the existing sub-cultural groups frequently occur.

Suparlan distinguishes plural and multicultural societies. Plural society refers more to a social order in which various elements of society have different cultural characteristics from one another. Each element relatively lives in its world. Sometimes, this type of relationship is dominant and discriminatory. Meanwhile, multicultural society is characterized by active interactions among its elements through the learning process. The position in these elements can realize justice among various elements (in Masyaruddin, 2006).

What is meant by multicultural da'wah is an activity of invitations or calls to the way of Allah through efforts to approach the cultural character of a community as the main key to providing understanding and developing a model of da'wah approach. Theoretically, the solution to the problem of da'wah in conflict-prone communities can be taken through an intercultural approach, namely a process of da'wah that considers the cultural diversity between the subject of da'wah and the recipient. The diversity of causes of interaction disturbances at the intercultural level, so culture and da'wah's can be exhibited while maintaining a peaceful situation (Aripudin, 2012).

In this case, multicultural da'wah is not only a process of transforming good Islamic values to people on earth, yet it also prioritizes conscientiousness to critically carry every positive culture without being shackled by the formal cultural background of a society. Therefore, it is expected to create a friendly, harmonious, peaceful, and respectful society.

Modern Society

The term society in English is derived from the word *socius* which means friend. In Arabic, it is called *syirk* which means to associate. In anthropology, society is defined as the unity of human life, which interacts according to a particular system of continuous customs and is bound by a sense of shared identity (Ishomuddin, 2005). In that sense, many people in a specific group make up the cultural life.

Society refers to a large or small group of humans who influence one another (Shadily, 1993). Modern society is a group of people who live in togetherness, who influence one another, and who are bound by norms. Most of its members have a cultural value orientation towards a more advanced life. Modern society is the society that has become secular (Syukur, 2002).

Related to the definition of modern society, it has several indicators or characteristics. The first, human relations are primarily based on personal interests. The individualist attitude develops rapidly that they do not care one another, do not know one another, and are indifferent. Secondly, relations with other communities are carried out openly in an atmosphere of mutual influence between humans and the environment to create reciprocal change. The third, they are oriented to changes. In pre-modern society, change was slow. In pre-agrarian societies, change barely occurred for thousands of years. The more developed the society, the faster the changes.

Modern society is constantly changing and fast, even the changes are institutionalized. This change is a feature and at the same time a problem that is always faced by modern society because the frequency is getting faster, so it cannot be followed by all levels of society. As a result, tensions and even disintegration become heavier and more traumatic than those in a traditional society. A change itself is driven and accelerated by the development of science and technology, which is like an accelerating wheel moving with an increasingly high intensity (Soekamto, 1993).

The fourth, they tend to utilize science and technology as a means to improve people's welfare. Technology colors all aspects of their lives. All needs can be met quickly through technology. The fifth, most of the people have received formal education to higher education levels. They understand how vital formal education is. The sixth, they are classified according to various professions and expertise. These professions result from the higher education levels of modern society. The professions that they are engaged in also follow the level of education that has been achieved (Noer, 1987).

The seventh, the applicable law is primarily written. The eighth, the people's economy is almost entirely a market economy based on money and other means of payment. The ninth, efforts to explore the environment to overcome the challenges posed by the environment itself. The tenth, the urge to curiosity and want to overcome challenges causes them to control the environment. The eleventh, they think more objectively and rationally. The twelfth, they are open, willing to accept suggestions, input, and criticism. The thirteenth, they think for a different future. The fourteenth, they respect time, considering that time is more valuable than gold, must be used as well as possible. The fifteenth, they always try to understand all the symptoms faced and organize them for a better life. The sixteenth, they live from the industrial sector, and besides, they also live from the trade, tourism, and other service sectors (Tilar, 1979).

Gus Dur's Multicultural Da'wah and Its Relevance to Modern Society

Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah concept refers to his central values, thoughts or ideas, and struggles. The main values include monotheism, humanity, justice, equality, liberation, brotherhood, simplicity, chivalry, and traditional wisdom. His idea of Islam is based on locality, tradition/community, nation, and mankind. It also refers to monotheism, human dignity and salvation (with justice, equality, brotherhood), and Iktisab/al-Kasb/Ikhtiyar. In addition, according to Gus Dur, Islam must interact with Marxism, Liberalism, Liberation Theology, Human Rights, Gender, Globalization, and Communism. Meanwhile, his struggle is the indigenization of Islam (making Islam able to accommodate the needs of local/community/etc). The indigenization of Islam is expected to be familiar with political change, economy, cultural development, and so on. The details regarding his multicultural da'wah concept are in the following figure.

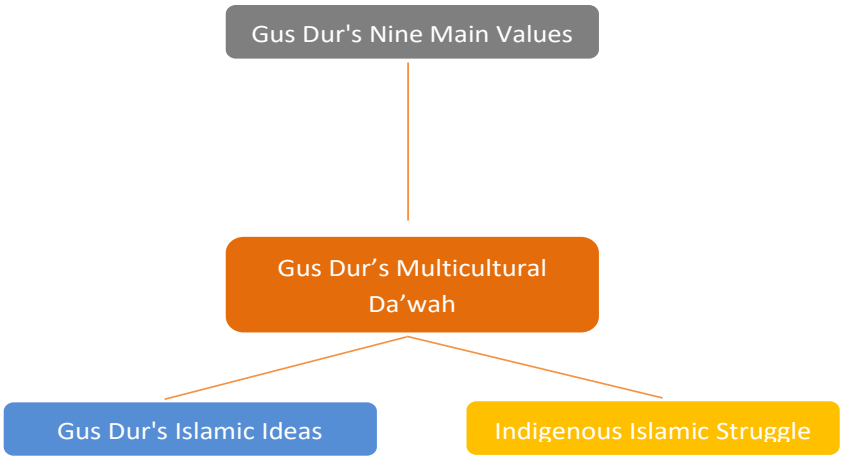

Figure 1: Gus Dur's Multicultural Da'wah Concept
Source: data processed by researchers

In Islam, awareness of God is based on monotheism values. For Gus Dur, awareness of monotheism is not solely based on text and logical argumentation, but it comes from spiritual practices, such as visits to *auliya's* grave and so on. This deep awareness of God manifests in two ways: experiencing specific dreams that are partly expressed to his friends, which are a fraction of a deep inner witness to his deeds. In addition, God manifests in a practice based on serving mankind, correcting them, guiding them, and moving them to the better direction under the values of love, humanity, justice, equality, brotherhood, knighthood, liberation, independence, and locality (Ridwan, 2019).

According to Gus Dur, realizing an Islamic system does not qualify someone to be considered a devoted Muslim. It becomes a point of dispute which is quite important, considering that there has been a growing understanding that does not attach importance to the meaning of the system (Wahid, 2006). In this case, those accustomed to formalization will be bound to an effort to create a fundamental Islamic system by ignoring the plurality of society. It results in an understanding that would turn non-Muslim citizens into second class. For Gus Dur, to be a good Muslim, one should accept the principles of faith, carry out the teachings or pillars of Islam as a whole, help those who are weak, uphold professionalism, and be patient when facing problems and tests. Consequently, realizing an Islamic system or formalization is not a requirement for someone to be given the title of being a devouted Muslim (Wahid, 2006).

Islam in Indonesia will be meaningful if it can formulate adversities to solve social problems. To achieve the goal, according to Gus Dur, what needs

to be done is dynamism (even it needs to be done by all religious and belief groups) in facing the reality of the modernity tradition, nationalism based on Pancasila, and the diversity of groups in Indonesia. Therefore, Islamic customization needs to meet the needs of Muslims in every social condition, so they are not trapped in Arabization (Ridwan, 2019).

Dynamic also means the indigenization of Islam which, according to Gus Dur, was based on the spirit that the danger of Arabization or Middle Eastern culture was the uprooting of the nation from the cultural roots. More than that, the Arabization model also does not necessarily match the needs in the realm of locality. The indigenous culture is not intended to prevent resistance from local cultural forces, but it is rather the culture itself, so it does not become extinct in its own country. The essence of the idea and struggle for the indigenization of Islam is the need, not to avoid the polarization between culture and religion, because such polarization is unavoidable (Wahid, 2001).

Besides, syncretism attempts to integrate technology or old belief systems, regarding the many things believed to be supernatural powers and their eschatological dimensions with Islam, which then forms pantheism. In that sense, people see changes in the particles, not at the central flow. At the same time, Muslims continue to pray, go to mosques, pay zakat, go to madrassas, etc. In regards, the struggle for the indigenization of Islam that Gus Dur meant aimed to reconcile Islam with the strengths of local culture, so it could continue to exist (Wahid, 2001).

Local culture as a cultural wealth cannot be eliminated for the sake of religion. Rather, the indigenization of Islam does not mean leaving the norms and values of the Islamic religion to accommodate cultural needs by taking advantage of the opportunities provided by variations in the understanding of texts (Wahid, 1989). Therefore, multiculturalism in Indonesia can become a valuable asset, especially with the support of the reality of a life of peace, tolerance and harmony from people of different religions. Hence, his concept of indigenous Islamization then became a part of the multicultural da'wah concept that did not consider the cultural or religious background of the recipients.

The purpose of multicultural da'wah is to expect effective and efficient interaction between actors and recipients of da'wah. Effective and efficient interaction patterns are the outcomes in the da'wah process. The actors and recipients of da'wah can understand the similarity of meanings while the messages and meanings should not be misunderstood. Therefore, the meaning

is colored by the cultural background of each owner. Thus, wisdom is needed in the interpretation of multicultural meanings in Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah process. In the sense, da'wah actor can identify the true meaning of the message, yet that meaning can be completely different from the point of view of the recipients with a different cultural background. If the actors of da'wah and recipients possess common ground, da'wah could be an effective and efficient interaction process (Liliweri, 2011).Therefore, cultural assimilation happens in multicultural da'wah. Assimilation is a term used to describe the acceptance of another culture, which could be an adoption of systems, values, customs, habits, lifestyles, and languages that the dominant cultural group always uses. Many people (although not all) adopt a system of values, customs, and customs outside their own culture (Koentjaraningrat, 2005).

The difference between da'wah and communication lies in the means and goals to achieve. Communication expects the participation of the communicant on the ideas or messages conveyed; there will be changes and expected behaviors. While da'wah is the approach model of persuasion, and the goal is to expect changes in attitudes and behavior following Islamic teachings (Asmara, 1997). Hence, communication is a process of sharing meaning through verbal or non-verbal behavior. All of these behaviors can be called a communication process when two or more people are involved. A person's behavior can contain meaning because people can learn it, and it is bound by culture. Cultural similarity in perception allows the giving of similar meanings regarding a particular social object or phenomenon.

The patterns and procedures for humans to communicate, such as communication situations, language and language styles, non-verbal behavior, are responses and functions of culture (Mulyana, 1990). In this case, a person will find it difficult to understand communication with people who have different cultural backgrounds if he is too ethnocentric. Ethnocentrism is the tendency to perceive other people unconsciously by using their own culture and traditions as a measurement for all judgments, including the good and the bad in seeing things (Bennett, 1990).

Prejudice is a fairly negative attitude that is usually directed at a particular group or community. Usually, it also focuses on a negative trait generalized to the group or community. In comparison, stereotypes are a picture or specific responses regarding the personal traits and characteristics of other people or groups which are generally negative. This attitude can hinder communications

between the actors and recipients of da'wah who have different cultural backgrounds (Liliweri, 2011).

Meanwhile, another attitude that comes from ethnocentric awareness that affects the effectiveness and efficiency of multicultural communication is discrimination. Discrimination aims to prevent groups/communities or limit other groups/communities trying to exist or own and obtain resources. Therefore, discrimination is a factor that can break cooperation and communication among humans (Liliweri, 2011).

The multicultural da'wah of Gus Dur goes to three areas. It involves all dimensional domains including the cognitive, affective and psychomotor, which are interrelated with one another.

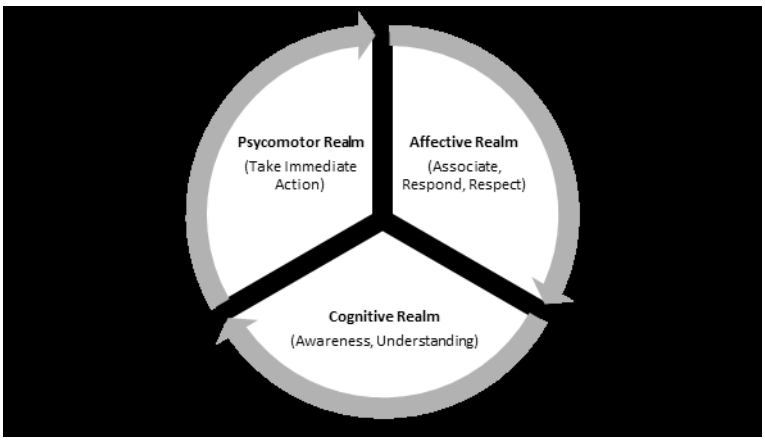

Figure 2: Gus Dur's Multicultural Da'wah Efforts
Source: Data processed by researchers

The multicultural da'wah process will undoubtedly provide understanding to the community for the long term and practical benefits mainly to build tolerance (Sumpena & Jamaludin, 2020). Besides, society can build roots of critical thinking that encourage the necessary personal changes and social structures. Moreover, it can turn many problems related to violence into nonviolent alternatives to lasting peace. It is obviously important to consider violence in war, which has harmed countless generations, as well as causing material loss and environmental damage. It also causes a chain of violence in many aspects of life, generating terrible phenomena, such as rape and sexual slavery and ethnic cleansing or genocidal crimes (Saleh, 2012). It, therefore, requires multicultural education (Murfi, 2015).

Seeing these various events, the presence of multicultural da'wah became important. It can change the mindset of society to see that alternatives

are to create a community order based on peace, an idea that is shared by all people in the world. Even though the implementation could be highly challenging, someone still has to start and work consistently. The following are some contents from the three domains of da'wah, cognitive, affective and psychomotor, which are integral to multicultural da'wah.

Cognitive Domain

Society needs to understand that peace is the absence of direct violence/ physical violence and the existence of prosperity, cooperation, and dynamic synergy between humans and ecology. In regards, Gus Dur believes that awareness or understanding is needed in relation to the concept of peace. Then, conflict is a natural part of a person's social life process. Therefore, it is essential for the community to understand and realize the consequences of conflict and violence.

Some peaceful alternatives include nonviolence, conflict resolution, human solidarity, development based on justice, and sustainable development. On the concept of nonviolence, society, especially young people, can learn the philosophical and spiritual basics of nonviolence and the effectiveness of methods to produce change. With this understanding and awareness, it is hoped that the community becomes non-violent agents of peace for their people or their territory, so conflicts and violence decrease or even dead.

Communities, especially young people, can learn effective ways to resolve conflicts without violence and apply it to their daily lives. By getting used to it in everyday life, the prevention of the conflict is unconsciously very affective in shaping society to solve problems or conflicts that occur in the community itself. Concerning human solidarity, all human beings have basic needs, aspirations, and membership which are interdependent. Therefore, solidarity between human beings is quite important to have and implement. With this understanding and awareness regarding solidarity, it is expected that the community will be socially strong regardless of the differences that may be highlighted or constructed by groups with an interest and are more likely to be intolerant.

Development based on justice requires critical awareness of the community of the reality and tragic consequences of structural violence and how the philosophy of peace building based on justice is the preferred alternative. With the understanding and awareness of social justice, people are expected to act relatively towards fellow humans regardless of differences in race, ethnicity, or

religion. Regarding sustainable development, society needs to understand the interdependent relationship between humans and the natural environment. Besides, they should also understand the changes needed to ensure the welfare of the earth's ecosystem to meet current and future needs. By understanding and realizing the importance of ecology, the community is expected to find out renewable and non-renewable natural resources.

Affective Domain

The affective realm covers reflection, critical and analytical thinking, communication, and empathy. Reflection includes the use of reflective thinking or reasoning, in which the community deepens their understanding of themselves and their relation to others and the environment. With this reflective thinking, they are expected to sympathize and empathize with other people in their environment. Thus, according to Gus Dur, reflective thinking is critical to instill a depth of feeling, empathy, and sympathy.

Critical and analytical thinking is the ability to approach problems with an open mind, but critically know about research and questions, evaluate and interpret evidence, recognize and challenge prejudices and unwarranted claims, and have opinions in dealing with arguments. In addition, by analytical thinking, society can easily solve social phenomena or social problems. Gus Dur believes that the cultivation of critical and analytical thinking is quite important in the life of the nation and state.

Communication covers listening attentively and expressing ideas and needs clearly and in a nonviolent manner. This communication skill needs to be honed, considering that recently many communities or groups have decided to conflict due to the lack of communication processes. The message they want to convey is not on target. Empathy is the ability to see the perspective of another person or group and feel what the person or group/community feels. It is a skill that helps broaden one's perspective, especially in the search for equitable and constructive alternatives (Care et al., 2017). To train empathy with other people or groups, Gus Dur invited the community to fight for socially marginalized people, including street children, shemale, and so on. Empathy or feeling what other people feel will foster social justice for all Indonesian under the five basic Pancasila principles.

Psychomotor Domain

Self-respect, pride in oneself, a sense of pride in family, social and cultural life, and a sense of pride in kindness will enable the community to contribute to positive change. Self-esteem in this case can also be interpreted as the dignity of the Indonesian nation which is known for being polite, cooperation, and tolerance. To maintain the dignity of this nation, Gus Dur often invited people to be aware of their self-esteem and identity as nations. Respect for others means honoring the dignity and values inherent in others due to different social, cultural, religious and family backgrounds (Hidayatullah, 2020). In regards, Gus Dur set an example by respecting religious people's holidays by giving greetings and even attending religious celebrations.

Gus Dur exemplified respect for life/nonviolence, valued human life and refused to respond to enemy situations or conflicts with violence, avoided physical force and weapons. This action means respecting life through an active cooperation among religious believers. In addition, respecting life in total peace can be realized by respecting the principles of ecological life to survive life in the future.

Gus Dur also promoted gender equality. It respects women's rights to have the same opportunities as men and to be free from harassment, exploitation, and violence (Mulia, 2003). In this struggle, Gus Dur fight for it through decisions taken when he was a chairman of PBNU. Therefore, to achieve gender equality, cooperation with various parties is made.

Compassion refers to sensitivity to the conditions of misfortune and suffering of others and acting with deep empathy. Besides, they also do good to those who are marginalized or isolated. This compassion was implemented by Gus Dur when defending the rights of marginalized people. He also possesses global concern, caring for all human communities in all parts of the world and having a sense of love for the nation and locality they live in (Suaedy, 2019). This concern for the world globally is manifested in various ways, including learning and working together in resolving conflicts that occur around the world. In addition, to learning about resolving conflicts, at least with concern for the global community, it will press several policies that may affect supporting conflict resolution without violence.

Concern for ecology, caring for the environment and nature are preferences for sustainable living and a simple lifestyle (Abdillah, 2001). Putting a concern for environment is part of the values of Islamic teachings. Gus Dur often participates and supports actions related to ecology. Cooperation, assessing the

cooperative process and the principle of working together to pursue common goals. Collaboration with various communities or community groups is not easy. However, Gus Dur always believed that when we are good with certain individuals or communities/groups, we will also be the opposite. Therefore, Gus Dur carried out many activities or joint activities with many institutions, organizations, or groups/communities throughout Indonesia and even abroad.

Openness/tolerance deals with the process of growth and change and a willingness to approach and accept other people's ideas, beliefs, and respect for the diversity of world spiritual traditions, cultures, and forms of expression (Masrawi, 2010). Gus Dur's openness and tolerance appears when he is quite open to anyone or any group who wants to join or cooperate in any of his activities or activities. Justice, acting with a sense of justice towards others, upholding the principle of equality (rights and dignity) and the right to reject all forms of exploitation and oppression. The principle of justice provides open spaces for all levels of society to voice their rights. And, Gus Dur and other groups did a lot of mediation and assistance to find solutions and uphold justice.

Social responsibility is a willingness to contribute to shaping a society characterized by justice, non-violence, and welfare and a sense of responsibility towards present and future generations. Gus Dur pursued this social responsibility by promoting tolerance and peace through various media, such as discussion forums and writing papers (Munjid, 2021). He has a positive vision, imagining the future type of society with hope and pursuing its realization in a way they can. By having the positive vision or outlook on life, the community can fight for their rights independently to create a sufficient consideration and have the power to change the situation.

If we take a close review on the materials of multicultural da'wah, they do not contradict with Islamic da'wah. All are relevant to one another. Most of the contents of the multicultural da'wah have been written in al-Qur'an. Al-Qur'an invites mankind not to do violence on earth and uphold the value of diversity among human beings (Mujahidin, 2018). Multicultural da'wah performed by Gus Dur does not promote doctrines, such as da'wah in general. He is more on the inculcation of Islamic values that do not have to be formulated, so they are very relevant to the conditions and needs of modern society.

Conclusion

Gus Dur's multicultural da'wah refers to three main concepts: his main values, Islamic ideas, and struggle for the indigenization of Islam. The main values provide a lot of inspiration during his struggle. They are monotheism, humanity, justice, equality, liberation, brotherhood, simplicity, chivalry, and traditional wisdom. Meanwhile, Gus Dur's Islamic ideas are rejections against Islam's formalization, ideologization, and syari'atization. On the other hand, he sees that the glory of Islam lies in the ability of Islam to develop through the cultural realm. His struggle for the indigenization of Islam aims to reconcile Islam with local cultural strengths as culture cannot be eliminated under religion.

Multicultural da'wah covers three domains, cognitive, affective and psychomotor. The cognitive domain refers to the understanding of the holistic concept of peace, conflict and violence, and recognizing several peaceful alternatives. The affective domain is a form of responding, relating, and respecting. The psychomotor domain includes maintaining national self-respect, respecting others, and respecting life or non-violence. These three domains are then framed into various activities, such as lectures/speeches, writing, discussion forums, and social actions. Therefore, wisdom is needed so that the da'wah is relevant to the conditions of modern society. The perpetrators and recipients of the da'wah can have a common ground that they have an effective and efficient process of interaction.

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SYMBOLIC MEANING ANALYSIS OF *KESANDINGAN* RITUAL IN PROBOLINGGO

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Abstract

Kesandingan, one of the rituals in Probolinggo, East Java, is a cultural phenomenon that mingles with religious elements of society. It is something sacred and mystical that parents do when a toddler (an infant under three years old) experiences heat illness for days, tends to be fussy, cries a lot, and cannot sleep at night. This research aims to explain the process of symbolic communication of kesandingan ritual and to understand the symbolic meaning behind the ritual. It is a descriptive-qualitative study through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The data analysis uses a qualitative-naturalistic technique. The result demonstrates that the symbolic communication process of kesandingan ritual in Mentor, Sumberasih, Probolinggo, comprises seven series: burning incense, wiping incense smoke on the child's face, giving the child holy water to drink, wiping the child with floral water, preparing food, making a wish on the child's bed, and distributing food. Meanwhile, the symbolic meaning of kesandingan ritual refers to divine, social and personal dimensions.

Ritual kesandingan merupakan salah satu ritual masyarakat Probolinggo Jawa Timur yang sudah menjadi fenomena budaya yang berbaur dengan unsur religi masyarakat. Ritual kesandingan merupakan sesuatu yang sakral dan mistis yang dilakukan orang tua saat anak batita (bawah tiga tahun) mengalami sakit

panas berhari-hari, rewel, kerap menangis dan tidak bisa tidur terutama malam hari. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menjelaskan proses komunikasi simbolik ritual kesandingan dan memahami makna simbolik dibalik ritual tersebuat. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif-kualitatif, pengumpulan datanya melalui observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi. Sedangkan analisis datanya menggunakan teknik analisa data kualitatif-naturalistik. Sebagai hasilnya, diketahui bahwa proses komunikasi simbolik ritual kesandingan di desa Mentor Kecamatan Sumberasih Kabupaten Probolinggo meliputi tujuh rangkaian yaitu: membakar kemenyan, mengusap asap kemenyan ke wajah anak, memberi minuman kepada anak dengan air doa, mengusap wajah anak dengan air bunga, menyiapkan makanan, memanjatkan doa ditempat tidur anak, dan membagikan makanan. Sedangkan makna simbolik ritual kesandingan mencakup tiga dimensi, yaitu: dimensi ketuhanan, sosial, dan personal.

Keywords*: symbolic meaning; Kesandingan ritual*

Introduction

Indonesian Islamic culture represents a distinctive identity with various rituals and practices, which combine traditional and Islamic teachings (Hilmi, 2020). Traditional healing is a socio-cultural phenomenon that thrives in remote communities where adequate health facilities are less accessible. Therefore, when people suffer from certain diseases, the main alternative is traditional healing through medicinal rituals believed to cure the disease.

Ritual is a series of ceremonials attached with magical elements carried out by certain groups of people. Ritual is a path for humans to safely and productively navigate the darkness and chaos when they are down (Watkins, 2019). The ritual elements include the place and time, the ritual process, the tools used, and the people who perform the ritual. Ritual is an important site of emotional exchange within survivor families (Sidorchuk, 2018) and that in adulthood, the children of survivors have engaged in ritual innovation to separate from their traumatized parents (Jacobs, 2011).

As a rich country in cultures, beliefs, and customs, various traditional healing rituals are easily found in almost all regions in Indonesia. One of them is the healing ritual of *Turun Jin*, which has been developed and passed down from the people of Rimba Melintang, Rokan Hilir Regency. The ritual of descending the genie is believed to be a ritual treatment for ailments, such as transmitted diseases, spirit disorders, fever, and serious illnesses (Kardila, 2016).

Javanese syncretism lies in the belief in God, a supernatural power that synergizes with local culture. Javanese believe in the concept of a disease that commonly affects babies and children called *sawan*. *Sawan* is perceived to attack babies and children due to the act of invisible creatures.

Meanwhile, the term "*kesandingan*" is more familiar to the people in Probolinggo. *Kesandingan* is a ritual for the people of Probolinggo, East Java, to heal babies or children who experience disturbance by invisible creatures. It has become a cultural phenomenon that mingles with religious elements of society. The matching ritual is something sacred and mystical that parents do when a child experiences heat illness for days, tends to be fussy, cries a lot, and cannot sleep, especially at night. According to the indigenous people of Probolinggo, it occurs due to the act of the spirit (invisible creatures) of the ancestors, trying to communicate with the child. Javanese and partly Madurese are familiar with the term "*ketempelan*".

Probolinggo is a part of East Java, and Kraksaan is the center of the government. Probolinggo is also well known as the producer of shallots and mangoes. It has the dimensions of belief, tradition, customs, and other rituals. The society hold a strong Islamic nuance, so Islamic values and local culture is perfectly-acculturated. Islam in Probolinggo is unique in term of the practice and meaning.

The practice of traditional healing rituals among society in Probolinggo is also a unique cultural portrait. They still preserve it from generation to generation with beliefs from either a religious perspective or sociological features of the local community. When viewed from the study of cultural anthropology, it requires further exploration. The people around Mentor, Sumberasih Subdistrict, which comprises Darungan, Bendungan, and Kalicangkah hamlet consider the ritual of accompaniment as the main alternative to traditional healing when their toddlers have a fever, no appetite, and sleeping difficulty (Interview, 6 October 2018).

The ritual of "*Kesandingan*" is carried out as a tribute to the ancestral spirits and communication efforts that the subtle power does not disturb the toddlers, and they soon recover. This ritual is symbolic considering human is an animal symbolism. Many symbols have deep and specific meanings for ritual in pair. The meaning of symbols in the pair ritual is identifiable through symbolic interaction theory.

Helbert Blumer states that the urgency of meaning to one's actions includes one's attitude towards others based on meanings understood by them.

Meaning is created as a result of human interactions modified through an interpretive process (Fisher, 1986). Humans do not only move because of the influence of stimuli both intrinsically and extrinsically, but they are creatures that are aware of themselves. Further, human relations in the community are influenced by socio-cultural processes and social structures manifested through social interaction. In addition, the meaning of symbols, which includes conditions and symbol, Blumer defines this level as non-symbolic and symbolic interaction (Fisher, 1986).

The Islamic rituals in Indonesia have been studied from several perspectives by many scholars (Manan, 2020; Munip, 2018; Ridwan & Sulaeman, 2020; Sakai, 2017; Sari et al, 2020). The ritual observed in this study is related to communication actors that contain aspects of the soul. The use of meaningful symbols during the ritual has a special style that refers to certain point, and the symbolic meaning becomes the focus of this study.

Method

The current study is a field and qualitative descriptive research because the main data source is derived from the natural setting. The researcher is the key instrument. It explains the object descriptively focusing on the results rather than the process. In addition, the existing data are analyzed inductively and the meaning of each incident is the prioritized concern. This study uses a phenomenological study approach. Phenomenology is a study of something that appears or what appears or a phenomenon (Moleong, 2002).

The data collection techniques are observation, interview, and documentation. The participant observation covers a kinship approach to warm the atmosphere to understand each other's goals, so researchers are well accepted to get the intended information. This case includes adaptation by living with research subjects and participating in the activities within. The researchers also conduct sorting out social situations including places, actors, and activities. The focus of observations is the procession and the symbolic meaning of the *kesandingan* ritual. The documentation is done to explore primary and secondary data regarding the procession and symbolic meaning of *kesandingan* ritual in Probolinggo community.

The data analysis uses a qualitative-naturalistic analysis technique. Qualitative data analysis attempts to collect data, map data, classify them into manageable units, synthesize, search, critique, find patterns, find the focus

of the study and what is learned, and decide which results have been found (Moleong, 2002).

In this case, the researchers use the Miles and Huberman's model. The first step is collecting data through observation, interviews and documentation. All data are descriptive according to what happens in the field. The next step is to reflect, interpret, and critically analyze them. Then, it proceeds with reducing data through classification, the subject of simplification, transformation of raw data from field subjects, classifying and eliminating unnecessary according to the focus of the problem. The next stage is presenting narratively from notes obtained in the field. The final step is drawing conclusion, it reviews the presentation of data and field notes through in-depth discussions with several competent informants (Sugiono, 2008).

Symbolic Interaction Theory

George Herber Mead was the initiator of the basic theory of symbolic interaction, but it was Helbert Blumer in 1937 who created and popularized it (Sobur, 2003). This theory explores human communication with the use of meaningful symbols. According to Blumer, man is the re-creator of his environment, the designer of his object world in the flow of his every action. Adherents to this theory argue that humans are moved to take action because of the meaning labeled with people, objects, and phenomena. This meaning is manifested through the language used to communicate with other people and himself or his thoughts.

The main points in this theory are: first, the urgency of meaning to one's actions includes one's attitude towards each other based on meanings that they understand. The meaning created by human interaction is modified through an interpretive process. Second, humans do not only move because the stimulus is good intrinsically or extrinsically, but they are beings who are aware of themselves. Third, human relations in the community are influenced by socio-cultural processes and social structures manifested through social interaction. Fourth, the meaning of symbols, including terms and symbols, Blumer defines this level as non-interaction and symbolic interactions (Fisher, 1986). Post-structural theory defines ritual action as the communication of meaning and the construction of reality, identity, and community (Sande, 2000).

Blumer's symbolic interactionism theory includes several basic ideas (Paloma, 2004). It covers; first, a collection of society contains humans who interact with each other. It occurs through collective action and forming social

structures. Second, the interaction between humans includes human activities with other humans. Non-symbolic interactions contain a response stimulus, so symbolic interactions contain interpretations of human action. Third, it is an intrinsically insignificant object. Meaning is the product of symbolic interaction. This object can be classified into three types: physical, social, and abstract object. Fourth, humans are unique creatures knowing external objects, but they also see themselves as objects. Fifth, all human actions are interpretive actions. Sixth, these actions are interrelated and in accordance with group members. It is a collective action which is continuous, stable, and can realize cultural values (Sobur, 2003).

Meanwhile, George Ritzer (in Mulyana, 2001) summarizes the theory into the principle that humans, unlike animals, are equipped with the ability to think. The ability to think is shaped by social interaction. During the social interaction, humans learn the meanings and symbols that enable them to use their special thinking abilities. Meanings and symbols allow humans to continue specific actions and interaction. They can change the meaning and symbols they use in actions and interactions based on their interpretation of situations. Humans can make modifications and change policies because of their ability to interact with themselves, which enables them to test a series of opportunities for action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages, and select one of those courses of action. Interrelated patterns of action and interaction will form groups and communities.

Symbolic and Ritual Communication

Animal symbolic is the term for humans as creatures who use symbols, so there is a symbolic system that can distinguish between humans and other creatures. Humans are unique creatures with a lot of media used to communicate, such as speaking, using signs or symbols and words. In a cultural environment, people from generation to generation use special symbols believed to be a way to interact with their fellow communities.

According to Susanne K. Langer, basic human needs are symbolic such as eating, seeing, and moving. This is an important ongoing process of human logic. Therefore, human achievement depends on the symbols used (Sihabudin, 2011). In regard, ritual is a series of human activities packaged with customs or laws that the community believes, and it is related to various events that commonly occur among society (Koentjaraningrat, 1994).

According to Prawirorahardjono, human's ritual procedures are as follows: first, cleansing, such as washing the face, hands, feet, and other body parts just before starting the ritual. Second, clothing used in the ritual: clean, neat, and formal. They can also dress in white. Third, place of ritual: free, and it can be anywhere. Fourth, special ritual equipment: mats, lighting or candles. Fifth, preferred attitude: sitting continuously, closing eyes, hands can move freely and harmoniously, head/face is down and bowed. They can also be standing, sitting on a chair. Sixth, direction of concentration: can be free and harmonious. Seventh, a series of ritual prayer ceremonies: they can pray silently, say certain words in the hope of cleansing the spiritual and the mind and strengthening faith, and praying aloud while muttering quietly (Endaswara, 2002).

Rituals or Rites and Ethnomedicine of *Sawan* and *Kesandingan*

Ritual is a series of human activities to communicate with God, ancestral spirits, great gods or other invisible creatures. It is often conducted repeatedly in a certain moment, every month, every day or sometimes. It can be in the form of prayer, carrying offerings, eating together, preparing offerings, dancing or singing, shouting, posing, performing sacred dramas, fasting, and meditating (Koentjaningrat, 1985).

Meanwhile, ethnomedicine is the study of folk medicine, by classifying diseases, conducting therapy and traditional prevention. It is a belief and practice related to diseases originating from ancient cultural developments (Briggs & Nichter, 2018) and not from the conceptual framework of modern medicine (Joyomartono, 2007). *Sawanan* is an event that is carried out because of violations of humans related to the norms of life that causes a baby or child disturbed by spirits (invisible creatures). Sanctions for violations can be in the form of certain symptoms or illnesses depending on the type of seizure that attacks them (Iskandar, 1981).

Sawan for most people sounds strange or illogical. However, they can easily deduce what happens based on the logic of thinking that is far from magic. Another thing in Java, which is thick with ancient culture and beliefs, *sawan* is considered a common disease in infants or children. There are even traditional shaman for babies and herbal medicine easily found in the community. Meanwhile, some people state that it is an epilepsy and seizure. However, some people think that epilepsy occurs because of the disturbance of invisible creatures, a curse and is sometimes associated with mental illness or

low intelligence. The term of *sawan* is also popular in Probolinggo, but there are striking differences in its definition and healing techniques. According to Suminah, one of the local people, Sawan is a seizure in a baby or small child, and there is no special ritual for healing. Usually, people immediately have their baby or child checked at the health center or hospital (Interview, 12 October, 2019).

Sawan is known as convulsions that happen to the child or baby, and there is no special ritual for healing because the people will bring the baby or child to public health center or hospital. The matching ritual is something sacred and mystical that parents do when toddlers experience hot pain for days, tend to be fussy, often cry, and can't sleep, especially at night. People in Probolinggo believe that it happens because the" invisible creatures" try to communicate with the child. Meanwhile, the term *kesandingan* for people in Probolingo is slightly the same as the term *sawan* for Javanese, yet the definition, causes, and healing rituals are highly different.

Result and Discussion

Symbolic Communication Process of *Kesandingan* Ritual

According to the ritual performers and the senior figures of Mentor village, *kesandingan* is the condition when the spirit of the ancestors (invisible creatures) 'sambang' (comes) to their descendants. They may be the ancestors of the father, mother, great-grandmother or others. They want to know their children and grandchildren. Sometimes, they miss their offspring or want to carry the child. The causes varies, so the preparation of the rituals is also different. Children cannot be exposed to a match after turning "aqilbaligh" or after circumcision. *Kesandingan* is understood as the event of a child who is 'emblazoned' by invisible creatures or the spirit of a deceased ancestor, such as a grandfather, grandmother, great-grandmother or others, either from the lineage of the mother or father.

On its history, *kesandingan* is a treatment that Mentor villagers for generations have trusted. Especially in the past, the dynamics of society were deeply thick with animism and dynamism. Accordingly, they believe that everything that happens to humans is related to the supernatural realm rather than medical treatment even though the medical had not developed as today.

Another aspect to note is on the signs that indicate if a toddler or child is experiencing comparability. The signs of pairing are quite easy to recognize.

The child is suddenly fussing unusually, crying all the time, glaring in fear without cause and lasting for days.

The social construction of Mentor village community is related to the ritual of accompaniment. Ritual accompaniment is one of the cultural phenomena of traditional healing (ethnomedicine) passed on from generation to generation. Comparability is interesting because it is a cultural feature of ancestral heritage that is difficult to understand by logic, especially for nonindigenous people. After all, it is related to belief in supernatural powers.

As a cultural reality, comparability does not stand alone or believe in a particular group. However, *kesandingan* is a social construction of society that occurs over a long period. Thus, the social construction of the Mentor village community regarding this alignment is very strong. The community believes that the child will recover by performing a matching ritual. Even though people live with medical sophistication and affordable health facilities, they prefer 'alternative' treatments that are affordable and practical. In addition, a hereditary belief passed down from their ancestors also "legitimizes" the validity of the matching ritual to deal with fussy children, who did not stop crying and couldn't sleep, especially at night.

The accompaniment ritual aims to communicate with God, ancestral spirits or other invisible creatures. It is carried out when a child is believed to be 'on the cross' with the spirit of his deceased ancestor to ask for help, so the ancestral spirit immediately leaves and does not disturb the child anymore. Thus, the child will recover as usual. In this context, according to Sutan Alisyahbana, human thoughts, attitudes, and actions focuses on how to get the help of spirits or invisible creatures that disturb or hinder. There are various kinds of rites, incantations, prohibitions, and orders that fulfill life among society (Simuh, 1996).

Kesandingan ritual is one of the myths that the Mentor village community has believed for generations. Myths have a close relationship with the unseen because according to Frazer, in the past humans only used magic in solving life's problems that were beyond the limits of their ability and intellectual knowledge. The more advanced culture, the limit of human reason is still very narrow. Life problems that cannot be solved by reason are solved by using myths. Myth is also a narrative description or narrative about something sacred, which concerns extraordinary events outside of daily human experience. This narrative is generally manifested in stories about the supernatural world (Zainuddin, 2019) and Javanese supernatural world (Harwanto, 2020).

One of the characteristics of *Kejawen's* life is the love in myths. All Javanese behavior is often difficult to get rid of aspects of belief in certain things. That is why the mystical system of thinking will always dominate the behavior of Javanese. Javanese are known for the expression "*wong Jowo iku nggoning semu*" (Javanese people are sensitive to symbolic language). Symbolic language is very basic for Javanese (Mulyana, 2017; Niken & Herawati, 2019) due to their ethical sensitivity (Damami, 2002).

Kesandingan ritual symbolizes the Mentor village community to 'communicate' with the transcendent because humans are unable to approach directly. The holy is transcendent while humans are corporal beings who are tied to their world. As Mircea Eliade stated, a symbol is a tool or means of recognizing the holy and the transcendent (Susanto, 1987).

Kesandingan ritual as a symbol of the Mentor village community to 'communicate' with the supernatural world is a conceptualization of one thing, a symbol exists for something. Symbols or collections of symbols work by connecting a concept, pattern, or form that produces meaning as a complex relationship between symbols, objects, and humans that involves denotation (shared meaning) and connotation (personal meaning). In this case, the power of symbols can lead anyone to believe, acknowledge, preserve or change perceptions of people's behavior in contact with reality. The power of symbols lies in not only their ability to represent reality but also reality represented through the use of symbolic logic (Fashri, 2007).

The Symbolic Communication Process of *Kesandingan* Ritual

The symbolic communication with the ritual accompaniment in Mentor Village, Sumberasih, Probolinggo comprises seven stages: 1) burning incense, 2) wiping incense smoke on the child's face, 3) giving the child a holy water to drink, 4) wiping the child's face with floral water, 5) preparing food, 6) praying on the child's bed, and 7) distributing food.

According to Auguste Conte, human thinking starts from belief in something unseen, which has supernatural (theological) powers, all dangers, diseases, disasters, death and so on—coming from supernatural powers (God). So, to refuse and keep away from these dangers, it is necessary to get closer to God, by making offerings by saying all the pujas and praises he offers (metaphysically) (Zainuddin, 2019).

These stages are symbolic interactions to translate and define new dimensions of reality regarding the cosmological and metaphysical relationships.

According to Morris, both Levi-Strauss and Cassirer argue that symbols are "something artificial", "clues", and it belongs to the world of meaning. Human knowledge is symbolic (Zainuddin, 2019).

The objects and the series of obligatory stages in the companion ritual represented by the symbol are what the social group means. Humans communicate through symbols. On the one hand, symbols are formed through the dynamic of social interactions, constituted as empirical realities, inherited historically, and they have value-laden. They are references for insight, giving instructions for members of certain cultures to live their lives, media, communication messages, and social representations.

In this case, cultural knowledge is more than a collection of symbols, folk terms, and others (Geertz, 1992). Like other areas in Java, the Mentor Village Community in carrying out accompaniment rituals cannot be separated from the use of symbols that are full of meaning. In this context, Javanese society essentially has a distinctive culture as a symbolic society. As in everyday life, symbols are useful for mediation to convey a certain message, compile an epistemology and beliefs embraced. The symbol for Javanese society has become a very open simulation as a means or things essential, so the essential truth becomes blurred (Herusatoto, 2001).

Kesandingan ritual is a series of activities of the Mentor village community as a medium for communication with God, the ancestral spirit, carried out repeatedly by praying, bringing offerings and giving food to let the 'spirit or invisible creatures' leave immediately. Given that Islam is the only religion practiced by the Mentor village community, the religious dimension cannot be separated from *kesandingan* rituals, such as reading *bismillah*, and praying in a pure state.

In regard, Javanese Islam requires that the rites of circumcision, marriage and death be carried out according to Islamic law. Javanese Islam also believes that other aspects of Sharia-centric piety are free to choose (Zainuddin, 2019). The application of the microcosm/macrocosm to cosmologic, religious, social, and political thought transforms the character of mystical Sufi (Herusatoto, 2001), and in the context of mystical Sufi within Javanese Islam (Rubaidi, 2019; Huda, 2020; Rohma, 2020).

The Symbolic Meaning of *Kesandingan* Ritual

The components of meaning and symbol elements are language, physical reality, and feelings (Cassirer, 1987). To understand the meaning of the

comparative ritual symbols among the community of Mentor Village, this study employs the theory of Helbert Blumer. It covers the urgency of meaning to one's actions, which includes one's attitude towards others based on meanings understood by them. Meaning is created by interaction with fellow humans who are modified through an interpretive process. In addition, humans do not only move because of the influence of stimuli either intrinsically or extrinsically, but they are creatures that are aware of themselves. Also, human relations in the community are influenced by socio-cultural processes and social structures, manifested through social interaction. Lastly, Blumer defines this level as non-symbolic and symbolic interactions (Fisher, 1986).

Kesandingan ritual symbol for the community of Mentor Village means: first, the dimension of Godhead. In practice, the divine dimension can be seen from several symbols that believe in God who is always alive, in the soul and divine will that governs the universe and has a moral relationship with mankind. In this discussion, the divine dimension is Islam. *Kesandingan* ritual is an acculturation of Hindhu-Budha and animism with Islamic values, such as reading *bismillah*, prayer, and making a wish during the ritual. It means asking Allah for help so that the 'spirit or invisible creatures' of the ancestor who disturb the child leave and he/she recovers immediately.

The second meaning is social dimension. The meaning of the social dimension in the matching ritual within the community gives goodness for self and for others:

1. Concern for others
   In the accompaniment ritual, the prepared food is given to neighbors or relatives who have small children. Giving the food is a form of caring and sharing with others.
2. A close relationship among family members
   A parallel child is the existence of 'spirit or invisible creatures' from the ancestor of the mother or father's lineage who is 'embracing' their children and grandchildren. Therefore, it contains valuable lessons to always care for family members to maintain a good relation.
3. A pray for relatives who have passed away
   One of the important processes in the companion ritual is to pray for the "spirit or invisible creatures" of the ancestors to "return" to their natural world and not disturb the child, so the child recovers. It deals with the teaching to always pray for the relatives who have passed away. It shows cares for the descendants. The Prophet says, "... If a human dies, his deeds

will stop, except for three cases, *sadaqah jariyah* (charity), useful knowledge, and pious children who always pray for their parents" (HR. Muslim).
For the people of Mentor Village, matching ritual is intended to provide goodness in the following personal dimensions:

4. Sincerity
   To implement this ritual of accompaniment, a family whose child experiences a pairing must prepare food according to the "instructions" of the traditional healer and gives it to neighbors or relatives who have small children. Therefore, one must learn to be sincere to share with others.
5. Recognition of the Supreme Being
   The matching ritual plays as a form of a request to God Almighty to protect and ask for safety. So, it reminds us that humans are His creatures who have no power except by His will and, at the same time, recognition of the Supreme Being.

Conclusion

The symbolic communication process of *kesandingan* ritual in Mentor Village, Sumberasih, Probolinggo comprises seven stages: 1) burning incense, 2) wiping incense smoke on the child's face, 3) giving the child holy water to drink, 4) wiping the child's face with floral water, 5) preparing food, 6) praying on the child's bed, and 7) distributing food. Meanwhile, the symbolic meaning of *kesandingan* rhythm includes divine, social, and personal dimensions. This research provides insight to understand the existing rituals among people in Probolingo, so there is no misunderstanding in responding to the ritual, especially Javanese. Therefore, further studies can explore more and analyze it comprehensively.

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INTERPRETING *RUH* AS AN ECOLOGICAL SPIRITUALITY IN RELATION TO ISLAM AND JAVA MYSTICISM

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Abstract

This research aims to explain about the acculturation of Islam and Javanese wisdom in interpreting ruh (spirit) as an ecological behavior in dealing with natural disaster and exploitative activities. The concept of spirit refers to the awareness to interpret the relationship between human and nature as a living macrocosm unit. The awareness, in Islam, is a Sufi dimension of Sufi that blends with nature, such as Javanese philosophy on the principle of the unity of nature. It employs descriptive analytical method by integrating theo-sufistic paradigm to find a turning point in the common ground between Islam and Java in preserving the nature. The analysis goes into three conclusions: 1) the concept of spirit in Islam is a representation of one's love with nature as the manifestation of love with God in its essence; 2) Javanese's beliefs and rituals in ruh as a living and valuable existence signified in mystical mythology known for being haunted and sacred serves as theo-sufistic expressions of Islam and Java; 3) spirituality of the spirit generates awareness of the philosophy of Sangkan Paraning Dumadi, to live in harmony and balance between humans and nature.

Penelitian ini ingin menjelaskan tentang akulturasi Islam dan kearifan Jawa dalam memaknai ruh sebagai perilaku ekologis dalam menangani kerusakan alam dan aktivitas eksploitatif. Konsep ruh yang dimaksud adalah kesadaran

memaknai hubungan manusia dan alam sebagai satu kesatuan makrokosmos yang hidup. Kesadaran tersebut dalam Islam merupakan dimensi sufistik yang menyatu dengan alam sebagaimana falsafah Jawa tentang prinsip kesatuan alam. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif analitis dengan pendekatan integratif dalam paradigma teo-sufistik untuk menemukan titik balik persamaan persepsi antara Islam dan Jawa dalam memelihara alam hayati. Hasilnya, pertama, konsep ruh dalam Islam adalah representasi dari mencintai alam sebagai manfestasi mencintai Tuhan dengan dzatnya. Kedua, keyakinan dan ritual yang dilakukan masyarakat Jawa atas ruh sebagai eksistensi yang hidup dan memberi manfaat yang mewujud dalam mitologis mistik yang disebut angker dan sakral sebagai ekspresi teo-sufistik Islam dan Jawa. Ketiga, spiritualitas ruh memberikan kesadaran dalam filosofi Jawa tentang Sangkan Paraning Dumadi sebagai makna hidup untuk dapat serasi dan seimbang antara manusia dan alam.

Keywords: *integration of Islam and Java; ecology; spirit; sSufi*

Introduction

Ecological damage and criminal threats cannot lower the rate of natural disaster. It brings about an anthropomorphism ideology, leading people into the pragmatic way of utilizing natural resources. Relational patterns of subjects and objects between humans and nature have resulted in exploitative behavior as an integrated macro-microcosm concept. Besides, in the modern era, spirituality does not perform as a release of the complexity of life for a momentary concern, but to turn on the *fitrah* (purity) energy in the spirit to "to be" The Creator's purpose, not to master or "to have" (Naim, 2013).

Therefore, since 1980s, the world community has felt an unconducive climate change to the macro-survival of humans and natural biota on land and sea. These concerns prompted environmentalists to make the first deal in 1992 initiated by the United Nations (Declaration Rio de Janeiro, 1992). The meeting purpose was a part of the earth's rescue and destruction that directly impacted human existence. Thus, preserving the living nature is a part of the faith in Islam, or a home for the indigenous people of Java.

The lack of ecological awareness affects ecological damage for technological development, population growth, and economic motives. However, the fundamental lost is the reduction of the value system of the theological pathology. The normative and dogmatic value of human and environmental relation is interdependent. The dimensions of human unity with the natural environment are manifested in the space of life that affects each other for

survive and welfare. Sharia calls it *hifdzul bi'ah*, the ethos and awareness of maintaining the environment. Ecosystem sustainability is the manifestation of the basic principles of religion or *maqasid al syaria*.

At the same time, the indigenous people of Java hold an intense symbolic awareness through mythological practices leading into the safe and comfortable ecological spaces. They hold ancestral origins, with a strong relationship to the environment. Also, the value system is upheld to determine the economy, politic, social, and law, such as *Slametan,* an indigenous practice of gratitude for Javanese to maintain a balanced human and natural existence (Setiawati, 2019). The local wisdom can potentially conserve by objective truths instead of tendencies to counter-heresy or polytheism. Digging the awareness can be traced through the interrelation of Islamic spirituality and Java wisdom to preserve nature and environment.

The spiritual dimension of Sufism in Islam appears in the practice of bringing humans to get closer to God and encouraging their perception on nature as living things. Likewise, in Java, someone will never be the true Javanese if s/he does not apply an ethic and culture. Both are in the same mysticism as the concept of self-control and establishing core personalities. Thus, mysticism can influence human morality (Sartini et al., 2016; Koch, 2020), for example, the role of mysticism in maintaining harmony between religious communities, such as Islam, Christian, and other religions (Wahidi, 2013).

If mysticism can lead to harmonious social behavior, it could also build awareness of ecological behavior. In Java, avoiding disputes and differences means wise, that they can live in a balanced and harmonious manner under propriety (Kholil, 2007). That is why, Javanese greatly concern on the balance of ecosystems for spiritual basis, not juridical. The issue of natural destruction cannot be resolved without a global-holistic vision strategy approach at the level of policy makers and the local solutions' availability in practice (Mangunjaya, 2007). Therefore, this research explains and proves how Islamic and Javanese spirituality aspects are delivered to theo-ecology in the tradition of mysticism for Islam and Java. It examines the point of intercession of Islam and Java in understanding spirit as the essence of rationing ecological values.

The Mystical Paradigm of *Ruh* in Islamic and Javanese Belief

The basis for mysticism in Sufism is *ruh* (spirit) besides *zuhud* (leaving the pleasures of the world), *wara'* (pious), and so on. The spirit in Islamic literature is also known as *nafs* which means soul. Although the Qur'an sees

nafs has a wider charge of meaning, soul and the spirit are instruments of generating morality in life (Asriyah, 2010). Whereas, in *Mu'jam wa Tafsir li Kalimat al-Qur'an,* it refers to something which has a life sourced from God. Thus, spirit is absolute, hidden, and tender as the revelations of the prophets (Al-Jamal, 2003: 226).

The word *ruh* (الروح) in the Qur›an is found in some surah through keywords, such as *ruh* ((روح*rawahu* (رواح) *riyah* (رياح) *rihun* and (ريحان) *nafsun* (نفس). In the book of *Mu'jam al Mufahras li al Fadzi al Qur'an*, the keyword *ruh* (روح) is repeated thirty times while (ريح) is repeated nineteen times, (رياح) is twelve, and (ريحان) is twice. It is explained in An Nahl:6, Saba':12, Yusuf:87, Al Waqi'ah:89, Al Baqarah:87/164/253, Al Maidah:110, An Nahl:2/102, Al Isra':85, As Syu'ara:193, Ghafir:15, Al Mujadalah:22, Al Ma'arij:4, Al Anbiya:81/91, At Tahrim:12, As Sajadah:9, Al Hijr:22/29, Shad:36/72, Al Imran:117, Yunus:22, Yusuf:94, Ibrahim:18, Al Isra':9, Al Hajj:31, Syura:22, Al Ahqaf:24, Az Dzariyat:41, Al Haqqah:6, Ar Rum:51, Al Ahzab:9, Fusshilat:16, Al Qomar:19, Al Anfal:46, Al A'raf:58, Al Kahfi:45, Al Furqan:48, An Naml:63, Ar Rum:46/48, Fathir:9, Al Jatsiyah:5, Ar Rahman:12 (Baqi', 1945: 326).

While in *Mu'jam al Mufahras li Ma'ani al Qur'an*, Sibam Rusydi Zeini focuses on discussing the form of the word *ruh* (روح) in An Nisa' [4]:171, Yusuf [12]:87, Al Hijr [15]:29, An Nahl [16]:2, Al Isra' [17]:85, Maryam [19]:17, Al Anbiya [21]:91, As Sajadah [32]:9, Shad [38]: 72, Ghafir [40]:15, Syura [42]:52, Al Mujadalah [58]:22, At Tahrim [66]:12, Ma'arij [70]:4, An Naba' [78]:38, Al Qodar [97]:4 (Zaini, 1995: 516). On the other hand, Rusydi Zeini refers the word *nafs* (نفس) to *ruh* (روح) in Surah At Tawbah. In the Arabic dictionary, the word *ruh* has several meanings based on the pronunciation. The word *ruh* (روح) can also be *rihun* (ريح), which is wind and *rawhun*روح)) which is grace (Isfahani, n.d.: 206). In the view of Sufism, the word *ruh* has physical and metaphysical meanings; the first is related to medical while the other meaning as a whisper of *rabbani* who can know all things and can capture all understandings (Jumantoro & Amin, 2005).

Similarly, the meaning varieties of *ruh* are derived from the Qur'an, such as the word *ruh* with *dhamir ilahi* means glory, greatness, in Shad:72, As Sajadah:9, Al Anbiya': 91, At Tahrim:12, Maryam:17, and *ruh* with *minhu* means fortitude in An Nisa':171. The meaning of *ruh* followed by *dhamir* has other meanings, such as *ruh* with *min amri* means Qur'an, in Al Mu'min:15, Asy Syura:52; *ruh* which added *qudus* means *Amin,* Jibril's revelation bearer in Al Ma'idah:110; and *ruh* added *malaikat* means good deed (*amal sholeh*) in

Al Ma'arij:4 and An Naba':38. Thus, *ruh* is the sacred manifestation of God with all His goodness, which can directly motivate humans' morality and wisdom. Even the closeness of the spirit to God as a bond of ownership does not belong to a nature, God has the power over the spirit to remove or uproot it and give it the divine *nur* (Taymiyah, 1988).

R*uh* is سر الرب ونفخه فى أبي الخليقة آدم عليه السلام (manifestation of God given to the prophet Adam). No one knows the true *ruh* except Allah (Abdullah, 2003: 9). In the human side, *ruh* is given to human when s/he is inside his/her mothers' fetus as a creature and a servant who serves for God. Therefore, *ruh* is the only essence in man closest to truth and chastity.

Imam al Jurjani explains that human's *ruh* is gentle and nobler than that of other beings, such as animals. Meanwhile, Ibn Arabi argues that *ruh* is a soul. Sibawaih in Abu Ubaydah tells that Arabs call *ruh* is for man, animal, and jinn. However, it is different from a soul whose existence does not stand alone, but it ties to others. Confirmed by Imam Ghazali, *ruh* has two meanings, the manifestation of *rabbani* and a gentle essence that can motivate human to do good. Therefore, one needs to purify him/herself with worship to raise *ruh rabbani' degree* (Amen, 2018: 10).

According to Muhammad Mahmud Abdullah, *ruh* has a diverse dimension of meaning that refers to chastity in the Qur'an, such as *Ruh* as the meaning of the Holy Qur'an in Asy Syura:52, *Ruh* as the messenger of the Prophet and Rosul in Ghafir:15, An Nahl: 2. *Ruh* as *(Ruhul amin)* Jibril in Asyu'ara:193/194, An-Nahl:102. Scholars of *tafsir* see the word *ruh* as an angel who comes to Sitti Maryam, in An Naba':38, al-Qadr:4, Maryam:17/18. *Ruh* refers to the Prophet Isa directly, in An Nisa':171. The diverse understanding of *ruh* shows that it is a sacred essence which liberates from bondage the lusts that tend to spoil, and the glory from the nature of bad morality.

The theological approach above denotes that human in its existence consists of physical and soul (*al-ruh*) dimensions. So, *ruh* is a positive energy (*fitrah*) to lighten the behavior and human's view to judge between good and bad when it acquires light. If *ruh* can lead to thinking and actions, and also if it is filled with love, one's attitude shows love. Al-Farabi contends that *ruh* is *ruhani* that can move and think about determining one's direction (Nasution, 1999). Thus, damaging nature for wealth is not the reflection of *ruh*, but it is lust. In the dimension of *tasawuh*, *ruh* can balance the relationship between human, nature, and God in transcendental interdependence. Any effort of human should promote two dimensions at the same time, which are utilization

and maintenance. Javanese call them the awareness process on *sangkan paraning dumadi* (origin and purpose of life).

R*uh* inflation in the ecological spiritual is essentially a rallying point as the essence created and brought to life under God's will. Thus, the form, function, and maintenance are entirely under His power. This is theoretically justified in al Jatsiyah:13, that the whole thing on the sky and earth is derived and sourced from it. In addition, interdependent forces are formed between *ruh* and all nature to influence each other.

According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jauzi, *ruh* is a revelation, in as-Shadura:52 and Ghafir:15. It enlivens the hearts and other spirits. Besides, it generates strength, commitment, and help for believers to do something, in al Mujis:22. *Ruh* can also be an angel of Jibril, the matter of God, the prophet Isa, and Bani Adam (Jauzi, 1441: 446-447). It indicates that *ruh* is subtle, which moves human to act properly according to its purpose. The happiness of *ruh* comes up when it can incorporate pleasure, empathy, and happiness in another soul (Quthb, 2012: 33). Therefore, *ruh* leads human to social and environmental goodness to beatify soul.

In Javanese perspective, there is a belief that the connectedness between the visible realm (*skala*) and the invisible one (*niskala*) is inseparable. This belief is interpreted in Javanese rituals to objects considered to have invisible powers including the wild, such as forests or large and lush trees. Durkheim denotes, "*all* religion *struggles to conceive the inconceivable and to express the inexpressible, an aspiration towards the infinite*". The belief generates the term *roh* as a way of identifying objects or places which have an invisible dimension. Something invisible in Javanese belief could refer to jinn and other invisible beings (in Muqoyyidin, 2013). To obtain the safety, Javanese conduct *slametan* ceremonies to always associate every invisible realm with the power of either objects or sacred places through guardian spirits to gain strength.

The belief in the invisible *(ghaib)* power signifies ecological behavior known as sacred to the objects, places, and trees. For example, the prohibition of cutting down trees indiscriminately or visiting certain forbidden places, speaking impolitely, being arrogant, and avoiding certain some attributes to use. Therefore, it is necessary when ecological behavior is a part of the Javanese belief system as a sacred place.

Existentially, Javanese have an emotional closeness to the forest, so the forest affects the value system of Javanese society as the home of the world with various mythologies surrounding. It is a fundamental civilization of Javanese

that its existence becomes central. It is not only the satisfaction of life, but the aesthetic and spiritual value as a mirror of the world beauty and mental peace. The simple conceptualization of ecosystems among Javanese society is a logical consequence of belief in spirits or delicate beings in haunted or sacred identities.

Ancient Javanese believe that to get spared the disturbances and threats, they must build harmony with the spirits in the ritual of *slametan*. It is the way Javanese look for safety. Hence, after the arrival of Islam, it is united with the lives of religious people in prayer and followed by eating together. Also, it aims to maintain the order of public behavior in consideration of sacred things (Rosyidi, 2012).

The Interpretation of Mysticism: Javanese Islam in Ecological Representations

The anthropomorphic or homocentric understanding that places humans as rulers has encouraged exploitative attitudes as ideological truths. In fact, as a biotic creature, human is actually a unit of the macrocosm ecosystem (Rahmadi, 2014: 10). The causes of damage are very diverse from pollution, land misuse, and natural resources depeletion. Javanese uphold the philosophy of *rumangsa melu anduweni, wajib melu angkrungkebi* (sense of belonging, taking a part in maintaining). The meaning of the philosophy is very relevant in the guarding the nature from any destruction nowadays.

One of dialogueist islamic and Javanese religious practice has appeared to a new concept of religious practice, *Islam Jawa*, as a representation of high tolerance. The spiritual representation becomes more synchronous. This is also what sets it apart from the integrative model of Malay Islam (Sumbulah, 2012). Even, the cultural exchange is not just a dialogueist but also dialectic which brings about ritual and spiritual of *Islam Jawa* or *Islam Nusantara* (Muqoyyidin, 2012; Rubaidi, 2019). One of the dialogist model marks a spiritual understanding of ecological behavior. It can be found in the teachings of Sufism in Islam and Javanese mysticism. Both have something in common about the unity of human entities and God (Zakub et al., 2018).

In Islam, the consciousness of unity appears in the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of existence), for example *tasawuf* behaviors such as *zuhud, wara', faqir, fana'-baqa'*, and *insan kamil*. The understanding of *zuhud* means not to associate the heart with the pleasures of the world, so we need to take the distance with the reality of the world. *Wara'* is a cautious with *syubhat*

(confusion between halal and haram). *Faqir* means feeling enough and not following the whole desires. *Fana'-baqa'* is an attitude of self-alienation into God's existence, so what arises is only obedience to God, which is not on material. *Insan kamil* is the culmination of self-purification process by personality as well as the nature of God's name (Zuhri, 2010: 6-8). Spiritual behavior can control the lusts of greed and consumerism, so it assumes the pleasures of the material that are only temporary, and there is an awareness that nature as proof of God's existence.

Javanese mysticism is also very deep in interpreting the philosophy of life purpose, and human relationship with God in the dimensions of harmony and spirituality through the process of soul or *nafs* in delusion and spirituality. Those two keywords in Javanese view are the life regularity structured and organized neatly as a part of destiny, so they just serve out and maintain the balance created. At the same time, the greed is an inherent part of the sprituality dimension over the God's manifestation, so the entire macrocosm realm is God itself that is immanent. To bring harmony to life in and outside of Javanese, we need to simply and solely believe in mysticism, not the mystical practice.

Mysticism practice of Javanese society is known in *laku* tradition, prayer and sense in presenting the oneness of God in the concept "*ngelmu sangkan paraning dumani*" and "*manunggaling kawula Gusti*". The first concept appears in the awareness of mentality in *memayu hayuning buwana*, which means the meaning of self in micro and macrocosm harmony as *ngelmu* (wisdom). Therefore, it is no wonder that Javanese always maintain balance with the universe. Another consciousness is a space dimension called *sedulur papat lima pancer* that binds human as a unit of the universe to the inner stage *wudhar* or *mukasyafah,* which means that the whole entity of nature is the manifestation of God. This is where the concept of unification in Javanese arises which leads to ecological behavior.

Acknowledging the manifestation of God in human and the universe is unraveled in Ranggawarsita explanation in *Suluk Saloka Jiwa* about the concept of *sesotya* (values) and *embanan* (rules) (Nashichuddin, 2006). As a creature, human is in a circle of life between human and the universe. Human and his senses is granted the ability to think, to distinguish his type, his inherent roles, and responsibilities so that he/she is called human being or super human. The great mission of religious learning, which is the relationship of human with God (*hablum minallah*), God with human *(hablum minannas),* and human with

the environment *(hablum minal biah),* has positioned human to higher degree than other beings. It means that human carries a message of religious morality with its morality function. Durant argues that "religion has a hundred souls. All things passed away will leave forever, except religion" (in Ikhwan, 2003).

Spiritualist human with the essence of love for all beings, especially in the dimensions and ecological functions is depicted in the Qur'an such as; Al-Baqaraah:251, al-A'raf:24, al-Isra':14, al-Hajj:5/32, an Nur:41/46, al-Ahqaf:3, Ar Rum:8, Ar Ra'du:2. One verse directly implies the proper use of nature: *"It is He (Allah) who has made the earth a resting-place for you, and the sky a canopy, and sent down water from above wherewith He brought forth fruits for your sustenance. Do not, then, set up rivals to Allah when you know (the Truth)"* (al-Baqarah: 22). Meanwhile, the hadith also affirms the concept of ecology: *"And when the time of doomsday, and there is date-palms in your hands, plant it immediately."* (HR. Ahmad). The verses above confirm that the universe and the contents praise to God, so all the characteristics of life are inherent in plants, good trees growing big, tall, and withered are parts of the spiritual value of submission and servitude to God.

On the other hand, the legal and formal perspective of the laws governing the environment is explained in UU No. 4 of 1982 concerning environmental management (UUPLH-1997) and UU No. 32 of 2009 concerning protection and management of the environment (UUPPLH-2009). Both laws affirm the guarantee of a good life fulfilled with clothing and food centered on the goodness of nature (eco-centric) and that will leave anthropocentrism (centered on humans). Ecology is a form of equating perception and harmony as it equals to the reciprocal relationship between living organism groups to their environment (Akib, 2014: 3; Warassih & Fatimah, 2018).

Juridically, Article 1 number 7 UUPLH-2009 explains that the environment has certain limits in human influence on the environment or known for carrying capacity. The imbalance in the environment will cause natural damage, such as landslides, floods, drought, and so on. Likewise, Article 40 section 2 states that "*anyone who deliberately commits an offense as intended in Article 21 section (1) and (2) Article 33 section (3) is convicted to imprisonment for a maximum of (5) years and a maximum fine of Rp. 100,000,000.00 (one hundred million rupiah).* This article is related to Forestry Crime Article 78 section (1) with Article 50 section (1), which states that *"anyone who deliberately destroys forest protection infrastructure and facilities is convicted by a maximum of 10 years and a maximum fine of Rp. 5,000,000,000* ' (Ali & Elvany, 2014: 33).

The clearing of forest has turned into agriculture resulting in low groundwater absorption areas providing many benefits for human needs from kitchen needs to irrigating agricultural and plantations. Besides, the widespread illegal logging is a major factor of the flash floods that devastate agricultural villages that fail to harvest due to submerged in rainwater and many others. Environmental damage is caused by sophisticated technology through industrial development using nuclear power and factory waste. It also includes the factor of low education quality and poverty, that encourage people to exploit nature and reforestation. Thus, the actual use of the environment must be oriented towards humans' integrative economic, social and ecological interests and spiritual goals.

Natural Resources Law exists in the legislation of RI UU No. 41 of 1999 substitute No. 5 of 1967 on forest management, utilization, rehabilitation, protection and conservation: "forest is a unit of ecosystems in the expanses of land containing biological natural resources dominated by trees in the natural environment that cannot separate from each other. Forest management is based on the benefits and sustainability, popularity, justice, togetherness, openness, and cohesiveness" (Rahmadi, 2014: 164). Meanwhile, the strategy for the Conservation of Natural Resources and Ecosystems is in accordance with UU No. 5 of 1990, Article 45 section (1) which discusses forest utilization, Article 44 section (1) concerning restoration of forest functions, and strengthened in Articles 46 and 47, the prohibition of destroying forests in Article 50 with provisions of criminal law and prison in UUPLH-2009 Article 97 to Article 120. Thus, the function of the law for living nature aims to maintain the balance of the ecosystem.

On the other hand, the role of indigenous people in carrying out nature conservation with local wisdom is as important as designing positive laws about protecting nature. The customary law, according to Edward Goldsmith, is in harmony with the earth happened before the manifestation of various laws and regulations, which is the culture of the community around archipelago called "*chthonic*". The term comes from the Greek *khton* or *khthonous,* which means earth. It is used to describe the indigenous traditional law model of the archipelago. It shows how people have a refined view to build harmony with the earth, called nature conservation (Lukito, 2008).

In customary regulations, a *sanctum* means sanctions which aims to provide lessons and a deterrent effect for violators and destroyers of nature. For example, Balinese custom has two terms, *sanksi skala* (material sanctions)

and *sanksi niskala* (immaterial sanctions) as a logical consequence of the *Tri hita karana.* It teaches the integration of cosmic relationships, the balance of human relationship with God, with other humans, and humans with environment. In Balinese custom, many terms are used for the sanctions, such as *Prayascita, Pemarisuddhan* (traditional village cleaning ceremony), *Dedosan* (fines), *Mengaksama, lumaku, ngidih-olas* (apologize), *Metirtagemana/metirta yatra* (customary sanctions for clergy), *Meselong* (thrown into lua Bali), *Merarung/ Mapulang kepasih* (drowned in the sea), *Meblagbag* (tied), *Katundung* (expelled), *Kerampang* (stolen property), *Kasepekang* (not spoken to, not getting notification of community activities) and others (Surtha, 2015: 3-4).

Based on the above perspective, the existence of customary sanctions or customary correction maintains a balance, not only in the sense of humanism but a mysticism. It proves that local or customary law is not the creation of a rational, intellectual, and liberal mind, such as the Western way of thinking, but the creation of a communal, magical, and religious mind, or a cosmic communal. Therefore, obedience to customary law is not just a matter of appropriateness and compliance with legal material but more as a manifestation of sacred essence. It is because the peak of Javanese teachings, which are Buddhist and Hindu preferences, is self-authenticity and self-purity. Even, when the acculturation process of Islam and Javanese, customary law in the context of nature conservation is a process in the dimension of oneness with God (Khalimi & Khaer, 2013; Purwadi, 2011; Afrianti, 2019). Therefore, Java knows *pamoring-kawula gusti* in which nature is a part of God's existence.

Unifying with nature in Javanese custom is to have love with God, especially when the acculturation of Java and Islam influences the philosophy and teachings of a more mystical spiritual style. It is called a cosmic-magical relationship that engenders to environmental ethics. Thus, the approach of religion and belief becomes a means of control for the continuity of order and balance of life.

In Arabic it is called *'Urf* or *'Adah* which means habit, yet this definition in the use of custom as a social value system contains a broader definition. The first is as a set of certain rules in the form of laws, rules, teachings, morality, habits or actions in accordance with the customs of society. The second is customary provisions that are locally-based on their respective identities and languages. The third is a large collection of literature from and about *adat* written by experts or legal experts (Lukito, 2008: 5). Hence, custom can be understood as a value system of compliance and decency which must be

carried out by the practitioner based on the agreements made from both the previous and subsequent generations. From these customary rules, a concept of awareness about the relationship of unity between humans and nature is created. It is as a way of life and a social moral system building for Javanese as an indication of life or as the law itself.

The customary system involves various dimensions of life including natural phenomena that contain supernatural relationships because nature has supernatural powers that are mystical, and it indirectly connects the actual and spiritual dimensions. Custom as a law is not much preserved in the written tradition, but oral and action inherited from generation to generation in the united and needy macrocosmic world. The tradition is believed to be the balanced, just, and proper way of life.

In addition to an integrative relationship, Hindu also has three values of human life balance in the context of life, *tatwa* (*falsafah*), *susila* (*ethic*), and *upakara*. *Tatwa* describes one entity of God which is absolute and one or *Panca Crada*. Meanwhile, *susila* is the rules and arguments for *tat twam asi* and *upakara* as forms of ritual that oversees the trilogy of human relations. This teaching promotes a value of balance to achieve *moksa*, which means spiritual happiness and *jagadhita*, the welfare of life, and it is not indulging *indrianya*, lust. In I Gede Pudja's notes in Hindu philosophy, happiness requires *dharma* (worship), then *jnana* (science), and *sadhana* (continuous efforts) to control thoughts and behavior, and also *prayascita* (re-purification) (Lukito, 2008: 27). Genealogically, the part of the understanding of Javanese society is the manifestation of Hinduism, so it is possible if Javanese traditions imitate and apply some Hindu values and integrate them with their own traditions. The most basic instrumental in Javanese philosophy is appreciation and feeling to understand the reality of the nature in truth.

Interestingly, Javanese express the values in various life practices, such as *sesanti, pasemon, sanepa, isbat perlambang, pralampita, wangsalan, parikan, panyandra, paribasan, bebasan, seloka, customs, and beliefs.* It is a way and an effort to touch the most essential roots of life journey (Hariwijaya, 2006). Javanese understand the reality of universe as a symbolic and quasi phenomenon with multiple interpretations and values. They build their life principles based on symbolic meanings as the manifestation of supernatural values, especially to nature. The teachings of life are Javanese ethical standards to control attitudes and actions to remain consistent with universal goodness as a noble human characteristic in nature conservation practices.

The teachings of kindness in Javanese philosophy are different from formal legal rules which require external supervision through authorized institutions, but this is not the case with the Javanese. Javanese interpret the rules of life as a principle and commitment to one's life with humans. Endaswara (2010: 35) explained that: "Javanese ethic is very unique and different from that of Western because it has a distinctive picture of humans, individuals, society and the universe. There is no obligation to obey the rules, but it is our conscience, our deepest subtle feelings that tell us to follow them". This statement further reinforces the view of how the Javanese people have an existential and conceptual power towards the preservation and use of nature to meet the needs of life. Javanese value systems that regulate the relationship between humans and the natural environment.

Based on genealogical tracking, the ecosystems concept through understanding of *ruh* seems that Islam and Java can acculturate to read and understand (*verstehen*) each other. Islam broadly explores the concept of unity in an integral part of human life in a synergistic manner, which is human relationship with God (*hablum minallah*), relationship between humans (*hablum minannas*) and (*hablum minal bi'ah*). In fact, fundamentally in the teachings of religion (*theology*), faith is a powerful stimulus that can overcome the natural ecosystem in which people with deep faith do not see the nature as an object but a partner.

On the other hand, Javanese are models of society with a very high civilization not only from Hinduism and Buddhism but also Islam. The last religion provides an affirmation of the religious social life's meaning which remains uniquely Javanese with restitution in everything, like in theology, social, culture, and economy. That is why Javanese civilization is very tied with Islamic traditions. Accordingly, the Javanese paradigm engenders to a socio-religious form known as *Islam Jawa*.

Java-Islam community has unique characteristics which can be seen from several characteristics including variants of their ritual practice, and the interpretation of Javanese Muslims towards ritual (Suwito, 2015). It is undeniable that Islamic approach to Java is an acculturation by developing Islamic teachings that are more Sufi. The method of *tasawuf*, which is known as the sect of love, invites Javanese to learn more about Islamic teachings by Muslim traders through sea trade routes. It does not take a long time for Islam to be almost believed as an approach to understanding the realities of life that is more genuine, replacing animism and dynamism.

Tasawwuf approach consciously synergizes with Javanese who are *Zuhud*. In this way, they understand the depth of feeling to know their true identity. The aspect of mysticism which is strongly tied within is actualized in their socio-cultural system in relation to beliefs, levels of appreciation, and material deepening. When Islam comes with the concept of *tasawwuf*, Javanese accept it easily without viciousness. Then, the concept of interdependence between God, human and nature comes up. Destroying nature means hurting God's commands and humans, in which mutualism symbiosis between humans and the universe grows as a mystical spiritual depth.

The concept of *ruh* in Javanese affirms socio-theological value system in Javanese philosophy or idealism of life which is rich in meaning, not limited to factual and material aspects but also theological-transcendental ones. One of the expressions related to the current discussion is *Eling Sangkan Paraning Dumadi*, which means remembering the origin and purpose of life (Suratno & Astiyanto, 2004). This view of life teaches about the meaning of human origins and the purpose of life. For Javanese, knowing identity is the most essential effort in understanding the meaning of life purpose. They believe that the origin of human is the image of God and will then return to Him. Javanese see humans as creatures and there should eventually the One who creates (*urip ono sing nguripke*). They live in the dimensions of the glory and perfection of God's character. This feeling motivates them to live under God's will, not based on humans. Therefore, the life of Javanese is always oriented towards universal goodness, not materials for life.

This view of life is explained in the expression *urip mung mampir ngombe* (life is a drop by for a drink). This view explains and affirms that living life only with pleasure is actually a false pleasure which is not eternal. World ownership, such as wealth and social status, is temporary and will disappear then. All the world's beautiful ornaments are limited by time throughout the life of a human being. It is different after death. Javanese believe that life after death is the true encounter with God, there is no eternity except God Himself. This understanding is in line with the value of Javanese to be good during life as a provision for "being accepted" by God's side.

Human actions in the understanding of Javanese society will make great influence, depending on the goodness and badness of the act itself. In Javanese expression, *sopo nandur bakal ngundhuh*, which means whoever plants will pick. Life is a choice whether to prepare provisions for good or bad. Thus, they understand that every detail of life is under the control of Allah. With

the awareness of God's presence, a person will think again if s/he does bad things in various actions. Therefore, the expression *sangkan paraning dumadi* becomes a monitoring tool to always be careful in living life to avoid badness and misery. They also feel that humans are only tasked with carrying out God's orders in the earth and He is also the one who decides, *urip sadrema nglakoni* sekaligus *Gusti kang wenang nemtokake.*

This discussion views the other model of Islam and Java integration in the context of nature conservation, which have a significant role in maintaining the ecology of the living things. Life and living with the material (horizontal) and spiritual (vertical) dimensions is actually an attitude of maintaining and preserving the environment, which is a form of worship and gratitude to God, the Creator.

Conclusion

The preservation of forest ecosystems is a public responsibility regardless of religious identity, ethnicity, race or belief because they are the big home for humans and also for survive. Islam mandates the universe and its contents to utilize without continuous exploitation. Theologically, nature is created on the basis of love and affection, so the approach to the preservation of forest ecosystems must be built on the basis of love through spiritual Sufism.

Naturally, humans have been provided with a sense of love when the spirit is granted at the first time because it comes from The Lover. Cultivating a sense of love within the heart to preserve the nature is an action step to identify one's identity about the meaning of who and where to go. That fundamental feeling is popular in Javanese as "*Sangkan Paraning Dumadi*" used for thinking and taking an action, especially in the context of utilizing nature. The concept of spirit in Islam and Java holds the same goal, which is to make forest sustainable with unique spiritual powers signified in values , attitudes, and perspectives on the potentials of nature. In this sense, Islam and Java are integrated in a socio-religious custom in developing awareness of natural ecosystems.

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ISLAMIC VALUES BEHIND THE RITUAL OF A COW HEAD BURIAL IN *GREBEG SURO*

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Abstract

This paper aims to uncover the Islamic values behind the ritual of a cow head burial held by people in Bamboo Forest, Sumbermujur, Candipuro, Lumajang. It is one of the rituals of a popular Javanese culture called Grebek Suro, conducted in the first month of the Javanese calendar. It finds that the Islamic value of the ritual is salam or safety. The cow head burial is intended to bring about safety (slamet) towards society in the upcoming year. This research is expected to contribute in calling people for preserving local culture and Islamic values within the rituals. It is limited to the exploration of the Islamic values within the ritual of a cow head burial in Grebeg Suro ceremony. Further researches are expected to study the other rituals, such as Gunungan, Tumpengan, Japa Mantra, Larungan, and the dancing ritual.

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap nilai Islam di balik ritual penanaman kepala sapi yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat di Hutan Bambu, Sumbermujur, Candipuro, Lumajang. Ini adalah salah satu ritual budaya Jawa terkenal, Grebek Suro, yang dilakukan pada bulan pertama penanggalan Jawa. Studi ini menemukain bahwa nilai Islam dari ritual tersebut adalah salam atau keselamatan. Penguburan kepala sapi dimaksudkan untuk membawa keselamatan

(slamet) bagi masyarakat di tahun mendatang. Penelitian ini diharapkan dapat berkontribusi dalam mengajak masyarakat untuk melestarikan budaya lokal dan nilai-nilai Islam dalam ritualnya. Penelitian ini terbatas pada penggalian nilai-nilai Islam dalam ritual penguburan kepala sapi di upacara Grebeg Suro. Penelitian selanjutnya diharapkan menganalisis ritual-ritual lainnya, seperti Gunungan, Tumpengan, Japa Mantra, Larungan, dan ritual menari.

Keywords: *Islamic Vvalues; Grebeg Suro; Rritual*

Introduction

Suro is the name of the first month of twelve months in Saka Jawa, the Javanese calendar. The calendar has a cycle of eight years. The original calendar in Java was initially based on the solar year. However, the date calculation system was changed centuries ago by a Javanese king to follow the Islamic system, based on the lunar system. For Javanese who are known to be deeply superstitious, *Suro* is sacred. Many communities believe supernatural forces roam around at night on the 1st of *Suro*, so they do not leave home except for praying or performing spiritual rituals. However, in other places in Java, the 1st of *Suro* is a night of celebration. In Yogyakarta for example, on the first day of *Suro*, thousands of people come out to walk in silence around sacred fort. This procession is known as "*tapa bisu mubeng benteng*". People believe it as a ritual of cleaning soul and praying for a better year. Not far from Yogyakarta, a few hours to the north, in Solo, the sultan organizes a cultural parade called "*kirab pusaka*" or carnival heritage (Siburian & Malau, 2018).

Suro is also known as Muharram for Muslims. Muharram is the first month of Islamic calendar. The first month, Muharram, is one of the four sacred months of the year for Muslims besides Rajab, Dzulhijah, Dhulqoidah, and Ramadan. During these sacred months, warfare is forbidden. Muharram is considered to be highly religious. Muharram means "forbidden" since it is considered to be holy. Many Muslims use it as a period of prayer and reflection. It is common for people to fast during the holy Muharram. In an old time, there were several important events conducted in Muharram. Muharram also marks the anniversary of the battle of Karbala, where the Islamic prophet Muhammad's grandson, Imam Hussain Ibn Ali, was killed (Jalais, 2014).

For Javanese and Muslim community, *Suro* or Muharram is sacred and very important because it is believed to be the starting record for a new life stage for the following year. In comparison, Muharram is celebrated as the advent

of the Islamic New Year by Muslims. For Muslim who live in Java, especially the central and East Java, *Suro* or Muharram is a month in which they do reflection for what they have done in the previous year and as a celebration of a new year as well as a prayer for safety, prosperity, and happiness in the coming year (Kurniawan, 2019).

Javanese Muslim community hold a very well-known ceremony in the month of *Suro* called *Grebeg Suro*. It is held in most cities and places in the Central and East Java, such as Ponorogo, Banyuwangi, and Lumajang (Hanif & Zulianti, 2012). This ceremony is carried out to obtain safety while its implementation varies in each region.

In Lumajang, the ceremonial of *Grebeg Suro* is held in Bamboo Forest, Sumbermujur Village, Candipuro. Several rituals were held by villagers such as *Gunungan*, *Tumpengan*, burying a cow head, *Japa Mantra* (praying), *Larungan*, and dancing. This paper aims to discuss one of these rituals, cow head burial, because it is significant for the indigenous. The ritual is analyzed to understand the aspect of Islamic values within.

The rituals of *Grebeg Suro* ceremony in Lumajang are carried out in several sequences of activities, which are *Gunungan*, *Tumpengan* and *Ingkung*, a cow head burial, praying or Japa mantra, larung sajen, and dance oling. The first ritual to the last ritual are related to each other. All rituals are performed consecutively on the same day. It was attended by residents from seven hamlets in Sumbermujur village, elders, head of the village and village officials, the Head of the Police, and the Regent of Lumajang. For people in Lumajang, *Grebeg Suro* ritual is an expression of gratitude and salvation to God.

The first ritual in *Grebeg Suro* is called Gunungan, making mountains of crops by seven hamlets. They are made from banana leaf stems decorated with vegetables and fruits harvested by the villagers, then sticking them into banana leaf stalks using bamboo skewers and arranged into colorful mountains. They are placed on stretchers made of bamboo. The stretchers are given four handles to be lifted by four people. They are collected at the location of the *Grebeg Suro* ceremony along with other ritual equipment. Seven mountains of crops symbolize the charm of tourism that comes from the village. *Grebeg*, the Earth resource, symbolizes that everything taken from the nature also has universal rights, so the duck symbolizes the purification of fortune and sharing with the public. This procession is prepared in a cooperative manner using the available resources in Sumbermujur village.

The second ritual is Tumpengan and Ingkung. Seven hamlets in the village of Sumbermujur make *tumpeng* equipped with ingkung ayam and collect it with other ritual equipment around the ceremony site. *Tumpeng* is made from yellow rice shaped into a cone in a container called *tempeh* equipped with side dishes of fish, chicken, tofu, tempeh, eggs and cooked vegetables. Ingkung or whole cooked chicken also complements the existing tumpeng. The *tumpeng* are neatly arranged around the cow's head. Before being placed on the tempeh, the *tumpeng* is covered with green banana leaves. It is also decorated with tomatoes and green raw vegetables.

The third ritual is a cow head burial, which is done by preparing a cow head decorated with a small red and white flag. The cow head is placed facing the sky on a small stretcher at the size of the cow head. The stretcher is made of bamboo designed with a handle to be lifted by the stretcher carrier. There are four stretchers gathered with the tumpeng. The excavation of the hole is initiated symbolically by the Regent of Lumajang and the Chief of Police. The head of the village and several elders put the cow head into the hole and fill it with soil. In this ceremony, a cow head is buried in a bamboo forest. The bamboo forest is considered sacred by the people around Sumburmujur village.

Unlike *Grebeg Suro* ceremonies in other areas in Java, in this village, there are certain different rituals from those in other areas. One of them is a water spring. It is believed that when the offering ceremony is received, a giant eel will appear in the pool of the water source. There are no giant eels in that place. It shows that the ceremony in Sumbermujur village is different and unique compared to the *Grebeg Suro* ceremony in other areas.

The fourth ritual is reciting a prayer or Japa Mantra. After all the mountains of crops, tumpeng and cow head are gathered at the ceremony location, the Shaman leads the prayer (japa mantra). During the ceremony, the Shaman reads Islamic prayers mixed with Javanese, says *basmalah*, mentions Gusti Alloh, and closes with *hamdalah*. After reciting the mantra, the Shaman and hamlet head lead the burial of the cow head in a particular hole next to the sacred pavilion near the water source. *Japa mantra* is a string of prayers offered in two languages representing two cultures that have grown in Sumbermujur Village. Prayers in Javanese and blessings in Arabic. The mention of Gusti, Allah, or God is the labeling of humans within the limits of their knowledge, which leads to the same source, namely the Lord of the universe. The prayers use Arabic and Javanese mantras with the same purpose, asking for God's help and at the same time offering gratitude so that the next year can be good

or better than the current year. The reality of God can be reached in various ways. Language is a cultural product, a derivative of God's creation. The accommodation process from the two different cultural backgrounds with the same purpose in the passage of the prayer/chanting mantra illustrates that the same prayer is in one reality of God, God Almighty.

The fifth ritual is a ceremony to make offerings into a pool of water sources and reciting a prayer while waiting for the release of a giant eel considered mysterious. When the giant eel comes out, they think that their prayer is accepted. The eel comes out after a few minutes of offering. Then, it goes to the water source and does not appear again—big-sized eels, bigger than eels in general. The eel is called Oling. The name Oling is used as the name of the dance in this *Grebeg Suro* ceremony.

The sixth ritual is Oling Dance, which is performed by dozens of dancers. Dancers are students who are members of a dance studio called Sekar Arum. The dance music begins with the lyrics *Bismillahirrohmanirrohim* heard very clearly, sung by a male singer. All dancers and the coaches wear a headscarf. During the ceremony, the dancers, who were originally veiled, did not wear the veil when performing. The music and dance movements of Oling are created by the performers and are carried out from generation to generation every *Grebeg Suro*, 1st Muharram ceremony.

The rituals of *Grebeg Suro* reflect the presence of acculturation. It is defined as a mixture of two or more cultures that meet and influence each other. It is a process of entering the influence of foreign culture in society. Some selectively adopt few or many elements of the foreign culture, and some try to resist these influences. When getting the influence of foreign culture in society, some selectively adopt few or many elements of the foreign culture, and some try to resist these influences (Berry, 2005). Thus, Islamic acculturation means the mixture of the Islamic values with local culture to the extent that, whether realized or not, the local culture appears as if it is a part of the Islamic teachings. It happens in many parts of Indonesia wherein a great number of Muslim populations reside.

The acculturation of Islamic values and local culture in Indonesia, especially in Java, can be traced back to how Islam was first introduced to people in Indonesia and how it was accepted by most people (Sumbulah, 2012). The onset of Islam in Indonesia has its unique history. Islam in Indonesia was not a local product. Islam was born in Arab, precisely in the region of Hijaz. According to some sources from Gujarat, India, Sufi traders brought

the arrival of Islam to Indonesia during the 13th century (Nurbaiti, 2020). By the end of 16th century, Islam had surpassed Hinduism and Buddhism as the dominant religion of the peoples in Java and Sumatra.

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia changed the faith and the social structure of society. Hinduism, Buddhism, and other sects entered Indonesia long before Islam came to Indonesia. The Indonesian people are accustomed to carrying out cultural traditions and customs that are colored by these religions. However, due to the arrival of Islam, a social transformation process occurred in religious practices. To some extent, incoming culture would typically go through acculturations with the pre-existing culture, local ritual practices, and how a community accepted and adapted to a new way of life. An example of acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture well known to many people was *slametan*, which was later directed to Tahlilan in the era of Wali Songo, with the same concept, namely gathering, praying, and eating together (Lestari, 2011).

Furthermore, Islam was brought to different regions in Indonesia through peace missionary invitation, not war. Islam was introduced as a religion of peace. Islam was not against local culture and customs, yet it colored them. The way Islam was introduced to people made people of Nusantara willingly accept Islam. The societies even developed their methods to preserve the harmony between what they had as a way of life and what Islam offered them. They well understood that the cultures and traditions would continue to exist without offending the spirit of Islam, and Islam would be performed while maintaining the harmony of the local traditions (Said, 2015).

The discussion of the spread of Islam in Indonesia is inseparable with the role of Wali Songo, who are Syekh Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Giri, Sunan Muria, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Kalijaga. Islam grew rapidly in Java because of their struggle. Their da'wah was based on the principles of tolerance, peacefulness, open-mindedness, and local culture accommodation and adaptation, values, and customs (Kasdi, 2017).

Each of Wali Songo has their unique way in approaching indigenous people of Java to accept Islam. Sunan Bonang, for example, used *Gamelan* (a traditional musical instrument) to adapt traditional songs to Islam. Sunan Drajad also created melodies for *Gamelan*, in particular, the Gending Pangkur theme. Sunan Kudus was famous for adopting *Wayang Golek*, the Indonesian puppets which were usually used for the Sanskrit epics Mahabharata and Ramayana; for incorporating Hindu and Buddhist symbols in architecture

(Aldyan, 2020; Kasdi et al., 2021). Besides, Sunan Kalijaga used *Wayang* and music, imposed Baju Takwa, a particular Muslim fashion. Sunan Muria used traditional instruments from the *gamelan* and an in-depth knowledge of Javanese culture (Fournié, 2019).

Wali Songo's introduction of Islam to people in Java resulted in a hybrid form of Islam where it gradually mixed with *adat* (customary law), Hinduism, Buddhism, and Javanese mystical practices (Weintraub, 2011). The meet up of Islam and the local treasures made Islam highly multifaceted. When Islam encountered a variant of the local cultures, what immediately happened was a multifarious process of symbiosis that enriched one another (Said, 2015). Hence, there were different variants of Islam: Bugis Islam, Java Islam, Sasak Islam, Malay Islam, Madura Islam, Coastal Islam, Poliwali Islam, Ambon Islam, Padang Islam, Banjar Islam, Bima Islam, and so forth. Such diversity well reflected how Islam always added in a local color as it approached a community.

The process of Islamization in the Nusantara experienced a very complicated and lengthy process which gradually led Islam to be integrated with the traditions, norms, and the indigenous ways of life (Musawar & Zuhdi, 2019). There was an encounter between the teachings of Islam that had just been brought by Islamic preachers with local traditions united in society individually and collectively (Luthfi, 2016; Purwanto, 2019; Ridwan et al., 2019). It could not be classified as Islamic and local products, yet bequeathed and transmitted from the past to the present (Kholil, 2008).

On the religion of Java, Geertz (1994) divided Javanese Muslims society into three behavioral groups: Abangan, Santri and Priyayi. Muslim Abangan refered to those who still practice rituals syncretised between animist, Hindu, and Muslim tradition. Santri refered to Muslims who practiced a pure form of Islam. While Priyayi, the last group, referred to the minority groups: the Hindu Javanese aristocracy. Such distinction is still used to divide the Indonesian Muslim community between Santri, close to the Muslim association Muhammadiyah (about 50 million members) and Abangan, now regrouped as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (about 90 million members). These worshipers cover reformists (influenced by the Middle East and Wahabism) and the more traditionalists (practicing what is called Islam Nusantara) (Hasyim, 2019).

Method

The study was conducted in Sumbermujur village, Candipuro, Lumajang. It was a case study which employed a qualitative approach with primary data collected through interview and participant observation. According to Creswell (1994) qualitative research is the process of comprehending social problems or related to human as a whole, complex, and holistic. Interviews were conducted with community leaders, the head of the village, and villagers. Both interviews and observation were conducted during the event of *Grebeg Suro*.

Findings and Discussion

The Ritual of Cow Head Burial

Burying a cow head was one of the rituals in *Grebeg Suro* held by people in Lumajang. It was held in the Bamboo Forest area. All villagers and hundred guests gathered. The ritual began with a cow slaughter. The body of the cow will be cooked and consumed by the villagers while the cow head was decorated with a small red and white flag. The cow head is placed facing the sky on a small stretcher, the size of the cow head. The stretcher is made of bamboo designed with a handle to be lifted by the stretcher carrier.

There are four stretchers to be gathered in the ceremony with the mountain of crops and tumpeng. The excavation of the hole is initiated symbolically by the Regent of Lumajang and the Chief of Police. Then, the village head and several elders put the cow head into the hole and fill it with soil.

The ritual is attended by the Lumajang district head, village officials, and all of the community members. Traditional Javanese dance and music are performed during the ritual. People follow the ritual silently. There is also a prayer during the ritual which is a combination of Javanese and Arabic.

Why a cow head? In many societies, a cow is considered to be sacred, holy. A cow is often perceived as a symbol of nurturing, power, and fertility. The cow has been closely associated to the concept of Mother Earth in many cultures. For hundreds of years, for some societies such as Hindu people, cows have been very generous with their life force. As a symbol of nurturing, power, and fertility, a cow has been closely associated with Motherland concept in many cultures. For hundreds of years, cows have been very generous with their life force and have always behaved selflessly that their symbol is married to the concept of provision. The cow totem is connected to the Earth, nature, and reproduction, much like the bull (Britannica, 2021).

Moreover, according to an Egyptian mythology, a cow is the mother of Sun. It is the symbol of wealth, fertility, and renewal. Hesat is an ancient Egyptian goddess in the form of a cow. Hesat is well-known with her milk called "the beer of Hesat". Another goddess in Egyptian mythology is Hathor. Hathor is worshipped as the Great Mother. She is personified as a young woman. She is responsible to feed the Pharaoh with her milk. She is an emblem of royalty. She is the faith in survival, the spirit of three, the ruler of the sky, and the Queen of the World of death. Because of their maternal auras, "new beginnings" or birth are also associated with cows. They depict the beautiful cycle of life from pregnancy, giving birth, taking care of their offspring, and as a medium for new life. They're also a lunar symbol connected to the feminine side or yin of the Yin-Yang dynamic. They signify a grounding kind of sustenance and abundance and prestige as they have an essential role in the course of living (Britannica, 2021).

In the Hindu tradition, cows are considered to be sacred. Cows are honoured and deeply respected. Cows are seen as a 'caregiver' or maternal figure. Bhoomi is one of Hindu goddess in the form of a cow. She represents the Earth. There is a festival to thank cows for serving farmers for agriculture. This festival is called "Mattupongal", which is one of the four days of the grand Indian festival called the Pongal which is completely focused on thanking every agricultural implement. Most Hindu respect cows for their gentle nature, and cows also represent strength. Hindus who eat meat will avoid eating cow meat (Simoons et al., 1981).

According to Simoons et al. (1981), in the minds of Hindus, the cow is the favored animal of Khrisna. Khrisna is very important to Hindu people since Krishna is the heroic god King. Moreover, one of the pillars of Hindu beliefs in the Ahimsa principle that cows represent. It teaches Hindus not to bring harm onto other living beings. So, the cow's image of gentleness and beings. So, the cow's image of gentleness and being grounded and connected to nature perfectly exemplifies what Ahimsa is all about. Although most Hindus are vegetarian, the cow milk is still used for dairy products, playing a considerable part in their diet (Britannica, 2021).

In Islam, cows are considered to be like other animals. Cows have no particular place. However, it is used to name one of the Surah in Al-Qur'an, Al Baqarah (-the Cow). This tittle of the surah refers to an argument between Moses and the Israelites over a cow they should sacrifice to make known the

murder of a slain man. It is the longest of all surah, numbering 286 ayah or verses.

Cow Head Burial and the Concept of Salam

The ritual of planting cow head was considered to be the form of salam (*Slametan*). Cow head is symbolized as a gratitude to God. The community in Sumbermujur believed that the ritual of planting will bring safety to the community. From the ritual of planting the cow's head, the surrounding community assumed that they would be safe from all dangers. According to the elders of Sumbermujur Village, by carrying out this tradition, their lives will be better and avoid life disasters. Sumbermujur village community leaders also mentioned that the slamet means the sustainability of water sources and the assurance of agricultural land protected from disasters.

The concept of survival from the Javanese perspective covers all respective areas that the leaders in Sumbermujur village also share. Therefore, *slamet* has both world and spiritual dimensions. The daily life of Sumbermujur community is expected to run well and increase better yield, and so on. The concept of *slamet* may be the same for all Javanese tribes, both the *mataraman* version (the southern coastal version) and the horseshoe version. This division of two regions shows quite striking differences in characteristics, such as only coastal people and inland people.

The word *slamet* is significant to people of Java. It is a Javanese word, and most probably derived from Arabic "salam", which means well being, peace, safety, health, goodness and in essence it refers to the state of stasis or simply 'nothing happens' to one or people (Geertz, 1991). *Slamet* is the main goal, and it is the ideal condition always expected in life. Being *slamet* implies that one is safe, in the sense that people can avoid difficulties or troubles from natural or supernatural condition. To be *slamet* is to have nothing happens or troubles *(ga ana apa apa)*. The utmost ideal state in life and slametan ceremony is performed and maintained as the fear of possible misfortune which drives them and overpowers their action to hold the *slametan* ritual. The purpose of slametan is not to quest for joy, financial richness, best healthiness, but simply to prevent from unwanted events, from things that will make them unwell physically or mentally, from a condition which causes them to be ill or sad.

The Acculturation of Islamic Values and Local Culture (Cow Head Burial Ritual)

The ritual conducted every *Suro* month by burying a cow head is a characteristic of the people in the Lumajang bamboo forest. It is an indigenous behavior, which covers contextual meanings, values, and beliefs in the family, social, cultural, and ecological areas (Kim, 2000). The ritual of burying the cow head is assumed to generate safety from all dangers. The assumption of *slamet* or safety by planting a cow head raises the researchers' curiosity to get reviews and explanations from the perpetrators about the concept.

Javanese people had gained many religious ideas: animistic, Hindu-Buddhist teachings-practices and combining magic, mysticism, and awe of powerful souls, spirit cults, and the worship of holy places (Hakam, 2017). Javanese culture and religion comprise significant variation of beliefs, concepts, views, and values, such as the belief in God, in prophet Muhammad, in other prophets, in saints, the cosmogonical concept of creation, and the cosmological view of nature, and the world, eschatology, the belief in deities, the concept of death and the afterlife, in ancestor spirits, in guardian spirits, in ghosts, spooks and giants, and the concept of magical power (Koenjtaraningrat, 1985).

After the advent of Islam in Java, the changes in their belief are not leading to becoming homogenous Javanese Muslims but instead allowing them to be diverse in interpreting Islam and its teaching and their previous or existing beliefs. The non-homogeneity of Javanese Muslims can be construed either hierarchically or through socio-cultural backgrounds. As Geertz (1994) proposed, Javanese people are categorised into three; abangan, santri, and priyayi. The *priyayi* were originally the descendants of aristocrats or royal family in ancient Javanese kingdoms, and they became the government officials under the colony of Dutch. These elite people hold their traditions of respecting court etiquette, complex sense of arts including drama, music, dance, Hindu-Buddhist mysticism, and linguistic aspects, such as poetry and use of different language levels and addressing between the social ranks as the subordinates can speak the same language.

In Javanese culture, cows are sacred and good animals. Their existence is significant in everyday life. They are food sources, partners in working and cultivating agriculture. "*... burying a cow head symbolizes purity in intention and toughness in the work ethic because cows are sacred animals as well as friends in earning fortune in the source of luck society...*" (Interview 3, 19). The ritual of burying a cow head is connected with a symbolic meaning that it is crucial

to have a holy intention that is on the head, strengthened by the heart and manifested in daily behavior. Working hard is not enough. It needs a holy intention because an impure intention will lead people to greed and unkind behavior. Burying cows reminds people that it is necessary to organize their choices in the next year so that life will be better, and blessings are continuously granted. The preservation of this culture shows that Sumbermujur community emphasizes goodness, behaving based on the right intention, which is seeking God Almighty blessing.

According to Ki Narto Sabdo, a culture is an air of beauty. There is a tendency for Islam to be modified with Javanese culture (in Amin, 2000). It has generated various new products, one of which is the interrelation of Javanese and Islamic cultural values in the ritual aspect. In Islam, there are religious teachings formed in ritual worship activities. This ritual in Islam refers to the pillars of Islam that Muslim must do, in which there found a prayer that always asks Allah to be pleased with Him. It is the same as the purpose of rituals carried out by the Javanese people, namely to seek for blessings, or what is known as *ngalap barokah*, which means wishing for safety, happiness, and mercy.

The ritual or ceremony contains something mystical, holy, and sacred (Syam, 2005). The essence of worship in the Javanese religion is the worship of ancestors (Geertz, 1999). It manifests itself in mystical and immortal attitudes. Even though they worship the spirit, in essence, they still focus on God Almighty (Endraswara, 2006).

Local wisdom and local genius express religious teachings through local culture and traditions (Hidayat, 2012). The ritual or ceremony was initially an antidote to bad things that could harm humans. It is done by giving offerings to occult stuff, hoping that life will be safe (Purwadi, 2007). *Slamet* is a concept for the benefit of living life. Not just a dimension of being healthy, safe, and prosperous but the gift to other people and other creatures. And this is reflected in the thanksgiving by the people of Sumbermujur Village, "*... apart from burying the head of the cow, we also prepare offerings or alms from agricultural yields from our community. This shows our gratitude for the gifts that God has given. Technically, both the head of the cow and the offering of yields to be prepared together, donated together, and also enjoyed together ...*" (Interview 3, 47)

Veth (in Kholil, 2008) argues that not all of the adherents of Islam convert purely. According to Veth, Islam adherents are grouped into four groups: Islamists who still hold a mixture of Brahma and Buddhist beliefs;

Islamists who have magical ideas and dualism; Islamists who have animism; and Islam adherents who carry out Islamic teachings purely. Javanese belong to the first three groups, and until now, the Javanese teachings of Kejawen are still widely adhered to by Muslims who continued the local tradition. Local tradition is never static or stopped but it develops, so the attitude of Islam in dealing with culture can be divided into three: (1) accepting and developing a culture, following Islamic principles for the glory of human life; (2) rejecting traditions and cultural elements that are contrary to Islamic principles; (3) leaving it like how to dress (Zuhdi, 2019).

Conclusion

Javanese culture was historically dynamism-animism, Hindu, Buddhist, and Islam acculturated. Furthermore, this acculturation creates a unique and rich diversity, which ultimately forms an independent Javanese culture. *Grebeg Suro* is an example of how the Islamic values and local culture are acculturated. It is not only a cultural event, but it also contains religious values. The study results describe the meaning of *slamet* from the ritual performers of cow head planting in the bamboo forest of Sumbermujur Lumajang in terms of an indigenous psychology approach. *Slamet* is a concept of the usefulness of life. It's not just a dimension of being healthy, safe, and prosperous, but benefit to other people and creatures. It is reflected in the thanksgiving by the people of Sumbermujur Village. The community leaders of Sumbermujur also states that *slamet* means preservation of water sources and assurance that agricultural land was protected from disasters. Besides, it has both worldly and spiritual dimensions. The life of people in Sumbermujur is expected to run well and can increase in quality and quantity. Psychologically, the ritual of burying a cow head leads people of Sumbermujur to feel peace as a gratitude and belief in "slamet". This research is expected to contribute in calling people for preserving local culture and Islamic values within the rituals. It is limited to the exploration of the Islamic values behind the ritual of a cow head burial in *Grebeg Suro* ceremony. Further researches might analyze the ritual from the historical background. Besides, an analysis on the other *Grebeg Suro* rituals, such as *Gunungan, Tumpengan, Japa Mantra, Larungan,* and the dancing ritual, could be a great option to conduct.

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مظاهر الازدهار الحضاري الإسلامي في إندونيسيا في أوائل القرن الحادي والعشرين

MADHAHIR AL-IZDIHAR AL-HADHARI AL-ISLAMIY FI INDONESIA FI AWA'IL AL-QARN AL-HADI WA AL-'ISRIN

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الملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة عن مظاهر الازدهار الحضاري الإسلامي في إندونيسيا المعاصرة، من مظاهر الازدهار السياسي والثقافي والاقتصادي والعمراني الإسلامي في إندونيسيا. وتم اختيار في هذا البحث المنهج الوصفي الاستقرائي. ومن نتائج هذا البحث، أنه ظهر في عصر الإصلاح العديد من الأحزاب السياسة الإسلامية. وعلى الرغم من أن هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية لا تحظى بكثير من أصوات الناخبين، إلا أن ائتلافها يمكنها إخراج العديد من الشخصيات البارزة في المناصب الاستراتيجية في المؤسسات التنفيذية والتشريعية في البلاد. وفى عهد الإصلاح أيضا ظهر التقدم في مجال التربية والتعليم، ومن بينه إنشاء المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة الأهلية والحكومية من المراحل الابتدائية والإعدادية والثانوية، كما أنشأت الجامعات الإسلامية الحكومية والأهلية التي فتحت الكليات العامة لخلق التكامل المعرفي فيها. وفى أواخر عهد سوهرتو بدأ التقدم في مجال الاقتصاد الإسلامي بإنشاء بنك

المعاملات الإسلامي. وانتشرت بعد ذلك البنوك الإسلامية مثل BSM الشريعة BRI الشريعة BNI الشريعة وغيرها من البنوك الإسلامية. كما أنشئت كذلك المؤسسات المالية الإسلامية الأخرى. ومن مظاهر التقدم فى مجال الفنون المعمارية وجود الهندسة المعمارية للمساجد في إندونيسيا حيث انتهجت أنماطا كثيرة، وقلدت الدول الإسلامية في الشرق الأوسط. ومع ذلك هناك نمط معماري آخر في إندونيسيا الذي وضعته مؤسسة بانشاسيلا الخيرية الإسلامية (YAMP) التي بنت مئات من المساجد على نفس النمط المعماري.

Abstract

This article explores the manifestations of Islamic civilization prosperity in current Indonesia, from politics, education, economics, and architecture. The method used in this research is descriptive-inductive. In the early twenty-first century, especially in the era of reform, many Islamic political parties appeared. Although these Islamist parties do not receive many votes, their coalition can bring out some prominent figures in strategic positions in the country›s executive and legislative institutions. Meanwhile, in the field of education, the establishment of numerous Islamic private and public schools from any levels of education in which frames the concept of knowledge integration could be identified as one of the glories. The development as well as discovered in the field of economics and architectures. For the former, it started with the establishment of a huge number of Islamic Bank (Muamala) and other Islamic financial institutions. The latter is proven with the presence of mosque architecture adopting many styles of Islamic countries in the Middle East. There is another architectural style in Indonesia developed by the Pancasila Islamic Charitable Foundation (YAMP) which has built hundreds of mosques in the same architectural style.

Keywords: prosperity of civilization; Islam; Indonesia; twenty-first century

مقدمة

تقع إندونيسيا في مفترق طرق الحضارة العالمية، بين الحضارات الشرقية والحضارات الغربية والشمالية والجنوبية. وبناء على ذلك فإنها شهدت عبر تاريخها المتعاقبة صراعات بين تلك الحضارات، سيما أنها مهد لانتشار الحضارات الدينية بين الهندوكية والبوذية والإسلامية والمسيحية وعدد من المعتقدات البدائية الراسخة حتى يومنا هذا. (Tan، ٢٠١٢)

ومع انتشار فجر الإسلام في أرخبيل الملايو في أواخر القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي، ومع ما يحمله من تعاليمه السمحة، تأثرت أغلبية سكان الأرخبيل بها واختارت الإسلام شرعة لها ومنهاجا، وترسخت هذه العقيدة الإسلامية في نفوس سكانها الإندونيسيين، وصمدوا

أمام الحركات الاستعمارية المتعاقبة قرابة أربعمائة سنة، ونالوا حريتهم في السابع عشر من أغسطس عام ١٩٤٥م. ومنذ ذلك الوقت خاض الشعب الإندونيسي معركة التنمية في مجالاتها المختلفة من أجل الحفاظ على حريتهم واستقلال دولتهم الفتية وإثبات ذاتهم وشخصيتهم أمام المجتمع العالمي بأسره. (Tan، ٢٠١٢)

وقد مر الشعب الإندونيسي في تاريخه المعاصر بـــــثلاث عصور متعاقبة، وهي العصر القديم (Orde Lama)، والذي قاده زعيم تحرير البلاد الرئيس سوكارنو، والذي يتميز هذا العصر بالجهود الحافلة بإنشاء القواعد الأساسية لبناء دولة مدنية ذات سيادة مطلقة وكاملة على أراضيها، والمواجهات العسكرية ضد المحاولات العديدة لعودة الاستعمار للأراضي التي تم تحريرها. ثم العصر الجديد (Orde Baru) والذي تزعمه قائد تنمية البلاد، الرئيس سوهارتو، والذي يتميز هذا العصر بحركات التنمية الشاملة إلى أن أصبحت إندونيسيا دولة عصرية لها ثقلها في المحافل الدولية. ثم يعقبه عصر الإصلاح (Era Reformasi) الذي يتميز بالحركات الإصلاحية في جميع نواحيها.

وفي أواخر العصر الجديد، - في نهاية عهد سوهارتو- حظي الإسلام باهتمام كبير من قبل الحكومة، حيث شهدت الحكومة ميلاد رابطة المثقفي المسلمين الإندونيسيين ICMI، الذين بدأوا في احتلال عدد من المواقع والمناصب العليا في الحكومة والتأثير في بعض قراراتها وتقديم أفكار وآراء ذات صبغة إسلامية. واستمرت هذه النهضة في الانتشار والازدهار، وخاصة في عصر الإصلاح؛ حيث شهدت هذه الفترة ظهور عديد من الأحزاب السياسية الإسلامية؛ وكان هدفها المشاركة في الجهود التنموية في البلاد.

واستشرافا لهذه الظاهرة، فقد يعيد التاريخ نفسه، والأمل كبير في أن تصبح إندونيسيا دولة عظيمة ذات حضارة عريقة تضاهي الكوفة وبغداد ودمشق اللواتي كن يمثلن قمة الحضارة الإسلامية في الشرق، أو الأندلس التي تمثل قمة الحضارة الإسلامية في الغرب. وقد استشرف هانتنجتون (Evans & Huntington، ١٩٩٧) عودة تقدم الدول الإسلامية في المستقبل كما حدث في العصر الذهبي في قمة تقدم الحضارة الإسلامية في الشرق والغرب. وقال دورانت (Durant، ١٩٦٧) أنه لا توجد حضارة تؤدي إلى الإعجاب مثل ما حدثت في الحضارة الإسلامية.

ويذكرنا التاريخ ما حدث في المجتمع المسلم الماضي الذي يتميز بطابع متفتح نحو مختلف العلوم والحضارات التي أدت إلى بلوغهم المجد الحضاري، وإن كانت تلك العلوم والحضارات نابعة من الحضارات اليونانية واليهودية والكاثوليكية والفارسية، ذلك

الطابع الذي قلدته الغرب فيما بعد واستطاعت أخيرا أن تتجاوز ما وصل إليه المسلمون بل وسبقتهم (Dermenghem، ١٩٨١; Esposito، ١٩٩٥)، بل وحينما أصبحت الفرس جزءً من المجتمع المسلم، أكد Durant أن الحضارة العالمية تتبع إلى القوتين العظميين، وهما الشرق التي تسيطر على إنتاج الأسلحة، والغرب التي تمتاز بالتقدم الصناعي والبحث عن السلام (Durant، ١٩٦٧).

وهذه الحقائق تدفعنا إلى البحث عن مدى تطور الحضارة الإسلامية المعاصرة ؛التي شهدتها إندونيسيا بعد مرورها بالعديد من التجارب السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية والتنموية، وبخاصة في فترة الإصلاح، والانفتاح السياسي والاجتماعي والاقتصادي الذي يتمتع به المجتمع المسلم بصفة خاصة والشعب الإندونيسي بصفة عامة.

منهج البحث

تم اختيار المنهج الوصفي الاستقرائي هذا البحث. حيث يتم به استقراء البيانات وجمعها من الكتب والبحوث والوثائق والمعلومات، وسيقوم الباحثون بإجراء المسح المكتبي فى المكتبات المتاحة وتنظيم البيانات، ثم عرضها على عدد من الباحثين وأساتذة الكلية الذين سيناقشون ويضيفون عليها ويغيرون محتواها حتى تستقر فى وضعها النهائي.

وستتضمن تحليلات البحث ذكر الملاحظات بخصوص مضامين البحوث والكتب والوثائق، ومنهجية كل منها، وأطرها النظرية، والمقارنات بينها، ومدى ارتباطها بموضوع البحث ومناسبتها. ومن خلال ذلك يتم النظر في المعلومات والمعطيات المتعلقة واستنتاج العلاقات والمناسبات بينها وبين الموضوع. وفى الخاتمة تقدم النتائج والتوصيات والمقترحات.

ويتحدد هذا البحث بعدة أمور، وهي الحدود الزمنية من عام ٢٠٠٠ إلى عام ٢٠١٩م، ذلك لأن هذه الفترة هي بداية القرن الحادي والعشرين، وهي بداية عصر الإصلاح Reformasi في جميع نواحي الحياة، وبعد مرور البلاد لفترة التنمية طوال العصر الجديد Orde Baru. والحدود الموضوعية، حيث يتحدد موضوع هذا البحث في الناحية التعليمية والسياسية والاقتصادية والمعمارية.

الإطار النظري للبحث

الحضارة الإسلامية

تشير كلمة الحضارة لغويا إلى الحضر أو المناطق المسكونة، وهي خلاف البداوة والبادية، وذلك للتعبير عن الفارق بين المجتمعات الرعوية وغيرها من المجتمعات الزراعية أو الصناعية حديثا، وتستحضر لفظة حضارة العديد من المعاني والقيم في النفس البشرية، خاصة بالنسبة للأشخاص الذين ولدوا في مناطق ذات صبغة حضارية، تلك المعاني التي تشمل الرفعة، والشعور والتفوق والزهو واعتبار الآخرين دون المستوى الحضاري المطلوب.

وعرف ابن خلدون الحضارة بأنها : "تفنن في الترف وإحكام الصنائع المستعملة في وجوهه ومذاهبه من المطابخ والملابس والمباني والفرش والأبنية وسائر عوائد المنزل وأحواله" (ابن خلدون، ٢٠٠٤) كما عرفها ضمن الإطار الاجتماعي والتاريخي بأنها الوصول إلى قمة العمران والتطور الثقافي والشخصي للمجتمع والدخول للرقي الاجتماعي الثابت، فالحضارة من وجهة نظره هي نهاية العمران.

من أهم مقومات بناء الحضارة وتحصين الذات، التركيز على تحسين أداء المنظومة التعليمية وتجويد مردوديتها، من حيث التنظير العلمي والبيداغوجي[١] للمعارف وتصميم البرامج والمقررات ومراعاة الأولويات من مدخلات ومخرجات، لأن بالعلم والتعلم تسود الأمم والدول، ويقاس منسوب الحضارات وتقدمها، ولأن قوتها سبب للشرف والرفعة بين أقرانها، ولهذا أولى المسلمون قديما عبر التاريخ القديم حكاما ومحكومين، علماء ومفكرين للمنظومة التعليمية كل العناية والاهتمام، فصاروا أئمة الأمم وأسياد الدول، ولكن كما قال أبو البقاء الرندي في نونيته:

لكل شيء إذا ما تم نقصـــــان * فلا يُغَر بطيب العيش إنسان
هي الأمور كمـا شاهدتهـا دول * من سره زمن ساءته أزمـان

(أبو البقاء الرندي، د.ت)

وتمتاز الحضارة الإسلامية بخصائص، منها:

١. الربانية. ترتبط الربانية بالفكر الإسلامي، ومصدره الخالق عز وجل فتستقيم من خلالها الحياة على هذا الأساس.

[١] مجموعة الوسائل المستعملة لتحقيق التربية، أو هي طرق التدريس والأسلوب أو النظام الذي يتبع في تكوين الفرد (ملحقة سعيدة الجهوية، ٢٠٠٩)

٢. الإنسانية. الإنسان بغض النظر عن انتمائه أو لونه أو عرقه، له وزنه وتكريمه في الحضارة الإسلامية. فالإسلام يكفل الحقوق للبشر جميعا، فمتى أدوا ما عليهم من واجبات فلهم في الإسلام حقوق. هذا من ناحية، ومن ناحية أخرى التعليم الإسلامية وما فيها من مكونات مادية هي من جهد الإنسان المتصف بالحرية والإرادة والوعي.
٣. العالمية. عالمية الدين الإسلامي للعالم أجمع، ولم يكن يوما مقتصرا على قوم دون غيرهم.
٤. الشمول. تشمل الحضارة الإسلامية كل مظاهر الحياة، ولا تقتصر على مظهر دون آخر، ولا تهتم بجانب دون آخر.
٥. العطاء والتطور. تعتبر الحضارة الإسلامية حضارة تدعو إلى الإنتاج والعمل والبذل، وتسلك سبل التطور باستمرار.
٦. التوازن. يظهر التوازن في الحضارة الإسلامية بالاهتمام بكل جوانب الإنسان، واهتماماته الروحية والجسدية والمادية. فالإنسان عقل ومشاعر، وروح متصلة بخالقها.
٧. الاتفاق مع الفطرة. تتفق الحضارة الإسلامية مع الفطرة، وذلك بالاعتراف بميول الإنسان الفطرية في العبادة والملكية. فالإنسان مفطور على هذه الأمور.
٨. التعاليم الإسلامية. شجع الإسلام منذ بداية ظهوره على الاعتناء بالفكر والانفتاح على الآخرين، والإبداع، والارتقاء العلمي. (جابر عيد الوندة، ٢٠١٨)

النتائج والمناقشة

الازدهار السياسي الإسلامي في إندونيسيا

حدثت عملية الإصلاح في إندونيسيا في عام ١٩٩٨ م، بدءاً بسقوط الرئيس سوهارتو. ثم حل محله الرئيس حبيبي. وفي عصر الإصلاح ظهر العديد من الأحزاب الإسلامية بما فيها حزب الاتحاد والتنمية، حزب القمر والنجم، حزب العدالة، حزب الاتحاد والتنمية، حزب ماشومي، حزب الصحوة المجتمعية (PKU)، حزب ياتاما (PAY)، جزب شركة الإسلام الإندونيسي (PSII-١٩٠٥)، حزب نهضة رجال الدين (PNU) وحزب محبة السلام (PCD)، حزب نهضة الشعب (PKB)، حزب الأمانة الوطنية (PAN)، حزب التضامن الوطني الإندونيسي (SUNI) . وعلى الرغم من أن هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية ليس لها حظ في الانتخبات العامة، إلا أن ائتلافها من خلال تجمعها أثناء انتخابات رئاسية يستطيع أن

يمنع ظهور السياسيين والائتلافات والتحالفات الوطنية، ويطرح العديد من الشخصيات البارزة في المناصب الاستراتيجية في المؤسسات التنفيذية والتشريعية.

وشهد عصر الإصلاح بعد عهد سوهارتو الذي بدأ عام ١٩٩٨م، ظهور مختلف الجماعات والحركات الإسلامية. ولم يكن ظهور هذه الجماعات الجديدة يؤدي إلى التنوع في توجهاتها السياسية والدينية فحسب، بل جلبت أيضًا شخصيات سياسية بارزة وجداول أعمال جديدة، مما أدى إلى فتح مساحة أكبر للتعبير السياسي والمشاركة السياسية لأطياف الشعب الإندونيسي. ومن المثير للاهتمام أن أداء حزب العدالة (PK) الذي لم يكن لديه شخصيات شعبية في الجبهة، سواء من المعسكرات التقليدية أو المعاصرة، كان أداء هذا الحزب جيدًا، ولكنه لم يحقق الحد الأدنى من شروط الاشتراك في الانتخابات العامة عام ١٩٩٩م. ومع ذلك، فقد حقق إنجازًا ملحوظًا بعد تغيير اسمه إلى حزب العدالة والرخاء،Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) في الانتخابات العامة لعام ٢٠٠٤م. (Machmudi، ٢٠٠٨)

وبعد عهد سوهارتو، يبدو أن عصر الإصلاح هو فترة مناسبة للغاية لتوليد الأفكار أو التعبيرات من المنظمات الإسلامية ومن الأحزاب الإسلامية. ولم يعد نهضة رجال الدين والمحمدية منفردين يلفتان انتباه العديد من المراقبين الأجانب. فإلى جانب نهضة رجال الدين والمحمدية، في الواقع، هناك العديد من المنظمات الجماهيرية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، مثل الاتحاد الإسلامي Persis واتحاد التربية الإسلامية Perti، ورابطة الدعاة الإندونيسيين IKADI وغيرها من الجمعيات الإسلامية، لكنها ليست كبيرة مثل المنظمتين السابقتين (نهضة رجال الدين والمحمدية).

وعصر الإصلاح عصر الانفتاح الذي يسمح للناس بالتعبير عن أفكارهم، بما في ذلك عن التنوع الديني، وعلى سبيل المثال ظهور جبهة الدفاع عن الإسلام (FPI) ومجلس المجاهدين الإندونيسيين (MMI) ومنتدى التواصل الإسلامي والجماعة الإسلامية وغيرها. ومن المثير للاهتمام، أن هذه المنظمات من جذب انتباه وسائل الإعلام ـــــ المحلية والأجنبية ـــــ إلى أوسع حد ممكن.

وتعتمد هذه المنظمات الحركية على استخدام القوة في محاولة الدفاع عن الإسلام، وتبرير تصرفاتها باسم الدين أو بعبارة أخرى باسم الجهاد في سبيل الله، وإن ظهور هذه الحركات الإسلامية تصحبها أيضًا ظهور خطاب تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية، إلى جانب سياسة الحكومة في إعطاء الحكم الذاتي لبعض الأقاليم في عهد الرئيس عبد الرحمن واحد.

وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، أدى سقوط نظام الحكم الجديد الاستبدادي والفساد في عهد سوهارتو إلى جلب الأمل في ظهور حكومة ديمقراطية بعد النظام الجديد. وينعكس هذا في حرية تأسيس الأحزاب السياسية. يذكر أن هناك ٤٨ حزبا جديدا يشترك في الانتخابات العامة عام ١٩٩٩م بما في ذلك الأحزاب الإسلامية. وتشير الدراسات إلى وجود عدد من الأحزاب السياسية الإسلامية التي تم تصنيفها حاليًا ضمن أفضل عشرة أحزاب سياسية في إندونيسيا في الفترة بين ١٩٩٨-١٩٩٩م من بينها حزب النجمة والهلال، وحزب الاتحاد والتنمية (PPP)، وحزب العدالة والرخاء (PKS)، وحزب الأمانة الوطنية (PAN)، وحزب نهضة الشعب(PKB).

وبشكل عام، يوجد تياران مختلفان لدى الأحزاب السياسية الإسلامية بعد عصر الإصلاح. يلتزم التيار الأول بضرورة تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية في نظام الحكم. والأحزاب الإسلامية الرئيسية التي تحتضن هذا التيار هي حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB)، وحزب العدالة والرخاء (PKS)، وحزب الاتحاد والتنمية (PPP). بينما التيار الثاني يرفض تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية في نظام الحكم. ويمثل هذا التيار حزبان إسلاميان كبيران هما حزب الأمانة الوطنية (PAN) وحزب نهضة الشعب (PKB).(R. Sukma & C. Joewono ed).)، ٢٠٠٧)

ونتيجة لهذه الأوضاع السياسية، بدأت مظاهر دخول رجال الدين في عالم السياسة؛ من خلال المشاركة المباشرة في تدعيم حزب سياسي معين وفقا للتوجهاتهم السياسية، مثل مشاركتهم في الحملة الانتخابية عام ١٩٩٩م، وكان هناك العديد من رجال الدين الذين كانوا يدافعون عن حزب نهضة الشعب (PKB). ومن المفترض أن يكون لوجود رجال الدين في السياسة تأثير إيجابي على الحياة السياسية، بمعنى المساهمة في إنشاء هيكل سياسي أخلاقي؛ لأن رجال الدين رمز أخلاقي. ومع ذلك، عندما يتم استقطاب رجال الدين في عالم السياسة، ظهرت مظاهر المواجهة بين رجال الدين بالدفاع عن الأحزاب التي ينتمون إليها. وهذا بدوره سيؤدي إلى حدوث انقسامات بينهم وحدوث الفوضى بين الناس، وخاصة بين جماعة المسلمين، كما يؤدي إلى ضعف موقف المسلمين أنفسهم، والتي ستكون لقمة سائغة لمجموعة الأحزاب الأخرى المناهضة. (Sunanto، ٢٠٠٥)

وقد يرتبط تطور الأحزاب الإسلامية بعد عصر الإصلاح برأي هيفنر (١٩٩٣) بأن الإسلام أصبح قوة سياسية رئيسية. ووفقًا لرأي جامهري، فإن ذلك يشير إلى ميلاد طبقة متوسطة إسلامية وفرت احتياجات البلاد للقيادة الوطنية. لقد ولد هذا الجيل نتيجة لتطور

علاقات جيدة في نهاية قيادة سوهارتو بين الحكوم وبين التيار الإسلامي. وفيما يلي بعض الأحزاب الإسلامية التي تطورت في بداية عصر الإصلاح، وهي:

١. حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB)

يُعرف الحزب الذي تأسس في ١٧ يوليو ١٩٩٨م بأنه الداعم الرئيسي لتطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية في الحكومة الإندونيسية. وتأسس حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) على القرآن والسنة مع الفكرة الرئيسية على تحديث الإسلام، وهي فكرة أن الإسلام عقيدة عالمية يمكنها حل جميع المشاكل. ويرغب حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) في توحيد المجتمع الإسلامي والمجتمع الآخر داخل البلاد لتنفيذ التطلعات من خلال برامج حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) لتحقيق الرخاء لجميع الشعب الإندونيسي. وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا السياسية، يسعى حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) إلى إدخال تعديلات على دستور ١٩٤٥ لمنع الحكم الاستبدادي، ودعم الانتخابات الرئاسية المباشرة، ودعم القيود المفروضة على الشروط الرئاسية. (Sunanto، ٢٠٠٥) وحزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) لديه قاعدة جماهيرية تأتي من المتعاطفين مع حزب Masyumi ومؤيدي الإسلام المحافظ. وفي انتخابات عام ١٩٩٩م، فازت حزب النجمة والهلال (PBB) بنسبة ٢,٨١ ٪ من الأصوات، وفي انتخابات ٢٠٠٤ و٢٠٠٩ انخفضت إلى ٢,٦٢ ٪ و٢ ٪.

٢. حزب العدالة والرخاء (PKS)

تشكل حزب العدالة (Partai Keadilan) (هكذا كان أول اسم له) في ٢٠ يوليو ١٩٩٨م على أساس إسلامي. ولكن، وعلى الرغم من أن الإسلام مبدأ هذا الحزب، فإن حزب العدالة يعترف بالنزعة التعددية. ويتأسس على مبدأ أن الإنسان خليفة الله في الأرض. وفي مسألة الحكم، وضع الحزب إحدى الأجندة الرئيسية في إشراك رجال الدين والمثقفين والمسؤولين الحكوميين في نظام الحكم ؛حتى يتمكن الثلاثة من العمل سويا. وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا السياسية، يؤكد هذا الحزب على وجوب الشفافية لأعضاء الحزب في المواقع القيادية السياسية. وفي قضايا التعليم، يعطي برنامج الحزب أولوية لغرس القيم الدينية في جميع جوانب الحياة. ويتميز هذا الحزب بالقاعدة الجماهيرية من شباب المسلمين والشباب المثقفين من طلاب الجامعات. ففي انتخابات عامة عام ١٩٩٩م تمكنت حزب العدالة من كسب ١,٣٦ ٪ من الأصوات فقط، ولذلك لم يستطع المشاركة في الحكم سواء في الحكومة أم في مجلس الشعب. أما في انتخابات عامة ٢٠٠٤م فقد حظي بنسبة ٧,٣٤ ٪، وانتخابات

٢٠٠٩م بنسبة ٧,٨٨ ٪، وانتخابات ٢٠١٤م بنسبة٪ وفي انتخابات ٢٠١٩م بنسبة ٪ مما يؤهله للمشاركة في السلطة التنفيذية والتشريعية.

٣. حزب الاتحاد والتنمية (PPP)

تأسس هذا الحزب في العصر الجديد في عهد الرئس سوهارتو في ظل سياسة هيمنة الحزب الحاكم آنئذ، فعلى الرغم من تشكيل هذا الحزب PPP قبل عصر الإصلاح، فإن هذا الحزب PPP بعد الإصلاح هو الحزب نفسه مع جوهر مختلف، حيث تم إلغاء عنصر تدخل الحزب الحاكم في سياسة الحزب بعد عصر الإصلاح. وهذا الحزب لديه برنامج داخلي للحزب وبرنامج لإصلاح الحكومة؛ ففي قضية إصلاح الحزب الداخلي، يريد هذا الحزب العودة إلى مبدأه الأولي، وهو إدارة البلاد بقيم أخلاقية إسلامية. وفيما يتعلق بقضية إصلاح الدولة، يريد حزب الاتحاد والتنمية تطوير وتحسينات في القوات المسلحة والبرلمان ومؤسسة الرئاسة. وفي القضايا القانونية، يريد حزب الاتحاد والتنمية إصلاح القوانين التي تتناقض مع بعضها البعض ومع دستور الدولة ومبادئ الدولة (البنتشاسيلا). وأما ما يتعلق بالقضايا السياسية، فيريد حزب الاتحاد والتنمية حضارة سياسية جيدة وسياسة خارجية حرة ونشطة. وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا الاقتصادية، يسعى هذا الحزب إلى تلبية الاحتياجات الأساسية لكل مجتمع، وتوفير فرص العمل، وتعزيز مشاريع التنمية، والقضاء على ظاهرة الفساد والمحاباة. وفي عصر الإصلاح تغيرت القاعدة الجماهيرية له، والتي لم تعد تتكون من الأحزاب والمنظمات المتعاطفة معه في عهد سوهرتو. ففي الانتخابات العامة عام ١٩٩٩م نجح حزب الاتحاد والتنمية في الحصول على ١٢,٢٦ ٪ من الأصوات (٥٨ مقعدًا)، وحصل انتخابات ٢٠٠٤ على ١٠,٤ ٪ من الأصوات، وانتخابات ٢٠٠٩م بنسبة ٥,٣٢ ٪ من الأصوات في انخفاض تدريجي. (Sunanto، ٢٠٠٥)

٤. حزب نهضة الشعب (PKB).

تأسس حزب نهضة الشعب (PKB) في ٢٣ يوليو عام ١٩٩٨م. ويدعم حزب نهضة الشعب المبادئ الدينية والإنسانية والديمقراطية والقومية والسيادة الشعبية. وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا السياسية، يسعى PKB إلى إنشاء حكومة نظيفة وشفافة وخالية من الفساد والمحاباة. ويدعم هذا الحزب أيضًا حرية تكوين الجمعيات، ويدعم مفهوم الدولة القائمة على القانون (resctaat)، ويدعم المساواة بين الجنسين. ولدى الحزب قاعدة جماهيرية من المنظمات الإسلامية وخاصة جمعية نهضة العلماء وهي من أكبر الجمعيات الإسلامية في البلاد. وفي عام ١٩٩٩ م نجح هذا الحزب المعارض في منافسة سلطة حزب الشعب

الديمقراطي PDIP وحزب Golkar الحاكمين حتى يتمكن من تسلم عبد الرحمن وحيد زعيم هذا الحزب مسؤولية رئاسة الدولة. ففي انتخابات عام ١٩٩٩ م، نجح هذا الحزب في الحصول على نسبة ١١ ٪ من الأصوات، وفي انتخابات عام ٢٠٠٤ م بنسبة ٩,٤ ٪ وفي انتخابات عام ٢٠٠٩ بنسبة ٤,٩٤ ٪ في انخفاض تدريجي أيضا.

٥. حزب الأمانة الوطنية (PAN)

تم تشكيل حزب الأمانة الوطني (PAN) في الاجتماع الذي عقد في ٥-٦ أغسطس ١٩٩٨ مع رجال الدين الإسلامي وغير الإسلامي، وكان في مقدمتهم السيد أمين رئيس، وسومارتانا (غير مسلم)، وكيند شندوناتا (غير مسلم). وينفذ هذا الحزب برامج معادية للطائفية ومناهضة للتمييز العنصري. وفيما يتعلق بالقضايا الاقتصادية يلتزم الحزب بمحاربة الاحتكار الاقتصادي، وتنفيذ السياسات المناصرة للفقراء، وتوفير فرص العمل، وزيادة الإنتاجية والرخاء الاجتماعي. وفي القضايا السياسية، تدعم PAN وجود تقسيم واضح للسلطة بين السلطة التنفيذية والتشريعية والقضائية. ويعمل هذا الحزب أيضًا على تعزيز الديمقراطية والإصلاح والتعمير واللامركزية واستئصال ظاهرة الفساد والمحاباة وتدعيم حرية الصحافة. جاء ثلث كتلة الحزب من الجمعية الإسلامية المحمدية وهي ثاني أكبر جمعيات دينية في إندونيسيا، وكان الباقي من المثقفين والأشخاص من مختلف الديانات. ففي انتخابات عامة عام ١٩٩٩ م، حصل هذا الحزب على ٧,٤٪ من الأصوات مصحوبة بتعيين أمين رئيس رئيسًا لمجلس الشعب، وفي انتخابات ٢٠٠٤ م حصل على ٩,٨٪، وفي انتخابات ٢٠٠٩ م على ٦,٠١٪. (Sunanto، ٢٠٠٥)

والجدير بالذكر في عهد سوهرتو، تم تهميش المسلمين بشكل كبير، لأنهم لم يؤيدوا الإصلاحات التي أطلقتها الحكومة حينذاك، بحيث كانت الحكومة تحت سيطرة القوميين، ولم تُمنح الأحزاب الإسلامية حرية الحركة والتطور. وفي الواقع، لا تسمح الحكومة في عهد سوهرتو إلا بوجود ثلاثة أحزاب، وهي ممثل التيارات الإسلامية (حزب الاتحاد والتنمية) وممثل التيارات القومية (الحزب الديموقراطي الإندونيسي) وحزب العمل (حزب جولكار) الحاكم، والأحزاب الثلاثة تخضع لسيطرة الحكومة في النظام الجديد. وبعد انهيار حكومة النظام الجديد واستبدالها بحكومة الإصلاح (عصر الإصلاح) الأكثر ديمقراطية، بدأت الأحزب الإسلامية في جني القليل من نتائج إدارتها وتطورها.

ويبدو أن عملية الإصلاح قد وضعت السياسة الإسلامية في الاعتبار من قبل الدولة. على الرغم من أن الأحزاب الإسلامية لم تتمكن من الحصول على تصويت الأغلبية، إلا أن

تحالفها الذي هو جزء من كتلة المحور المركزي يمكن أن يعيق ظهور الجماعات والجماعات السياسية الوطنية وتحالفاتها، وهو قوة دافعة لولادة تعابيرها الإسلامية الخاصة. (Rahman et al.، ٢٠١٨) على الرغم من أن سياسات إندونيسيا الحالية لم تكن قادرة على مواكبة الظروف السياسية خلال العصر الذهبي للإسلام، فقد تم تطبيق العديد من المبادئ. لقد حاولت الحكومة الآن تعزيز السلام والعدالة لأن هذا لا يزال شرطًا لنجاح أي بلد. كانت هذه الرؤية الواسعة للعدالة والمساواة هي التي سيطرت على الحياة السياسية خلال العصر الذهبي. (Donner، ١٩٨١)

الازدهار التربوي الإسلامي في إندونيسيا

احتلت قضية التعليم صدارة أذهان المسلمين منذ تأسيس الدولة القديمة للمدينة المنورة. لطالما كان التعليم في الثقافة الإسلامية مصدر فخر وكان المسلمون دائمًا متفوقين. هذا مدعوم من قبل الحكام الذين قاموا ببناء مكتبات ومراكز تعليمية كبيرة بقوة. مع مرور الوقت ، تم إنشاء العديد من الجامعات في جميع أنحاء العالم الإسلامي من قبل الخلفاء والسلاطين ومن خلال المبادرات الخاصة من النساء والرجال الأثرياء. (Tiliouine، ٢٠١٤)

في الواقع وفقًا لوزارة البحث والتطوير التربوي الوطني (٢٠٠٠ م)، من ١٧١,٦٥١ مدارس ابتدائية ٢١,٤٥٤ أو ١٢٪ منها مدارس دينية إسلامية. ومن ٣٠,٧١٦ مدارس إعدادية، ١٨٥٠ منها أو ٣٢ ٪ في المئة منها مدارس إعدادية دينية إسلامية. ومن ١١،٤٧٨ من المدارس الثانوية و٣،٥٧٨ أو ٣١ ٪ منهم من المدارس الثانوية الإسلامية.

ومن ناحية أخرى، فإن الازدهار التربوي يتحقق في واقع تطبيق فكرة التكامل المعرفي في الجامعات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا. منها على سبيل المثال جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا. فقد بدأت فكرة تطوير جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا لتكون جامعة متقدمة بعد أن كانت مجرد جامعة للكليات الدينية فحسب، نظرا لوجود نواحي الضعف فيها، منها:

أولا، أن الجامعة لم تلعب دورها تلقائيا في المجالات الأكاديمية، والبيرقراطية، والاجتماعية بالتكامل المنشود. وفي بعض الأحيان، تهتم الجامعة بالناحية الاجتماعية أكثر من اهتمامها بالناحية الأكاديمية، ويمكن ملاحظتها في النشاطات الدعوية التي قامت بها.

ثانيا، لم تعد المناهج الدراسية المعمولة في الجامعة تقدر على إعطاء رد فعل ملائم للتطورات السريعة في العلم والتكنولوجيا والتغيرات السريعة والمعقدة شديد التعقيد داخل

المجتمع. وذلك، ؛لأن التخصصات الدينية الموجودة في الجامعة ينقصها التكامل مع العلوم الاجتماعية أو التطبيقية الأخرى.

ومن أجل ذلك، هناك مسلكان بديلان لتطوير هذه الجامعة، وهما:

أولا، تغييرها وجعلها جامعة عامة مباشرة، ويتطلب هذا التغيير عددا من التعديلات وإنشاء كليات عملية ونظرية جديدة. والعائق الأساسي لهذا البديل الأول هو التغيير الجذري للجامعة وما يلحقه من مشكلات إدارية في تحويل الجهة الراعية لها من وزارة الشؤون الدينية إلى وزارة التعليم العالي، واحتياجها إلى إمكانيات مالية باهظة وموارد بشرية غير بسيطة، خاصة في إنشاء الكليات العملية والعامة غير الدينية.

وثاني البديلين، إضافة الكليات العامة والعملية بجانب الكليات الدينية الموجودة بالجامعة، وهي أسهل بكثير من سابقتها.

ونظرا للظروف التي عاشتها الجامعة في تلك الأيام، يتم اختيار البديل الثاني لتطويرها؛ لأنه يناسب الإمكانيات المتوفرة بالجامعة والموارد البشرية الموجودة لديها. وللجامعة حاليا اثنتي عشرة كلية: كلية أصول الدين والفلسفة، كلية الشريعة والقانون، كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية، كلية الدعوة والاتصال، كلية التربية، كلية الدراسات الإسلامية والعربية، وهي كلية أنشئت بموجب التعاون المشترك بين وزارة الشؤون الدينية الإندونيسية وجامعة الأزهر بالقاهرة عام ١٩٩٩م، كلية علم النفس، كلية العلوم والتكنولوجيا، كلية الاقتصاد، وكلية الطب وكلية العلوم الصحية، كلية العلوم الاجتماعية والسياسية.

في العصر الذهبي للإسلام، بعد اكتمال أنشطة الترجمة، كانت المهمة التالية التي واجهها المثقفون المسلمون هي تنظيم وتنظيم كميات كبيرة من المعلومات التي لا تتوافق أحيانًا مع البيانات الموجودة لديهم. وهكذا، شهدت القرنان العاشر والحادي عشر ظهور جيل جديد من العلماء المسلمين الذين تمكنوا من تجميع أعمال مختلفة وتقديم لمحة عامة عن تخصص أو تخصص معين. من أجل تحقيق المجد في العلوم ، يجب على المفكرين الإندونيسيين، وخاصة من الأوساط الإسلامية، بالطبع مواصلة البحث عن النظام الصحيح للنهوض بالتعليم العالي الإسلامي في إندونيسيا. (Bennison، ٢٠٠٩)

الازدهار الاقتصادي الإسلامي في إندونيسيا

بدأ الاعتراف بوجود المصرفية الإسلامية عند صدور القانون رقم ٧ لعام ١٩٩٢ بشأن البنوك التي تطبق مفهوم تقاسم الأرباح بين صاحب المال وصاحب العمل، على الرغم من أنه لم يتم ذكر مبادئ الشريعة الإسلامية أساسا لإنشاء هذه البنوك الإسلامية. ومنذ

ذلك الحين، بدأ بنك معاملات، أول بنك إسلامي ظهر في الساحة الإندونيسية، أنشطته في إندونيسيا. وأصبح وجود المصرفية الإسلامية أو البنوك الإسلامية أقوى بعد اعتماد القانون رقم ١٠ لعام ١٩٩٨م تعديلا للقانون رقم ٧ لعام ١٩٩٢م بشأن المصرفية الإسلامية. وينص القانون المعدل بوضوح على أن البنوك التجارية وبنوك الائتمان الريفي تعمل بنظام تقليدي أو بناءً على مبادئ الشريعة الإسلامية. ثم في عام ٢٠٠٨م، تم تصديق قرار الرئيس سوسيلو بامبانج يودويونو على القانون رقم ٢١ لعام ٢٠٠٨ م بشأن المصرفية الإسلامية، والمعمول به حاليا.

ومن وراء تطوير القوانين واللوائح المصرفية الإسلامية، هناك حقيقة مفادها أن ظهور النظام المصرفي الإسلامي هو استجابة لمطلب الشعب الإندونيسي المسلم الذي يتمنى وجود بنوك بدون فوائد ربوية. ومع ذلك، وبعد أن تم إضافة الشرعية على العمل المصرفي في إندونيسيا في عام ١٩٩٢ م، لم تتطور الخدمات المصرفية الإسلامية بسرعة مرجوة. وبعد ذلك جاءت حقيقة جديدة مفاجئة مفادها أن المصرفية الإسلامية هي مؤسسة مالية سليمة وظلت مستقرة عند انهيار واضطراب الصناعة المالية العالمية. وكما هو معلوم أنه في عام ١٩٩٧ - ١٩٩٨ م كانت هناك أزمة مالية أسفرت عن خسائر فادحة في الصناعة المالية في إندونيسيا. ومع ذلك، في ذلك الوقت، أظهرت المصرفية الإسلامية بالفعل مرونة مقبولة من خلال مواجهة خسائر تشغيلية فقط، في حين شهدت البنوك التقليدية خسارة فادحة. (Huda, Nurul; Heykal، ٢٠١٠) وكان لمأساة انهيار المصرفية التقليدية تأثير على النظام الاقتصادي الوطني الذي أدى إلى فقدان ثقة الجمهور في البنوك الإندونيسية في ذلك الوقت.

لم يكن للاضطراب السياسي والنقدي الذي حدث في إندونيسيا له تأثير سيء للغاية على البنوك الإسلامية، ويمكن ملاحظتها في أن البنوك الإسلامية تتنافس مع البنوك التقليدية على نحو متزايد في العالم المالي مع الاحتفاظ على مستوى استقرارها، على الرغم من المنافسة غير العادلة بينهما. وتم تسجيله في الهيئة الوطنية للخدمات المالية (OJK) أن المصرفية الإسلامية لديها شبكة من ١٨٦٨ مصرف تجاري إسلامي (BUS)، و٣٤٧ وحدات فرعية للمرفية الإسلامية (UUS)، و٢٨٩ بنك التمويل الريفي الإسلامي (BPRS) في عام ٢٠١٨ كما هو موضح في جدول (١). ومن ذلك، وعلى الرغم من أن لديها شبكة كبيرة، ولكن شبكة المصرفية الإسلامية على وجه التحديد لا تزال منتشرة قليلاً في العديد من المناطق، وخاصة في مناطق شرق إندونيسيا.

وإذا نظرنا إليها من النافذة الوطنية، فإن الخدمات المصرفية الإسلامية التي تتنافس مع الخدمات المصرفية التقليدية تتطور بسرعة كبيرة. ولكنه من المنظور الدولي، فقد أشار مؤشر التمويل الإسلامي (IFCI، ٢٠١٦) إلى أن إندونيسيا احتلت المرتبة السابعة من حيث الحجم بعد ماليزيا وإيران والمملكة العربية السعودية والإمارات العربية المتحدة والكويت. بينما احتلت إندونيسيا عام ٢٠١٦م المرتبة السادسة، مما يعني أن هناك تراجع في الترتيب خطوة واحدة. ومن ناحية أخرى، هناك بيانات تثبت أن إندونيسيا لديها إمكانات ضخمة وفرص كبيرة لتطوير صناعة المصرفية الإسلامية للمضي قدمًا، مع الأخذ في الاعتبار أن إندونيسيا بلد به أكبر عدد من الأغلبية المسلمة في العالم.

Indikator	Periode									
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	1017	2018
BUS	717	1.226	1.052	1.756	2.009	2.163	1.990	1.869	1.825	1.868
UUS	312	285	369	541	613	320	311	332	344	347
BPRS	363	363	436	519	559	565	276	283	274	289
Asset (miliar Rp)	66.090	97.519	145.467	195.018	242.276	272.343	296.262	356.504	424.181	451.202
DPK (miliar (Rp)	52.271	76.036	115.415	147.512	183.534	217.859	231.175	279.333	334.888	354.421

جدول (١)

تطور المؤسسات المصرفية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا في الفترة ٢٠٠٩-٢٠١٨ (Otoritas Jasa Keuangan Syariah (2009-2018), n.d.)

وللإنصاف هناك مشكلة في الموارد البشرية المؤهلة في مجال المصرفية الإسلامية. ولم تعد مشكلة الموارد البشرية هذه شيئًا جديدًا في عالم الصناعة المصرفية الإسلامية. فمن المعروف حتى الآن أن جودة الموارد البشرية في المصرفية الإسلامية تتطور بشكل جيد، ولكن الأبحاث والدراسات أثبتت أن أبرز المشكلات في عالم المصرفية الإسلامية هي مشكلة الموارد البشرية.

فقد أشارت الأبحاث في المجال إلى أن أحد العوامل التي أعاقت تطور الصناعة المصرفية الإسلامية في إندونيسيا هو عدم كفاية الموارد البشرية المتعلمة والمؤهلة مهنيا (Rusydiana، ٢٠١٦). ووفقًا لـ(Sodiq، ٢٠١٨)، كان العامل الأول هو ضعف فهم ممارسي البنوك الإسلامية، سواء كانت من حيث تطوير الأعمال أو من حيث أحكام الشريعة الإسلامية الخاصة بالمصرفية الإسلامية. وبعبارة أخرى، لم يتم بعد الوفاء بالموارد البشرية المؤهلة في مجال الاقتصاد الإسلامي، بحيث يكون في الممارسة العملية غالباً ما تنحرف

المصرفية الإسلامية عن المبادئ الإسلامية الصحيحة. فيمكن للممارسين شرح ما يعرفونه فقط ولكنهم لا يستطيعون الإجابة عما يسأله الناس من أحكام.

وفي الوقت نفسه، وفقًا لمحمد طائعين (Tho'in، ٢٠١٦)، أظهرت نتائج بحثه أنه على مستوى المديرين في بنك BNI Syariah Surakarta، كان فهم المديرين للمنتجات المصرفية الإسلامية وفهمهم للمبادئ الإسلامية جيدًا للغاية، لأنهم كانوا مدعومين بعوامل التعليم والتدريب والخبرة الكافية. ولكن على مستوى الموظفين، فإنهم يتناقضون فعليًا مع مستوى الإداريين نظرًا لعوامل التعليم والتدريب والخبرة التي لم يتم تأهيلها بعد بشكل كاف وجيد. وهذا يعني أن تنمية جودة الموارد البشرية في الخدمات المصرفية الإسلامية لم تكن تتواكب التطورات الكبيرة من حيث الكم.

جدول (٢) يبين أن جودة الموارد البشرية المصرفية الإسلامية التي يُقال عنها في كثير من الأحيان عقبة، هي فقط من حيث الكفاءة وليست من حيث الكم. ومع ذلك، فقد بذلت الصناعة المصرفية الإسلامية قصارى جهدها لتحقيق رؤيتها ورسالتها في تنمية مواردها البشرية.

Indikator	Periode									
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	1017	2018
Tenaga Kerja BUS	10.348	15.224	21.820	24.111	26.717	41.393	51.413	51.110	51.068	52.345
Tenaga Kerja UUS	2.296	1,868	2.067	3.108	11.511	4.425	4.403	4.487	4.678	4.349
Tenaga Kerja BPRS	2.799	3.172	3.773	4.359	4.826	4.704	5.102	4.372	4.619	4.749

جدول (٢)

تطور العاملين في البنوك الشرعية في الفترة ٢٠٠٩-٢٠١٨ (Otoritas Jasa Keuangan Syariah (2009-2018). n.d.)

وبالنظر إلى الجدول السابق يتضح أنه يجب أن تكون الخدمات المصرفية الإسلامية أكثر مثالية في توجيه خططها الاستراتيجية للتنمية الصناعية المستقبلية، سواء في استراتيجية تطوير المنتجات المصرفية الإسلامية، أو استراتيجية إدارة الموارد البشرية، أو غيرها من الاستراتيجيات التشغيلية. وبالنظر إلى أن إندونيسيا أكبر دولة ذات أغلبية مسلمة في العالم، فإن لديها إمكانات كافية لتطوير صناعة المصرفية الإسلامية في مواجهة هذه العولمة. ومع ذلك، فهو لا يركز فقط على تطوير أدائه المالي ولكنه يركز أيضًا على إدارة جودة موارده

البشرية، بحيث تكون عملية الإسراع في تطوير المصرفية الإسلامية يتم بين التنمية الصناعية وجودة الموارد البشرية في توازن ووئام. (Alhamid، ٢٠١٩)

بشير البيانات التي أصدرتها هيئة الخدمات المالية (OJK) عدد البنوك التجارية الإسلامية اعتبارًا من ١٤ يونيو٢٠١٩م، أن هناك ٢٠ بنكًا تجاريًا لديها وحدات تجارية فرعية إسلامية في القائمة التالية: (Otoritas Jasa Keuangan، n.d.)

وتتوقع Fitch Ratings أن يزداد عدد البنوك الإسلامية في إندونيسيا بحوالي ٢٠ شركة أخرى حتى عام ٢٠٢٣م. وقال جاري حنيفي، مدير مجموعة المؤسسات المالية في PT Fitch Ratings Indonesia، إن التنبؤ بعدد ٢٠ بنكًا جديدًا يستند إلى عدد وحدات التجارية الفرعية الإسلامية (UUS) من البنوك التقليدية التي يجب فصلها عن الشركات الأم وتشكيل شركات منفصلة بذاتها عام ٢٠٢٣م.

وقال حنيفي "على الأقل يمكن أن نرى ٢٠ بنكًا تقليديًا، لديهم القدرة على فصل أنفسهم أن يصبحوا شركة جديدة. ولن يكون الأمر فوريًا لأن هناك حاجة إلى لوائح جديدة في عام ٢٠٢٣م، وذلك بالاعتماد على توحيد القطاع المصرفي وديناميكيات الأسواق المالية في المستقبل".

وفي الوقت الحالي، يحاول ٢٠ مصرفًا تقليديًا لديه وحدات تجارية فرعية إسلامية الوفاء بالالتزام بفصل الوحدات الإسلامية عن الكيان الأصل (الأم) بموعد نهائي في عام ٢٠٢٣م على النحو المنصوص عليه في القانون رقم ٢١ لسنة ٢٠٠٨م المتعلق بالمصرفية الإسلامية، ودخلت اللائحة أو القانون حيز التنفيذ في ١٦ يوليو ٢٠٠٨م. (Avriano A، ٢٠١٩)

كانت البنوك الإسلامية في العصر العباسي تمارس أعمالها على نطاق أوسع بكثير وقدمت نطاقًا أوسع من الخدمات مقارنة بالإدارات السابقة. إنهم لا يقدمون قروضًا لرجال الأعمال فحسب، بل يعملون أيضًا كوسطاء للاستثمار وصرف العملات الأجنبية. (Bentley J. H. & Ziegler H. F، ٢٠٠٠) بالنظر إلى كيف نجت البنوك الإسلامية عندما ضربت الأزمة النقدية إندونيسيا، لن يكون من المبالغة إذا نظرنا إلى التطور التصاعدي المستمر والآفاق الجيدة المتعلقة بالنظام الاقتصادي الإسلامي في السنوات القادمة والتي ستكون قادرة فيما بعد على دعم الاقتصاد الوطني.

الازدهار المعماري الإسلامي في إندونيسيا

إن دخول الإسلام إلى إندونيسيا، واعتناق أغلبية سكان البلاد للدين الإسلامي وانتشار الحضارة الإسلامية، والمساجد، والمراكز الإسلامية، والجامعات الإسلامية، وانتشار الدروس الدينية في المساجد للرجال والسيدات، لم يمنع أهل إندونيسيا من المحافظة على حضاراتهم القديمة وعاداتهم التى لا تخالف الشريعة الإسلامية، والكثير من طقوس الاحتفالات الخاصة بمناسبات اجتماعية وتربوية، بل ويمزجون بعض طقوسهم القديمة في احتفالاتهم الثقافية والحضارية.

وحتى في كل المساجد، سواء مسجد الاستقلال، أو مسجد المركز الإسلامي، أو مسجد القبة الذهبية أو مسجد مجمع هيئة رجال الدين وغيرها، كان هناك دائما طبل ضخم يستقر في أحد أركان المسجد. وقد كانت هذه الطبول تستخدم للنداء للصلاة قبل اختراع مكبرات الصوت، وبسبب اتساع المدينة والزيادة الكبيرة لعدد السكان، حيث لم يكن صوت المؤذن كافيا آنذاك، فما زالت المساجد تحتفظ بتلك الطبول تأكيدا على هذه السمة لأهل اندونيسيا؛ التي تجمع فيها بين ماضيها وحاضرها من جهة، وتعبر بها عن اعتزازها بهما معا قيما وتقاليد وتعاليم أخلاقية ودينية، دون أن يؤثر ذلك على عباداتهم بطبيعة الحال.

وهناك العديد من الشواهد التي تمثل فكرة وحدة إندونيسيا وتنوعها، وأغلبها آثار بدأت على أيدي الدعاة ورجال الدين منذ فجر الإسلام، إضافة إلى تلك السماحة وحضارة التجاور التي تسود بين شعب إندونيسيا بديلا لحضارة التكدس ورفض الآخر .

وبالرغم من الطابع المتسامح العام الذي يبدو به المجتمع الإندونيسي، فهناك بعض الخلافات بين بعض الجماعات الدينية، أبرزها الخلاف بين جماعتي سانتري وأبانجان، فالأولى ترى أنه يجب تنقية الطقوس الدينية من كل ما امتزج بها من حضارات أخرى في إندونيسيا، بينما ترى الثانية أن أهل الجزر قد دخلوا للإسلام بسبب المرونة في تقبل بعض الشكليات في طقوس الاحتفالات الدينية، لكنهم لا يتعرضون لجوهر الدين. أما الخلاف الثاني فهو بين المسلمين المتشددين وبعض أصحاب الديانات الأخرى في المجتمع، بينما الخلاف الثالث بين المسلمين المعتدلين والمسلمين المتشددين المتطرفين، إضافة إلى بعض من حاولوا الترويج لمذاهب جديدة غريبة عن صحيح الدين، مثل جماعة الأحمدية التي منعت في إندونيسيا بفتوى من هيئة رجال الدين المسلمين، أو بعض المتطرفين الذين قاموا بأعمال تفجيرات وأعمال عنف في مطلع التسعينيات من القرن الماضي.

ويرتبط المسجد بالحضارة الإنسانية، خاصة في الهندسة المعمارية التي لا تنفصل عن حضارة المجتمع المحلي والحضارة العالمية. فالهندسة المعمارية للمساجد في إندونيسيا أكثر أنماطا، وتقليدا للدول في الشرق الأوسط. ومع ذلك هناك نمط معماري آخر في إندونيسيا الذي وضعته مؤسسة بانكاسيلا الخيرية الإسلامية (YAMP) . تم بناء المئات من المساجد من قبل مؤسسة بانكاسيلا الخيرية الإسلامية (YAMP) فكلها على نفس النمط المعماري، لها شكل مربع، مع السقف الخاص المكون من جوغلوالتي رتبت على ثلاثة مستويات وهي مثل الهندسة المعمارية في مسجد ديماك بجاوى الوسطى. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، هناك العديد من الفنون المعمارية الأخرى للمساجد التي يمكن أيضا أن نعدها من المساجد العجيبة والفريدة من نوعها في إندونيسيا. وما يلي توضيح لهذه المساجد الفريدة في إندونيسيا:

- **مسجد الإرشاد بشكل المكعب**

ومنذ الافتتاح رسميا في ٢٧ أغسطس ٢٠١٠م، قد لفت انتباه العديد من سكان غرب باندونج؛ لأن هذا المسجد يعد فريدا من نوعه مع فنون معماريته الحديثة. فالمسجد الذي يبدو من دون سقف على شكل المكعب، ثم زينت جدرانه بالخط العربي المميز. فهو حقا لا يشبه أي مبنى في إندونيسيا أو حتى في العالم. ولذلك حصل مسجد الإرشاد على الجائزة من قبل الجمعية الوطنية للبناء المعماري بوصفه ضمن ٥ مباني المميز للعام ٢٠١٠م. (علوم الدين، ٢٠١٧)

- **مسجد رايا باندونج**

تم إنشاء الجامع الكبير في باندونغ، غرب جافا، الذي كان يُطلق عليه سابقًا «الجامع الكبير» لأول مرة في عام ١٨١٢م. تم بناء الجامع الكبير في باندونج بالتزامن مع إزالة وسط مدينة باندونغ من كرابييك، على بعد حوالي عشرة كيلومترات جنوب باندونغ إلى وسط المدينة الحالي. تم بناء هذا المسجد في الأصل على شكل مبنى تقليدي على طراز بسيط، وهو خشبي مع جدران منسوجة من الخيزران وأسقف من القش ومجهزة ببركة كبيرة كمكان للحصول على مياه الوضوء. تعمل مياه المسبح هذه أيضًا كمصدر للمياه لإطفاء الحرائق التي وقعت في منطقة ميدان باندونج في عام ١٨٢٥م.

بعد عام من الحريق، في عام ١٨٢٦م تم إجراء إصلاح شامل لمبنى المسجد من خلال استبدال جدران غرف الخيزران والسقف بمواد من الخشب. تم إجراء التعديل مرة أخرى في عام ١٨٥٠م مع إنشاء Jalan Groote Postweg (الآن Jalan Asia Afrika). تم تجديد

المسجد الصغير وتوسيعه بناءً على تعليمات من Regent of R.A Wiranatakusumah IV، وتم استبدال سطح المسجد ببلاط بينما تم استبدال الجدران بجدران من الطوب.

رسم توضيحي لمسجد باندونغ الكبير بقلم دبليو. سبريت ١٨٥٢م في كتاب De Zieke Reiziger. كان روعة المسجد الكبير في باندونغ في ذلك الوقت إلى حد أن يتم خلده في لوحة لرسام بريطاني يدعى W Spreat في عام ١٨٥٢. من اللوحة، ظهر سقف هرمي كبير شاهقًا وكان الناس يطلقون عليه اسم بالونج نيونج. ثم خضع مبنى المسجد مرة أخرى لتغيير في عام ١٨٧٥م مع إضافة الأسوار والأسوار الجدارية المحيطة بالمسجد.

مع مرور الوقت، يقوم أهالي باندونغ بجعل هذا المسجد مركزًا للأنشطة الدينية التي تضم العديد من الأشخاص مثل تلاوة القرآن أو احتفال المولودان أو رجبان أو غيرها من الأعياد الإسلامية التي تحيي ذكرى حفل الزفاف. لذلك في عام ١٩٠٠م لإكماله، تم إجراء عدد من التغييرات مثل صنع المحراب وpawestren (المدرجات على اليسار واليمين).

ثم في عام ١٩٣٠م، تم إجراء تعديل وزاري من خلال بناء جناح كتراس للمسجد وكذلك بناء برجين على يسار ويمين المبنى مع أعلى البرج الذي يتشكل تمامًا مثل سطح المسجد حتى يجعل المسجد أكثر جاذبية. يقال إن هذا النموذج هو الشكل الأخير للمسجد الكبير في باندونغ مع سقف مميز على شكل سقف.

باندونغ المسجد الكبير وميدان باندونج في ١٩٥٥-١٩٧٠م. قبل انعقاد مؤتمر آسيا وأفريقيا في عام ١٩٥٥م، خضع المسجد الكبير في باندونغ لإصلاح كبير. بناءً على تصميم أول رئيس لإندونيسيا، ـــ سوكارنوـــ، خضع المسجد الكبير في باندونغ لتغييرًا شاملاً بما في ذلك القبة من «nyungcung» السابقة إلى قبة مستطيلة على الطراز الشرق أوسطي مثل البصل.

إلى جانب البرج الموجود على يسار ويمين المسجد، تم هدم المساجد التالية للشرفة الأمامية بحيث تكون غرفة المسجد مجرد غرفة كبيرة بها فناء مسجد ضيق للغاية. وجود المسجد الكبير في باندونغ، والذي كان يستخدم بعد ذلك للصلاة من أجل ضيوف المشاركين في المؤتمر الآسيوي الأفريقي.

استمرت قبة سوكارنو على شكل البصل حوالي ١٥ عامًا فقط. بعد تضررها من الرياح القوية وبعد إصلاحها في عام ١٩٦٧م، تم استبدال قبة البصل بشكل غير بصل مرة أخرى في عام ١٩٧٠ م.

بناءً على مرسوم حاكم جاوة الغربية في عام ١٩٧٣ م، خضع المسجد الكبير في باندونغ لتغيير هائل آخر. يتم توسيع أرضية المسجد على نحو متزايد وجعلها مدرجات. توجد غرفة في الطابق السفلي كمكان للودلو، في الطابق الأرضي، حيث يعمل المكتب الرئيسي للصلاة والـ DKM والطابق العلوي للميزانين المرتبط مباشرة بالشرفة الخارجية. تم بناء برج جديد أمام المسجد بزخارف معدنية دائرية مثل البصل وسقف قبة المسجد على شكل Joglo. (SIMAS Sistem Informasi Masjid، n.d.-b)

- **مسجد رايا باندا أتشيه**

مسجد رايا أو مسجد بيت الرحمن من أكبر وأهم المساجد التي تقع في إقليم أتشيه وهو من المساجد العريقة التي صمدت أمام طوفان تسونامي الكبير على الرغم من غرق جميع الأماكن الموجودة حوله، وقد تم تجديد المسجد وتوسيعه وإضافة الكثير من الأجنحة له، كما يتميز هذا المسجد بتصميمه المعماري الرائع الذي يجمع بين الطراز الإسلامي والأوروبي، كما تحتوي جدران المسجد على الزخارف الإسلامية المميزة التي قام بها مجموعة من الفنانين المحترفين وقد اشتهر هذا المسجد بكونه من الأماكن التي تسعد القلب وتبعث الأمل في النفوس.

وهذا المسجد له صحيفة تاريخية خاصة به، وهو الآن مسجد حكومي في قلب مقاطعة نانغروآتشيه دار السلام. واسم مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير مشتق من اسم الجامع الكبير الذي بناه السلطان اسكندر مودا في عام ١٠٢٢ ه / ١٦١٢ م. وقد تم بناء هذا المسجد لأول مرة من قبل حكومة السلطان اسكندر مودا، ولكن تم حرقه في عدوان الجيش الهولندي الثاني في ١٢٩٠ / أبريل ١٨٧٣م، قتل خلاله اللواء خوهلر، الذي أطلق عليه الرصاص وأقيم بعد ذلك نصب تذكاري صغير له أسفل شجرة كيتابانج بالقرب من المدخل الشمالي للمسجد.

وبعد مرور أربع سنوات على إحراق مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير، وفي منتصف عام ١٢٩٤ هـ / مارس ١٨٧٧م، مكررًا وعد الجنرال فان سويتين، وقال الحاكم العام فان لانسبرغ إنه سيعيد بناء مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير المحترق. وأعلن هذا البيان بعد المداولات التي عقدت مع رؤساء الدول حول باندا اتشيه. حيث انتهى إلى أن تأثير المسجد هو انطباع كبير جدًا لأهل أتشيه الذين هم ١٠٠٪ مسلمون. وتم تنفيذ الوعد من قبل اللواء فاندر كحاكم لجيش آتشيه في ذلك الوقت. ويوم الخميس ١٣ شوال ١٢٩٦ هـ / ٩ أكتوبر ١٨٧٩

م، تم وضع أول حجر أساس، ويمثله تينغكو قاضي مالك العادل. ومنذ ذلك الحين أسبح مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير جاهزا لإعادة بنائه عام ١٢٩٩ هجرية مع قبته.

في عام ١٩٣٥ م، تم توسيع مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير على الجانبين الأيمن والأيسر مع إضافة قبابين. وفي عام ١٩٧٥م حدث التوسع مرة أخرى. أضاف هذا التوسع قبابين آخرين وبرجين شمالًا وجنوبًا. ومع هذه التوسعة الثانية، كان مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير يضم خمس قبب وتم الانتهاء منه في عام ١٩٦٧م، ومن أجل الترحيب بمسابقة تلاوة القرآن الثاني عشر في الفترة من ٧ إلى ١٤ يونيو ١٩٨١م في باندا آتشيه، تم تجميل المسجد الكبير مع فناء، وتركيب كلنكرز في الشوارع في أرض المسجد الكبير. وإصلاح وإضافة الوضوء الخزفي وتركيب الأبواب المزخرفة وأضواء الثريا وخطوط من آيات القرآن الكريم المصنوعة من النحاس والقبة وتركيب النافورات في حوض الفناء الأمامي.

وفي عام ١٩٩١م، في أيام المحافظ إبراهيم حسن، كان هناك إعادة توسيع شملت الفناءين الأمامي والخلفي والمسجد نفسه. ويشمل الجزء الموسع من المسجد إضافة قبابين وأرض المسجد، حيث توجد الصلوات والمكتبة وغرفة المعيشة والمساحة المكتبية والقاعة وغرفة الوضوء و٦ مدارس محلية. وفي هذه الأثناء يشمل توسيع فناء الحديقة وموقف السيارات بالإضافة إلى برج رئيسي واحد ومئذنتين.

وانطلاقا من التاريخ، فإن مسجد بيت الرحمن الكبير له قيمة عالية بالنسبة لأهل آتشيه، لأنه منذ السلطان إسكندر مودا حتى الآن لا يزال قائما في قلب مدينة باندا آتشيه. ويحتوي هذا المسجد الكبير على العديد من الوظائف إلى جانب مكان للصلوات المكتوبة، وهي مكان لإقامة الحفلات والمناسبات الدينية مثل مولد الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم، وإحياء ليالي رمضان ومسابقة تلاوة القرآن الكريم، ومأوى لسكان المدينة والمهاجرين، وله جاذبية سياحية روحية إسلامية. وعندما دمر الزلزال والتسونامي (٢٦ ديسمبر ٢٠٠٤م) جزءًا من بلاد آتشيه، نجا المسجد بدون أضرار جسيمة، ونجا العديد من سكان المدينة المقربين من المسجد. (SIMAS Sistem Informasi Masjid، n.d.-a)

النتائج

ومن نتائج هذا البحث:

١. أنه ظهر في عصر الإصلاح العديد من الأحزاب السياسة الإسلامية مثل حزب الاتحاد والتنمية، وحزب القمر والنجم، وحزب العدالة والرخاء، وحزب ماشومي، وحزب صحوة الأمة (PKU)، وحزب اليتامى (PAY)، وحزب شركة الإسلام PSII-١٩٠٥، وحزب

نهضة العلماء PNU ، وحزب محبة السلام(PCD)، وحزب نهضة الشعب PKB، وحزب الأمانة الوطنية PAN، وحزب التضامن الوطني الإندونيسي (SUNI). وعلى الرغم من أن هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية لا تحظى بكثير من أصوات الناخبين، إلا أن ائتلافها يمكنها إخراج العديد من الشخصيات البارزة في المناصب الاستراتيجية في المؤسسات التنفيذية والتشريعية في البلاد.

٢. فى عهد الإصلاح أيضا ظهر التقدم فى مجال التربية والتعليم، ومن بينه إنشاء المدارس الإسلامية المتكاملة الأهلية والحكومية من المراحل الابتدائية والإعدادية والثانوية كما أنشأت الجامعات الإسلامية الحكومية والأهلية وفتحت الكليات العامة لخلق التكامل المعرفي فيها.

٣. فى أواخر عهد سوهرتو بدأ التقدم فى مجال الاقتصاد الإسلامى بإنشاء بنك المعاملات الإسلامي. وانتشرت بعد ذلك البنوك الإسلامية مثل BSM الشريعةBRI الشريعة BNI الشريعة وغيرها من البنوك الإسلامية. كما أنشئت كذلك المؤسسات المالية الإسلامية الأخرى.

٤. ومن مظاهر التقدم فى مجال الفنون المعمارية وجود الهندسة المعمارية للمساجد في إندونيسيا بحيث تنهج أنماطا كثيرة، وقلدت الدول الإسلامية في الشرق الأوسط. ومع ذلك هناك نمط معماري آخر في إندونيسيا الذي وضعته مؤسسة بانشاسيلا الخيرية الإسلامية (YAMP). تم بناء المئات من المساجد من قبل مؤسسة بانشاسيلا الخيرية الإسلامية (YAMP) فكلها على نفس النمط المعماري، لها شكل مربع مع السقف الخاص المكون من جوغلوالتي رتبت على ثلاثة مستويات وهي مثل الهندسة المعمارية في مسجد ديماك بجاوى الوسطى. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، هناك العديد من الفنون المعمارية الأخرى للمساجد التي يمكن أيضا أن نعدها من المساجد العجيبة والفريدة من نوعها في إندونيسيا.

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الموازنات الأدبية فى مؤلفات آدم عبد الله الإلوري (دراسة تحليلية نقدية)

AL-MUWAZANAT AL-ADABIYYAH FI MUALFAT ADAM ABDULLAH AL-ILORI (DIRASAH TAHLILIYYAH NAQDIYYAH)

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الملخص

تتناول هذه الدراسة الجهود التي قام بها آدم عبد الله الإلوري نحو الموازنات الأدبية التي تعتبر عن مهمة في النقد الأدبي العربي. وأستهلها بلمحة تعريفية عن نشأة عبد الله الإلوري وأعماله الفنية وغير الفنية، ثم أسلط الضوء على المنهج انتهجه في عملية الموازنة، وتم تقسيم موازناته من ناحية التطبيق إلى ثلاثة أقسام. الأول: الموازنة فيما انفرد به كل واحد أو طرف عن غيره، الثاني: الموازنة فيما كان طرف يفوق طرفا آخر، ويرجحه في المستوى العلمي والأدبي، الثالث: الموازنة فيما يتساوى فيه الطرفان أو الاثنان، بحيث لا يستطيع أحدهما أن يدّعي المفاضلة أو الترجيح. وفي هذا العمل نستشهد بالأمثلة الملائمة مع ربط هذا الاستشهاد بالمراجع والمصادر الخارجية والداخلية. والله يوفقنا إلى الصواب.

Abstract

This paper aims to study the ideas employed by Adam Abdullah Al-Iloriy in carrying out the literary criticism themes in Arabic. Detailed biography of the

author with his literary and scientific works was documented while light was shed into his works which are sub-divided into three; a) wreath self-balancing; b) literary works competition whereby the scientific and literary proofs were cited; and c) literary balancing between two or more literature. This study established appropriate examples to prove the works capability for international recognition as the art of literary balancing is concerned.

Keywords: *Adam Al-Iloriyy; literary criticism*

المقدمة

تعتبر الموازنة من أرقى صور الحكم النقدي عند العرب، ومن أبرز ما تدور المناقشة حولها عندهم، فوجودها في كل عصر من عصورهم الأدبية دليل على رقي ذوقهم، ونضوج عقلهم، وسعة علمهم، ولها أثرها في حياتهم وثقافتهم، أسهم في نموها وتطورها كل من البلغاء والشعراء والفرسان، وكل من الخلفاء والولاة، وعلماء اللغة والرواة. ومن أجل تطبيق معايير الموازنة على تراثنا العربي النيجيري.

نظرنا في مؤلفات آدم عبد الله الإلوري، وجمعنا ما تيسر من الموازنات الأدبية عنده، فلما اجتمع لدينا منها قدر يسير قمنا بتحرير الملخص والمقدمة لهذه الورقة، ثم تحدثنا عن منهج الإلوري في الموازنة، وسلطنا الضوء على كلمة المنهج عند العرب وعلى المنهج الأدبي عندهم، وفي الموازنة التطبيقية عرضنا الطريق التى يسلكها الإلوري في الموازنة بين نص وآخر، أو بين النصوص أو الأشياء العلمية الأخرى. وبعد الخاتمة أتينا بالاقتراحات والتوصيات راجيا من الله سبحانه وتعالى التوفيق والسداد.

لمحة تاريخية عن حياته وأعماله في حقل العلم والتأليف

هو آدم بن عبد الباقي بن حبيب الله بن عبد الله الإلوري، ولد عام ١٩١٧م وتوفي عام ١٩٩٢م، وكان علمًا من أعلام الأفارقة الأفذاذ الذين عملوا فى حقل الدعوة الإسلامية وطوّروا الأدب العربي بكل جدّ وأمانة، له ما يربو على مائة تأليف فى شتى حقول العلوم، وله ما يزيد على التّسعة في الأدب والشّعر والعلوم اللّسانية، منها ما يأتي:

- مصباح الدّراسات العربية في الدّيار النّيجيرية

هذا الكتاب عبارة عن محاولة قيّمة قام بها المؤلف لتوضيح نشأة الأدب العربي في نيجيريا، وعلى عناصر هذا الأدب وتحديد عصوره، وأغراض الشعر العربي في نيجيريا.

- لباب الأدب

يقع هذا الكتاب في ثلاثة أجزاء: الأول في الشعر، والثّاني في النّثر، والثّالث في الخطابة. وكانت هذه الكتب من مقررات القسم التّوجيهي بمركز التّعليم العربي، أغيغي، نيجيريا.

- دروس البلاغة العربية

يتناول هذا الكتاب أمورًا عن فصاحة الكلمة والمتكلّم، وعن فصاحة الكلام وبلاغته، ثمّ عن البلاغةبأقسامها الثّلاثة وهي المعاني والبيان والبديع، وهو أيضا من مقررات المركز.

- أسرار البلاغة وأساس الفصاحة

هو كتاب منظوم في علوم البلاغة، يحتوي على ستّين بيتا، وقد افتتحه الناظم بالأبيات الآتية:

قال الفقير آدم اليرباوي ❋ المرتجي الـــعفو عن المساوي
الحمد لله الذي قد زادني ❋ علـم الفنون بعدمـا أرشدني
ثم صـلاة الله بالـــدّوام ❋ عـــلى الـــنّبي ســـيّد الأنام
وصحبه من صفوة البلاغة ❋ في خطب رصينة الصـياغة

وفي آخره يقول:

إلى هنا قد تمّ ذا الكتاب ❋ لربّنا المـرجع والمـآب

- تعريف اللغة العربية.

يختص هذا الكتاب بعلم النّحو العربي، وقد افتتحه المؤلف بذكر الكلمات المفردة، مثل أين، أنت، متى، وبالكلمات الّتي تدل على الأوقات كالسّاعة والدّقيقة، وما تدل على الزمان مثل الصباح والشّهر، وما تدل على المظاهر الكونية، كالأرض والقمر، والشّمس والمطر. وما تدل على الأعمال اليومية وعلى الأشياء الأخرى كالمدرسة والمسجد.

وقد تبلغ عدد صفحات هذا الكتاب ثمانين وعشرين صفحة، ألفه المؤلف لتلاميذ السّنة الأولى الإعدادية في المركز، وفي المدارس العربية الأخرى بأفريقيا الغربية.

- تصريف الميداني.

إن هذا الكتاب عبارة عن الشّرح الّذي قام به آدم عبد الله الألوري لكتاب مختصر الميداني الذي ألفه أحمد بن محمد الميداني، وقد تحدث الشّارح عن الألفاظ

الواردة في مختصر الميداني بالتّحديد، وضرب أمثلة أخرى من نفسه لإيضاح مضمون الكتاب بأسلوب علمي سهل بعيد عن التّعقيد والرّكاكة.

- تعريف الشّعر العربي.

يتناول هذا الكتاب الأمور عن أوزان الشّعر العربي وقوافيه، وما يمت إلى ذلك بصلة من العيوب والضّرورات الشّعرية، وبلغ عدد صفحات هذا الكتاب عشرين صفحة.

- لقطات.

هذا هو ديوان آدم عبد الله الألوري، يحتوي على ثلاثة عشر ونيف قصيدة، يُلتقَط كثيرها من أيدي بعض تلامذته وأحبّائه وقد نشرتها هيئة التّدريس بالمركز.

- الصّراع بين العربية والإنجليزية.

تحدث المؤلف في هذا الكتاب عن مكانة اللغة العربية في نيجيريا قبل أيام المستعمرين، وعن اللغة الإنجليزية، وعن أقوال النّاس عنه عند ابتدائه بإنشاء المركز، وما جرى بينه وبين المنكرين عليه من أنصار اللغة الإنجليزية، وكذلك تحدث عن دواعي انتصاره للغة العربية.

وضع آدم عبد الله الإلوري عددًا كبيرًا من الكتب لحلول مشاكل دينية معاصرة، تناول في بعضها أمور إقليمة وفي بعض آخر قضايا دولية، ومن أشهرها: الإسلام في نيجيريا عثمان بن فوديو، ونظام التعليم العربي وتاريخه في العالم الإسلامي، ومؤجز تاريخ نيجيريا، والإسلام وتقاليد الجاهلية، وتاريخ الدعوة إلى الله بين الأمس واليوم، وتوجيه الدعوة والدعاة، والإسلام اليوم وغدا في نيجيريا، والإسلام بين الحقيقة والواقع، وحصاد المناسبات الإسلامية، ودور التصوف والصوفية، ولمحات البلور في مشاهير علماء إلورن، ونسيم الصبا في أخبار الإسلام وعلماء يوربا، وأصل قبائل يوربا والقبائل المجاورة لها في نيجيريا، وفلسفة النبوة والأنبياء على ضوء الكتاب والسنة، والإسلام وتحديات القرن الحادي والعشرين الميلادي، والصوم والفطر، والاسلام دين ودولة. (M. Abdul Hamid & Lateef Onireti Ibrahim, 2007.)

وللإلوري تلاميذ وأتباع كثيرون، في نيجيريا، وغانا وبنين وتوغو وغيرها. وفي عام ١٩٥٢م تم له تأسيس مدرسته الشهيرة بمركز التعليم العربي الإسلامي في مدينة أبيكوتا قبل أن ينقله إلي أغيغي بلاغوس عام ١٩٥٥م(Olagunju، ١٩٨٥: ص ٦٢). وعند تأسيس هذا المركز شجعه بعض العلماء بالثناء والدعاة، منهم علي الكماشي الكنوي الذى قال:

لا زلت آمل في صباحي مشرقا * يمــحو ظلام الجهل في الآفاق
يعلى شموش العلم في نيجيريا*ويـــمدهم بمكارم الأخلاق
يبني المدارس كى يهذب نشئها * ويصيـر شهبا طيب الأعراق
حتى رأيت الشمش عند غروبها * تــعلو على الآفاق بالإشراق
يمحو ظلام الجهل ساطع نوره * مستبشــرا بالسعــد والأرزاق
نجــم أضــاء بلادنــا بعــلومــه * الحـــاج آدم ســابق السباق
ذو همــة علياء حــائز مــكنه * قعساء أمست منه باستجقاق.

(أبوبكر، د.ت: ص ١٤).

ولما ناهز الألوري سبعين عاما من العمر، أقبلت عليه الشيخوخة، ولكن هذه الشيخوخة لم تستطع أن تضعف ملكة من ملكاته الحسية والمعنوية إلى أن توفي يوم الأحد غرة ذي القعدة ١٤١٢هـ الموافق ٣ مايو ١٩٩٢م بالغا من عمره خمسة وسبعين عاما (بودوفو، ١٩٩٤م: ص ٣٨.)، ودفن بجوار أبويه فى مركزه بأغيغي لاغوس، رحمه الله رحمة واسعة، آمين. ومما يستحق التسجيل والإشارة إليه هنا أن الإمام عبد الغني أتندى راجي من تلامذة الالوري الذين يرثونه بقوله:

سلام على الإسلام من ذا يجيره * لقد مات من أعلامه أفضل البطل
سلام على أبنا العروبة ما لها * لقد هدّ من أبنائها أعظم الجبل
فمن يلبس الوعاظ إني علمته * إذا انكشفت عوراتهم جاء بالحلل
منابر قول الحق ما زال قولها * إلى أين هذا اللسن من شدة الوحل
مطابع علم سائلات وهل لــنا * بديل ولم أسمع له قط من بدل
تآليفه في كــلّ فــن كــرامة * ينازعها التنقيح من وصمة الحلل
لذلك ما زلنا نواصل حبنا * لخلدك إلا المرء لا بد من أجل

(بودوفو، ١٩٩٤م: ص ٢٩).

وبعد مرور سنة واحدة على وفاة الإلوري، أقيمت له حفلة تأبين برحاب مركز التعليم العربي الإسلامي، أغيغى، نيجيريا، وألقى فيها الشعراء قصائدهم، منهم عيسى ألبي أبو بكر الذي يقول:

رجع العقل بعد طول غياب * وصحا الرشد بعد غيّ المصاب
بدأت لوعة الفجيعة تخــبو * نارهــا بعد حــرقة ولــهاب
سنح الشعر بعد سكتة حول * كامل في تحسر واضطراب

وسكوت القريض أنطق أحيا * نا إذا غص قلبنا باكتئاب
أخذ النور يستعيد خطــاه * بعد ما ضاع في ثنايا الضباب
كففت دمعة العيون وقدسا * لت كما سال وابل بانصاب
وعلا جبهة الرجال بهاء * بعد ما أسود لونها كالغراب
كيف لا، والمدير في حضرة الر * ب سنى العلا فسيح الرحاب
هو ضيف موقر يجمع الأر * واح يسبى بقوله الخلاب
وكأنى أراه ينتظم الأمـــ * ـــر لديه في صحبة الأحباب
وكأنى أرى الملائك تصغى * كلما قــام تالــيا للكتاب
رحل الشيخ مطمئنا قرير الـــــ * ـــعين طوبى للعابد الأواب
طاب مسعاه في الحياة قنال الـــ * ـــمجد في حله وفي الاغتراب
آية الله في الفعال وحيد * كان في العلم طارقا كل باب
عاش أعجوبة الزمان تراه * في تآليفه حليف الصواب
(أبو بكر، ٢٠٠٥م: ص ٢٠٤-٢٠٥)

منهج الإلوري في الموازنة

تدور كلمة «نهج» حول عدّة معانٍ منها: الوضوح والبيان كما في حديث العباس -رضي الله عنه: «لم يمت رسول الله ﷺ حتى ترككم على طريقة ناهجة» أي واضحة بيّنة. ونقول: طريق نهج: أي بيّن واضح. وأنهج الطّريق: وضح واستبان. ونهجت الطّريق: أي أبينه وأوضحه. ومنها الطّريقة الواضحة أو سلوك الطّريق الواضحة. ففي كتاب الله -عزّ وجلّ: ﴿لِكُلٍّ جَعَلْنَا مِنكُمْ شِرْعَةً وَمِنْهَاجًا﴾ المائدة: ٤٨، أي طريقا واضحاً. ونقول: نهجت الطّريق: أي سلكته (عازل، د.ت: ص ١٠٢).

يقسم الباحثون مناهج البحث العلمي إلى أقسام مختلفة، منها: المنهج الفني، والمنهج التاريخى، والمنهج النفسانى، والمنهج المتكامل.

وأما المنهج الفني فهو الذى يقوم على دراسة الأدب العربي وفقا لفنونه أو أنواعه، ومن مزايا هذا المنهج أنه يتيح للباحث تتبع الفنون الأدبية مع الزمان، ودورانها مع العصور. ويسمح بالتعرف الهاديء على أثر العامل الإقليمى في الأدب. والدراسة الأدبية وفقا لهذا المنهج تجعل الصلة بالنصوص الأبية صلة حيّة وقوية.

ومن عناصر هذا المنهج «الاستقراء» الذى يرغّب الباحث بدراسة تطور الفن الأدبي عند كل الأدباء مغمورهم ومشهورهم. وهذا منهج يقود إلى الموازنة بين أديب وأديب، وأسلوب

وأسلوب، ويعلم الدقة والعمق، ويحرر الأدب من قيود السياسة (الهواري، ٢٠٠١م: ص ١٦٠).

ولا بدّ للبحث الأدبي من منهج علمي يسلكه الباحث، وأداة يستخدمها في الكشف عن الحقائق. ولا يفرض المنهج على الباحث فرضا، وإنما تحدده طبيعة الموضوع، وثقافة الباحث، واتّجاهه الفكري.

وفى هذا الموضوع، أرى أنه من المستحسن أن أشير إلى أن الألوري لا ينهج منهج الأدباء النقاد الذين يوازنون بين مقدمات الشعر في الغزل والوقوف على الأطلال، أو يفاضلون بين المعاني والألفاظ في الأدب. فمنهجه في النقد الأدبي عامة وفي الموازنة الأدبية خاصة أقرب شيء إلى منهج ابن سلام الجمحي حيث يركز على التدوين والتسجيل، وينسب النصوص العلمية والأدبية إلى أصحابها معتمدا على الذوق الذاتي حينا وعلى الحاسة الفنية حينا آخر. ازدهر هذا المنهج بعد ابن سلام إثر ازدهار تدوين تاريخ الأدب العربي، فحاول ألألوري أن يرينا مدى اهتمامه بهذا المنهج، وأخذ يقسم كتب مناهج البحث الأدبي إلى ثلاثة أقسام، وهي:

١. كتب التصنيف والتدوين فى سائر العلوم والفنون.
٢. كتب التحليل والتبيين للمعاني والألفاظ والأساليب.
٣. كتب المقارنات والموازنات بين الشعراء (الإلوري، ١٩٩٢م: ص ١٤).

بعد هذه التقسيمات صرح الإلوري قوله حول المنهج الذي كان يؤثره وقال: «نهتم بالنوع الأول لأننا فى دور التدوين والتسجيل، ومن أراد بعد ذلك فليهتم بالنقد أو بالمقارنة وعلى الله قصد السبيل» (الإلوري، ١٩٩٢م: ص ١٥).

يذهب الباحثون إلى أن هذا النوع من المنهج قد عاصر المنهج الفني تقريبا، إذ تلبس كلاهما بالآخر فى أغلب الأحوال ولهذا لا يستطيع أي ناقد أدبي أن يستغني عنه، وكان أوائل النقاد من أصحاب هذا المنهج يبنون نقدهم على الذوق، وخاصة عند إصدار أحكام الموازنة. قد يبدو جليًا أن ذوق الإلوري البيئي والتربوي والتعليمي هو الذي أدى به إلى الموازنة بين الإسلام والأديان السماوية الأخرى، وبين الصوفيين والسلفيين، وبين الأدب العربي في نيجيريا وعند العرب الأقحاح، بدلا من أن يوازن بين الشعراء الأربعة الكبار فهم: النابغة والأعشي، وزهير وامرؤ القيس، أو بين شعراء الإسلام أمثال جرير والفرزدق والخطل حسب صنعة كل من ابن سلام الجمحى وابن قتيبة والجاجظ والمبرد والآمدي ونحوهم.

سلك الإلوري هذا المنهج ليسهل لأبناء نيجيريا وغيرهم طريق تمييز الحسن من القبيح، وقد تتطلب الموازنة فى مثل هذا المنهج أربعة أشياء، وهي الدربة والتجربة، وطول الملابسة والذكاء وعن هذه الصفات يقول الآمدي:

«وهي علة ما لا يعرف إلا بالدربة، ودائم التجربة وطول الملابسة، وبهذا يفضل أهل الحذاقة بكل علم وصناعة من سواهم فمن نقصت قريحته وقلت دربته بعد أن يكون هناك طبع فيه لتلك الطبائع وامتزاج بها» (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص٢٣٥).

تنطوي مؤلفات الإلوري على مادة غريزة من ألوان هذا المنهج، يعمد فيها إلى اختيار الأمثلة المناسبة والنماذج الداخلية والخارجية، ليبرهن لنا إجادته فى فن الموازنة ومن أروع ما جاء فى هذا الصدد موازنته حول ما أصاب الإسلام من التأخر حيث قال:

«إن الذين ينسبون كل ما أصاب الإسلام من التأخير إلى الطوائف الصوفية... وقد تغالوا وتجاوزا الحد، نسألهم أين ملوك المسلمين وأغنياؤهم وفقهاؤهم والمحدثون منهم فماذا كانوا يفعلون حين كان الصوفيون يؤخرونهم إلى الوراء، أليس لكل فريق من هؤلاء خطاه وصوابه؟ فكيف نشترك فى العمل ثم نحمل التبعة على أحد: ﴿ وَمَن يَكْسِبْ خَطِيٓـَٔةً أَوْ إِثْمًا ثُمَّ يَرْمِ بِهِۦ بَرِيٓـًٔا فَقَدِ ٱحْتَمَلَ بُهْتَٰنًا وَإِثْمًا مُّبِينًا ﴿١١٢﴾ ﴾ النساء: ١١٢، يقولون: إن أصحاب الطرق هم أصحاب البدع والأهواء... نسبوا أن دين النصاري كله بدع وضلالات وخرافات وهو دين أهل أروبا وأميريكا ولا يزالون يتمسكون به حتى الآن ومع ذلك لم يتأخروا فى مضمار الحياة، وكانوا يؤلهون عيسى عَلَيْهِ ٱلصَّلَاةُ وَٱلسَّلَامُ يستغيثون به ويستمدون منه العون ويعبدون الصليب؛ والصوفية لم يصلوا إلى تلك الدرجة وإن كان بعضهم قد تكلموا فى وحدة الوجود والاتحاد والحلول... نسي أعداء الصوفية أن اليابان أمة وثنية ومع ذلك لحقت بمقدمة الركب والحضارات، ونسوا أن الصين والروس أمتان ملحدتان ومع ذلك صارتا من الدول الكبرى فحذار ثم محاربة الإسلام نفسه بمحاربة ما يمت إلى الإسلام بصلة.» (الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص١٣٦).

يحاول الإلوري في هذه السطور أن يصرح بأن البدع والخرافات ليست مما يمنع الإسلام من التقدم، وإنما المحاربة بين المسلمين هي ما يؤخر الإسلام والمسلمين إلى الوراء، ومن ثم لم يقتصر الألوري على ما في الكتاب والسنة بل أشار إلى ما يحدث فى بريطانيا وأمريكا واليابان والصين والروس وبهذا استخدم المنهج التأريخي استخداما صحيحا، وفي كل موقف أشار إلي ما يليق به وتنبه إلى محاسن الاتجاهين ومساويهما، وإلى إساءة من أساء منهما فى بعض النظريات والفكر. وباتساع حدود الموزتات الذين وظفوا ثقافة

التكلوجيا وحضارة العولمة فى أعمالهم الأدبية. وقد يعد التأثير بالثقافات الخارجية عاملا كبيرا من العوامل التي أضاف جودة فى منهج الباقلاني والآمدي عند الموازنة.

تاريخ استعمال لفظ الموازنة وتطوره في النقد الأدبي

كان العرب يستعملون لفظ «الموازنة» كثيرًا في شعرهم ونثرهم، وكانوا يستعملون ألفاظا أخرى بدلًا منه، وأشهرها لفظ «المفاضلة» و«الحكومة» و«الحكم» و«القضاء». ومعاني هذه الألفاظ جميعًا متشابهة، فالمفاضلة تعني التفضيل، والتقديم، والحكومة وما بعدها معناها الفصل بين المتخاصمين (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٦).

ويذهب الباحثون إلى أن أوّل من استعمل لفظ «الموازنة» هو أبو عثمان الجاحظ، استعمله في مواضع من كلامه، وقال: «... ذكر محاسنهما ومساوئهما، والموازنة بينهما» يعني بين الكلب والديك، ومن ذلك قوله: «الموازنة بين جميع النحل» وقوله: «الموازنة بين الرجال» (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٥).

ثمّ جاء الآمدي، فسمى كتابه بـ»الموازنة بين الطائيين: البحتري وأبي تمام» فقال: «وأوازن بين معنى ومعنى، فأقول: أيهما أشعر في ذلك المعنى بعينه (الآمدي، ١٩٦٥م: ص ٤١٠). وبعده جاء الباقلاني، واستعمل لفظ «الموازنة» في كتابه «إعجاز القرآن» بمعناه النقدي في مواضع كثيرة، منها، قوله: و»من تعذر عليه الحكم بين شعر جرير، والفرزدق، والأخطل، والحكم بين فضل زهير، والنابغة، أو الفصل بين البحتري وأصحابه... فكيف يمكنه النظر فيما وصفنا، والحكم على ما بيّنا»، (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٤٧).

هذا النصّ يدلّ على أن الباقلاني يعيب على من لم يعرف كيف يوازن بين الشعراء كما يدلّ على مسألة إعجاز القرآن الكريم، وعلى علوه وفضله على غيره. وكان العلماء بعد الباقلاني يستعملون لفظ الموازنة كثيرًا بمعناه النقدى كذلك، منهم عبد القاهر الجرجاني.

وهناك عوامل عدة أثرت في تطور الموازنة عند العرب، حتّى صارت بابًا من أبواب النقد الأدبي، نلخص هذه العوامل فيما يأتي:

١. طبيعة النفس العربية: فالعرب من طبيعتهم أن يفاضلوا بين أشياء، فجعلوا للشعراء والبلغاء والخطباء والفرسان طبقات لغلبة نزعة المفاضلة على نفوسهم، فلهذا فاضلوا بين الخلفاء الأربعة الراشدين، وبين أهل البصرة والكوفة في العلم النحوي، وبين القدماء والمحدثين في الرواية.
٢. الأسواق العربية: ومن أشهر أسواق العرب: «دومة الجندل» و«هجر» و«صحار» و«قرى الشحر» و«عدن أبين» و«الرابية» و«ومجنّة» و«ذو المجاز» و«عكاظ» وهي

أشهر أسواق العرب وأعظمها في الجاهلية، فهناك روايات كثيرة تدلّ على أنّه كان سوقًا أدبيًا ونقديًا رائحًا، وأن العرب كانوا يجتمعون فيه على التبايع والتفاخر، والتناشد، والتناقد، والتفاضل، وأن حلل الشعر كانت تنشر في عكاظ وتدب إليه القوافي. وقد قال أميّة بن خلف الخزاعى، يهجو حسان بن ثابت:

ألا من مبلغ حسان عنّي ❋ مغلغلـــــة تدب إلى عكاظ

فقال حسان يجيبه:

سأنشر ما حييت لهم كلاما ❋ ينشرّ بالـــــمجامع من عكاظ

(لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٣٩)

وقد دلت الروايات الكثيرة أيضا على أن النابغة الذبياني ضربت له قبة من آدم في عكاظ، وجلس للشعراء ينشدونه أو يستنشدهم، ثمّ يفاضل بينهم أو ينتقد عليهم.

وأمّا أسواق العرب في الإسلام، فالمشهور منها اثنان، «المربد و»الكناسة» أمّا الكناسة فقد حدث فيها قليل من تناشد ونقد، ولكن «المربد» فهي عكاظ العرب في الإسلام، كان في أصلها سوقًا للإبل، ثمّ صار سوقًا أدبيًا ونقديًا، يجتمع فيه الشعراء أمثال: الفرزدق، وجرير، والراعي للإنشاد، لكلّ شاعر منهم حلقة. (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٤٣). وإن هذه الأسواق أو مقاماتهم لم تخل من تناشد وتناقد وتفاضل بين الشعراء والنقاد.

٣. الأندية العربية: تدلّ بعض المعلومات التي بين أيدينا، وكان لكل قبيلة أو جماعة من العرب ندي، يتفاخرون فيه، ويتنادمون، ويحكمون أمورهم، وييّتون لأعدائهم. (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٤٥). ومنهم من جعل خير أيامهم يومين: «يوم أندية وتقوال» و«يوم حرب وقتال» قال سلامة بن جندل، يمدح قومه:

يومان: يوم مقامات وأندية ❋ ويوم سير إلى الأعداء تأويب

وتتعدد أنديتهم كلما اتسعت قبائلهم ولهذا يقول بشر بن أبي خازم:

وما يندوهم النادي ولكن ❋ بكلّ محله منهم فئام

وفي الإسلام كانت للخلفاء والولاة ولغيرهم من أهل اللغة مجالس يناقشون فيها أمور الشعر، ويوازنون بين الشعراء، من ذلك ما روى أنه كان لعليّ بن أبي طالب مجلس، يصنع فيه طعامًا للناس في رمضان فيتحاورن في الموازنة بين الشعراء فيما يتحاورن فيه

من الحديث. (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٤٧). وكان لهذه المجالس والأندية أثر كبير في نمو وتطور الموازنات الشعرية بين العرب.

صور من الموازنات التطبيقية عند الألوري:

يهتم العرب منذ الجاهلية بالموازنات الأدبية، ويقول كمال عبد الباقي لاشين: أنّ للشّعراء العرب أثرًا في نشأة الموازنات ونهضتها، فهم الّذين بدَؤُوها أولا باختلافهم حول أيهم أشعر، كما في تماري امرئ القيس وعلقمة، وتحاكمهما إلى أمّ جندب وفي تماري العجير والسّلولي، وأوس بن غلفاء الهجيليّ، ومزاجم العقيليّ والعباس بن يزيد الكنديّ، وحميد بن ثور، أيّهم أشعر، وتراضيهم على وصف سرب القطا، ثمّ احتكامهم إلى ليلى الأخيلية، ومن ذلك اجتماع عمر بن أبي ربيعة، والأحوص، ونصيب بكثير، وموازنته بين ثلاثتهم في معنى من معاني الغزل، ولقد تكلم في الموازنات الشّعرية بعض الخلفاء والولاة، ومن ذلك: أنّ الرجلين من بني مروان كانا يختلفان في الشعر فيرسلان راكبًا إلى قتادة بن دعامة السّدوسي يسأله، ثمّ يشخص إليهم برأيه.وأبو جعفر المنصور يرسل إلى حماد الرّواية، يسأله عن أشعر النّاس، وهكذا الحجاج بن يوسف الثّقفي يوفد إلى قتيبةبن مسلم ليسأله عن أشعر النّاس في الجاهلية والإسلام.

وكذلك كان لعلماء اللغة والفقه عناية بالموازنات الشعرية، إذ روى أنّ سعيد بن المسيّب ونوفل بن مساحق تجاريا في عمر بن ربيعة، وابن قيس الرقيات: أيّهما أشعر؟ كما روى أن رجلين تنازعا بحضرة عسكر المهلب بن أبي صفرة في جرير والفرزدق: أيّهما أشعر، فكره المهل بأن يعرض لهما نفسه فدلهما على رجل من الخوارج فقضى بتقديم جرير على فرزدق، وقيل إن المفضل الضبي خرج حاجّاً ، فما إن بلغ أهل المدينة خبره، حتى جاءه بعضهم يذاكرونه في جميل وكثير أيّهما أشعر؟. وهكذا دواليك.

ويمكن أن نقول أن الموازنات الأدبية عند الإلوري كالمصباح الذى ينير الطريق للقراء عند بحثهم عن أوجه القوة والضعف، وعن مواطن الإحسان والإساءة فى التاريخ والعلم والأدب، وبناء عليه يمكن تقسيم نظرياته فى الموازنات التطبيقية إلى ثلاثة أقسام:

أولا: الموازنات فيما انفرد به كل واحد أو طرف عن غيره، وهذا يقتضي النظر في الوقت والزمان، والبحث عن الدين أو العقيدة والاتجاه. وقد أوغل الإلوري في مثل هذه الموازنة عند ما يدرس العلاقة التي بين الشيخ عثمان بن فودي النيجيري ومحمد بن عبد الوهاب السعودي، وأشار إلى خصائص يتصف بها كل واعد منهما، أو مميزات ينفرد بها

النيجيري عن السعودي وبالعكس، وفى دراسة الدعوة التى قام بها كل واحد منهما نلخص قوله فيما يأتي:

محمد عبد الوهاب السعودي: «إن الدعوة الوهابية قامت أول قيامها فى بلاد نجد عام ١١٥٣هـ لم يعرف هذه الدعوة فى مكة المكرمة إلا عام ١٣١٨هـ ودامت مقاومتها إلي حين أن ألف مفتى مكة المكرمة أحمد زيني دحلان المتوفي عام ١٣٠٤هـ مختصرا فى الرد على الوهابية» (الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص ١٠٠).

وتمادى الإلوري في قوله: «لم تستقر الدعوة الوهابية فى الحجاز إلا بعد استيلاء الملك عبد العزيز على مكة عام ١٩٦٥م، وقبل ذلك لقيت هذه الدعوة مقاومة السلطان محمد الثاني، الذى أصدر أمره إلى محمد علي وإلى مصر، أن يكسر شوكة الوهابيين السعوديين، فتغلب الجيش المصري التركي على الجيش السعودي الوهابي وأسروا أميرهم عبد الله بن سعودى وأرسلوه إلى الأستاتة، واحتلوا عاصمتهم الدرعية وخربوها عام ١٢٣٣هـ.» (الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص ١٠٠).

عثمان بن فودي النيجيري: «قامت دعوة ابن فودي فى نيجيريا عام ١١٨٠هـ، والدعوة الوهابية حينئذ لم تنتشر فى الحجاز انتشارًا يجعلها مقبولة أو معروفة فى العالم الإسلامي، وفى عام ١٢٣٣هـ خرب محمد علي والي مصر الدرعية التى هي عاصمة الوهابية وأسر أميرها، وذلك بعد وفاة عثمان بن فودي بسنة». (الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص ١٠٠).

وتمادى الإلوري في قوله: «لم يكتب الله لابن فودي حجا ولا عمرة، ولم يخرج مطلقا من حدود بلاده إلى بلاد العرب، ولو أنه حج أو زار بلدا من بلاد العرب لكتب ذلك فى مؤلفاته، أو لكتبه عنه تلاميذه الذين سجلوا حياته والحوادث التى تعلقت بها من صغيرة وكبيرة، ولقد حاول عبد الله بن فودي أخو عثمان أن يخرج إلى الحج ولكنه حيل دون قصده عندما وصل إلى مدينة كنو، ثم رجع إلى الجماعة وانضم إلى الموكب» (الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص ١٠١).

ينكر الإلوري قول من قال: إن عثمان بن فودي ومحمد بن عبد الوهاب في طبقة واحدة، ويذهب إلى أن لكل منهما ميزة خاصة، فالمرجو أن نجعل كل منهما فى طبقته التى يختص بها، ومن ثم أشار الألوري إلى اختلاف الذوق الأدبي بينهما، ويرى أن ذوق ابن عبد الوهاب لا يشبه ذوق ابن فودي في التوحيد والعقيدة وفي المذهب الفقهي وفي الفن الأدبي. ولقد سلط ضواء كاشفًا على اختلاف ذوقهما ليوازن بين شخصيتهما الفنية وغير الفنية ويقول:

«ابن فودي مالكي المذهب أشعري العقيدة، قادري الطريقة، وابن عبد الوهاب حنبلي سلفي، والسلفيون غالبا حنابلة ولا طريقة لهم، ولابن فودي التوسلات بالنبي ﷺ، والصحابة، والأولياء، وقد عرب أخوه عبد الله قصيدة أعجمية نظمها فى التوسل بالشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني، وهي في نحو أربعين بيتا جاء فيها:

يا رب عالم باطن كالظاهر * أجب الذي يدعو بعبد القادر»

(الإلوري، ١٩٦١م: ص ١٠١).

وقال أيضاً:

«لم يرد ذكر محمد بن عبد الوهاب فى مؤلفات ابن فودي وأخيه وابنه ولا أحد من تلاميذهم، وذلك مما يدل على أنه لم يتصلوا بدعوته، ولو اتصلوا بها لذكروها فى أشعارهم ومؤلفاتهم، كما يذكرون أسماء المشايح الذين نقلوا عنهم كابن الحاج والأرزق، والسيوطي، وقلما ذكروا ابن تيمية فى مؤلفاتهم ولقد ذكروا من تشرقوا بلقائه أو سماع أخباره من العرب كالشيخ محمد المختار الكنتي وغيره».

ترى أن الإلوري يذهب إلى أن عثمان بن فودي لا يقاس إلا بمقياس المالكيين والأشاعرة والصوفية، وكان يحذو حذو أئمة تلكم المذاهب والعقائد، وذوقه الفني أشبه بذوق ابن الحاج والأرزق والسيوطي ومن كان على حيزهم من أهل العشق والجذب، أما ابن عبد الوهاب فشتان ما بينه وبين المذهب المالكي، وبين العقيدة الأشاعرة والطريقة القادرية، فذوقه العلمي والأدبي لا يختلف عن ذوق أحمد بن حنبل وابن تيمية وأمثالهما من الذين ينكرون التوسل والتصوف. فمثل هذه الموازنة يوجد عند نقاد العرب الكبار أمثال الحسن بن بشر الآمدي فقد أشار في كتابه «الموازنة بين الطائيي» إلى الاختلاف الذي بين البحتري وأبي تمام مع أنهما معاصران، وقال في البحتري بأنه أعربي الشعر مطبوع، وعلى مذهب الأوائل، وما فارق عمود الشعر المعروف، وكان يجتنب التعقيد ومستكره الألفاظ ووحشي الكلام، فهو بأن يقاس بأشجع السلمي ومنصور وأبي يعقوب المكفوف وأمثالهم من المطبوعين أولى (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص ١٣٧). وفى شأن أبى تمام يقول بأنه شديد التكلف، صاحب الصنعة، ومستنكر الألفاظ والمعاني، وشعره لا يشبه أشعار الأوائل، ولا على طريقهم، لما فيه من الاستعارات البعيدة والمعاني المؤلدة، فهو بأن يكون في حيز مسلم بن الوليد ومن حذا حذوه أحق وأشبه (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص ١٣٧). أوردنا موقف الآمدى فيما تميز به هذا عن ذلك لندعم نظرية الإلوري، ولنبرهن لنظريته

فى الموازنات الأدبية، حيث أظهر الجراءة الفنية والشجاعة الأدبية، فيما تميز به كل من عثمان بن فودى ومحمد بن عبد الوهاب فى خصائص ومميزات.

ثانيا: الموازنة فيما كان كل طرف يفوق طرفا آخر، ويرجحه فى المستوى العلمي والأدبي، كان العرب يسيرون على هذا النمط منذ الجاهلية والإسلام ويتبعون التفوق والترجيح فى موازاناتهم، ومن ذلك قول أبي طالب في الخطبة التى قام بها فى زواج النبي ﷺ من خديجة رضي الله عنها، يصف النبي ويزكيه، وقال: «لا يوازن به فتى من قريش إلا رجح به»(لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٤). وقال حسان بن ثابت مادحا:

إن سابقوا الناس يوما فاز سبقهم * ووازنوا أهل مجد بالندى منعوا

(لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٤).

وقال كثيّر مفتخرا:

فإن أك معروف العظام فإنني * إذا ما وزنت القوم بالقوم وازن

(لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٤).

ومن معاني «الوزن» هنا الرجحان والتقدير تقول: وزن الشيء: إذا رجح، ووزن الشي: قدره (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٤). وإلى هذا النوع من الموازنات ترجع موازنة الإلوري في المناقشة الأدبية التي احتدمت بينه وبين بعض هيئة التدريس بجامعة إبادن حول ارتقاء الأدب العربي أو انحطاطه في عصرنا الحاضر، وكان بعض أساتذة جامعة إبادن ينظرون إلى مكان الأدب العربي فى ذينك العصرين السابقين فى أزهى يومه وأرقى دولته، وبنوا أحكامهم على أن الأدب العربي في العصرين أكثر ارتفاعًا من عصرنا الحاضر، ولكن الإلوري وقف ضد هذا الرأي، بل صمم على أن الأدب العربي ارتقى في عصرنا هذا وبلغ شأوا لم يبلغه في العصور السابقة. والإلوري يرى نفسه منفردا بهذا الرأي، ولهذا أصبح مترددا عليه حتى ساعده الحظ أخيرا بالعثور على الرأي نفسه في كتاب الشيخ محمد الغزالي المعاصر، وهذه الظاهرة هي التي أدخلت السرور في قلب الإلوري. وفي ذلك يقول:

«إن الأدب قد ارتقي اليوم أكثر من ارتقائه فى العصور القديمة إذا نظرنا إليه من سائر النواحي لا من ناحية واحدة... أما السبب فى ذلك فهو استقلال الأدب من نير الملوك والقبائل لم يعد الكاتب يرتزق بكتابة الرسائل للملوك والأمراء في دواوينهم ولم يك الكاتب أو الشاعر يعيش تحت رحمة الملوك أو على فئات موائدهم، أو يعيش على ما يجده من أجر أو ثواب قصيدة مدح بها ملكًا أو أميرًا، وإنما صار الكتابة فى الجرائد والمجلات صناعة

يعترف بها الكاتب لخدمة الأمة والوطن فى آمالها وآلامها، وإن مدح ملكًا أو وزيرًا أو أميرا كان له ذلك أمرًا ثانويًا» (الإلوري، ١٩٩٢م: ص ٧٧).

ومن هذه النصوص نفهم أن الإلوري ينظر إلى قوة الأدب العربي وارتقائه فى القرن العشرين من النواحي المختلفة، ويشير فى ذلك إلى الأغلال التى كانت في عنق الناثر أو الشاعر في العصور الماضية، الأمر الذى جعل أكثر الأدباء في العصر الأموي والعباسي يشكون بؤسهم، ويكادون يندمون على سلوكهم هذا المسلك كما كان النقاد الأولون يسلكون فكرة المفاضلة بين الأدبيين من الفكر الرئيسة فى العصر الجاهلى يبدو أن المفاضلة تشيع في جو تكثر فيه ألوان الأدب ويتقارب بعضها إلى البعض في المستوى، ففى مثل هذا الموضوع قال النابغة الذبياني للبيد بن ربيعة: «أنت أشعر بني عامر» (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص ٢٣). بعد قوله:

ألم تَربَعْ على الدِّمن الخوالي

ثم قال له: «أنت أشعر قيس كلها» (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص ٣٤)، بعد أن قال:

طَلَلٌ لخولة بالرُّسَيس قديمُ

ولعل موقف الألوري في هذا الصدد أشبه شئ بموقف النابغة وأبعد عن موقف الخطيئة الذي ذهب إلى أن زهير بن أبي سلمى أشعر العرب لقوله:

ومن يجعل المعروف من دون عرضه ❋ يفره ومن لا يتق الشتم يشتم

ثم قيل من؟ فقال الذي يقول:

من يسأل الناس يحرمون ❋ وسائل الله لا يخيب.

يعني عبيدا، وقيل ثم من؟ قال أنا (العاكوب، ٢٠٠٦م: ص ٣٤).

جاءت الخطيئة بهذه الموازنة المفاضلة لسبب وقوع هذين البيتين في النفس موقع المحب المكرم، ولتقارب المذهب الفني بينه وبين زهير وعبيد وهذا ما كان عليه الذين يفاضلون العصر الأموي والعباسي على العصر الحديث.

ثالثا: الموازنة فيما يتساوى فيه الطرفان أو الاثنان، بحيث لا يستطيع أحدهما أن يدعي المفاضلة أو الترجيح. فمن معاني الموازنة: تساوى الشيئين، أو أحدهما على مثال واحد، من غير قصد الترجيح بينهما، تقول: هذا الشيء يوازن هذا الشيء إذا كان على زنته أو محاذيه وعلى هذا جاء قول جرير:

فإن كنت ترجو أن توازن دارما ❋ فرم حضنا فانظر متى أنت ناقله

(لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٣).

فمعنى هذا البيت هو إن كنت تبغي مساواة دارم فرم حضنا، ومن هذا المعنى أُخذ مصطلح الموازنة في باب «البديع» فقد قيل فى تعريفها: هي تساوى الفواصل وزنا فى النثر، وصدر البيت وعجزه لفظًا ووزنًا في الشعر (لاشين، ٢٠٠٧م: ص ٢٣). وقد تساوى الإلوري بين بعض الشعر العربي النيجيري والشعر العربي في مصر فلننظر إلى البيتين التاليين:

أقول وقـد أبصـرته متعجـبا ❊ كواكـب أرض بالنجوم تسامر

إذا افتخرت هذي بضوء كواكب ❊ وهـذا بضـوء الكهرباء تسامر

(الإلوري، ١٩٨٨م: ص ١٢).

يذهب الألوري إلى أن شعر الوزير جنيد يشبه الشعر العربي الجيد، ويساوى أشعار شوقى، وحافظ إبراهيم وغيرهما، من أمراء الشعر العربي الحديث، وفي ذلك يقول:

«قرأت فى إحدى قصائده عام ١٩٤٥م عندما شاهد منظرا رائعا محفوفا بالأنوار الكهربائية عند خروجه لأول مرة من سوكوتو فى رحلة حجازية مع ثلاثة آخرين من نواب الأقاليم حينئذ، وأحفظ له هذين البيتين وما أشبه هذا الشعر بأشعار شوقى وحافظ إبراهيم من أمراء الشعر الحديث، والوزير جنيد هذا، لم يتعلم خارج سوكوتو بل تخرج على أبائه وأسلافه على الأسلوب القديم» (الإلوري، ١٩٨٨م: ص ١٢).

ومن هنا ينبغي أن نغض طرفنا عن الذين يفضلون العرب على العجم في الشعر، لأنهم يرون في بعض أشعار العرب الإجادة والطبع، كما أنه يليق بنا أن نعيب الذين يفضلون العجم على العرب، لأنهم يرون في أشعار بعض العجم الجديد والابتكار، فشأن هؤلاء لا يختلف عن شأن الذين يفضلون القديم على الجديد أو الجديد على القديم، فأحكام الذين ينتمون إلى هذه الطائفة لا تخلو من التلاعب بالعقول والتفلسف بالأقوال، ولا يساعدنا في رفع مستوى النقد الأدبي إلى قمة التقدم والتطور، وإلى هؤلاء يشير عبد العزيز الجرجاني حين قال:

«وما أكثر ما نرى ونسمع عن حفاظ اللغة وجلة الرواة يلهج بعيب المتأخرين، أن أحدهم ينشد البيت ويستحسنه ويستجيده ويجب منه ويختاره، فإذا نسب لبعض أهل عصره وشعراء زمانه، كذب نفسه، ونقض قوله، ورأي تلك الغضاضة أهون محملًا، وأقل مرزأ من التسليم بفضيلة المحدث والاقرار بالإحسان المولد، وحكي عن إسحاق الموصلى أنه قال: أنشد الأصمعي:

هل إلى نظرة إلـيك سبيل ❊ يرو منها الصّدى ويشفى الغليل

إنّ ما قل منك يكثر عندى ❊ وكثيـر من الحبيب القليل

فقال: هذا والله الديباج الخسراني «ولمن تنشدني؟ فقلت إنها لليلتهما. فقال: لا جرم، والله إن أثر التكلف فيهما ظاهر (مبارك، ١٩٧٣م: ص٨).

فالحاسة الفنية التى يتمتع بها الألوري هي التي جعلته يطرب للجيد الممتع من الأدب العربي في بلاد العرب وفى نيجيريا، ويوازن بينهما موازنة فنية صادقة كما نرى فى هذا الصدد.

ومما جعل الإلوري ينظم هذين البيتين فى سلك أشعار أمراء الشعر العربي الحديث، هو أنه يرى فيه جمالاً فنيًا، وأن الشاعر هو الذي أحدث هذا الجمال فيه، ولهذا يتعجب من هذا الشعر ويقدره مثلما كان النقاد المعاصرين يفعلون فى شعر بعض الشعراء المعاصرين، وقال: «ما أشبه هذا الشعر بأشعار شوقي وحافظ إبراهيم» ذلك ليصور لنا مدى جودة البيتين ومساواتهما بأشعار بعض الشعراء المعاصرين الأفذاذ مثل شوقي وحافظ وغيرهما.

الخاتمة

استنتج مما سبق أن الإلوري قد بلغ إلى درجة عليا في فهم الأدب العربي، ووصل إلى قمة شامخة في التمييز بين الجيد والردئ. وكان له جهد واسع عريض في تطور الأدب العربي النيجيري على وجه العموم، وفي حقل الموازنات الأدبية على وجه الخصوص؛ مما مكنه من الوقوف على مخطوطات علماء نيحيريا ويدونها في سجل بعض مؤلفاته، وسلك فى ذلك مسلك الأدباء الذين يبنون مواقفهم الأدبية على المنهجين، التاريخي والفني.

يلاحظ من يقرأ عن موازناته العلمية والأدبية أن حاسته الفنية بعيدة عن الأهواء والطموحات التي تفسد الحكم، وإن كانت البيئة والتربية والتعليم تؤثر تأثيرًا واضحًا في اتجاهاته النقدية ونظرياته الموازنية، وبالتالي حاولت في هذه الورقة أن أدلي بدلوي في قضية الموازنات الأدبية لدى آدم عبد الله الإلوري فألقيت نظرة عابرة في حياته ومنهجه فى الموازنة، ثم اتبعت مذهب تقسيم موازناته التطبيقية إلى ثلاثة: ما تميز به كل طرف عن آخر، وما تفاضل طرف على طرف آخر، وما يتساوى فيه الطرفان. فقد أوردت النماذج المختلفة لأدعّم وجهة نظر الإلوري في تلك الموازنات.

الاقتراحات والتوصيات

تمثل الموازنة جانبًا من جوانب النقد الأدبي عند العرب، وعنصرًا من عناصر الدراسات الفنيّة عندهم،ولهذا كان من الضروري أن نمهد الطريق إلى البحث عن هذا الموضوع، وأن

نقترح للأجيال الراهنة والقادمة ما يفيدهم في مثل هذا العمل، وأن نوصيهم بما يستحق فيه التوصية. وإليكم اقتراحاتنا وتوصياتنا كالآتي:

١. على دارسي اللغة العربية في نيجيريا أن يهتموا بقراءة الكتب التي ألفها القدماء العرب في اللغة والأدب والنقد. لأن تلك الكتب تفيدهم عند التبحر في اللغة العربية وفهمها فهما صحيحًا.
٢. أن يهتم دارسو اللغة العربية في هذه البلاد بمؤلفات القدماء والمحدثين.
٣. أن يعرف الباحث النيجيري النهج السليم في دراسة للموازنات الأدبية حتى يستطيع أن يطبقها في دراسته للنصوص العربية النيجيرية.
٤. أن يبتعد الدارس أو الباحث عن التعصب وسوء الظن للآخرين، وأن يلازم الصدق والتواضع في عملية الموازنة قي أعمال العلماء والأدباء شعرها ونثرها.

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Paper document submitted to this journal (in MS Word) should be arranged as follow:

- Bodytext of paper article
- Figure Captions and Table Captions

All illustrations of any kind must be submitted as sequentially numbered figures, one to a page. Although high-resolution images are not required for the initial refereeing stage, if the essay is subsequently selected for publication then all figures and tables will need to be provided at the highest quality in digital format. When symbols, arrows, numbers or letters are used to identify parts of illustrations they must be clearly identified by a key in the figure legend, rather than in the figure itself. Similarly, internal scales, staining or processing of the figure must be explained where appropriate. Figure legends should be listed sequentially on a separate page. In all cases where the author is not the owner of the copyright of the figures, written permission must be obtained from the copyright holder(s) to reproduce the figures in this journal.

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Paper length, in either English or Arabic, is at minimum **6.000** words and no longer than **8.000** words excluding abstract and references. Paper content should, in general, be organized in the following order: *Title*; *Authors Name*; *Authors Affiliation*; *Abstract*; *Keywords*; *Introduction*; *Method (for research based articles)*;*Content/Results and Discussion*; *Conclusions*; *and References*.

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This is your opportunity to attract the reader's attention. Remember that readers are the potential authors who will cite your article. Identify the main issue of the paper. Begin with the subject of the paper. Do not contain infrequently-used abbreviations.

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In Introduction, Authors should state the objectives of the work at the end of introduction section. Before the objective, Authors should provide an adequate background, and very short literature survey in order to record the existing solutions/method, to show which is the best of previous researches, to show the main limitation of the previous researches, to show what do you hope to achieve (to solve the limitation), and to show the scientific merit or novelties of the paper. Avoid a detailed literature survey or a summary of the results. The introduction should clearly state the purpose of the paper. It should include key references to appropriate work but should not be an historical or literature review.

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Content is the body of paper, consists of sub title that represents discussion of the paper. Results should be clear and concise. The results should summarize (scientific) findings rather than providing data in great detail. The discussion should explore the significance of the results of the work, not repeat them. A combined Results and Discussion section is often appropriate. Avoid extensive citations and discussion of published literature.

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Dalvandi, A., Maddah, S. S. B., Khankeh, H., Parvaneh, S., Bahrami, F., Hesam Zadeh, A., ... & Kiany, T. (2020). The health-oriented lifestyle in Islamic culture. *Journal of Qualitative Research in Health Sciences, 1*(4), 332-343.

El Shamsy, A. (2020). *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics: How Editors and Print*

Culture Transformed an Intellectual Tradition. Princeton University Press.

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Fayzullayevich, J. S., & Axtamovich, A. A. (2021). The historical fundaments of Islamic Culture in Bukhara. *Central Asian Journal of Social Sciences and History, 2*(2), 51-59.

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Sofyan, D., Saputra, Y. M., Nurihsan, A. J., & Kusmaedi, N. (2021, March). Sports in Indonesian Islamic Community Culture. In *1st Paris Van Java International Seminar on Health, Economics, Social Science and Humanities (PVJ-ISHESSH 2020)* (pp. 357-360). Atlantis Press.

Sholehuddin, M. S., Munjin, M., & Adinugraha, H. H. (2021). Islamic Tradition and Religious Culture in Halal Tourism: Empirical Evidence from Indonesia. *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya, 19*(1), 79-100.

Tracy, K. (2020). *Islamic Culture in Perspective.* Mitchell Lane.

Herawansyah. (2012). Perayaan Tabut di Kota Bengkulu dalam Perspektif Struktural Fungsional. Ph.D. Dissertation. Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Airlangga.

Utriza, A. (2008). Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama. *Kompas*. March 19: 59.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

TRANSLITERATION GUIDELINES

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	ى	y

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