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PREVENTING RADICALISM: ISLAMIC MODERATION AND REVITALIZATION IN THE BORDER

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Abstract

The growing radical and extreme ideologies recently are not only a concern but also a threat to the social relations of harmony and human peace, including in the border region of Kapuas Hulu, Kalimantan. It is important to spread moderate Islamic teaching to counter this extreme ideology to the people in the border region of Kapuas Hulu. This research examines the roles of religious leaders and religious institutions in disseminating moderate Islam in the border region of Kapuas Hulu to counter the growing influence of radical-extremism. This research employs a qualitative method and the data from field research is presented descriptively. This research shows that religious leaders and religious institutions exist in almost every sub-district in the border region. They teach messages of Islamic moderation that include four principles namely the concept of *tawasuth*-moderate, *tawazun*-equality, *tasamuh*-tolerant, and *i'tidal*. This principle must be strengthened as a foundation in behaving, acting, speaking, socializing, and living in the Indonesian nation and state. It is on these values and principles that religious leaders and religious institutions reinforce their role in preaching, guiding and fostering people in the border region.

Keywords:

Radicalism; Revitalization; Strengthen message; Islamic moderation; border region.

Abstrak

Berkembangnya paham radikal-ekstrim belakangan ini bukan saja menjadi kekhawatiran, melainkan ancaman bagi keharmonisan hubungan sosial dan kedamaian umat, tak terkecuali masyarakat kawasan perbatasan di Kapuas Hulu, Kalimantan. Terkait persoalan tersebut, penguatan pesan Islam moderat menjadi sangat penting dalam gerakan dakwah dan pembinaan umat di perbatasan, guna menangkali setiap pengaruh dan paham radikal-ekstrim berkembang. Penelitian ini bermaksud mengkaji peran tokoh agama dan lembaga keagamaan dalam membina umat di kawasan perbatasan, terutama dalam revitalisasi moderasi Islam, pesan dan praktek beragama dalam nilai-nilai lokal masyarakat nusantara. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan penyajian data secara deskriptif analitis. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat empat pilar moderasi Islam yang mesti direvitalisasi dalam pemahaman dan praktek hidup masyarakat muslim di perbatasan meliputi nilai *tawasuth*-moderat, *tawazun*-equality, *tasamuh*-toleran, dan *i'tidal*. Pesan moderasi Islam inilah yang mesti direvitalisasi dalam materi dakwah dan pembinaan umat oleh para tokoh agama dan pimpinan lembaga keagamaan di kawasan perbatasan. Program revitalisasi berkaitan dengan memperkuat komunikasi dan koordinasi antar tokoh agama dan lembaga keagamaan di setiap kecamatan dan desa; melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan pembinaan keagamaan, baik melalui program berkelanjutan (rutinitas) maupun spontanitas; memperkuat pesan moderasi Islam dalam materi dakwah dan pembinaan umat. Dengan revitalisasi moderasi Islam inilah, para tokoh agama dan lembaga keagamaan mampu menangkali paham radikal-ekstrim yang mempengaruhi umat di kawasan perbatasan.

Kata Kunci:

Radikalisme; Revitalisasi; Penguatan pesan; moderasi Islam; perbatasan

A. INTRODUCTION

West Kalimantan is one of the border provinces with Malaysia. There are at least four official border crossings posts (Pos Lintas Batas or PLB) in the province of West Kalimantan, namely Sanggau Regency with Entikong PLB, Sambas Regency with Aruk-Sajingan PLB, Bengkayang Regency with Jagoi Babang PLB, and Kapuas Hulu District with Nanga Badau PLB. There are also dozens or even hundreds of illegal border crossings between the two countries. This condition certainly gives positive and negative impacts on the social, cultural and economic affairs of the people of the two countries.

The positive impact of the border region with high social mobility triggers economic growth, especially in trading.¹ However, the negative impact is far more threatening than that of positive impact, as it is related to the identity of the nation. For example, illegal trade,² illegal labor, thuggery,³ drug smuggling, human trafficking,⁴ the waning ideology of nationalism, the issue of terrorism, and the influence of radical-extremism. In short, these negative impacts bring great and serious threats to the future of people in the border region.

Rais Am of PBNU (great leader of NU) who is also the chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) KH. Ma`ruf Amin once wrote an article published in the *Republika* news portal about this issue. In this article, he mentioned that in Indonesia nowadays, an understanding of religious radicalism and secular radicalism has been detected.

Religious radicalism manifests in the ideas and movements with the aspiration to replace Pancasila as the principle of the nation to a religious-based nation. Meanwhile, secular radicalism is an idea and movement with the aspiration to delegitimize religion in the constitution and government.⁵

The growing understanding of *radicalism*⁶ and *extremism*⁷ has recently become a hot and disturbing issue in the social and religious life of the people, it has even presented the potential for conflict in the name of religion.⁸ Our society, which has been living in peace, harmony and mutual understanding, has been disturbed. People who have been able to live together with all differences in term of religious understandings, sects and beliefs have been disturbed by a group of people who has rigid understanding and attitude toward religion. As a result, they easily blame other groups as being heretic and even accuse others as infidel (*takfiri*).

This condition not only destabilizes religious values and beliefs of the people, but also undermines the roots of understanding of

⁵Muhyiddin, "Kiai Ma`ruf Amin: Radikalisme Sekuler Ingin Agama Tak Berkontribusi Di Kehidupan," *Republika Online*, accessed April 14, 2019, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/17/03/27/onhbgc318-kiai-maruf-amin-radikalisme-sekuler-ingin-agama-tak-berkontribusi-di-kehidupan>.

⁶The term radical-radicalism basically means the opinion that aims at making changes drastically to existing norm using violent force when necessary. In term of religious radicalisme, it means rigid understanding of religious values and forcefully interfere to others' understanding in order that otehrs follow their understanding.

⁷*Extrim-extrimism* means strong belief to certain thought and many times their ideas are beyond the limit of reasonable practices. In term of religion, it refers to excessive fanaticism (*ta`ashub*), easily blanes others as astray and infidel.

⁸Sumanto Al-Qurtuby, *Lubang Hitam Agama: Mengkritik Fundamentalisme Agama, Menggugat Islam Junggal* (Yogyakarta: Rumah Kita, 2007). See Abdul Razak Abdulroya Panaemalae and Zaenuddin Hudi Prasjo, "Islam and the West: Tariq Ramadan and the Discourse of Religion of Peace for a Global Understanding," *Al-Albab* 5, no. 2 (2016): 237--250, <https://doi.org/10.24260/alalbab.v5i2.507>.

¹Ibrahim, "Hubungan Penutur Bahasa-Bahasa Melayik: Kes Suku Iban Da Melayu Di Badau, Pulau Borneo" (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2013).

²Reed L Wadley, "Community Cooperatives, 'Illegal' Logging and Regional Autonomy in the Borderlands of West Kalimantan," in *State, Communities and Forests In Contemporary Borneo* (ANU Press, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.22459/SCFCB.07.2006.06>.

³Reed L Wadley and M. Eilenberg, "Vigilantes and Gangsters in the Borderland of West Kalimantan, Indonesia," *State, Communities and Forests In Contemporary Borneo*, 2006.

⁴Wadley and Eilenberg.

tolerance among people who have been built for a long time in Indonesian history. For example, it was reported that a child boldly and arrogantly blamed and accused his parents as an infidel because his parents recited *Yasin* and dhikr in the congregation (the case in Nanga Suhaid & Riam Panjang).⁹

Other examples reported that a khatib (preacher) brought a rousing and provocative sermon, blasphemed the local government and accused them of being a traitor to the people's trust and the like, thus triggering polemics (Putussibau case, discussion with Religious Instructors). Preaching by an *ustadz* (chaplain) blames several social and religious practices that have been carried out in the community, such as *tahlilan*, mass Qur'anic recitation after congregational prayers, (reciting) *yasinan*, pilgrimage to a tomb and so on, which became public objections (the case in Boyan Tanjung, discussions with Religious Instructor). Furthermore, in some other places, radical-extremism brought worrisome when it appeared in a brutal action in the name of "the truth of religious understanding," making acts of terrorism (the case of a pot bomb in South Tangerang).

The recent development of radical-extremism should not only become a concern but also be responded by concrete actions in the form of deterrence (prevention) of its influence in Indonesian society, especially the younger generation. In this context, the roles of religious leaders such as *kiyai*, *ustadz*, *da'i*, and khatib and religious institutions are important in reinforcing Islamic messages and understanding that support peace and harmony in the society.¹⁰

⁹Suhaid and Riam Panjang, both are border areas in Kapuas Hulu Regency. If Riam Panjang is a representation of the Southern Cross route, Suhaid is a representation of the Kapuas River line.

¹⁰This condition is among the arguments used by those who could bring up the idea of preacher and preacher certification, because there is indeed an important role of preacher in influencing religious thought and understanding. Religious figures & institutions are considered the most competent parties to the problem of the development of *radical-extremism* in

In this case, the task of religious leaders and institutions is crucial in directing the community whether they convey the message of a peaceful and tolerant understanding of the message of Islam or otherwise. Those understanding rooted in Islamic texts and the method that these religious leaders undertook in understanding these texts.¹¹

This study examines the moderate understanding of Islam in the da'wah movement to strengthen people understanding of moderation in Islam. This moderation understanding of Islam is a way to counter the influence of radical and extreme understanding of Islam. Thus, it is important to train and revitalize religious leaders and religious institutions in order that they spread a moderate understanding of Islam. In this study, the focus will be spreading moderate understanding in the border region of Indonesia called Kapuas Hulu by Religious leaders and institutions.

The scheme of Research

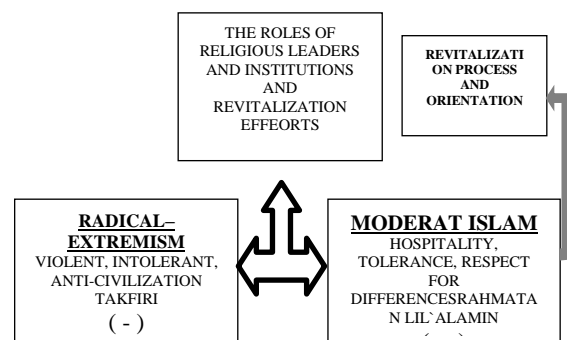


Figure 1: Logical Framework of the research

religious societies, including the concept of "jihad" which is understood to be a mere weapon.

¹¹Islam Nusantara is a term used to refer to the Islamic characteristics of Indonesian Muslim communities. Said Agil Siradj defines Nusantara Islam as an Islamic practice that is rooted in the nation's history, which upholds tolerance, mutual respect, civilized and cultured. The teaching that accommodate tradition and culture. See Said Agil Siradj, "Islam Indonesia Bukan Islam Arab," Detik News, 2015. Azyumardi Azra called it Islam which teaches moderate messages or middle way (*wasathiyah*) in Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global Dan Lokal* (Jakarta: Mizan, 2002).

This field study employed three main techniques to collect data namely, observation, interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The data collected is classified and interpreted using communicative data analysis.

Therefore this study specifically aims at finding a map of the existence of religious leaders and religious institutions, as well as their preaching and learning activities in strengthening the messages of moderate Islam. In addition, this research also aims at examining efforts of religious leaders and religious institutions and revitalizing their role in fortifying people from the influence of radical and extreme ideology in the border region. This article shows the important role of religious leaders and religious institutions in revitalizing the message of Islamic moderation to counteract the development of radical-extremism in the border region.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Da'wah and Strengthening The message of Moderate Islam

To strengthen the message of Islamic moderation means spreading the Islamic message of moderate Islam. It is deeply related to the condition of religious life and the influence of understanding spread among the people. The history of Indonesian Islam differs significantly from that of Middle Eastern countries where Islam first emerged. The process of Islamization in Indonesia adapted to local and cultural context.¹²

According to Wahid, Islam is revealed in accordance with the local and cultural context of the revelation to answer the problems of the people. Thus, understanding the message of Islam should accommodate the social and cultural context of the text revealed and the context of the text being read, including Indonesia. Consequently, it should differentiate between Islam and Arab, and does not mean that Indonesian Islam is not true Islam. Indonesian Islam is unique as it

¹²Abdurrahman Wahid, *Islam Nusantara: Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman* (Jakarta: Lembaga Ma'arif PBNU, 2015), 1.

accommodate Indonesian local culture as its identity.¹³

In this respect, the existence of extreme understandings of religion recently could separate Indonesian Muslims from its cultural roots. The extreme group usually blame other Muslim to have been gone astray and not the true Islam. Some of them act violently and in the form of terrorism in the name of establishing the true Islam.¹⁴ In this condition, religious leaders and religious institutions needs to strengthen the concept of Islamic moderation as the basic values of Islamic message and spread it in their teaching and preaching activities, in particular in the border region. Therefore, this study discusses; 1) the map of the existence of religious leaders and religious institutions as initiator of da'wah at the border region; 2) religious activities and propaganda in the border region; 3) efforts to revitalize and strengthen the message of moderate Islamic in the border region.

¹³Islam Nusantara according to Said Aqil Siroj is Islam that was born and struggled and is rooted in the culture of the archipelago. It is differ significantly from that of in Arabic perspective, see Said Aqil Siradj, *Islam Sumber Inspirasi Budaya Nusantara* (Jakarta: LTN PBNU, 2015), 204. Islam Nusantara is an Ijtihad to dialogue between the essence of Islamic teachings in the style of *Aswaja* (Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah) and the culture and civilization of the archipelago. Islam and Indonesian cultural context are not contradict to each other. ... in order to present Islamic teachings that are grounded in the archipelago, an inclusive Islamic teaching should be adjusted with a maritime and continental civilization of Indonesia, Isom Yusqi, "Islam Nusantara Bukan Agama Baru," in *Islam Nusantara Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman*, ed. Abdurrahman Wahid (Jakarta: LP Ma'arif NU, 2015).

¹⁴Ulil Abshar Abdalla, "Fundamentalisme Agama: Mungkinkah Mendirikan 'Kota Tuhan' Kembali?," in *Mengkritik Fundamentalisme Agama, Menggugat Islam Iunggal*, ed. Sumanto Al Qurtuby (Yogyakarta: Rumah Kita, 2007), 11-18. See also Umi Sumbulih, "Gerakan Fundamentalisme Islam Di Malang: Studi Atas Hizbut Tahrir, Majelis Mujahidin, Dan Arimatea," *Jurnal Istiqra* 6, no. 1 (2007): 1-50. See also Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "Radikalisme Islam Melalui Institusi Semi-Negara: Studi Kasus Atas Peran MUI Pasca-Soeharto," *Jurnal Istiqra* 6, no. 1 (2007): 85-126.

a. The Map of Existence of Religious Leaders and Religious Institutions

This section elucidates the existence of religious leaders and religious institutions in the border region, specifically the Kapuas Hulu Districts. It has been known that Kapuas Hulu districts whose area has direct adjacent to Malaysia, precisely Badau (Indonesia) which is close to Lubuk Antu Sarawak (Malaysia). As a district region, there are several religious leaders and religious institutions recognized by the community. These leaders and institutions are trusted to educate and guide the community in terms of religion.

The religious leaders have the authority to teach religious knowledge to the community. These religious leaders are often asked for advice and guidance from the community. These religious leaders area central figures in the community and thus their position is important.

Several roles they play in the community include community leader, teacher of the Quran, imam of the mosque, school teacher and many others. In principle, those who are called religious leaders are those who have better religious knowledge who guides the community in spiritual life.

As a fairly extensive border area, Kapuas Hulu is divided into three zones: South, North, and Kapuas.¹⁵The religious leaders in this area served not only in the district area but also in sub-district, villages, and hamlets. The religious leaders identified in this area are *ustadz* H.M. Basri (Sei. Terus-Hulu Gurung), *ustadz* Ehsan (Menendang-Pengkadan), *ustadz* M. Taha (Temuyuk-Bunut Hulu), *ustadz* H. Sutardi (Jongkong), *ustadz* Karyadi and *ustadz* Sukiman (Badau), to name a few.

Figure 2 is the map of Kapuas Hulu Districts that contains three areas:



Figure 2: Map of Kapuas Hulu

From data collected, it can be found that the existence of religious leaders spread in every village and hamlet. Their presence is significant in empowering the people in the border region.

2. Religious Activities and Da'wah at the Border

There are many religious activities carried out by religious leaders and religious institutions in the border region in Kapuas Hulu Regency. The activities can be categorized as routine activities and spontaneous.

Various activities of religious leaders include, among other things, giving religious guidance for the people around their residence and preventing people from negative influences in the border region. This can be seen from the statement of Ustadz Sukiman, the former head of KUA in Badau District when the FGD was conducted:

...In Badau there are several routine religious activities. Some of them were the establishment of several *majlis taklim* (religious gathering) in the *surau-surau* (small mosques), especially the women *taklim* (women religious gathering). There is also TPQ (Quranic School) or TPA (Qur'anic Learning Centre). In mosque al-Hidayahfor example there are

¹⁵Ibrahim, "Hubungan Penutur Bahasa-Bahasa Melayik: Kes Suku Iban Da Melayu Di Badau, Pulau Borneo."

approximately 100 students who learn the Qur'an. We have done all this to fortify the people from any bad influence related to religious understandings...¹⁶

Religious leaders often become a reference and a place for the community to ask questions related to religious issues as well as other general matters. The religious leaders identified in this research categorizes as preachers, religious teachers, Quranic teachers and mosque imams. They are served in every village in the border area.

Religious institutions identified in this research namely Offices of Religious Affairs (KUA), served as a religious institution that gives advice and guidance, especially on marriage and divorce. Others are Islamic boarding school and Madrasa, mosque management, madrasa management, institutions and supervision of customs. At the district level, religious institutions that always carry out their role in religious formation are the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Da'wah Council, Islamic Da'wah Institute, and some of the affiliations of Islamic political parties.

3. The Efforts to Revitalize and Strengthen the Message of Islamic Moderation at the Border

Of the many religious figures and religious institutions, there are still many strategic religious roles that cannot be carried out optimally. This means that there are still many religious issues that have not been absorbed properly by the community. In some places, the role and existence of religious leaders and religious institutions are still ignored and underestimated. Therefore, revitalization efforts are needed to face global challenges, especially with the coming influence of radical-extremism. The understanding of

moderate Islam should be disseminated as the identity of Indonesian Islam.¹⁷

These revitalization efforts are aimed more at strengthening the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in fostering the Ummah (aspects of *da'i* and the *mad'u* or communicators and the communicants). Likewise, the reinforcement of the message of Moderate Islam is more directed at the content or material of the communication of *ad-da'wa* given by religious leaders and religious institutions in fostering people in the border region.

This study focuses on the analysis of what and how the messages of moderate Islam are; What and how the messages of moderate Islam are given and delivered in the process of fostering the Ummah; What and how the strategic steps are planned and carried out by *da'i* (religious leaders and religious institutions) in the empowerment process of the people in the border region. Special attention is given against the possible influence of radical-extremism that became vigilance of the nation today.

In this case, the preachers (religious leaders and religious institutions) should not deliver the message in their *da'wah* related to general topic but to be specific addressing moderate understanding of Islam and the danger of rigid understanding that could lead to radicalism.

Strengthening the message of Moderate Islam in the *da'wah* and fostering of the Ummah in the border region is urgent to provide a fortress (filter) for the people from the influence of radical-extreme ideology that

¹⁶Sukiman, interview by Ibrahim, Badau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 27, 2018.

¹⁷The term Islam Nusantara raised polemic among several people. Some of them said that it brings up a new faction of Islamic ideology and streams. In essence, this paper will not bring the reader to the debate. The author agrees with Buya Yahya, a charismatic scholar from Cirebon. According to him, there is no problem in the term of Nusantara Islam, it becomes a problem when it is used by certain people for certain interests, so that it is understood incorrectly, cited in Muhammad Fahmi, "Diskursus Islam Nusantara Dalam Representasi Media Massa," *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 7, no. 1 (2017): 24–25.

is contrary to the values of moderation of Indonesian Islam.

With all the concepts and objectives above, this study presents interesting information, data, and facts, which were analyzed in order to find the efforts to strengthen the message of Moderate Islam in fostering the Ummah in the border region.

The revitalization efforts are indeed related to several programs and plan to increase the roles and functions of religious leaders and religious institutions in fostering people in the border region. Some of the programs are to intensify communication and coordination between religious leaders and religious institutions with government, police, and military. This collaborative attempt aim at strengthening a better synergy in the community development program. All in all, the problem of the people is not only a matter of religion but also a matter of social, political, economic, cultural and many others. Ustadz Masni from the Nanga Badau Resort police stated:

...because of that, in my opinion, the Badau people need to build good coordination and communication, especially with the police on many issues, as what Ustadz Shalihin said that Santoso's [refers to former jihadist] followers are here,so we can immediately explore the information¹⁸

In the context of empowerment and revitalization efforts in the community, the religious leaders and religious institutions instructed that every element of the community needs to work together and know procedures to be done in anticipating misbehave conduct. This was reflected in the statement of Ustadz Sukiman, a retired (Head) of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) Nanga Badau:

Ladies and gentlemen, if you meet with cases like that (referring to the statement of other sources before), you should listen first, study carefully, and then report it to the authorities or religious leaders. Do not

¹⁸Masni, interview by Ibrahim, Badau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 27, 2018.

immediately deny or make a reaction. Moreover, if we do not understand the problem well and adequate, don't easily believe the understandings, like the opinion of Jihad bombs with the reward of getting to heaven, that's a heresy.¹⁹

Still, in the efforts to revitalize the participation of all parties in empowering the community and to enact the functions of religious institutions in the border region, Adeni(head of the Menari Hamlet Nanga Badau) reminded that:

...For all residents, if there are new people coming to our region, it is better to report to the local authorities, at least the head of RT or hamlet/village. Or you can even report yourself to the nearest police station. This is important to eliminate suspicion and even to filter unsure people, who could influence the local understanding.²⁰

The efforts of revitalization are also conducted by religious leaders and religious institutions in villages, sub-districts or district levels. Abdurrahman, an official in the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Kapuas Hulu District stated:

The majority of us in Kapuas Hulu are belong to *Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah*...The people should always be monitored by religious leaders in sub-districts. If there is a somewhat different understanding, we will conduct direct training.²¹

Furthermore, according to him, good coordination and communication among all parties, especially among religious leaders and religious institutions, are essential for the efforts to strengthen the role and function of religious empowerment of the people:

...For example, in Badau there was a rumor of rejection to the construction of a boarding school by the residents. When we checked, it was more due to personal

¹⁹Adeni, interview by Ibrahim, Badau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 27, 2018.

²⁰Adeni, interview by Ibrahim, Badau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 27, 2018.

²¹Abdurrahman, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

problems (interests) between the residents and the people who undertook the construction of the boarding school. So, the rumor of rejection on the basis of religious differences is not true. However, in order to avoid the bigger problem, we, from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, decided to suspend the program in Badau.²²

Imam Shabirin, a member of MUI and Regional House of Representative, also mentioned that good coordination and communication among religious leaders enhanced the empowerment of religious guidance process.²³ Several religious leaders who respond in the effort of empowering the people in their regions are H.M. Basri (Chairman of the District MUI) in Nanga Terus and its surroundings; Ustadz H. Mansuruddin Nanga Semangut and its surroundings; H.M. Arsyad and H. M. Aniin Jongkong and its surroundings, to name a few. Every region has its own religious leaders assisting the community related to religious matters and mostly played by the official at MUI Kapuas Hulu.

It is obviously understandable from the statement above concerning the efforts to revitalize the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in empowering people in the border region: *First*, it is important that all parties, all citizens from all elements including religious leaders and institutions build good communication and coordination. And more important still is to optimize and implement the programs of empowering people of the border region.

Second, All parties and all citizens from all elements need to be vigilant of the presence of new people who bring new ideology that considered the potential to disintegrate the harmony of the people. Intensive communication and coordination are important steps in revitalizing and strengthening

messages of Islamic moderation in the border region.

Third, it is important to continue strengthening communication networks and coordination between religious institutions and government agencies starting from the district, sub-district, village, hamlet to RT level in the effort of revitalizing and strengthening the message of Islamic moderation. As a result, the effort of empowering the people by the religious leaders and religious institutions run synergically and continuously in the border region.

Fourth, the next revitalization effort can also be seen from the good coordination and communication among religious leaders and institutions, resulting in the agreement on the division of tasks and responsibilities for the development of the people in their respective places in the border region commanded by the District MUI. People must put their trust to MUI District for the highest decision regarding any differences of understanding and religious schools growing in the community and for Fatwa to the Provincial MUI Fatwa assembly.

For these reasons, it is presumably necessary to identify and recognize several factors that are potential in triggering the disintegration of the people, mainly caused by the emergence of radical-extreme ideology in the border region.

4. Potential disintegration and radical-extremism at the border

The efforts to revitalize the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in strengthening the messages of Islamic moderation are intended to deter Muslims from radical extremist ideology potential that influences the relationship and harmony of people in the border region. Basically, Islam around the border region in Kapuas Hulu is only belonged to *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah*, as revealed by Iman Shabirin:

Actually, this region (Putussibau), Semitau and Jongkong are generally disciples of Pak Ustadz (read: Ustadz Haji Ahmad bin Haji

²²Iman Shabirin, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018..

²³Suryadi, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

Abu Bakar). Therefore religious teaching is almost the same and there was no problem. What becomes a problem is when new teachings from an outsider are introduced to the people.²⁴

Furthermore, Iman Shabirin explained that it is reported that in Jongkong a new understanding is sought of Tauhid Al-Wahidiyah that categorized as Shi'a. Likewise, in Putussibau, the influence of Wahabi Salafi is also identified as this understanding blames many religious rituals as *bid'ah* (heresy), *tahrim* (forbiddance), *takfir* (infidel) and so on. This group is too hasty to accuse other religious practices as astray, even to forbid and to accuse others as infidel when other understanding differs from that of their own.²⁵

Such ideologies are contradicted to the mainstream religious affiliation and understanding in Kapuas Hulu as taught by Ustadz Haji Ahmad. Therefore, according to Iman Shabirin, serious efforts are needed in the form of revitalizing the role of religious leaders and religious institutions in protecting people from the influence of strange and distorted ideas. Another important aspect that must be instilled in the ummah to fortify these influences is strengthening the messages of moderate Islam, as the basis of religious and Islamic values of the people.

It is also necessary for religious leaders and religious institutions in the border region to be watchful of any potential disintegration in the community. This is in line with the statement of Ustadz Suryadi, Secretary of the District MUI during FGD at Ustadz Aziz Jalaluddin's house:

The complication of misunderstanding can be solved by KUA and MUI through a routine study conducted in many places, in sub-districts, even in villages. This study program is led directly by the Chairperson

of the district MUI (Ustadz H.M. Basri) and has been running for more than two years.²⁶

Furthermore, according to him, there are several indications regarding the existence of a new religious understanding spread by grouplike Wahabi Salafiin Nanga Suhaid, Tauhid Al-Wahidiyah in Jongkong and Temuyuk, Bunut Hulu. Their understanding differs significantly from that of the majority of Muslims in this region.

According to Suryadi, this group teaches the understanding of *shari'ah*, *sufism*, *ma'rifat*, and *hakikat* which are very different from what people have known. They teach those understandings to ordinary people. Therefore, it becomes a concern that their understanding is distorting and unsettling. The main source of their teachings (especially Tawhid Al-Wahidiyah) is Adam Troy Effendi 's book entitled "*Ilmu Sedikit Untuk Segalanya...*"²⁷

Furthermore, concerning the teaching of Tawheed Al-Wahidiyah, Abang Muhammad Shaleh, Head of KUA in Jongkong District, explained:

In CentralJongkong there is indeed a strange religious understanding, namely the understanding of Tawhid Al-Wahidiyah. The KUA facilitated the settlement of the case by presenting it to the district MUI to be studied and find a solution. Alhamdulillah, It is being processed and waitfor the decision of the provincial MUI fatwa regarding the status of this group. Lately, we have heard that this understanding has also spread to other regions in the Southern Crossings such as Landau Apus, Temuyuk and Sukamaju. The instructor is from Pontianak. In Pontianak, this teaching has basis in Pusaka Madinah study group...²⁸

²⁴Iman Shabirin, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

²⁵Iman Shabirin, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

²⁶Aziz Jalaluddin, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

²⁷Suryadi, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 28, 2018.

²⁸Abang M. Saleh, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 30, 2018.

The statement of the head of KUA immediately received support from Ibrahim, chairman of the District PHBI:

I agree with the officer of KUA who said that the religious understanding of Tauhid Al-Wahidiyah and his group was very disturbing. Their presence here (Jongkong) is without permission. Consequently, people are confused and anxious...the characteristics of the teachings of this understanding are evident, for example, in prayer (Friday), the followers sit at the back row and noisy. The way they stand in praying is also different from our usual prayers. Their bodies are bent up to 30 degrees.²⁹

Besides the understanding of Wahabi Salafi and Tauhid Al-Wahidiyah, there are indications of other understandings that are also troubling in the midst of religious communities (ummah) in the border region, as revealed by Ustadz Suherman, a religious counselor in Jongkong District.

In addition, in Kelampai (a village in the hinterland of Jongkong upstream) there is also a new religious issue, which is about the *raka'at* of prayers in Taraweeh. There is a group of people (young people) who conveniently change the habits of Taraweeh prayer in the community from 20 *raka'at* to 8 *raka'at*. The basis for the change is very simple, there is no cleric or imam who can lead Taraweeh prayer 20 *raka'at* because of limited memorization of surah in the Qur'an. Another reason was carried out by the voting mechanism of the mosque management. That's what's strange.³⁰

Considering many issues of various understandings and the potential to disintegrate the people, KUA officer of Jongkong District (Abang Muhammad Shaleh) reminded every religious leader and religious institution to guard the people. In addition, to

also vigilant of the possible party which has uncertain origins and unsure religious understandings to spread its understanding to the people in their respective regions. Especially, if the understanding taught is considered not in accordance with the characteristics of the people and the mainstream religious school of *Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah* which has been practiced for so long in this region.

5. Revitalizing Islamic Moderation to Prevent Radical-Extremism in the Border Region

The following section presents discussions on: *first*, the substance of the message of Islamic moderation and/or Islam of the Archipelago famous with the term Islam Nusantara in comparison (*vis a vis*) with radical-extreme ideology); *second*, Islamic moderation as an antidote to the growing influence of *radical-extremism* in the border region.

a. The Substance of Message of Islamic Moderation-Islam Nusantara

This study started from the analytic map of preventive issues and solutive issues in order to examine the substance of the message of the Islamic moderation-Islam Nusantara versus radical-extremism.

Table 1 presented becomes a reference in examining radical-extreme issues and strengthening the messages of Islamic moderation by religious leaders and religious institutions in the border regions. This is closely related to the term Moderate Islam which has become an important discourse in the last decade. Many people in the country declare themselves as the pioneers of moderate Islam. In short, moderate Islam echoed by many parties lately is a typical style of Indonesian religious diversity or the way of Islamic life of Indonesian people. Therefore, another term that often comes to the surface along with the term Islamic moderation is Islam of the Archipelago (*Islam Nusantara*).

Thus, what is the substance of the teachings of Islamic moderation or Islamic Nusantara

²⁹Ibrahim, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 30, 2018.

³⁰Suherman, interview by Ibrahim, Putussibau, Kapuas Hulu, on May 30, 2018.

(Indonesian Islam)? Muhammad Guntur Romli and the Ciputat School Team in their book entitled *Islam Kita Islam Nusantara* notes that there are at least seven domains of the substantial values of Islam Nusantara;³¹ Islam Nusantara promotes harmony with local culture (as practiced by Walisongo). Islam which is able to respect diversity through its relationship with local factors, with the sharia foundation adopting good cultural (adat) values, with three attitudes: a) tolerant (allowing and respecting diversity); b) forming subcultures (strongholds) in society such as *pesantren*; c) make gradual changes and avoid violence.

Table 1 is a table of analysis of preventive issues - solutive messages: (*Radical-extremism vs. Islamic moderation*).³²

NO	Preventive Issues (Radicalist-Extremist)	Solutive Messages (Moderate Islam)
1	No ceremonies- No presenting arm for flags, rejecting Pancasila, rejecting <i>PPKN</i> and <i>NKRI</i>	Developing the attitude and spirit of nationalism- <i>hubbul wathan minal iman</i>
2	Isolating themselves from communication with family	Build a harmonious-communicative family
3	Anti-social, excluding the communication with others - the community	Build a social life, open, mutual help
4	Easily-accusing others as <i>bid'ah</i> , the even condemn others in worshipping	Understanding the nature of diversity, the nature of truth and openness (Q.S. 5: 48; Q.S. 49: 13, etc.)

³¹Mohamad Guntur Romli, *Islam Kita, Islam Nusantara: Lima Nilai Dasar Islam Nusantara* (Tangerang: Ciputat School, 2016).

³²The analysis of this table derived from various resources, specifically Ibrahim and Imron Muttaqin, "Revitalisasi Peran Tokoh Agama Dan Lembaga Keagamaan Dalam Penguatan Pesan Islam Moderat Di Wilayah Perbatasan" (IAIN Pontianak, 2018).

		such as <i>tahlilan</i> , grave pilgrimage, and <i>sholawatan</i>
5	Egocentric in judging, frequently criticizing others, even accusing others as unbelievers	Religiously inclusive, <i>muhasabah</i> introspective, <i>fastabiqul khairat</i> , and do not take the rights of Allah
6	Tend to be old-fashioned and intolerant of others who have different views or beliefs	Promoting tolerance and <i>lita'arafu</i> (Q.S. 49: 13)
7	Disliking and hating moderate Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah	Understanding the characteristics of Islam of the Archipelago - Islam in the Indonesian way, including its religious organizations
8	Hating, berating, even making fun of scholars who disagree with their beliefs, despite having a high religious scholarship	Respecting for the ulema as a <i>warasatulanbiya</i> , not making fun of anyone's religion and beliefs
9	Supporting, even affiliating with extreme organizations	Supporting and joining moderate organizations

Islam Nusantara transforms its message gradually, non-radical or extreme, avoids violent methods and seeking "middle ground", "compromise" and "synthesis" with the local culture. Islam that transformed into the power of the nation and its development. Its Da'wah includes education, social services, arts and culture, and other cultural activities. Islam Nusantara provides moderate (*tawasuth*), and tolerant (*tasamuh*) values of Islam.³³

In the context of nationality, Moderate Islam is an Islamic behavior suitable to Indonesian culture which is often known as Islam Nusantara. In other words, Islam

³³Mohamad Guntur Romli, *Islam Kita, Islam Nusantara*.

Nusantarais actually manifested in the religious practice of Muslims in Indonesia. In Cirebon, acceptance of the pure teachings of Islam does not necessarily eliminate traditional rituals, worshipping rituals, myths, and the grave pilgrimage for example, which are still practiced by the Muslim community to this day.³⁴ Likewise, Javanese Muslims in Suriname also practice the values of Islamic teachings as well as the traditions of *Slametan*,³⁵ and the Muslim community in Bima Sumbawa still preserves local traditions along with their religious practices.³⁶ These are evidence that Islamic teachings are accepted and practiced alongside traditions and local culture of the Indonesian people, as intended by the terminology of Islam Nusantara.

Therefore Said Aqil Siroj reminded that the study of Islam of the Archipelago is not just a study of the Islamic region, but more importantly, is a study of the Islamic values that exist in this region which has been growing and developing for centuries. This civilization was developed by saints and scholars throughout history, starting from the Pasai Ocean, Malacca, Palembang, Banten, Java, Pontianak, Bugis, Ternate, Tidore in Maluku and Papua.³⁷

Sarlito Wirawan Sarwono, a professor and also a psychologist, strongly supports the views of Islam of the archipelago. According to him, Islam was revealed from Allah but when practiced by humans on earth, it inevitably has to embrace the culture. That is

³⁴Abdul Ghafur Muhaimin, "The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon" (Australasian National University, 2006). See also Busro Busro and Husnul Qodim, "Perubahan Budaya Dalam Ritual Slametan Kelahiran Di Cirebon, Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 14, no. 2 (2018): 127, <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v14i2.699>.

³⁵Moh Khusen, "Contending Identity In The Islamic Ritual: The Slametan among Surinamese Javanese Muslims in The Netherlands," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 43, no. 2 (November 30, 2005): 283, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2005.432.283-308>.

³⁶Muhammad Adlin Sila, "Menjadi Muslim Di Bima Sumbawa Indonesia: Keanekaragaman Politik Dan Budaya" (Australasian National University, 2014).

³⁷Siradj, *Islam Sumber Inspirasi Budaya Nusantara*.

why in West Sumatra there is a matriarchal Islam, in Java, there is a mosque tower shaped like a Hindu temple in Kudus, in the fountain where the ablutions are head-engraved with statues (and none of the devotees later worship it), and in Tapanuli there is Islam that is exactly the same as Christians Batak in essence. Islam of the archipelago is the application of Islamic teachings in the way of the Indonesian Muslim community which cannot be found in Afghanistan or Pakistan, or even Saudi Arabia.³⁸

In such a perspective, what we have to understand about the concept of Islam Nusantara, according to Prof. Isom Yusqi, is a dialectical process between the Shari'ah and the local culture of the archipelago. It is not the process of conversion or assimilation³⁹ because it will jeopardize the true meaning of Islam. The Qur'an is in Arabic and it will always be. The recitation in the prayer will always in Arabic. The translation of the Qur'an will never replace the Qur'an. However, its translation is important to understand its meaning.⁴⁰

Thus Islamic moderation developed in Indonesia archipelago is based on the primary source of Islam with the accommodation of Indonesia realities and character.

6. Islamic Moderation as an Antidote to Radical-Extremism

Strengthening the message of Islamic moderation as a substance for the program of the revitalization of the da'wah movement and the empowerment of the ummah in the border area is based on the thought that:

First, Islamic moderation is the style and identity of multicultural Islamic societies such as in Indonesia. Therefore, Islam of the archipelago is supposed to be suitable or in accordance with religious and national

³⁸Arifin Junaidi, "Islam Nusantara Adalah Islam Kita," in *Islam Nusantara Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman*, ed. Abdurrahman Wahid (Jakarta: LP Ma'arif NU, 2015), 102.

³⁹Yusqi, "Islam Nusantara Bukan Agama Baru."

⁴⁰Junaidi, "Islam Nusantara Adalah Islam Kita."

characteristics. On the other hand, radical-extremism that becomes the problem today actually alienates people from the characteristics of locality in religion. In other words, it does not accommodate the religiosity and pluralistic multicultural way of Indonesian society.

Second, the values of Islamic moderation and radical-extremism are contradictory, thus, strengthening one of the values is believed to be an antidote to the values of the other. That is the reason why Islamic moderation (the message of Moderate Islam) is chosen as the power of the people to avoid the influence of radical-extremism.

Third, Thus, the role of religious leaders and religious institutions is crucial. It is necessary to strengthen (revitalize) the role of both in conveying messages of Islamic moderation in the development of the people in the border region.

The values of Islamic moderation are in accordance with the teaching of *Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah* (especially from NU) which have four basic pillars, namely *tawasuth* (moderate), *tawazun* (equal), *tasamuh* (tolerant) and *i'tidal* (in favor of truth and justice). The four noble pillars are the foundation of attitude, action, speech in the community, nation, and state.⁴¹

Islamic moderation is actually have been manifested in Indonesian daily practices. In the remote area of Ulu Kapuas, for example, the tradition of *Pangil Malayis* a ritual that combines Islam and local culture.⁴² Other practices identified are the tradition of *buma*, *tepungtawar* and *village treatment*.⁴³

In sum, the values of moderation, *tasamuh*, *tawazun*, and *i'tidal* are essentially the core of the message of Islamic moderation that is

continuously strengthened (revitalized) by religious leaders and religious institutions in their da'wah. With the revitalization of Islamic moderation, religious leaders and religious institutions are able to provide a shield-stronghold for the people in counteracting the influence of radical-extremism in the border region. Thus, the potential for disintegration in the community in relation to radical-extremism in the border region can be overcome immediately. In contrast, any effort of da'wah and religious empowerment is directed to support the revitalization of Islamic moderation through the strategic role of religious leaders and religious institutions in order to counteract the influence of radical-extremism in the border region.

C. CONCLUSIONS

In general, this research results in an understanding that the emergence of various issues of nationality in the border region is caused by the growing influence of radical-extremism. This condition is the reason for the importance to strengthen the message of Islamic moderation by religious leaders and religious institutions in the border region. The messages of Islamic moderation basically teaches four principles of religious life and nationality as a characteristic of the Islamic community of Indonesia known as Islam Nusantara are the concept of *tawasuth*-moderate, *tawazun*-equality, *tasamuh*-tolerant and *i'tidal*). This principle must be strengthened as a foundation in behaving, acting, speaking, socializing, and living in the Indonesian nation and state. It is on these values and principles that religious leaders and religious institutions reinforce their role in preaching, guiding and fostering people in the border region. In more specific, this research concludes: *First*, with their respective capacities, religious leaders and religious institutions exist in almost every sub-district in the border region. Some of them even existed at the village level. These religious leaders occupy positions as clerics, mosque priests, Quranic teachers and many others who become leaders in religious activities to

⁴¹Yusqi, "Islam Nusantara Bukan Agama Baru."

⁴²Ibrahim Ibrahim, "Al-Ṭuqūs Wa 'alāqatuhā Bi Huwīyat Muslimī Ulu Kapuas, Kalimantan Al-Gharbīyah," *Studia Islamika* 25, no. 3 (December 1, 2018): 543–88, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i3.6579>.

⁴³Ibrahim Ibrahim, "Contiguity of Islam and Local Tradition on the Hinterland Malays of West Kalimantan," *Ulumuna* 22, no. 2 (December 28, 2018): 277–300, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i2.286>.

empower the people. The religious leaders identified in this research also served the position as mosque administrators, traditional leaders, heads of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), Heads of Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag), and head of prominent organizations like MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah, and so on.

These religious leaders identified in this research are Ustadz H.M. Basri (Sei. Terus-Hulu Gurung), Ustadz Ehsan (Menendang-Pengkadan), Ustadz M. Taha (Temuyuk - Bunut Hulu), Usadz H. Sutardi (Jongkong), Ustadz Karyadi and Ustadz Sukiman (Badau), and so on.

Second, Da'wah activities and empowerment of the people carried out by religious leaders and religious institutions in the border region are in two forms: routine - continuous, and spontaneous- situational activities. Some of the routine activities are conducted in Majlis Taklim for women held from the village to hamlet level, sub-district to district level; Majlis Taklim on fiqh and worship held every week under the coordination of the District MUI in several sub-districts in the border region; Teaching and learning the Qur'an (TPQ-TPA); training people through Friday sermons in every mosque in the border region.

Some of spontaneous - situational activities are religious lectures in the moments of commemorating Islamic holidays; when resolving religious problems that occur in the midst of the people (when there are certain cases); *sakinah* family coaching through the role of KUA (in each sub-district in the border region), both by religious leaders in person and through da'wa institutions (such as MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah, and KUA).

Third, the efforts to revitalize the da'wah movement should focus on spreading moderate Islam as the basic values of Islam. Some of the manifestations of the revitalization effort is to intensify communication and coordination between religious leaders and related parties such as the government, police, and military to optimize

the implementation of the tasks and functions of respective religious leaders and institutions.

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A MOSQUE IN A THOUSAND TEMPLE ISLAND: LOCAL WISDOM OF PEGAYAMAN MUSLIM VILLAGE IN PRESERVING HARMONY IN BALI

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Abstract

There are some scholars, such as Clifford Geertz, Geoffrey Robinson and Miquel Covarubbias who pay much attention to the patterns of the religious and cultural life of Balinese. They show various perspectives on Balinese religious and cultural lives, those that are generally closely related to Hinduism and tourism. For this reason, a study on the religious life of the Muslim communities in Bali is interesting because it represents various viewpoints while revealing another side of Balinese exoticism. Pegayaman Muslim village of Buleleng regency is an old village inhabited by Muslims amidst strong Hindu influences. This village is unique and recognized as one of the oldest Muslim villages in Bali. In general, the people in this village are able to live side by side peacefully with the adherents of other religions through local wisdom by building harmony with *puri*(castle), *pura* (temple), and Balinese customs, like actualization of *Menyama Beraya* in daily life and *Sokok Base* that are presented at procession of *Maulid* festival every year.

Keywords:

Muslim communities; Hinduism; Pegayaman village; Menyama Beraya; Balinese exoticism

Abstrak

Banyak kalangan menaruh perhatian terhadap pola kehidupan keagamaan dan budaya masyarakat Bali, seperti Clifford Geertz, Geoffrey Robinson, dan Miquel Covarubbias. Tinjauan mereka mengenai kehidupan keagamaan dan budaya Bali tidaklah tunggal, kendati umumnya sarat balutan Hinduisme dan pariwisata. Dalam konteks itu, kajian mengenai kehidupan keagamaan masyarakat Muslim di Bali termasuk sesuatu yang menarik karena dapat merepresentasikan sudut pandang yang tidak tunggal tadi, sekaligus menguak sisi lain dari panorama Bali. Kampung Muslim Pegayaman Kab. Buleleng merupakan sebuah desa tua yang penduduknya beragama Islam, di tengah kuatnya pengaruh Hindu. Kampung ini memiliki keunikan tersendiri, yakni diakui sebagai salah satu kampung Muslim tertua di Bali. Secara umum, masyarakat di kampung tersebut mampu hidup berdampingan secara damai dengan penganut agama lain melalui kearifan lokal membangun harmoni dengan *puri*, *pura*, dan adat Bali, seperti pengejawantahan *Menyama Beraya* dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dan *Sokok Base* yang disajikan dalam prosesi festival *Maulid* pada setiap tahun.

Kata Kunci:

Masyarakat muslim; Hinduisme; Kampung Pegayaman; Menyama Beraya; Eksostisme Bali.

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A. INTRODUCTION

From the gender perspective, one of the criticisms made by feminists is that Balinese people adhere to a strong patriarchal system that places men as the main figures in the social system. Besides that, social facts in the form of a caste system cause social stratification, including women¹ made Bali have the socio-cultural distinction, either as a strength or a weakness, which has become the background of its various exoticism.

The Balinese are considered to have a cultural and natural exoticism that established as a leading tourist destination in Indonesia since a long time ago. Many nicknames are given to describe the exoticism, including *The Paradise Island*, *The Island of God*, dan *The Mystical Island*.² Therefore, it is not excessive if Bali is displayed as a harmonious, exotic and apolitical area.³ It is certainly very reasonable, considering that it is impossible that tourism in Bali is able to develop rapidly without being supported by the creation of security and peace. Thus, tourism has become an "ideology" the need for imaging harmony as it relates to shared economic interests.⁴ Tourism has caused a domino effect for stretching Balinese people's economy so they assume that anything that could interfere with their image and conflict of interests must be avoided immediately.

The existence of Bali which is predominantly Hindu with "a thousand temples" makes this God's Island unique. According to Clifford Geertz, the practice of Balinese religious offerings and rituals show

that they are more attentive to practicing it rather than thinking about it.⁵ Therefore, it is not strange if many people perceive Balinese are Hindus, and their religious rituals procession caused its own charm for tourists. This perception is not entirely true, because, many Balinese are non-Hindus, either indigenous population of Bali or migrants. As a miniature of Indonesia,⁶ Bali is one of the "best" regions to represent diversity. Naturally, many Indonesianist scholars such as Clifford Geertz, Geoffrey Robinson, and Miquel Covarubbias who paid much attention to the patterns of the religious and cultural life of the Balinese. The Indonesianist perspective on Balinese religious and cultural life is not singular. On the one hand, there are people who tend to see the exoticism of Bali with Hinduism, natural beauty and rich culture. On the other hand, there are people who tend to see the historical dynamic of Bali which is full of tensions and conflicts. Moreover, there are also experts who see the exoticism of Bali from the excesses caused by modernization.⁷

The variety of opinions among experts regarding the relationship between Bali and Hinduism as "indigenous" religion and majority or Balinese exoticism is certainly interesting to be discussed. After the Bali bombing, there was a striking socio-cultural dynamic in Balinese people's lives. Moreover, there are people who call "Lost Bali" because there are many serious problems relates to life order and patterns of socio-religious relations. It is the background of *Ajég Balimovement*, a massive movement that wants to preserve Balinese culture either at the individual level, or the cultural environment or cultural process as a form of public concern about serious problems affected by people's behavior.

¹Wening Udasmoro, *Dari Doing Ke Undoing Gender: Teori Dan Praktik Dalam Kajian Feminisme* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2017), 184.

²Yudhis M. Burhanuddin, *Bali Yang Hilang: Pendatang, Islam Dan Etnisitas Di Bali* (Yogyakarta: Impulse Kanisius, 2008), 51.

³R. Siti Zuhro et al., *Demokrasi Lokal: Perubahan Dan Kesenambungan Nilai-Nilai Budaya Politik Lokal Di Jawa Timur, Sumatera Barat, Sulawesi Selatan Dan Bali* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2009), 202.

⁴Burhanuddin, *Bali Yang Hilang: Pendatang, Islam Dan Etnisitas Di Bali*, 202.

⁵Clifford Geertz, *Tafsir Kebudayaan & Agama* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), 129-130.

⁶Bernard A. Risakotta, *Mengelola Keragaman Di Indonesia: Agama Dan Isu-Isu Globalisasi, Kekerasan, Gender, Dan Bencana Di Indonesia*, Trans. Gunawan Admiranto dkk (Bandung: Mizan, 2015), 23.

⁷Nengah Bawa Atmadja, *Ajég Bali: Gerakan, Identitas Kultural, Dan Globalisasi* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013).

Bali, which has been known to be safe, and peaceful, nowadays, experiencing cultural slack and slowly tends to move away from its valuable culture. In the context of the elections, for example, it occurs the issue of ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA) for campaign purposes, and has triggered conflict and violence. The public awareness of diversity as the basis of the spirit of nationalism crushed by ideological or pragmatic interests. It is regrettable that the use of SARA issues and the rise of violent conflicts with SARA nuances emerged in various regions⁸ that involve religious community leaders. It ruined the unity and harmony of citizens as well as the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. The violent conflict based on SARA clearly in contrast with the spirit of nationalism that has long been woven and embodied in the local wisdom of Bali, *Tri Hita Karana*, which is maintaining good relations with God, fellow humans, and nature.⁹

Elizabeth K. Nottingham, an expert in Sociology of Religion, argued that social and psychological functions played by religion proved to be fundamental.¹⁰ No wonder that religion is considered as one of the factors that have a profound influence on people's lives¹¹ and the formation of their cultural traditions. Thus, religion plays an important role in public space, social interaction, and modernity. Globalization does not necessarily lead that religion will be marginalized.¹²

⁸Antara, "Survei LIPI: Isu SARA Membesar Karena Dikapitalisasi Elit Politik," Antara News, accessed August 12, 2018, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/734208/survei-lipi-isu-sara-membesar-karena-dikapitalisasi-elit-politik>.

⁹Zuhro et al., *Demokrasi Lokal: Perubahan Dan Kesenambungan Nilai-Nilai Budaya Politik Lokal Di Jawa Timur, Sumatera Barat, Sulawesi Selatan Dan Bali*, 208.

¹⁰Elizabeth K. Nottingham, *Agama Dan Masyarakat*, trans. Abdul Muis Naharong (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1997).

¹¹Meredith B. McGuire, *Religion: The Social Context* (California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1992), 3.

¹²Mujiburrahman, *Mengindonesiakan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 48; See also

Pegayaman Muslim village in Buleleng district is a village with a majority Muslim population¹³ amidst the strong siege of Hindu influence. The village has its own uniqueness. Pegayaman village is one of the oldest Muslim villages in Bali which has a historical link with Solo-Javanese Pedaleman and thick Balinese acculturation. Pegayaman village is divided into several hamlets where the community adhere to a different religion. The majority of residents of Pegayaman village are Muslim and surrounded by the Sukasada subdistrict area which the community adheres to Hinduism. Both religious adherent groups have a place of worship in a nearby location, and they feel free in carrying out their respective religious teachings.

This article employs a qualitative method examining a pluralistic community life. Its citizens are identified as active involvement in building harmony, namely Muslim communities in Pegayaman village, Buleleng District, Bali province. This study utilizes the theory of socio-cultural studies from Bodgan and Biklen whose assumption stated that the world is not "something that can be known directly,"¹⁴ it depends on the researcher's perspective. As a form of Sociocultural studies, this study assumes that (1) all social relations are influenced by certain factors that need to be explained in a specific context, and (2) all research comes from theoretical understanding. Data was collected from interviewing informants: religious leaders, community leaders and citizens from Pegayaman Muslim village as research subjects, observation, and documentation.

The study of local wisdom or culture of Balinese has been done by many researchers.

Bachtiar Effendy, *Masyarakat, Agama Dan Pluralisme Keagamaan* (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2001) 21.

¹³Moh Mashur Abadi, "Pesantren Desa Pegayaman, Meleburnya Jagat Bali Dalam Kearifan Islam," *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 20, no. 1 (2012): 152-64.

¹⁴William J. Potter, *An Analysis of Thinking and Research About Qualitative Methods* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 1996), 109-110.

Suprpto has written the book entitled *Semberbak Dupa di Pulau Seribu Masjid*.¹⁵ This book, derived from his dissertation, describes the harmonious life of the Hindu minority in the middle of the Muslim majority in Lombok. Both groups of different religions and cultures are able to live side by side peacefully, and the Hindu minority group has the freedom to practice their religious teaching.

Ismail Suardi-Wekke wrote about *Sasi Masjid dan Adat: Praktik Konservasi Lingkungan Masyarakat Minoritas Muslim Raja Ampat*.¹⁶ It is originally the result of research on the local wisdom of Raja Ampat Muslim minority community in preserving the environment, even the mosque became an institution that holds the authority to regulate the management of an environment called *sasi masjid*. Celebrations of the earth and sea products are carried out together by both the mosque community and the church community.

Other research conducted by Indriana Kartini on *Dinamika Kehidupan Minoritas Muslim di Bali*,¹⁷ contains the research of Muslim minority community in Bali. It explained multiculturalism in Bali which is at least demonstrated by the long history of the existence of the Muslim minority there. Unfortunately, it has not received much attention yet from many studies about Bali. Whereas the acculturation of Islam, Hinduism, and Bali have produced cultural richness and local wisdom which is not mere "Hinduism-centric." In the acculturation of Islam, Hinduism and Bali should be seen in both ways Muslim minority and Hindu majority.

Ari Dwipayana (ed.) compiled articles called *Bulan Sabit di Pulau Dewata: Jejak*

Kampung Kusamba-Bali.¹⁸ The monograph book from field study result analyzes the history of Islamic villages, renegotiates Islamic villages in Hindu adherents, tolerance, and tension as the forms of biodiversity management, particularly in Kusamba-Bali village. In short, the results of this monograph research explain the identity of Muslims in the Hindu land of Bali, as well as reveal patterns of Muslim-Hindu relations.

Deni Miharja conducted research on *Adat, Budaya dan Agama Lokal: Studi Gerakan Ajeg Bali Hindu Bali*.¹⁹ This research elaborates the Balinese movement as an articulation of efforts to preserve the values and traditions of Balinese ancestors, and a "local religion" that its teachings preserved traditional values and could protect it from the influence of foreign cultures.

A. Muchaddam Fahham reported in *Dinamika Hubungan Antarumat Beragama: Pola Hubungan Muslim dan Hindu di Bali*²⁰ about the harmonious relations among religious communities in Bali Province which is ranked the second-best nationally. However, it does not mean that the relationship among religious communities in *Pulau Dewata* is running well. In reality, in addition to finding associative relationship patterns -that lead to cooperation, accommodation and tolerance- undeniably also found patterns of dissociative relationships that lead to competition and conflict. The article described more about the support associative and dissociative relation patterns among Balinese Muslims.

¹⁵Suprpto, *Semberbak Dupa Di Pulau Seribu Masjid* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010).

¹⁶Ismail Suardi-Wekke, "Sasi Masjid Dan Adat: Praktik Konservasi Lingkungan Masyarakat Minoritas Muslim Raja Ampat," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 1 (2015): 1–20.

¹⁷Indriana Kartini, "Dinamika Kehidupan Minoritas Muslim Di Bali," *Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia* 37, no. 2 (2011): 115–45.

¹⁸I Gde Parimartha, Ida Bagus Gde Putra, and Luh Pt. Kusuma Ririen, *Bulan Sabit Di Pulau Dewata: Jejak Kampung Islam Kusamba-Bali*, ed. AAGN. Ari Dwipayana (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM, 2012).

¹⁹Deni Miharja, "Adat, Budaya Dan Agama Lokal: Studi Gerakan Ajeg Bali Hindu Bali," *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013): 53–78.

²⁰A. Muchaddam Fahham, "Dinamika Hubungan Antarumat Beragama: Pola Hubungan Muslim Dan Hindu Di Bali," *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial* 9, no. 1 (2018): 65–84.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Bali and Islam

Bali's exoticism makes its own charm, as shown by the large number of tourists who come to travel, the number of outsiders who live to earn a fortune, and many scientists who consider Bali as the object of study.²¹ In addition to the exoticism of nature and culture as a famous tourist destination, until now Bali is also widely known as one of the regions in Indonesia where the Hindu majority lives. Therefore, Bali and Hinduism have become two "cultural" entities that are united and inseparable; Bali is considered synonymous with Hinduism, and Hinduism has also been a source of forming the main religious-cultural identity of Balinese society. As a result, it is argued that some experts claim that Balinese culture is a religious culture,²² which is a culture that originates from Hinduism.

The close relationship between Bali and Hinduism is strengthened by the belief of people in Bali that Gunung Agung and Pura Besakih are the centers of Bali island.²³ In addition, the existence of community stratification (castanization) in Bali based on the concept of *catur warna* or *catur warga*. These are the Brahmin group who has the highest status, then Ksatriyagroup, Weisya group and Sudra group who has the lowest status. It also confirms the close relationship between Bali and Hinduism. Historically, the links between Bali and Hinduism were formed through a long historical process. Bali received a strong influence from the Majapahit Kingdom in Java. When Majapahit was at its glory, Bali became one of the important areas with the center of power which later became the Kingdom of Gelgel covered an extending

area to Lombok, Sumbawa and Blambangan.²⁴ This kingdom is getting stronger as the weakening of Majapahit. This was confirmed by the results of an interview with Nasrulloh, one of the Muslim leaders of Gelgel Village, who said, "The history of the formation of Gelgel Muslim village began with forty Muslim soldiers from Majapahit who were assigned to guard King Gelgel. Then as a form of appreciation of King Gelgel, they were then given the land of the fief to be inhabited with special autonomy."²⁵

Although the relationship between Bali and Hinduism is so strong, in its history, Bali has never closed itself to the presence of other communities. It is thought to be one of the factors why Bali remains Hindu in the midst of the rapidly growing siege of Islam in Java and Lombok because Bali has never been significantly "anti-Islamic." Naturally, Islam ruled after the collapse of Majapahit did not consider Bali with its Hinduism as a serious threat that had to be subdued. In addition, the Hindu kingdom in Bali also implemented a "friendly" defense strategy through the establishment of Muslim community bases around the royal center, as seen in Puri Karangasem surrounded by Muslim villages. From here the peaceful coexistence of Muslims and Hindu communities in Bali began. For Balinese Hindus, the Muslim community is considered *asnyama selam* or Islamic brother.²⁶ To maintain harmony in living together, there is *ngejot* which means shares food from Muslim brothers to Hindu brothers and vice versa on certain holidays which become social capital in building inter-ethnic and interreligious solidarity.²⁷

There is an interesting analysis regarding why Bali remains Hindu, either *niskala* or *sekala* perspective. The first perspective tends

²¹Martin Ramstedt, *Kegalauan Identitas: Agama, Etnisitas Pada Masa Pascaorde Baru* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2011), 41-42.

²²I Nyoman Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), 284.

²³AAG. Putra Agung, *Peralihan Sistem Birokrasi Dari Tradisional Ke Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 11.

²⁴AAG. Putra Agung, *Peralihan Sistem Birokrasi*, 42.

²⁵Nasrulloh, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 4, 2018.

²⁶Sahidin, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

²⁷Atmadja, *Ajeng Bali: Gerakan, Identitas Kultural, Dan Globalisasi*, 341.

to explain from the metaphysical aspect that Hindu figures such as *Danghyang Nirartha* have made magical fortresses across the coast of Bali that cannot be penetrated by outside invaders.²⁸ Meanwhile, the second perspective, which makes more sense, explains from the historical aspect that Majapahit began to lose its dominance. Most of its territory experienced Islamization but remained with maritime culture. Unlike Java, Bali does not have a major trading port, nor spices are significantly grown in Bali, and the people are still agrarian so that the island is not included in the silk road traversed by Muslim traders and preachers. Moreover, the arrival of the Dutch caused the attention of the Islamic Mataram kingdom split, so there was no time to expand power to Bali.

Some experts view that Islam established in Bali is quite unique. Considering in its history, the Muslim community who came to this island obtained special permission to live permanently or even because of requests for a direct assignment from *puri*/palace of the Hindu Balinese kingdom. It is natural if they then inhabit certain areas, have a close relationship with the castle, and do not expand the territory/influence and mission activities. On the one hand, it is the main capital of the Muslim community to be accepted by the Balinese Hindu community. But on the other hand, the spread of Islam became localized because it is only developed in a certain area. This phenomenon is called the political quarantine of rulers in various Hindu kingdoms in Bali against the Muslim population at that time.²⁹

The spreading of Islam by the saints culturally also took place in Bali. There are several prominent figures who spread Islam in Bali, known as *Walipitu*. They are Shaykh Chamdoen Khoirussoleh or Pangeran Mas

Sepuh, son of King Mengwi VII (Cokorda I), the descent of a mother who came from Blambangan or Banyuwangi. His grave is on the beach of Seseh Badung Bali; Habib Umar bin Maulana Yusuf al-Maghribi whose grave is located on one of the hills in Bedugul Tabanan; Habib Ali bin Abu Bakar al-Hamid who spread Islam in Klungkung region and had been appointed as a translator and linguist of Gelgel kingdom; Shaykh Maulana Yusuf al-Maghribi who spread Islam in Karangasem region; Shaykh Abdul Qodir Muhammad, who spread Islam in Buleleng region and have been a student of Sunan Gunung Djati.

The process of an Islamic missionary endeavor takes place in a harmonious atmosphere, without significant friction between Muslims and Hindus. Depends on the indications of some experts, there are at least four important factors that underlie it. First, the followers of Hinduism are Balinese with their distinctive mindset and culture, not Hinduism set in India. It is the same as adherents of Islam who are typically indigenous Indonesian and unfamiliar with Arabic culture. With this style, Muslims and Hindus in Bali are also able to establish harmony. Second, Muslims who come to Bali tend to develop the symbols of Islam in a persuasive manner. Third, during the royal era, Bali was never involved in a conflict with Javanese kings. Fourth, Balinese Hinduism and Islam have similarities in their cultural perspectives, such as maintaining harmony with nature.³⁰

2. Wisdom Values of Pegayaman Muslim Community

The establishment of Pegayaman Muslim village has been going on for hundreds of years ago and still exists until now. Pegayaman village is located between the hills of North Bali with a height of about 500 meters above sea level which is part of

²⁸Nengah Bawa Atmadja, *Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit: Islamisasi, Toleransi, Dan Pemertahanan Agama Hindu Di Bali* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010).

²⁹Nengah Bawa Atmadja, *Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit*.

³⁰M. Abdul. Karim, "Toleransi UmaT Beragama Di Desa Loloan, JemBrana, Bali (Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Sejarah)," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 16, no. 1 (2016): 1–32.

Sukasada subdistrict, Buleleng district. This village is divided into 5 hamlets (banjars). Those are Banjar Dauh Margi, Dangin Margi, Kubu, Kubu Lebah, and Amerta Sari. Pegayaman Village has an area of 15.84 km² with a population of more than 2000 households. In the north, Pegayaman borders Pegadungan village, in the east borders Silangjana village, in the south borders Pancasari village, and in the west borders Padangbulia village and Gitgit village. Pegayaman residents communicate in the Balinese language that categorized refine. In addition to the language of daily communication, they also adhere to Balinese culture so deeply as can be seen in the use of unique Balinese names. The consistency in giving their child's name Wayan for the first child, Nengah for the second child, Nyoman for the third child, and Ketut for the fourth child. Not surprisingly, many Muslims in Pegayaman named such as Nengah Sururudin, Wayan Suharto, Nyoman Haromain, and Ketut Ibrahim.

The name Pegayaman is derived from the word "gayam" (or gatep in Balinese). It is a kind of hard fruit whose fruit is delicious to be eaten.³¹ It is also believed comes from the word gayaman which became the name of a powerful dagger (keris) used as a weapon during Mataram Islamic Javanese kingdom under the authority of Paku Buwono I in remembrance of the Pegayaman village community ancestors who first came to Bali from Mataram. This was reinforced by Babad Buleleng that the ancestors of the Pegayaman community were known as Solo Pedaleman, and by the indigenous Balinese people at that time, they were called *nyame selam* (brothers of Islam). Historical analysis of the ancestors of the Pegayaman community originating from Mataram was when the Majapahit kingdom collapsed, in Bali, there was Hindu Gelgel (Klungkung) kingdom which still prevailed in the territory of Lombok and Sumbawa. At that time, Raja Gelgel led troops to seize

Blambangan (Banyuwangi), which was under the rule of Mataram. On this second expedition, the Gelgel army succeeded in winning. To avoid further warfare, there was a truce between the Gelgel kingdom and Mataram kingdom. As a form of peace, the King of Mataram sent a messenger to hand over an elephant gift to Raja Gelgel as a vehicle. The messenger sent at once was assigned to be an elephant handler and given permission to settle in Banjar Jawa Singaraja (Buleleng), which is located nearby Banjar Petak and Banjar Peguyangan. In the Balinese language, Petak means cage and Peguyangan means a place where elephants are bathed or where they lie down in muddy water.

The arrival of Mataram envoy was considered to carry a peaceful mission, there was no longer any hostility or war. On the occasion of conducting inspections to Banjar Jawa Singaraja, the King offered them to move to the south while also being assigned to be the "fortress" of the kingdom from south attacks. They agreed to the King's offer and were given the freedom to take the area of Palemahan (yard) in a forest area flanked by two hills and two large rivers, which became the forerunner to Pegayaman village. They mingle with the native Balinese, even marriage and cultural acculturation. A few decades later, some people from the Bugis tribe of Sultan Hasanudin Makassar expeditionary army came to this area where their ship was stranded on the coast of Buleleng. Religious equality makes it easy for them to blend in with Pegayaman's ancestors. Therefore, the pivot axis of the Pegayaman people is Javanese-Bali-Bugis. The religious understanding adopted by the majority of the community is "traditionalist" Islam as seen in religious activities of the community and routine schedule of Safinatussalam Pegayaman Jami Mosque, such as Tarhim to remind residents that the time for the dawn is before dawn during Ramadan, Tarawih prayer at 20 rekaat, Barzanji, etc. Inside the mosque,

³¹WayanSuharto, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

there are very large *kentongan*, *drum*, and tall towers.³²

The view of Pegayaman's ancestors from Solo is still justified by the people there until now. To connect the friendship with the ancestral region, some Pegayaman figures had visited Surakarta palace. The visit was intended to establish cooperation and at the same time build a shared historical awareness regarding genealogical links between Pegayaman people and Surakarta Palace. Building historical awareness of origin ancestral links with Surakarta palace is needed to strengthen the social memory of the current generation of Pegayaman people.

During this time, the Pegayaman community art group has been actively involved in Buleleng Festival (Bufest) and Bali Arts Festival (Pesta Kesenian Bali-PKB) which carry the spirit of pluralism. The logo and art tools of the *Sekee Burdah Burak* Pegayaman group are very rich with the nuances of Islamic and Balinese acculturation. Through the slogan *Siap Menghidupkan dan Mengabadikan Api Kedamaian Dengan Konsep Hidup "Menyama Beraya"* (friendship in diversity), the art groups intend to articulate the spirit of brotherhood among Balinese fellow. Pegayaman Islam is not an exclusive Islam, but rather Islam-Bali which developed through a long process of Islamic Balinization. Art is one of the devices of the Islamic balinization process that is able to unite the diversity of society. Because of it, one of Pegayaman community leaders was not worried about arranging his daughter's Puspanjali dance, as part of Balinese dance, while still wearing a hijab.³³ Her expertise in Balinese dancing and her academic achievements have given the daughter an opportunity to do a comparative study in Japan with other representatives from Bali.

The existence of believed Jerontuan religious tourism site by the community as a

gathering place for saints is a historical proof that the development of Islam has been happening for hundreds of years ago. Many Muslim communities make pilgrimages to pray and hold salvation on the site when they have the intention to be granted by God, or hold a ceremony for received blessings. In addition to the Jerontuan site, other historical evidence is the pulpit of Safinatussalam mosque which is hundreds of years old. The Jerontuan site and the jami mosque with their ancient pulpit confirm the coexistence between Pegayaman Muslims and surrounding Hindus going well. The ancient site of the Muslim community has been preserved until now because it was never disturbed or damaged by Hindus.

The knot of togetherness proven effective in realizing social harmony and being positively accepted as the cultural heritage of the local community. This practice is considered sources of local wisdom formation to mark (1) the identity of a community, (2) adhesive elements across citizens, (3) inner awareness in order not to "force", (4) the togetherness of a community, (5) the mindset modification and interactive relationships on a common ground, the process of appreciation and participation; and avoidance disintegration.³⁴ Even from the results of cultural studies, in several regions in Indonesia such as the Bedouin community in Banten and Maluku community, local wisdom has proven useful in maintaining the balance of nature so that natural resource management does not damage the environment.³⁵

The other side of togetherness knot that is still preserved is the commemoration of Prophet's Birthday which the formation of the committee and its preparations made three months earlier.³⁶ According to the informant, "In organizing Prophet's Birthday, the

³²WayanSuharto, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

³³Suharto, Wayan, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

³⁴Suprpto, *Semerbak Dupa Di Pulau Seribu Masjid*, 60-61.

³⁵Alo Liliwari, *Pengantar Studi Kebudayaan* (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2014), 227-236.

³⁶Suharto, Wayan, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

committee had been formed three months before. The prepared procession and Ubo Rampe are rich with Islamic acculturation and Balinese culture. Ubo Rampe Sokok is a sort of gift for ritual purpose consisting of an egg prick that is placed on a Pajegan (banana stem), a series of bamboo decorated with flowers and fruits underneath, similar to the ceremonial at the temple for Hindu society.³⁷ The procession of Prophet's birthday celebration was enlivened by silat dance, Sekaa Hadrah, and accompaniment of tambourine performance. All residents from various communities, including local government representatives, caste families, Hindu figures and other local village government officials, were invited to attend. The commemoration of Prophet's Birthday becomes a place of togetherness and performing arts that are rich with Balinese nuance without any social barriers. The existence of art and entertainment elements makes the event not only create an attraction for Muslims, but also for other community members.

The commemoration of Prophet's Birthday is proof that the existence of Muslim residents of Pegayaman village has contributed to surrounding community culture, especially in Sukasada sub-district, which is predominantly Hindu. The long history of Islamization in Pegayaman village through constructive and tolerant penetration leaves cultural heritage in a harmonious life with adherence to other religions. It has inspired Muslim citizens of Pegayaman village to successfully carry out the expected roles in order to knit togetherness and harmony of life, either among Muslims or Muslims with other religious adherence. The tradition of Prophet's Birthday commemoration becomes part of social capital which is sourced from local wisdom in caring for harmony in the midst of diversity. It is not only the internal cohesion of religious communities that needs to be strengthened but also external cohesion through the

development of mutual respect that is able to foster affinity among members of the interfaith community.

3. The actualization of Wisdom Values in Building Harmony

The establishment of Pegayaman Muslim village has a long history that it is called "the oldest Muslim village" in Bali. One historical record mentions that the Muslim community of Pegayaman village is a descendant of Javanese and Bugis who had come to Bali several centuries ago.³⁸ The location of Pegayaman village is around 87 km from Denpasar city and 9 km from Singaraja city (Buleleng). One of the leading Islamic education institutions in this village is the Al-Iman Islamic Boarding School and Miftahul Ulum *madrassa* which is located close to Jami 'Safinatussalam Pegayaman mosque complex. Some relics of Islamic history are still well preserved, such as wood carvings and the pulpit at Safinatussalam Mosque which is allegedly more than 200 years old. This mosque is the only mosque in Pegayaman village which was founded by Kumpi Kyai Yahya in 1639 and became the center of Islamic development in Bali. Kumpi, the name attached to Kyai Yahya, is a high social title for certain people. The mosque has undergone several renovations so that the architecture is no longer what it was. In 1986, a renovation of the Safinatussalam mosque was carried out by involving a number of artisans and workers from the Hindu community. In addition to Safinatussalam Mosque, around Pegayaman there are approximately 19 *mushala* (santreng).

Not only as of the oldest mosque, Safinatussalam is also the largest and "independent" mosque because it has productive assets in the form of *waqf* land and yards that are well managed and capable of producing an added value of not less than 100

³⁷Suharto, Wayan, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

³⁸Suharto, Wayan, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

million per year.³⁹ The added value (profit) of the productive assets and funds that are collected regularly from the congregation become an important financial source for financing operational and development needs. Naturally, if the mosque is able to carry out various religious activities in a well-programmed, meet the needs of its facilities adequately, and carry out its role as a center for the development of Islam and society.

Muslim History of Pegayaman village is famous for its social history that full of struggle and courage. Because of a long time ago, Pegayaman village was still famous for its very haunted wilderness. Then by some of the Taruna Goak Muslim troops from Javanese and Bugis ethnic groups, who became the core warriors of Raja Panji Sakti, the forest was encroached to be converted into villages. They are the ancestors of Pegayaman that in Babad Buleleng are called *Tindih* (defenders) because they have been credited in protecting the Buleleng kingdom and dedicating themselves to the king. Some of them married native Balinese women, formed families, and produced a unique social and cultural system that was characterized by "Islam-Bali."

The history of the Pegayaman Muslim community's harmonious relationship with the castle (palace) continues till today. It is shown by the hospitality relationship that continues by inviting and attending each other when important events are held in Pegayaman, such as the celebration of prophet's Birthday, or that held in Puri (palace), such as marriages of members of the royal family. The longstanding track record of good relations is the cultural capital of both parties for mutual respect, mutual trust, and mutual understanding. Historical facts show that although Pegayaman community's ancestors were Muslim, they still showed a high level of loyalty in carrying out the duties and beliefs of the Hindu king.

Persistence in adhering to the teachings of Islam does not prevent them from continuing to serve the Hindu kingdom, mingle with the community, and take part in fostering harmony together. This attitude actually makes the castle (palace; kingdom) feel reluctant and give high respect and called them as *Nyame Selam* term (the brother of Islam). It is used by Hindus to refer to Muslims. The term clearly shows the meaning of a strong social bond between Hindus and Muslims. In the context of social interaction, a designation is considered to have psychological and sociological content. Psychological content is the designation was born from the atmosphere of the mysticism of the Hindu community who feel a close and mutual affinity with Muslim citizens, without any prejudice even hatred. Its sociological content, as a minority, Muslims obtain recognition and position that are equal to those of Hindu majority without any discrimination or segregation.

By its historical background, the relation of the Muslim minority and Hindu majority in Bali seems to have different characteristics from the Dani Muslim community in Jayawijaya Papua. As a minority group, the Dani Muslim community displays its uniqueness in identifying themselves as adherents of Islam.⁴⁰ They still maintain Papuan tradition which is partly contradictory to the basic teachings of Islam so that it looks "different" from other Muslim communities. Besides, they are also different from the majority of Papuans who are Christians. The Islamic style of Dani Muslim community is full of challenges from other Muslim communities, because they are considered not fully Muslim, and also from the majority of Papuans who are Christian. However, the Dani Muslim community feels proud of their Islam and continues to love the Papuan tradition.

³⁹Suharto, Wayan, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

⁴⁰Ade Yamin, "Menjadi Muslim Papua: Perjuangan Komunitas Dani Muslim Di Lembah Bailiem" (UMY, 2019).

The existence of the Muslim community in Pegayaman village has acculturated in such ways to Balinese culture so that they also deserve to be called Balinese or Balinese Malay. Balinese culture becomes more colorful because of acculturation. So, Balinese culture is identical not only with Hinduism but also with other religions such as Islam in Balinese cultural mosaics without diminishing the value of "authenticity." The acculturation process leads to selective integration, in which the Muslim community adapts to local Balinese culture, blends in social life without compromising the principle aspects of the beliefs held, still upholds pluralism, and is proactive in knitting togetherness. Through acculturation with selective integration patterns, the Muslim community of Pegayaman village is able to separate Bali and Hinduism, between the cultural and religious ones, therefore they do not simply draw a dividing line to separate Islam and Bali.

The Muslim community is able to absorb and concoct Balinese culture, then present Islam which is laden with the locality. Islamic acculturation in the context of Balinese culture is a creative step to absorb and mix local culture, then articulate a friendly Islam with "local traditions." Thus, the acculturation process is needed as a foothold to articulate Islam so that the message of the teachings presented worthy to be seen as part of the original culture. Cultural acculturation is shown by Pegayaman Muslim acceptance such as dance, clothing and Balinese names. For Muslims, wearing a Balinese costume in performing arts has a dual function: appreciating Balinese custom and presenting Islam in the tradition of being able to tighten the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim Balinese citizens.

4. Problems of Pegayaman Muslim Community in Building Harmony

Identity is one of the main topics in plural social life. It is found the use of many symbols in public spaces that are actually intended to establish self/group identity in order to build internal cohesion and solidarity, as well as to

make messages about the existence of self/groups for outsiders (external). As if it has become a basic need in social life. Everyone has the need to classify themselves to be "us" and "them"⁴¹ to underlie the social meaning of each identity. Sociologically, the formation of a single identity can consist of religion, profession, association, caste, political parties, and others.

The use of certain religious symbols in pluralistic public spaces is very vulnerable to negative external reactions.⁴² As an example, strong comment from one of the local representative (DPD) Bali member I Gusti Ngurah Arya Wedakarna on the entry of sharia banking along with the blame that certain parties have the same view on terrorist behind sharia branding brought to Bali.⁴³ Appeared among the Muslim community in Bali related to the provocative claims of DPD members because it can trigger the friction between Hindus and Muslims. Taidin, a Muslim youth leader from Loloan village, fully agreed that Arya Wedakarna's prejudices often motivates cross-regional Muslim communities' consolidation in Bali to fight for the election of DPD candidates who is Muslim,⁴⁴ despite choosing candidates to run aground in the contestation on the April 17, 2019 elections.

Thinking way of binary opposition or Rwa Bhineda, which is widely adhered to by the Balinese people,⁴⁵ is considered to have the potential to encourage ideological meaning. It means that identity is no longer understood as

⁴¹Paulus Wirutomo, *Sistem Sosial Indonesia* (Jakarta: UI Press, 2012), 3.

⁴²Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Sejarah Politik Politisasi Agama Dan Dampaknya Di Indonesia," *MAARIF Journal* 13, no. 2 (2018): 43–54.

⁴³Republika, "Arya Wedakarna Curiga Masuknya Perbankan Syariah Di Bali," *Republika*, accessed October 16, 2018, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/14/08/26/nawgoo-arya-wedakarna-curiga-masuknya-perbankan-syariah-di-bali>.

⁴⁴Taidin, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

⁴⁵Atmadja, *Ajeg Bali: Gerakan, Identitas Kultural, Dan Globalisasi*, 8-10.

a liquid group marker, but rather as a rigid media grouping citizens and demand supreme loyalty. In this context, the imposition of certain identity symbols, such as the case of "Pembulelengan," can be a serious threat to harmony among people of different identities. Pembulelengan case is considered a massive "Golkar" movement against the PDIP loyalist community base, triggers a bloody clash on October 26, 2003, in Petubah village Buleleng which caused death in the brawl between PDIP supporters and Golkar supporters.⁴⁶ Similar mass actions were also found in other areas such as Badung, Karangasem, Gianyar, Denpasar, and Jembrana.⁴⁷

In line with this case, polemic and disagreement between Muslims and some Hindus that had occurred regarding the construction of Al-Qur'an Education Park and *majelis taklim*, for example, were forms of identity conflict. The intention of the Muslim community to build a landfill site and *majelis taklim* which has been given permission by the local government must be hampered to be built because it does not have a permit from Adat village (Pakraman) because it is considered in customary land.⁴⁸ In many cases, Adat villages (Pakraman) has more authority than village officers. Indigenous village (Pakraman), as one of the joints of growing Balinese Ajeg movement,⁴⁹ is not infrequently considered likely to lead to Hindu Ajeg which becomes seeds of Hindu fundamentalism. Pakraman village is a privilege for Hindus because of only those who can shape it and are given special funds from the local government for each Pakraman village.

Besides identity, another important issue is violence over religion's name (read: Islam). Although the violent actors are not Balinese Muslims, because of justification of Islamic doctrine on acts of terror and destruction as the implementation of jihad, Balinese Hindus' perception towards Muslims has also changed. It is shown by replacing the name *nyame slam* with *jalma slam* (Muslims) which means that the Balinese Hindu community no longer regards Muslims as "brothers" or at least there is a cold attitude displayed when communicating and interacting with Muslims.⁵⁰ Bali Bombing I (2002) and Bali Bombing II (2005) cases are a series of very cruel terrorist acts, violence, and large-scale destruction. Both cases caused not only the destruction of the tourism economy but also many Muslim migrants who had to the exodus from Bali and break the knots of harmony between Muslims and Hindus in Bali.⁵¹ As the concern on negative excesses wide spreading of Bali Bombing case, AG. Ngurah Agung as Chairman of the Bali Muslim-Hindu Association often holds interfaith activities to restore Hindu-Muslim relations. It means that it is always necessary to have a proactive step between the two parties in weaving back the knot of togetherness, not blaming each other.

Bali Bombing case was one of the triggers for the birth of Hindu social prejudice against Balinese Muslims and migrants.⁵² This case has escalated *Ajeg Bali* movement which is interpreted in various ways, including *Ajeg Bali* is interpreted in a conservative-romantic perspective which is much influenced by *Balinese indology*. Here, *Ajeg Bali* is interpreted as Hindu Ajeg who considers Bali to return to *dresta tradition* that has long existed, considering that the changes occurred caused a serious threat to the integrity of

⁴⁶Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 1-4.

⁴⁷Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 271.

⁴⁸Syafrida Dea Irany, "Penyimpangan Sosial Yang Pernah Terjadi Di Desa Pegayaman," n.d., <https://www.scribd.com/document/355363691/Penyimpangan-Sosial-Yang-Pernah-Terjadi-Di-Desa-Pegayaman>.

⁴⁹Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 267.

⁵⁰Sahidin, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

⁵¹Sahidin, interview by Mahmud Arif, Gelgel Village, on October 5, 2018.

⁵²Atmadja, *Ajeg Bali: Gerakan, Identitas Kultural, Dan Globalisasi*, 370.

Balinese culture.⁵³ Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 3/2001 which replaces Adat village with Pakraman village, for example, is increasingly establishing "Ajeg Hindu." Because through Pakraman village regulation, Balinese can get special privileges such as special funding from the local government outside the village funds. The formation of Pakraman village requires three things, namely (1) Parahyangan (temples and shrines for Hinduism), (2) Pawongan (Hindu villagers), and (3) Palemahan (village area).⁵⁴ With these requirements, it is difficult for Muslims, who inhabit certain places including Pegayaman Muslim village, to form Pakraman village.

The existence of regulations and policies regarding Pakraman village is regarded as not only recognizing Hinduism as the majority religion of Balinese citizens but also placing it as a "first-class" entitled to privilege. After the Bali bombing, the regulations and policies regarding Pakraman village were considered reasonable as it was the last stronghold and a central actor in protecting Bali from terrorist and immigrant attacks.⁵⁵ For Balinese Muslims, more or less the regulations and policies result in an atmosphere of mysticism that they are a minority group and the second class in the social hierarchy of citizenship in Bali. Such an atmosphere of mysticism is not ideal for realizing harmony between people of different religions in the framework of equality. However, maturity in citizenship has encouraged the Balinese Muslim community, especially Muslim citizens of Pegayaman village, not to perceive it as a form of social discrimination and injustice.

C. CONCLUSION

Bali exoticism lies not only on its natural beauty, artistic creativity and Hinduism with its rich ritual traditions but also the history of

the Islamic minority with its cultural diversity and resilience. The development history of Islam has presented another side of Balinese exoticism because it is able to encourage the process of cultural acculturation, elevates local wisdom, and enriches cultural treasures, especially in the context of interfaith relations. As a leading tourist destination, Bali is always interesting to be visited and is the object of the study. However, the issue of relations among Islam, Hinduism, and Bali seems still give little attention from academics due to the frenetic influence of tourism. Naturally, the public is more familiar with Bali related to its various exotic tourist objects.

Islam is not a "migrant" religion; Islam is a religion adhered to by native Balinese. In the early Islamization process, Islam was spread by immigrants. However, over time, Islam also blends and integrates with the natures of Bali. As a famous tourist destination, Bali is flooded with migrants from various regions to settle down and earn a fortune, where some of them are Muslim. Although the level of success may not be as good as in Java, the long history of Islamization in Bali Island has been able to strengthen the development of Islam in certain enclaves, commonly called Muslim villages, such as Pegayaman Muslim village, Buleleng. This Muslim village has been formed hundreds of years ago, and it is very reasonable when they feel like a native of Bali. In the siege of the Hindu community majority, the Muslim community in the village managed to show its vitality, namely the ability to adapt dynamically and absorb selectively.

The position as the "oldest" village is realized by the Muslim community in Pegayaman village has long historical roots of harmonious relations among Islam, Puri (palace) and Hindus. This awareness encourages them not to forget themselves by denying the historical node of togetherness. The harmonious relationship among Islam, castle, and Hindus is a historical node of togetherness and at the same time the value of local wisdom that needs to be preserved through various social traditions such as the

⁵³Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 263.

⁵⁴Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 270.

⁵⁵Suryawan, *Genealogi Kekerasan Dan Pergolakan Subaltern: Bara Di Bali Utara*, 270.

Maulid of the Prophet with *ubo rampe sokok base*, the use of distinctive Balinese names, the art of *Sekee Burdah Burak Pegayaman group*, and philosophy of *Menyama Beraya*, which is the context of historical articulation of Islam. Pegayaman village Muslim is a native of Bali and a Hindu (nyame slam). That is, Muslims and Hindus have a Balinese collective identity and mutual affinity of togetherness.

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DESACRALIZATION OF CATUSPATHA IN THE BALINESE HINDU COMMUNITY

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Abstract

The article aims to analyze the desacralization of the symbol of Catuspatha. Catuspatha is a form of Pakraman village identity in residential space patterns and as an orientation center of the Pakraman village pattern in Bali. At the same time, a socio-cultural phenomenon arises towards the center of the orientation of the Balinese society today, namely the replacement of the Visnu Murti statue with the Bungkarno statue in Catuspatha, Banjar Anyar Village. A ruling elite plays an essential religious symbol. In this case, the researcher analyzed the more fundamental way of shifting the shrine Catuspatha. The problem is that the Hindu community sees an imbalance between expectations and the reality of the existence of Catuspatha, the factors of desacralization of Catuspatha, and the impact of the desacralization of Catuspatha on the beliefs of the people. These problems are analyzed eclectically with religious theory, Social Change, and Deconstruction Theory. Data were obtained through observation, unstructured interviews, and literature studies to obtain objective analysis. The research found that the Catus Patha served as upstream Pakraman Kediri Village because they are still functioned to carry out Ngider ceremonies. The caused desacralization, more dominantly caused by socio-political factors, namely the idea of respect for the services of a warrior by forgetting local competitiveness. While the impact of the desacralization more on the theological impact, namely the weakening of public confidence and trust in the existence of Catuspatha so that the shifting of the Ngider ceremony orientation center is sought.

Keywords:

Desacralization; Catuspatha; Hindu; Bali

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis desakralisasi simbol Catus Patha. Catus Patha adalah bentuk identitas desa Pakraman dalam pola ruang perkampungan serta sebagai pusat orientasi pola desa Pakraman di Bali. Pada saat yang sama, muncul suatu permasalahan-permasalahan terhadap pusat orientasi ruang masyarakat Bali dewasa ini, yaitu penggantian patung Visnu Murti di Catus Patha, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, Kediri Kabupaten Tabanan. Terjadi suatu permainan elite penguasa terhadap simbol-simbol keagamaan yang hakiki. Dalam hal ini, peneliti tidak menganalisis patung Wisnu Murtinya, melainkan yang lebih mendasar ialah terjadinya pergeseran palinggih Catus Patha. Masalahnya adalah bahwa masyarakat Hindu melihat adanya ketidakseimbangan antara harapan dan kenyataan terhadap keberadaan *Catus Patha*, faktor desakralisasi *Catus Patha*, dan dampak desakralisasi *Catus Patha* pada keyakinan dan kepercayaan masyarakat. Masalah-masalah ini dianalisis secara eklektik dengan teori religi, teori perubahan sosial, dan teori dekonstruksi. Data diperoleh dengan teknik observasi, teknik wawancara tidak terstruktur, dan studi literatur untuk mendapatkan analisis objektif. Temuan penelitian, bahwa *Catus Patha* tersebut juga sebagai Ulu Desa Pakraman Kediri, karena masih berfungsi secara rutin untuk melaksanakan upacara *Ngider*. Penyebab desakralisasi lebih dominan disebabkan oleh factor sosial politik, yakni ide penghormatan terhadap jasa-jasa para pejuang oleh pimpinan daerah dengan melupakan keraifan lokal. Dampak Desakralisasi *Catus Patha* lebih pada dampak teologis, yaitu melunturnya keyakinan dan kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap eksistensi *Catus Patha* sehingga terjadi pergeseran pusat orientasi upacara *Ngider*.

Kata Kunci:

Desakralisasi; Catus Patha

A. INTRODUCTION

Changes in the government system from the royal government system that upholds the value of local wisdom to the colonial government system and the Republican government system that supports global values have a very significant impact on the religious life of Hindu in Bali. The contradiction between these two values in the state and religion relationship is as a state construction of local religion, which is considered one-sided and predicted to create political dynamics at various levels, including the tug of war between the state and its people. Thus, this will produce policies with a top-down model where state construction always involves a power approach and also in the name of power often leads to discriminatory policies and even conflict. Meanwhile, the direction that carries local enthusiasm at the bottom-up level has a narrow space to build subtle ways of thinking with the available local enthusiasm.¹

The struggle of globalization is a tug-of-war between the ruler and the ruler in a country whose society adheres to local culture. However, globalization has also influenced local people to adhere to hedonism. The influence of global culture and hedonism has entered various aspects of the life of the Hindu community in Bali as if there are no barriers that protect it. Such a situation shows anxieties and social criticism of the situation of the Hindu community in Bali. They have abandoned the valuable cultural values and moral values of their religion. Empirically, their lifestyle changed from modest life to pragmatic life. The change also affects the way they place residential space where they do not pay attention to the rules of residential space based on Hindu literature, such as Asta Kosala-Kosali and Asta Bhumi.

Cultural philosophy has set the pattern of settlements and villages of the Balinese people. This philosophy is the whole embodiment and

the results of thought (logic), will (ethics), and feelings (aesthetics) in customs, traditions, and customary rules (*Awig-Awig Adat*) besides based on Hindu teachings. Balinese culture is a depiction of empirical life by taking the forms of activities, natural imitation forms, forms of artwork, all of which contain truth values (*Satyam*), virtue (*Siwam*), and beauty (*Sundaram*). Artistic manifestation, as seen, heard, or felt cannot be separated from various kinds of beauty, and "beauty" itself cannot be separated from "goodness" or even "truth."²

These three concepts are related to the ideas of spatial planning of settlements, settlements, and settlements of Balinese people. Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia has emphasized in the Book "The Decision Set of Seminar Interpretation of Unity Against the Aspects of Hindu Religion I-XV." It rearranged the rules for the placement and arrangement of Pakraman space in Bali under the philosophies of Balinese culture, such as the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (the philosophy of balance), *Tri Mandala* (horizontal division of mandalas), *Tri Angga* (vertical division of space), *Rwa Bhineda* (upstream-Teben/downstream). These concepts are the ideal foundation in the construction of housing and settlements in Bali. However, there are essential points, which is the idea of Puser, the center, as a zero-point associated with the center of the living space, namely *Natah*; the center of settlement space, namely *Catuspatha*, *Caturmuka* or also called *Pangkalan Agung*. *Catuspatha* is a form of identification of the pattern of residential spaces, villages of Pakraman in rural or urban areas. *Catuspatha* is the central center of the Pakraman village pattern in Bali.

Catuspatha comes from Sanskrit, which is a crossroads.³ *Catuspatha* comes from the word *Catus* which means four and *Patha* refers to the road. This term is found in the Chronicle of Bali, the plans and names of the buildings of

¹I Abdullah, I Mujib, and M. I Ahnaf, "Agama Dan Kearifan Lokal Dalam Tantangan Global" (Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2008).

²Y. S Hadi, *Seni Dalam Ritual Agama* (Yogyakarta: Buku Pustaka, 2006).

³P. J Zoetmulder and S. O Robson, *Kamus Jawa Kuna-Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1995).

heaven three is an intersection (east-west, north-south). Balinese community as a cultural community organizes the traditional village as a residential area with its completeness, such as temples, Bale Banjar, markets, houses, roads, etc. Such buildings are arranged in one layout. Catuspatha often refers to as the significant crossroad, which means an area in the middle of the village as the direction center for the *Kaja-Kelod* (north-south) and *Kangin-Kauh* (east-west) which have passed the process of sacralization or purification.

When life becomes chaotic, local people need specific actions to revitalize local wisdom to restore the Balinese identity based on the fundamental values or principles of morality and spirituality. Besides, issues arise regarding the center of Balinese society's spatial orientation today, such as the replacement of the statue of Wisnu Murti in the Catuspatha of Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri with the figure of Bung Karno, a proclaimer of the Republic of Indonesia. The ruling elite plays with intrinsic religious symbols. The controversy over the shifting of sacred and profane values in the Catuspatha is a play of power over symbols as the state's construction of local religion. Symbolic power can be illustrated as 'magical power' so that individuals, groups, or communities comply through the mobilization of the symbolic order.⁴ The Hindu community in the Pakraman Banjar Anyar village was unaware of the event, which was forced cultivation through symbols of power or domination.

Some researchers have examined Catuspatha, but they have several limitations. Therefore, we are interested in researching Catuspatha scientifically. We collected several

writings, researches, and lontar texts which contained information about the Catuspatha concept in the Eka Pratamaning Brahmin Sakti Bujangga and Batur Kalawasan lontar. There is a slight difference between the concept of Catuspatha and Caturmuka in India, especially in the city of Madurai and Chandigarh. The concept of Caturmuka is based on the principles of Shilpa Literature until its development during the Vedic Period City Planning (2000 BC to 400 BC), Important cities marked by traditional cities designed according to the principles of sacred geometry based on cosmological theory, namely, *Vaasthu Purusha Mandala*; *Sthapatya Veda* (part of *Atharava Veda*) - the layout of a city; *Smrithi Literature-Street layout* (micro and macro); *Vaasthu Literature-applied architecture, planning and construction, and design, site selection, site planning, and orientation, soil quality, water resources, tree planting and gardens-with cities based on plans starting from the Pechaka Plan* (4 Squares/corners) to *Asana* (100 boxes); *Arthasastra* - environmental management; *Mansara Shilpa Sastra- Gram Vidhana* and *Nagara Vidhana* with four different categories of human settlement; *Mayanata*, and *Vishwakarma Prakara* - with Temple as the focal point (the link between cosmic and human).

We find discussion of the existence of the Catuspatha in Bali in several scientific works, such as Gegevens *Betreffende De Zelfstandige Rijkjes of Bali* (1906)⁵, Tan (1966)⁶, Geertz (1980)⁷, Dumarcy (1991)⁸, Badung Government (1992)⁹, Putra Agung (1996)¹⁰,

⁴Fauzi Fashri, *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (Yogyakarta: Juxtapose, 2007).

⁵Gegevens, *Gegevens Betreffende De Zelfstandige Rijkjes Op Bali* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1906).

⁶Roger Yong Djiet Tan, "Description and Comparative Analysis of the Domestic Architecture of South Bali" (Yale University, 1966).

⁷Clifford Geertz, "Organization of the Balinese Subak," in *Irrigation and Agricultural Development in*

Asia: Perspectives from the Social Sciences (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 70–90.

⁸J. Dumarcay, *The Palaces of South-East Asia: Architecture and Custom* (New Yor: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹I. B. Sidemen, *Sejarah Badung* (Denpasar: Pemda Tingkat II Badung, 1992).

¹⁰A.A.G. Putra Agung, "Peralihan Sistem Birokrasi Kerajaan Karangasem 1890- 1938" (Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, 1996).

Putra (1998)¹¹, Nordholt (1996)¹², I Gusti Made Putra (2005)¹³ and Priyanka (2018).¹⁴

Researchers do not highlight the statue of Vishnu Murti but focus on the phenomenon of shifting function of the Catuspatha where the statue of Vishnu Murti was in that place before. The replacement of the figure of Vishnu Murti with the icon of Bung Karno received mixed reactions from the community, depending on their respective interests. On the other hand, they forgot the function of the Catuspatha. This statue replacement has an impact on the shifting role of the Catuspatha or the ritual axis of the Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan indigenous community.

This problem has also occurred in the Village of Tabanan Parkaman where the city of the Kingdom has changed to become the center of the district government. Catuspatha in Pakraman Tabanan then moved, which was initially in front of Puri Tabanan to the front of the Tabanan Regent's Office, precisely at the intersection of four, west of the Tabanan Regent's office. However, the Catuspatha was returned to the front of Puri Tabanan in 2012, following its original function. Putra remarks that the Regency civic center still uses the Catuspatha pattern as the spatial center of the district capital, as in the new Catuspatha (Jembrana, Tabanan, Badung) in Civic Centre Kabupaten (CCK).¹⁵ Putra's analysis seemed to distort the concept of Catuspatha because it was not the same as an ordinary four. Catuspatha can mean the intersection of four, the junction of four, which is at the intersection of three by adding one tunnel as an element of the spiritual path. Besides, local people must conduct sacred

ceremonies, both in an empty place or in an area that has certain buildings, such as the Palinggih/shrine and statues, according to Hinduism for the existence of Catuspatha.

This phenomenon shows how people do not understand Catuspatha well. Therefore, through research, we will analyze the replacement of the statue of Wisnu Murti in Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan village with the Bung Karno statue and how its implications for the great "Catuspatha" intersection in a Pakraman area of the village.

This study uses a qualitative method using two data sources, namely the primary source of the informants chosen purposively; and secondary sources, such as a literature review of documents, writings, and reports on internet search results, research, and lontar texts relating to Catuspatha. We use observation, in-depth interviews, and unstructured data collection techniques.¹⁶ After that, we analyze the data with interpretive methods or interpretations of life. Also, we describe the data in a descriptive-narrative way to answer research questions.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Existence of Catuspatha in the Perspective of Hinduism and Balinese Culture

Based on the theory of reality from Mircea Eliade religion must be explained: "according to its own terms."¹⁷ This theory shows that everything sacred must be explained in terms of the place and time in which the religion develops and the extent to which religion can affect the lives of its adherents and how they

¹¹I G.M Putra, "Kekuasaan Dan Transformasi Arsitektur: Suatu Tinjauan Budaya Terhadap Kasus Puri Agung Tabanan" (Universitas Udayana, 1988).

¹²H G C Schulte Nordholt, *Bali: Colonial Conceptions and Political Change 1700-1940. From Shifting Hierarchies To fixed' order* (Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam, 1986).

¹³I Gusti Made Putra, "Catuspatha Konsep, Transformasi Dan Perubahan," *Jurnal Permukiman Natak, Denpasar* 3, no. 2 (2005): 62-71.

¹⁴Ida Ayu Santi Priyanka, "Konsep Catuspatha Pada Kawasan Puri (Studi Kasus: Puri Agung Klungkung,

Puri Agung Tabanan, Puri Agung Buleleng" (Universitas Brawijaya, 2018).

¹⁵Priyanka, "Konsep Catuspatha Pada Kawasan Puri."

¹⁶L. J Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Cetakan ke (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosda Karya, 1996).

¹⁷D. L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion: Dari Animisme EB Tylor, Materialisme Karl Marx, Hingga Antropologi Budaya C. Geertz* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Qalam, 2001).

interpret their religion. Eliade's thought departs from Hindu thought, which emphasizes spiritual unity with the highest Soul behind the world. Next, Eliade discovered three crucial things: first, life can be changed through "sacramental" experiences; symbols are the key to actual spiritual life, and many things can be learned from the countryside in India.

Based on Eliade's theory, Catuspatha as a symbol of spiritual balance in Bali, the Catuspatha can be categorized as a sacred symbol associated with the highest Soul behind the symbol. Catuspatha is a place where the procession of religious ceremonies conducted for the Hindu community in Bali. Eliade emphasized that we can understand religion when applying "phenomenology" or "appearances."¹⁸

Besides, Eliade also separated the two religious lives of the people into two categories, namely the sacred and profane fields. "The profane is daily affairs that are ordinary, unintentional, and generally unimportant. The sacred is the opposite. It is a supernatural realm, extraordinary, impressive, and important things."¹⁹ Researchers agree with Eliade's view when studying Catuspatha as sacred and supernatural. Catuspatha at first was extraordinary, very purified, and devastating for the Balinese people in the context of a ceremonial procession to summon the Supernatural to be present.

Besides, based on the theory from Tylor stated that the origin of religion start when humans began to be aware of the concept of Noah or the supernatural. In Catuspatha, the Balinese Hindu community strongly believes that what resides in Catuspatha is the Sanghyang Catur Bhuana, a manifestation of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi / Lord. It is because the Balinese recognize a variety of events that cannot be explained with reason, such as the collision at noon (Tengai Tepet) and late afternoon (Sandi Kala). Catuspatha, as the zero points, means "there is and does not exist." That

means that the place has a mastery but cannot be seen/Sunya. The Tread Dara symbol (+) is a sign that gives balance. Based on this belief, Hindus in Bali hold a Tawur Kesanga ceremony/Bhuta Hita at the great intersection or Catuspatha to balance and harmonize between the Great Bhuana (macrocosm nature) and the Bhuana Alit (microcosm). In other words, Catuspatha is a symbol of the center of ritual and natural orientation.

The religious perspective that the Catuspatha as an axis or center of the village is the result of the idea of religious experience, which subsequently becomes a religious norm. Hindus believe that everything comes from the absolute, namely Brahman or God, and in the end, everything will return to him. So in the belief of Bali Brahman is called Sanghyang Embang (empty), Sunya (empty), Niskala, Sanghyang Licin, without appearance, holy, and Acintya or He who is unthinkable by the human mind. According to Hindu thought, the empty or Sunya is God/Brahman, Brahman, as the center of spiritual concentration of Hindus. Thus, Brahman is the central axis that gave rise to the concept of Rwa Bhineda, namely Purusha and Prakerti, Sekala and Niskala, sacred and profane.

Rwa Bhineda shows the direction of natural spiritual and ritual in the concept of the Balinese sacred space, namely the direction of sunrise and sunset (east and west). The two directions of the natural spiritual axis are Kaja-Kelod, which are related to the direction of orientation to the sea and mountains (Segara-Carved), Luan-Teben, sacred-profane. Various Brahman names or attributes or so-called Śiva, which fills the entire corners of the universe, are subsequently described in the palms as the Gods of Nawasangga or the nine Deities who occupy the corners of the compass. Dewa Nawasangga is the guardian of the balance of the universe described by "Dara Tread," which subsequently developed into "Swastika" and Padma. Dara Tread is an equilateral crossing

¹⁸ Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*.

¹⁹I. Ruslan, "Membangun Civil Religion Pada Masyarakat Yang Plural; Dilema Pancasila Di Era

Reformasi," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 6, no. 2 (2011): 1–28.

line that means balance as well as Swastika. Meanwhile, Padma developed from four directions (Tread Dara), subsequently developed into the Padma flower (Asta Dala).

Swastika means "safe" or "prosperous." For Hindus, Swastika philosophy has a profound religious meaning, which is as a symbol of "motion and eternal." It arises from the "pseudo-movement" direction of the sun from east to west. Swastika also has a meaning of world rotation that is guarded by the manifestation of God's omnipotence in the eight directions of the wind (Asthadala) and centered on Siva at the midpoint.²⁰ The center/midpoint of the direction is the balancing center, and when observed in the Padma picture, it illustrates the concept of Widik and Dik Widik, a flower Padma that buds and expands. Catuspatha, in this case, is a space where black and white forces meet and turn grey. It is marked by the Catuspatha monument called the Walang Tamak monument, which in the cultural code is often described as Tapak Dara.²¹

Catuspatha as the center where Mendak Ida Bhatara and Mendak Pitra are also a place of the Gods, the Pitara and Bhuta. It is mentioned in several lontar libraries in Bali, such as the Lontar Tuter Gong Besi as follows:

Sah saking puseh, malingga ring desa, Sang Hyang Tri Purusa, ngaran. Sah saking desa malinggih ring Bale Agung, Ida Sang Hyang Bhagawati ngaran. Sah saking Bale Agung, malinggih ring perempatan agung, Sang Hyang Catur Bhuana ngaran.

Leaving Puseh Temple then staying in the Pura Desa, his name is Sang Hyang Tri Purusa. Leaving Pura Desa then staying in the Bale Agung, his name is Ida Sang Hyang Bhagawati. Leaving Bale Agung then staying in a great place, his name is Sang Hyang Catur Bhuana.

The use of Catuspatha as a ceremony in the village of Banjar Anyar is to carry out the Nanggluk Merana Sasih Keenem ceremony. Then, it is continued with the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Kaulu on every Keliwon day with a peak at the Tawur Kesanga ceremony (near the Nyepi holiday). In reality, Catuspatha cannot be seen as a four-way junction only. However, it also shows a three-way intersection with one road in the form of a Sunya (invisible) road or a small alley because the place has received the process of sacralization. Thus it is called Catuspatha, Caturmuka, or great crossroad that is found in every village in the Pakraman village in Bali.

Catuspatha is different from the four-way intersection because it must go through a process of sacralization to attract the power of God and become the center of ritual orientation for Hindu in Bali. Catuspatha is also a benchmark in determining the main directions of Mandala (the central place), Madya Mandala (place in the middle), and Nista Mandala (the outermost place) in the philosophy of Balinese cultural space or Tri Mandala. Starting from the center of the space, the Balinese can determine which direction is sacred or profane while the orientation of the Center (Catuspatha) is called the region between the sacred and profane.

The symbol of unity, totality, the Upper World and the human world are mediums, intermediaries, pillars of the cosmos, or Axis Mundi. Through these mediums, the magical powers of the Upper World could appear in the human world. Such mediums take the form of a repetition of the "second event" of the creation of the human world, as mentioned in tribal mythologies. Through the ceremony, the situation can be restored as at the beginning of the world's creation by the Upper World. Everything will be "holy" and "orderly cosmos" again. As a result, the human condition becomes safe and prosperous.²²

²⁰Swarup Dutta, "The Mystery of Indian Floor Paintings," *Chitrolekha International Magazine on Art and Design* 1, no. 1 (2011): 14–27.

²¹Putri Saraswati Aryawan, Naniek Kohdrata, and Rochtri Agung Bawono, "Transformasi Fungsi Catus

Patha Sebagai Lanskap Sejarah Di Kota Denpasar," *Jurnal Arsitektur Lansekap* 5, no. 2 (2019): 188–95.

²²S Jakob, *Arkeologi Budaya Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2002).

Catuspatha is an axis Mundi or connecting medium between the Upper World and the human world. Humans perform certain ceremonies repeatedly in Catuspatha to maintain the balance of the universe and its contents within it or Bhuta Hita. Hindus in Bali and the Banjar Anyar Kediri Village Community, therefore, carry out the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem (sixth month) and end at Sasih Kesanga (ninth month) according to the Balinese calendar. The ceremony always starts at Catuspatha.

Based on observations and interviews, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar has determined its Catuspatha based on the function of Hindu beliefs as the axis of the earth's axis to maintain the mystical relationship between heaven and earth or the so-called Bapa Akasa and Ibu Pertiwi. Catuspatha in Pakraman Banjar Anyar is located on the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road, precisely at the Vishnu Murti Statue that was standing before. The place is a T-junction (Peteluan). However, the Banjar Anyar people believe that the place is a Catuspatha because, before the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road, there was a footpath directed to the west (a Sunutan road to the river), so the road resembled the great intersection. Besides, there is a huge banyan tree in that place. This place serves as a place to start the Ngider ceremony. After the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road was built at the site, Palinggih Catuspatha was built, and then a statue of Wisnu Murti was built as well. Likewise, based on a letter sent to the Local Government of Tabanan by Bendesa Pakraman Banjar Anyar emphasizing that the place where the statue of Bung Karno now located is Catuspatha with the following considerations:

- a) Kediri intersection is a Catuspatha in which the community conducts the Tawur Kesanga Pecinan ceremony annually.
- b) The Banjar Anyar community made the Kediri crossroad as a place to perform religious rituals.
- c) Considering the community had operated Palinggih at the T-junction, and they

carried out the Piodalan ceremony every six months.

- d) When the authorities built the statue of Bung Karno in the Catuspatha, it will lead to the perception of worship of the statue. It is because next to the statue, there is Palinggih Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pengadang where the community of the Banjar Anyar Mesungsung Palinggih sacred it.²³

Based on interviews and letters of the Bendesa Adat of Pakraman Banjar Anyar Village, it can be concluded that the intersection in Banjar Anyar Village is a Catuspatha that functions as a place of religious ceremonies although all religious ceremonies are currently moved to the north because the Bung Karno statue was established there and changed the function of Catuspatha.

2. The Function of Catuspatha for Hindu Communities in Bali

Generally, the function of the Catuspatha in the Pakraman Village of Bali has similar functions to that of the Catuspatha in other regions with a slight difference. It relates to the concept of Mawacara Village, which is following local traditions, time, and situation. Following are the functions of the Catuspatha for Hindus in Bali:

- a) As a place for the Tawur ceremony according to the Sasih or Balinese calendar,
- b) Twisting the stretcher / Bade at the Ngaben ceremony or death ceremony,
- c) Memendak Ida Bhatara Ider Bhuana or requesting the manifestation of God as the guardian of the compass,
- d) As a place for the Nebus ceremony or the salvation of the sick,
- e) As a place to beg for medicine for the sick,
- f) As a place to ask for black magic for some people.

In addition to these functions, several informants stated that Catuspatha in Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Village had also functions such as the following:

²³Raka, I. M., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, on October 5, 2014

- a) Ulun Desa Pakraman Kediri (upstream village) carries out the Nangluk Merana (Keenem) ceremony as well as the Tawur Ulun village ceremony at the Tawur Sasih Kesanga ceremony, just the day before the Nyepi holiday.²⁴
- b) The place to start the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem / sixth month, according to the Balinese calendar, where the Ngider ceremony procession is carried out with the Mapajatian and the Maprani processions. Then, bringing Patengen Patrol that is Malinggih in Bale Agung to Catuspatha as a request to Ida Bhatara Ider Bhuana to surround the village and trace the village road to the upstream village which is located north of the village of Banjar Anyar, bordering the Village of Pakraman Kukuh.
- c) As a place to start the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Kawulu / eighth month according to the Balinese calendar. This ceremony is held every Keliwon five times in one month. The process starts from the Catuspatha heading north to the T-junction in front of Puseh Temple.
- d) At the Sasih Kesanga / ninth month, the Ngider ceremony and Catuwatur Kesanga was held. The ceremony procession is similar to the Ngider ceremony at Sasih Keenem.
- e) Palinggih Catuspatha, the village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar, functions to worship Ida Bhatara Ngurah Sakti Pangadangan.²⁵

Based on the results of interviews with informants, the function of the Catuspatha village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar has changed due to the hegemony and dominance of the regional authorities by moving the place to initiate the Ngider ceremony in front of the Puseh Temple located in the north of the village; the Ngider ceremony carried northward from the location of the Bung Karno statue;

Palinggih Ida Bhatara Ngurah Sakti Pangantau moved to the west facing the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass road; the rotating container for the corpse is moved north in front of the Kediri terminal which is the road leading to the Setra/grave and in front of the entrance of each resident's home. Therefore, the community understood the meaning of sacred and profane sculptures so that the desacralization of Catuspatha occurred in the Pakraman village of Banjar Anyar.

3. Factors for the Desacralization of Catuspatha

Based on the social change theory from Sztomka by citing several experts opinion about social change, the shifts of the incumbent *Catuspatha* in Pakraman by the Regional Government of Tabanan Regency is a transformation in community organizations towards their perspective and thinking about the sacred dimension to be profane, in addition to the changes to gain power through imaging using modification of community organizations as traditional organic religious groups into organic, pragmatism and hedonism groups. Changes also occur in the nature of the dominant culture of the society in the belief in the sacred to be psychologically shifted under the pressure of resignation to God. In addition, it is also a result of changes in the internal social relations of religious communities, between Hindus and other religious communities when associated with religious politics, as well as changes in social relations between religious communities and the government.²⁶

Kuppuswamy divides the factors of social change, among others are: demographic (population) factors, technological factors, economic factors, cultural factors, legal change factors, planning factors, and education

²⁴Panji Wisnu, A. A. N., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Kediri, on October 12, 2014

²⁵Raka, I. M., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, on October 5, 2014

²⁶E Rosana, "Modernisasi Dalam Perspektif Perubahan Sosial," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 10, no. 1 (2015): 67–82.

factors.²⁷ These factors also predominantly influence changes in community understanding so that the Catuspatha in the Pakraman Village of Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan Regency can be decentralized, including cognitive factors, urban planning factors, and social-political factors. The last three factors explained in detail below.

a. Cognitive Factors

Cognitively, the community and regional leaders did not understand the function and meaning of the existence of Catuspatha. Basically, Catuspatha means a four-way junction. However, not all such junctions mean Catuspatha and not all Catuspathas are four-way junction. According to Hinduism in Bali, the determination of the Catuspatha begins with the process of sacralization through the ceremony of *Pecaruan* and *Mendem Pedagingan* to purify the place by attracting the power of God to be willing to attend and occupy the incumbent of a Catuspatha. The existence of the Vishnu Murti's statue or Bhuta Siu is contained in the data of culture and tourism in Tabanan Regency in 2007. This statue is a work of art with the following philosophy: (1) has body and big belly; (2) is standing on a pedestal; (3) has three heads in which each has four faces except for the top one, one face facing east with a gaping mouth resembling a giant mouth and facing the corners of the wind; (4) crowned of *gelung agung*; (5) has eight hands where each holds the chakras, *Gada*, *Trident*, *Nagapasa* arrows, etc.; (6) has attributes like Gods (*badong*, *sasimping*, *naga wangsul*, etc.); (7) is wearing flame ornaments; (8) is as an offering to God (the God of Prosperity), Nusa, Nation and Mother Earth with the intention that He bestows His grace in the form of peace and prosperity to the country of Indonesia, including the Tabanan region that we love to remain a "granary" of the Balinese island; (9)

In addition to that, He provides comfort and maintains our safety in traffic.²⁸

Based on the philosophy above, the statue of Vishnu Murti functions to create, maintain, prosper and fuse everything that is no longer functioning in this world. In addition, He is also a symbol providing humans on the journey the direction of truth so that obstacles did not block them, especially when they are on the road.

Understanding Catuspatha means understanding the life of the great and global elite. Catuspatha as the spatial orientation of the pattern of villages, cities and countries, and as a center for sustaining human life because in the Catuspatha there is an orientation of the central government, economy, togetherness, and strength of the entire community of residents of villages, cities and countries. Catuspatha is also a symbol of the development of the human mind through the development of reasoning, creativity, and living together in an area. Likewise, the understanding or knowledge of Catuspatha about humans which is composed of elements of the Panca Maha Bhuta (air, earth, fire, water and power) and elements of maturity, thus humans can be *daivi sampad*, which is the nature of love, humility, the wise, willing to sacrifice, love each other with respect to other creatures, noble character, and not sad when suffering, and not too happy when happy, and *asuri sampad* which is human nature that shows the character of cunning, lying, deceiving, thieving, jealousy, arrogant, and so on.

Therefore, it can be concluded that a lack of knowledge from the stakeholders and local leaders to maintain Balinese local wisdom based on Hinduism lead to the desacralization of Catuspatha in Pakraman village. These leaders believe as community leaders as if they have the power to control religious matters as they wish.

b. Urban Planning Factors

Urban planning, with the use of spatial patterns based on the insistence of an

²⁷Kuppswaqmy. B, *Sosial Change in India* (Delhi: Konark Publishers PVT LTD, 1993).

²⁸B. K Tabanan, *Tabanan Dalam Angka 2010* (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2003).

increasing population, both migration and urbanization, causes the importance of space for the development of their lives. Cities with very narrow space but with very high needs will result in the use of space that does not heed the existing local wisdom, such as the change of green open space or public space into a residential space.

Planned cities are usually only to overcome problems that are empirically very urgent. However, many plans do not pay attention to socio-cultural and religious matters in their development. Communities often do not want some planning and ultimately could change the social order, such as poor social relations between individuals, individuals with groups, and inter-community groups.

Similarly, it happened in the case of the desacralization of Catuspatha in Banjar Anyar village. Planning began when the regional government built a Kediri-Pesiapan bypass to reduce traffic congestion in Tabanan and to create a safe and fast track for heavy vehicles. The Balinese, especially the Subak residents, opposed the road construction. Despite rejection, the government continued to construct the road, and it subsequently resulted in changes in the city of Kediri, including changes in footpaths in Catuspatha and felling of the banyan tree—which is characteristic of a traditional village—and the transfer of the Catuspatha incumbent to the Melanting incumbent where the Kediri Market is located. However, because the transfer caused a polemic, the incumbent was returned to Catuspatha.

Over time, the local government erected a statue of Vishnu Murti in Catuspatha as a symbol of the guard, comfort, and fertility of the city. As a result of the change of power, the new local government replaced the statue of Vishnu Murti with Bung Karno. However, the local community rejected this establishment because it did not pay attention to the local culture. Nevertheless, the construction of Bung Karno's statue continued by moving the

Paluspatha incumbent to the west and facing it to the Kediri-Pesiapan bypass. Thus, the function of the Catuspatha has changed as a form of Catuspatha's desacralization in Pakraman.

c. Socio-Political Factors

The socio-political factors of the Tabanan Regency Government greatly influenced the desacralization of Catuspatha in the village of Banjar Anyar. This research does not examine the issues that were hotly discussed in the Tabanan community regarding the replacement of the statue of Vishnu Murti with the statue of Bung Karno, but examines the Catuspatha in the region.

The establishment of the Bung Karno statue in the region is also related to socio-political factors. It is due to the planning and development process that involves executive and legislative people, in addition to the budgeted development through the APBD which requires a legal basis and approval from the Tabanan parliament.

The legislature has approved the construction of the Bung Karno statue to honor the founding father of the Nation. Initially, the idea emerged to replace the name of one of the streets with the name of Sukarno as a form of respect and a reminder of the national figure. Then, some people proposed the budget for the establishment of the Bung Karno statue to the Tabanan regional government to erect the statue in the *Pahlawan* street. Executives changed the location of the statue to Catuspatha Desa Pakraman and replaced the statue of Wisnu Murti.²⁹ It raises the pros and cons in the community and also the regional parliament. The construction of the statue was considered political-nuanced agenda. Many local community members rejected the discourse of the construction of the statue starting from the stage of planning, construction, and inauguration.

²⁹Putra Nurcahyadi, I P. E. P., interview by I Wayan Wastawa, DPRD Tabanan, on October 7, 2014.

The pros and cons of building the Bung Karno statue in the village of Banjar Anyar can be found from the online newspaper Balipost.com and MetroBali.com as follows:

MetroBali.com, 2014/02/14 reported³⁰, "Tabanan Community Components unite in support of the statue of Bung Karno, Regent of Eka: all parties to be patient and wise." In its reporting, it was mentioned that approximately 4,000 people packed the Kediri field from various traditional elements, NGOs and CBOs to support the construction of the Bung Karno statue. In his interview, I Gusti Made Adi Nuramo said "the construction of the Bung Karno statue has gone through in-depth studies so there is no reason to delay or even cancel it. On that occasion, the Regent was accompanied by a representative and expressed his appreciation and gratitude for the aspirations conveyed peacefully and in an orderly manner, "as a regional leader, it is my duty to take a firm stand in guarding the stipulated program, we expect all parties to be positive and be able to take wisdom from differences that have ever existed. Our same goal towards Tabanan is better and better."

Whereas in Balipost.com, it stated, "The Joint of Kediri figures rejects the Bung Karno Statue in Catus Patha." The polemic over the construction of the Bung Karno statue at Catus Patha heats up after the Tabanan component united to support this project, now a rival movement has emerged rejecting the building. This rejection was expressed by dozens of Kediri community leaders in a meeting at the house of Nyoman Muliadi, one of the figures in the village of Kediri, Monday, 17 February 2014 night.³¹

Traditional Krama Kediri urges Wisnu Murti statue to be rebuilt.³² This aspiration was conveyed by holding a joint prayer at the

Bungkarno sculpture project. Before the prayer, they held a meeting at the Puseh Temple of the local Indigenous Village. According to the action coordinator, Nyoman Muliadi, this worship activity was to pray for the leaders of Tabanan who had been mistaken in thinking, saying and doing to be forgiven by Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa.

Based on some of the news articles, it is very clear that the construction of the Sukarno statue reaps the pros and cons of the community and this is the active role of the community in the use of space, both from planning, utilization, development, licensing, and development control. Specifically, the people did not reject the construction of the Bung Karno statue, but they saw a mistake in its construction where the statue of Vishnu Murti as a cultural product based on Hinduism was a sculpture based on the study of ethics, aesthetics, and Hindu logic. In addition, several informants from community figures in Kediri regretted the construction of the Bung Karno statue that shifted the Palinggih Catinggatha. Therefore, it can be concluded that politics plays an important role in the desacralization of Catuspatha.

4. Impact of Desacralization of Catuspatha in Banjar Anyar Tabanan Village

a. The Social Psychological Impact of Religion on Society

The Balinese believe that every inch of land in the world is sacred because the use and development of everything always begins with the process of sacralization. Psychologically, human relations with buildings and nature are sacred while nature is superpower because there is a ceremonial procession, ceremonial means and norms that regulate these relationships, so that the relationship

³⁰Metro Bali, "Komponen Masyarakat Tabanan Bersatu Dukung Patung Bung Karno, Bupati Eka Semua Pihak Agar Sabar Dan Bijaksana," Metro Bali, accessed September 19, 2015, <http://metroBali.com/komponen-masyarakat-tabanan-bersatu-dukung-patung-bung-karno-bupati-eka-semua-pihak-agar-sabar-dan-bijaksana/>.

³¹Metro Bali, "Komponen Masyarakat Tabanan Bersatu Dukung Patung Bung Karno."

³²Balipost, "Patung Bung Karno Akhirnya Dipasang Di Kediri," Bali Post, accessed July 15, 2015, <http://balipost.com/read/sosial/2014/06/29/15502/patung-bung-karno-akhirnya-dipasang-di-kediri.html>.

eventually becomes sacred as well. The construction, demolition or rehabilitation of a sacred building in psychology is something that arises from religious psychology, such as the existence of (1) the function of copyright which is the intellectual function of the human soul in assessing, comparing and deciding whether an action is right or not so that the foundation of thinking in carrying out a teaching is very necessary to realize rational religious teachings, (2) the emotional function that plays a role in forming motivation in one's behaviour to measure the role of these emotions in religion, and (3) the function of intention that attempts to encourage the emergence of the implementation of doctrines, religious teachings on the basis of psychological functions.

Based on these functions, the community can decide whether an action is correct or wrong according to the teachings of their religion. In this case, the community considered the dismantling of the statue of Vishnu Murti, especially the removal of the Catuspatha which incidentally as sacred religious symbols, disturbed their emotions who believed it. For this reason, the people of Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan also feel psychologically disturbed in their souls which can suppress feelings and weaken the belief of Hindus to the sacred.

The problem of the emergence of religious people's mental disorder towards the sacred Catuspatha was strengthened by the Bendesa Adat of Pakraman and the Kediri that "with the construction of the Bung Karno statue and the shifting of the incumbent of the Catuspatha, the implementation of religious ceremonies also shifted to the north, people's feelings were disturbed because there stood a profane human statue. If we carry out religious ceremonies there, then we are considered to be culting humans, because Catuspatha is basically a holy or purified place. In principle, Catuspatha is sacred."

b. Theological Impact

The belief of the Hindu community towards the sacred and holy Catuspatha is final. Hindus

believe Catuspatha as a palace of God (Sang Hyang Catur Bhuana), a source of the relationship between heaven and *Ibu Pertiwi* (Mother Earth), and a zero point from a rural area or village. As a sacred place, the shifting of the Catuspatha raises various theological problems among humans. It is because theology has a close relationship between humans and nature, humans and other humans sociologically, and the relationship between these two empirical matters by placing God as an authority in their behavior and morals.

Problems then arose in which the people of the village of Pakraman Banjar Anyar had denied the existence of Catuspatha as a sacred area of the village because the Government had built a profane human statue. They assume that human sculptures with the spirit of heroism deserve only to be respected, while the statues of religious symbols are a medium of worship to God.

Changes to sacred objects of worship also affect changes in the theological attitudes of the people live in the village. The people became apathetic and skeptical of various religious activities. Even though they keep doing it well, they always ask themselves and feel their beliefs have been hurt. They can only give this problem to God and ask for the best way for the suppression of people's beliefs. Thus, this problem is not under the theology of liberation that emphasizes the liberation of the type of soul. Passive souls are souls who want peace concerning fellow beings and nature. However, in reality, there is a gap between the soul and empirical attitudes that cause theological chaos towards God. In this case, the community starts to blame God, why those who believe in God's existence in Catuspatha get persecuted inside.

The shift in the Belinese's trust and beliefs towards Catuspatha, according to the informant, causes a shift in ethical behavior to establish the belief in the relationship between humans and nature, and between humans and God. It is consistent with the idea of postmodern theology, which does not want violence even though it does not reject it for certain things and stresses the soul who wants

peace concerning fellow beings. However, in reality these ideas can be very different because people's feelings have been hurt and a desire arises in the community to commit violence. It has led to the violence of the people's souls who have long felt peace. Thus, it is not under the theology of liberation discussed above. The theology of social violence arose because, besides, to believe God as the owner of the ethical and moral rules of society, there are disappointments, malice, and chaos that degrade the belief and theology of Hindu society.

c. Socio-Political Impact

Concerning the politics of power, Max Weber said that power is an opportunity for a person or group of people to make other people aware of the security of their own will while applying it to the actions of resistance from certain people or groups. Besides, Afdhal Rizqi argues that politics can also be seen from different perspectives: (1) politics is an attempt by certain citizens to realize the common good (classical Aristotelian theory); (2) politics are matters relating to the administration of government and the state; (3) politics is an activity that aims to gain and maintain power in society; and (4) politics is everything about the process of formulating and implementing public policy.³³

To achieve political goals, a leader sometimes issues policies only with his conscience without regard to the conscience of others or the local community in this sense. It can be said that the decision-making process is contrary to local wisdom. The case of the removal of the Palinggih Catuspatha around the statue of Wisnu Murti - as a religious symbol - and replaced with the statue of Bung Karno - as a profane symbol of the human form - caused social and political polemics in the Tabanan community in particular and the Balinese people in general.

Such a political policy received a negative reaction from the Banjar Anyar Kediri villagers because it involved religious matters. The representative then sent a letter to the Regent of Tabanan Regency; Letter number 27 / DA / BA / VIII / 2013 dated August 12, 2013, with the following application:

"The Regent we respect, considering the construction of the Bung Karno statue at the Kediri crossroad, we the Banjar Anyar community plead with the Regent to willingly rethink the plan with the following considerations:

- a) Kediri intersection is a Catuspatha where we hold the annual Tawur Kesanga Anniversary ceremony at that place.
- b) Kediri intersection is used as a place to carry out religious rituals for the Banjar Anyar community.
- c) Considering that at the crossroad since it was a T-junction, a Palinggih was established and sacred by the surrounding community and every six months a Piodalan ceremony was held.
- d) When the statue is built, it will give rise to the perception of worship of the Bung Karno statue considering that beside him is the Palinggih Ratu Nyoman Sakti Pengekar which is sacred by the Banjar Anyar and Kediri manners.

With these considerations, I beg you please restore [the function of Catuspatha] under the original conditions for the diversity of Balinese religion, customs and culture. Thank you for your attention.

Based on the contents of the Bendesa Adat letter, it is very clear to mention that the place where the statue of Bung Karno was founded was a Catuspatha that was purified by the Hindu community. This means that the social feeling of Hindu society has been suppressed by political power which is more dominant in government, not in the religious realm. Because the local government did not respond to the letter, the Bendesa Adat Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar sent a second letter to the

³³I Kencana Syafiie, *Sistem Politik Indonesia* (Bandung: PT Refika Aditama, 2005).

Tabanan DPRD as a request for a hearing with a letter numbered 21 / DPBA / VI / 2014, dated June 22, 2014, as follows:

With respect, along with this letter, we request your willingness to accept us (\pm 25 people), the people of Desa Pakraman Banjar Anyar, Kediri District and various components of the community who are concerned with implementing the plan to install the Bung Karno statue at Catuspatha / Kediri intersection to conduct a session hearing opinion.

We are an obligation to convey the aspirations of the people, especially from Pakraman Banjar Anyar Village with other community components regarding differences of opinion in the installation of the Bung Karno statue. This difference of opinion seems very principled and has the potential to cause situations and conditions that are not harmonious in our society.

Based on the contents of the letter, there are two interests, namely the political interests of power and religious-political interests. Sociologically, Pakraman Kediri Village is very concerned about the construction of the Bung Karno Statue, but on the other hand, they feel marginalized from religious social politics where the erection of the Bung Karno statue has undermined people's belief in the sacred area of the Catuspatha. Meanwhile, political interests are to educate nationalism and beautify the face of Tabanan. These are two opposing interests and give rise to public sentiment to mobilize social movements.

Based on the reactions of the Banjar Anyar Pakraman Village community who rejected the demolition of the statue of Wisnu Murti and the removal of Palinggih Catuspatha, it had a social-political impact, not only an impact on the social and political relations of the Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan community with the Tabanan Regional Government, but also had an impact on the broad political and social relations, both in Tabanan Regency and in Bali region in general. These reactions emerge

through opinions in the mass media and social movements that are pros and cons to the construction of the Bung Karno statue from various elements of society, both on behalf of individuals, groups and community organizations from various media sources.

Balipost reported that some community leaders in Kediri rejected the erection of the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha. "[P]olemical construction of the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha is getting taper after the Tabanan components unite to support this project. Now, there is a counter-movement to reject the development. This rejection was expressed by dozens of Kediri community leaders in a meeting at Nyoman Muliadi's house, one of the figures in Kediri Village, Monday (2/17) night.³⁴

Balebengong.net, a member of the Bali DPRD, Nyoman Adnyana, urged the Tabanan Regency Government to immediately take action concerning the planned construction of the Bung Karno statue at the crossroad of Kediri Road. The Tabanan regent must act decisively concerning planning the development of the Bung Karno statue at the Kediri intersection after there were pros and cons of the local community because it was considered inappropriate and previously stood the figure of the God of Murti," he said, Tuesday (06/06/2014). According to Adnyana, the pros and cons of the community regarding the erection of the Bung Karno statue should the Tabanan Regency Government immediately take a firm stand, whether the location is continued or moved so that the construction does not cause problems. According to him, the Tabanan regency could not remain silent, because since the demolition of the statue of Lord Wisnu Murti was almost a year ago, the community felt disturbed when performing religious rituals at the intersection of the road. Therefore, we suggest that Tabanan Regency Government must have a firm attitude; if it continues the construction of the Bung Karno statue, the related authority has to

³⁴Balipost, "Patung Bung Karno Akhirnya Dipasang Di Kediri."

finish it. So it is not stalled as it is now, but the foundation is already standing," he said. If indeed the construction of the Bung Karno statue will be moved, he said, the Tabanan regency must convey to the community the location to be built for the icon of the Republic of Indonesia's proclamation. Therefore, he said, he hoped that there would be an explanation related to the construction of the statue because the local community (Kediri) prefers the re-establishment of the figure of Dewa Murti. Previously, the people of Kediri Village demanded the Tabanan Regency Government to rebuild the statue of Dewa Murti as before for ritual purposes.

Other news reported Request of Wisnu Murti Statue to be re-established in Catuspatha Kediri by Halmahera Postede in News, Culture, Hinduism, Leadership "The elected senator met the deputy Regent of Tananan in Penebel." An elected senator of Bali Ratu Shri I Gusti Ngurah Arya Wedakarya Mahendradata Wedastraputra III met Tabanan regent Sanjaya at an event in Penebel Tabanan. Gusti Wedakarna stressed his position on behalf of the Balinese Hindus and the Tabanan community in particular so that the statue of Vishnu Murti standing in Catuspatha Kediri, which had been torn down by the Tabanan regency to be rebuilt in Kediri Tabanan. Wedakarna advised a leader with a Sukarnoist spirit to listen more to the aspirations of the people, so Gusti Wedakarna asked the Tabanan regency to continue building the statue of Vishnu Murti in Kediri and advised him not to move the problem to other areas. In Catuspatha Abiantuwung Kediri, his party handed it over to the people of Tabanan and suggested that Tabanan's sovereignty lay in the hands of his people. However, Wedakarna still politely conveyed the attitude of himself and his supporters, who always wanted the statue of Vishnu Murti to be rebuilt with the solution of shifting the figure of Bung Karno to the Regency Park as a proper form of respect for the Proclamator.

News Bali, Tuesday, September 3, 2013, reported that the Deputy Chairperson of the Tabanan Regency DPRD I Nyoman Suarsedana proposed that the Soekarno statue

is relocated to the front of the Tabanan Regent's office. "That will allow Bung Karno's spirit to remain in the minds of the government and our leaders in Tabanan." While the statue of Wisnu Murti in which the authority has demolished, it should be rebuilt again. Balinese Hindus are, therefore, one of the essential figures ... in Hinduism." Gunarsa also reminded that the Bung Karno statue in Catuspatha was inappropriate or not following Dresta (customary rules), especially the position of the figure in a state sitting on a chair. "

From some opinions, the pros and cons of the establishment of the statue of Bung Karno socially politically raise the pros and cons of winning the interested parties. It is undeniable that concerning the problem of dismantling the statue of Vishnu Murti and the shifting of the Catuspatha, it has an impact on social tensions because it is related to social thoughts, feelings, and actions. The problem does not stop to discourse only, but also a social effort by mobilizing the masses, both to support the development or to refuse the construction of the Bung Karno statue. Socially and politically, the establishment of the Bung Karno Statue has crossed the boundaries of public policy to realize the common good. It is because the authorities are looking for images to gain and maintain power in the community. The construction of the Bung Karno figure looks a wish of the bodies by sacrificing public feelings.

C. CONCLUSIONS

The existence of Catuspatha is a center of natural spiritual direction and ritual direction in the area of a settlement pattern in Bali, which refers to the concept of Asta Dala, Tapak Dara, Suastika, and or is called Nyatur Muka. In this case study, the dismantling of the Wisnu Murti Statue in Catuspatha Pakraman Banjar Anyar Kediri Tabanan Village was mainly due to socio-political factors, the idea of respecting the struggle of the Indonesian heroes and beautifying the face of the city by the local government by marginalizing the local wisdom of the Balinese people in religious and cultural

activities, besides community cognitive and urban planning factors.

The Catuspatha's desacralization has a significant impact on communities' theology. Besides strengthening the community's belief that not every statue is capable of religious symbols except going through the sacralization process, the people's trust in the existence of Catuspatha faded. It also leads to the shift of the orientation of the Ngider ceremony. No less important, it also has an impact on the community's psychology, which ultimately leads to feelings of unease, tension, and prolonged emotions in the community, besides socio-political impacts, namely the fading of people's trust in the local government, thereby causing social actions.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF MUHAMMAD MAHFUZH AL-TARMASI TO THE HADITH STUDIES IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study examines the contribution of Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi, Javanese-born scholars, who live in Mecca in Hadith studies in Indonesia. This study employs a qualitative method with a historical approach to trace al-Tarmasi contribution in Hadith studies in Indonesia. After analyzing the primary and secondary sources, this study shows that Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi is one of the prominent Islamic scholars of Indonesia in the nineteenth century who have contributed greatly and significantly to the study of hadith and the science of Hadith (*'ilm al-riwāyah*) in Indonesia. The contribution of Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi can be seen by the fact that he had so many students who learned Hadith and the science of Hadith from him, not only from Indonesia but also from abroad such as Malaysia, India and other countries. He also produced works in the field of Hadith and the science of Hadith. Besides that, he had explained the book *Alfiyyah Al-Suyūfī* by the title *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzhūmah 'Ilm al-Āthār*, a work containing science of Hadith, written only in four months. In this book, he had increased twenty stanza poems to the book of *Alfiyyah Al-Suyūfī*.

Keywords:

Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi; Islamic boarding school Tremas; contribution; hadith studies; Indonesian Muslim scholar; Mecca

Abstrak

Tulisan ini mengkaji kontribusi Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi dalam kajian hadis di Indonesia. Setelah menelusuri berbagai sumber mengenai karya-karya Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi, sejarah pondok pesantren Tremas, dan kontribusinya dalam kajian hadis, dengan menggunakan pendekatan historis, penulis menyimpulkan bahwa Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi adalah seorang ulama besar di abad XIX M. yang telah memberi sumbangan yang sangat besar dan berarti bagi kajian hadis dan ilmu hadis (*'ilm al-riwāyah*) di Indonesia. Kontribusi Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi ini dapat dibuktikan dengan adanya fakta bahwa ia memiliki banyak murid yang belajar kepadanya, tidak hanya dari Indonesia, tetapi juga dari manca negara, seperti Malaysia, India, dan lainnya. Beliau juga menghasilkan karya-karya di bidang hadis dan ilmu hadis. Lebih dari itu, ia telah mensyarah kitab *Alfiyyah Al-Suyūfī* dengan nama *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzhūmah 'Ilm al-Āthār* sebuah kitab yang berisi ilmu hadis, yang ditulis dalam empat bulan saja. Di dalam kitab ini, ia telah menambahkan 20 bait syair terhadap kitab *Alfiyyah Al-Suyūfī*.

Kata Kunci:

Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi; Pondok Pesantren Tremas; Kontribusi; Kajian Hadis Nusantara; Hadis dan Ilmu Hadis; Ulama Hadis Indonesia; Mekah..

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A. INTRODUCTION

In the history of Islam in Java at the end of the 19th century, a new spirit emerged in religious life. As a result of the increase in the number of Indonesian pilgrims to Mecca, religious teachers, and Pesantrens' students, there was also growing awareness that Islam has contributed to the growth of Indonesian proto-nationalism. The socio-economic, cultural, and political situation in Java as a result of Dutch politics grew awareness of the Islamic revival.

Furthermore, the development of sea relations between Europe and Asia, and of course with Java, especially by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, launched the process of spreading Islamic religion to rural areas on Java. In the last few decades in the 19th century, Java was beset by the intensity of Islamic life. The number of Islamic people who prayed five times a day went on pilgrimage and took part in education multiplies. Similarly, the number of Islamic Sufism organizations, religious books and leaflets containing Friday sermons also increased.¹

Since the middle of the 19th century, many young Muslim Javanese people have been living in Mecca and Medina for several years studying religious teachings. Most of them became famous religious scholars and thus they taught in Mecca or Medina. Moreover, because of the involvement of these Javanese scholars in the realm of Islamic intellectualism and spiritualism centered in Mecca, they also influenced changes in the character of Islam in Java. The stronger their involvement in the Middle East's intellectual and spiritual life, the lesser their local character of Islam they practiced. Thus, they are influenced by the character of Islam in the Middle East.

At the end of the 19th century, several Muslim Javanese clerics were recognized for their expertise in the Middle East. They became permanent teachers at the Great Mosque of Mecca, such as Muhammad Nawawi Banten and Muhammad Mahfuzh Tremas. Students from various regions in Java studying in Mecca were considered perfect in their studies after receiving the guidance from these Javanese-born scholars.²

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, known as a prominent Javanese Muslim scholar, a Pesantren Tremas alumnus in Pacitan who wrote many important books and taught at the Great Mosque of Mecca in the latter half of the 19th century, was born in Tremas Village in 1285 H./1842 AD by the name of Muhammad Mahfuzh.³ His full name is Abu Muhammad, Muhammad Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi bin Demang Dipomenggolo I. He is later known in the Islamic world by the name "Sheikh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi al-Jawi." His great grandfather, Dipemenggolo I, is a descendant of a Surakarta Palace retainer named Ketok Jenggol.⁴

This research examines the contribution of Muhammad Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi in the study of Hadith in Indonesia. In particular, this research tries to seek the contribution of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi in the study of Hadith and the science of Hadith as well as the contribution of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi to Hadith scholars and the Pesantren's scholars in Indonesia.

This study contributes to the development of Hadith studies in the archipelago in particular; to introduce an important and pioneering figure in the network of Indonesian Hadith scholars and to show evidence that the scholars of the Hadith of the archipelago are no less important than the scholars of Hadith in the Middle East.

¹Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, VI (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 36-37.

²Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, 36-37.

³Muhammad Muhajirin, *Mahfudz Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Hadis Nusantara Pertama* (Yogyakarta: Idea Press, 2016), 27.

⁴Ahmad Fauzan, "Syekh Mahfudz Al-Tarmasi: Muhaddis Nusantara," *Jurnal TAHDIS* 9, no. 2 (2019): 119--145.

This is library research with the main sources of manuscripts, books, and some related literature. This study also used qualitative research that aims to obtain data on the biography of Shaykh Mahfuzh, starting from his journey of life, education and works, thus this research ultimately found out his contribution to the network of 20th century Islamic Hadith scholars.

Furthermore, this research used a descriptive-analysis method with a historical approach. This method aimed to reconstruct systematically and objectively the related previous studies through gathering, evaluating, verifying, and synthesizing evidence to establish facts and reach conclusions that can be accounted for.

As a well-known figure and has a very big role in the network of Nusantara Hadith Muslim scholars, this study found several similar studies that have traced the works of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi as follows:

Sabri Mohamad stated that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was a famous figure of the Qirā'at, who was very active in writing in the field of Qirā'at as well as other sciences.⁵ Abdul Rahim bin Ahmad and Hayati bint Hussin stated that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was a prolific figure of Islamic studies and fiqh who had the opportunity to study and teach at Mecca.⁶

Fatkul Mukhlies reported about al-Tarmasi's contribution in hadith studies by adding 20 additional stanzas, as a complement to the number of 1,000 Nazham Alfiyah al-

Suyuti.⁷ Finally, Abdurrahman Mas'ud examines Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi contribution in the field of Islamic science particularly Hadith and called him an 'Allamah, al-Muhaddith, al-Musnid, and even sometimes he was called al-Bukhari of the 19th century.⁸

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The History of Pesantren Tremas

Tremas Islamic Boarding School is one of the oldest pesantren not only in East Java but also in Indonesia.⁹ Geographically, it is located in Tremas Village, Arjosari District, Pacitan Regency. The village of Tremas is located 11 kilometers from the city of Pacitan to the north and 1 kilometer from the Arjosari sub-district. The village of Tremas is surrounded by small circular hills where the north and east of the Tremas village flows the Grindulu river which always causes mud floods during the rainy season. Therefore, the foundations of villagers' houses are on average very high compared to the foundations of the houses in flood-free areas.¹⁰

The residents' livelihoods are farming of several types of vegetables and fruits, such as rice, peanuts, coconuts, bananas, and so on. Because Pacitan located in a dry area, the Pacitan residents are lagging, especially in the economic field, compared to people in other regions.¹¹

The pesantren named Tremas is derived from the words "Trem" and the word "Mas." "Trem" comes from the word "Patrem" which

⁵Sabri Mohamad, "Syeikh Mahfuz Al-Tarmasi: Tokoh Ilmu Qira'at Nusantara," in *Prosiding Nadwah Ulama Nusantara (Nun) IV*, 2011.

⁶Hayati Hussin et al., "Contributions of Muhammad Mahfuz Al-Tarmasi in The Field of Islamic Studies," *International Journal of Engineering & Technology* 7, no. 4.9 (October 2, 2018): 194, <https://doi.org/10.14419/ijet.v7i4.9.20672>.

⁷Fatkul Mukhlies, "Peranan Syaikh Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi Dalam Perkembangan Ulum Al-Hadits: Studi Kitab Manhaj Dzawi Al-Nazhar" (UIN Sunan Ampel, 2010).

⁸Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta:

Kencana, 2006). See also Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "Mahfuz Al-Tirmisi (D. 1338/1919): An Intellectual Biography," *Studia Islamika* 5, no. 2 (2014): 27-48, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v5i2.752>.

⁹Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

¹⁰Joko Sayono, "Perkembangan Pesantren Di Jawa Timur (1900-1942)," *Jurnal Bahasa Dan Seni* 33, no. 1 (2005): 54-69.

¹¹Dimiyathi, *Mengenal Pondok Tremas Dan Perkembangannya*, 22-23.

means a weapon or a small dagger (keris). While the word "Mas" means gold, a precious metal that is usually used as jewelry. It is reported that the name Tremas first established by Ketok jenggot who cleared the forest to establish the village and he put Golden Patrem weapon (Keris emas) in the place where he first cleared the forest.¹²

The establishment of Islam in Pacitan and in Tremas, in particular, started when Demak won the battle from the ruler of Pacitan Ki Ageng Buwana Keling who refused to embrace Islam. Three years later, a son from Demang Semanten named "Bagus Darso" returned from his study of Islamic teachings at the Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo under the guidance of Kyai Hasan Besari. Bagus Darso then established a Pesantren in Semanten village (2 KM from north of Pacitan city) under the guidance of his father, R. Ngabehi Dipomenggolo. After that, he moved to Tremas and established a Pesantren Tremas.¹³

Since childhood, KH. Abdul Manan has been known to be intelligent and very interested in religious matters. He quickly mastered and understood the teachings of Islam beyond his friends until many stories emerged about his strengths. Darso's got married to Princess Demang Tremas R. Ngabehi Hongggowijoyo.¹⁴

The Pesantren was founded in 1830 AD when the Diponegoro war began to recede, and Kyai 'Abd al-Manan was the first teacher.

Pesantren Tremas is led by several prominent religious leaders consecutively as follows :

KH. Abdul Manan (1830-1862), KH. Abdullah (1862-1894), KH. Dimiyati (1894-1934), K. Hamid Dimiyati (1934-1948), KH. Habib Dimiyati, KH. Haris Dimiyati, KH.

Hasyim Ikhsan, and KH. Fuad Habib (1998 - present).

2. Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi: Biography, Educational History, and Works

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, known as a prominent Javanese scholar, was an alumnus of the Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan. He authored many important books and taught at the Masjid al-Haram Mecca in the latter half of the 19th century. He was born in Tremas Village in 1285 H. / 1842 AD under the name Muhammad Mahfuzh; while his full name is Abu Muhammad, Muhammad Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi bin Abdullah bin Abdul Manan bin Demang Dipomenggolo I al-Tarmasi al-Jawi.¹⁵ Later, he was known by the name "Sheikh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi al-Jawi." His grandfather's father, Dipemenggolo I, was the descendant of a Surakarta Palace retainer named Ketok Jenggot.

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is a descendant of aristocratic scholars. Demang Dipomenggolo I is a respected aristocrat in Pacitan who is very religious. When Mas Tumenggung Jayakarya I came to power in Pacitan, a regent who was fond of broadcasting Islam, in Semanten Village, Ki Demang Dipemonggolo I established a Pesantren under his guidance. Demang Dipomenggolo eventually became quite famous and respected by all levels of Pacitan society. To give an example to his followers, he started from his own family. He sent his son, Mas Bagus Sudarso, to study religious knowledge at the Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo, a famous Pesantren at that time.

After returning from the Pesantren Tegalsari, Mas Bagus Sudarso was known by the name of Kyai 'Abd al-Manan. This young Kyai is actively developing the Pesantren Semanten, Pacitan. At that time, the village of

¹²Dimiyathi, *Mengenal Pondok Tremas Dan Perkembangannya*, 22-23.

¹³Dimiyathi, *Mengenal Pondok Tremas Dan Perkembangannya*, 22-23.

¹⁴Dimiyathi, *Mengenal Pondok Tremas Dan Perkembangannya*, 22-23.

¹⁵Muhammad Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi, *Manhaj Dhawī Al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzūmah 'Ilm Al-Āthār* (Beirut-Libanon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmiyah, 2003), 1.

Tremas was ruled by Demang Ngabei Honggowijoyo who had a close relationship with Demang Dipomenggolo. Both are descendants of Ketok Jenggol. Demang Ngabei Honggowijoyo was interested in the Young Kyai 'Abd al-Manan, son of Demang Dipomenggolo. He then married his daughter to 'Abd al-Manan and founded a new Pesantren in Termas.

From the marriage of Kyai 'Abd al-Manan to Princess Demang Ngabei Honggowijoyo, Abd Allah was born. To prepare qualified cadres, Abd Allah was sent to study at various Pesantrens in East Java and to the Land of the Hejaz. Finally, when Kyai 'Abd al-Manan died in 1962, Kyai 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Manan replaced him as a teacher at the Pesantren Tremas.¹⁶

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi learned to read the Qur'an and basic Islamic religious knowledge from the scholars in the land of Java. Before the age of Baligh (adult), he was able to memorize the Qur'an. When he was six years old, in 1291 H / 1874 AD, he was brought by his father to Mecca. While in Mecca, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi began to be introduced to the main books in the field of Islamic studies: Aqeedah, interpretation, Hadith, Fiqh, Sufism as well as linguistics and literature. He considers his father, KH. Abdullah bin KH. Abdul Manan, as a father as well as a teacher. He often referred to his father as *murabbī wa rūḥī* (my educator and my soul).¹⁷

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was born when the Pesantren was twelve years old. Since childhood, he lived in a Pesantren family who loves knowledge and are diligent in worship. He had studied religion with his grandfather. However, he studied deeply with his father, Kyai 'Abd Allah ibn' Abd al-Manan. He

studied Tawheed, al-Qur'an and al-Qur'an, and Fiqh to his father. In his father's teaching, he got pretty heavy learning with the *Sorogan* system (reading a text) from kitab kuning (originally means yellow book).¹⁸

In the 1870s, when Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was a teenager, his father KH. Abdullah took him back to the land of Java and drove him to a famous Javanese cleric in the 19th century, KH. Shaleh Darat As-Samarani (1820-1903 AD) to study at his Pesantren in Semarang, Central Java.

Then, when Kyai 'Abd Allah ibn' Abd al-Manan held the Tremas Islamic Boarding School, his development was accelerating. Prospective students came from various parts of Java. The charisma of the Kyai 'Abd Allah who had studied in the Holy Land of Mecca began to shine. Tremas Islamic Boarding School began to be known by the study of Arabic Grammar. Seeing this development, Kyai 'Abd Allah felt the need to prepare a successor better than himself. Finally, he decided to send his two sons Muhammad Mahfuzh and his younger brother, Dimiyati, to Mecca to study their religion. This happened in 1872 AD when Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was 30 years old.¹⁹

The wish of Kiai 'Abd Allah was welcomed by Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. Because he did aspire to be always close to the Apostle of Allah and even to die in Mecca or Medina. Once he stepped on the Land of Haramain, he immediately intended to stay there until the end of his life. Together with his younger brother (Dimiyati), he studied with prominent scholars in Mecca and Medina. When in Mecca, his father, KH. Abdullah bin Abdul Manan died in 1314 H./1896 AD and was buried in Ma'la.²⁰

¹⁶HS Mastuki and M. Ishom El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren: Potret Tokoh Dan Cakrawala Pemikiran Di Era Perkembangan Pesantren*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Diva Pustaka, 2004), 103-104.

¹⁷Fauzi Deraman and Faisal Ahmad Shah, *Pengajian Hadith Di Nusantara: Indonesia- Selatan Thailand-Singapura* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Al-Quran dan Al-

Hadith, Akademi Pengajian Islam Universiti Malaya, n.d.), 49-50.

¹⁸Mastuki and El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren: Potret Tokoh Dan Cakrawala Pemikiran Di Era Perkembangan Pesantren*, 104-105.

¹⁹Mastuki and El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren*.

²⁰Mastuki and El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren*.

After living and teaching at the al-Haram Mosque in Mecca for about 42 years, in 1338 H./1920 M. Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi died leaving a priceless scientific heritage. His desire to die and be buried in Mecca or Medina came true. He was buried in Ma'la Mecca near the tomb of Ummul Mukminin Sayyidah Khadijah, wife of the Prophet Muhammad.²¹

The spirit of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi to study Islamic sciences is very high. This is evidenced by the number of teachers he met until he wrote a complete work on the names of his very important teachers in *Kifāyatul Mustafīd Li Mā 'Alā min al-Asānīd*.²²

Al-Tarmasi is also known as a very productive scholar in writing. He had a lot of papers in various fields of science: Islamic Jurisprudence, Hadith studies, Hadith Mustith, Qiraat and others.

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi's works reach eighteen books, namely:²³ al-Badru al-Munīr fi Qirā'ati al-Imam Ibn Kathīr (makhtūṭ / manuscript), al-Fawā'id al-Tarmasiyah fi Asānīd al-Qirā'at al-'Ash'ariyyah (maṭbū ' / already printed), Ganiyyah al-Abahalabah bi Sharḥi Naẓam al-Ṭayyibah fi al-Qirā'ah al-Aṣriyyah (muḥaqqaq), Inshiraḥ al-Fu'ād fi Qirā'ati al-Imām Ḥamzah (makhtūṭ), Ta'mīm al-Manāfi 'fi Qirā'ati al-Imām Nāfi' (makhtūṭ), Tanwīr al-Ṣudūr fi Qirā'ati al-Imām Abi 'Amr (makhtūṭ), Faṭḥ al-Khabīr bi Sharḥ Miftaḥ al-Tafsīr (makhtūṭ), al-Khil'ah al-Fikriyyah Sharḥ al-Minḥah al-Khairiyyah, (maṭbū '), al-Minḥah al-Khairiyyah fi Arba'ina Ḥadīthan min Aḥādīth Khair al-Bariyyah (maṭbū '), Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar fi Sharḥ Manzūmah 'Ilmi al-Āthār (maṭbū '), al-Siqāyah al-Marḍiyyah fi Asmā'i al-Kutubi al-Fiqhiyyah al-Shāfi'iyyah (maṭbū '), Mawhibah Dhī al-Faḍl Ḥashiyah 'Alā Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Bafaḍal (Ḥashiyah al-Tarmasī) (maṭbū '), Is'āf al-Maṭali 'bi Sharḥ al-Badr al-Lāmi' Naẓam Jam'i al-Jawāmi '(muḥaqqaq),

Nayl al-Ma'mūl bi Ḥashiyah Ghāyah al-Wuṣūl Fī 'Ilmi al-Uṣūl (makhtūṭ), Tahayyū' al-Fikr bi Sharḥ Alfiyyah al-Sayr (makhtūṭ), ā Ināyah al-Muftaqir Fī mā Yata'allaqu bi Sayyidina al-Khiḍr (maṭbū '), Bughyah al-Adhkiyā 'fi Baḥṭh' an Karāmah al-Auliya ', Kifāyah al-Mustafīd Limā 'Alā min al-Masānīd (maṭbū '). Ḥāshiyah Takmilah al-Manhaj al-Qawīm ilā al-Farā'id 1 volume, Thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī 1 part.

al-Tarmasi's work that received the most attention and became a reference for the scholars afterward was the *Hasyiyah al-Tarmasī book; a book of Syafi'i school of Fiqh*. That work is al-Tarmasi's greatest work in the field of Fiqh. Ḥashiyah al-Tarmasī was written complete with analysis, taḥqīq, and accuracy. He can reveal the hidden and explain it very clearly. This book can collect the opinions of the scholars and arrange them neatly. Ḥashiyah al-Tarmasī was completed in Mecca and was printed and published by Dar al-Minhaj in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 2011 AD, with a total of seven volumes.²⁴

Another important work that explains the depth and discipline of al-Tarmasi science is the book of *Kifāyah al-Mustafīd*. This book contains the scientific chronicles of al-Tarmasi which he received from the Haramayn scholars, Mecca-Medina, in various fields of science such as interpretation, Hadith studies, Islamic jurisprudence, language, Ushul, Tasawwuf (Islamic mysticism) and Wirid. The book was written as a form of al-Tarmasi's attention to the importance of the knowledge of Sanad and its importance, which according to him, was not appropriate for a pious person to study science without Sanad. Imam Shafi'i said, "people who study knowledge (Hadith) without Sanad, such as people who search for

²¹ Mastuki and El-Saha, *Intelektualisme Pesantren*.

²² Deraman and Shah, *Pengajian Hadīth Di Nusantara: Indonesia- Selatan Thailand-Singapura*, 49-51.

²³ Muhajirin, *Mahfudz Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Hadis Nusantara Pertama*.

²⁴ Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*.

firewood at night and bring it even though there is a snake inside, but he does not know it."²⁵

Kifāyah al-Mustafīd has been printed by two publishers namely al-Fikrah publisher in Yogyakarta and Dar al-Basyair al-Islamiyyah publisher in Beirut, Lebanon. This book was written by al-Tarmasi on 19 Safar 1320 H / 28 May 1902 AD in Mecca.²⁶

Besides Kifāyah, in the field of Hadith, al-Tarmasi wrote *al-Khil'ah al-Fikriyah Bi Sharḥ al-Min -ah al-Khayriyyah fī Arba'īn Ḥadīthan min Aḥādīthi Khayri al-Bariyyah*. The book contains forty prophetic Hadiths. al-Khil'ah al-Fikriyah is an explanation (Sharḥ) of the book al-Minḥah al-Khayriyyah which contains 40 traditions of Thulathiyāt namely the Hadith between the narrators and the Prophet there are three people; friends, Tabiin and followers of Tabiin (Tābi 'al-Tābi'īn). The strength of this book is that each Hadith is mentioned complete with its Sanad and the biography of the Hadith scholars who narrate it. The book al-Minḥah al-Khayriyyah was completed on Monday 16 Ramadhan 1313 H / March 1, 1896 AD While the book of Shariah al-Khil'ah al-Fikriyah was completed on Tuesday 8 Dhul Qa'idah on the same year / 21 April 1896 AD. This means that al-Tarmasi wrote his Sharah in only a span of 1 month and 21 days.²⁷

In addition, he also wrote a Musthalah book of Hadith entitled *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar*, which is an annotation book (Sharḥ) on *Nazam Alfiyyah al-Suyūfī* which contains about the science of Hadith; includes discussions on the distribution of Hadith such as ṣaḥīḥ, ḥasan, ḍa'īf, Musnad, Marfū', Mursal, Mu'allaq, Mu'an'an, Tadrīs, Munkar, Ma'rūf, Matrūk, Ifrād, Gharīb, 'Azīz, Mashūr, Mustafīd, Mutawātir, Mawḍū'. Besides, the history of the writing of the Hadith, etiquette for the Hadith experts, Hadith seekers of manners, Nasikh

Mansukh, understanding *shahabah*, Tabiin and discussion of the differences in ṣiqat and ḍha'if in the Hadith.

al-Tarmasi's annotation of the book *Nazam Alfiyyah al-Suyūfī* is recognized by many as the best in understanding al-Suyūfī's thoughts. Al-Tarmasi wrote *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar* in Mecca at the beginning of Dhu al-Hijjah in 1328 AH and was completed on Friday the 14th of the Final Rabi'l in 1329 H. In other words, the book was written in only four months and fourteen days. Remarkably, this book has been printed by three publishers in three countries namely the al-Haramain publisher, Surabaya, Indonesia; the Dar al-Fikr Egyptian publisher, and third the Dar al-polar publisher al-Ilmiyah Beirut, Lebanon.²⁸

Another one of al-Tarmasi's work which proves his foresight and sharpness of analysis is the book of *Bughyah al-Adhkiyā 'fī Baḥthi' an Karāmah al-Awliyā'*, a book of Sufism that discusses the supernatural powers of saints. The discussion was taken by al-Tarmasi from two main books: the book of al-Ṭabaqāh al-Kubrā, the work of al-Taj al-Subki and the work of al-Muhaqqiq Ibn Hajar al-Haitami. Both books are considered as the most complex books related to Karamah because it is accompanied by strong argumentations who can answer various doubts about Karamah. This book was finished written by Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi just before Maghrib on Sunday 18 Rabiul Awal 1337 H.²⁹

a. Teachers of al-Tarmasi

According to Abdurrahman Mas'ud, al-Tarmasi's way of getting knowledge varies. Generally, he often reads books in front of his teachers, waiting for corrections and comments from his teachers. Besides, he sometimes focused his attention on what was described in

²⁵Muhammad Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafīd Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*, ed. Muhammad Yasin bin 'Isa Al-Fadani Al-Makki (Mekkah Al-Mukarramah, n.d.).

²⁶Dzul Kifli Hadi Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*, 2015.

²⁷Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

²⁸Al-Tarmasi, *Manhaj Dhawī Al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzūmah 'Ilm Al-Āthār*.

²⁹Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

the assemblies in the mosques. In the first or second case, he is a dynamic student. His passion for enriching himself with Islamic science can be seen from various teachers he met. In *Kifāyatul Mustafid*, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi left a complete list of his teachers in all fields of science he had worked on.³⁰ Al-Tarmasi's teachers are K.H. Abd. Allah (d. 1314 H / 1896 AD), his father, K.H. Saleh Darat, namely Muhammad Shaleh bin 'Umar as-Samarani (Semarang, 1903 AD),³¹ Sayyid Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Zain al-Abidin Shata al-Makki. Born in Mecca in 1226 AH and died in 1310 H. Sheikh Ahmad al-Munshawi, known as Muqri', Shaykh 'Umar bin Barakat al-Shami al-Biqā'i al-Azhari al-Makki al-Shafi'i, Sheikh Mustafa bin Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-'Afifi, al-Habib Husayn bin Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Habsyi al-Shafi'i, Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id bin Muhammad Babasil al-Hadrami al-Shafi'i al-Makki, Sayyid Ahmad al-Zawawi al-Makki, Sheikh Muhammad al-Syarbani al-Dimyati, Sayyid Muhammad Amin bin Ahmad Ridhwan al-Madani.³²

Wan Saghir argues that some Meccan scholars are not mentioned by al-Tarmasi as his teacher. In fact, there are among those who are close friends of his teacher, such as Sheikh Ahmad al-Fatani who was asked by Shaikh al-Shatta to examine one of his works. Among the teachers not mentioned are Muhammad bin Sulayman Hasbullah al-Makki, Nawawi al-Bantani and Ahmad al-Fathani.³³

b. Students of al-Tarmasi

He had many competent and smart students, not only from the Nusantara students but from several continents including Arab students at that time. The following is a list of students of

al-Tarmasi:³⁴ Ali bin Mahmud bin Muhammad Arsyad bin Abdullah al-Banjari, Muhammad Dimiyati at-Tarmasi, his brother, Umar bin Abi Bakr bin Abdullah bin Umar bin Ali bin Muhammad al-Bajind al-Hadrami al-Makki, Muhammad Habib bin Abdullah bin Ahmad al-Shanqiti, Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari, Muhammad Baqir al-Jawi al-Mariki, Baqir bin Muhammad bin Nur bin Fadhil Ibrahim al-Jokjawi, Umar bin Hamdan bin Umar al-Mahrasi al-Madani al-Makki, Maksum bin Ahmad bin Abdul Karim al-Lasemi al-Shafi'i, Abdul Wahab bin Hasbullah al-Jumbani,

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was married to a woman from Demak, Central Java, who came to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. From this marriage, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was blessed with three children namely 'Aishah, Fatimah, and Muhammad, but only Muhammad lived, while his two sisters died when they were under the age of five.

As a child, Muhammad had received strong support from Shaykh Mahfuz for learning and memorizing the Qur'an. This will be fulfilled until he succeeded in becoming a pious person in the field of recitation of the Koran and also succeeded in growing Pesantren, namely Bustan 'Ushshaq al-Qur'an in Demak, Kudus, Central Java, which now has many students from all over the archipelago.³⁵

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi died in Mecca, at the age of 52 at the beginning of the Rajab month before Maghrib on Sunday, Monday night 1338 H / March 1920 AD His body was accompanied by many people and is buried in Ma'la, Mecca al-Mukarramah.³⁶

³⁰Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafid Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*, 7-8.

³¹Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, 169.

³²Hussin, "Al-Tarmasi Dan Sumbangannya Dalam Fiqh Mazhab Shafi'i", 7

³³Hussin, "Al-Tarmasi Dan Sumbangannya Dalam Fiqh Mazhab Shafi'i", 8.

³⁴MaHussin, "Al-Tarmasi Dan Sumbangannya Dalam Fiqh Mazhab Shafi'i", 8s'ud.

³⁵Deraman and Shah, *Pengajian Hadith Di Nusantara: Indonesia- Selatan Thailand-Singapura*, 51.

³⁶Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*, 91-93.

3. Contribution of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi to the Hadith Studies in Indonesia

In the latter half of the 19th century, there are several recognized Indonesian Muslim scholars who have the opportunity to teach their knowledge at the Masjid al-Haram. There are at least seven prominent ulama namely Shaykh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi (East Java), Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani (West Java), Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi (West Sumatra), Shaykh Mukhtarom Banyumas (Central Java), Shaykh Bakir Banyumas (Central Java), Shaykh Ash'ari Bawean (East Java), and Shaykh `Abdul Hamid Kudus (Central Java).

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is one of the scholars who gain recognition from many Muslim scholars in Muslim world who gave a significant contribution to teaching and learning at Masjid al-Haram. The learning process at the Masjid al-Haram uses ḥalaqah learning system, where students sit around a teacher or other knowledgeable person. This system is still maintained as the main method of teaching and learning process in the Masjid al-Haram. Ḥalaqah is usually held in the morning after Fajr, 'Asr, Maghrib and Isha`. During the daytime, educational activities moved to madrassas around the Grand Mosque.³⁷

Regarding learning at the Masjid al-Haram, Shaykh Mahfuzh in charge of Hadith and 'Ulūm al-Hadis, which is his specialty. During the halaqah, Shaykh Mahfuzh sat in a certain place in the Masjid al-Haram facing the Kaaba, while his students sat around him. There are several types of teaching and learning methods used by Shaykh Mahfuzh. First, the teacher reads the learning material then explains it. Second, the teacher reads the learning material, then the student continues. Third, students read the learning material in front of the teacher,

then the teacher gives a correction to the student's reading. In all these three methods the teacher allow the students to ask questions.

A distinctive feature of Shaykh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi in teaching at the Masjid al-Haram is his proficiency in using Arabic fluently which is often interspersed with Javanese. The use of Javanese is inseparable from the number of students of Shaykh Mahfuzh who came from Java; although many students of Shaykh Mahfuzh came from outside Java, even abroad such as Thailand, Malaysia, India, and Syria.³⁸

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi began teaching at the al-Haram Mosque since 1890. When his father died, on Monday evening Tuesday, 29 Sya'ban in 1314 H / 1894 AD, he sent his younger brother, Dimiyati, back to Java and he became a cleric in Tremas. While Shaykh Mahfuzh chose a career in Mecca, where he became an accomplished teacher.

In addition to being active as a teacher in the Masjid al-Haram, his role and scientific contribution, in particular, and in the field of ū Ulūm al-hadīth are to write several books in various scientific disciplines, including in 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth. Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is one of the productive Muslim intellectuals. His productivity is proof of his intellectual intelligence. Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi was also a multidisciplinary scholar who succeeded in writing. There are at least 10 fields of study: Fiqh, uṣūl Fiqh, knowledge of Tawheed, Sufism, the life of the Prophet, a collection of Hadith, Muṣṭalaḥ al-īadīth, inheritance, knowledge of reading the Koran, and Morals.

Among Javanese Muslim clerics, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is known as an expert on Hadith. He is also recognized as a legitimate isnād (chain) in the intellectual transmission of teaching Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. This certificate comes directly from Imam Bukhari himself, who was written about 1000 years ago and handed over in chains through 23 generations of scholars who have

³⁷Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia*, 79-80.

³⁸Mukhlies, "Peranan Syaikh Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi Dalam Perkembangan Ulum Al-Hadits: Studi Kitab Manhaj Dzawi Al-Nazhar."

mastered ḥaḥīḥ Bukhārī; Shaykh Mahfuzh was the last link at that time.

In the field of Hadith, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi composed *Thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī*, *Minḥah al-Khayriyyah*, and *al-Kil'ah al-Fikriyyah bi Sharḥ al-Minḥah al-Khayriyyah*. The most popular book among his works in the field of Hadith is the book of *Minah al-Khayriyyah*. This 51-page book contains 40 selected Hadith.

Regarding the collection of 40 Hadith, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is not the first person. Many scholars have previously made the same effort. Besides Shaykh Mahfuzh, some scholars collect 40 Hadiths in one book. The first scholar to do so was Abdullah bin al-Mubarak 118-181 H / 736-797 AD, then Imam al-Nawawi (631-676 H / 1233-1277 AD), in his famous book, *al-'Arba'in al Nawawiyyah*, Shaykh Yasin al-Padani also collected 40 Hadiths using Shaykh Mahfuzh's Sanad from beginning to end, then Shaykh Ismail 'Usman al-Yamani in his book 'Arba'in Ḥadīthan min Kalami Khayr al-Anām fī al-Mawa'idī wa al-Nashā'ikhi wa al-Aḥkām, also al-'Alim al-Sayyid Salih ibn Ahmad Idrus in his book *Fayḍ al-'lam fī 'Arba'in Ḥadīthan fī al-Salām*. The advantages of the collection of 40 Hadith Shaykh Mahfuzh are that in it 22 Hadiths are originating from *Thulāthiyyāt al-Bukhārī*.³⁹

The *Thulāthiyyat* Hadith is a Hadith that has only three narrators in the sanad chain that started from the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the value of the hadith narrated is considered very high. If seen from the strength of his Sanad and Matan, the work of Shaykh Mahfuzh can be said to be the foremost among several similar works. Shaykh Mahfuzh received the *Thulāthiyyāt* from his teacher, Shaykh al-Sayyid Abu Bakr ibn al-Sayyid Muhammad Syatha'.⁴⁰

This book has been published by Islamic Boarding School Bustanul Usyaqil Quran,

Betengan, Demak, on the initiative of Shaykh Mahfuzh's grandson, namely K.H. Hariri bin Muhammad bin Shaykh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, and has circulated widely in several Pesantren in Java. In his introduction, K.H. Maimun Zubair, the head of the al-Anwar Islamic Boarding School, Sarang, Rembang, dubbed Shaykh Mahfuzh as Shaykh al-Mashaykh al-A'lām wa Qudwatu al-Ānām or the great teacher of knowledgeable masters and role models. A proper nickname, because indeed from his hand were born dozens of great scholars and dozens of monumental works.⁴¹

As for the study of Hadith, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi wrote the books of *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar* and *Kifāyah al-Mustafid li Ma 'alā Min al-Asānīd*. The *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar* is a *Sharḥ* (review) of the *Man kitabūmah 'Ilm al-Āthār* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 H). Experts and lecturers at al-Azhar University, Cairo, consider it to be one of the best *Sharḥs* in the *Nazam* of *Atharī* studies.⁴²

It is not difficult to understand why Mahfuzh prefers the science of Hadith to other fields of science. According to him, experts from various disciplines considered that the scientific discipline was the best. The theologians will maintain that theology is the most excellent science because the oneness of God is established with the help of this science, while jurists state that the glory of *Fiqh* is not in doubt due to the fact that the practices of *Fiqh*, *halal*, *haram*, and everything related to Islamic law have been correctly confirmed. The commentators also view that the supremacy of the science of the Qur'an is in a central position, where all branches of science refer to it. Seeing the benefits of these sciences, Mahfuzh concluded that 'ilm al-āthār or the science of Hadith is the science that is - absolutely - the most important of all. This opinion is based on the fact that one can return

³⁹Mukhlies, "Peranan Syaikh Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi Dalam Perkembangan Ulum Al-Hadits."

⁴⁰Mukhlies, "Peranan Syaikh Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi Dalam Perkembangan Ulum Al-Hadits."

⁴¹Mukhlies, "Peranan Syaikh Mahfuzh Al-Tarmasi Dalam Perkembangan Ulum Al-Hadits."

⁴²Al-Tarmasi, *Manhaj Dhawī Al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzūmah 'Ilm Al-Āthār*.

to the noblest creature, Muhammad SAW, through this knowledge by knowing the authenticity of his words and deeds.⁴³

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi shows that in reality, the purity of isnād science is very convincing for those who master science. This supremacy is never questioned by those who have religious understanding, intellect, and common sense. In his important book, he writes: "It is truly glorified by Allah those who are experts in the sciences of this person (unlike other people before Muhammad)." By quoting the Prophet's words, Mahfuzh considers that science is religion, and daily prayer is also religion, so one must pay attention to where the place of knowledge is obtained and how he observes his prayer. Everyone will be held accountable in the hereafter. Isnād is part of religion. As a result of shallowness in this substantial device, one will say whatever he wants (out of control without a religious basis).⁴⁴

As a student of the Hadith, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi realizes and reminds himself and others about the danger of delivering a false Hadith by referring to the Prophet's warning: Someone who says what I have never said (and considers it to be from me), be prepared to be the inhabitants of hell. "In that context, Mahfuzh decided to engage in the science of Hadith and maintain it as the focus of his studies and also as the most excellent religious science."⁴⁵

To convince his readers, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi quoted several convincing paragraphs. Ash-Shafi'i considers that people who are looking for Hadith without isnād are like wood seekers at night who carry wood and neglect that there are poisonous snakes inside. Some Salaf scholars state that isnād is like a sword, if it fails to grasp it, how can he win the battle. Yahya bin Mu'in (d. 333 AH) confirmed that a substantially noble isnād would be able to bring someone closer to Allah and His Messenger.

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi writes for the benefit of his religion. However, the clearest motivation in the effort to gather the Hadith arises from the expressions that are in the Hadith itself. "Those who maintain 40 Hadith for the sake of their religion, will be included in the group of jurists and scholars in the hereafter or they will enter [heaven] through whatever door they like." Because of this promise, some scholars who lived before and after Mahfuzh were more inclined to carry out the same mission, namely gathering at least 40 Hadiths. For example, Abu Zakariya an-Nawawi ad-Dimasyqi (d. 675/1276), one of the most famous scholars who lived before (Mahfuzh), and Yasin al-Fadani, a muḥaddithūn and the Musnid who lived afterward.⁴⁶

It is noteworthy that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi obtained many certificates in various fields from authors who lived before the 15th century. These fields consisted of the science of interpretation, Hadith, Jurisprudence, tools (Nahwu-Ṣarf), uṣūl, and the science of Sufism and Aurad (aurad (aurad) wirid-wirid). Such certificates that have unbroken transmission links are placed in his work, *Kifāyah al-Mustafid*. What is interesting is that Mahfuzh gained authenticity regarding the transmission of interpretations which originated from Ar-Razi (d. 606/1211 CE). Although Ar-Razi is an encyclopedic Sunni scholar who is perfectly knowledgeable, his interpretation book is not widely used by the Santri community. Thanks to his opposition to the enemies of the Sunnis, his position remains noble in the Pesantren tradition. Related to this, Mahfuzh's belief that Razi's interpretation has given him more praise in the eyes of the Pesantren scholars. Ar-Razi is believed to be a reformer (Mujaddid) in the 6th century H / 12 AD or post-al-Ghazali. Like other Sunnis in the Islamic world, the Pesantren community fully believes in the Hadith and establishes its criteria for identifying reformers

⁴³Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, 171.

⁴⁴Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, 171.

⁴⁵Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*.

⁴⁶Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*.

in each century. Al-Ghazali, for example, is seen as the ideal reformer of the 5th century H / 6 AD. This is in line with the sound of a fairly popular Hadith, "Indeed, Allah will send to these people at the beginning of a century someone who will improve their religion."⁴⁷

In line with Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi's specialization, it is important here to revisit Mahfuzh's writings about his trusted teachers who refer to al-Bukhari as an illustration. Mahfuzh's authority is to teach and deliver al-Jami 'al-Ṣaḥīḥ, a collection of Hadith al-Bukhari, and also give ijāzah to students who are considered capable. Mahfuzh studied the entire contents of the Hadith collections in front of his main teacher, Abu Bakr bin Muhammad Syata al-Makki, waiting for his corrections and comments. Mahfuzh completed the same task, as he said, at least four times. Previously, Abu Bakr also did the same thing in front of his teacher. The list of scholars from his teacher Abu Bakr to al-Bukhari is as follows: Ahmad bin Zaini Dahlan, Sheikh Uthman bin Hasan ad-Dimyati, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ali as-Syanwani, Isa bin Ahmad al-Barawi, Sheikh Muhammad ad-Dafri, Sheikh Salim bin Abd. Allah al-Basri, named after his father Abd. Allah bin Salim al-Basri, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ala ad-Din al-Babili, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad as-Sanhuri, an-Najm Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Ghaiti, Sheikh al-Islam Zakariyya bin Muhammad al-Ansari al-Hafizh, Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 852 H / 1448 AD), Ibrahim ibn Ahmad at-Tanuhi (d. 800/1397); Abu al-Abbas Ahmad bin Talib al-Hajar (d. 733/1332), al-Husain ibn al-Mubarik az-Zubaidi (somewhere in Yemen) al-Hanbali (d. 631/1233), Abu al-Waqt Abd al-Awwal bin Isa as-Sijzi (attributed to Sijistan), Abu al-Hasan Abd. ar-Rahman bin Muzaffar bin Dawud ad-Dawudi, Abu Muhammad Abd. Allah bin Ahmad as-Sarakhsi (somewhere in

Khurasan), Abu Abd. Allah Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Matar al-Faribari, a place near Bukhara (d. 320/932), al-Imam al-Hafizh Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Isma'il bin Ibrahim al-Bukhari (d. 256/869).⁴⁸

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi also obtained another authority from the transmission of Hadith al-Bukhari from a different path which he believed was higher, but less hierarchical. They are as-Sayyid al-Husain ibn Muhammad al-Habasha (d. 1281/1864), his father Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Habasha (d. 1230/1814), Shaykh 'Umar bin Abd. al-Karim al-Attar (d. 1249/1833), Sayyid Alibin Abd, al-Barr al-Wana'i (d. 1211/1796), Abd al-Qadir bin Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Andalusi, Muhammad bin Abd. Allah al-Idrisi, al-Qutb Muhammad bin Ala'uddin an-Nahrawi, somewhere in India (d. 988/1580), his father, Abu al-Futtuh Ahmad bin Abd. Allah at-Tawusi, Baba Yusuf al-Harwi, Muhammad bin Shad al-Farghani, 121 Abu Luqman Yahya bin Ammar al-Khuttalani (in Turkey), Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Faribari, from al-Imam al-Bukhari.⁴⁹

As a musnid and muḥaddith, Mahfuzh obtained recognition for transferring the collection of Hadith not only from al-Bukhari but also from other givers. The scholars and their works are as follows: Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (d. 261H), Sunan Abu Dawud (d. 275), Sunan At-Tirmidhi (d. 279), Sunan Nasa'i (d. 303), Sunan Ibnu Majah (d. 273), Muwaṭṭa 'Malik bin Anas (d. 179), Musnad Imam Shafi'i (d. 204), Musnad Imam Abu Hanifah (d. 150), Musnad Ahmad bin Hanbal (d. 241), Mukhtaṣar bin Abu Jumra (d. 695 AH in Egypt), Arba'in Nawawiyah an-Nawawi (d. 676 AH), and al-Jāmi al-Ṣaghīr by Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Halabi (d. 1044 H).⁵⁰

⁴⁷Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*.

⁴⁸Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafīd Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*.

⁴⁹Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafīd Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*.

⁵⁰Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafīd Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*.

4. Contribution of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi towards Hadith Scholars and the Pesantren Scholars in Indonesia

Mahfuzh's association with his students and teachers is more significant when compared to other Muslim scholars who do not have the authorization to continue the diploma in the science of Hadith like Mahfuzh's had. The intensity of such Muslim religious affiliation is at some level no less crucial than the membership of the Tariqa. When Tariqa membership in Java was strengthened, mainly by the loyalty and struggle of students to improve the quality of their piety under the guidance of a Sufi teacher, Mahfuzh's affiliation with his students was intensified by the persistence of his students to improve their knowledge to obtain blessings and careers. Martin van Bruinessen concluded that Mahfuzh was the most famous figure among the Kyai today and one of the most educated Javanese scholars. This is because he is in a prestigious position, namely as a teacher who is highly respected by many Muslim scholars who founded NU.⁵¹

While concluding an introduction to one of Mahfuzh's Hadith collections, *al-Minḥaj al-Khayriyyah*, Kyai Maimun Zubair, an influential Pesantren leader in the 20th century in Serang, Central Java, convinced his readers in Arabic that the author of the book is al-Allamah ash-Shaykh Mahfuzh at-Tarmasi, Shaykh al-Mashāyikh al-'Ālam (the most knowledgeable Master) and a prime example for the Pesantren community. He recommended that everyone at any educational institution in the archipelago take advantage of this book by hoping for blessings and reviving the Sunnah of the Prophet.⁵²

Indeed, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi is a very interesting teacher. Although there are no definite records of the number of students, it can be assumed that there are more than 4,000 students from various generations and

nationalities. These statistics are based on the period of his teaching activities at Masjid al-Haram, which ran effectively from the beginning of the 1890s to the end of the second decade of the 20th century. Like Nawawi whose students increased by 200 people per year, Mahfuzh is very likely to reach a number that is the same or even more so because of the enormous interest among Southeast Asian students to study at Haramain at the end of the 20th century. The material he taught varied greatly because of his multidisciplinary insight with his special appeal in the field of Hadith.

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi not only belongs to the Indonesian Santri. Some other important Muslim scholars came from outside Indonesia, and they are Sheikh Sa'dullah al-Maimani, a muftī in Bombay India, Sheikh Umar bin Hamdan, a Hadith expert (*muḥaddithūn*) from Haramain, and the Muqri 'as-Syihab Ahmad bin Abd. God of Syria. This world-wide science transmission network for a variety of reasons has truly raised its reputation among the Javanese Santri. For this community, a 'ālim from Java, like Mahfuzh, whose writings and lectures received international recognition, was not only a highly respected figure but also a role model.

Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi's contribution to the world's scholars can be seen from his students who also became a great Muslim scholar that spread Islamic knowledge all over Indonesia and established and led Pesantrens scattered throughout the archipelago and they are the founders of the largest organization in Indonesia, namely Nahdhatul Ulama (NU).

Through these students, the thoughts of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi based on the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet were inherited and passed on by his students, especially after they finished their studies and returned to their respective countries. Some of his students, some of who lived in Mecca and taught at al-Masjid al-Haram, such as Umar Hamdan al-

⁵¹Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

⁵²Al-Tarmasi, *Kifāyatul Mustafid Li Mā 'Alā Min Al-Asānīd*.

Mahrasi, Baqir al-Jogjawi, Abdul Muhith al-Jawi al-Makki and others. But many of them returned home to their beloved homeland, such as KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari, K.H. Baidlawi Lasem, KH. Maksum Ahmad Lasem and KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah. They all brought the thoughts of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi to Indonesia.

For example, through al-Tarmasi students who settled in Mecca, al-Tarmasi's scholarship, history and path is transmitted to later generations, such as Shaykh Umar Hamdan al-Mahrasi, the Hadith expert in two holy cities: Mecca and Medina, which after receiving all the Sanad and scientific history of al-Tarmasi, born of the great Muslim scholars, such as Ibrahim ibn Dawud al-Fathani, the leading cleric from Patani, southern Thailand, Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani who was given the title of musnid al-'aṣr, Sanad expert of the century, also an astronomer, Sayyid Ahmad bin Abdullah bin Sadaqah Dahlan; the son of Sayyid Abdullah bin Shadaqah Dahlan, the leading cleric born in Mecca (d. 1943 AD) in Garut. al-amahAllamah Sayyid Hasan al-Masysyath, Sayyid Alawi bin Abbas al-Maliki, Sayyid Amin Quthbi, Sayyid Muhammad Nur Quthbi. Even Yasin al-Fadani called his scientific Sanad connected to al-Tarmasi as the Bulūghul Amāni Lineage.⁵³

Among the students of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi who had a great influence in continuing his thoughts was Hadhratusy Shaykh KH. M. Hasyim Ash'ari. He was the closest student of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. KH. Hasyim Ash'ari narrated many traditions from Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. As he wrote in his book that "it has been linked to me the history and Sanad of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī alike 'from beginning to end, from our teacher Sheikh Muhammad Mahfuzh bin Abdullah al-Jawi al-Makki. I read it from 1317 to 1319 in Mecca al-Mukarramah and he gave me the certificate of ḥaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, as well as the diplomas of other Hadith books."⁵⁴

After getting a diploma and Sanad from Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, he returned to Indonesia. Then he founded a Pesantren Tebu Ireng in Jombang which coincided on the 26th Rabi'ul Awwal 1317 H. The Pesantren is also known as the Madrasah Salafiyah Syafi'iyah. Here, he teaches Islamic sciences in general. Especially he teaches many traditions and the knowledge of traditions which he learned from Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. In fact, he has been recognized as the first person to teach the Sahih Bukhari Hadith in Indonesia. Therefore, many people from various parts of the archipelago came to study with him. Then they established various Pesantrens and Islamic schools in their respective regions.

In addition to establishing Pesantrens, KH. Hasyim Ash'ari founded an Islamic organization called Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). He was appointed to be its leader and received the title Ra'is Akbar. Therefore, the NU which he founded together with the great Javanese ulama on 16 Rajab 1344 H. / 1926 M. was an institutionalization of the minds of his teachers who had formed him into a great Muslim cleric. The path (Manhaj) that he laid out for NU was the path that had been taken by Muslim scholars before, namely: in matters of faith, following the school of the Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamā'ah; in matters of Fiqh, following the Shafi'i school of thought, and in the field of Sufism, following the schools of al-Syadzili and al-Ghazali. In the Treatise of Ahlussunnah wal Jamā'ah, he explained, the Javanese Muslims of the past were united in thought and school. They are all in the field of Fiqh with Shafi'ite beliefs, in the faith of the ahlu sunnah devout wal jamā'ah Ash'ariyyah, and in the field of Sufism, following Imam al-Ghazali and Abu Hasan al-Syadzili. Besides, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari also developed knowledge from Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, as a transmitter of the Hadith in East Java with thousands of students and scholars. As Hasyim Ash'ari paid his

⁵³Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

⁵⁴Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

respects to his teacher, Mahfuzh Tremas could be seen from his sincere encouragement to his students to meet Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi himself in Mecca, while Hasyim himself was also dubbed as a teacher of the Hadith.⁵⁵

Besides KH. Hasyim Asy'ari who was able to carry on the thoughts of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi in Indonesia, there are also several pesantren whose leaders are the student of al-Tarmasi. These pesantren are Pesantren Waḥdah al-Ṭullab, in Lasem, which was founded by KH. Khalil, al-Tarmasi's secretary, Pesantren al-Hidāyah founded by Ma'sum bin Ahmad Lasem (1870-1972), KH. Muhammad Bakir bin Nur (1887-1943) from Yogyakarta, K.H.R. Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959), Mu'ammār bin Kiai Baidawi from Lasem, Central Java, Pesantren Sidogiri by KH. Nawawi in Pasuruan, Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, Pesantren Tambak Beras by KH. Abdul Wahhab Hasbullah, Pesantren Buntet Cirebon, Sheikh 'Abbas, in Buntet, Pesantren Maskumambang, Gresik by KH. Muhammad Fakhir bin Abdul Jabbar, Pesantren Bustānu Ushshāqil Qur'ān, Betengan in Demak by KH. Muhammad bin Muhammad Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi who is now led by his son, KH. Muhammad Chariri bin Muhammad, and the Pesantren Tremas, Pacitan founded by KH. Abdul Manan, the grandfather of Sheikh Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi.⁵⁶

A large number of al-Tarmasi students building Pesantren in Java did not deny the role of their students who were in the holy land in building madrasas. It is proven that the contribution and influence of al-Tarmasi's thoughts were able to be continued and maintained by Sheikh Muhammad Yasin al-Fadani in Mecca. With his sincerity in holding fast to the minds of his teachers, who had Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamā'ah, under the Syafi'i Fiqh and Sunni Sufism, even though at that time, the Arabian Peninsula was no longer under Ottoman rule, but under the kingdom of the

Sa'ud who belonged to Wahhabism. In fact, he had very great attention on the education of women, so he founded Ma'had al-Mu'allimāt in 1377 H. and became a friendly madrasa for Muslim women in the Arabian Peninsula. Besides, he also taught at Darul Ulum al-Diniyyah, which was founded by Muhsin Ali al-Musawa who was a student of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi students, such as al-'Allamah Hasan bin Muhammad al-Musyath, Habibullah bin Ma Yakba al -Sinqiti, Sheikh Umar Hamdan al-Mahrasi, and Sheikh Abdullah bin Muhammad Ghazi.

The number of Pesantrens and madrasahs established by Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi students is proof that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi's contribution to the Hadith scholars and Pesantren's scholars in Indonesia cannot be separated. Moreover, the Pesantren play an active role in advancing education and printing the character of the nation which breathes Islam Rahmatan Lil 'ālamīn. By looking at the function of the Pesantren in general, the Pesantren function as a center for the study of traditional classical Islamic sciences (Tafaqquh fī al-din), including Hadith and Hadith science, as centers of reproduction of Muslim scholars, as centers for preserving Islamic traditions and culture Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamā'ah as well as the center of Islamic da'wah and development, played a major role in advancing Islamic education, morals, and character of the Indonesian nation. Until now, the Pesantren still stand firmly and become the center of science and civilization for knowledge seekers in the archipelago.⁵⁷

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi network with Pesantren scholars is very strong and significant so that it takes him to the highest position in the Pesantren tradition. This significance is based on several considerations: his position as a well-known Hadith teacher, which is very different from his contemporary

⁵⁵Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*.

⁵⁶Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

⁵⁷Imawan, *Al-Tarmasi: Ulama Tanah Suci Dari Tanah Jawi*.

scholars, and the nature of the transmission of the Hadith that is in line with the Pesantren tradition, in the sense as a model of his teacher. Moreover, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi's personality and quality in teaching and writing, which has been widely recognized, cannot be underestimated.⁵⁸

C. CONCLUSIONS

After researchers traced the materials and works of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi on Hadith, the science of Hadith and history about him, it can be concluded that as a great scholar of the 19th century AD, Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi has contributed greatly to the study of Hadith and the science of Hadith in Indonesia with some evidence. His diligence and seriousness in learning and teaching traditions and the knowledge of traditions throughout his life. He was even appointed by the High Priest of Mecca to be a teacher at the Masjid al-Haram, a very prestigious office at that time and only three scholars from Indonesia were able to achieve such an achievement. He has a very large number of students reaching more than four thousand students from various countries, not only from Indonesia but also from India and other Muslim countries. His sincerity in producing works in the field of Hadith and the science of Hadith which are entirely written in Arabic, especially his work entitled *Manhaj Dhawī al-Nazar: Sharḥ Manzūmah 'Ilm al-Āthār*, shows that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi has made a very generous contribution means for the study of Hadith and the science of Hadith in Indonesia. His contribution in forming a network of Hadith scholars and the Pesantren's scholars in Indonesia is also proof that Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi has played a significant role in contributing to the development of Hadith studies and Hadith science in Indonesia. This is proven where the Hadith experts and Hadith science in Indonesia are mostly students of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. The influential scholars

and leaders of the Pesantren in Indonesia have studied Hadith and Hadith science with Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi. The scholars include KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari (1817-1947 AD), KH. Abdul Wahhab Hasbullah from Jombang (1888-1971 AD), KH. Bisri Syansuri, KH. Muhammad Bakir bin Nur (1887-1943 AD) from Jogjakarta, KH R. Asnawi Kudus (1861-1959 AD), Mu'ammār bin Kyai Baidawi from Lasem, KH. Abbas Buntet, and Mbah Ma'shum bin Ahmad, from Lasem (1870-1972 AD).

Based on the facts about Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi, both in learning and teaching, his works in the fields of Hadith and Hadith science, as well as his contribution to the formation of a network of Hadith scholars and Pesantren scholars in Indonesia, it can be said that the study of Hadith and Hadith science in Indonesia in the present and future cannot be separated from the role and contribution of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi.

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MOPO'ALATI TRADITION IN THE COASTAL MUSLIM COMMUNITY AT MOLOTABU BEACH BONE BOLANGO DISTRICT

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Abstract

This paper elaborates on the reality of the Mopo'alati tradition in Gorontalo. It expresses respect, hopes to the sacred, and supernatural. This tradition is celebrated once a year in the month of Muharram by Muslim communities on the coast of Molotabu as an expression of gratitude and prayer of salvation in facing a hard life and challenging sea. The study used a qualitative descriptive method through ethnographic design in order to understand deeply the philosophy of the tradition and its correlation with world life. Mopo'alati tradition is urgent to be studied in order to identify the inconsistency values deviates from Islam and encouraged the ritual ceremony to Islamic nuance. The finding illustrates that Gorontalo society is very fanatical about Islam, thus all mental-spiritual activities, social activities, and traditions must be based on the philosophy of "Adati hulo huloa to Syara'ah, Syara'ah hula hula'a to Qur'ani". It means the custom bases on religious values and the religious values base on Alquran. This philosophy contains the very deep meaning of tauhid (God values). On another side, Gorontalo society defended the ancestor's tradition even though it deviated from Islamic values. Nowadays, Mopo'alati tradition is packaged in a ritual format by giving a more objective moral light. The ceremony was started by doing two rakaat of unobligation pray, reciting al-Waqi'ah verse, al-Rahman verse, and Yasin verse, reciting zikir, and closed by reciting *doa selamat*. Mopo'alati ceremony was closed by giving food, cakes, and money which collected in a ceremony to poor people around the village.

Keywords:

Tradition; Mopo'alati; Gorontalo.

Abstrak

Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang realitas tradisi Mopo'alati di Gorontalo. Tradisi ini menunjukkan penghormatan, pengharapan kepada Yang Maha Suci dan supernatural. Tradisi ini dilaksanakan sekali dalam setahun pada bulan muharam oleh masyarakat muslim di pantai Molotabu sebagai tanda syukur dan doa persembahan dalam menghadapi hidup yang sulit dan mengarungi lautan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan desain etnografi untuk memahami secara mendalam nilai filosofi dari tradisi ini dan hubungannya dengan kehidupan. Tradisi Mopo'alati penting untuk dikaji untuk mengidentifikasi nilai-nilai yang tidak bernuansa Islam menjadi lebih Islami. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Gorontalo adalah masyarakat yang sangat fanatik terhadap Islam. Oleh sebab itu, segala aktivitas mereka baik itu mental spiritual, sosial dan tradisi harus berdasarkan filosofi "adati hulo hula'a ke syara'ah, syara'ah hula hula'a ke Al-Qur'an" artinya bahwa adat harus didasarkan pada nilai-nilai agama, dan nilai-nilai agama harus didasarkan pada Al-Qur'an. Filosofi ini menunjukkan makna terdalam dari Tauhid. Di sisi lain, masyarakat Gorontalo sangat memegang kuat tradisi leluhur walau pada beberapa hal bertentangan dengan ajaran Islam. Sekarang ini, tradisi Mopo'alati dikemas dengan format ritual yg lebih mengutamakan aspek moral. Upacara dimulai dengan shalat sunnah dua rakaat, membaca surat Al-Waqiah, Al-Rahman, Yasin, zikir dan diakhiri dengan membaca doa selamat. Setelah itu, acara ditutup dengan memberikan makanan, kue dan uang yang sudah dikumpulkan dalam upacara kepada orang-orang miskin yang ada di desa tersebut.

Keywords:

Tradisi; Mopo'alati; Gorontalo.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Principally, the culture of a nation is a plural reality, thus the picture of a nation's plurality is almost certain. Every nation in the world has a culture, but the shapes and patterns are different. On the other hand, religion as a result of the design of the accumulation of concepts, views, interpretations, and human ideas (Pattern of Behavior) through its holy text guidelines (Pattern For Behavior) is always in that plural cultural cycle, realize or not, religion as a value system in another side, has invited itself to always be in dialectic situation with the dynamic cultural cycle (cognitive system). As the value system, religion absolutely in a certain time experienced acculturation and collaboration process, even the syncretism of cultural plurality as the result of human action, or cultural plurality still exists on the human cognitive aspect and human attitude and behavior. In the study of Religion Anthropology, the relation between Islam as a religion with the study of local culture is very clear.¹ The study of religion experiences development in various approaches, such as the social perspective through anthropology study. Universally, religion can be defined as a set of rules and regulation which regulates the relationship between human and their God, between human and human, and between human and their environment.

Based on the concept, there are two categories of religious reflection for humans. *First*; religion is sourcing from God's revelation and it is reflected based on God's revelation, in this context, religion becomes normative-dogmatic phenomena. *Second*; religion is reflected based on human and cultural regulation, in this context, religion becomes historical phenomena. The two categories of religion reflection, indicate the

strong interconnected and interrelation and give nuance and perspective to each other.

Ali Sodikin in his article *Antropologi al-Qur'an; Model Dialektika Wahyu dan Budaya* explains the appearance of socio religion institutions in local tradition is resourcing from the culture in pre-Islam symbolically, but the content included Islam law substantially.²

Gorontalo is a province in Indonesia which very firmly adhering to the tradition handed down from the ancestor. The cultural values in Gorontalo are based on their philosophy terms "*Adati hulo huloa to Syara'ah, Syara'ah hula hula'a to Qur'ani*" (the custom bases on religious values and the religious values base on Alquran.) These values are reflected in all of the social activities, local customs, and local wisdom of Gorontalo society. The cultural values have not appeared automatically, but they had had a long history transformation from the King Sultan Amai era to the King Eyato era. In the era of King Eyato, the cultural values were perfected.³

King Matolodulakiki who lived in XIV centuries adopted Islam as the official religion of the kingdom and characterized it with the principle custom based on Islam, and Islam based on Alquran.⁴ The principle has appeared in the whole of traditional ceremonies, such as *Mopoloati, Dikili*, weddings, etc. Most of the ceremonies were done in the mosque.⁵

This research analysis used religion concept as the cultural system which regulates the relationship between human and God, human and human, and humans and their environment in religion institution forms. Zamakhsyari Dhofier and Abd.Rahman Wahid

²Ali Sodikin, *Antropologi Al-Qur'an: Model Dialektika Wahyu Dan Budaya* (Yogyakarta: Ar- Ruzz Media, 2008), 210.

³Hasanuddin and Basri Amin, *Gorontalo Dalam Dinamika Sejarah Masa Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012), 67.

⁴S.R. Nur, *Islam Dan Etos Kerja Masyarakat Gorontalo* (Jakarta: Yayasan Festival Istiqlal, 1996), 69.

⁵Medi Botutihe and Farhah Daulima, *Tata Upaca Adat Gorontalo* (Gorontalo: Pemerintah Daerah Gorontalo, 2003), 32.

¹Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa, Abangan Santri Dan Priyayi Dalam Kehidupan Jawa*, trans. Aswab Mahasin and Bur Rasuanto (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1983), 89. See also Roibin, *Relasi Antar Agama Dan Budaya Masyarakat Kontemporer* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2009), 5.

stated that religion is free of values. However, it contains moral values should be attached by the followers. Therefore, religious teaching becomes one element that forms the cultural values system.⁶ This perspective also argued by Durkheim who defined religion as a belief system which trusted and implemented in religious actions by a group or a community in interpreting and giving response on what they feel and trust is sacred.⁷ More explicitly, Geertz defined religion as a cultural system.⁸

H. A. Gibb agreed with Geertz's definition, he said that: Islam indeed much more than a system of theology, it is a complete civilization.⁹ Civilization certainly is established from the smaller element, namely tradition, and culture. When the culture has been crystallized in human life, then civilization is coming out.

The relevant research which focused on myth and the confirmation toward local wisdom value on religious value had been done by Arifuddin Ismail "*Fisherman Religion, The contrast of Islam and Local Culture*" (2015) and Kamaruddin Mustamin (2015) "*Maccera' Tappareng dalam Attoriolong Masyarakat Bugis Sengkang (myth analytic)*."¹⁰

Tradition ceremonial is an expression to introduce Islam rules which reflects a human connection with their spiritual life. It also integrates the plurality of human and becomes an instrument to secure a negative effect. Turner explained two aspects which motivates human to do tradition ceremonial, *first*, when human life comes to the transition cycle,

second when human life activities were disturbed (they make an agreement with an evil spirit, to be secure in their life).¹¹

Tradition ceremonial is adopted as the media to increase the fisherman braveness to sail on the sea. They feel conform, enjoy and brave to sail, even though the wave is high and the weather is cloudy. Indeed, the fisherman has done this tradition ceremonial to maintain their psychological in doing their activities on the sea. Turner found the fact when he has done his research on the Ndembu community in Zambia, South Africa. Fisherman ritual activities, on the one hand, are expressions of inferiority in the presence of sea power and on the other hand, are a form of unification between humans and nature. Thus, this ritual activity becomes part of the value system of religiosity that affects the lives of the fishermen, namely the awareness of the forces behind the real nature.¹²

Some relevant researches have been done, namely; Ani Suryanti in her research "*Upacara Adat Sedekah Laut di Pantai Cilacap*" stated that sea alms custom is a tradition that is held by the fishing community of Cilacap once a year on every Suro month (Javanese calendar system) on Tuesday or Friday. This traditional ceremony contains religious as an expression of gratitude for the catches of fishermen's fish and prayers for the salvation and abundance of fish catches in the following year.¹³ The same research has been done by Khusnul Khotimah with the title, "*Tradisi Sedekah Luat di pantai Teluk Penyuu*", Cilacap, stated that the character of the plurality of fishing community in South Cilacap cannot be released from the original character of Javanese who still believes to myth. Myth dominated the character and the life pattern of the fishing community.

⁶Zamakhshari and Abd. Rahman Wahid, "Penafsiran Kembali Ajaran Agama, Dua Kasus Dari Jombang," *Prisma*, No 3 (Jakarta, LP3ES, 1987), 27.

⁷Bryan S. Turner, *Religion and Sosial* (London: SAGE Publication, 1991), 27.

⁸Clifford Geertz, "Religion as Cultural System" in *Antropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: SAGE Publication, 1996), 35-50.

⁹H.A.R. Gibb, *Pemikiran Modern Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2013), 67.

¹⁰Kamaruddin Amin, "Maccera' Tappareng Dalam Attoriolong Masyarakat Bugis Sengkang (Kajian Mistisisme)" (Dissertation of UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2015).

¹¹Y. Wartaya Winangun, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas Dan Komunitas* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2014), 22-25.

¹²Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2015), 55-60.

¹³Ani Suryanti, "Upacara Adat Sedekah Laut Di Pantai Cilacap," *Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 3, no. 2 (2017): 1-8.

However, they believe that the spirit of *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul* will disturb their life activity if they do not make a ritual ceremony. The other research done by Triyanto, Sumarwati, Kundharu Saddhono with the title *Offering Ceremony "Sedekah Laut" in Central Java*, the setting was in Cilacap. The research showed that:

The traditional marine alms ceremony on the south coast of Cilacap Regency is a tradition or custom held by the Cilacap fishing community once a year, namely every month of Suro (Javanese calendar) which coincides with Tuesday Kliwon or Friday Kliwon. This traditional ceremony contains religious meaning that is as a manifestation of gratitude for the fishermen's catch and the request for *doa selamat* and the abundance of fish catches the following year. This traditional ceremony also contains cultural, social and economic meanings.¹⁴Sigit Wahyudi is also done research about the tradition of the fishing community in Pekalongan with the title, "Sedekah Laut" Tradition for The Fisherman Community in Pekalongan, Central Java. The result showed that the Sedekah Laut ritual symbolically contains lots of values that can be used by society especially the fishermen as a way of life. This tradition, as a part of cultural elements, is preserved well since the society support this event. Sometimes, Sedekah Laut ritual or Nyadran will differ in the meanings and the functions between societies in the coastal areas especially in the North Coast of Java Island and people in the interior of Java Island.¹⁵

Muhammad Bisrul Alfin, with the title *Perubahan Tradisi Larung Sesaji di Kel. Karangsari Tuban Tahun 2008-2014*,

explained that the tradition of sea alms has been changed the function since 2008. Formerly, it became a tradition, but it changed to be entertainment, economic, education, and the tool to prevent local culture as the local identity.¹⁶

Thiyas Tono Taufiq with the title *Kearifan Lingkungan Berbasis Agama Komunitas Nelayan di Pesisir Banyutowo Dukuhseti Pati* found that environmental wisdom in the fishing communities and coastal communities of Banyutowo is formed by the presence of social solidarity, sea alms rituals, and other local traditions. The traditions are believed to be local traditions that cannot be eliminated. They interpreted the tradition as the tool to find safety and to keep environmental balance. Moreover, the tradition contains some values, such as religious, social community, economic, and education.¹⁷

The research was done by Idrus Ruslan, *Religiositas Masyarakat Pesisir; Studi atas Tradisi "Sedekah Laut" Masyarakat Kel. Kangkung Kec. Bumi Waras Kota Bandar Lampung* found that all the ritual ceremonies, such as sea alms become tools for self-transformation from the physic dimension to the sacred dimension. The transformation needs a complex process because it related to the psychological factor of their religious spirit. One of an example of transformation from physic dimension to sacred dimension, namely the offerings of buffalo head which is physically appeared— becomes sacred because it believes sacred and contains supernatural power, then the character is changed from the concrete to abstract, from visible to sacred. The various expression on sea alms also experienced the transformation from a sacred dimension to the physic dimension. It appears

¹⁴Triyanto, Sumarwati, and Kundharu Saddhono, "Offering Ceremony Sedekah Laut in Central Java," in *3rd International Conference of Arts Language And Culture*, 2018, 108.

¹⁵Sarjana Sigit Wahyudi, "Sedekah Laut Tradition for in The Fisherman Community in Pekalongan, Central Java," *Journal of Coastal Development* 14, no. 3 (2011): 262–70.

¹⁶Muhammad Bisrul Alfin and Septina Alrianingrum, "Perubahan Tradisi Larung Sesaji Di Kel. Karangsari Tuban Tahun 2008-2014," *Jurnal Avatara, E-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah* 3, no. 3 (2015): 409–21.

¹⁷Thiyas Tono Taufiq, "Kearifan Lingkungan Berbasis Agama Komunitas Nelayan Di Pesisir Banyutowo Dukuhseti Pati," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 11, no. 2 (2017): 259–80.

on the modification of sea alms which originally became a sacred ritual and nowadays becomes a tourism object. Therefore, the sea alms have been modified from a sacred dimension to the physic dimension.¹⁸

Sri Widati, *Tradisi sedekah laut di desa Wonokerto Kabupaten Pekalongan – Kajian Perubahan Bentuk dan Fungsi*, the research found that the elements of sea alms changed based on some aspects, namely time and place of celebration, the offerings, and other supported elements. The functions changed from ritual to entertainment, communication, culture preservation, education, and economic. The transformation form and function of sea alms educated the community about the sublime value of nation, spiritual value, work ethic, culture, and environmental preservation. The form and the function transformation of sea alms were influenced by the social culture community transformation which included the development of a knowledge system, economic system, and technology system.¹⁹

The previous researches above showed that the existence of sea alms, indeed, becomes the facility to pray for safety, entertainment, economy, education, local identity, etc. the process was also various, from the very simple ceremony to the very complex ceremony, however it should be done by the fishing community. Referring to those researches, the author of this research focused on “the process of *Mopo'alati celebration* in Moslem society at Molotabu coastal in Bone Bolango Regency”. The research is ethnography which enables the researcher to find the native perspective about their life with any

modification.²⁰ The research also used a case study to focus on one case intensively and in more detail.²¹ The case is the acculturation between Islamic law and *Mopo'alati* tradition. The data were collected through passive participant observation, unstructured interviews, and documentation. The sampling was purposive by choosing the key informants.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Religion and Culture Acculturation

Religion and culture are two important elements in the community that influence each other. When Islamic teaching comes into a community, there is a conflict between them. However, Islamic teaching was coming to the Arabic community when they have a strong belief about their tradition. Therefore, Rasulullah saw. is the prophet of Islam who taught that religion should always consider the cultural factors of Arabic society at the time. Indeed, a part of al-Qur'an verses conveyed because of the cultural acculturation process.²²

Religion and culture have an ambivalent correlation. Religion (Islam) and culture have their own indecency, but both are in the same ambivalent region. However, the ambivalence has not banned the manifestation of religion into cultural form.²³

Considering the acculturation between Islam and local culture, Nurcholish Madjid argued that Islam and culture are two aspects that can be distinguished but they cannot be separated. Religion is absolute; it is constant even though the time and place are changed.

²⁰A. Stuan Schlegel, *Methodologi Research* (Banda Aceh: Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Universitas Syi'ah Kula, 2014), 45.

²¹Lexy J. Moleng, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Edisi Revisi (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2015), 80.

²²For example the verse about drunk and usury conveyed step by step to make adaptation with Arabic society condition at the time. see Luthfi Al-Syaukani, *Pengaruh Kristen Orientalis Terhadap Islam Liberal* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2010).

²³Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pergulatan Negara, Agama Dan Kebudayaan* (Depok: Desantara, 2001), 117.

¹⁸Idrus Ruslan, “Religiositas Masyarakat Pesisir; Studi Atas Tradisi Sedekah Laut Masyarakat Kel. Kangkung Kec. Bumi Waras Kota Bandar Lampung,” *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Lintas Agama* 9, no. 2 (2014): 86–87.

¹⁹Sri Widati, “Tradisi Sedekah Laut Di Desa Wonokerto Kabupaten Pekalongan – Kajian Perubahan Bentuk Dan Fungsi,” *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan* 1, no. 2 (2011): 142–48.

Moreover, culture is changed in accordance with the change of time and place, even though it is based on religious teaching. The existence of culture can be changed from time to time, from one place to another place. Many local cultures were lost because of the development of the era. Indeed, most of the culture based on religion, but it is never happened religion based on culture. Religion is primary and culture is secondary. Culture can change the expression of religious life because it is a sub-coordinate of religion.²⁴

Clifford Geertz is a famous anthropologist who defined religion as: "symbol system is driving human strong everlasting spirit and motivation. Religion creates general conceptions about existence and covers the conceptions in such a way in factual condition, thus the condition and the motivation will appear very realistic".²⁵

Two definitions indicated that religion has an important role in determining the life condition in such a way, thus it can stimulate an accurate character, either on material or spiritual and in turn, the characters will support each other.²⁶ Meanwhile, the definition generally describes that in a religion or in reflecting a religion, there is an area that relates to the description of God. The characteristic is abstract, sacred, and absolute, and there is an area that relates to the reflection of religion and culture. The characteristic is concrete and relative.

The description of religious reflection has been explained in the previous paragraph that happened in some ethics. Clifford Geertz in his book "The Religion of Java" gave a clear description of the reality in Javanese society which reflected their religion (Islam) not only

based on Islamic teaching but also based on cultural perspective and local wisdom. Geertz made the description after doing research for 6 years in Mojokerto, East Java in 1950. The book was translated with the title "Abangan, Santri, dan Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa".

In another spectrum, the connection of new culture with other cultures indicates conflict among them. For instance, the conflict was ever happened in Minangkabau ethnic,²⁷ and also in India America ethnic.²⁸ However, in Bugisnese society, there is harmony connection among the society, they have an institution called "pangadereng" which has been existed in society in accordance with Islamic teaching.²⁹

Basically, culture is a description of social life, behavior, and values. From this perspective, religion, on one side is giving contribution toward the existing cultural values, thus religion can be accommodated with the cultural values. On the other side, religion has absolute truth, thus it cannot accommodate the cultural values. Religion should become the source of value for the development of the cultural values themselves. The reversal connection happens in this case.³⁰

Herskovits argued that culture is a system can be adapted from one generation to the next generation. Moreover, Andreas Eppink stated that culture contains the whole meaning of value, norm, knowledge, and all of the social religious structure, etc. Edward B. Tylor argued that culture is a complex element, which included knowledge, belief, norms, art,

²⁴Norcholis Madjid, *Islam Dan Kebudayaan Indonesia: Dulu Kini, Dan Esok* (Jakarta: Yayasan Festival Istiqlal, 1993), 172.

²⁵Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, Trans by F. Budihardiman with the Title "Kebudayaan Dan Agama" (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2013), 5.

²⁶Roger M. Keesing, *The Cultural Anthropologi, A Contemporary Perspective* translated by R.G Soekoyo with the Title "Antropologi Budaya" Suatu Perspektif Kontemporer" (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2012), 94.

²⁷Za'im Rais, *The Minangkabau Traditionalists' Response to The Modernists Movement*, (Montreal, McGill University, 2014), 131.

²⁸Sheetal R. Shah, *The Impact for Sccond Generation Asin Indian Amercanas* (Carbondalle.: Southern Illinois Inuversity, 2016), 139.

²⁹Muhamamd Yusuf, "Relevansi Pemikiran Ulam Bugis Dan Nilai Budaya Bugis (Kajian Tentang 'iddah Dalam Tafsir Berbahasa Bugis Karya MUI Sulsel)," *Analisis Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 13, no. 1 (2013): 67–68, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v13i1.642>.

³⁰Adeng Mukhtar Gazali, *Antropologi Agama* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2011), 30.

law, tradition, and other competencies owned by an individual as a member of society.

The correlation between culture and religion, in this context, religion is considered as real social fact, and values rules in doing social and cultural activities. Islam and other religions often were integrated with culture. Religion is not only approached through its teaching or its institution but also it is approached through another social system. Talcott Parsons stated that "religion is a commitment toward attitude, religion is not only belief, but it is attitude and character" as a social reality, it is concrete and manifested in society.

The perfection of the philosophy values is reflected in religion, custom values, and social community universally. They give important contributions and place in forming social institution which more formal and well organized. In mental-spiritual life, they are the distinguisher and the characteristic of the society.

2. The Harmony between Tradition System and Islam Law in Performing Mopo'alati Tradition in Gorontalo

a. The Perspective of Gorontalo Moslem Community

Raja Amai was obligated to teach Islam and adopted Islam as the legal religion of the kingdom. Therefore, the tradition and the custom should be reformed in accordance with Islamic teaching. The reformation was done by accommodating local traditions and customs. Thus the Gorontalo philosophy is known as "*Syaraa topa-topango adati*" means "religion is based on culture". At the time, Islam has been authority religion (the society should believe Islam as their religion because of the King's authority). At the time, tradition and custom of the ancestor dominated all aspects of Gorontalo society's life.³¹

³¹Tradition is Islamization and Islam is integrated in tradition and in King Eyato era, become tradition in Islamization but still preserve the pioneer of religion leader and tradition leader as formal leader. Islamic teaching and tradition are balance in harmony

Therefore, the first thing is the implementation of *tauhid (aqidah)*. Historically, in the era of King Matolodula Kiki (1550-1585 M.), religion and tradition have the same portion, both support and no domination each other, thus the philosophy was perfected into "*Adati hula-hulaa to syaraa, syaraa hula-hulaa to Kiatabullah*" means "tradition based on religion, religion (Islam) based on Alquran" All of the religious activities, social norms, and tradition ceremony universally should be based on this philosophy. This philosophy becomes the reflection and the characteristic of Gorontalo society.

King Eyato also governed the kingdom based on philosophy. Values system is reflected as sacred symbols based on Islamic teaching. Therefore, an ethic that becomes existence and social rules are influenced, driven, and modified by some of the values system based on Islamic rules. For instance, *baitul Maal* and *Badan Waqaf* were established by King Eyato which implemented Islam economic principle (*zakat*). At the time the social community activities drive through Islamic features. In reality, religion equipped with social cohesion and supplied ideology for social development. Islam legitimating is reflected in social regulation and the power of Islam legitimating lies on the balance of politics and religion. King Eyato said that the government role is *moqo yiyo to Eeya wolo Nabi mursalah loqo wali u sagala* (the representation of God and Prophet Muhammad Saw) (God is the creator of human and all creature in-universe).

In many social institutions, harmony between religion and culture appears very clear, such as celebrating a birthday, wedding ceremony, and funeral ceremony. They still implement the tradition in accordance with the ancestor's tradition, but Islamic values cover the tradition. The principle can be seen from the King statement "*Adati Madilidilato Bolomopoit*" (tradition is being and it is just implemented).

According to Polontalo, there are two systems of value that are maintained by the Gorontalo people, namely, First, the value

system that comes from Islamic Sharia (sourced from the Qur'an and al-hadith). This value is very absolute and is seen as a high-quality value. Second, the value system that comes from customs, this customary value system is accumulated from the deep thinking of royal officials and carried out from generation to generation. One of the goals of this customary value system is to make relations between the community and other communities live in harmony.³²

Once integrated between religious values and customary values in the living order of the Gorontalo people, then: 1) Islamic colored symbols 2) the use of the verses of the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet. as the basis for the implementation of tradition 3) the implementation of custom must be confirmed by traditional leaders and religious leaders 4) the mosque is the first choice in implementing tradition.

There are two values system developed in Gorontalo society namely: *first*, religious value, the rules of the value base on Islamic rules which have high quality. The rules are included in al-Qur'an and hadith, which instructed to obey *rukun Islam*, *rukun Iman*, and *rukun ihsan*. Someone who obey and do all the God (Allah SWT) instruction and escape all His prohibition, thus Allah SWT guarantees him/her to be happy in world life and in eternal life. *Second*, tradition value, this value is focused more on the philosophy of ancestors and the kings about rules and regulations to behave in the community, in order to create harmony in society.

This is the religious description of Gorontalo society in all aspects of their activities covered by religious values and tradition values. It is indicated that society focus to preserve the philosophy "*adat bersendi syara'* and "*syara' bersendi kitabullah*".

b. Acculturation System of Tradition and Religion (Islamic Teaching) in Mopo'alati Ceremonyin Muslim Community at Molotabu Coastal in Bone Bolango Regency

Gorontalo society who dwelt at the coastal beach and work as a fisherman, *Mopo'alati* tradition becomes the part of their life. The tradition contains religious value as the part is separated from spiritual life which influences significantly social life and economic welfare, especially to the fishing community.

Related to the ceremony, the fishing community has their own perspective and special rules. The ceremony related to their activities in the sea which hard and challenged. Fishermen usually face the big wave and the bad weather in the sea. The sea condition is difficult to be predicted and put them in an uncertain condition. The unstable weather becomes threaten and dangerous for them. In the worst condition, they should battle their life. The condition claims them to find something which believed safety to keep their life and increase their prosperity. Therefore, they believe the supernatural power which is implemented through tradition ceremony.

The meaning of tradition contains an understanding of the relationship between the past and the present. It shows something inherited from one generation to the next, and the form of its implementation still exists today. Thus, it can be understood that tradition is something inherited or transmitted from time to time. The implementation of a traditional event is in the context of remembering, respecting, grateful, adoring, and asking for salvation to the Lord.³³

In the human life cycle, from birth, adolescence, marriage, and death have a series of rituals and ceremonies throughout the stages of growth, in cultural terms, this is very important because the implementation of

³²Polontalo, *Paper on Seminar Nasional BPKI-KTI* (Gorontalo, 2003), 6-12.

³³Rostiyati dkk Ani, *Fungsi Upacara Tradisional, Bagi Masyarakat Pendukungnya Masa Kini* (Yogyakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2016), 1.

culture is a prayer that is offered so that their lives are more prosperous, happy, cheap food, and safety from various disasters.

The most important thing in the process of implementing a tradition is that it must follow the mechanism outlined by the traditional stakeholders. Apart from that, there are also various symbols, offerings that have philosophical meanings and are considered very principle. All of these are rules that have been formally formalized and are believed to be true so that they become social controls and behavioral guidelines for the supporting community.

Related to the tradition of *Mopo'alati*, which is celebrated every year, it is believed to be able to provide blessings and prosperity for the fishing community of the coast of Molotabu. The performing of this tradition was followed by government figures, religious leaders, traditional leaders and local communities in arousing full of spiritual meaning enhanced by various customary instruments and cultural objects.

The word *Mopo'alati* consists of two words namely "mopoa" which means to feed (offerings) and the word "lati" means devil. So the word Mopo'alati in Gorontalo language means "to feed the devil (ruler of the sea)". Coastal communities believe that there are "rulers of the sea" who have the power to give good and evil in the sea.³⁴

The *Mopo'alati* tradition is considered to be a very important tradition. The fishing community made offerings as well as requested permission from the sea authorities because the sea rulers had the power to provide many fish catches, safety from waves, winds, tsunami waves and etc. In the context of performing the Mopo'alati tradition or praying for reinforcements in Muslim communities on the coast of Molotabu, things related to cultural objects that have philosophical meanings are prepared. This is important because these objects

complement the implementation of the event, namely:

A set of food and traditional cakes, namely:

- a) Hulante consisting of a set of ingredients on the tray, consisting of 3 liters of white rice, 3 liters of brown rice, 3 liters of yellow rice, above which are 7 nutmegs, 7 cloves, 7 eggs, 7 limes, 7 currency IDR 1,000. Previously the currency consisted of ringgit or rupiah.
- b) A set of incense burning material on the tray, consisting of one pulutube (fire coals), 1 basin of totabu (incense), a glass of closed drinking water, and kobokan (handwashing).
- c) A set of rubbing stone tools (batu pongi'ila), namely rubbing stones to scrape turmeric, a piece mixed with a little lime, cold water, which is called "Alawahu Tilihi".
- d) A set of "Tampaluda" or "Hukede" and Pomama (a place for betel and areca nut) 5) 7 toyopo pieces, a set of food, the ingredients consist of young coconut leaves containing white rice, yellow rice, brown rice, boiled eggs, one-tailed chicken (cannot be cut into pieces). Plus various kinds of traditional cakes such as wapili, kolombeng, ali wadala, tiliaya, and apangi. Completed with gapi banana, plantain, and pagata banana (lutu tahumelito or lutu lo Hulonti'o).
- e) A set of food on a tray consists of a plate of bilinti or a type of fried rice mixed with chicken liver which has been cut into small pieces, a plate of whole chicken one tail and the stomach is filled with chicken eggs, two hand washings, one glass of drinking water, and two tablespoons of fruit.
- f) Several kettles to be filled with clean water for prayer.
- g) A white mat (amongo peya-peya or tiohu) to be occupied by religious leaders, government figures to read the Qur'an, read Barazanji, zikir, and salawat to the Prophet Muhammad, saw.
- h) Pale Yilulo (tilonda'o), which is rice colored in red (symbolizing red blood /

³⁴Abd Wahab Lathif(the secretary of Molotabu village), interview by Rusli, Molotabu Village, on April 23, 2019.

duhu mela on the body), yellow rice symbolizes the sum of the body in the body (yilolota), green rice symbolizes the vein / lindidu, black rice symbolizes meat/tapu and white rice symbolizes the white blood/ duhu moputio in the body

A set of clothes to say the prayer of Mopo'alati or Do'a Tolak Bala. Before the mosque is circumcised take a shower and the whole body must be hit with water. Intend to bathe circumcision to pray for refusing reinforcements. For men a set of clothes; sarong, white shirt, black skullcap, and sujudah (a special mat for praying). All the clothes to be worn are required to be given fragrant or perfumed. For women, a set of clothes; Muslim fashion white, white mukena, sujudah are required to wear fragrant or perfume. All families in the house are required to come to the mosque to pray.

The Meaning of the Instruments of Customs and Cultures in the Mopo'alati Tradition or the Prayer to Reject Bala. Hulante means offering. The contents are meaningful as follows:

Rice 3 liters or 2 cups, as a symbol of fortune, because rice is a staple food. Nutmeg, cloves symbolize the rigidity of life, as nutmeg and cloves provide welfare because the results, also symbolize health. The egg symbolizes the origin of human events. Buluwe or Upik pinang, meaning three honors of God in the world to be achieved, namely; a) Hu'u-hu'umo (still wrapped in fragrant). b) malongo'olo, lebe monu (bloom is more fragrant). c) and lolante lio (already withered) remains fragrant. Kaffir lime or lemon (sophisticated lemon) symbol of the country's fragrance. Currency pieces, a symbol of tenacity in providing sufficient living necessities. A set of incense burning tools, a symbol of the journey of prayer until the presence of Allah Almighty. As a collection of fragrant incense smoke, it is expected that the prayer will be spoken, as a collection of smoke soars the presence of Allah. A series of water is to drink symbolizes peace and coolness because water is the coolness of the stomach. 9) A set of tambaluda or hukede or betel nut

places, as a symbol of traditional perfection. Seven toyopo pieces that will be distributed to the rightful. The number of 7 (seven) attributes of this custom is meaning seven dignity that must be achieved by humans so that they are called perfect namely;

- a) Latifah al-Qalbi
- b) Latifah al-Ruh
- c) Latifah al-Sirri
- d) Latifah al-Akhfa
- e) Latifah al-Khafy
- f) Latifah Nafs al-Halikhah
- g) Latifah Kullu Jasad

The description above explained the things of tradition tools should be prepared in the ceremony. All the tools have their own symbols and meaning. However, the substance is to give charity and safety for the fishing community in doing their activities.

c. Tradition Ceremony of *Mopo'alati*

The ceremony of *Mopo'alati* was started by preparing all the traditional materials, such as food, and cake and put in front of the mosque podium. After that, the priest, government official, religious official, and community did two rekaat prayers, recited al-Fatihah verse, al-Waqi'ah, al-Rahman, and Yasin, *Tahlilan*, and zikir. The traditional ceremony of *Mopo'alati* was closed by giving all the food and cakes to the poor people around the village.

The fishing community who has a fishing boat, some of the food, cakes, and water were brought to the boat, and the priest recited some prayers by mentioning Prophet Nuh, Prophet Kheder, and Prophet Musa. The three of the prophets are believed by the fishing community as the power of the sea. Abd. Rahman Paside said in the interview; every fisherman who will go for sailing, must water his boat with the sacred water and recited *Basmalah*, after that they mentioned Prophet Nuh three times, name of Prophet Kheder three times, and name of prophet Musa three times. It is the reminder that Prophet Nuh is a prophet who made big boat when his followers experienced big flood, Prophet Kheder as the prophet of the sea, and Prophet

Musa when he is chased by Fir'aun, he can split the sea and his followers save from Fir'aun rezim.³⁵

In the interview with Harim Karim, it was found that the fishing community in Molotabu beach always use analogy logic in explaining the philosophy content in their activities namely;

A fishing boat has three strings in its main parts namely; life vest, main string, and ballast which symbolized as the baby in mom's womb. A life vest is the symbol of baby, main string as placental cord, and ballast is symbolized as amniotic fluid. The unity required the fishing community to maintain the boat carefully as well as to care for a baby.

Bamboo segments and buds are symbolized as foot and eyes. These parts should care fondly when these parts are broken, someone will be limping and blind, it means the production stopped.

Boat position and bamboo-segment should be symmetric because it is the symbol of mom and child relation which should be harmony, this symbol indicated the fishing production is increasing.³⁶

The fact of research showed that the fishing community in Molotabu beach has high religious understanding but the implementation focused more on social life. Referring to the implementation of five times prayer, they almost do not do perfectly, excepted *Friday* prayer (because Friday is forbidden to go sailing). In doing *ramadhan* fasting, generally, they did perfectly only for three days, namely one day at the beginning of fasting, one day in the mid of fasting, and one day in the last of fasting. In giving *zakat fitrah*, they give rice, they do not want to change with money for example, because they said that money is not for eating.

The results of observations and interviews of the authors with the community implementing the Mopo'alati tradition, illustrate that there are several factors that cause the emergence (trust) in the community, among others:

Inability to deal with various life challenges caused by natural turmoil of events.

The desire to live more prosperous, happy, safe so that they try to persuade the rulers of nature by offering various kinds of offerings that are usually done with a ritual ceremony. The results of the offerings are considered to be the interface with the supernatural, where humans cannot deal with them. Taming spirits that are usually destructive/hurtful. Get help from the spirits of ancestors or ancestors.³⁷

From some of the arguments above, it can be understood that local wisdom refers to a variety of cultural assets that grow and develop in a community known, trusted, and recognized as important elements that are able to strengthen social cohesion among citizens. More than that, it is a belief system that is realized and responds to what is felt and believed to be sacred.

The relation between human life, nature, and all aspects of the environment cannot be separated from each other. Before Islam religion came into human life, society believes the supernatural power which influences human life. Harun Nasution explained that; humans feel no power, thus they put the supernatural as their power source. They think to build good relations with the power which implemented through their obligation to obey the rules and to escape the prohibition.³⁸

D.C. Mulder was cited by Aslam Hady stated that humans think they need three things from a supernatural power, namely: 1) protection from danger and threaten 2) the necessity to accept good destiny 3) the

³⁵Abd.Rahman Paside (the head of Molotabu Village), interview by Rusli, Molotabu Village, on May 15, 2019.

³⁶Harim Karim (custom leader of Molotabu beach), interview by Rusli, Molotabu Village, on April 20, 2019.

³⁷Hasanuddin Ismail (The headmaster of Junior High school Molotabu), interview by Rusli, Molotabu Village, on August 14, 2019.

³⁸Harun Nasution, *Islam Ditinjau Dari Berbagai Aspeknya*, fifth edition Jilid I (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia (UI Press), 1985), 3.

necessity to protect material and spiritual aspect.³⁹

The concept of a cultural da'wah (Islam speech) approach needs to be applied in the framework of the community understanding (rationally) that the *Mopo'alati* tradition with various myths, sacralization, mysticism, and meaning of the rooted symbol can be changed. Because substantially of Islam speech is actually an effort to reconstruct the notion of society that contains elements of shirk to become a Muslim society. The process of aqeedah from the traditions that are magical, animistic, dynamic, and irrational is pure aqeedah.⁴⁰

Researchers believe that in fact Islam always comes to people who are already in a variety of traditions (not cultural vacuum), so when Islam comes it does not negate and clear up existing local culture and values. Islam still accommodates and acculturates and provides more objective moral light. This principle makes Islamic religious law always harmonious with the culture that grows in the community.

Actually, when traditional values have been dominated the social life, they should be approached which a new perspective, namely "Islam collaborative". This new perspective views the reality of religious which adopts the local culture and not contradictive with Islam and even strengthens Islamic teaching through intensive transformation.

3. The Implication of *Mopo'alati* Tradition Ceremony on Moslem Community at Molotabu beach in Bone Bolango Regency

Gorontalo society had succeeded to perfect the philosophy of "*Adati hula-hulaa to syaraa, syaraa hula-hulaa to Kitabullah*" since governed by King Matolodula Kiki (1550-1585 M.). This philosophy had given a chance to develop social regulation, either in a

spiritual dimension or in the tradition dimension.

The implication of *Mopo'alati* tradition ceremony on Moslem community at Molotabu beach can be seen from the explanation as follows;

In *Mopo'alati* tradition, Islamic teaching is interpreting in a very concrete form, where Islam becomes the spirit from all activities to find happiness either in world life or in eternal life. The fish harvest ceremony was held on *ramadhan* month becomes the implementation of being thankful to Allah SWT, they believe that Allah will pour more when the human always conveys their thanks.

لَشَدِيدٌ عَذَابِيَّاتِكُمْ تُمْوَلِنَا لَارِيْدَكُمْ شَكَرُ تُمْلِنُ

Indeed when you convey many thanks, absolutely Allah will increase His blessing to you, and when you deny His blessing, indeed the doom is very poignant.

The verses which recited by the priest in the local language indicated that the fishing community is familiar with Islamic teachings, such as reciting *shalawat*, al-Fatihah, Yasin, etc. as the opening of prayer. Conveying prayers reflect the harmony relation between human and nature. Forest is the place to find wood for boat making, the sea is the source of fish, they should be respected by giving alms in the ceremony.

Confirming Islamic teaching and *Mopo'alati* tradition which cover in symbol becomes the best way to come out of symbolic conflict, thus it can be accepted by the fishing community because they will not be lost their local identity. The habit to mention Prophet Khedher after reciting *shalawat* when they are in the sea to install piles, to mention Prophet Nuh when they are meshing net, indicate the close spiritual relationship between the fisherman and God (Allah SWT).

The symbolic meaning of the cultural material is directed on Islamic teaching which they believe only to Allah SWT, they install piles in odds number because Allah SWT like something is odd.

³⁹Aslam Hady, *Pengantar Filsafat Agama*, First Edition (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1986), 49.

⁴⁰M. Amin Rais, *Cakrawala Islam, Antara Cita Dan Fakta* (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), 26.

In addition, food and cakes were prepared for *Mopo'alati* ceremony are the symbol of being optimistic in praying. The symbols indicate the implementation of prayer which unspelled. It is proven that the fishing community believes about Allah's power in regulating this world. They believe that how big the wave is or how dangerous the weather is, the determiner is Allah Swt, thus they must pray all the time.

The other implementation is the fishing community has an honest and fair character. They implemented the "*pamali*" principle where they cannot do some activities which break the rules during they are sailing. The principle is also applicable to their families. The implementation of *pamali* is not to take anything out of their area. The fishing community in Molotabu beach is very careful in doing their work in the sea, they perceive the charity is not only to fulfill their need but also it should give happiness in their life. It is useless to own glory prosperity by doing the cheating. This character is the implementation of Islamic values which recommend escaping the devil action. The honesty is the implementation of self-correction when going sailing, for example, it is forbidden to eat some forbidden food if it happens, the worst thing will be experienced by their selves and their families. The fishing community believes that a good generation grows from good input. The honesty becomes the character of most of the fishermen in Molotabu beach.

The next implication is a generous and helpful character implemented by the fishing community at Molotabu beach in their daily activities. Principally, they go sailing to catch some fishes for selling, but they do not forget as the social individuals they have to share their fishing with others.

C. CONCLUSION

The acculturation of Islamic teaching and *Mopo'alati* tradition were based on the philosophy of "Adat hula-hulaa to syara', Syara' hula-hulaa to Qur'ani" (adat bersendikan syarak and syarak based on the books of Allah). From this philosophy two

values systems are adopted, namely; 1). Islamic values based on the Qur'an and al-hadith. 2). Customary values based on traditional formatted ancestral customs and institutions within the community.

The implementation of the *Mopo'alati* tradition in the 1960s was still uncivilized. The *pelola lo kambungu* (the leaders) believe that the authority of the sea has the power to give good and / or evil to the fishing community. This is what encourages them to give offerings, read spells and offerings of dances. However, around the 1970s, Islamic propaganda increasingly developed the Muslim coastal community of Molotabu began to change its religious understanding. Thus the implementation of the *Mopo'alati* tradition changed to the prayer of "Reject Bala" this activity reflected Islamic nuances such as; reading the prayer, remembrance, reading the letter of Yasin, the letter Tabarakah, al-Waqi'ah, etc.

The *Mopo'alati* ceremony is considered urgent because of the problem of work in the hard and challenging sea. Fishermen face waves, strong winds, and erratic weather. Sea conditions are difficult to predict, making fishermen in the scope of uncertainty. Changing natural weather is a life threat. Even at the worst level, life is at stake in their profession. This condition requires the fishermen to look for a backrest that can support the smooth running of the work; therefore the fishing community has a very intimate bond with supernatural powers embodied through various rituals.

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INTERVIEW

Abd Wahab Lathif (the secretary of Molotabu village), interview by Rusli. Molotabu Village. August 14, 2019.

Abd. Rahman Paside (the head of Molotabu Village), interview by Rusli. Molotabu Village. May 15, 2019.

Harim Karim (custom leader of Molotabu beach), interview by Rusli. Molotabu Village. April 20, 2019.

Hasanuddin Ismail (The headmaster of Junior High school Molotabu), interview by Rusli. Molotabu Village. August 14, 2019.

THE EXISTING OF NAQSHBANDI TARIQA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE SAKAI PEOPLE IN BENGKALIS REGENCY

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Abstract

This study aims to determine the development of the Naqshbandi Tariqa and its influence on the socio-cultural life of the Sakai people in the Bengkalis Regency. The findings of this study are that the Naqshbandi Tariqa entered and developed among the Sakai Tribe in several different regions, but not at the same time with varying figures of the carrier. If mapped, there are three main lines (networks), namely the first line of the Ibrahim Caliph in 1912 at Bomban Potani in the area of Bathin Solapan. Second, the path of Sheikh Imam Sabar Al-Kholidi in 1925 in Beringin Village, Talang Muandau area. Third, Caliph Mahmud in 1947 in Tasik Serai. The Sakai Tribe can well accept the presence of the Naqshbandi Tariqa in the Onder region of the Mandau district. It is evidenced by the existence of approximately 11 Suluk houses in the Sakai Tribe domicile today. The teachings of the Naqshbandi Tariqa greatly influenced the socio-cultural life of the Sakai Tribe. Most of them have abandoned the bad habits that have been practiced and become devout Muslims. Islamic values are very thick, coloring their social system, those concerning the method of marriage and family life, social relations, political and government leadership, customs and traditions, and the economy.

Keywords:

Muslim communities; Hinduism; Pegayaman village; Menyama Beraya; Balinese exoticism

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui perkembangan Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah dan pengaruhnya terhadap kehidupan sosial budaya masyarakat Suku Sakai di Kabupaten Bengkalis. Temuan penelitian ini bahwa Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah masuk dan berkembang di kalangan masyarakat Suku Sakai di sejumlah wilayah yang berbeda, pada waktu yang tidak bersamaan dengan tokoh pembawa yang berbeda-beda pula. Kalau dipetakan, ada tiga jalur (jaringan) utama, yaitu pertama jalur khalifah Ibrahim tahun 1912 di Bomban Potani wilayah Bathin Solapan. Kedua, jalur Syekh Imam Sabar Al-Kholidi tahun 1925 di Desa Beringin wilayah Talang Muandau. Ketiga, Khalifah Mahmud tahun 1947 di Tasik Serai. Kehadiran Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di wilayah onder distrik Mandau bisa diterima dengan baik oleh masyarakat Suku Sakai. Hal ini dibuktikan dengan keberadaan lebih kurang sebelas rumah suluk di wilayah domisili Suku Sakai sampai saat ini. Ajaran Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah sangat mempengaruhi kehidupan sosial budaya masyarakat Suku Sakai. Sebagian besar mereka sudah meninggalkan kebiasaan-kebiasaan buruk yang selama ini dipraktekkan dan menjadi Muslim yang taat. Nilai-nilai Islam sangat kental mewarnai sistem sosial mereka baik menyangkut sistem perkawinan dan kehidupan kekeluargaan, tata pergaulan sosial, kepemimpinan politik dan pemerintahan, adat dan tradisi, dan perekonomian.

Kata Kunci:

Masyarakat muslim; Hinduisme; Kampung Pegayaman; Menyama Beraya; Eksostisme Bali.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Sakai tribe is one of the indigenous tribes in Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province. Precisely, it is located in Mandau District, Bathin Solapan, Pinggir District, and Talang Muandau.¹ Many scholars believe that the Sakai tribe is the remnants of the Malay racial group that came to this area.² They mostly settled in the forests, headwaters, and swamps. Their main livelihood is hunting, gathering in the forests, or fishing in rivers.³

Sakai people initially professed an animistic belief system, which is a belief in spirit or soul.⁴ In animist belief, many spirits filled not only all natures, but also non-living objects, such as bones and stones. Meanwhile, a dynamism which is a belief that every object around humans has a mysterious power called Mana or Tuah in Indonesian.⁵ However, along with era development, most of them have embraced Islam, although certain animistic and dynamic practices still exist in their societies. So this fact produces negative assessments among Malays in general towards them. Some even think that many of the Sakai people have embraced Islam. However, they still practice a religion of their ancestors that always practice elements of animism, magic power, and about spirits. The essence of the ancestors' religion of Sakai people is a belief in the existence of 'Antu' or supernatural beings around them. Sakai people consider that 'Antu' also has a lifelike human. They are a group and have a residential area. According to the Sakai people, the middle of a jungle is a center of the Antu settlement in which humans have never touched it.

Islamization of the Sakai tribe, according to Hamidy UU was carried out by Ulama figures from Naqshbandi Tarekat,⁶ but he did not mention explicitly in his book who were Naqshbandiyah Ulama, who spread Islam there. Though information about them is also essential to know what their role and struggle are in developing Islamic teachings. Through the establishment of Suluk houses in several Sakai tribal settlements, Naqshbandiyah Ulamas have indeed Islamized Sakai tribes. The settlements, for example, include Pematang Pudu Village, Air Jamban, Batin Sobangar Duri 13, Balai Pungut, and Muara Basung with the number of hundreds of followers and dozens of caliphs and deputies (Badal) to this time. The existence of Naqshbandi tariqa in the Sakai tribe community, which still exists and survives until now, is an interesting phenomenon to behold. Because in some populations of other indigenous tribes in Bengkalis Regency such as Akit Tribe in the Rupert District, Rupert Utara, Bantan, and Bengkalis, the teachings of the tariqa did not develop. Meanwhile, tariqa teaching significantly affects their socio-cultural life, as reflected in their daily attitudes and behavior. Besides, many scholars firmly believe that the process of Islamization among the Sakai tribe was carried out by the leaders of Naqshbandi Tariqa, who had a connection with Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan in Babussalam Langkat, North Sumatra. In the process of developing Islam through the teachings of tariqa, of course, they face many dynamics and challenges from local communities that are

¹Setia Putra and Erdianto Effendi, "Kearifan Lokal Budaya Suku Sakai Terhadap Sumber Daya Perairan Di Kabupaten Bengkalis," *Riau Law Journal* 1, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–14.

²Annette Hamilton, "Reflections on the 'Disappearing Sakai': A Tribal Minority in Southern Thailand," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37, no. 2 (June 15, 2006): 293–314, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463406000567>.

³Zulyani Hidayah, *Ensiklopedi Suku Bangsa Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2015), 330.

⁴Pater P Schebesta and Charles Otto Blagden, "The Jungle Tribes of the Malay Peninsula," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1926): 269–78.

⁵Amsal Bakhtiar, *Filsafat Agama, Wisata Pemikiran Dan Kepercayaan Manusia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2007), 58.

⁶U. U. Hamidy, *Pengislaman Masyarakat Sakai Oleh Tarekat Nakshabandiyah Babussalam* (Pekanbaru: Pusat Kajian Islam dan Dakwah, Universitas Islam Riau, 1992). See also UU Hamidy, *Jagad Melayu Dalam Lintasan Budaya Di Riau* (Pekanbaru: Bilik Kreatif Press, 2011), 5.

thick with these animistic traditions. After all, sociologically, as stated by Soejono Soekanto, belief systems such as ideology, philosophy of life, and others are elements of culture that are difficult to accept for a society.⁷ Therefore, the nature and characteristics of society will always suspect foreign ideologies that enter to its community. The process of accepting new doctrines in society will certainly cause social friction even though it occurs in a small intensity.

This study uses a qualitative approach with the analysis of the theory of social change Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936), which divides society into two groups, namely *Gemeinschaft* (a group or association) and *Gesellschaft* (a society or modern society).⁸ The study was conducted for three months from September to November 2018 by taking districts of Mandau, Pinggir, Inner Solapan, and Talang Muandau Bengkalis Regency as research locations. Researchers have interviewed tariqa leaders, tariqa congregations, religious leaders, and traditional leaders.

Previous studies relating to Sakai Tribe has conducted by many researchers. First, Parsudi Suparlan (1993) entitled *Orang-orang Sakai di Riau: Masyarakat Terasing dalam Masyarakat Indonesia*.⁹ This research highlighted more aspects of Sakai people's history in Riau and their socio-cultural conditions. Starting from their environment, livelihoods, economy and daily life, kinship systems, belief systems, leadership, and other aspects of culture. Second,

Cipta Pratama Tarigan, Zahirman, Ahmad Eddison (2012) entitled *Pengaruh Modernisasi terhadap Tata Cara Adat Pernikahan Suku Sakai di Desa Pinggir Kecamatan Pinggir Kabupaten Bengkalis*.¹⁰ Following the title, this

research only highlights the influence of modernization in Sakai Marriage Customary Procedures, and based on this study result, the influence is very dominant. Third, Fatma Yulia (2008) entitled *Pandangan Masyarakat Suku Sakai terhadap Sistem Pewarisan Menurut Hukum Adat di Kecamatan Mandau, Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau*.¹¹ The results showed that the views of Sakai people towards the inheritance system based on Customary Law in Mandau district, Bengkalis Regency, lead to a system of integration among inheritance systems that are collective-individual. The distribution carried out by the inheritance system mentioned above is motivated by family or kinship nature, which shows a mixture of matrilineal and parental. Besides, there is also a tendency of Indigenous Peoples who have begun to be influenced by Islamic Law.

These previous studies of the Sakai tribe have not yet found specific research relating to the development of Islam in the Sakai tribe through Naqshbandi Tariqa. Although Parsudi Suparlan's research revealed a glimpse of the Islamization process in Mandau, his research focused more on the sociological and cultural aspects of Sakai people. Likewise, other studies discuss more similar things.

This research aims to find out how the Sakai community accepts the process of Islam and Naqshbandi tariqa, how the development is, and how it affects their socio-cultural life. Through this study, a description of history and development of Naqshbandiyah tariqa among the Sakai tribe will be obtained through the applied Islamization pattern and also the extent to which the teachings of Naqshbandiyah tariqa influence their daily attitudes and behavior.

⁷Soerjono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 169.

⁸Damsar and Idrayani, *Pengantar Sosilogi Pedesaan* (Jakarta: Kharisma Putra Utama, 2016), 42.

⁹Supardi Suparlan, *Orang Sakai Di Riau, Masyarakat Terasing Dalam Masyarakat Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1995).

¹⁰Cipta Pratama Tarigan and Ahmad Eddison Zahirman, *Pengaruh Modernisasi Terhadap Tata Cara*

Adat Pernikahan Suku Sakai Di Desa Pinggir Kecamatan Pinggir Kabupaten Bengkalis (Pekanbaru, 2012).

¹¹Fatma Yulia, "Pandangan Masyarakat Suku Sakai Terhadap Sistem Pewarisan Menurut Hukum Adat Di Kecamatan Mandau, Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau," *Jurnal Ilmiah Advokasi* 2, no. 1 (2014): 14–25.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The Sakai Tribe and Islamization in Indonesia

Indonesian society has long been the target of the Islamization process. As a religious missionary, Islam obligates its people to spread Islamic teachings to others both individually and communally.

In the Minang tribe, West Sumatra, Islam was first estimated in the 7th century,¹² and in 674, Arab communities have lived on the east coast of Sumatra island. In addition to trading, they slowly brought Islam to Minangkabau or West Sumatra highlands now through rivers that flow east of Sumatra island, such as Batang Hari. The development of Islam in West Sumatra became very rapid after the Aceh sultanate was ruled by Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah al-Kahar, who succeeded in expanding his territory to almost the entire west coast of Sumatra. So in the 13th century, Islam began to enter Tiku, Pariaman, Air Bangis, and other coastal areas of West Sumatra. Islam then also came to Minangkabau highland called "Darek." In the Darek region at that time stood the Pagaruyung kingdom, which the kingdom began to have Islamic influence around the 14th century. Before Islam was widely accepted, people around the kingdom center from some archaeological evidence showed that they had embraced Buddhism and Hinduism, especially before entering in the 7th century.¹³

Among Javanese, many scholars believe that Islam has come in the 11th century brought by merchants from Arabia.¹⁴ Its development was more rapid after the presence of Wali Songo at the beginning of the 15th century and the establishment of the Demak Islamic kingdom.¹⁵

In Dayak tribe Kalimantan, Islam entered at the end of the 15th century through two channels. The first is the Malacca route through Islamic kingdoms of Malacca and Pasai that was mainly in the West Kalimantan region (Sukadana) in the early 16th century.¹⁶ The second path is through Java since the establishment of the Demak Kingdom. The spread of Islam in Kalimantan indeed cannot be separated from trade routes because, in Kalimantan itself, there were trading ports in the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdoms era -primarily Kalimantan also provided reliable commodities such as pepper at that time. But Islam has not been entirely accepted on a massive basis by Kalimantan people. Spreading Islam momentum occurred since Prince Samudera adhered Islam in 1526.

In the Bugis tribe in Sulawesi, Islamization took place in the 16th century brought by three scholars from Minangkabau, namely Khatib Tunggal Datuk Makmur, or known as Datuk Ribandang in South Sulawesi, Khatib Sulung Datuk Sulaiman, known as Datuk Patimang, Sheikh Nurdin Ariyani known as Datuk RiTiro. The development of Islam in Bugis' land increasingly rapid growth after King Gowa XIV officially embraced Islam in 1605, which finally changed its name to Sultan Alauddin.¹⁷

From some notes about Islamization in several regions in Indonesia, Ulama, both local and regional, have spread Islamic doctrines in Indonesia. Through trade activities and even political approaches (power), many kings embraced Islam, and this made its people did the same thing until the kingdom became an Islamic kingdom.

Not much different Islamization pattern also occurs in Sakai tribe. Sakai tribe is one of the

¹²Nikki R Keddie, "Islam and Society in Minangkabau and in the Middle East: Comparative Reflections," *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 2, no. 1 (1987): 1–30.

¹³Sifullah, *Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam Di Asia Tenggara* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 15.

¹⁴Theodore Gauthier Th. Pigeaud and H. J. de Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500–1700* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1976), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7187-6>.

¹⁵Alwi Shihab, *Islam Pertama Dan Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini Di Indonesia, Islam Sufistik* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 8.

¹⁶Arfah Ibrahim, "Islam in Southeast Asia," *Ar-Raniry: International Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 1 (2018): 40–52.

¹⁷Musyrifah Sunanto, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2007), 27.

inland tribes in Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province, which came from Pagaruyung, Batusangkar, West Sumatra, and from Mentawai.¹⁸ The Sakai people are mainly in several points and locations within the Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province. Their presence today is precisely in Mandau District, Bathin Solapan, Pinggir, and Talang Muandau. In 1984 it was estimated that their population was around 6,500 people or approximately 1,400 households. Meanwhile, based on data from Bengkalis Regency social service, the number of Sakai people in the Bengkalis Regency in 2013 was 3,353 households with 11,081 people.

Initially, the traditional Sakai community embraced animism and dynamism. They have known cosmology that is different from new religions such as Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Cosmologically, the Sakai people believe that nature has five levels, which is the highest level is a ghost.¹⁹

Islam entered to Sakai tribe estimated in 1912 brought by Ulama of Naqshbandiyah Tariqa, who came from Basilam, North Sumatra, which was caliphs who took Bai'at with Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan.

In its early era, Islamization among Sakai tribe faced a formidable challenge, in which the Sakai tribes on average refused and resisted because the presence of Islam was considered by them to threaten their traditions and customs. However, after making various efforts, tariqa scholars have succeeded in Islamizing the minds of the Sakai tribe, and all their tribal members followed it and provided further guidance regarding Islamic teachings, an established institution of the tariqa.

2. The Sakai Tribe and Naqshbandi Tariqa Development

Tariqa can be interpreted as a system of living together and togetherness in diversity as an effort to spiritualize understanding and practice the teachings of Islam towards the achievement of *Ma'rifatu'l-lah*. In this perspective, this formulation can be interpreted as a collective effort in *tazkiyah al-nafs* efforts in the framework of religious interiorization.²⁰

Experts more widely use the term Tariqa in Sufism. In this case, Mustafa Zahri said that the path is a path or a guide in performing worship according to the teachings exemplified by Prophet Muhammad and carried out by his friends, *tabi'in* and *tabi'in* *tabi'in* from generation to generation to the teachers in a chain until in our time. More specifically, Sufiyah tariqa means the system in the framework of conducting soul training, ridding oneself of the despicable qualities, and filling them with praiseworthy qualities and multiplying the *dhikr* sincerely solely to expect to meet with and be spiritually united with God. The path in tariqa, among others, is continuously in remembrance or remembering God, and continuously avoiding something that forgets God.²¹

In the case, Harun Nasution said that tariqa was the path that a Sufi had to take to aim to be as close as possible to God.²² Meanwhile, according to Hamka said that between the creature and *Khaliq*, there is a journey of life that people must take or what so-called tariqa.²³

Based on some previous understanding about tariqa, tariqa is a spiritual path for a Sufi which contains practices of worship and others with the theme of mentioning the name of Allah and its attributes accompanied by deep appreciation. The practice in this tariqa aims to

¹⁸Supardi Suparlan, *Orang Sakai Di Riau, Masyarakat Terasing Dalam Masyarakat Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1995), 72.

¹⁹Saputra and Syahril De, *Kearifan Lokal Yang Terandung Dalam Upacara Tradisional Kepercayaan Masyarakat Sakai-Riau* (Tanjung Pinang: BPNST, 2010), 29-30.

²⁰A. Rivay Siregar, *Tasawuf Dari Sufisme Klasik Ke Neo-Sufisme* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), 263.

²¹Abuddin Nata, *Akhlah Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2008), 270.

²²Harun Nasution, *Falsafah Dan Mistisisme Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1979), 89.

²³Hamka, *Tasawuf Perkembangan Dan Pemurniannya* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjima, 1984), 104.

get the closest (spiritually) possible relationship with God. Further development, tariqa is not only limited to the path (teaching) but implies an organization that has *shaykhs*, ritual ceremonies, and certain forms of remembrance.²⁴

The tariqa has the purpose of learning about personal mistakes and deficiencies in conducting acts of worship or in interacting with the community. It is also learning how to correct their mistakes by cleansing liver diseases through guidance from a teacher who has reached the perfection of the tariqa and is competent in the method of treating liver diseases.²⁵

According to Shaykh Sholeh Basalamah, tariqa is essentially inviting people to take advantage of the time to always recite Allah. According to him, the primary purpose of tariqa is to invite Muslims to dhikr to Allah, because sometime after the Messenger of Allah left the people, Islam began far from remembrance, whereas in Al-Qur'an commands humans to always remembrance, to get a calm and happy heart.²⁶ Meanwhile, according to Khalil, the purpose of the Tariqa is to find a way to draw closer to Allah. To be able to find and take this path, adherents must learn the shortcomings, mistakes, and sins that they do, then make improvements.²⁷

The learning process in tariqa relates to the relationship between teacher and student. The teacher in tariqa is called Murshid or Shaykh, and his representative is called a caliph. While his followers are called Salik (students). Whereas tariqa is called *ribath* or *zawiyah* or *taqiya*.

Each tariqa has certain religious practices or teachings, institutional symbols, rules, and other ceremonies. According to the provisions

of tariqat in general, that a Shaykh is very determining towards his students. The presence of a student in front of his teacher is like a dead or helpless carcass of nothing. Because tariqa is a way to be close to Allah, the person who performs the path must carry out Shari'a, and the student must fulfill the following elements:

- a) Studying religious law knowledge.
- b) Observing and trying as the best they can to follow in the footsteps and the teacher. The students have to carry out his teacher's orders and do not abandon his prohibition.
- c) Do not look for relief in charity to achieve ultimate perfection.
- d) Do and fill time as efficiently as possible with all the *wirid* and prayers for the stabilization and specificity in achieving higher maqamat (stations).
- e) Curb the lust to avoid mistakes that tarnish charity.

The characteristics of a tariqa are the characteristics generally held by each group, while in the form of charity and *wirid* are different.²⁸ By following tariqa education, a *salik* can understand and realize his weaknesses and mistakes. Besides, he can understand and realize the existence of his heart disease and how to handle it based on the direction of his teacher. Because someone is challenging to know and realize their shortcomings. Therefore, he needed someone who was an expert at that, the murshid teacher. In addition to interacting with the murshid teacher, a *salik* can improve his behavior through the *uswah* method, which is watching and imitating the teacher's manners all the time. Because social or environmental situations have a significant influence on character formation.²⁹

The development of Naqshbandi tariqa among the Sakai tribe society is inseparable

²⁴Ecep Ismail, "Landasan Qur'ani Tentang Zikir Dalam Ajaran Tarekat," *Syifa Al-Qulub* 1, no. 2 (2017): 195-201.

²⁵William Stoddart and Reynold A Nicholson, *Şūfism: The Mystical Doctrines and the Idea of Personality* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998).

²⁶Mustain Yusuf, Yety Rochwulaningsih, and Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, "Roles of KH. Abdul Wahab Sya'roni and Syaikh Ali Bin Ahmad Basalamah in the

Development of Thariqoh Tijaniyah in Jatibarang, Brebes, Central Java," *Indonesian Historical Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): 117-24.

²⁷Totok Jumanoro and Samsul Munir Amin, *Kamus Ilmu Tasawuf* (Wonosobo: Amzah, 2005), 245.

²⁸Nata, *Akhlaq Tasawuf*, 272.

²⁹Abdul Qadir Isa, *Haqaiqah Al-Tasawuf*, ed. Qishtini Pers (Jakarta, 2014), 22.

from the role of Siak Kingdom Sultanate, Sri Indrapura,³⁰ which provides an opportunity for religious groups to preach as well as in educational activities. Based on this fact, the Sultan gave a massive opportunity for the growth and development of tariqa understanding, so that Naqshbandi tariqa was the most significant religious organization and spread to various mainland areas after centuries of development in Riau.³¹

The map of Naqshbandi tariqa development during Siak Sultanate was firstly on Bagan Siapiapi District and Siak District, both of which have now become Rokan Hilir and Siak Sri Indrapura Districts. From the Bagan Siapi-Siapi Districts, Naqshbandiyah tariqa caliphs then spread to various areas around it. The Bagan Siapi-api District, in which the Naqshbandi tariqa used it as a basis of its development, placed 44 teachers who had received tariqa education from Tuan Guru Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan in Basilam Langkat, North Sumatra.³² Sultan Siak's efforts to recruit the Naqshbandi tariqa had two purposes. First, to teach in various educational institutions, and second, for the specific purpose of developing tariqa teaching. Based on the religious teacher regulation in 1930, 57 teachers were given permission to teach in three districts, 44 each in Bagan Siapi-api District, 8 in Pekanbaru District, and 5 in Selat Panjang District, and 29 of them were teachers who taught tariqa.³³

From Bagan Siapi-api District, Naqshbandiyah tariqa caliphs continued to search following the Rokan river channel and visited various community settlements. The

relentless struggle of the caliphs has yielded results. It has been providing a distinctive color to the Islamic practice in the Riau Malay community. It is because the teachings of Naqshbandi tariqa have now spread to various regions of mainland Riau, especially in addition to Islam. Naqshbandiyah tariqa might have initially entered to Mandau region under Siak Sultanate. It is along with the Islamization of the hinterland around 1912.³⁴ Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan granted the Caliph Ibrahim to Islamize and develop the tariqa in Bagan Siapi-api district. A district that borders directly Onder Mandau district, which has been as the settlement area of the inland people (Sakai), an egalitarian group of people, living in isolation and seclusion in the upper reaches of the river, on the edges of springs and marshes.

Another version of the tariqa history in the region is the writing of Muhammad Yatim Bathin Iyo Bansa bin Khalifah Usman. He explained that Abdul Wahab Rokan sent the Caliph Ibrahim with four of his friends (Datuk Imam Nempang, Datuk Lobai Dewi, Datuk Husein, and Datuk Lekak) to preach Islam in the land of Sakai.³⁵

Then in 1925, Syekh Imam Sabar al-Kholidi developed the Naqshbandi tariqa in Beringin village,³⁶ which is currently in Talang Muandau district. To obtain permission (legality) from Sultan Siak, in 1931, he applied Sultan Siak Kingdom Sri Indrapura to develop the teachings of the tariqa in Mandau and surrounding areas. Sheikh Imam Sabar Al-Kholidi submitted this permit application because the Mandau region was under the authority of the Siak Sri Indrapura kingdom.³⁷

³⁰Ahmad Yusuf, *Sultan Syarif Kasim II, Raja Terakhir Kerajaan Siak Sri Indrapura* (Pekanbaru: Pemerintah Daerah Propinsi Riau, 1992), 42.

³¹Suparlan, *Orang Sakai Di Riau, Masyarakat Terasing Dalam Masyarakat Indonesia*, 194.

³²Fuad Said, *Syekh Abdul Wahab Tuan Guru Babussalam* (Medan: Yayasan Pembangunan Babussalam, 1976).

³³M. Arrafie Abduh, "Peran Tariqa Naqshbandi Khalidiyyah Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan," *Alfikra, Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 11, no. 2 (2012).

³⁴Abdullah Syah, "Tarekat Naqshbandiyah Babussalam Langkat," in *Sufisme Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balitbang Agama Departemen Agama, 1978), 51.

³⁵Muhammad Yatim, "A Personal Note from the Top of the Molayu Sakai Tribe, Written on February 8, 2012," 2012.

³⁶M M van Bruinessen, "After the Days of Abû Qubays: Indonesian Transformations of the Naqshbandiyya-Khâlidiyya," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 5 (2007): 225--251.

³⁷Syech Usman, "Notes on Syech Usman Bin Syech Imam Sabar Al-Kholidi Naqshbandi Concerning a Brief

After examining the request of Shaykh Imam Sabar and examining the sciences he would develop, Sultan found that the teachings of tariqa were following Shari'ah and did not cause opposition to the kingdom. Then Sulthan permitted Sheikh Imam Sabar to develop his teachings in the Mandau region.³⁸ The Dipertoean Besar Sjarif Qasim Abdoel Jalil Sjarifoeddin Ibnoe Almarhoem Soelathan Hasjim Negeri Siak Nomor: 76 Sanah 1333 has issued the permit.³⁹

In 1947, Chaliph Mahmud also developed the teachings of Naqshbandiyah Tariqa. He was a delegation of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan, who was assigned to develop the tariqa in Tasik Serai, West Serai Tasik, Bagan Benio, which is currently in Talang Muandau district. Then it was continued by his students Khalifah Muhammad Yatim, Khalifah Subur, and Khalifah Yakin.⁴⁰

Whereas around 1957, Naqshbandiyah tariqa was also developed by Sheikh Muhammad Taib from Babussalam Langkat North Sumatra and later developed his tariqa teachings in of Siarang-Arang village which at that time included in Rokan Hilir Regency. Then continued by his pupil Sheikh Ramadan who founded the First Suluk house in Babussalam Simpang Karang Anyer in 1971. Furthermore, in 1978 moved to Buluh Kasab Pematang Pudu Village in 1978.⁴¹ Moreover, his student Syekh Sulaiman in Petani Village, which is currently in Mandau District.

The period difference of Naqshbandiyah tariqa development was due to the pattern of the delegation of Caliphate authority to become a rigorous Murshid teacher, meaning that not all Naqshbandiyah tariqa students had the authority to develop tariqa and lead Suluk and also because of the broad area of Mandau

district onder and where Sakai tribe lived — scattered at several points so that it is technically a bit difficult in the process of dissemination. Besides, there was a stagnation process so that there was a period of development pause or emptiness even though Sakai people had primarily converted to Islam. Then only after the caliph's students took Suluk in Babussalam, Langkat, and returned to Mandau, the process of developing Tariqah continued.

In the early period of Naqshbandiyah tariqa presence in this region, which was brought by Caliph Ibrahim in 1912, Sakai Batin made a fight against him in the form of a challenge of fighting spiritually (mystically). As quoted in a famous story among Muslim community in Mandau where around 1917 Tungkek non-ompek (Dubalang Bomban Potani) which is said to be immune to sharp weapons challenged Mr. Shaykh Khalifah Ibrahim to circumcise them with an agreement if they could not be circumcised then given sanctions that caliph Shaykh Ibrahim together with four of his friends will be killed. This challenge did not weaken the spirit of Mr. Sheikh Khalifa Ibrahim in da'wah. With the permission of Allah, Sheikh Khalifah Ibrahim succeeded in circumcising them by using the back of a knife that was started by Bathin Teba (Strong Bathin). After this incident, Batin ordered all their descendants to convert to Islam. This story is reinforced again by Hamka Riau, who further explained that it was the event that caused the Sakai tribe people to highly respect Naqshbandiyah Caliphs because they believed that the caliphs had higher or stronger knowledge than them.⁴²

Similar resistance was also faced by Sheikh Imam Sabar, the developer of Naqshbandiyah

History of the Development of the Naqshbandi Tariq in the Kec. Mandau in Balai Pungut Village Written on 16 September 1989," 1989.

³⁸Usman.

³⁹Copy of Sulthan Siak Permit Written According to the Original by Sheikh Usman.

⁴⁰Khalifah Darwis, interview by Riki Astafi, Duri, on October 13, 2018.

⁴¹Khalifah Yusuf (Penasehat Rumah Suluk Babussalam), interview by Riki Astafi, House of Suluk, on October 11, 2018.

⁴²Hamka (Mandau Community Leaders), interview by Riki Astafi, Pondok Pesantren Hubbul Wathon Duri, on October 13, 2018

tariqa in the second period of 1925 when developing Islamic teachings in Beringin village and its surroundings. He got many obstacles or challenges that came from Minas tribe, Bathin Takah group, Penaso tribe, Bathin Genggang group, Belutu tribe, Bathin Babut group. However, this obstacle did not make Shaykh Imam Sabar step down. By gradually, they eventually embraced Islam and renounced their beliefs.

This Islam entrance to the Sakai tribe does not necessarily make them abandon their old customs and culture. The tariqa institutions carried out further development. The caliphs, through an effective approach, invited them to enter the tariqa and follow the Sulyadah Suluk. As Shaykh M. Yusuf, a pupil of Shaykh Imam Sabar, came to their homes to persuade them to follow Suluk and bear all their costs while following him.⁴³ This approach gets sympathetic to Sakai people so that many of them enter the tariqa and participate in activities in Suluk houses for a specified period.

Likewise, in the third period of tariqa development brought by the Khalifah Shaykh Makmud around 1947 in the Tasik Serai region, Tasik Serai Barat, Bagan Benio and Sheikh Muhammad Taib around 1957 in Pematang Pudu and Petani regions. Both get not many different challenges. It is just that these periods are not as severe as in the previous two periods. Most of the Sakai people in this period had adhered Islam, but their Islam was still incomplete because many of them practiced their old habits before converting to Islam.

The first Suluk house founded by Caliph Ibrahim was not known for sure. However, the Suluk house, which was founded by Syekh Sulaiman's grandson, was in Rangau Belading around the 1930s. In contrast, the Suluk house was founded by Shaykh Ramadan or known as Bujanganti, in Babussalam around 1956. Then around 1977, moved to Buluh Kasab, Pematang Pudu Village because in the old location became one of the oil exploration areas by Caltex.⁴⁴ After Sheikh Ramadan died, Chaliph

Basyir, Chaliph Kasim, Chalipha M. Darawi, and Caliph Bukhari continued the activities at Suluk house. They were pupils of Sheikh M. Yusuf from Muara Basung. In contrast, the first Suluk house, which was established by Shaykh Imam Sabar, was on the edge of Balai Pungut Village around 1931, which was named Rumah Suluk al-Tahrim. After that, he founded the mosque, which is now the footprint of the Baldatun mosque. Dozens of worshipers took the tariqa from him came from the family and surrounding communities of the Sakai tribe and Mandau Malay tribe. During the leadership of Sheikh Imam Sabar, his Suluk House has produced more than fifty caliphs. They are Caliph Usman, Caliph Zakaria, Caliph Muhammad Ali, Caliph M. Yusuf, Caliph Yunus, Caliph Muhammad, Caliph Umar, Caliph Daud, Caliph Yahya, Caliph Ismail (RIP) and Caliph Muhammad Nur (Caliph Muhammad), Caliph Muhammad, Caliph Umar, Caliph Daud, Caliph Yahya, Caliph Ismail (RIP) and Caliph Muhammad Nur (RIP).

The development of Naqshbandiyah tariqa by Shaykh Imam Sabar was then continued by his students, Shaykh Usman, his pupil, as well as his son, at Balai Pungut to continue the construction of the Suluk house that his father had established after 1960. Then Sheikh M. Yusuf in Muara Basung and its surroundings and Terengganu. The next Caliph Yahya in Kuala Penaso and Caliph Zakaria in Kandis, Samsam, Minas, and surrounding areas.

Under the leadership of Sheikh Usman al-Tahrim, the Suluk house has produced more than 50 caliphs. After Shaykh Usman, Chaliph M. Ali continued the Suluk house in Balai Pungut and produced 13 caliphs. Caliph Idris produced 11 caliphs, and finally, the Caliph Fachri produced one caliph. Among the students of Sheikh Usman, named Khalifah Muzani, built a Suluk house in Air Jamban Village.

Sheikh M. Yusuf built Suluk house in Muara Basung around 1980 under the name Khairul

⁴³Khalifah Kasri, interview by Riki Astafi, Desa Muara Basung, on October 12, 2018.

⁴⁴Zainal Arifin, interview by Riki Astafi, House of Suluk, on October 11, 2018.

Amal. Under his leadership, Sheikh M. Yusuf guided more than one hundred congregations and resulted in several caliphs, including Shafi'i Caliph, M. Nur Caliph, Ali Hanafiah Caliph, H.M. Syarif Caliph, and Kasri Caliph. For now, Suluk Khairul Amal's house is under the leadership of Shafi'i Caliph, the grandson of Sheikh M. Yusuf.

The first Suluk houses of the Naqshbandi tariqa via the Caliph Mahmud route were in Serai Wangi, which was continued by Caliph M. Yatim. In Tasik Serai, it was continued by Caliph Subur and in West Tasik Serai, which was continued by Khalifah Yakin.

The recruitment pattern of Naqshbandiyah tariqa students from the Sakai tribe who had converted to Islam by the caliphs or murshid teachers was not selectively made because there were no educational institutions other than the tariqa to foster them after converting to Islam. For the caliphs or murshid teachers, the important thing was that they want to follow Suluk first and then strengthen their religious foundation and religious practice. So they become devout Muslims and renounce their previous habits. The persuasive efforts of the caliphs added the not-so-strict requirement to persuade people to enter the tariqa and follow the Suluk. It made them interested in and impressed with Naqshbandi tariqa.

The existence of Islam developed through the institution of tariqa can be well received by Sakai people for these following factors:

Through promoting a more friendly, persuasive, and moderate cultural approach, the caliphs spread and developed the Naqshbandiyah tariqa among the Sakai tribe. They did not use an approach to violence and coercion.

The caliphs personally showed a high piety attitude and always provided assistance and social services to the community. This attitude makes the community feel sympathetic and interested in converting to Islam.

a) The similarity of ideas and characters between the beliefs of Sakai people and the teachings of tariqa that both emphasize aspects of mysticism is only the difference if the mysticism of the Sakai tribe is built

based on animism and dynamism. In contrast, the Naqshbandi mysticism based on Islamic teachings.

b) Islamic universal theology system does not believe in boundaries of space and time. In contrast to the belief system that developed previously at that time, that was localization.

The mystical power of Islam based on Sufistic teachings, can "defeat" the power of local mystics.

3. Suluk House and Naqshbandi Tariqa

The existence of Suluk houses, Naqshbandi tariqa now exists in several regions. In Mandau District, there are two Suluk houses located in Pematang Pudu Village and Suluk houses on Jalan Kayangan Air Jamban Village. In Bathin Solapan District, there is one Suluk house, that is, the Suluk house in Petani Village. In Pinggir District, there are four Suluk houses, namely Darussalam Suluk house, Nurussalam Suluk house, al-Tahrim Suluk house, and the Khairul Amal Suluk house. Then in Talang Muandau District, there are four Suluk houses, namely the Suluk house in Beringin Village, the Suluk house in Kuala Penaso, the Suluk house in Serai Wangi, the Suluk house in Tasik Serai, the Suluk house in West Tasik Serai under the leadership of the caliph Yakin.

In these Suluk houses, the congregation of tariqa periodically carries out the sulyadah, which is guided by the caliphs. Some take the sulyadah for ten days, twenty days, and forty days — usually held in the months of Muharram and Ramadan. Some carry out other than that month. The pilgrims fully bear the cost of living during the Sulukadah Suluk. At the same time, as this sulyadah ritual, pilgrims also usually make a pilgrimage to the teacher's grave. In addition to Suluk riyadah, the followers held *tawajuh* activities twice a week, which usually takes Tuesday night and Friday night. There are also *ratib togak* in the mosque. Besides, there is also *haul*, but these activities have not been carried out lately.

In the early days of the establishment of Suluk houses, the enthusiasm of the community to take Naqshbandi tariqa was quite

high. In general, they are divided into two groups; some take tariqa only and those who take tariqa and follow Suluk.⁴⁵ Along with the times, the interest of the community to take the tariqa has declined. This fact resulted in tariqa not experiencing additional significant. Among the contributing factors are mental (psychological) unpreparedness, busyness with various worldly activities, and also economic factors.⁴⁶ Besides, the interruption of the leadership of the tariqa, which had an impact on the emptiness of the caliph or deputy as a murshid teacher, caused the activities of the sulyadah Suluk to cease, causing some Suluk houses to be closed or there were no Suluk activities anymore.

Lately, most of the followers of Naqshbandi tariqa in the areas of Mandau, Batin Solapan, Pinggir, and Talang Muandau come from older people who indeed have long taken the tariqa. Meanwhile, their enthusiasm to attend Suluk *riyadah* and *tawajuh* routine activities has diminished. Their number is also getting smaller because many people have died. While many young people are not interested in entering the tariqa and following Suluk *riyadah*, this is because of the development of situations and conditions that have undergone changes and the increasing number of mediums for the community to study religion and the establishment of Islamic educational institutions in several places. On average, children from the Sakai tribe community have tasted the world of education, both general and madrasah, or pesantren even to college.⁴⁷ Touch with the modern world that allows them to access various information and knowledge through a variety of existing facilities makes them prefer approaches and methods that are easier and more modern than traditional and conservative in strengthening their religious knowledge and practice capacity.

This fact makes the development of the tariqa as one of the institutions of learning and practice of traditional Islamic teachings through a series of spiritual practices that characterize Sufism outside of school. So that the existence of Suluk houses and followers of Naqshbandi tariqa has diminished. Only a few Suluk houses still exist today, such as the Suluk House in Pematang Pudu, the Suluk House in Air Jamban Village, the Suluk House in Petani, the Suluk al-Tahrim House in Balai Pungut, the Khairul Amal Suluk House in Muara Basung. The rest have been closed because there are no more Suluk activities and disconnections of the caliph or murshid teacher who has the authority (diploma) to lead the Suluk. This situation is the concern of several tariqa leaders in seeing the future of Naqshbandi tariqa and the remaining Suluk houses in the districts of Mandau, Bathin Solapan, Pinggir, and Talang Muandau. It seems that sooner or later, the remaining Suluk houses will suffer the same fate as Suluk houses that are no longer functioning.

4. Naqshbandi Tariqa and Socio-Cultural Life of the Sakai Tribe

Starting from the theory of social change proposed by Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936), which divides society into two groups, namely *Gemeinschaft* (a group or association) and *Gesellschaft* (a society or modern society). *Gemeinschaft* arises from within the individual, and there is a desire to have a relationship or relationship based on similarity in desire and action. Individuals, in this case, are interpreted as adherents and supporters of social forces connected with friends and relatives (family), through which they build emotional relationships and interactions of one individual with other individuals. While *Gesellschaft*, as a contrast, signifies changes that develop, behave rationally in an individual in their daily lives, social change among the

⁴⁵Khalifah H. M. Syarif, interview by Riki Astafi, Desa Muara Basung, on October 12, 2018.

⁴⁶Khalifah Kasri, interview by Riki Astafi, Desa Muara Basung, on October 12, 2018.

⁴⁷Hamka (Mandau Community Leaders), interview by Riki Astafi, Pondok Pesantren Hubbul Wathon Duri, on October 13, 2018.

Sakai tribe can apply the framework of Tonnie's theory. Sakai tribe was initially built based on a family and kinship system and traditional values that are powerful binding their daily lives and behavior. The instinct to live together is in the Koentjara Ningrat language called collective life. Collective life has the characteristics of a system of division of labor, cooperative activities, and communication processes. Unlike the lives of other creatures, the collective life of human beings is constructed based on the power of reason, through learning.⁴⁸

Their knowledge and mindset are elementary, and mystical and occult things filled them. They adhere to the belief systems of animism and dynamism. They have known cosmology that is different from the new religions of Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Regarding cosmology, the Sakai people believe that nature has five levels in which the highest level is a spirit. Its name is various, including ghosts (*antu*, *antui*), fairies, gnome, and all ancestral spirits. At the lowest level is level one, namely water, soil, and air. They believe spirits can affect humans, so there must be a relationship between humans and spirits. Fine creatures also live in large trees, so that when cutting down large trees, ceremonies are also expelled. They also know the land ruler as land *antu*. They also recognize forest land that is sacred and inhabited by spirits and ancestral spirits called *puaka*.⁴⁹ They believe that the person who has just died is still in the spirit around the residence so that the family left behind will go across the river because the spirit is considered unable to cross the river. The spirit of the deceased, also called *antu*, can be ordered for protection or specific interests (such as *panghulubalang* in the Batak community). Moreover, they also recognized the magical sanctions' existence, which was feared and obeyed and made one of the guidelines for life in the group.

After Islam entered and developed among the Sakai tribe brought by Naqshbandiyah Ulema clerics, there has been a significant change in the aspects of their beliefs and social life after getting the teaching and coaching by the Naqshbandiyah tariqa caliphs in the Suluk houses. The bad habits that they have been practicing, such as the practice of shamanism and medicine called thinking, are no longer practiced. Their penchant for eating *naguiah*, a type of pig that is small and lizards, has been abandoned. They are increasingly obedient in carrying out the commands of the Islamic religion. Islamic teachings have always been the primary reference for them in living their daily lives.

Islamic values are very thick, coloring their social systems related to the marriage system and family life, social relations, political and government leadership, customs and traditions, and the economy. The marriage system and their family relations are built based on marriage law and family law in Islam, which emphasizes the legitimacy according to Islamic law, the existence of rights and obligations, and guarantees and protection. Their social relations based on the principles that uphold *ukhuwah Islamiyah*. Political and government leadership emphasizes the role of the tariqa teacher or the tariqa teacher as a reference for deciding essential and strategic matters. The principles of Islamic teachings harmonized with their customs and traditions. When there are elements who blamed with *syara'*, it will be eliminated. When in line with *syara'*, it will be done. In carrying out economic ventures or trying to make ends meet, they refer to economic practices that are justified by the *Shari'a*.

The tariqa teacher or caliph became a figure that was highly respected and glorified among them. Their role is considered quite important in social life, not only as religious leaders or guides of religious ceremonies in society or completing religious obligations but also as a

⁴⁸Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2002), 137.

⁴⁹Saputra and De, *Kearifan Lokal Yang Terkandung Dalam Upacara Tradisional Kepercayaan Masyarakat Sakai-Riau*, 29-30.

place to ask questions and consult on religious, social issues. Besides, there are tariqa or caliph teachers who can help problems faced by the community, especially in the treatment of diseases or other problems.

C. CONCLUSION

The study revealed that Naqshbandi tariqa entered and developed among the Sakai tribe community through three periods: first, around 1912 brought by Caliph Ibrahim, the second around 1925 developed by Shaykh Imam Sabar Al-Kholidi and the third around 1947 developed by Caliph Mahmud.

The development of Naqshbandi tariqa has shown a significant progression. The increasing number of followers of the tariqa and the establishment of several Suluk houses in the four districts, Mandau, Batin Solapan, Pinggir, and Talang Muandau, proves it. However, its development has stagnated and even declined recently. It is due to the absence of a significant increase in the number of followers. Moreover, many suluk houses are no longer functioning due to the emptiness of the tariqa leadership (murshid teacher or deputy). Only little suluk houses are still working and predominantly by older people.

The teachings of Naqshbandiah tariqa has a positive impact on the social life of the Sakai people. They can abandon their followers' bad habits. They are increasingly obedient in carrying out the commands of the Islamic religion. Islamic teachings have always been the primary reference for them in their daily lives. Islamic values are very thick, coloring their social systems related to the marriage system and family life, social relations, political and government leadership, customs and traditions, and the economy.

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THE ECONOMY OF WELLBEING IN BEJI, EAST JAVA: PESANTREN AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

This article aimed to explain the field findings related to the socio-economic conditions of the community in Beji village. The village is known as *santri*-based community that contributes to the socio-economic impacts of the community around the pesantren. The research used a qualitative method with a constructivism approach. Data gathered through in-depth interview techniques and field observations and enriched with document studies. Informants interviewed were determined through the snowballing techniques. The result of the research shows that the existence of Manbail Futuh pesantren in the middle of the village not only serves as religious education (Islam) but with the number of *santri* coming from various regions, so the existence of pesantren also gives a socio-economic impact for the surrounding community. The economic benefits provided by pesantren is not active but passive. This is because the pesantren is only providing opportunities for residents to open stalls inside the pesantren for free, without renting them spaces to trade. This pesantren has overall students of 2469 with 833 are staying in the dormitory. Sociologically, the socio-economic relation between pesantren and the local people who work as a seller shows a pattern of the economic of *mashlahat* (wellbeing). It can be said that the economic action played by pesantren is a substantive economy based on Islamic moral values, namely the principles of *ta'awun* (mutual help) and the principle of *mashlahat* (the common good).

Keywords:

Pesantren, rural, mashlahat economic.

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan temuan lapangan terkait kondisi sosial-ekonomi masyarakat di Desa Beji, yang dikenal sebagai basis kaum santri serta dampak sosial ekonomi yang memberikan nilai manfaat bagi kehidupan masyarakat di sekitar pesantren. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan konstruktivisme. Penggalan data melalui teknik wawancara mendalam dan observasi lapangan serta diperkaya dengan studi dokumen. Para informan yang diwawancarai ditentukan melalui teknik *snow balling*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan, keberadaan pesantren Manbail Futuh di tengah-tengah lingkungan masyarakat desa tidak hanya berfungsi melayani pendidikan keagamaan (Islam), tetapi dengan banyaknya santri yang datang dari berbagai daerah, keberadaan pesantren juga memberikan dampak sosial-ekonomi bagi warga sekitarnya. Terhadap warga sekitar manfaat ekonomi yang diberikan pesantren tidak bersifat aktif melainkan pasif. Sebab, pesantren sebatas memberikan kesempatan membuka usaha bagi penduduk setempat di dalam lokasi pesantren yang menampung 833 *santri mukim* dan memiliki siswa aktif sebanyak 2.469 orang, tanpa menarik sepersen pun uang "retribusi". Secara sosiologis relasi sosial-ekonomi antara pesantren dengan warga sekitar yang berprofesi sebagai pedagang melahirkan pola perilaku ekonomi *mashlahat*. Dapat dikatakan bahwa tindakan ekonomi yang diperankan pesantren adalah ekonomi substantif yang dilandasi oleh nilai-nilai moral Islam, yaitu prinsip *ta'awun* (saling tolong-menolong) dan prinsip *mashlahat* (demi kebaikan bersama).

Kata Kunci:

Pesantren, pedesaan, ekonomi mashlahat.

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A. INTRODUCTION

The economic impact of the pesantren to the surrounding community has been reported by Horiko Horikoshi (1987) in Cipari Village in Garut region. She proved, that with the development of pesantren educational institutions in a village, not only is the Islamic knowledge of the community progressing, but also contributing to the socio-economic conditions of the village. With the provision of formal education and religious knowledge, Cipari and surrounding villages also experienced an increase in social mobility. Likewise, social benefits are also sought in the form of cooperation between residents and the pesantren. The impact of economic improvement in the rural realm can be seen from a number of students living in boarding school who came from various regions. These students became a blessing for residents around the pesantren whose stalls and grocery stores could serve the needs of the students.¹

In 1990 a non-profit organization in Jakarta, the Association for Pesantren and Community Development (P3M) reported some of the economic benefits received by rural communities from pesantren institutions to include; (i) get venture capital loans, (ii) obtain work skills through training organized by pesantren, (iii) get job opportunities provided by pesantren, and (iv) establish business partnerships with pesantren. P3M also emphasized that the active economic role of the pesantren cannot be generalized to all pesantren. However, pesantren continue to contribute and passively provide economic benefits to the surrounding community. Because of the large number of students living at an Islamic boarding school, then economic opportunities were opened. The opportunity was then used by neighboring pesantren and

other villagers to open food stalls, grocery stores, coffee shops, and other services to serve the needs of students who come from various regions. Village business establishments are increasingly advancing as the number of consumers increases due to increased demand.²

From the perspective of economic sociology, there is a concept of economic behavior that develops in society called formal and substantive. The formal economy is interpreted as an individual's choice of means to achieve the goals (ends) desired by actors. If the calculation is for material gain, then the individual's actions are considered logical because they produce material. Whereas substantive economics refers to the role of exchange or human dependence on the natural and social (ecological) environment. The desired result is to obtain more on non-material means of living because it is for inner satisfaction.³ Therefore, substantive economic action is more concerned with the value of the benefit for others. In the environment of rural communities in general, (including pesantren) the principle of *maslahat*, namely the consideration of moral values in addition to economic and social values.⁴

Then the question is, does the development of Islamic boarding schools in rural communities affect the benefit of the rural economic sector? And what form of economic benefit can the village community accept?

This brief paper aimed to discuss the socio-religious values socialized by pesantren in the village community environment concerning the economic actions of residents. For data collection, this research used several techniques include; direct observation, in-depth interviews and document study or use of structured data.⁵ Several informants interviewed were determined through its roles

¹Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kyai Dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat, 1987), 102.

²Redaksi, "Peran Pesantren Dalam Ekonomi Pedesaan, Terjebak Slogan?," *Jurnal: Pesantren* 7, no. 1 (1990), 14.

³Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. Mark Granovetter

and Richard Swedberg (Colorado: Westview Press, 1992), 31.

⁴Mubyarto and J. Roesmanto, "Ekonomi Pedesaan: Kenyataan Dan Prospeknya Di Masa Depan," *Jurnal: Pesantren* 7, no. 1 (1990): 16–23.

⁵Sugiyono, *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2010), 125.

either in the pesantren or in the community such as caregivers and family of pesantren, religious teachers, *lurah pondok*, *santri*, relevant government officials, village elders, religious / community leaders, and communities around pesantren.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Portrait of Beji Pesantren Village

Beji Village is one of the villages in the Jenu Subdistrict which is directly adjacent to the Java Sea coast. Geographically the village, which is located on the north coast (Pantura), is in a strategic location. Located on the edge of the national highway majoring in Surabaya-Jakarta, which is 10 Km away from the capital of Tuban Regency.

Based on Village Monograph data, the area of Beji Village is around 3,602,222 Ha. In 2014 the number of people live in this area is 6054 consisted of 1,628 households with population density reached 1776 people/km².

By bearing the *santri* village label, the Muslim population in Beji are around 99.30 percent. The remaining 0.70 percent are Christians, Catholics, Confucians, Hindus, Buddhists, and believers. Even though it is the basis of the *santri*, it does not necessarily abandon the characteristics of Beji as a plural rural community, both from the aspect of professional background, ethnicity and religion and the beliefs of its citizens. The atmosphere looks harmonious and peaceful even though the aspect of trust is relatively plural. As far as the author's information is known, throughout the history of Beji Village, there has never been a conflict between the population that was motivated by racial or primordial motives.

Based on stories from locals before independence, many Chinese had settled in this *santri* village. Some of them even married to Javanese people. The interwoven social network as if without a partition has continued until now. They seem to get along well and *teposeliro* (respect each other) in everyday relationships, both in social and economic

relations. And it can be ascertained almost every year at the end of every month of Ramadan, villagers of Chinese ethnicity and non-Muslims always give alms to the mosque *takmir* alms. So, it is not strange that such activities and friendships between different ideological and ethnic residents have been carried out by their ancestors for a long time.⁶

In Beji, there are 4 pesantren institutions and 70 more religious institutions spread across 4 hamlets. Two existing pesantren, PP. Mukhtariyah and Pondok Pesantren Manbail Futuh was established before independence. Even though the Mukhtariyah boarding school first stood, the popular one called Pondok Beji or Mbah Hisham's was the Manbail Futuh boarding school. At present, the four pesantren are inhabited by approximately 1,250 students or around 20.65 percent of the total population of the village. Most students come from East Java Province. Only a small portion from outside Java, namely from Bali, Jambi, East Waringin and Papua. The most *santri* live in Pondok Pesantren Manbail Futuh which accommodates as many as 823 students (65.8 percent of the total number of *mukim* students in Beji). Now the Manbail boarding school Futuh Beji is raised by KH. Fatchurrohman Mizan. He is the grandson of KH. Fatchurrohman bin Abu Sa'id (founder of the pesantren).⁷

The rest, more or less there are about 427 students living in 3 other boarding schools, namely (i) Al-Mukhtariyah boarding school that was raised by KH. Ahyat and KH. Fathul Jawad; (ii) the pesantren Hidayatus Sholihin who was raised by KH. Sholeh Nur Hadi; and (iii) the Al-Khozini boarding school that was raised by KH. Husen Chozin. But only Manbail Futuh Beji among 4 pesantren held formal (madrasah/school) and non-formal education, namely *madrasah diniyah* and the study of the yellow book (*kitab kuning*). While the other three pesantren only hold the traditional study of religious books. The *santri* who live in *pesantren* located in Beji Village and some

⁶Abd. Kholik, interview by Syamsul Hadi, Beji, on November 5, 2015.

⁷Lia Faricha, interview by Syamsul Hadi, Beji, on August 15, 2015.

pesantren in the surrounding villages mostly study informal educational institutions in the management of the Futuh Manbail Education Foundation (YADIKMA).

As the main icon of the Beji village, the Manbail Futuh pesantren was established in 1925M / 1345H by the son of a tobacco and *palawija* merchant, KH. Fatchurrohman bin Abu Sa'id. At first, the *santri* and *langgar* dormitory buildings stood on a waqf area of 2,964 M2. Now the area of land occupied by pesantren and units of educational institutions is almost 3.2 hectares. In this location, 9 dormitories (*ribath*) have now been built, which are places for *santri* who come from various regions. In addition to establishing formal education units (schools and madrassas) such as RA / TK, MI, MTs, MA, Manbail Vocational School Futuh Beji also maintaining traditional Islamic-educational institutions (*salafiyah*), namely *Madrassah Diniyah* at 'Ula (basic) level and *Wustho* (intermediate).⁸

With a large number of *mukim* students currently reaching 1,250 or 20.6 percent of the total population of Beji Village, it is certainly an economically clear impact on increasing the income of the community, especially residents who have businesses around the pesantren location. Thus, the predicate of the pesantren village is not only adorned with lively Islamic religious study and learning activities among young students and residents but also contributed to an increase in economic income for some residents around the pesantren who are in direct contact with the consumptive needs of the *santri*. This is a result of economic effects from the establishment of pesantren in improving the welfare of the surrounding community.

2. The economic style in Santri Village

Changes in agrarian structure, in turn, have an impact on changes in the structure of work in society and the environmental crisis. Farmers who lose land due to conversion by themselves will look for new jobs to meet family needs. It could even be, they were marginalized because of the loss of production assets and because he did not immediately get a replacement job.⁹ Judging from the speed conversion, the phenomenon of land transfer in Beji village and surrounding villages sped up in the late 90s to the present due to local government policy that prioritizes the west coast of Jenu Subdistrict and surrounding sub-districts as industrial areas in regional, national and local scale. Added to this is the level of land requirements for new settlements, offices, and businesses that are increasing the rate of land-use change as the flow of social migration continues to arrive in this area.¹⁰

The most affected and disadvantaged groups of people with land conversion policies are farmers because they have lost their sources of production. In many cases, they not only lost production assets but also find a place to live and work as a substitute outside their birthplace.¹¹ According to the results of the East Java Province agriculture census, in Tuban District within ten years (2003-2013), there had been growth minus the number of land-use farmer households by 27,480 people or around 12.24 percent. In 2003 the number reached 224,436 people and then dropped to 196,956 people in 2013. While the number of smallholder households in 2003 which amounted to 147,024 people fell to 115,043 people, which experienced a growth of minus 31,981 people or around 21.75 percent.

Villagers affected by the conversion and could not be accommodated in the industrial sector were forced to find new jobs outside the

⁸Abdullah Sani, interview by Syamsul Hadi, Beji, on August 27, 2015.

⁹Astri Astri Lestari and Arya Hadi Dharmawan, "Dampak Sosio-Ekonomis Dan Sosio-Ekologis Konversi Lahan," *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan* 5, no. 1 (2011), 7.

¹⁰Bupati Tuban, "Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Tuban Nomor 09 Tahun 2012 Tentang Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kabupaten Tuban Tahun 2012 - 2032" (2012).

¹¹Compare with Lestari and Dharmawan, "Dampak Sosio-Ekonomis Dan Sosio-Ekologis Konversi Lahan."

industrial sector, namely the trade and services sector, or self-employed. For example, opening food stalls, grocery stores, meatball shops, boarding houses, coffee shops, and other businesses in the formal sector. While some other residents choose to work in the informal sector, such as motorcycle taxi drivers, washing laborers, porters in markets and fish auctions (TPI), mobile vegetable sellers, casual laborers, street vendors and so on. This case proves that the structure of community work is strongly influenced by the agrarian structure. Some of the residents of Beji village and surrounding villages who were eliminated from work in the

agricultural sector then opened businesses around the pesantren location.

At present, the economic institutions that operate around the location of the Manbail Futuh boarding school and three other formal and non-formal boarding schools are around 53 types of businesses. These places of business not only serve the needs of students but also residents and outsiders who work in factories. From morning to evening the pesantren location has become a fairly busy "place" for trade besides economic activities concentrated in the village market.

Table 1. Economic Institutions Operating Around Pesantren

Type of Institutions	Type of business	Total
Formal	Food stalls, meatballs and coffee shop	18
	Services	11
	Home industry	3
	Street vendor	3
Informal	Street vendor	18
Total		53

Source: Processed from field data, 2016.

The business owners are mostly residents around pesantren who open businesses in their own homes or yards. Some of them are teachers /religious teachers and pesantren families (*ahlu al-bait*), who open part-time businesses to increase family income. Generally, they provide food and snacks needed by the students. Because the majority of students prefer *majeg* (pre-paid meals) rather than *ngliwet* (cooking) by themselves with the reasoning that there is not enough time to cook. From early morning at 04.00 to 22.00 at night a variety of learning activities in schools/*madrasah* and boarding schools have taken up their time. During this time, they explore religious and general sciences for their increased knowledge that will be beneficial for themselves and others. They are trained in this pesantren to be independent and have a good character.

The majority of street vendors come from residents outside Beji. They are free to shop around selling merchandise in the *madrasah/school* environment, even some of them can trade inside the location of the *santri* hostel. They are not prohibited as long as they do not interfere with the activities of studying. Other conditions that must be obeyed by traders are not to sell food and drinks that endanger the health of the body and soul, and or which are prohibited from religion.

Although the business opportunities in the trade and services sector are bright enough, only a few participate in this sector around 4.86 percent. A large proportion of the population works in the industrial sector around 75.56 percent of the total population.¹² This happened because around the village environment there had been a change in the agrarian structure due

¹²Pemdes Beji, *Monografi Desa Beji Tahun 2014* (Beji: Pemdes Beji, 2014).

to the promotion of the construction of large factories of national and international scale.

3. Encouraging *Mashlahat* Economy

Institutionally the pesantren *Manbail Futuh* has only economic institutions in the form of savings and loan cooperatives. This business entity only serves religious teachers who work in the pesantren environment and not intended for the general public or residents around the pesantren. The economic benefits that can be felt by the surrounding community in the presence of pesantren in Beji Village are still passive or not in the form of direct economic relations. Pesantren *Manbail Futuh* has no concrete experience in managing community economic development programs, for example, providing capital assistance or loan funds, or conducting small business management training to village communities as *Maslahul Huda* Islamic Boarding School, from the Kajen Margoyoso Pati village.¹³

Although relatively passive, many pesantren policies have a relatively significant effect on the economic activities of surrounding communities due to a large number of settlers. The number of *mukim* students is certainly a quantitative benchmark to determine the size of a pesantren institution. This is a market niche for small traders in the village to gain economic benefits. Because, the needs of the students are not only eating and drinking, but many other needs that make market demands continue to increase. Some pesantren "policies" that are considered to be able to push the wheels of the citizens' economy are:

- a) The pesantren invites traders to peddle their wares in the *madrasah* and *pondok* (dormitory) neighborhoods.
- b) Islamic boarding schools do not make canteens and cooperatives to meet the needs of students.
- c) Not at all attract profit or retribution to the traders.

The above policy was taken by considering the values of pesantren and socio-cultural conditions ("neighboring institutions") namely *ikram al-jaar*; *adab* guidance glorifies neighbors in the community. Especially for people who need income to meet family needs. And the priority is the neighboring pesantren whose economic conditions are poor. Ustadz Abdullah Sani (26 years),¹⁴ a *kyai's* relatives said:

By allowing the neighbors to be able to sell in the boarding it is like we are helping them so that they can get benefit from the existence of the boarding among this community. There are about 7 merchants who are allowed to sell inside the women's dormitories. In the men's dormitories, students are free to search outside the pesantren. Those who trade are mothers from a neighboring village, for example, Yu Wiek and Ms. Sholehah and others. There are several people who sell their goods or foods in this pesantren. They sell a variety of foods like rice, snacks or fried rice.

With this policy traders who usually stay in the madrasah/school environment can take advantage of available business opportunities. For pesantren, providing business opportunities to others, especially if they need it is a form of *ta'awun* values (the principle of helping) and *maslahah* values (the principle of well being or for the common good). Islamic teachings strongly emphasize the value of *ta'awun* and *maslahah* in social life to build an atmosphere of harmony in social life. The attachment of the two principles to the level of social action (individuals and groups) is needed to strengthen social integration and solidarity. Pesantren can monopolize the market to make maximum profits for itself, however, in this case, it is not because the pesantren implements the religious norms of *ta'awun* and *maslahah*. The pesantren even invited residents to take

¹³Mifedwil Jandra, "Pondok Pesantren Dan Pembangunan Masyarakat: Studi Kasus Pesantren Maslahul Huda Kajen, Margoyoso, Pati Jawa Tengah," *Jurnal: Istiqro'* 1, no. 1 (2006), 112.

¹⁴Abdullah Sani, interview by Syamsul Hadi, Beji, on August 27, 2015.

advantage of existing economic opportunities. Borrowing the term economic sociologist, Mark Granovetter (1992), perhaps this is just an example of moral economic action that still exists in rural areas because of its attachment to the *maslahat* values and *ta'awun* socialized by pesantren. More precisely, there is a social embedded between economic behavior with religious and cultural institutions that develop in society.¹⁵

In other cases, the economic practice of *maslahat* also applied to the cooperation institutions or the Yasinan association, which is the institution for the study of Muslimat, women's organization, which is held every Friday Night in Beji. This association was established in 1990 with a total membership of 37 women around the pesantren location. Since its establishment until now, every activity has

been accompanied by *kyai*. The aim is to improve the quality of Islam and encourage friendship between citizens. Activities are carried out in turn from house to house. The activities include holding religious rites and *taklim* then closed by *arisan* (saving and credit in the social gathering).

The *arisan* fund is intended to finance the activities of the association, while contributions to the organization's cash funds are then used as loan capital and social funds. The membership fee is set at IDR 500 per activity for each member. And it is used as a grant to contribute to villagers whose families have died, members who are sick and require donations for a wedding celebration (social insurance). This form of social insurance in Beji is called joint responsibility (*tanggung renteng*).

Table.2. Schedule of Syarekat Mutual Assistance Activities in Rural Women

Time	Market Day *	Activities (<i>Ritual</i>)
1 st Week	Pahing	Tartilan/Simaan Al-Quran
2 nd Week	Pon	Yasin and Tahlil
3 rd Week	Wage	Istighotsah and Manaqib
4 th Week	Kliwon	Sholawatan (Barzanji)
5 th Week	Legi	Taklim (religious lecture)

Source: Processed from field data, 2016.

Note: * Time cycle in Javanese calendar.

In addition to holding ritual activities in the form of the practice of simulating the *Quran*, *dhikr*, and *taklim* as listed in table 2, weekly events like Yasinan gathering are also used for social and economic activities, namely social gathering and savings and loans. The *arisan* withdrawal amount is IDR 10,000 per member in one week. The proceeds from the *arisan* money are used to fund the activities of the association and are handed over directly to the members of the congregation who have their turn to be the host of the event or as the organizer of *Yasinan*. Each member can only borrow a maximum of IDR 500,000. The

savings and loan system is carried out in the revolving fund and paid in installments for ten months. The smooth running of loan funds is very dependent on the activeness of the members borrowing because the problem of capital adequacy comes only from cash funds obtained from the withdrawal of membership dues every week.

Beyond the interests of villagers who use the *Yasinan* association as a cooperation organization, the local creativity initiated by the *kyai* together with his congregation is also an effective means of shaping the values of pesantren in the community. According to

¹⁵Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. Mark Granovetter and

Richard Swedberg (Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1992).

Abdurrahman Wahid (2007), the existence of pesantren is very much determined by the extent to which the function of forming values in the community is effectively carried out, in addition to being able to provide answers to challenges and changes in the field of education and socio-politics.¹⁶

From the perspective of sociology, the variety of local creativity that is colored by the values of pesantren (*ta'awun* and *maslahah*) can provide an understanding of the articulation of a meaningful shared life because it is based on cooperation and benefit. Namely the effectiveness of the collective ethos of reciprocity which is the adhesive element. Borrow conception theory from James C. Scott (1989),¹⁷ that mutual assistance institutions in this context are social insurance, revolving fund and social gathering (housewives) in a Yasinan association is nothing but an alternative form of subsistence that can be classified as self-help. The implementation of the reciprocal collective ethos among the community members is very functioning to help community members who are in need, for example, there is a sudden need for money. Without prudent requirements, they can be settled on a joint initiative.

C. CONCLUSION

The existence of Islamic boarding schools in rural communities does not only function as a religious educational institution. With a large number of *mukim* students and students studying in formal pesantren institutional units, it has opened up potential market opportunities in driving the economic activities of the surrounding residents.

The economic benefits provided by the Pesantren *Manbail Futuh* Beji are not active, for example in the form of capital assistance or offers of cooperation in business with surrounding communities. *Futuh Manbail Pesantren* is only limited to providing a place to trade without collecting profits to traders who

sell their wares at the pesantren location. Thus, the economic support provided by pesantren is still passive. These forms of "passive economy" movements around pesantren locations can increase traders' incomes due to increased demand.

The formation of socio-economic relations between pesantren and the traders in which residents of Beji and surrounding villagers gave birth to patterns of economic behavior. The economic activity that is providing the opportunity to sell without attracting money "retribution" is based on the spirit of the values of the pesantren, *ta'awun* (the principle of helping) and *maslahah* (the principle for the community well being). Even so, the phenomenon of *maslahat* economic behavior also appears in the activities of citizens in the Yasinan society. This religious institution is also a means of the gathering of villagers who function as cooperation institutions because they run a joint economic system of responsibility in the form of social insurance and revolving funds.

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¹⁶Abdurrahman Wahid, *Menggerakkan Tradisi: Esai-Esai Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007).

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INTERVIEW

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FROM CONFLICT TO ASSIMILATION: STRATEGIES OF MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS IN PAPUA SPECIAL AUTONOMY ERA

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Abstract

This paper aimed to explain the forms of Muslim immigrant strategies in Papua in the era of special autonomy. After the implementation of it in Papua, increased tension occurred especially in economic and political fields. Data for this research were obtained through the method of observation, interviews, and literature studies. Observations focused on the economic practices of Muslim migrants in places such as the market in Jayapura, Papua. Interviews were conducted with many parties, both Muslim migrants and local Papuans to obtain information on many things including their responses to the presence of Muslim migrants. Besides, data was also obtained through the documentation of some literature related to the topic of this paper. The data gathered are then analyzed through the steps of qualitative analysis, namely data reduction, data presentation, concluding/verification. This paper confirms that Muslim migrants made various efforts to deal with various obstacles in the era of Special Autonomy in Papua in three ways. First, Muslim migrants strengthen their economy capacity, especially in the informal sector. Secondly, the political sector is not the main objective of the existence of Muslim migrants in Papua. Third, Muslim migrants are not exclusive, especially in establishing communication with indigenous people.

Keywords:

Special Autonomy; Conflict; Assimilation; Muslim Immigrants; Papua.

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bentuk-bentuk strategi Pendatang muslim di Papua di era otonomi khusus. Pasca pemberlakuan otonomi khusus di Papua, warga pendatang merasakan semakin tingginya tensi atau persaingan di lapangan ekonomi dan politik. Data diperoleh melalui metode observasi, wawancara, dan studi literatur. Observasi difokuskan pada praktik ekonomi pendatang Muslim di beberapa tempat seperti pasar di Jayapura Papua. Wawancara dilakukan kepada sejumlah pihak, baik warga muslim pendatang maupun penduduk lokal Papua untuk memperoleh informasi mengenai banyak hal termasuk respons mereka terhadap keberadaan pendatang Muslim. Di samping itu, data juga diperoleh melalui dokumentasi sejumlah literatur yang terkait dengan topik tulisan ini. Data yang diperoleh kemudian dianalisis melalui langkah-langkah analisis kualitatif, yakni reduksi data, penyajian data, penarikan kesimpulan/verifikasi. Tulisan ini menegaskan bahwa pendatang Muslim melakukan berbagai upaya menghadapi berbagai kendala di era Otonomi Khusus Papua melalui tiga cara. Pertama, pendatang muslim memperkuat ekonomi, khususnya sector informal. Kedua, sector politik tidak dijadikan tujuan pokok keberadaan pendatang Muslim. Ketiga, pendatang muslim tidak bersikap eksklusif khususnya dalam membangun komunikasi dengan penduduk asli.

Kata Kunci:

Otonomi Khusus; Konflik; Asimilasi; Imigran Muslim; Papua.

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A. INTRODUCTION

In his study of Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany, Pecoud¹ and Gusnelly² argued, that the process of integration of Turkish immigrants in German society was so easily carried out through political and economic activities. In other words, business or entrepreneurship exists as one of the factors that help breaking down traditional boundaries, which often have become a stereotype between migrants and the host country. Factually, this proposition is motivated by changes, both Germans and migrants. Among Germans, there is a tendency for increasing goods consumption that was previously identified to migrants.³ Some of the items that were originally "ethnic" have now become "German", for example, clothing. In contrast, among Turkish immigrants, the second and third generations have also adopted goods and lifestyles that were previously only considered Germanic, such as technological products. The process of integration through political and economic channels is possible, in addition to the role of

government, the strong network that is built-in building and developing business is one of the keys to Turkish success.

The experience of Turkish Muslim migrants proves that integration between local communities and migrants allows it to work easily in the political economy. The success of Turkish Muslim immigrants was not followed by Muslim immigrants in several European countries. To a certain extent, local people still feel concern about Muslim migrants. This deep concern then gave rise to 'Islamophobia',⁴ in some European countries. The case in New Zealand, some time ago, proved that there are still some people who are worried about the presence of Muslim migrants. This is made worse by the condition that some of the Muslim migrants cannot assimilate into European society.⁵

In the Indonesian context, the tension between the migrants and the local population is quite high. Especially since the government implemented the transmigration program.⁶

¹Antoine Pecoud, *Weltoffenheit Schafftjobs: Turkish Entrepreneurship and Multiculturalism in Berlin* (Oxford, UK: University of Oxford, 2000).

²Gusnelly, "Migrasi, Kewarganegaraan, Dan Partisipasi Ipendatang: Studi Kasus Pendatang Turki Di Belanda," *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah* 1, no. 1 (2010): 59–78.

³Zinggara Hidayat, "Dampak Teknologi Digital Terhadap Perubahan Konsumsi Media Masyarakat," *KOMUNIKOLOGI: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi* 13, no. 2 (2016), 60.

⁴Chris Allen, *Islamophobia* (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010). See also Chris Allen, "Contemporary Islamophobia Before 9/11: A Brief History in Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Hatred: Cause & Remedy," *Arches Quarterly* 4, no. 7 (2010): 14–22. See Runnymede Trust, *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (London: Runnymede Trust, 1997).

⁵Rahat Raja, "Muslims in Europe A Shared Citizenship Transcending the Imposition of Cultural Homogeneity," *Policy Perspectives*, 2012, 109–41. See also K Yu Eidemiller et al., "Social and Islamic Diffusion in the Nordic Countries with the Example of Sweden by Year 2050," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 302 (IOP Publishing, 2019), 12071. See also Lucas G Drouhot and Victor Nee,

"Assimilation and the Second Generation in Europe and America: Blending and Segregating Social Dynamics between Immigrants and Natives," *Annual Review of Sociology* 45 (2019).

⁶ The transmigration program in Indonesia has long been known and carried out since the days of the Dutch Colonial government. At the beginning of the 20th century, a transmigration program was carried out, then known as the Colonization or opening of a new colony. The initial idea of the colonization program was to reduce the pressure of the population in Java and to build a colony by bringing people from Java to other islands. Colonization has been very important since the introduction of ethical politics in Indonesia. The first place used as a residential area on the southern island of Sumatra, precisely in Lampung in 1905. See Bayu Setiawan, "Program Transmigrasi: Upaya Mengatasi Permasalahan Kependudukan Dan Meningkatkan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat," in *Pertumbuhan Penduduk Dan Kesejahteraan*, ed. Mita Noveria (Jakarta: LIPI Pres, 2011), 179. *The period of transmigration during the last century can be divided into three periods, namely (1) the era of the Dutch colonial government, 1905-1941, 2) Japanese occupation period, 1942-1945, and (3) period after Indonesian independence, 1945-2005.* The description in this article divides the era of Dutch colonial rule into the stage of colonization trials between 1905-1911, the Lampongsche Volksbank period in the

Although this program is an official government program, it does not reduce the tension. Large-scale movement, both official and informal, of some residents to various parts of the country, also left many tensions and even intense conflicts in several regions. The conflict is usually motivated by the struggle for political-economic space, the struggle for identity. In this condition, nativism strengthens. Concerns about the threat of domination by migrants also strengthened. In several regions, migrant communities are feared that they will stabilize all the economic, political, and other spaces that local communities should have. The tension ultimately led to this conflict was exacerbated by the weakening of the desire of migrants to assimilate with the local population. Cases like this can be found in several places like in West Kalimantan where groups of migrants are more advanced because of their hard work.

In Papua, as a whole, is a region with a fairly large number of migrant communities, as is the case with some regions outside Java. Almost all ethnicities in this country come to Papua, a country with considerable natural resource potential and quite a large business potential.⁷ They come with a variety of motives, which generally come from economic interests. Since the New Order era, a wave of residents to Papua progress. Even today, the influx of people entering quickly goes hand in hand with improved transportation routes. The migrants no longer go by sea, but also by air. This condition has an impact on changes in demographics in Papua, especially in Jayapura. Indigenous people have got a 'mix' of migrants.

The presence of migrants' changes from time to time. In fact, in 2000-2001 there was an open conflict in Jayapura marked by an outflow of migrants. They returned to their respective regions because they were rejected by the natives. This was later responded through granting autonomy to Papua through Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua. The implementation of special autonomy for Papua is a political economy strategy to re-strengthen the identity of Papua, even further reaffirming the dominance of local Papuan communities over their land, economic space, and political power.⁸ It was realized, this special autonomy became a 'threat' for migrants who earn a fortune and power in Papua. In this condition, migrants, who are mostly Muslim, must redefine their identity, and even try to find a strategy to survive in the economic and political struggle for power in Papua after special autonomy.

This paper is an analysis of the surviving Muslim migrants' strategy in Papua after the implementation of special autonomy. This survival strategy is carried out within the framework of 'negotiations' with Papuan residents in economic and political affairs. So that it is expected to be able to minimize potential conflicts in the future. The strategy of surviving Muslim migrants, in addition to reaffirming their Muslim identity and ethnicity, at the same time made assimilation efforts with local Papuans.

This study employs a qualitative method. Fieldwork was conducted in Jayapura using observation and in-depth interview among

period 1911-1929, and the era of world economic depression between 1930-1941. Whereas after the era of Indonesian independence, it was divided into the old order government, the new order government, and the reformation period. Look, Sri Ana Handayani, *Transmigrasi Di Indonesia Dalam Perspektif Sejarah* (Jember: Universitas Jember, 1994). See also I. B Mantra, *Pengantar Studi Demografi* (Yogyakarta: Nur Cahaya, 1985), 161. See also Nugraha Setiawan, *Transmigrasi Di Indonesia: Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya* (Yogyakarta: Program Studi Kependudukan, Program Pascasarjana UGM, 1994), 5.

⁷ See, Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Papua, *Produk Domestik Regional Bruto Provinsi Papua Tahun 2015* (Jayapura: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Papua, 2015). See also Muhammad Fajar, "Identifikasi Sektor Potensial Provinsi Papua" (Bandung, 2017).

⁸I Ngurah Suryawan, "Komin Tipu Komin: Elit Lokal Dalam Dinamika Otonomi Khusus Dan Pemekaran Daerah Di Papua," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 15, no. 2 (2011): 140-53.

Muslim migrants and local Papuan communities. The data gathered are analyzed through the process of data reductions, data presentations, concluding/verification.⁹

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Muslim Immigrants in Papua

The presence of people coming from outside Papua is inseparable from the position of Papua as a strategic region as stated by Daud Yoesoef as "The Heart of Indonesia" due to geopolitical, geomorphological and geo-economic and geo-theological reasons.¹⁰ Geopolitically, Papua's position both geographically and geo-strategically is in the "World Cross Position" between four continents and two oceans which makes this region at the center of the world's trajectory. Legendary General Douglas MacArthur could win World War II in the Asia Pacific after choosing Sentani, Jayapura Regency as the base of control of the war strategy at that time. Likewise, President Soekarno, with his intelligence was able to see the importance of Papua for the future of Indonesia. Geomorphologically, the island of Papua is the second-largest island in the world after the island of Greenland, has vast forests as the second contributor of oxygen after the Amazon forest, and morphologically is very varied, ranging from lowland areas to snowy towering mountains. While geo-economically, Papua has extraordinary natural resources and human resources stretching from the stone age to the modern era. Subsequently, since a long time ago many people have in turn come as travelers and merchants and brought missionary missionaries and Islamic missionary missions in the hope that after Papua was saved, it would benefit Papua and other nations.

There are three concepts of Cohen quoted by Irwan Abdullah about a person migrating. The concepts are "home", "place", and "citizenship". The concept of home as a symbol of the condition of feeling that always feels homesick and remembered by the house in the hometown left behind that feels far in the land of people. Likewise, the place is considered as a matter to show the social and economic status of a person. It is about the quality of their life in their destination of migration. While citizenship is related to the political aspect of their legal status in the area of destination.¹¹ These three things also illustrate the face of Muslim migrants who come to Papua. Although what often appears on the surface is the second concept, namely for trade or economy, and political and social factors.

The migration process then took place more massively after the implementation of the transmigration project and the sending of teachers, and civil servants, and others assigned to accelerate the development of Papua. This is in line with the approach of a new order economic development strategy by opening up new areas in Papua. The transmigration program began in 1964, since the reign of the New Order. They came from Java, Sulawesi, Maluku, Sumatra, Kalimantan.¹² The first transmigration project pilot site was 36 families out of 94 people and placed in 2 (two) transmigration settlement units, namely UPT Dosay, Jayapura, 9 families out of 22 people and UPT Kumbe in Merauke, 27 families / 72 people, then in other areas in Papua such as in Biak, Nabire, Sorong, and Manokwari.

In addition those who came with the transmigration program, migrants currently migrate voluntarily such as the Bugis-Makassar-Buton people, and others. Garnaut

⁹Milles and Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1992), 16.

¹⁰John Manangsang Wally, *Dunia Dalam Genggaman Papua Sebuah Fenomena Geopolitik Global* (Jayapura: Yayasan Gratia Papua Jayapura, 2018), 16-17.

¹¹Irwan Abdullah, *Konstruksi Dan Reproduksi Kebudayaan*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006).

¹²Toni Victor M. Wanggai, *Rekonstruksi Sejarah Umat Islam Di Tanah Papua* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama, 2009), 143. See also Rudi Hartono Ismail and Rianik Thomas, "Building the Civilization in the Perspectives of Islam in Jayawijaya Regency, Papua, Indonesia: The Development of Islam in the Aspect of Human Resources," *HONAI* 1, no. 1 (2018): 61-72.

and Manning in Akhmad research¹³, explained that the arrival of Sulawesi people, especially Bugis-Makassar people, in Papua after the end of colonial rule in 1963 was driven by the condition of the number of foreign companies that needed other people from outside Papua. Even before that, the history of Bugis-Makassar traces had existed since the 1700s when Bugis-Makassar sailors sailed "Marege" to search for sea cucumbers to northern Australia. The word "Marege" is usually used by the Bugis-Makassarese to refer to Papuans. On their way they dropped to Papua, some later chose to settle in Papua.¹⁴

In the Kompas Expedition Report to Papua, it was stated that the Bugis-Makassar people had filled the traditional market stalls on the island since the 1970s.¹⁵ In Jayapura, Many of them traded at the Old Sentani Market, Prague New Market, Sentani, Ampera Market, Hamadi Central Market, Abepura Market, and Yotefa Market. In addition to Jayapura, Bugis-Makassar traders were also often found in Timika, Sorong, and Merauke. They opened small businesses from grocery trading, forest entrepreneurs, to the transportation business. They dared to enter the forest, climb mountains and open the wild into productive land. In strengthening their presence in the overseas ethnic diversity and their mingling with others, they became solid as a fellow on behalf of migrants in the Jayapura Papua region by forming fraternal ties that were fostered in the community of associations that they called the Nusantara Circle of Friends. This regional organization then interacted with various

parties including indigenous Papuans. This relationship was then capitalized as migrant social capital to strengthen their positions, including in occupying political positions that could be filled by them such as the position of deputy regent and deputy mayor, and positions in government. The migrants were also aware of the consequences of special autonomy for native Papuans that have been affirmed by the law.

2. Strategies of Muslim Immigrants in Papua Post Special Autonomy

The social and economic changes that have taken place in Papua and West Papua are heavily influenced by migration.¹⁶ Migration has colored many changes and dynamics in many aspects of life in Papua. Migration can be voluntary (trading and others), but also because of military and staffing duties, or even religious reason.¹⁷

The enactment of the 2001 Special Autonomy Law for the Province of Papua has very broad implications in the lives of the people, especially Muslim migrants. Influence does not only occur in the economic field but also in the political, social and religious fields. This law also triggers a reaction in the Papuan community, whether it supports, criticizes or resigns to circumstances on the one hand, but can also bring a movement to strengthen themselves so that they can survive even in a state of minimal government support on the other.

This autonomy itself gives privileges to indigenous Papuans and has given birth to

¹³ Pujo Semedi Akhmad, "Amber Dan Komin: Studi Perubahan Ekonomi Di Papua," *Sosiohumanika* 16B, no. 2 (2003): 229--245.

¹⁴ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Migrasi Bugis Dan Madura Di Selatan Papua Barat: Perjumpaan Etnis Dan Agama Di Minoritas Muslim," *Jurnal Intelektualita: Keislaman, Sosial Dan Sains* 6, no. 2 (2017): 163--180.

¹⁵ Fandri Yuniarti, ed., *Ekspedisi Tanah Papua: Laporan Jurnalistik Kompas Terasing Di Pulau Sendiri* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2008).

¹⁶ Saprillah, "Migrasi Kaum Muslim Ke Sorong Papua Barat," *Al-Qalam* 17, no. 2 (2011): 251--61. See also Wekke, "Migrasi Bugis Dan Madura Di Selatan

Papua Barat: Perjumpaan Etnis Dan Agama Di Minoritas Muslim." See also Stuart Upton, "The Impact of Migration on the People of Papua, Indonesia: A Historical Demographic Analysis" (Department of History and Philosophy, UNSW, 2009).

¹⁷ Budi Asyhari-Afwan, *Mutiara Terpendam Papua Potensi Kearifan Lokal Untuk Perdamaian Di Tanah Papua* (Yogyakarta: CRCS UGM, 2015), 14.

community segmentation. One form of privilege is that the Governor of Papua must come from the Orang Asli (natives). This segmentation even led to the dominance of many important sectors of social life in the Jayapura District which emerged due to responses to various conditions during the autonomy policy was enacted. In response to the dynamics of life in Jayapura Papua, Muslim migrants made various efforts to support their current existence and future sustainability.

Generally, migrants in various places, need survival strategies to maintain their existence in dealing with the dynamics of the local community. Among many migrant choices is to assimilate to the lives of local people, or to form a particular community group. The latter choice often becomes a big problem that results in conflicts with local or indigenous communities. In the case of Papua, the struggle between the migrants and the indigenous community lasted for a long time. This dialectical process then makes these two big entities on earth increasingly find points of meeting, assimilation, and maturity in accepting other parties. The form of meetings that greatly affects their relationships is transactions in markets. More Papuans are buyers, while migrants are sellers. This meeting, for example, was found in Hamadi Market, where the market was dominated by migrants as the main economic actors.

Economically, there is the segmentation of these two community entities. The economic dominance of the formal and informal sectors is controlled by migrants. Papuans are only dominant in the business and trade sectors, such as in transportation services. While in the informal economy, migrants are more prominent in almost all lines. Starting from the trade sector, carpentry/furniture, livestock, home industry, restaurants, tailors, barbershops, up to contractor services and types of service businesses. The spirit of trade and the effort for migrants to develop their economy in the Papuan economy is inseparable from their habits and tenacity they have struggled since the beginning of their stay. This struggle has to lead to success in business, albeit slowly, but

surely continue to advance and contribute to advancing the Papuan economy. This tenacious spirit continues to be maintained and is part of the immigrant life enthusiasm.

Responding to this situation, migrants sought ways to strengthen themselves among them by strengthening primordial ties in every trading business activity. Regional communities such as Java, Madura, Sulawesi, and others are very active in carrying out various social activities. The migrant entrepreneurs in their activities then use labor based on kinship relationships and/or at least the same ethnicity as the business owner. Primordial strong ties directly support the development of the informal economy which has been their "domain".

To strengthen regional-based community ties, various activities are carried out in addition to strengthening social relations, as well as the media creating new collectivities, especially in the economic field. They believed that developing the economic sector will be able to push the pace of change in living standards for the better. This, in turn, could support a high level of regional enthusiasm among migrants in the Jayapura district. One of the migrants, a leader of the Southeast Sulawesi Community, acknowledged the benefits gained from the meetings held so far. He said:

I often hold meetings or training for the people of Buton specifically to improve the quality of human resources, that is in the economic field, ... I also strengthened my local community in their capital development, because if they can develop their business's strength, they can share with other communities. I suppose that. We once made a kind of joint savings, such as an *arisan*, and form a joint venture group, and in 2013, our funds reached 18 billion here in

Jayapura, that's what we used to run our business.¹⁸

This narration indirectly recognizes the importance of meetings based on regional bonds. This also confirms that the group of migrants has a hand in restoring their regional spirit. However, the spirit of regionalism is still wrapped in the ties of newcomer collectivity which also forms a new group model.¹⁹ The findings of this study reinforce what has been stated by Snodgrass, that strengthening the economy, especially in controlling the informal economy sector, in addition to strengthening relations between ethnic groups, is also significant.²⁰ Community ties from various regions are also used by migrants to strengthen their positions (capital) to gain the trust of indigenous Papuans to carry out their business. Migrant values such as honesty, responsibility and hard work are often considered positive so that Papuans entrust them more to manage their assets. In this case, migrants were able to show a high value of trust in the Papuan people. In the case of businesses, Papuans as capital owners sometimes give entrants confidence in migrants to manage and maintain their assets for years not based on a written agreement, but only because of mutual trust between them. An "S" informant, a rental car driver in Sentani, for example, has been trusted to manage a rental business owned by Papuans. He emphasized:

...it's been a while since I was trusted to bring my boss' car, a Papuan. He even mentioned not to give permission if his family intend to borrow the car.²¹

This belief is not solely because of migrants, but because they are seen as able to create theological values, through religious activities such as monthly recitation, which are available to them to be offered to Papuans so that they

can be trusted and these efforts can be mutually beneficial. A culture of honesty, hard work, empathy for people and communicative are theological values for Muslims migrants. Economic competition (trade) in the Jayapura district which is relatively small, benefits them. This condition is widely used by migrants while strengthening the dominance of informal economy control. "WH" for example, openly acknowledges that. In a conversation, he revealed that the trust factor is one of the keys to how economic relations (work) are built.

Outside of project work like that, yes ... there are a few things that are sure to swerve, but on average if I see, not all of them can be entrepreneurs, because there should have modal capital which does not necessarily refer to only financial, but also trust, location, land, place of business, and entrepreneur's capital. There are many Muslim entrepreneurs in Papua. Almost all of them are successful even from small to medium level. It means that according to their ability, they will certainly get any jobs available, sometimes they also can create jobs for our people ...²²

The ability of migrants to take business opportunities arises as a result of their past experiences. Some of them have failed many times and turned to more profitable types of work. In short, they made these experiences as lessons to develop their business in a better direction. The ability of migrants to read business opportunities has provided an added value in the context of mastery of the economic sector that cannot be done by indigenous Papuans. The business of buying and selling building materials, for example, is involved in responding to the high prices of building materials in Papua. This ability is also

¹⁸ A, interview by Faisal, Jayapura, on September 30, 2017.

¹⁹Atiyatul Izzah, "Jaringan Sosial Dan Variasi Pekerjaan Para Migran Di Kota Samarinda," *MASYARAKAT, Jurnal Sosiologi* 16, no. 2 (2011): 157–80.

²⁰Donald R Snodgrass, *Successful Economic Development in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Malaysian*

Case (Cambridge: Harvard Institute for International Development, Harvard University, 1995).

²¹S, interview by Faisal, Sentani, on September 30, 2017.

²²WH, interview by Faisal, Jayapura, on November 15, 2017.

supported by hard work, venture capital and sufficient knowledge in entrepreneurship and theological values carried as a Muslim about trying and working hard and trust capital in interacting with anyone, including with Papuans. These abilities are not only obtained from formal education but also obtained from a variety of life experiences to be able to innovate in sustaining life. Some of the capital and knowledge they get from the regional community they follow.

Migrants who are made up of many ethnic groups are unique. Javanese ethnicity is very well known for its tenacity. They pursue a lot of small economic sectors such as vegetable trading/business. Likewise, the Bugis-Makassar ethnic group is known for their hard work. They are very fanatical about helping their fellow regions. This ethnic is also good at using opportunities. Jan Boelaars (1986) states that ethnic Bugis and Makassarese are people who go everywhere, and they know to take advantage of local possibilities, then slowly build a good life. They start small, work hard, save money and thus can one day reach the top. In all things, they display a clear and genuine trading spirit. With great enthusiasm for developing trading businesses, these migrants gradually became the rulers of traditional markets in the Jayapura district, ranging from grocery, vegetables, fish, to medium-scale shop owners.

Political conditions that are not pro-migrant also give rise to creativity among them, especially opening new businesses that are small and medium scale. This was agreed by "WH", a Muslim migrant businessman, that:

My opinion related to the establishment of a Muslim migrant in Papua, ...that before the implementation of Special Autonomy, in 2001 what I see is that the attempt of lower and middle-class Muslims who start their business by opening small stalls or shops...²³

The enactment of special autonomy seen as strengthened by the Papuan and

marginalization of migrants. However, this marginalization has made migrants develop micro-businesses based on people's economy. In turn, Muslim migrants can control the economy because of their hard work and experience. Besides, they use their stock of knowledge they are able to mobilize their capital and negotiate the cultural values of a group or community. The result is that Muslim migrants control various economic sectors in the Jayapura district area. These economic sectors grow and open up various other economic sectors, both small and medium level.

In addition to the economic aspect, segmentation also appears in the political sphere. The tug-of-war between the indigenous Papuans and migrants in the public sphere in Jayapura district is currently very dynamic. At present, Jayapura's deputy regent is from Java. However, in certain contexts, migrants are in a subordinate position. Responding to this situation, migrants are involved in various activities and mobilize their potential to exist. The special autonomy policy indeed greatly influences the relations of migrants with indigenous Papuans. Conflict-style relationships are found in all levels of life, especially politics. This is closely related to the control of the political sector by indigenous Papuans, both executive and legislative.

The control of the political sector by indigenous Papuans not only influences the pattern of relations, but also the status of migrants and even impacts settlement or domicile. The migrants generally inhabit cities and coastal areas as a meeting place with locals. The history of the presence of migrants in the Jayapura district seems to be a little different if you look at the geographical location and the city center which is quite far from the beach. The majority of the migrant population, who were mobilized by the government through the transmigration program, were located in the Grime Nawa Valley (Nimbokrang and Yapsi

²³WH, interview by Faisal, Jayapura, on November 15, 2017.

Districts). Therefore, the presence of migrants is also an inseparable part of the history of the birth of the Jayapura Regency. Counting several migrant leaders have occupied key positions in the bureaucracy of the Jayapura district government and the legislature (Jayapura Regency House of Representatives), even some prominent figures are considered to have an important role for the birth of Jayapura district.

As explained earlier, immigrant positions in the executive and legislative branches are vulnerable in line with the implementation of Law No. 21 of 2001. The spirit of "Papuanization" which is the main spirit of the law directly limits the presence of migrants, especially in occupying strategic positions, because they are considered to have the potential to violate the mandate of the constitution which only applies specifically in Papua. It is interesting to observe this phenomenon of Papuanization spirit, because in reality, political contestation that requires full public support, for example, the election of the regent/head of the region, is an accommodative phenomenon for migrants as a companion to native people because the potential of voters from a group of migrants greatly determines the choice of someone. Currently, the Jayapura regent, Giri Wijayanto (September 2017-September 2022) is a migrant from Java. A similar event had also occurred that migrant occupies the top of the regional leadership in Papua during the New Order era.

At present, migrants' relatively significant amount becomes sufficient capital to be taken into account in the involvement of the local political constellation. However, once again the number does not determine the entrants to be actively involved in politics. This is because the strong impetus comes from Papua's regulations or policies. In 2017, the total population of the Jayapura Regency was 228,558 people. Of this number, the migrant population was 78,495 people or 34.34%. While the total population of Sentani City, Jayapura regency capital is 112,148 inhabitants, and the number of migrants reaches 43,481 inhabitants or 38%. The actual number significant to involve

themselves in politics. However, the involvement of migrants in politics is more likely to be 'second line' in favor of indigenous Papuans in many ways. Political restrictions and their impact on Papuan life can at least be seen in the existence of a strong open space that demands the political rights of indigenous Papuans who have been controlled by the center, including the desire to demand independence. With these restrictions, the spirit of "Papuanization" which demands more roles in various fields and levels, but on the other hand political liberalization that occurred in 1998 which demanded the strong role of political parties along with the direct election system indirectly affected the access of migrants in political constellations in Papua.

The reality that there are restrictions on positions and greater portions for indigenous Papuans does not necessarily mean migrants do not participate in politics. They followed the situation by joining themselves with being administrators in various political parties, both nationalist and religious. In the 2014-2019 period, several Muslim immigrants were successfully elected as regional legislative members. For example, Ainur Rofiq, S. Pd (Java, PKS), Drs. H. Amin (Bugis, PKB) and Hj. Sumirah (Bugis, NASDEM Party) and Abdurrahman Suleiman (Bugis, Golkar Party). Likewise, in the bureaucracy, the position of migrants in structural positions is also very limited due to the spirit of special autonomy. For migrants who should be able to occupy positions in the bureaucracy must stop temporarily while looking at opportunities and always available whenever needed at the position available. Position at the head of office/agency/office level in the regional government bureaucracy is majority occupied by indigenous Papuans. Migrants only occupy positions at a low level.

With the number of migrants, their votes are very calculated, especially when it comes to the interests of regional head elections. The position of migrants is very strategic because it can be a decisive winner of one of the candidates for the regional head. In the 2017 elections, for example, the couple Mathius

Awoitau-Giri Wijayantoro was a manifestation of the significance of the voices of immigrants. The couple consisted of indigenous Papuans (candidates for regent) and Javanese migrants (deputy candidates for regent) who eventually won the fight. The involvement of migrants for the couple's victory was recognized by several groups. A "CT" informant, Jayapura Regency Regional Government Civil Servants, said:

...here we are already like a big family that tied us together, building harmony among us and those influence our relationship, Jayapura, yes you say so, what ... we are here ... together, consist of a balanced population.²⁴

The statement above not only shows the strong ties of regionalism among migrants but also explains the importance of collectivism. A large number of migrants helped determine the victory of one of the candidates for the regional head.

Those who are involved in political parties, for example, generally have different social backgrounds, both socio-cultural capital and economic capital. The cultural capital is elaborated when entering into political parties. Migrants who are part of the party, in general, are people who have the ability (financially) that can be used in building communication and relations with native Papuans. Also, the quality of migrant human resources is the key to success in entering political parties. These abilities they get from experience and education that have been passed through, some are obtained from formal education as a graduate in tertiary institutions, there is also experience in interacting for years in Papuan life such as being administrators of youth and community

organizations. So with carefulness in seeing the situation, it is possible to enter into politics. This capital also led several people (migrants) who were successfully elected to be representative at the Jayapura House of the legislature (DPRD)

Some figures from Muslim immigrants who succeeded in sitting in the legislature include Ainur Rofiq, S. Pd (Java, PKS), Drs. H. Amin (Bugis, PKB) and Hj. Sumirah (Bugis, NASDEM Party) and Abdurrahman Suleiman (Bugis, Golkar Party). Likewise, in the 2009-2019 legislative elections, migrants can place their representatives in the legislature as a representation of their party and the constituents they represent, Drs. H. Nurdin Faisal (Makassar, GOLKAR), Bachtiar, SE (Bugis, PPP), Saharudin (Makassar, Labor Party), Ahmad Paito, S.Pd. I (Java, PKS) and Amir Hamzah (Java, PKB). Then in the executive office, the successful newcomer led the Democratic National Party politician, Giri Wijayantoro (Java, NASDEM) as the Jayapura regent's deputy from 2018-2023. They are elected through different party channels, meaning that it is not only for one political party.²⁵

Their involvement in political parties which later made them elected cannot be separated from two conditions. First, demands for special autonomy for Papua that gave rise to new creativity for migrants. In the end, they did not remain silent and naturally followed the implementation of the special autonomy law. Second, internal support (immigrants) that allows direct involvement in politics (contestation) at the local level. The presence of migrants in the legislature not only

²⁴CT, interview by Faisal, Sentani, on October 2, 2017.

²⁵ Some migrants who actively entered the various political parties both based on religion and nationalism and successfully entered the legislature. Like Ainur Rofiq, S.Pd.I (PKS Politician), Drs. H. Amin (PKB Politician) and Hj. Sumirah (NASDEM Party Politician) and Abdurrahman Suleiman (Golkar Party Politician). As for the executive level, is Giri Wijayantoro (Java, Deputy Regent of the 2017-2022 period). Similarly, in 2009, immigrants from different backgrounds tried to

enter the party in the legislature in 2009 to 2019 immigrants may place representatives in the legislature as a representation of his party and the constituents they represent, Drs. H. Nurdin Faisal (GOLKAR politician), Bachtiar, SE (PPP politician), Saharudin (Labor Party politician), Ahmad Paito, S.Pd.I (PKS politician) and Amir Hamzah (political PKB). And also, migrants can deliver the National Democratic Party politician, Giri Wijayantoro as Jayapura district deputy regent for the 2018-2023 period to accompany the regent Mathius Awoitauw, SE., M.Sc in the government for five years.

complements the political dynamics in Jayapura Regency but also shows that there is a very well-established life orientation to continue to create shared spaces in developing Jayapura. Even migrants are no longer considered an exclusive group, even though there are quite strict restrictions. In line with the presence and involvement of immigrants in politics at the local level, Ainur Rofiq, a politician from one political party, stressed:

...because of the conditions in Papua that implement special autonomy, then we don't just accept it passively, at least with the opportunity available we can contribute and involve in its development. Even though the migrant can not be the top leader, at least we are in its circle in order that our present is taken into account.²⁶

The condition of Papua's special autonomy, as described above, can at least be understood as a form of migrant contribution on the one hand, and political participation on the other. At the very least, this shows the desire of migrants to be part of the Jayapura district community despite objections.

Representation of migrants in the executive is reflected in the presence of deputy regents who come from migrants (Java). For researchers, this is a form of a successful negotiation for migrants in political pressures. On the other hand, the choice of some people who come from migrants to become legislative members cannot be separated from the conditions and demands for the importance of representation for migrants. They who try to remain present in the dynamics of local politics have severe challenges but are faced with a series of efforts including the active involvement of migrants in political parties. Events can be seen as pragmatism for migrants in politics. They realized that it was impossible to become the number one person in the Jayapura district. However, by being flexible they can still take political advantage by placing their representatives in second place in Jayapura. Thus, the representation of migrants

is maintained even though it is always under the shadow of political pressure due to the implementation of special autonomy for Papua.

The migrants are unlikely to fight the force head-on. Not because indigenous Papuans are now stronger politically, but rather because there is a feeling of "self-awareness" as a migrant to adapt to the situation. The migrant still focuses on the survival strategy. If necessary, the migrant will only use a 'soft' way to establish their presence without physical and psychological pressure. As James. C. Scott said, like the analogy of the case of peasant laborers in Kedah Malaysia, how in the subtle resistance builds a survival strategy and struggles among the resistance..., (Scott, 1993: 169-170; Scott, 2000: 39-40). In this case, immigrants' "rebel" to the situation experienced not in a confrontational way but strategizing with continuous social dynamics. According to Abdul Munir Mulkhan sometimes a situation that might seem contradictory and theoretically negate each other's life in a community can inspire creativity that provides a new path, by merging values in synergy (Mulkhan, 2010: 291). This is the case for migrants in Papua, although they are not given much space in local politics, they continue to live with their existing routines and not close themselves to Papuans. Survive in adaptive ways to protect property rights that include their culture and identity.

Another thing that is no less important after the implementation of special autonomy in Papua is the strengthening of the role of regional organizations. This regional organization strengthening is carried out as a bargaining position and strategy to maintain the existence of migrants in Papua. Migrants need to communicate and share their bound through regional relations. These communities were originally formed to strengthen unity among migrants in one area. Regional communities that have been formed in Jayapura include ethnic elements of Sulawesi, Java-Madura, Sumatra, Maluku and Nusa Tenggara islands.

²⁶ AR, interview by Faisal, Sentani, on July 18, 2017.

The relatively large elements of ethnic immigrant organizations are the South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS) and the Java-Madura Family Association (HKJM). Regional associations are not only to strengthen the basis of membership but also as an adhesive from the pillars of the region so that this forum remains solid, especially in the face of fluctuating situations in Papua.

There are at least twelve pillars of South Sulawesi migrants who are members of the South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS). The pillars are strengthening the base of Bugis-Makassar people in overseas. Likewise, it always coordinates the needs of its citizens with related parties, especially in the economic, political and socio-religious fields in Papua. The way they strengthen organizational ties is by conducting activities in the form of meetings such as recitation and social gathering. Also social activities in the form of visits the prisons in Sentani Barat and the sick or grieved citizens.

Meanwhile, the Javanese community organization has twenty-three pillars that are gathered from people who come from Java in general, East Java, West Java, and Central Java and the community that originated from Yogyakarta. The program includes regular meetings, religious gathering and visits the sick or grieving citizens.

Ethnic relations in Papua need to be encouraged in the framework of minimizing potential tensions that lead to ethnic conflict. Ethnic solidity, both shown by migrants and residents in Papua, is feared to accumulate into confrontations between migrants and non-migrants. Even the phenomenon of strengthening ethnic solidity thus obtains new channels which in the future will further strengthen ethnic politics. Thus, geographical mobility, which is nothing but the mobility of the population from diverse cultural environments— in the context of a repressive political structure - proven to be able to harden "exclusivity" and "intolerance" between migrants and residents from different cultural environments. For this reason, the assimilation process between residents and migrants needs

to be echoed and pursued, especially in the context of Papua.

C. CONCLUSION

Papua's special autonomy (otsus) is a regulation that gives Papuans full rights to redefine their identity, including economic and political identity. In this context, Papuans have full rights in the economic and political space. This fact is certainly a threat to migrant citizens, who are mostly Muslim, who previously dominated the economic and political fields. The presence of migrants, who are predominantly Muslim, has made an important contribution to the development of Papua. Control of the economic sector to date can be seen as an effort to prove the contribution of the challenger to the community, although often also considered a form of 'mastery' of Papua.

Although the mastery of the economic sector is going well, it does not occur in the political sector. Special Autonomy which does provide a great opportunity for Papuans to be actively involved in the management of Papua marginalizes migrants. Limited access, on the one hand, makes immigrants, especially Muslims, marginalized, but on the other hand, it becomes the trigger of success in the current economic sector. The relationship between Muslim migrants and residents is very dynamic which is also interspersed with tension and even conflict. Success in the economic sector provides a negotiating space for migrants to survive with all the risks.

Muslim migrants feel the need to formulate a survival strategy from the dominance of indigenous Papuans over economic and political space. Muslim migrants must adapt or assimilate to the realities of community life in Papua. So that the potential tension that can lead to open conflict can be avoided. However, in addition to Papua, in many areas, there are fears of the dominance of migrant communities that will threaten the existence of local communities. Therefore, ethnic and interreligious relations need to be constantly reunited, so that the economic and political spaces become relatively more fragmented.

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