

WAWASAN

Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya



Published by
Faculty of Ushuluddin
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung



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WAWASAN: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya is a peer-reviewed journal which is published by Faculty of Ushuluddin UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung publishes biannually in June and December. This Journal publishes current original research on religious studies and Islamic studies using an interdisciplinary perspective, especially within Islamic Theology (Ushuluddin) studies and its related teachings resources: Religious studies, Islamic thought, Islamic philosophy, Quranic studies, Hadith studies, and Islamic mysticism.

WAWASAN: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya published at first Vol. 1, No. 1, 2016 biannually in January and July. However, since Vol. 2 No. 1, 2017, the journal's publication schedule changed biannually in June and December.

Reviewers will review any submitted paper. Review process employs a double-blind review, which means that both the reviewer and author identities are concealed from the reviewers, and vice versa.

FROM EXCLUSIVISM TO PLURALISM: SHIFTING PERSPECTIVE OF THE GEREJA PROTESTAN MALUKU (GPM) IN INTERRELIGIOUS RELATIONS

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Abstract

This article aims to find out and describe the shifting position of the GPM (Gereja Protestan Maluku) as to other religions, especially Islam. Through library research towards some important documents of the GPM, the researcher found out the development of theological perspectives of the GPM which are fundamental and important for the GPM in understanding other religions. In studying these documents, this study discovered that the position of the GPM as to other religions before the social conflict in 1999 and 2004 are differ significantly to that of after the social conflict. In the document of PIP/RIPP in the period of 1995 to 2005, before the social conflict, they described clearly that the GPM recognizes other religions as the object of its mission. In contrast, in the same document of the period of 2005 to 2015, after the social conflict, they state that the *GPM* embraces other religions as its partner. Even in the newest document of *Ajaran Gereja GPM*, they state that God in Jesus Christ is the Savior of all human beings without religious categories. These theological notions have a significant impact on the GPM in shaping its relation with other religions. Not only the theological normative notion, but also the cultural perspectives such as *Pela* have opened the possibility for the Moluccan Moslems and Christians to coexist as brothers and sisters.

Keywords:

Religion; Theology; Church; Christianity; Transformation.

Abstrak

Artikel ini ditulis untuk menemukan dan menggambarkan perkembangan penerimaan Gereja Protestan Maluku terhadap agama lain, secara khusus agama Islam. Dengan melakukan studi kepustakaan terhadap beberapa dokumen penting dari GPM, ditemukan perkembangan pemikiran teologis yang sangat mendasar dan berarti bagi GPM dalam melihat agama-agama lain. Dari dokumen-dokumen tersebut, ditemukan bahwa sikap yang dimiliki oleh GPM terhadap agama lain berbeda sebelum dan sesudah konflik sosial di Maluku pada tahun 1999 dan 2004. Dari dokumen PIP/RIPP GPM tahun 1995 – 2005 yang dihasilkan sebelum konflik sosial, tergambar sikap penolakan terhadap agama-agama lain; sebaliknya, dokumen PIP/RIPP GPM tahun 2005 – 2015 yang dihasilkan sesudah konflik menunjukkan sikap penerimaan terhadap agama-agama lain. Bahkan dalam dokumen *Ajaran Gereja GPM*, ditegaskan bahwa Allah di dalam Yesus Kristus menyelamatkan seluruh umat manusia, apapun agamanya. Cara pandang seperti ini sangat mempengaruhi GPM dalam membangun hubungannya dengan agama-agama lain. Perubahan cara pandang GPM terhadap agama lain dipengaruhi oleh keterbukaan gereja untuk belajar dari budaya lokal, seperti budaya *Pela* yang telah membuka ruang bagi penganut agama Islam dan penganut agama Kristen untuk hidup sebagai orang bersaudara, tanpa mengingkari kekhasan imannya.

Kata Kunci:

Agama; Teologi; Gereja; Kekristenan; Transformasi.

A. INTRODUCTION

Gereja Protestan Maluku (abbreviated GPM) or the Protestant Church in the Moluccas is a church institution in the Moluccas-Indonesia. As a religious institution, the GPM involves working on religious reconciliation which is needed in this contemporary context. Nowadays, harmonious religious relation becomes an important issue on earth because there are many religious social conflicts in society. People tend to reject other religious affiliations that differ from their own. For example, the case of the Gereja Kristen Indonesia (abbreviated GKI) or the Indonesia Christian Church, a church in Jakarta on January 12, 2019,¹ the case of Pura at Bekasi on May 4th, 2019,² rejecting of the construction of the Santa Clara church at Bekasi,³ rejecting of renovation of al-Aqsa Agung Mosque at Sentani, Papua,⁴ and a case in Tolikara Papua in 2015.⁵ Those facts depict a way of thinking of religious majority versus minority.⁶ Christian majority in a certain places in Indonesia reject and tend to take control over Moslems minority and vice versa. Ironically, according to Muhammad Sabri and Sitti Musyahidah, all religions see the others in double standards perspective. They consider their own religion as the only true religion; while, others as false religions.⁷ Especially so

is related to religious symbols such as Mosque and church buildings that mostly become a provocative issue.⁸ Jamaluddin further reports that if someone narrowly understands religion, one tends to be intollerant to others and thus, religion falls into subjective matters.⁹ These are serious problems in religious life in Indonesia, especially when it comes to the rights of Indonesian citizen to live their beliefs freely.

Some intolerant cases in Indonesia are a warning to create harmonious religious life by working together among religious adherents and learning to respect each others. This is not an easy task to do as each religion has their own theological perspective towards others. Aisyah in her article entitled *Konflik Sosial Dalam Hubungan Antar Umat Beragama* stresses that religious truth claim has been the main reason of interreligious conflict.¹⁰ Another problem is the terms used in a negative impression about other religions such as ‘heaven religion and earth religion.’¹¹ These are some important facts that challenge all religions to evaluate their theological point of view about others to reconcile one another. Precisely, religious reconciliation has become an important thing that all religions must do.¹²

As a part of the society that has poor experience about religious social conflict, the GPM takes part in the process of religious

¹Haris Prabowo, “Duduk Perkara Penolakan Gereja GKI Di Jagakarsa, Jakarta Selatan,” *Tirto*, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://tirto.id/duduk-perkara-penolakan-gereja-gki-di-jagakarsa-jakarta-selatan-deoZ>.

²Alfian Putra Abdi, “Duduk Perkara Penolakan Pembangunan Pura Di Bekasi,” *Tirto*, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://tirto.id/dJez>.

³Tempo.co, “Massa Berunjuk Rasa Tolak Pembangunan Gereja Santa Clara Bekasi,” *Tempo.co*, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://metro.tempo.co/read/859291/massa-berunjuk-rasa-tolak-pembangunan-gereja-santa-clara-bekasi>.

⁴Mufti Sholih, “Di Balik Polemik Penolakan Menara Masjid Di Papua,” *Tirto*, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://tirto.id/di-balik-polemik-penolakan-menara-masjid-di-papua-cGrd>.

⁵Moh Rosyid, “Peredam Konflik Agama: Studi Analisis Penyelesaian Di Tolikara Papua 2015,” *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (2017): 48–81.

⁶Rachel Iwamony, “Majority versus Minority,” in *International Conference on Religion and Public Civilization (ICRPC 2018)* (Atlantis Press, 2019).

⁷Muhammad Sabri and Siti Musyahidah, “Agama Mainstream, Nalar Negara Dan Paham Lintas Iman: Menimbang Philosophia Perennis,” *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 3, no. 1 (2015), 77.

⁸Adon Nasrullah Jamaludin, “Konflik Dan Integrasi Pendirian Rumah Ibadah Di Kota Bekasi,” *Jurnal Socio-Politica* 8, no. 2 (2018): 228.

⁹Jamaludin, “Konflik Dan Integrasi Pendirian Rumah Ibadah Di Kota Bekasi.”

¹⁰B M St Aisyah, “Konflik Sosial Dalam Hubungan Antar Umat Beragama,” *Jurnal Dakwah Tabligh* 15, no. 2 (2014), 196.

¹¹Frans Magnis-Suseno, *Iman Dan Hati Nurani* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2014), 23.

¹²Rachel Iwamony and Tri Astuti Relmasira, “Rekonsiliasi Sebagai Proses Bersama Menyembuhkan Luka Sejarah Islam Kristen Di Kota Ambon,” *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 7, no. 1 (2017), 15-16.

reconciliation. It is a challenging task for the GPM because it faces a society that runs their daily life in a religious-based segregation settlement.¹³ Based on that context, the research problem of this study is how the GPM understand other religions and the theological positions of the GPM towards other beliefs. This study employs qualitative method with document analysis to the development of GPM church's theological position towards others.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Historically, the GPM had a great impact on how this congregation runs its mission in Moluccas Indonesia, including its position as to other religions. Therefore, talking about the position of the GPM as to other religions, this article will briefly describe how the GPM come into existence; explain the GPM's theological position before and after 2005;¹⁴ and finally, describe how the *Pela* has shaped the religious life of the Moluccans.

Pela is a Moluccans' local custom in which some people performed to overcome crises such as the local war between villages or help villages recovering from a natural disaster. In each situation, villages declared themselves as brothers and sisters. By having *Pela*, they recognized some basics obligation between each other such as giving help regardless of religion or ethnic. In some *Pela* relationship, especially the ones called *Pela Darah* (blood *Pela*), members of those villages are prohibited to marry their members with other members from different villages.¹⁵

1. Brief History of the Existence of the GPM

The GPM was one of the State Church members in Indonesia. Many scholars have written about the nature of the State Church. However, this study focus on how the State

Church influenced the life of Moluccan Christians and Muslims.

The Dutch Constitution has inspired the existence of the State-Church in the Netherlands as well as in Dutch colonialization in Indonesia. Under the Constitution of 1830, the King was declared to be the head of all churches in his domain. One of his great aims was gathering of all Protestant adherents into one church.¹⁶ Neil writes that "the King assumed himself to be no less dictator of the missionary societies than of the Churches organized for the Dutch residents and their dependents. He claimed the right to appoint, locate, and withdraw missionaries at his good pleasure."¹⁷ Based on this policy all of the Protestant Churches in Indonesia were united into one organization called the Protestant Church in *Hindia Belanda* (Indonesia) or *Gereja Protestan Indonesia* (abbreviated GPI).¹⁸ Protestantism in the Moluccas or the GPM became one of these united churches.

However, this situation negatively encouraged the State to take a strong position inside the Christian Church, more so than in the other religious communities in Indonesia. This view was contradicted with the thought that religion was outside of the state's control or that the state must be neutral to all religions. In this regard, Van den End offers two possible answers. First, some congregations had been established during the Dutch East-India Company or *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (abbreviated VOC) period. The state could not leave these congregations. Second, the State had recognized that the Muslims tended to resist the Dutch authority more rather than the Christians. Thus, all pagans in Indonesia must become Christians

¹³Arifudin Ismail, *Prahara Yang Terselubung* (Yogyakarta: Trussmedia Grafika, 2017), 127-160.

¹⁴Year of 2005 is the first year Synod Assembly Meeting of the GPM after this church experiencing a huge social conflict in the Moluccas-Indonesia.

¹⁵Dieter Bartels, *Di Bawah Naungan Gunung Nunusaku: Muslim-Kristen Hidup Berdampingan Di Maluku Tengah* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2017), 88.

¹⁶Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Mission* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), 188.

¹⁷Stephen Neill, *Colonialism*, 188-189.

¹⁸Th. van den End, *Ragi Carita 1* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2001), 146.

instead of becoming Muslims.”¹⁹ Because of these two reasons, the GPI came to the surface and has been existed until now.

One of the main characters of the State Church was that the head of the church's officers had a high position in the government.²⁰ This also happened during the VOC period when the church became one of its departments. This situation provided better opportunities for the Moluccan Christians rather than the Moluccan Muslims. Moluccan Christians received a good education because it was an integrated part of the mission activities of NZG (Nederlandsche Zendeling Genotschap-Dutch Missionary Foundation) as well as the GPI. Furthermore, Moluccan Christians have special opportunities to become part of the military force which was not available to Muslims. Since many Moluccan Christians were well-educated, they had better opportunities to work in government offices. In contrast, the Moluccan Muslims tended to work in business and became successful businessmen. In other words, these phenomena proved that there were unequal rights for people living in the same region. During this period, the State discriminated its citizens based on their religious background. How did the church understand this discrimination? Did the church realize that such phenomena contradicted the Christian doctrine and faith? In this case, this study assumes that the church did not see any discrimination in their social life because it was a way to pursue missions in the domain.

Another character of the State-Church relationship was when the state has full control of the churches within its domain. It hurts the churches “because the state wants all Christian Protestants to be united into one church, therefore, the state does not see a need for the church to have a confession.”²¹ The Christian Protestants in the Moluccas have been implementing this policy, even though they are

now an independent church. The GPM did not have its confession until 2005. Some Dutch scholars did not see any positive aspect of the existence of a State-Church in Indonesia. After visiting Minahasa and the Moluccas, Hendrik Kraemer describes what he saw in such places as follows:

As an organization, the Protestant Church in the Indies originates from a government decision. It is wholly part of the government in a twofold sense. The appointment and defrayment of its ministers always emanate from the government, and its organization and administration have been modelled upon and fitted into the government system. ... The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the definition above: because the Protestant Church has been conceived in centralist bureaucratic and secular official terms, its basic conception is un-Christian and un-Protestant... It is a government institution for spiritual care carrying out the task with the means usually employed by Protestant Churches in general. Without this government, which in principle does not care about life or doctrine in so far as it is outside the Penal Code, the protestant Church in the Indies will collapse as an institution.²²

From the above statements, Kraemer stated that the State-Church did not reflect what the Church was. It was only a servant of the government. Therefore the church could not perform its mission properly. However, there is a lack of answers about this. It is worthy to say that van den End said that the state favoured the church to keep itself in power. Yet, at the same time, it leads to marginalize or alienate Muslims Moluccans.²³

2. Being an Independent Church with a Special Character

Report on a Decisive Decade in the Growth of Indigenous Churches in Indonesia (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1958), 31-36.

²³ Th. van den End, *Ragi 1*, 150.

¹⁹ Th. van den End, *Ragi*, 145.

²⁰ Th. van den End, *Ragi*, 146.

²¹ Th. van den End, *Ragi*, 147.

²² Stephen Neill, *Colonialism*, 189; see also Hendrik Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church:*

Many factors were influencing the Protestant Church in Indonesia or the GPI in the Moluccas to be an independent church in September 1935. Van den End and Weitjens²⁴ note that there are three factors regarding the independence of the churches as follows:

- a. The Protestant Church in Indonesia paid more attention to maintain the faith of its members, especially Indonesian Christians. The GPI was aware of its responsibility to the nurture faith of its members. Therefore, having more independent churches was imperative.
- b. Schooling was separated from the Church, so that teacher in the school no longer take responsibility for the congregation. Since the period of the VOC, the GPI has a policy in which a teacher must also be a pastor at a local congregation. Therefore, the church faced many difficulties in providing its pastor.
- c. Since the 1890s there was a significant increase in membership of the Protestant Church. Thus, it became a challenge for the church to keep maintaining its congregation.

The above mentioned factors show that the situation in the life of the Christians in Indonesia and the Moluccas had forced the GPI to rethink about its approach to the church organization. The church must be organized to maintain the life of its members. Thus, the main motivation of GPI is to create an independent church as needed by local believers. However, this situation was also influenced by other factors. First, the financial problem faced by the Dutch government. Second, the nationalistic movement in Indonesia challenged the Moluccans to seek an independent church.²⁵ Among the Moluccans, W. H. Tutuarima must be mentioned as a minister who worked on

preparing local ministers. All these factors influenced the GPM to be an independent church.

The establishment of the GPM in September 6th 1935 was wider than today's Moluccas. Some places in Papua such as Fak-Fak was also serviced by the GPM. However, one has to acknowledge that the GPM is an ethnic Church. It is clearly stated in the Church Order that "the GPM is a congregation in the Moluccan Islands."²⁶ This statement does not only refer to the territorial aspect of the organization, but also refers to an ethnic group. This ethnic church has positive and negative aspects. Positively, the GPM will serve its members contextually because most of its members have the same cultural root. Negatively, the GPM serves the people too regionally and exclusive.

In the Indonesian context, this condition does not help the GPM to do its task in proclaiming the gospel to Indonesian society. Because the institution of a church has been connected to a certain ethnicity, it is very difficult for the GPM to criticize the Indonesian government. The church's voice will be heard as an ethnic voice that wants to create national destabilization. To avoid this impression, the church needs to become a good partner of the Indonesian government. Another weakness is a difficulty to accommodate the believers who come from other ethnicities. It is even worse when in the spirit of contextualization;²⁷ every ethnic group tries to create their liturgy, worship and song. Others will not feel included in church worship. They will be newly marginalized people in the lives of the believers. What will happen to the people who are only staying for a while in a place because of his/her job? Should they make their own congregations? Additionally, there are special characteristics of GPM Christianity. First,

²⁴Th van den End and J. Weitjens, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja Di Indonesia 1860-an – Sekarang* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1993), 59.

²⁵Th van den End and J. Weitjens, *Ragi 2*, 70.

²⁶The GPM, *Tata Gereja Dan Peraturan-Peraturan Pokok Gereja Protestan Maluku* (Ambon: The GPM, 1990), 7.

²⁷I do not think negatively regarding contextualization, However, it must be done critically, so that it does not create a new problem in the life of the believers.

because the church and Christian have been part of the Moluccan Christian traditions if one views Christian religion and the church negatively, people will react. Moreover, the Christian faith has been seen as part of their *adat* (customs), and consequently, they are not open to new ideas. They want to retain everything from past generations. Second, Christianity of the GPM is a collective or a communal faith.²⁸ Thus, if one decides to leave his/her common faith he/she will receive a negative reaction. Some important questions for this church are: What does it mean to be an independent church? Is it only related to the structural or institutional purpose? Should this independent church also create an independent way of thinking about how Christianity in the Moluccas must establish its relation with other religions? In what way does independence give a positive contribution to the religious relationships in the Moluccas? An in-depth study is needed to answer these questions, and many possible answers might be found, but those are not intended of this study.

3. Islam in the Perspective of Missionaries

It should be noted that missionary activities whether Catholic or Protestant, Muslims were not seen as pagan or heathen. Missionaries always distinguished between the Muslims and the heathens when they described the local condition of a certain place in the Moluccas.²⁹ However, there is a lack of answers about whether or not Christianity recognized Islam as a religion. Yet, we can assume that the Dutch government did not want to create problems

with Muslims, so missionaries never did any work among Muslims. However, it is difficult to find a positive point in missionaries' perspective in understanding Islam. How Joseph Kam understood Muslim is an example. Kam had a negative impression of Islam. Enklaar describes that to convince the *raja* of Waisamu³⁰ to convert to Christianity, Kam told *raja* Waisamu that "our religion focused only on the Prophet, sent by God into this world who, after having acquired atonement for our sins by His suffering and death, has been raised into heaven, but that the Muslims comfort themselves by visiting the corpse of their prophet who was a sinful man like all of us and who therefore was confined to death."³¹ Also, Enklaar describes Kam's attitude when faced the Muslim in the following sentence:

Kam found it was difficult to create a genuine dialogue with Islam. He looked at them only in terms of a false prophet, false teachings, blind religion, etc. His method for winning Muslims to the Gospel was restricted to weak attempts to convince his opponents in an antithetical manner of the superiority of Christ and the Bible above Muhammad and the Koran. He spread also copies of the Holy Scriptures with the silent prayer in his heart that the light of revelation in this way might bring the stubborn souls of the 'Slammers' (colloquial for Muslims) to the knowledge of the truth.³²

There are two ideas that this article attempts to stress related to Kam's perception of Muslims. First, Kam's motivation was winning

²⁸Kraemer, *From Missionfield to Independent Church: Report on a Decisive Decade in the Growth of Indigenous Churches in Indonesia*, 20.

²⁹When Langen informed the situation of Tual for Bishop Claessens, he writes that nearby Kei Kecil there are about 15, 000 heathens and 800 Muslims. Based on this information, we can notice that missionary activities were needed in Tual because there were many heathens. See Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia, 1808-1942: A Documented History. Volume 2: The Spectacular Growth of a Self Confident Minority, 1903-1942* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 184.

³⁰Waisamu is a village located in Seram Island in the Moluccas-Indonesia.

³¹Ido Hendricus Enklaar and Joseph Kam, *Apostel Der Molukken* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1963), 132. See also C G F de Jong and M van Selm, "Verslag van Een Reis Naar de Zuidwester-En Zuidooster-Eilanden (Zuid-Molukken) Door Joseph Kam (1825)," *Documentatieblad Voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending En Overzeese Kerken* 6 (1999): 47-78. See also Verry Patty, "Molukse Theologie in Nederland: Agama Nunusaku En Bekerings" (Vrije Universiteit, 2018).

³²Enklaar and Kam, *Apostel Der Molukken*, 132.

people to Christianity. To reach this goal he had no other way than to talk about the negative aspect of Islam. Second, the missionary activities of the church did not help the local people to understand the Christian faith without having to adopt a negative point of view regarding other religions, including Islam. In this way, only by recognizing the weakness of other religion could Christianity find its worth.

Even though Islam was not considered as pagan or heathen, relations between Christians and Muslims was not good. The negative tension between Muslims and Christians in the Moluccas has existed since the early period of Islamic and Christian missions to the area. In the book *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia 1- History of Indonesia Catholic Church-*, there is an explanation that when the Portuguese came to the Moluccas, especially to Ambon Island, the northern and western Hitu had been Muslims and were the dire enemies of the Christian villages.³³ In describing this situation, the author of the book comments that “the big enemies of the Christian religion live on the mountain slope. They are followers of the fanatic Prophet. By military force and support from Java, they pressed the heathen people and Christians in these islands to convert to Islam and to become their slaves.”³⁴

It seems that the negative relationship existed among religions was also caused by the motivation of each to convert the other. Because of this motivation, Christians (both Catholic and Protestant) and Muslims were not afraid to take violence. Cooley writes about the religious violence in the Moluccas, “but in that time, the pressure of the Sultan Ternate had begun. Because of the Portuguese cruelty and his desire to spread Islam, Sultan Ternate attacked and destroyed the Portuguese fortress in Central Moluccas including many Christian villages. Many Christians were killed in this event.”³⁵ The negative relationship between

Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas is also noted by Van den End. He writes:

It was too fast for Christians in Ambon and Lease to show their loyalty for their new religion. The Crisis in 1557 and the following year was also happened in their region. Marines of Sultan Ternate came to Ambon. For three years Christians could only have a defense in one fortress in Mountain range. Besides, one can say that since 1558 there was continually guerilla war in Leitimor and Hitu, in Haruku and Saparua. Sometime Hitu was helped by Ternate or Java so that they were able to burn Christian’s villages and forced Christians to leave their faith or to go to jungle; sometimes Christians were helped by the Portuguese. Consequently, Muslim villages were in a bad situation.³⁶

Based on this information, one sees that religious sentiment encouraged people to come to a limited form of solidarity, such that religious sentiment was more important than ethnic solidarity. Religious people did not think about the dignity of human life. Thus, at this time all religions, whether Christian or Muslim, negatively impacted the lives of local people and prevented them from living peacefully.

However, in other places in the Moluccas, one could find that Muslims and Christians were able to live in relative peace. Kraemer takes note of some examples. He writes, “Sometimes Muslims give their children as a *piara* (foster-child) to Christians to enable them to go to school in a Christian *kampong* - (village). In these cases, children were educated in an Islamic way by their Christian foster-parents, and they are protected from touching or eating pork.”³⁷ Another example was a good relationship between *Waai* (a Christian village) and *Tolehu* (a Muslim village):³⁸ “On Sunday a Mohammaden crowd will pass quietly through a

³³Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Adriaan Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

³⁴Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*.

³⁵Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*.

³⁶Th. Van den End, *Ragi 1*, 60-61.

³⁷Kraemer, *From Missionfield*, 22.

³⁸These two villages are located in Ambon island.

Christian *negorij* (village), and a Christian will never carry a pig through an Islamic *Negorij*.³⁹ After describing these facts, Kraemer offers his understanding of these good relationships. He says “These are all example of a pleasant and agreeable tolerance, which is rooted deeply based on family ties not based on religious conviction.”⁴⁰ It is very clear, here, that these good relationships were based on local culture. Thus, it could be said that these good relationships were only among villages which have cultural relationships. Interestingly, Kraemer writes, “Some Christian *Negorij*, as a result of Christian preaching, show a willingness to proclaim the Gospel to the Muslims, or they would like to see Muslims embrace Christianity, but then preferably not in a nearby *Negorij*, because this would give rise to all sorts of *Perkaras* (problems).”⁴¹ It seems that a good relationship between Muslim and Christian in some places such as *Waai* and *Tolehu* was influenced by their local customs of respecting each other. They had also no rivalry in the past. On the contrary, villages that had bad relationship were local enemy to one another such as *Leitimor* and *Hitu*. These villages involved in conflict before being Muslim or Christians. Precisely, the situation was getting worse as religion contributes to strength the conflict.

4. The GPM’s Position Before and After the Social Conflict in Moluccas

Talking about the position of the GPM before and after the social conflict happened in Moluccas between 1999 and 2004, this article refers to two important documents of the GPM, namely the *Pola Induk Pelayanan dan Rencana Induk Pengembangan Pelayanan* (abbreviated PIP/RIPP) or - the Chief Model of Ministry and Chief Plan of Developing the Ministry - and the GPM’s Understanding of Faith.

The Chief Model of Ministry and Chief Plan of Developing the Ministry (PIP/RIP GPM) contain general policies for ministry,

descriptions and strategies for the development of the GPM’s programs and activities approved by the Synod Assembly. Their function is to regulate the practical activities of the church ministry through the annual programs. In the ministry strategies of the GPM, PIP and RIPP are tied together. Therefore, such documents should be read as a united document. This study will focus on the PIP/RIPP from 1995 to 2005 and that of 2005 to 2015, especially addressing Christian and Muslim relation.

a. PIP/RIPP of 1995 to 2005

In the PIP/RIPP of 1995 to 2005, the GPM did not speak specifically about how the church understands other religions. The church did refer to other religion, especially Islam in its understanding about the church itself. Interestingly, in understanding of its ecclesiology, the GPM still looks to the past church history. The GPM understand that the Christianity which exists in the Moluccas was influenced by western ecclesiology (point. 2.4). This had been seen as the main factor in understanding other religions, especially Islam (point. 2.8). In the explanation of this ecclesiological concept, many statements were made which expressed a form of repentance. The GPM confessed that “its member still lived the same way of life they lived before becoming Christians” (point. 2.5). Therefore, their attitudes toward their cultural relationships were very important (point. 2.7). For the GPM, these cultural relationships must be understood proportionally to the church’s relationship to the gospel of the Kingdom of God (point. 2.6).

b. PIP/RIPP of 2005 to 2015

Compared to the PIP/RIPP of 1995 to 2005, there are some changed principles in the document of PIP/RIPP of 2005 to 2015. One fundamental change is related to religions and other faith. Under the theme Religions and other faith, the GPM states clearly that “Religions and other faiths are fully part of

³⁹Kraemer, *From Missionfield*, 22.

⁴⁰Kraemer, *From Missionfield*, 22.

⁴¹Kraemer, *From Missionfield*, 23.

God’s work. Based on this fact, we are called to create good communication and gather together in peaceful, respectful and harmonious ways. Other religions are not seen as rivals of the church. In addition, under the theme of the Kingdom of God and Religions, the GPM states that “All religions point to the same God.” This

is a new concept that is stated in the document. It is a different concept compared to those of the GPM’s document in earlier version. To help readers understand it well, the content of these documents related to the position of the GPM as to other religions will be described in a short table 1 below.

Table 1 : Comparison of PIP/RIPP 1995-2005 and PIP/RIPP 2005-2015

PIP/RIPP of 1995 to 2005	PIP/RIPP of 2005 to 2015
<p>The existence of the GPM in the Moluccas was influenced by western ecclesiology (point. 2.4). This had been seen as the main factor in understanding other religions, especially Islam (point. 2.8). The members of the GPM still lived the same way of life they lived before becoming Christians” (point. 2.5). Therefore, their attitudes toward their cultural relationships were very important (point. 2.7). For the GPM, these cultural relationships must be understood proportionally to the church’s relationship to the gospel of the Kingdom of God (point. 2.6)</p>	<p>In the Vision of the church’s ministry, the GPM stated that:</p> <p>“GPM wants to nurture quality believers who must have open and progressive attitudes, and work to defend all aspects of human life. Believers must also live in solidarity with others in the church’s life as well as in the broader society.”</p> <p>In the Goals of the church’s ministry, the church stated two things:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To improve and to implement cooperation and dialogue with other religions - To improve and to participate in ecumenical cooperation among churches and denominations <p>The second program of the GPM was called ‘Inter-religious Dialogue and Monologue.’ The goal of this program was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To counter “fanatic dogmatism, exclusivism and triumphalist attitudes in the congregation’s life,” and fanatic proselytism.

c. GPM’s Understanding of Faith

In the document of the GPM’s understanding of faith, the GPM specifically speak about how the church understands other religions. In this document, the GPM sees all religions as social realities as well as religious realities.

As social realities, the Church and Other Religions are called to develop the lives of their members and the life of the nation as well. The church and other religions are called to reconcile with each other, to open up to each other and to respect each other.”

In other words, GPM has recognized that

respecting other religions will enable all religions to come to a place of openness and positive relationships with one another. However, this should not lead the Church and Other Religions to lose their religious identities. Each specific identity must be regarded as positive, constructive, and open to a relationship. This identity enables the Church and Other Religions to be inspectors of ethical and moral values for their

members and for a society which still struggles for the welfare of all people.⁴²

As social realities, the church and other religions are called to develop the life of their members and the life of the nation as well. For the GPM, in doing its missions, the church and other religions are called to reconcile, to open up and to respect each other. Precisely, the GPM has acknowledged that respecting other religions will enable all religions to have positive relationships with one another. However, this should not lead the church and other religions to lose their own religious identities. While calling for respecting each other, the GPM asks other religions to hold onto their specific identities. Each specific identity must be regarded as positive, constructive, and open to relationships.

Based on a short description of those three documents, one can conclude that:

Before the social conflict

Some important notions reflect the position of the GPM as to other religions before the social conflict. However, in this article, two notions can be deducted namely: other religions as the object of the church mission and as a threat or rival.

▪ **Other religions as objects of the church mission**

According to the older vision, Christianity is the only religion that teaches true and good for human beings and the world. Therefore, people must become Christians to receive salvation from God. The GPM stressed this point when the Synod Assembly decided to implement a program of evangelization for the Muslims in 1956.

Because other religions were seen as objects of conversion, the GPM never pursued a

dialogue with other religions. There was no need for dialogue because the GPM did not see anything positive could be offered by a dialogue. As a consequence, the church did not recognize many influential factors created by the plurality of religion for the mission of the church. Because of this exclusive thinking, the GPM was not able to overcome problems that occurred in its relationship with other religions.

▪ **Other religions as threat or rival**

Other religions, especially Islam, were also seen as a threat to, or a rival of, Christianity as well as the church. The notion or perspective that the other religions are threat or rivals can be noticed in history. Even in the Bible, the rivalry notion has been described in more than one story. One can read the story of Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Isaac and Ismael. The Bible describes as if Isaac and Ismael are two half-brothers who will not live side by side in harmony. In this story, the Bible takes its position beside Isaac than Ismael. For this rivalry, Jonathan Sack explains it very well in his book entitled *Not in God's Name*. He writes, "Recall that Freud and Rene Girard argued that it is not religion leads to violence. It is violence leads to religion. ... Violence is born in what he called *mimetic desire*.⁴³ ... Girard then suggested that one of the prime sources of strife is not between father and son but between brothers: sibling rivalry."⁴⁴ In history, sibling rivalry can be seen in the Abrahamic religions, such as Jews, Christians and Islam.⁴⁵ However, it does not mean that sibling rivalry is the fate of Abrahamic religions. Sibling rivalry is defeated the moment we discover that we are loved by God for what we are, not for someone else. Each of us have our blessing. Brothers need not conflict. Sibling rivalry is not fate but tragic error.⁴⁶

⁴²Sinode Gereja Protestan Maluku, "Ketetapan Sinode Gereja Protestan Maluku, No. 9/SND/ke-35/" (2005), 109.

⁴³According to Jonathan Sacks, *Mimetic desire* is the wish to have what someone else has, which is ultimately the desire to be what someone else is.

⁴⁴Jonathan Sacks, *Not in God's Name: Confronting Religious Violence* (New York: Schocken books, 2015), 82.

⁴⁵Jonathan Sacks, *Not in God's Name*, 82.

⁴⁶Jonathan Sacks, *Not in God's Name*, 82-83

This rivalry notion had shaped the way the church see other religions. Therefore, when facing social problems in Indonesia and the Moluccas, the church tended to act personally. If a religion addressed something wrong in society, the religion spoke and acted by itself. The negative relationship between the church and other religions, especially Islam, had been recognized by the GPM in the year 1995, but there were no efforts made to overcome it. Rather, the church remained focused on the programs related to its institutional needs. This caused the church to live 'at a distance' from the religious problems in the Moluccas. Religious relationships in the Moluccas were not good, but the GPM never tried to solve this problem. Thus, the church ran its mission while a 'hidden' tension was growing between the church (as well as Christianity as a whole) and other religions.

Reactions from Muslims during the conflict must be accepted as real expressions of this 'hidden' tension. Commenting on the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas before the conflict, Shoelhi, who wrote a book during the social conflict, concludes: "Muslims in the Moluccas tended to maintain a distance because of the unsafe feeling they had."⁴⁷ However, he sometimes points to situations before the conflict. Reading his book, one notices that according to Shoelhi, the roots of the conflict which came to an outburst in 1999 are to be found many years before. So, the Christians used the *Laskar Jihad*⁴⁸ only as a scapegoat.

d. After the conflict

There are two fundamental theological changing points that the GPM hold. First, a theological perspective of the GPM that other beliefs are partners of the church; and second, all believers worship to only one God.

▪ Other religions are partners of the church

This concept or notion reflects the GPM's belief that the church is not the only one who wants to create welfare and goodness in the lives of human beings and the world. In its *Understanding of Faith*, the GPM confesses that all religions have the same responsibility to humanize people. The GPM has recognized positive things in other religions, thus the church is willing to create cooperation with other religions. The GPM has recognized the negative aspects of the church's mission in the past and tried to adopt a new progressive perspective in religious relationships, which is togetherness or partnership relationships. This cooperation will reduce suspicion about a 'hidden mission' of the church (the mission of conversion).

The GPM has learnt in its history that other religions also teach their members about human dignity and their responsibility to run their lives as good neighbours to one another. Other religions have the same intention which is to create a better world for all. Other religions fight to overcome poverty, to work for justice, and to heal this wounded world. Therefore, the church has abandoned the past theological tendencies such as to control over the others, to dominate, and to become the only one true religion.

▪ All religions point to one and the same God

The concept that all religions point to the same God does not appear in the *Understanding of Faith* of the GPM when the theme "The Church and Other Religions" is discussed, but it emerges under the theme "The Kingdom of God and Religions." However, one can find its spirit in many themes related to other religions and plurality which are addressed in the *Understanding of Faith*. In this document, the GPM demonstrates its position in

⁴⁷Shoelhi, *Laskar Jihad Kambing Hitam Konflik Maluku* (Jakarta: PUZAM, 2002), 4.

⁴⁸*Laskar Jihad* is a Muslim army which came to the Moluccas during the conflict to stand beside Muslims to

fight against Christians. During the conflict, Christians asked the Indonesian government to remove the *Laskar Jihad* from the Moluccas as a way of stopping the conflict.

understanding Christianity among other religions. Because of this concept, the tendency to understand the mission of the church as a mission of conversion no longer exists. The GPM has made a radical change since the church operated its mission long time ago within the concept of the superiority of Christianity among other religions. However, within this new concept, the GPM never discusses how the church understands Jesus Christ concerning the One God to whom all religions are pointing. This is a common tendency within religious pluralism.

Personally speaking, accepting the plurality of religions must not lead to a vague religious faith. On the contrary, this awareness must enable all religious people to learn more about their specific faith, which must, in turn, enable them as believers to respect other religions. More precisely, the plurality of religion as a reality in the life of human beings is a great opportunity to recognize, to respect and to receive the differences of each religion openly; at the same time, each religion has to maintain its specific faith and its unique, critical voice. A plurality of Religion must not cause each religion to lose its specific faith or uniqueness. Recognizing and respecting the uniqueness of each religion can be seen in the religious life of the Moluccan Muslims and the Moluccan Christians. The following part describes interreligious relation between Moluccan Muslims and the Moluccan Christians.

5. The Religious Life of the Moluccans Shaped by the *Pela*

To understand how the religious life of the Moluccans shaped by the *Pela*, it is beneficial to explain shortly about the *Pela*. Literarily, *Pela* means something to be finished or to be at the end. *Pela* is a Moluccans local culture which was performed by some people

to overcome crisis such as war or natural disaster in which one village received assistance from other villagers. In each situation, villages declared themselves as brothers and sisters. By doing this tradition, the participants have recognized some basics obligations, such as they have to help each other, to take care of and to protect each other. In some *Pela* relationships, especially the ones who called *Pela Darah* (blood *Pela*), the participants are prohibited to marry each other, even though they have no biological family relationship. Beside this *Pela Darah*, there are some other types, such as *Pela Batu Karang* (Rock *Pela*), *Pela Gandong* - (Womb *Pela*), *Pela Tampa Siri* (Betel-box *Pela*). Generally, *Pela Batu Karang* is another term used to refer to *Pela Darah* (*Blood Pela*) or *Pela Keras* (*Hard Pela*).⁴⁹

The *Pela* relation influences also the religious life of its participants, especially the Moluccans Moslems and Christians in the Central Moluccas. However, this article focuses on two aspects as follows:

▪ To accept a plurality of religion

The participants of *Pela* always acknowledge that even though the residents of the two villages have different religions, they are brothers-sisters. In this sense, different religions are a fact that cannot be rejected nor ignored, so they have to respect it.⁵⁰ This cultural habit has shaped their religious perspectives in seeing each other. So, in the Moluccas it is a common habit that Muslims will not afraid or doubt to help Christians to fulfil their religious obligations even in a Muslim village; Christians will also help Muslims to fulfil their religious obligations such as to pray in a Christian home.

There is an important positive value in the perspective of acceptance of the plurality of religion. The positive value is that the participants of the *Pela* have no feelings of

⁴⁹Rachel Iwamony, Steve Gaspersz, and Nancy Souissa, "To Embrace and Be Embraced: School *Pela* In Post-Conflict Ambon," *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue Journal* 29, no. 1 (2019), 2.

⁵⁰Yola Permani Lalopua and Rachel Iwamony, "Teologi *Pela*: Studi Teologi Kontekstual Di Negeri Abubu Dan Negeri Tengah-Tengah," *ARUMBAE: Jurnal Ilmiah Teologi Dan Studi Agama* 1, no. 1 (2019): 74-85.

superiority over others regarding religious life. They do not recognize the strength of their religion after seeing the weakness of other religions, but they strongly believe in their faith, while they also let others live according to their religious faith. Thus, this perspective helps religious people to have an open attitude toward the plurality of religion. Interestingly, participants of *Pela* noticed the benefit of the existence of a plurality of religion in their life. In their points of view, it helps them to understand and to experience their religion deeply. They find a positive impact in the existence of other religions which force them to learn more about and to have a deeper faith in their own. This argument opens the ability of religious people to see other religions positively. They do not see other religions as rivals or a threat to their religious life but accept it as a fruitful co-existence.

This religious attitude is a challenge because it requires self-examination in one's religious life. In the context of a plurality of religion, each religion tries to find the positive impact of the existence of other religions in their environment. It requires a genuine willingness to search deeply in one's own religious faith.

▪ To take part in religious celebrations

Taking part in other religious celebrations is a challenging act. However, it is not for the participants of a *Pela* and the Moluccans as a whole. For instance religious celebration in Batu Merah,⁵¹ Moslems, and Christians' Passo village. As Moslems, it is prohibited in the law of Islam to take part in a ceremony in a church; but they cannot escape this act due to their cultural obligation. However, if one examines more closely, the Christians and Muslims attended the religious ceremonies interchangeably only in certain occasions. For example, Christians attended a Muslim religious ceremony in a Mosque to show their support of the new *raja*, a chief of *Negri Batu*

Merah. Muslims attended Christian's religious ceremony in a Church to show their happiness of celebrating a century's birthday of the church in *Negri Passo*. This does not mean that Moluccan Muslims and Moluccan Christians are performing a mixed religion. Moluccan Muslims remain Islam; so do the Moluccan Christians. They just show togetherness in running each religious life.

In addition, Moluccan Christians commonly taking part in preparing an MTQ event,⁵² as it was in 2015, is also a manner of sharing the Muslims' joy of that celebration; as is the Moluccan Muslims partaking in preparations and participating in the opening ceremony of the Assembly of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia or *Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia* (abbreviated PGI) in Ambon, the Moluccas, in 1984. Thus, both Moluccan Christians and Moluccan Muslims tried to share their happiness, as well as their pain throughout the time of religious event celebrations. Those practices reflect the theological perspectives of Muslims and Christians that a religious celebration is a time of gathering together. A religious celebration is an occasion of supporting each other in daily life as well as experiencing their religion. A religious celebration is a bridge-building moment through which religious people experience that religion must not create a gap.

Religious life shaped by the *Pela* offers a different perspective in seeing other religion. Furthermore, it also criticizes theological perspectives which tend to exclude other religion and helps to overcome rivalry between Muslims and Christians as the GPM held in the beginning. By the *Pela*, Moluccan Muslims and Christians learn that religion does not separate human beings. It teaches also Moluccan that religious triumphalism against values of all religions. In other words, *Pela* principally confirms the core doctrine of all religion which is to love and to show

⁵¹Batu Merah is a village in Ambon Island. This village has *pela* relation with Passo, a village in Ambon island also. These two village has *pela* relation which is called *pela adik-kakak*.

⁵²Rachel Iwamony, "Toleransi Dalam Persepektif Orang Maluku," in *Costly Tolerance*, ed. Syamsudin (Yogyakarta: CRCS, 2018), 235.

compassion to all. It is what people call real-life dialogue.⁵³ However, in performing this real live dialogue, the Moluccan Muslims and Christians must aware that “dialogue is a willingness to talk to and to know each other without getting into a mixed religion.”⁵⁴

C. CONCLUSIONS

Exploration of the theological transformation of the GPM in seeing other religions opens some important notions, namely: First, since the GPM came into its existence, the church runs its mission in the concept that Christianity is the only true religion, so the mission of the church is to convert as many as people including religious others. Based on this theological point of view, the GPM tended not to embrace other religious people. Besides, the church pointed to religious others as a threat and a rival.

Second, after the Moluccans experienced a serious social religious conflict in 1999 and 2004, the church develops fundamental theological changing perspectives. Other religions have been recognized as a partner of the church and believe in the same God. It means that for the GPM, Christianity is not the only one true religion anymore. This theological transformation is also shaped by the Moluccans local culture such as *Pela*, which enables the Moluccans Muslims and Christians to live side by side in harmony, to share their joy in religious event celebrations, and to support each other to live their religious obligations.

Third, this theological transformation is a big step of the GPM. However, the church should not come to the safe zone and stop working on religious reconciliation. The church still has a responsibility to work together with religious other to overcome religious conflict in social life.

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⁵³Stephanus Turibius Rahmat, “Dialog Antropologis Antaragama Dengan Spiritualitas Passing Over,” *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 2, no. 2 (2017): 181–198.

⁵⁴Markus Solo Kewuta, trans., *Muslim Bertanya Kristen Menjawab* (Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia, 2017), xxxii.

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ISLAM, ETHNICITY, AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AMONG BETAWI MUSLIMS IN JAKARTA

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Abstract

Betawi is an ethnic group known to be the native of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. In the post-Reformation era in 1998, some people made efforts to reinforce the Islamic identity of Betawi. This article focuses on the religious expression of Betawi Muslims and the strengthening of local cultural identity in Jakarta, through a phenomenological study and identity theory. This study shows that the consolidation of the religious identity of Betawi Muslims forms diverse theological understanding dynamics, the politicization of rituals, and the development of new religious groups among Betawi Muslims, such as the FBR (*Forum Betawi Rempug*, The Betawi Brotherhood Forum), *Majelis Rasulullah*, and others. These different spiritual experiences increasingly strengthen political identity in the context of Betawi to the foreground of Islamic identity. It is a cultural identity that is narrow and distinct from the hybrid Betawi culture, which historically been shaped in the public cultural space by ethnic and religious diversity.

Keywords:

Islam, Religiosity, Betawians, Ethnicity, Identity.

Abstrak

Betawi merupakan etnis yang dianggap sebagai penduduk asli Jakarta, ibu kota negara Indonesia. Setelah masa reformasi pada tahun 1998, terdapat upaya untuk memperkuat identitas Islam dalam mendefinisikan etnis Betawi. Artikel ini memfokuskan pada ekspresi keberagamaan Muslim Betawi sebagai wujud penguatan identitas budaya lokal di Jakarta. Artikel ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi dan teori identitas sebagai kerangka teorinya. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa keberagamaan Muslim Betawi yang semakin kuat dan mengental tercermin dalam berbagai dinamika paham keagamaan, politisasi praktik ritual dan munculnya kelompok keagamaan baru di kalangan Muslim Betawi, seperti FBR, Majelis Rasulullah dan lainnya. Berbagai pengalaman keberagamaan tersebut semakin mengentalkan politik identitas dengan menyandarkan pada identitas Islam dalam mendefinisikan Betawi. Sebuah identitas budaya yang semakin sempit dan berbeda jauh dengan hibriditas budaya Betawi dahulu yang secara historis dibentuk oleh ragam etnik dan agama dalam ruang budaya kosmopolit.

Kata Kunci:

Agama; Teologi; Gereja; Kekristenan; Transformasi.

A. INTRODUCTION

The term Betawi refers to the region and its inhabitants, which originated from the Dutch word, Batavia. It also appears in the name of some renowned Batavian clerics, Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Batawi and Sheikh Junaid al-Batawi, who enter the Jawi community in Mecca at the beginning of the 19th century during their studies.¹ Previously, it was called Jayakarta before the arrival of the Dutch in the area. VOC, a Dutch trading company in the 17th century, named it Jacatra.² Such a phenomenon had a historical relationship with the rise of the *Bataafsche Republiek* (Batavian or the Batavia Republic). It was the name of the Netherlands when the French Empire, headed by Napoleon Bonaparte, conquered this country (1795-1856). Batavia is an area of 661 km² between 160.40 'and 170.0' East Longitude. The Cisadane River surrounds this area in the west, several islands are known as the Thousand Islands in the Java Sea in the north, the Citarum River in the east, and the Indian Ocean in the south.³

The Betawi people are the seventh largest ethnic group in Indonesia. The number increased sharply in 2000 to reach 5,042 million people (45.65 percent of the population of Jakarta) or five times that of the population in 1930.⁴ The Betawi cultural area currently covers the region of DKI Jakarta, Karawang, Bekasi, Bogor, the Thousand Islands, and Tangerang.

In the early days of its formation as a coastal city, Betawi (Port of Sunda Kalapa, Jayakarta

or Batavia), since the Kingdom of Tarumanagara in the 7th century until the post-Reformation, was inhabited by different ethnicities, such as Sundanese, Javanese, Bali, Ambon, Banjar, Bugis, India, Arabic, Chinese, and others. Some religions live in this region, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, and others. Although the population differed in ethnicity and beliefs, Malay language unified them as a lingua franca.

As a result of dealing with various ethnicities and religions, the Betawi people need to recognize their existence differently as the ethnic "native inhabitants" who live in Batavia or Jakarta.⁵ The government of Governor Ali Sadikin (1966-1977) strengthened the recognition of ethnic identities through the so-called invention of the Betawi tradition.⁶ There was a shift from Betawi as a meeting room for ethnic and religious hybridity for centuries toward the formation of ethnic identity with a particular religion. Throughout his rule, the common belief among the people of Jakarta that they need a kind of identity within their cultural framework, which was Betawi culture. It ranged from local language dialects, clothing, arts, food, Betawi settlements to popular culture through Betawi-dialed radio, including the emergence of Betawi artists, such as Benjamin S.⁷

The need for recognition of the existence of Betawi as ethnicity in later times also leads to the reinforcement of the Islamic religious identity linked to the Betawi ethnicity. While

¹Abdul Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi* (Ciputat: PT. Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2007), 73. See also Rakhmad Zailani Kiki, *Genealogi Intelektual Ulama Betawi, Melacak Jaringan Ulama Betawi Dari Awal Abad Ke-19 Sampai Abad Ke-21* (Jakarta: Jakarta Islamic Centre, 2011), 25.

²Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Masyarakat Jakarta Sebelum Batavia, Sebuah Pendekatan Sejarah Sosial," in *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara* (Jakarta: KPG in collaboration with EFEO and UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009), 133.

³Ajip Rosidi, ed., *Ensiklopedi Sunda, Alam, Budaya, Dan Manusia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2000), 106--107.

⁴Leo Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, and Aris Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion*

in a Changing Political Landscape (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003), 55.

⁵Tjandrasasmita, "Masyarakat Jakarta Sebelum Batavia, Sebuah Pendekatan Sejarah Sosial."

⁶Yasmine Zaki Shahab, "Rekacipta Tradisi Betawi: Sisi Otoritas Dalam Proses Nasionalisasi Tradisi Lokal," *Antropologi Indonesia* 66, no. 66 (July 22, 2014): 50–51, <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v0i66.3422>.

⁷Zeffry Alkatiri, J. J. Rizal, and Ben Sohib, "Not like Eating Chili: Constructing Alternative Cultural Space for the Betawians," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 12, no. 4 (December 2011): 604, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2011.603922>.

initially, the identity of Betawi people appeared to be complicated and hybrid, there was later an attempt to identify and characterize the Betawi people so strongly with Islam. An attempt to limit the identity of *Kebetawian* in terms of religion: the Betawi people are Muslims.⁸ Almost all scholars also agree that Betawi people are religious and faithful to Islamic teachings and practices. In Jakarta, they embraced Islam more strictly than other ethnic groups.⁹

This article focuses on strengthening the identity of the diversity of Muslim Betawi in post-reform. It reflects in various forms of Betawi Muslim religious experience in the way of theological understanding, Islamic ritual traditions and the emergence of new groups such as FBR. Since 1978, however, there have been a *Bamus Betawi*, *Forum Ulama dan Habaib Betawi* (Fuhab) and others. Through a phenomenological approach and identity theory, the author attempts to explore various ways of reinforcing the Betawi Muslim religious identity which derives from the experience of the Betawi people themselves. This article used the perspective of Wach regarding multiple forms of expression of spiritual experience, including theological understanding, ritual practices, and religious institutions to describe the religiosity of Betawi people.¹⁰

Based on the author's knowledge, there was little studies have focused on this dimension of

Betawi Muslim religious identity. Scholars typically study the Betawi problem in terms of art, culture, history, and archaeology.¹¹ Abdul Aziz's thesis may be one of the early studies on the relationship between Betawi and Islamic identity. He believed that the Islamic factor could not be ignored in the development of communities like Betawi so that its recognition of Islam made non-Muslims considered not part of the community.¹² Aziz's study was followed by a later study that strengthened the Islamic identity of the Betawi people in the search aspects of the Betawi ulama network, particularly teachers and *Mu'allim* from the 19th to the 21st century.¹³ This article seeks to strengthen this study by focusing on the escalation of strengthening Islamic identity in the form of their religious experience in terms of theological understanding, Islamic ritual practices, and the emergence of new groups in the post-1998 reform period. The research location is also limited to the areas only around Cakung, Srengseng Sawah, and Jatinegara.

This study is very significant in the context of the increase in the diversity of cultural identity politics in Indonesia, particularly after the reform. After the collapse of the New Order regime, which was perceived to be authoritarian to the SARA issues, it contributed to the decentralization crisis, which caused the dynamics of local politics and power relations.¹⁴ It also affected the subject of the rise of *Adat* and the identity politics of local

⁸Alkatiri, Rizal, and Sohib, "Not like Eating Chili: Constructing Alternative Cultural Space for the Betawians."

⁹Yasmine Shahab al Haddar, "The Position of Betawi Women, Native People in Jakarta" (Australian National University, 1982), 32.

¹⁰Joachim Wach, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama, Inti Dan Bentuk Pengalaman Keagamaan* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1994).

¹¹Lance Castles, "The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta," *Indonesia*, no. 3 (1967): 153–204. See also Cornells Dirk Grijns, "Lenong in the Environs of Jakarta: A Report," *Archipel* 12, no. 1 (1976): 175–202. See also Martha Gay Logsdon, "Neighborhood Organization in Jakarta," *Indonesia*, no. 18 (1974): 53–70. See also Haddar, "The Position of Betawi Women, Native People in Jakarta." See also Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of*

Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). See also Ridwan Saidi, *Profil Orang Betawi: Asal Muasal, Kebudayaan Dan Adat Istiadatnya* (Jakarta: PT. Gunara Kata, 2001). See also Heru Erwantoro, "Etnis Betawi: Kajian Historis," *Patanjala* 6, no. 1 (2014): 1–16. See also Jajang Jahroni, "Islamisasi Pantai Utara Jawa: Menelusuri Penyiaran Islam Di Tanah Betawi," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 14, no. 2 (2016): 369–418.

¹²Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi*.

¹³Kiki, *Genealogi Intelektual Ulama Betawi, Melacak Jaringan Ulama Betawi Dari Awal Abad Ke-19 Sampai Abad Ke-21*.

¹⁴Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy, "Introduction: Decentralisation, Democratisation and the Rise of the Local," in *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia:*

communities.¹⁵ The politics of ethnic and religious identity was part of this reinforcement, as reflected in the Betawi Muslim ethnic community in Jakarta. Similar cases of ethnic identity politics have also occurred in other ethnic groups, such as Malaya, Sundanese, Dayak, Toraja, and others.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Strengthening of the Betawi Muslim Religiosity

This section will explain the various forms of Betawi Muslim religious expression that show the strengthening of the Betawi religious identity, particularly after the reformation. The author will focus on the expression of religious experience in the form of religious understanding, which is an expression of intellectual thought or product, ritual practices as a form of deeds and religious institutions in the form of religious organizations or institutions.¹⁶ The author expected that these three forms of diversity could explain the expression of Betawi Muslim religious experience as evidence of the strengthening of their religious identity along with changes in political, social, and religious dynamics in Jakarta.

2. Betawi Muslim Religious Understanding

Most of the Betawi people are Muslims. Some scholars believe that Islam was one of the early cultural attachments of the Betawi people to be followed by those who spoke Malaya. This religion seems to have enriched Malayan culture in the Batavian colonial community. Betawi people chose Islam to differentiate their distinctive identity from others, so they called themselves as the people of "Selam," long before they used the term "Betawi." The word Selam is a local pronunciation of the word

"Islam" as the word Srani for the word Christian (Nasrani). This self-understanding involves the affirmation of the identity of the Betawi people from the Dutch occupation, which they called Srani. They placed the experience of being a human at the lowest strata, under the strain of a racist social system. It was coupled with a heavy burden of life, especially for the majority of residents living in private lands. Efforts to Christianize people in various ways, such as education and distribution of rice (Christian rice), are also a plausible reason for the sharp separation between the Selam and Srani. In the post-independence period, the word "Betawi people" seems to be used more uniformly by indigenous Muslims. In the meantime, the original inhabitants of Christian people were descendants of non-Betawan ethnic groups, in which others called them according to their origins, such as the people of Tugu or Depok.¹⁷

Betawi people, known as followers of Islam, can still be typified based on whether or not they obey divine commands. Based on this typology, it is understood that there are two groups, namely those who are obedient to performing the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith, and those who are not obedient to performing religious orders. The former is a devout person called Habib, teacher, convert, or cleric. They are people who obey the teachings of Islam, such as performing the pillars of Islam and other worship rituals. Included in this group are not only religious teachers who teach in Islamic boarding schools or educational institutions but also those who have performed the pilgrimage and pious people who carry out religious orders in obedience.

The role of the Ulema in the Betawi community was not only limited to the propagation of the Islamic teachings but also helped establish Islamic educational facilities,

Decentralisation & Democratisation (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), 2.

¹⁵Adam D. Tyson, *Decentralization and Adat Revivalism in Indonesia: The Politics of Becoming*

Indigenous (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), ix.

¹⁶Wach, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama, Inti Dan Bentuk Pengalaman Keagamaan*.

¹⁷Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi*.

such as the construction of *Pesantren* and madrasa as a means of Islamic da'wah. Not a few of them used the Taklim assembly model to organize religious lectures in mosques. Majelis taklim is a non-formal educational institution for the people. The scholars organize recitations in mosques, and assemblies on a regularly scheduled basis are models of the existence of ulama regeneration. This phenomenon, for example, appears as the oldest *Taklim* assembly in the Habib Ali Kwitang Assembly in Betawi and is still crowded with worshippers.

Habib position (plural: habaib) is a prominent position among the Betawi people. Apart from being considered a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (Sayyid / Sadah), Habib, who came from the descendant of Hadrami in Yemen, became one of the first ethnic groups to bring the Islamic teachings to Jayakarta, which later became known as Batavia.¹⁸ Arabian descendants such as the Habib, both from the Sayyid and non-Sayyid communities, tend to identify themselves as Betawi, even though they only have a relationship through marriage to Betawi women. Although both religiously observant, the position of Habib is different from that of teachers and converts, as it is believed that Habib is a Prophet's heredity. The presence of the Forum Ulama and Habaib Betawi (FUHAB) founded in 2004 has exposed this trend. However, both have a liquid relationship.¹⁹ The Habib position among the Betawi people had increased in the post-reform era, especially as the case of the Islamic Defense Action in Jakarta began in October 2016. Some Islamic scholars, including those who were from the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam - FPI), led a large-scale demonstration of Muslims in protest to Ahok's

statement or Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, a Chinese Christian who was allegedly blasphemous to Islam before the general election of the Governor of Jakarta.²⁰

The second group is ordinary people. They are people who are not too obedient in carrying out the principles of Islam. Ordinary people, in some ways, are similar to *Abangan* in Java.²¹ For them, carrying out the principles of Islam is considered ideal, such as constructing Mushallah, alms, prayers, chanting and others. As a result, ordinary people, as well as teachers, converts, Habib, clerics or students, seem to try to give lessons that are considered ideal for their children. It is common to see that children from ordinary people's families also learn to read the Holy Qur'an through the Quranic teachers at night, even though many of them have never finished their studies. They considered it ideal if the Betawi children attended religious schools. This group even consciously recognizes that those who have religious knowledge as people who have their statistics to be proud of. In the post-independence period, particularly in the 1970s, there was a growing political tendency among Indonesian citizens towards Islam along with the trauma of the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the 1930s. They described themselves as religious ones to avoid others' stigma. If they were not religious, others would mark them as members of the PKI, godless people.²²

In Betawi, ordinary people and converts had always been doing charities in society, such as eating together during the death ceremony, providing food during the wedding ceremony or the circumcision ceremony. It seems, therefore, that for the Betawi people either from the ranks of converts or ordinary people, Islam is the main guideline of their lives.

¹⁸H. Mawardi (Betawi young Ulama), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Cakung, Jakarta Utara, on November 14, 2019.

¹⁹Kiki, *Genealogi Intelektual Ulama Betawi, Melacak Jaringan Ulama Betawi Dari Awal Abad Ke-19 Sampai Abad Ke-21*.

²⁰Michael Hatherell and Alistair Welsh, "Rebel with a Cause: Ahok and Charismatic Leadership in

Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 41, no. 2 (April 2017): 174–90, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1293006>.

²¹Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi*.

²²Lea Jellinek, *Seperti Roda Berputar, Perubahan Sosial Sebuah Kampung Di Jakarta*, trans. Eddy Zainuri (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 75.

Nevertheless, Islam cannot be ignored as a general characteristic of the Betawi people. Because most Muslims have used the Hijri calendar to determine essential days in the circle of life.²³

The Ulema group generally teaches the teachings of Sunni Islam or *Ahlu Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*. The character of understanding of the next generation of Betawi scholars continues to be inherited. In addition, while they follow the teachings of Sunni Islam, among the Betawi people who founded it, have developed religious differences between traditionalist Islam and Islam which appears to be puritanic, such as Wahhabism and Salafism, which initially developed in the Middle East.²⁴

However, in general, the Betawis have followed a network of Habibs, teachers, and Mu'allim since the 19th century, adhered to the teachings of traditionalist Islam which maintain traditional values. It was easier to blend with local, cultural values in Betawi in various forms of expressions, such as traditional clothing, traditional houses, brown arts, Lenong, Ondel-ondel, Tanjidor, alms traditions, and others. It was completely different from the puritanical Islam perspective, which tended to purify the Islamic beliefs and practices of Betawi people who were interested in the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith thoroughly.²⁵

3. Religious Ritual Practices among Betawi Muslims

Betawi religious experience in the form of religious ritual practices is part of the expression of religious actions. Their experiences occur in various forms of rituals and religious traditions, both related to the life cycle period (such as rituals of birth, seven months pregnancy, circumcision, marriage, death, and Khataman); and related to the practice of religious ceremonies outside the life cycle ceremony (such as remembrance, Ratiban, recitation, pilgrimage, Salawat,

Maulid, haul, social gathering, invitation, and others). The Betawi religious practices of remembrance and prayer also appear in traditional arts, such as *Pencak Silat*, Ondel-ondel, mask dance, and others. Some of the Betawi ceremonies and religious traditions, in general, can also be found in the cultural traditions of Muslim in Archipelago under different names.

In the Betawi tradition, every family can perform religious ceremonies related to the life cycle. If the ceremony is simple and does not involve many people, it is usually called almsgiving. However, if the ceremony is big enough, it is called a celebration. Many special events and the ability of the owner's intent have played a vital role in determining the size of the ceremony in the circumference of life. The ceremony is normally conducted by making food for serving, burning incense, accompanied by recitation of prayer. Many Betawi people still believe in spirits and are associated with Islamic teachings. It was shown during the pregnancy ceremony of Kekeba (salvation of seven months of pregnancy) and birth.²⁶

In addition to birth, Betawi people also conduct life-cycle religious rituals related to marriages or circumcisions. The second celebration is the most use of art. It can be seen from the list of friends at the sub-district office when applying for a crowd permit. Regional habits adapted to the status of the owner the celebration determined the choice of types of arts during the celebrations. Mask theatre performances are usually not found in Ciputat or Sawangan areas, these two regions perform Lenong theatre instead. In addition, Muslim clerics will usually choose Islamic art performances such as the Kasidahan, tambourine, Samrah. On the other hand, ordinary people choose different types of theatre, film, dance, mask dance, ondel-ondel, Tanjidor, and others. It is distinct from Betawi people of Chinese descent, such as in

²³Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi*.

²⁴H. Ajang (Betawi young Ulama), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Cakung, Jakarta Utara, on September 17, 2019.

²⁵Fatullah (Betawi community leaders), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Jatinegara Jakarta Timur, on September 20, 2017.

²⁶Aziz, *Islam & Masyarakat Betawi*.

Tangerang, who usually use Cokek dance to enliven their celebrations. Betawi culture is quite similar to Sundanese culture in which its people wore a Betawi mask theatre, or Kliningan or farce and comedy.

However, even though ordinary people are still a long way from orthodoxy, Islam remains a reference point for the identification of Betawis. The preachers seem to provide respite and tolerance for things that are not part of Islam in their perspective, such as the administration of Tanjidor or Cokek music. It is a vital indicator of the phase of what is called intimacy assimilation. People also applied tolerance in different faiths among communities during the life cycle ceremonies and even the practice of worship.

Because Betawi identity is increasingly influenced and identified in the direction of Islamic identity, then there is also Islamization in some traditional Betawi arts, such as ondel-ondel. Ondel-ondel costumes, for example, began to contain Islamic components, such as coconut flower, which replaced various colors of it into silver and gold paper. Likewise with the handlebars that turned into resembling a cap, the addition of a sling Cukin that is reminiscent of the pesantren students and the swordsman Si Pitung, as well as Tanjidor music accompaniment who becomes using white Sadariyah with Komprang pants adds to the Islamic impression.²⁷

Besides, Betawi people also often practice religious rituals such as pilgrimages or visiting sacred tombs. The Tomb of Luar Batang, for example, was the tomb of Habib Husin bin Abubakar Alaydrus, a respected Hadrami cleric, and always being visited by hundreds of Betawi people by reciting verses from the Qur'an. Betawi people also frequented visit other tombs, such as Tomb of Prince Ahmad Jayakarta in Pulogadung and three Habib tombs (Habib Abdurahman bin Alwi Shatri, Habib Ali

bin Alwi Ahatri [d. 1710] and Habib Muhammad bin Umar Alqudsi [d. 1705]) in Masjid Bandan complex, between Sunda Kelapa Harbor and Ancol Dreamland.

Another practice is Ratiban or Walimatus Safar, where some people conducted a ceremony to release prospective pilgrims or Umrah. For some rich Betawi people, they hold Ratiban every day for as long as the pilgrims return. In addition, Betawi people usually recite azan and Iqamah while marching to release the pilgrims. In some suburbs of Jakarta, people welcomed some prospective pilgrims who came in and out with firecrackers.

In addition, Betawi's religious practices in the form of Zikr and prayer, are also often seen in traditional arts such as Betawi Pencak silat. It is also known as the term martial arts, Maen sense, Teplekan, and the term due to the influence of the Peranakan Chinese tradition, that bhe si, Gisauw, or Kuntao/Kundao. In this tradition, it not only develops aspects of art, martial arts, and sports but also builds mental and spiritual aspects. Such four elements are incorporated into the Pencak silat movement to protect and strike in the form of punches, kicks, and attacks.²⁸

After the reform era, the development of the socio-political situation has strengthened certain religious practices in society. Habibs once led the Zikr Akbar event during the Islamic Martial Action 212 together with the Gerakan Nasional Pendukung Fatwa – Majelis Ulama Indonesia (GNPF-MUI) to mobilize a large mass as a form of protest over Governor Ahok's statement which was allegedly blaspheming Islamic teachings. Some people thought that the Zikr ritual, as practiced by the Majelis Rasulullah of the Habib, is considered part of the local culture of the Betawi people.²⁹ Here, it appears that the practice of religious rituals no longer only reflects the Betawi religious experience, but experiences

²⁷Mita Purbasari Wahidiat, "Ondel-Ondel Sebagai Ruang Negosiasi Kultural Masyarakat Betawi" (ISI Yogyakarta, 2019), 22–23.

²⁸Nawawi, *Maen Pukulan: Pencak Silat Khas Betawi* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pusat Obor, 2006), 6.

²⁹Ken Miichi, "Urban Sufi and Politics in Contemporary Indonesia: The Role of Dhikr Associations in the Anti-'Ahok' Rallies," *South East Asia Research* 27, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 225–237, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0967828X.2019.1667110>.

politicization in response to the socio-religious situation it faces.

4. Religious Social Institutions in Betawi Muslims

Several forms of religious institutions have been developed among the Betawi Muslim. The institutions demonstrated the growing strength of Betawi ethnic political identity after the Reformation era. Examples of those institutions are Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Zikr Community (Majelis Rasulullah, Nurul Musthafa, Nurussalam), Betawi organizations (Betawi Rempug Forum, abbreviated FBR), the Ulema and Habaib Communication Forum (FKUH) and others. As has already been stated, some of these institutions strengthened their position among Betawi people, particularly since the post-reform era. At the end of 2016, Ahok's case blasphemy on Seribu Island sparked a series of mass protests under Islamic Defendant Act 212, one of which was inseparable from Jakarta-based religious organizations such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and the Zikr communities such as Majelis Rasulullah.

In fact, an improvement in the Betawi ethnic identity politics was apparent in the establishment of the Betawi Rempug Forum (herein FBR) organisation. Although the initiators of such organizations initially formed as a social organization for the Betawi people, They are almost always connected to religious issues, such as the eradication of a place they considered to be religiously disobedient in Jakarta. Some activities are also synonymous with religious ritual activities of other Muslims, such as recitation and Yasinan.

Some people formed the FBR, an association for the Betawi people, in response to the introduction of regional autonomy during the reform period. The unfair treatment of other ethnic groups against them was the reason behind the creation of this organization. For example, the 2001 incident in Cakung East

Jakarta. Some Madurese are mugging Betawi men and women. The Betawi people responded to such brutal actions, and they ultimately united to fight back Madurese people in Jakarta.³⁰

Based on this incident, some young Betawi figures gathered led by (late) Kiai Fadloli El Muhrir to launch a forum that could accommodate and fight for the aspirations of the Betawi people. The outcomes of the deliberations held on 29 July 2001 at the Islamic Boarding School Ziyadatul Mubtadin Cakung finally agreed on the establishment of FBR. This organization claimed that their principles followed the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah, Pancasila, and the Indonesian 1945 Constitution. FBR is an organization that seeks to encourage Betawi people to be able to come forward and take a role in the development of Jakarta. Before the advent of FBR, Betawi people were merely spectators; they did not have the ambition to take part in the event. They only feel the effects of development, until they are increasingly marginalized. They sold their land and moved to suburbs, such as Bekasi, Bogor, Depok, and Tangerang.³¹

The leadership of the FBR consists of the Central Leadership as the highest leader in charge of the Regional Coordinating Leaders (Korwil) at the municipal level and in charge of the Substation Leaders at the sub-district level. Communication between FBR leaders uses the command model (instructions). The FBR membership consists of ordinary members, extraordinary members, and honorary members. FBR membership is only for Muslim Betawi people who already have a national identity (Kartu Tanda Penduduk – KTP).

FBR focused on community empowerment, such as securing events, managing parking lots, supporting projects, and providing social services in the form of donations for orphans and the needy. Sometimes the FBR is also the executor of specific programs organized by the

³⁰Taridi (Betawi young leaders), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Jatinegara Jakarta Timur, on September 17, 2017.

³¹Sarih (Betawi community leaders), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Bekasi, on September 17, 2017.

local government. As a regional mass organization, FBR also organizes regular programs to strengthen its members' solidarity, such as recitation, Yasinan every Friday, martial arts training, and gatherings to have coffee together.

Each member of the organization has vowed to follow the organizational leadership, in particular, Ulema as an advisor. Anything related to the needs and concerns of the Betawi people is returned to the Ulema and must also receive the blessing of the leadership. Therefore, the Ulema's decision is an absolute decision which must be complied with and carried out by members of the FBR, including in political choices such as the elections. For example, in the 2018 gubernatorial election in Jakarta, FBR was among those involved in demanding the resolution of the Ahok legal case and suggested the people not vote on Ahok politically. Although some Muslims believed that Governor Ahok's performance was excellent, most Muslims felt that he had hurt Muslim sentiments through his controversial issue in the case of Thousand Islands. He accused of denounced the Ulema so that it was no longer appropriate to become a governor in the Betawi lands.

In addition to its adherence to the Pancasila and the Indonesian 1945 Constitution, FBR also commits to implementing the Islamic teachings in the DKI Jakarta and surrounding areas. They have nine faithful promises where all members must obey. First of all, they must obey Allah and His Messenger, Mohammad. Second, they must follow their leaders in the organization, Anggaran Dasar and Anggaran Rumah Tangga (AD/ART - organization's principles), and Guidelines Outlines. Third, they must be ready to eradicate places that they consider wrongdoers. Fourth, they must try to waive the ban on Sharia, such as drinking, illegal drugs, adultery, gambling, and drugs. Fifth, they must ready to make a sincere sacrifice to defend and help fellow members.

Sixth, they must ready to apologize if they misinterpret their fellow members. Seventh, they must prepare to comply with the state, authorities, securities, tribes, or ethnic groups as long as they are not in conflict with Tawheed and Sharia. Eighth, they must be prepared to revoke membership card when violating Sharia, AD/ART, and disobeying their leaders. Ninth, after receiving the approval of the members, they must be able to attend the organizational activities.

These faithful commitments have been applied in various activities, such as recitation, Maulid, assistance for orphans, prevention of the distribution of drugs, and closure of immoral places, such as massage sites (that offer sex commercial). The organization has also often been involved in the refusal of the construction of the non-Islamic religious buildings, such as churches. It is according to the organization's commitment to implement Islamic law in the daily life of the Betawi people.³²

Why is Betawi Muslim identity getting stronger?

In this paper, the question proposed is essential. After the 1998 reformation, the strengthening of the identity of Betawi Muslims has been seen in various religious experiences, as explained above. For example, political Zikr events, Islamic symbols in Betawi's traditional arts, traditional Betawi clothing, and seen in various social organizations, such as the FBR.

The author used the definition of identity as who we are, who others are, and other people's understanding of themselves and others. A practical case that explains the relationship of similarities and differences, agreements and disagreements, is always negotiated and never fixed.³³ It is because identity is a result of the social and historical interaction between Betawi Muslim identity and other ethnicity and beliefs in Jakarta's cosmopolitan social space. Strengthening the Betawi Muslim religious

³²Matroji (Betawi religious leaders), interviewed by Deni Miharja, Kampung Srengseng Sawah, Jakarta Selatan, on September 17, 2017.

³³Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 18.

identity is a response to the similarities and differences with other ethnic groups. Betawi Muslim identity, like other ethnicities, is not in a set structure but is continuously established in a representation system that allows itself to be different from other religious and ethnic identities.³⁴

One of the answers to the above question is that after the fall of Suharto in May 1998, many external political factors have had an effect on the identity of Betawi Muslims. The decentralization policy implemented by the government has given the regional government more power than before. Then all areas began to search for their cultural and historical roots. So that various regional identities, including ethnicity, rapidly strengthened. An identity based on social, political, and religious groups has emerged. In Jakarta, organizations that lift the Betawi identity flag and often overlap with religious (Islamic) identity continue to claim social, political, and economic rights in Jakarta.³⁵

Strengthening the ethnic and religious identity of Betawi Muslims then often forgets and ignores inter-cultural relations that have existed for centuries. For example, Arab Betawi, Chinese Betawi, and Indo-European Betawi who have lived for hundreds of years in Jakarta. At present, there is an impression that their Kebetawian identity is unacceptable because they generally like Betawi China, for example, are non-Muslim religions. There is now an effort among Betawi people to rely on Islamic religious identity in defining Betawi. In other words, they limit the Betawi identity in religious terms, namely that the Betawi people are Muslims. A thickening of identity that tends to deny the diversity and hybridity of Betawi identity.

It was therefore easy for Betawi Muslim people to persuade other Jakartans via social media not to vote for Ahok, who is a Chinese Christian, in the 2018 governor election after saying inflammatory words in the Thousand Islands. It was the result of the thickening of religious and ethnic identity among them. Betawi Muslims may be worried about the danger of ethnic non-Muslim Chinese to the fate of their faith if they have political power in Jakarta. However, during the race, Ahok's opponents were Arab descendants, Anies Baswedan. Although in terms of political electivity, Ahok had a great deal of potential to win, owing to his popularity and leadership accomplishments in his previous position as Governor of Jakarta. Nevertheless, throughout the year 2016-2017, the political interests through the sentiments of ethnicity and religious identity in a massive demonstration dominating by Muslims were straightforward. Not surprisingly, the results of the regional head election were eventually won by Baswedan with the capital of ethnic polarization and religious differences. More than 65 per cent of Muslims choose Baswedan.³⁶ It shows that the issue of religious sectarianism and racism, in the context of the growing identity of Betawi Muslims, plays a vital role in politics, primarily through social media, when used for campaigns to contribute to the polarization of the Indonesian people.³⁷

Thus, the factor of political change is very influential in improving the religious identity of Betawi Muslims after the reform. In response to the socio-religious situation in Jakarta, the Betawi people are trying to demonstrate their religious identity as Muslims. The racial, religious, and political issues surrounding them have influenced the identity of Betawi people to this day.

³⁴Yekti Maunati, *Identitas Dayak: Komodifikasi Dan Politik Kebudayaan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2006), 1.

³⁵Alkatiri, Rizal, and Sohib, "Not like Eating Chili: Constructing Alternative Cultural Space for the Betawians."

³⁶Jeremy Menchik, "Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia," *Asian Studies*

Review 43, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 415–433, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1627286>.

³⁷Merlyna Lim, "Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia," *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (July 2017): 411–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>.

C. CONCLUSION

The explanation above shows that the religious diversity of post-Betawi Muslims is getting stronger and thickens as a result of the influence of social, political, and religious changes along with the era of regional autonomy. Each region tries to find authenticity and the root of its identity. That is what makes ethnic and religious identities like Muslim Betawi thickened. The strengthening of cultural identity is reflected in the development of religious understanding, the politicization of ritual practices, and the emergence of new religious groups among Betawi Muslims, such as the FBR, Majelis Rasulullah, and others. One proof of the strengthening of Betawi Muslim cultural identity politics, for example, occurred during the Ahok case in 2016-2017. The politicization of Betawi Muslim religions and rituals has taken place, influenced by racial, ethnic, and religious sectarianism. In responding to the social, political, and religious situation, the Betawi people are trying to demonstrate their religious identity as Muslims. It can, therefore, be understood whether the people of Betawi tend to rely on their identity as Muslims when defining Betawi.

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KAMPUNG KUTA RELIGION: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY IN WEST JAVA

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Abstract

Kampung Kuta is one of the Sundanese traditional villages in West Java. They believe in the myth of the sacred forest and the origin of their ancestors which is preserved by the phrase of *amanah* and taboos. This article aims to analyze the indigenous religion of Kampung Kuta community. The study focuses on analyzing the relationship between social, economic and religious structures as its constituent elements. Using an ethnographic study based on structural functionalism theory, this study shows that the religious construction of Kampung Kuta has a mutually influential relationship with both economic and social structures. The economic structure depends on the livelihoods of farming and gardening which are determined by the changing seasons and natural phenomenon. This then created religious structures that were magical and ritualistic. The people believe that the forest and their places are surrounded by cosmic forces of the Sacred. Various myths and beliefs in the common origins of ancestors influence the structure of social life to preserve nature together. It can be reflected in the kinship system, social solidarity between relatives, social harmony and lifestyle of simplicity.

Keywords:

Religion; Indigenous People; Myth; Social Harmony.

Abstrak

Kampung Kuta merupakan salah satu kampung adat orang Sunda di Jawa Barat. Mereka meyakini mitos hutan keramat dan asal usul leluhurnya yang dijaga melalui *amanah* dan *pamali* (tabu) dari leluhurnya. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis religi masyarakat adat Kampung Kuta. Kajian difokuskan pada analisis hubungan antara struktur sosial, ekonomi dan religi sebagai unsur pembentuknya. Melalui serangkaian penelitian etnografi berbasis teori fungsionalisme struktural, hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa konstruksi religi Kampung Kuta memiliki hubungan saling mempengaruhi dengan struktur ekonomi dan sosialnya. Struktur ekonomi bergantung pada mata pencaharian bertani dan berkebun yang ditentukan oleh pergantian musim dan fenomena alam. Hal ini melahirkan struktur religi yang bersifat magis dan ritualistik. Masyarakatnya meyakini bahwa hutan dan tempat tinggalnya dikelilingi oleh kekuatan kosmis Yang Sakral. Berbagai mitos dan keyakinan terhadap kesamaan asal usul leluhur mempengaruhi struktur kehidupan sosial untuk memelihara alam bersama-sama, seperti tercermin dalam sistem kekerabatan, solidaritas sosial antar kerabat, harmoni sosial dan pola hidup sederhana.

Kata Kunci:

Religi; Masyarakat Adat; Mitos; Harmoni Sosial.

A. INTRODUCTION

The construction of religious structures of indigenous people is a significant object of study in anthropological studies. It doesn't only show the uniqueness of identity in the local cultural environment, but also reflects its construction which goes on along with the construction of socio-cultural identity. Community identity is constructed continuously through life experiences in and when interacting with the world. It means that throughout his life humans are actually constructing their culture.¹ Therefore, various religious communities including indigenous people, in their social-cultural context and natural environment, basically also continuously construct their religious structures through their daily life experiences, either within the community or when interacting with other communities, even with the universe.

One area that has quite number of indigenous people is West Java. A province inhabited by most Sundanese people. There are some indigenous people who adhere to local religion, such as Bumi Sagandu Dayak community in Losarang Indramayu², Madraisme in Cigugur Kuningan³, Kampung Naga in Tasikmalaya⁴, Kampung Mahmud in Margaasih Bandung, Kampung Cikondang in Pangalengan, Kampung Urug in Sukajaya Bogor, Kampung Gede Kasepuhan Ciptagelar in Cisolok Sukabumi, Kampung Dukuh in Cikelet, Kampung Pulo in Leles Garut and Kampung Kuta in Ciamis.

Kampung Kuta is one of the traditional villages that also has a unique local cultural identity. The construction of their religious

structures is shaped by the experience of social and natural interaction. Located in a hilly area and 40-hectare forest, all indigenous communities in Kuta claim as Muslim, but they also live with a variety of local myths and beliefs, such as forest pilgrimage rituals, *pamali* (taboo) and *amanat karuhun* (ancestors mandate).⁵ In traditional belief, the forest is divided into three parts, namely *tutupan* (cover), *titipan* (deposit), and *garapan* (arable). Only arable forests that are able to be used for farming. Because for them, humans (microcosms) are no different from nature (macrocosms). Because of the balance of human life and nature, forests can be maintained. Because if the forest is lost, the existence of their traditions and traditional beliefs will also be lost.

This article examines the religious structure of Kampung Adat Kuta in Ciamis. The study focused on the problem of religious structures construction and the relationship between social and economic structures as forming elements of religious structures. The author conducted a series of ethnographic research in the field in 2011, 2014 and 2015.⁶ The analysis was carried out using a religious approach as a system within the framework of structural functionalism theory. This theory sees society and its social structure as organisms. In structural functionalism, religion is regarded as the glue of society. Religion is analyzed to show how it contributes to maintaining the social structure of a community.⁷

This study reinforces previous studies on the Sundanese indigenous religion. Wessing, based on his anthropological studies in Pameuntasan Bandung, stated that the Sundanese could not

¹Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 71.

²Khaerul Umam, "Ngaji Rasa Dalam Pandangan Komunitas Dayak Indramayu," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2016): 34–45.

³Husnul Qodim, "Strategi Bertahan Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) Cigugur," *KALAM* 11, no. 2 (2017): 329–64.

⁴Abdurahman Prawiro, "Religion and the Local Tradition of Life Cycle Rituals in Kampung Naga, West Java," *Jurnal Al-Albab* 4, no. 1 (2015): 55–68.

⁵Based on researcher's observation to daily life of community many months ago, including two weeks in Ramadhan month in 2014.

⁶James P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, trans. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006).

⁷David D. Gellner, "Pendekatan Antropologis," in *Aneka Pendekatan Studi Agama*, ed. Peter Connolly (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2002), 28–29.

be separated from nature, space which they believed was inhabited by a variety of creatures, both natural and supernatural that integrated with a single unit.⁸ For instance, in the case of the Baduy, the Judge stated that the cultural and spiritual values of Baduy were related to beliefs and myths centered in Sasaka Domas, the prohibited forest where their site located.⁹ In the case of Kampung Dukuh in Cikelet, Garut, Abdul Syukur concluded that besides the Islamic tradition, the peoples possess their own tradition, such as myths, supernatural sanctions, and certain rituals related to the ancestors' beliefs. They succeeded to preserve the environment and natural resources rather due to the influences of their local tradition than others.¹⁰ In line with them, Adimiharja examined the Kasepuhan community on the slopes of Mount Halimun, West Java. According to him, despite modernization in processing nature in agriculture, they accepted it while maintaining traditions and the balance of natural

environment preserved in a ceremony related to Dewi Sri myth.¹¹

This study also similar to other religious studies in many regions in Indonesia, such as Java, Tengger, Hinduism, Sakai, Dayak, Bukit, and others. Meanwhile, those are different in many aspects such as the debate about the relationship between Islam and local culture which is interpreted syncretically by some scholars as an acculturative.¹² However, among other local anthropological studies, this study is in line with Radam's study of the religious structure of Bukit people in South Kalimantan. He concluded that the social system, both structure and its relations, economic life, in this case, the pattern of cultivation also determines the religious understanding and actions of the people.¹³

There have been many studies on Kampung Kuta customary in Ciamis, but not much about their religious structure. Some scholars focus on aspects of leadership, socialization, and inheritance of customs values, local wisdom, environment, learning and others.¹⁴ Soedarmo,

⁸Robert Wessinga, "Cosmology and Social Behavior in a West Javanese Settlement" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974), 282.

⁹Nurul Hakim, "Cultural and Spiritual Values of Forests in Baduy Region, Banten, Indonesia" (Wageningen University, 2006), 60.

¹⁰Abdul Syukur and Husnul Qodim, "Islam, Tradisi Lokal, Dan Konservasi Alam: Studi Kasus Di Kampung Dukuh Kabupaten Garut," *KALAM* 10, no. 1 (2016): 141–168.

¹¹Kusnaka Adimiharja, *Kasepuhan Yang Tumbuh Di Atas Yang Luruh: Pengelolaan Lingkungan Secara Tradisional Di Kawasan Gunung Halimun Jawa Barat* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1992).

¹²Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, trans. Aswab Mahasin (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981). See also Andrew Beatty, *Variasi Agama Di Jawa: Suatu Pendekatan Antropologi* (Jakarta: Murai Kencana, 2001). See also Niels Mulder, *Misticism in Java: Ideology in Indonesia* (Singapore: The Pepin Press, 1998). See also Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989). See also M. Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Jakarta: Alfabeta and INSEF, 2009). See also AG. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon, Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Canberra: ANU

Press, 2006). See also Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005).

¹³Noerid Haloei Radam, *Religi Orang Bukit: Suatu Lukisan Struktur Dan Fungsi Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Dan Ekonomi* (Yogyakarta: Semesta, 2001), 40–41.

¹⁴Subhan Agung, *Pemerintahan Asli Masyarakat Adat: Studi Kepemimpinan Adat Di Lembah Timur Ciamis* (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2017). See also Yus Darusman, "Kearifan Lokal Dan Pelestarian Lingkungan (Studi Kasus Di Kampung Naga, Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Dan Di Kampung Kuta, Kabupaten Ciamis)," *Jurnal Cendekiawan Ilmiah* 1, no. 1 (2016). See also Zia Mariana Dharma and Leni Nur'aeni, "Upacara Adat Nyuguh Di Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis Pikeun Bahan Pangajaran Maca Artikel Budaya Di SMA/SMK/MA Kelas XII (Ulukan Semiotik)," *Jaladri: Jurnal Ilmiah Program Studi Bahasa Sunda* 3, no. 1 (2017): 51–57. See also Agus Efendi, "Implementasi Kearifan Budaya Lokal Pada Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta Sebagai Sumber Pembelajaran IPS," *Sosio-Didaktika: Social Science Education Journal* 1, no. 2 (2014): 211–218. See also Iman Hilman and Nandang Hendriawan, "Model Revitalisasi Dan Pelestarian Kearifan Lokal Dalam Mengelola Sumberdaya Air Pada Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Geografi UMS IX*, 2018. See also Ria Intani, "Konsep Tata Ruang

for example, stated that the socialization of customary rules of families in Kampung Kuta was carried out early.¹⁵ The same thing was conveyed by Sidik who stated that the inheritance of Islamic traditional and religious values was carried out through religious studies in mosques, traditional halls, and family environments. Bahrudin, one of a preacher, inherited Islamic values as seen in Hidayati's study result.¹⁶

Religious Structure

There are many definitions of religion. Lyden states that religion is a term that is difficult to define.¹⁷ Among scholars of anthropology, sociology, and psychology, there has been a long debate about the question of what religion really is.¹⁸ Eliade, for example, anthropologically defines religion as a set of beliefs and practices.¹⁹ Other scholars, such as Geertz, define religion as a cultural structure. He tends to regard religion as a human activity when describing cosmos law and its projections of daily life experiences.²⁰ Therefore, religion is a belief system that can encourage feelings and motivation in daily behavior. We can learn through symbols and behavior and also how they are interpreted.²¹

In anthropological discourse, constructing identity means being yourself, different from the others. Group identity is related to social

relations and social organization in cultural groups. There are limits to group classification regarding ownership that can be understood by the people involved.²² Markers of group identity can originate from a specificity that is believed to exist in adhered religion. Although, the conceptual boundaries of religion itself are often not strict and vary.

To explain the religion position in culture can be seen in the division of three culture forms. First, culture as a complex of ideas, values, norms, and regulations, is usually called a cultural structure; second, culture as a complex of patterned behavior activities of humans in society, usually referred as social structures; third, culture as objects, buildings, human works in physical form. As the division above, although it cannot be separated from the culture in physical form and social structure, this study focuses on the cultural structure in religion. It is related to the values, norms, teachings, and ideas about the mandate of ancestors believed by the people of Kampung Kuta. Cultural construction is not genetically inherited. But it is inherited through the learning process in society.²³

Therefore, cultural construction is very possible to change. The change applies to all societies because they are subject and target of change. The change process may take place at various speeds, evolutionary or revolutionary.

Rumah Tinggal Masyarakat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis," *Patanjala* 5, no. 1 (2013): 68–81. See also Erisa Weri Nydia et al., "Penerapan Faktor Budaya Dan Adat Istiadat Dalam Pola Membangun Pada Kampung Adat Kuta Kab. Ciamis, Jawa Barat," *Reka Karsa* 2, no. 4 (2014). See also Trisna Sukmayadi, "Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Dalam Pandangan Hidup Masyarakat Adat Kampung Kuta," *JPK (Jurnal Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan)* 3, no. 1 (2018): 19–29.

¹⁵Ung Runalan Soedarmo, "Masyarakat Dusun Kuta: Studi Tentang Peran Keluarga Dalam Sosialisasi Adat Istiadat Masyarakat Dusun Kuta, Desa Karangpaningal, Kecamatan Tambaksari, Kabupaten Ciamis" (Universitas Padjadjaran, 2004).

¹⁶Nuri Hidayati, "Kontribusi Ajengan Bahrudin Dalam Perkembangan Islam Di Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat 1981-1992 M" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2008).

¹⁷John Lyden, *Enduring Issues In Religion* (San Diego USA: Green Haven Press, 1995), 17.

¹⁸Gavin I Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co.Ltd. Publisher, 1990), 133.

¹⁹Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 283--284.

²⁰Husnul Qodim, "Clifford Geertz on Defining Culture and Religion (Anthropology of Religion Study)," *Jurnal Wawasan* 32, no. 1 (2009): 45.

²¹Clifford Geertz, *Tafsir Kebudayaan*, trans. Francisco Budi Hardiman (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), 55.

²²Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), 59.

²³Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1990), 186--187.

It appears neither coherent nor coherent because of the potential aspects of society itself and others come from outside.²⁴

Regional bases are often very important and crucial to be maintained by indigenous people. In addition, the basis of their traditional culture is often also faced with the changing reality come from outside, such as changes due to so quickly the influence of modernity. For indigenous people, ecological resources and economic resources are the most important resources in meeting their basic needs.

Cultural construction is formed and developed as a manifestation of human responses to challenges that arise in the process of adaptation to the environment. In the perspective of structural functionalism, Redcliffe Brown (1881-1955) views that culture is formed and developed as a manifestation of human responses to its environment based on various basic needs in the form of biological, social and psychological needs. The function of culture is in order to meet these needs. Culture has characteristics as shared property, mutual agreement (common denominator), shared ideals and the standard values of shared behavior.²⁵

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) asserted that all cultural actions are actually intended to satisfy all the organic (psycho-biological) needs of humans which are related to their entire lives.²⁶ Unlike Brown, who is more interested in observing individuals as persons occupying certain status in a social structure, Malinowski is more interested in individuals as a psycho-biological reality in a society. He emphasizes the aspect of humans as psycho-biological beings who have a set of psychological and biological needs that need to be met. Brown was interested and considered the social structure important, while Malinowski was more interested in culture.

In contrast to the two, Leslie Alvin White (1900-1975), a figure of structural

functionalism from North America, emphasized that culture is more a reaction to the development and progress of economic technology in an effort to preserve biological life.²⁷ He breaks down culture into technological structures, social structures, and ideological structures. The technological structure consists of a number of material, mechanical, physical and chemical equipment which is manifested in the form of tools for producing, erecting buildings and dwellings. The social structure includes all interpersonal relationships that are manifested in certain patterns of behavior, both individual and collective. The structure of ideology consists of all the ideas, beliefs, knowledge manifested in language and other symbolic actions. Mythology, theology, fables, philosophy, science and traditional policies include in this category.

The technological, social and ideological structure is basically the same and mutually supporting. So looking at culture needs to look at the interrelationships among structures in culture and also how cultural construction functions. But in certain areas and certain times, there is one structure that more prominent than the others. However, this does not preclude the possibility of ideological structures, especially religion, which functions to influence social structures and economic structures more dominantly. This study uses structural-functionalism analysis as an analytical tool to analyze the religious structure of the Kampung Kuta community and the interrelationship of influence among social, economic and religious structures as its constituent of environmental elements.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Residents and Settlements of Kampung Kuta

Kampung Kuta is one of the six villages in Karangpaningal, Tambaksari, Ciamis, West

²⁴Yudistira K Garna, *Teori-Teori Perubahan Sosial* (Bandung: Universitas Padjadjaran, 1992), 1.

²⁵Nur Syam, *Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), 31.

²⁶Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 171.

²⁷Syam, *Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi*, 36.

Java. The location is in the northeastern part of Ciamis in a valley surrounded by cliffs as high as 30-60 meters and Cijolang river which borders directly with Central Java. Kampung Kuta is located separately from other villages, as shown in figure 1. There are groves of forest trees around. Although this area is fertile, the soil conditions are unstable. It is located at an altitude of about 500 meters above sea level. The condition of the air is rather cold and cool.



Figure 1. Kampung Kuta from the top of the cliff with entrance access

Kampung Kuta has about 97 hectares area. It consists of residential land, rice fields and dry fields around 57 hectares and protected forests around 40 hectares.²⁸ The mainland is mostly planted with palm trees and upland crops (plantations) such as coconut, banana, cassava and others. Most of the population work as farmers and tappers. There are about 125 households with a population of 315 people (157 women and 158 men). Compared to other regions, the growth in birth rates in this area is relatively small.

The form of Kampung Kuta settlement tends to be straight and lined by the village road as the main access. The houses are built in groups lined back. It was built closely on family

inheritance land. It shows the existence of kinship among the residents. The adjacent house makes interaction among residents more intimate and stronger. It has an effect on the sustainability of the social structure of the community among those who still have family ties.

Houses in Kampung Kuta have almost the same shape. It is related to the customary rules that all house buildings must be made from the use of natural surroundings. The house is simple and not allowed to use brick, cement and sand walls. The roof does not use tile or asbestos, but uses curtains and fibers for the roof, as shown in figure 2. This is intended to preserve *kirai* and *kawung* (sugar palm) trees. The difference among houses is only in the type of glass or *gebyog* in windows, palm roofs of thatch and the use of booths or boards in the bulkhead. According to old people, the use of glass in new windows is in recent years. Grandma Awit (92 years old), for example, told: *Ari kapungkur mah tea aya nu ngangge jendela kaca siga nu ayeuna, kapungkur jendela ngangge gebyog* (no one used glass windows like now, because they used *gebyog*).²⁹



Figure 2. Balai Adat Kampung Kuta

²⁸Environmental Control Office Team, *Profil Kampung Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kecamatan Tambaksari Kabupaten Ciamis* (Ciamis: Pemkab. Ciamis, 2002), 2–4. See also Hidayati, “Kontribusi Ajengan Bahrudin Dalam Perkembangan Islam Di

Kampung Adat Kuta Desa Karangpaningal Kabupaten Ciamis Jawa Barat 1981-1992 M,” 15–16.

²⁹Awit (mother of Kuncen mother-in law of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 3, 2011.

The protected forest in Kampung Kuta which covers around 40 hectares, is believed to be a sacred forest site. Here were born various legendary stories and myths about the origin of their ancestors. According to the story, the origin of Kampung Kuta originated from Galuh Kingdom, which previously planned to build a palace around the sacred forest. The kingdom has prepared materials such as smithy, stones and other items including preparing a puppet play for the inauguration. However, it turns out that the plan did not happen. These preparations were eventually abandoned and given *ancepan* (a kind of sign with a certain type of tree which was guarded by ancestral spirits). This relic is believed to be a sacred place until now.³⁰

2. The social life of Kampung Kuta

Kinship in Kampung Kuta community is very close. They have solidarity and close emotional relationship with one another because they feel they have the same ancestral origins and residences. Here are some kinship terms that are not much different from Sundanese society in general. Those kinship are based on *panca kaki* (the five vertical family order), such as *bapa* (father), *ema* (mother), *aki* (grand father), *nini* (grand mother), *buyut* (mother/father of grand mother/father), *bao* (mother/father of *buyut*), *janggawareng* (mother/father of *bao*), *udeg-udeg* (mother/father of *janggawareng*) and *kakait siwur* (father/mother of *udeg-udeg*). Also known as horizontal kinship terms, such as *akang* (older brother), *ayi* (younger brother), *adi* (younger brother or sister), *dahuan* (old brother in law), *emang* (uncle) and *bibi* (aunt).³¹

The formation of family in Kampung Kuta begins with endogamous and exogamous marriages. Marriage can be done with fellow residents or with outsiders. However, marriages are generally carried out endogamically, so that kinship is relatively

close. Exogamy marriages are generally performed by later generations. After the marriage takes place, the husband and wife will usually stay in the extended family home of the husband or wife until both are independent and have their own home. The daily habits of families usually gather to just chat or watch television in the home of the oldest family. It is especially at night after the routine of farming and gardening. These daily activities further strengthen kinship relations. Among extended families usually have a close kinship with other extended family connected with their ancestors.

Kampung Kuta people usually carry out social activities in unison, so social interaction among individuals runs harmoniously. A strong inner connection bounds a sense of togetherness. Collective bonding is built through the bonding of blood between fellow members of the community not only because of the impact of endogamous marriages, but also the existence of strong customary rules and the domicile of people who are close to one another. The condition of the community which is not too heterogeneous under customary rules makes the social level of the community not too sharp.

Unlike the other villages in Karangpaningal hamlet, Kampung Kuta is not only led by formal officials such as hamlet heads, but also informal or traditional leaders. This traditional leader has considerable influence in managing the values and norms of indigenous people, especially in maintaining the mandate of *amanah karuhun* and *pamali*. This traditional leader is called *Kuncen*. He was chosen based on lineage.³²

The daily life of community in Kampung Kuta are bound by unwritten norms that regulate their behavior. The norm is inherited from generation to generation. For example, the simple standard of living, eating from their agricultural products, simple clean clothes and building houses according to customary rules.

³⁰Karman (Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 16, 2014.

³¹Koentjaraningrat, Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi, 321.

³²Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011.

This simple pattern of life is intended to avoid greed to fit the lifestyle of the ancestors, as done by Ki Bumi during his life.³³ For example, the advice *sapapait samamanis* (living together in joy and sorrow) is intended to be selfless throughout his life. In addition, it is also advisable to help each other through the activities of mutual assistance in cleaning *solokan* (water drain) ahead of the rice planting season, house construction, exuberance, marriage, burial, and other ceremonies. There is also the suggestion of social ethics such as not to be arrogant in speaking and behaving as the ancestors habit. For example, two expressions *memeh pok kudu geus pok* (before saying, think firstly in advance so as not to offend others); *ulah asa aing uyah kidul* (do not feel yourself more than others).

3. The Economic Life of Kampung Kuta: Farming and Gardening

The economic life of the people of Kampung Kuta depends heavily on natural resources such as rice fields and fields. Therefore, the main livelihood is agriculture. Rice fields are wetlands that depend on irrigation systems. They usually harvest three times a year. While the fields (*huma*) are dryland whose irrigation depends on rainwater. They usually harvest twice a year with a planting period of 4-5 months. Huma rice is usually planted at the beginning of the rainy season. People plant rice in the land around Kampung Kuta which is located rather high, hilly and difficult to reach by irrigation. Some residents tried to make their own irrigation channels by channeling water through a longitudinal pipe to a field from a water source called *cai pengasih* in Kampung Kuta.³⁴

From the data obtained, more than 80 % of residents of Kampung Kuta work as farmers, as

well as tapping *kawung* (sugar palm) or sugar makers, as shown in the following table 1.³⁵

Table 1. Kampung Kuta community profession

No	Location	Total	%
1.	Farmer/Tapper	254	80.7
2.	Seller	19	6.0
3.	Carpenter	12	3.8
4.	Civil Servent	-	-
5.	TNI/POLRI	-	-
6.	Others including school	30	9.5
Total		315	100%

In addition to farming, residents of Kampung Kuta also grow gardens and raise cattle. Almost all planted their gardens with various trees and fruits. The most widely planted trees are sugar palm and a small portion of coconut trees. Therefore, in addition to rice, some residents also rely on sugar palm from their parents' garden. While fruit plants consist of rambutan, banana, jackfruit, mango, guava, cassava, cassava and others. There are also vegetable plants, such as basil, spinach, *petai*, etc., as well as medicinal plants, such as ginger, betel, *binahong* and others.

The daily life of the Kampung Kuta community is in the fields and gardens together consisting of husband and wife, sometimes assisted by teenage children, as shown in figure 3. This can be seen from the roadside to their rice fields. In certain seasons, husband and wife leave early in the morning to welcome planting and arrange irrigation. They returned home in the afternoon before sunset. Some bring supplies and equipment to prepare for eating and drinking all day. Usually, they have small huts on the edge of rice fields or on the edge of fields. Here they rest and cook food from the

³³Karman (Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 4, 2014. Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011. Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 6, 2011.

³⁴Sapta (Resident of Kuta, Farmer and Tapper), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on June 5, 2011.

³⁵Pemerintah Desa, Monografi Desa Karangpaningal (Ciamis: Desa Karangpaningal, 2011).

fields, such as cassava and bananas. Some of them also use the hut as a place of prayer.



Figure 3. A mother working in a rice field

In addition to agricultural products, palm sugar is also the second source of income. Palm sugar trees grow in the forest around the village. It also grows in drylands and settlements. Because of many raw materials and its processing expertise, Kampung Kuta can produce palm sugar in a good. Making palm sugar involves all family members, namely fathers and teenage children. While mothers are involved in processing and cooking, although there are also many fathers who cook it themselves. Palm sugar processing is not only done at home but sometimes in the huts. While cooking palm which takes about 8-9 hours, they can graze in the rice fields around the huts. So it is not surprising that many fathers and mothers went to the rice fields since morning and back in the evening. It is a daily routine of farmers/tappers, some of them also raise cows.

Besides, Kampung Kuta community also has other income, such as employees and traders. Garden products such as fruit, vegetables and medicinal plants, mostly sold to the market or to distributors who usually come to the village. There are also garden products consumed by themselves. They also produce garden products to snacks such as *rengginang*, cassava chips, *apem*, *wajit* and others. Some residents of Kampung Kuta, sometimes also take advantage of their free time by making woven bamboo, broomsticks, palm roofs that they sell in the market.

4. Economic, Social and Religious Structure in Kampung Kuta

Function and structure in anthropology are opposed but support each other. The way it works is to analyze the structure so the elements of its formation is clear, then followed by an explanation of the function in the whole structure as a unified goal in the midst of occurring changes.³⁶ The culture at a higher level must be fulfilled for the people so they can stay alive. Its function is closely related to other elements in it, such as economics, science, religion, social institutions, and others.³⁷ Therefore, examining the religious structure in the Kampung Kuta community will be related to other elements. Relationships among many structures appear dominant and affect each other are economic, social and religious structures. The conceptual framework is shown in figure 4.

³⁶Horace M. Kallen, "Functionalism," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin RA Seligman, 1953.

³⁷Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 6 (1939): 938--964.

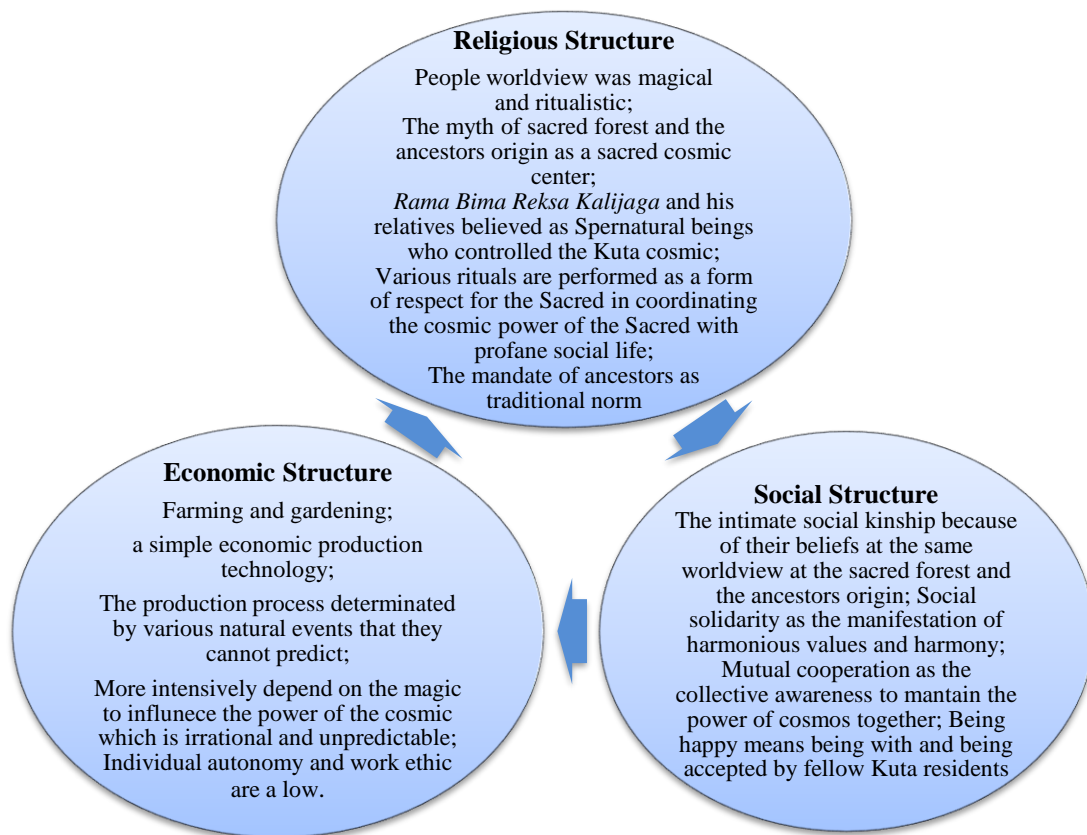


Figure 4: Relationship among economic, social and religious structures

a. Techno-economics: Farming and Gardening Form a Magical Worldview

According to Leslie White, livelihood technology will affect the religious component and social component.³⁸ Agricultural communities depend on agriculture and plantations for their livelihoods. The production structure is sufficient to use simple equipment and the results of its production depend a lot and are determined by the changing seasons and natural events. The agrarian livelihood not only results in a simple social structure but also a religious structure with a magical and mystical belief system. Holy rituals are performed so that the ruler of nature maintains the harmony of nature. Farming communities in rural areas tend to be closer to nature. They are more intensively involved in the production process of various natural events that they cannot calculate and predict. Therefore, they tend to depend on the

magic to influence the power of the cosmos which is irrational and unpredictable.

Likewise, they tend to depend on the magic to influence the cosmic irrational power. In addition to believing that agricultural products are determined by God's destiny, they also believe that there are watchmen and guardians of the natural environment that must be respected and guarded in order not to be angry and cause disasters. Believing in the mandate of ancestors, *pamali* (taboo) and other beliefs originating from the myth of the sacred forest must be carried out by them to survive.

There are several rituals in Kampung Kuta related to agriculture and plantations. *Hajat bumi*, for example, Earth's standard, for example, is usually held between September-November when the rainy season starts which marks the beginning of the growing season. In addition to being grateful for the previous harvest, this ritual is also performed to request

³⁸Syam, Madzhab-Madzhab Antropologi, 37.

that the ancestors give blessings and protection to the plants to be sown. There are also rituals that are usually performed every month in *Mulud*. This ritual is performed to give a meal (*nyuguh*) to the spirits of the ancestors and the ruler of *leuweung gede* (sacred forest) as an expression of gratitude to God for the sustenance received and avoided from disaster. Another ritual is *babarit*. This ritual is carried out after natural disasters in the form of lines (earthquakes), long drought or other natural phenomena. There is also the ritual of *ngadegkeun imah* (building a house) intended as a request for protection in the making of a house.

b. Sacred Forest: As a Sacred Cosmic Center

The beliefs of indigenous people are generally associated with various magical stories, legendary heroes and holy myths that coexist with the existence of certain sites. The site keeps magical and mythological stories alive and alive. Those are temples, sacred tombs, sacred forests, and others. In Kampung Kuta, the 40-hectare prohibited forest is also considered a sacred site. The prohibited forest causes various magical stories, sacred myths, beliefs about the mandate of ancestors and *pamali*. Forest prohibition becomes the center of Sacred Trust. It then influenced the views of the Kampung Kuta community in understanding the cosmic world of the socio-economic environment.

Villages in Kuta were built in a hierophany place, Eliade calls to Sacred a place.³⁹ It will be realized if in those places believed to have been "visited" by the Sacred, such as God, saints, powerful kings and ancestral spirits. Kampung Kuta community beliefs about the sacred forest are also based on the story that their residence was once visited by Raja Galuh Ki Ajar Sukaresi and Aki Bumi with various myths. So they believe that the sacred forest has a

hierophany that can bring out the appearance of the Sacred.

Sacred forest also functions as *axis mundi* or main axis, supporting poles, center points. It became the main axis of the sacred arrangement of the cosmos where they lived. A point where was found the connecting stairway between the sacred (subtle) world and the profane world. Kampung Kuta community believes that the earth they live in, besides being controlled by God Almighty, is also controlled by supernatural beings such as *Ambu Rama Bima Raksa Kalijaga*, *Prabu Mangkurat Jaga*, *Sang Mentil Putih* and *Kyai Bima Raksa Nagara* who live around *leuweung gede* (forest of sacred).⁴⁰

Their daily normal lives are referred to as being profane. It exists only for themselves. However, at certain times, the profane can be transformed into the Sacred when people believe in it. The belief in the sacred forest controlled by supernatural beings and the myths that originate from it gives rise to various other sacred beliefs in daily life. For example, belief in the mandate of ancestors that must be carried out in daily life and *pamali* that must be avoided.

The view of the Sacred world is absolute and very important for the continued existence of nature. It will always influence the way of life of Kampung Kuta community. People always leave to the Sacred in determining the time and place that is considered good for them. They will naturally refer to various myths to determine the good day in a grand celebration procession. For example, the determination of *mamata-mimiti* (preliminary), *ngadegkeun* (buliding) and *turun damel* (implementation) events must wait for *Kuncen's* decision or elder who is considered capable of controlling the celebration procession so that it takes place without interference from supernatural beings in their surroundings.

The myth of the sacred forest legend then forms a mindset, functions as a standard of

³⁹Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*, trans. Ali Noer Zaman (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2001), 265–334.

⁴⁰Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

value for what is admired and is a pattern called *archetypes*. This pattern is a guide in acting in the social life of Kampung Kuta community. A variety of ancestral mandates and *pamali* institutionalized as customary rules are the evidence. They also believe in ancestral strongly, especially in the area of *kuta jero* (Inside Kuta). In this area, customary rules are very strong, as seen in the rules of simple house forms and others.⁴¹

In addition, belief in the myth of the sacred forest and the origin of Kampung Kuta is manifested in various rituals. It formed a public awareness of their origins. This also strengthens and reinforces their kinship ties. This further proves that collective awareness and shared solidarity are not only determined by the endogamous marriage factor, but also the myth of the sacred forest. Collective awareness and close kinship are also determined by shared views and beliefs about their origin.

Therefore, the nature of the traditional beliefs of Kampung Kuta saved the potential of local wisdom in the management of natural resources and human resources, and successfully contributed to the conservation of the forests around Kampung Kuta. The potential of local wisdom in a number of indigenous areas of West Java is recognized as being able to contribute positively to the preservation of the ecology and surrounding forest areas.⁴²

c. Cosmic Harmony and Social Solidarity: Awareness of Caring for Nature Together

In the life of a magical and ritualistic community, various changes and new events must be formally incorporated and adjusted into the existing structure of life. The incident must be adjusted to the ritual so that its existence can be accepted. Various events must be arranged and harmonized with the sacred world. It must be coordinated with the cosmic and must be "frozen" through sacred ceremonies before their existence is recognized.⁴³

In Kampung Kuta, life cycle rituals - such as birth, circumcision, and marriage - are formal ceremonies. Before the marriage takes place, a calculation is made to determine whether the couple is suitable or not. Then set a good day according to the day and date of birth, so the wedding ceremony can be in accordance with the time of a good day. The count is done as part of the cosmic and social coordination of an event. It incorporated a new condition into the overall structure. Likewise, there are also common events such as mutual cooperation to collect firewood for celebration purposes. Because the celebration is a formal ritual procession, the collection of firewood, cooking spices, invitation letters, books, stationery and all the equipment needed during the celebration must be coordinated with the cosmic sacred. Here the alms procession (thanksgiving) needs to be carried out first and the pledge is read with the forest watchmen and the ancestors of Kampung Kuta. *Kuncen* or elders are always present in the procession of alms and

⁴¹Maryono (Kuncen), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

⁴²Bixia Chen et al., "Agroforestry by Baduy Community in Banten Province, Indonesia," *The Science Bulletin of the Faculty of Agriculture University of the Ryukyus* 57, 2010, 17–30. See also Johan Iskandar and Roy F Ellen, "The Contribution of *Paraserianthes* (*Albizia*) *Falcataria* to Sustainable Swidden Management Practices among the Baduy of West Java," *Human Ecology* 28, no. 1 (2000): 1–17. See also Kazuhiro Harada, "Attitudes of Local People towards Conservation and Gunung Halimun National Park in

West Java, Indonesia," *Journal of Forest Research* 8, no. 4 (2003): 271–82. See also Kosuke Mizuno et al., "Talun-Huma, Swidden Agriculture, and Rural Economy in West Java, Indonesia," *Southeast Asian Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 351–81. See also Satoru Okubo et al., "Traditional Perennial Crop-Based Agroforestry in West Java: The Tradeoff between on-Farm Biodiversity and Income," *Agroforestry Systems* 80, no. 1 (September 28, 2010): 17–31, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10457-010-9341-8>.

⁴³Mulder, *Misticism in Java: Ideology in Indonesia*.

coordinating with the cosmic sacred through incense burning media and reading the pledge as shown in figure 5.⁴⁴

*Bismillahirrohmaanirrohim,
assalamu'alaikum
warahmatullohiwabarokatuh, ka Bima
Raksa Kalijaga kalih dulur-dulurna nu
ngageugeuh ieu lembur, nu ngancik di
karamat Kuta Jero, ka Rama Aki Bumi, ka
Ambu, kanu Agung, ka Gusti nu Maha Suci,
ka para Wali, ka para nabi, ka Nabi
Muhammad, ka para sadulur sahabatna
Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad, kangjeng Nabi
Rosul. Simkuring téh badé ngalunturkeun
paniatanana kulawarga ieu kulawarga
bapak... kanggé opat sasihanna orok nu di
kandung. Kalih ti éta, nyuhunkeun aya dina
kabarokahanana, kasalametanana lahir
sareng batin, nyuhunkeun dipareungkeun
rejekina, nyuhunkeun dijauhken balaina,
nyuhunkeun diséhatkeun jasmani rohanina,
khususna kanggé orok nu di kandungan éta.
Nyanggakeun ieu pangbaktina, nya
tuangeunana, leuteunana, lemareunana,
sesepeun saaya-aya, saeutik nu dibaktikeun,
ageung nu disuhunkeun, nyuhunkeun ka
tinekanan kulawarga bapa.... ieu, mangga
nyanggakeun.*

(Bismillahirrahmaanirohim,
assalamu'alaikum

warahmatullahiwarakatuh, to Bima Raksa Kalijaga and its relatives⁴⁵ who controlled this village, who lived in the holy city of Kuta Dalam, the ancestors Rama Aki Bumi, the mother ancestor, the Supreme God, the Holy God, to the Guardians, the prophets, to the Prophet Muhammad, to the relatives and friends of the Prophet Muhammad, the Prophet, and the Messenger. We want to convey dad's family's intentions ... to a four-month-old baby show. In addition, we ask for its strength, safety in birth and inwardness, to ask for its ease, to seek it out

of harm's way, to seek spiritual and physical health, especially for the baby of her pregnant. Please accept this offering, whether it be food, drinks, and cigarettes as we are able to provide, we hope that this offering is received in the hope that we may succeed in this life. Accept it).



Figure 5. Elders burning incense and reading pledges

Kuta Village community seems to get psychological comfort in a friendly atmosphere that unites all the people. Living in harmony and a prominent atmosphere of kinship is an effort to maintain harmony to avoid conflict. The attitude of opposing togetherness and exposing one's own ego is an attitude that is considered unusual. Must not be arrogant in saying and behaving. Words that show themselves and underestimate other people will certainly offend the person being spoken to. Those are reflected through proverb *Méméh pok kudu geus pok* (Every word that will be uttered must always think about the possible impact) and *Ulah asa aing ugah kidul* (do not feel yourself more than others). A proverb is commonly spoken to remind people not to behave arrogantly.

In customary norms, there is no violence such as hitting, threatening and asking to fight, because this way will not solve the problem but

⁴⁴Warja (elder and vice of Indigenous Leader), interviewed by Husnul Qodim, Kampung Kuta, on February 22, 2015.

⁴⁵The meaning of "relatives" in this pledge is the relatives of Kalijaga Bima Raksa namely: Prabu

Mangkurat Jaga, Sang Mentil Putih, and Kyai Bima Raksa Nagara, who are believed to be the rulers and guardians of the sacred forest and protectors of Kampung Kuta.

will cause new problems. All problems that arise due to misunderstanding must be resolved in a good and friendly way. There is an expression of *maenya jeung dulur ribut* (why make noise with siblings). It is a manifestation of the feeling that all people of Kampung Kuta are close relatives. Awareness as a close relative of the origin of the same ancestor is always expressed repeatedly in the form of a pledge read by spiritual leaders, both kuncen and elders in each initiation of the ritual procession.

Being happy means being with and being accepted by fellow Kuta residents. Being happy means being in security. Society is the final judge and benchmarks for the merits of behavior. Self-adjustment and social solidarity are the main manifestations of harmonious values and harmony. The ideal for harmony is contained in the practice of mutual cooperation. They share the burden and give voluntary assistance to those in need. Happy for the people of Kampung Kuta is not abundant wealth, but more important is living in harmony and calm in social groups.

In daily life, there are teachings about the obligation to carry out the mandate of ancestors and stay away. Humans must be faithful in carrying out their obligations in cosmic, social and material life. This teaching does not contain mastery of the material or progress on the material. Humans only have to accept the world as it is and respect the order that includes everything. This formed the attitude of the people of Kampung Kuta not to place much importance on the physical environment.

Magical world views and ritualistic life caused individual autonomy and self-expression in society and active relations with the material world are negative. There are practiced simple life principles such as eating from their own agricultural products, clean clothes though not new and simple houses according to customary provisions. A simple lifestyle will prevent people from greed because they deny the desired habits and implemented by their ancestors, such as Ki Bumi.

Cultural dynamics that alienate this material environment cause community work ethic low. Forms of cooperation, such as mutual cooperation, are carried out in the context of carrying out tasks imposed by tradition, such as mutual cooperation to build houses, funerals, and celebrations. But, if what is done is different from social solidarity, they often fail to organize it properly or work hard in accordance with the work they have to handle. For citizens what is important is not what is done, but the social atmosphere when something is done. Social relations here are more shown through mutual cooperation, harmony, and tight social control.

C. CONCLUSION

Structurally functional, the conclusion is that the religious construction of Kampung Kuta has a close relationship with its economic and social structure. All three affect each other. The economic structure of Kampung Kuta community depends on their livelihoods from farming and gardening which is determined by the changing seasons and natural events. It causes a religious structure with a magical and ritualistic belief system that was influenced by the power of irrational and unpredictable cosmos. They believe the natural surroundings are surrounded by cosmic forces of the Sacred. To coordinate the cosmic power of the Sacred with profane social life, various rituals are performed as a form of respect for the Sacred. In addition, myths and beliefs in common ancestral origins also influence the social life structure of Kampung Kuta community. Kinship system, social solidarity among relatives, social harmony, simple life, calm and harmony are the manifestations of their happiness. All that is manifested in the form of mutual cooperation as a form of mutual awareness in managing and maintaining the balance of the cosmos.

There is an interplay of social, economic and religious structures in Kampung Kuta. If one structure changes, it will affect other structures. If the farming and farming system in the community changes, it will affect changes in the religious construction there. It is related to

its religious construction that serves to meet the economic needs of the community and can strengthen shared solidarity to maintain the continuity of their lives. Therefore, as long as these functions persist, the religious construction of Kampung Kuta will continue well. Change is very dependent on the social and economic reality that will be faced in the future.

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INTERVIEW

Awit (mother of Kuncen, and mother-in law of

INTELLECTUAL GENEALOGY OF TUAN GURU H. M. SAID AMIN BIMA (1936-2015)

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Abstract

The study on the Ulama in the Eastern Part of Indonesia, especially Bima and its surrounding area was limited, especially related to the Ulama Network in Nusantara during the XVIII-XX centuries. This study contributes to this lack of knowledge about the subject and to pave the way for sustainable study on the network of Ulama from Bima in Nusantara. This paper investigates one of the Ulama or Tuan Guru who lived in the XX century, called Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin. He was the last generation of Ulama from Bima who involved in the Ulama Network of Nusantara. This study focused on his intellectual chain and his role in the Ulama Network in Nusantara. This study employs qualitative method to the data from library research using a factual historical approach. This paper shows that Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was a prominent ulama who studied in Arabia. He studied under many famous Ulama of Arabia. Several Indonesian ulama also under his supervision. During his lifetime, he wrote many books mostly related to Islamic law.

Keywords:

Ulama Nusantara; Bima; Tuan Guru; Islamic Law.

Abstrak

Kajian tentang ulama Indonesia yang berasal dari wilayah Timur Indonesia, terutama Bima dan sekitarnya masih jarang dilakukan. Termasuk di dalamnya adalah bagaimana ulama di wilayah timur ini terhubung dengan jaringan ulama Nusantara pada abad 18 sampai abad 20. Tulisan ini memberikan kontribusi dalam rangka menjembatani kurangnya pengetahuan tentang ulama di Bima dan juga membuka jalan bagi terpeliharanya kajian-kajian yang berkaitan dengan jaringan ulama Bima di Nusantara. Artikel ini akan mengkaji tentang salah satu ulama atau tuan guru yang hidup pada abad 20 yakni tuan guru H.M. Said Amin. Beliau merupakan ulama generasi terakhir yang berasal Bima yg memiliki jaringan dengan ulama nusantara. Kajian ini mefokuskan pada mata rantai intelektualitas dari tuan guru ini dan bagaimana korelasinya dengan jaringan Ulama Nusantara. Tulisan ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan penelusuran berbagai literatur berkaitan dengan data penelitian dan dianalisis secara historis. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa Tuan Guru Said Amin memiliki kapasitas keilmuan yang hebat dan banyak berguru dari ulama-ulama besar di tanah Arab. Beliau juga terkenal di jaringan ulama nusantara yang berguru kepadanya ketika di Arab sebelum beliau kembali ke Indonesia. Beliau juga ulama yang produktif menulis terutama dalam kajian fiqh Islam.

Kata Kunci:

Ulama Nusantara; Bima; Tuan Guru; Fiqh Islam.

A. INTRODUCTION

The history of the Islamic Muslim scholar network between the Nusantara and the Middle East, especially those in Haramayn, involves a complex historical process.¹ The movement of Ulama in the Middle East can be traced back to the 17th century.² The position of Ulama-Santri has been evident since the Dutch colonization period.

The dynamic of Islam in the 17th and 18th centuries is the network of Ulama, with its main domains in Mecca and Madinah. The critical position of al-Haramayn, especially in relation to the Hajj, encouraged the students to study Islamic science from different Islamic world, including Nusantara, to come and reside in this city and finally created a unique scientific discourse. The Ulama in such a network has carried out many conscious efforts to review and revitalize Islamic teachings in the socio-morale context of the Muslim communities.³

Many students from Nusantara came and stayed in Mecca and Medina for several years to deepen their knowledge. Even several Ulama was influential and they taught in Haramayn. In the end, these Ulama became actively involved in intellectualism and spiritualism in the Islamic world and influenced the understanding of Islam in Indonesia.⁴

Every year with the Hajj ritual, al-Haramayn became the central meeting point of all Muslims from all over the world. Mecca and

Medina have become the focal point of Islamic intellectualism -the Center of Ulama, Sufi, Philosophy, poets, leaders, and Islamic historians- to meet and exchange information. As a result, the Ulama and those who teach and study in Haramayn have theologically had a more cosmopolitan religious view compared to those in other Islamic cities.⁵

The knowledge tradition of the Ulama during Islamic history is strongly linked to socio-religious and educational institutions, such as the Mosque, the Islamic school/Madrasah, *Ribath*, and even the teacher's house. It is shown in Haramayn, scientific tradition creates an extensive network of Ulama, which overcomes the territorial boundaries and gaps in religious opinion.⁶

This study is essential given the limited research and studies available on Ulama in the Eastern part of Nusantara, particularly in Bima and its surrounding areas. At present, the research on Ulama is focused mainly in Sumatra and Java, such as the study on the thoughts of K. H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari,⁷ Syekh Kholil Bangkalan, and other Ulama from Nusantara. In the meantime, there are a few studies on the thoughts of Ulama in Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat, such as Tuan Guru Syekh Zainuddin Abdul Madjid,⁸ Tuan Guru

¹Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2013), 1.

²Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945* (Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2016), 263-264. See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" (Australian National University, Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, 1980).

³Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, xxiv.

⁴Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java."

⁵Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, 54.

⁶Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, 76.

⁷Achmad Muhibbin Zuhri, *Pemikiran KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari Tentang Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jama'ah* (Surabaya: Khalista, 2010).

⁸Masnun and Supriyanto, *Tuan Guru KH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid: Gagasan Dan Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam Di Nusa Tenggara Barat* (Pustaka Al-Miqdad, 2007). See also Muhammad Haramain, "Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Dakwah Tuan Guru M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Di Lombok NTB" (Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2012). See also Kevin W Fogg, "Making an Indonesian National Hero for Lombok: The Shifting Category of Pahlawan Nasional," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 47, no. 137 (2019): 1-22.

Soleh Chambali Bengkel,⁹ and Tuan Guru Abdul Ghafur.¹⁰

It is, therefore, necessary to study the Ulama network in Bima after the death of Syekh Abdul Ghani Al-Bimawi a hundred years ago. This article examines the intellectual genealogy of Tuan Guru H. M Said Amin as the subject of this study, based on a number of considerations such as his figure, educational background, his books, intellectual thoughts, and his contribution to the development of Islam in Bima.

For a number of reasons, this study employs a qualitative method. Firstly, it is easier to adjust the qualitative method for studying different situations. Secondly, this method directly relates to the relationship between research and respondents. Thirdly, this method is more sensitive and more self-adjustable to the pattern of values found in the study than to the quantitative method.¹¹ This study categorized as library research with a factual historical approach, which examines the content of the texts of the thoughts and ideas of the subject as religious works of that figure. Based on its scientific field, this type of study is a religious study, that is an academic study of religion and religiousness.¹² This study uses a religious approach, that considers religion and religiousness as a product of history or culture. This paper deals with the derivation of evidence, the reconstruction of the genesis factor: improvements and developments. The root of thought, opinion, or attitude of particular figures can be traced back through a historical approach. The religious stereotyping of a person or a group and their behaviour

towards others can also be understood across history.¹³

Data in this analysis was obtained on a heuristic basis. It is a technique used to collect data from historical sources, both written or oral. These historical sources consist of primary and secondary data. The primary data of the figure as the subject of this research were collected through in-depth interviews and the study of all the manuscripts written by Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin, both printed or written original manuscript written by him. Overall, seven printed manuscripts that have been analyzed.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Brief Biography

Tuan Guru H. M. Said was born on the first of January 1936 in Tawali village of Wera subdistrict of Bima, of a father named H. M. Amin Hasan and a mother named Hj. Thaifah Sanghaji. He was the third child of eight brothers. He began his elementary school at Sekolah Rakyat in Tawali in 1943. His parents taught him Islamic teachings. Many villagers had known his father as an Islamic preacher. He even made his house a traditional Islamic school for those who were studying the Qur'an. Many of them were living in the house. His mother, who had never completed any formal education, wanted her son Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin to study in the Arab Land, particularly in Mecca.

In 1948, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin had the opportunity to study in the land of the Prophets. His uncle, H. M. Ali, followed him to the Arab Land along with 800 Hajj Pilgrims from Bima, who were on board the ship called

⁹Adi Fadli, "Pemikiran Islam Lokal: Studi Pemikiran TGH. M. Soleh Chambali Bengkel Al-Ampenani" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2010). See also Adi Fadli, "Intelektualisme Pesantren; Studi Geneologi Dan Jaringan Keilmuan Tuan Guru Di Lombok," *El-Hikam* 9, no. 2 (2016): 287–310.

¹⁰Jamaluddin, "Keterlibatan Ulama Sasak Dalam Jaringan Ulama Periode 1754-1904," *Al-Qalam* 22, no. 1 (2016): 49–60. See also Musawar and M H Zuhdi, "Islam Nusantara That Is Sacred and Ignored (Thinking

Analysis of Sasak Lombok Ulama)," *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues* 22, no. 3 (2019).

¹¹Lexy J. Moloeng, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif/qualitative Research Methodology* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2012), 9–10.

¹²Imam Suprayogo and T. Tobroni, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial-Agama* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2001), 109–10.

¹³T. Karim Abdullah, *Metodologi Penelitian Agama: Sebuah Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1989), 72.

Tawali. It could be a mere coincidence that the name of the ship is like the name of Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin's village, and they had been boarding the ship for 15 days.

They performed the Hajj rituals when they arrived in the Arabs. However, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin resided in Mecca with a Bima man named Syekh Yunus (Maryam Kudus), he was initially from Ngali Bima and had been living in Mecca for a long time.

2. Intellectual Genealogy of Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin

The year 1949 was the starting point for a long journey of knowledge-seeking for Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin at the birthplace of the Prophet Mohammad PUBH. He was accepted in Ibtidaiyah School of Darul Ulum Mecca, and he studied there with his friends from Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, and other Asian countries. He has always been a brilliant student in his class. At that time, the Principal of Darul Ulum school was Syekh Mansyur of Palembang and Syekh Yasin Padang, who served as Deputy Principal of the school. In the meantime, all the teachers in this school came from almost every country in Asia. One of the teachers was Syekh Umar from Sumbawa, who had been living in Mecca for a long time. When he was in the fifth grade, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin obtained the first rank and was awarded as the leader of the class, as it was the rule that only those who obtained the first rank in the class could serve as the leader of the class.

In 1952, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin continued his study at Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Secondary School) Al Falah Mecca in Kafa'ah level and was ranked fifth in his class, which was dominated by Arabs students. Such students were mostly offspring of the Arab Kingdom officers. MTs Al Falah was chaired by Syekh Sayid Ishak Ajuz, who was also a member of the Saudi Arabian parliament. At that time, the deputy principal was Syekh Muhammad Abdul Muhsin Ridwan. During his time in this school, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was always guided by great figures who had strongly influenced his knowledge and thoughts and left such a huge impression in his

mind, such as, Syekh Muhammad Al-Arabi Al-Tijani, an Algeria Ulama who taught Tafseer and was a leading Tafseer expert in Arab Land. In addition, he was also taught by the Bahraini Syekh Muhammad Nursyef, who was also a well-known ulama in Arab, especially for the Hadith. Even, he also studied directly under the guidance of the greatest hadith expert at that time, Syekh Alwi Abbas Al-Maliki. In Fiqh, he was taught by Syekh Muhammad An'am from Yemen, and in Tawheed, he studied under the guidance of Syekh Musthafa Hasan As-Sanari from Saudi Arabia. Several of his teachers include Syekh Musthafa Turayyah Saraf as Arabic and literature teacher, Ust. Abdul Aziz as English teacher, Ust. Zaki Awad as a French teacher, Ust. Ismail Shabrias Social Science teacher and Ustadz Taufik as his Geography Teacher.

In 1954, Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin continued his high school education at Madrasah Aliyah of Taujihi at MA Al-Falah Mecca. During his studies at this school, he has always been a prestigious student and has always participated in scientific activities, discussions, and debate activities among students under the theme of *Ahlu Ra'yi wa Ahlu Al-Hadis*, and he has been a supporter of Ahlu Al-Hadish with his academic paper entitled *Idza takallamal Ka'bah fa madza taquulu?* (If only the Ka'bah can speak, what will he say?). His debate and academic writing received appreciation from the headmaster.

During the State High School Examination, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was awarded second place out of 60 students who participated in that first phase state's examination. In 1956, after graduating from the Madrasah Aliyah, he was sent by the institution to further study English in Alexandria university of Egypt, but this was revoked due to his citizenship status. In the same year, he taught Hadith at Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Al-Falah Mecca for one year. In the next year, he planned to study at a university. However, he was picked up by his mother to go back home with the approval of Syekh Alwi Al-Maliki, along with 60 Indonesian citizens who had stayed in Mecca for a long time.

The most influential hadith teacher for Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was Syekh Yasin bin Isa Al-Fadany al-Makky, and he had obtained the certificate from this Ulama as a reciter of Musalsal hadith whose hadith can be traced back to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Using this certificate/diploma, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was granted a right and licensed to recite the Prophet's hadith from all the Mu'tabarah Hadith Books, such as Shahih Bukhari, Shahih Muslim, Sunan Abi Daud, Sunan Tirmizi, Sunan An-Nasa'i, etc.

3. His Carrier and Da'wah Path

After his return from Mecca, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was appointed as a teacher in PGAP (*Pendidikan Guru Agama Pertama* - School of Islamic Teacher for beginner) Bima until 1965. He was appointed as a teacher in PGA (*Pendidikan Guru Agama* - School of Islamic Teacher) M Salahuddin Bima from 1965 to 1967. He was also a member of the parliament in the DPRGR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong- house of representative of mutual cooperation) Bima regency, representing the Islamic Group from 1966 to 1971. From 1976-1984, he was appointed as a teacher in PGAN (*Pendidikan Guru Agama Negeri*) Bima. Then, in 1967 he began to established and served as the Principal of MAAIN (Madrasah Aliyah Agama Islam Negeri - State Islamic high school) Saleko Bima (Now MAN I Kota Bima) until 1976. In 1984 he was appointed as a judge in the Religious court of Bima until his retirement in 1996.

In 1979, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was specially invited to participate in the Education and Training Program of Imam, Khatib, and Da'i at the academic level held for three months at Rabithah Alam al-Islami in Mecca. During this training, he was directly guided by a number of great Ulama such as Syekh Ali Tantawi, Syekh Muhammad Al-Ghazali and Syekh Muhammad Qutub in Da'wah; Syekh Sayid Sabiq in Fiqh and Qadha, Syekh Dr. Ahmad Umar Hasyim in Hadith; Dr. Muhammad Abu Nur Al-Hadidi in Tafseer; Dr. Mujahid As-Sawwaf in schools and *aqidah*; Dr.

Syalabi in Arab language; Dr. Ammarah in speech and lecturing; Dr. Assyal in inheritance science/fara'id; Syekh Ahmad Al-Huwaili and Syekh Sulaiman Albalawi in Al-Qur'an and Tajwid.

These training participants were 50 people, and 5 of whom were from Indonesia. All the graduates of this training have been assigned to become Imam and Da'i all over the world. Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was assigned to become Imam and performed Da'wah in Malaysia. However, because of his status as a government employee, this decision was revoked, and he was reassigned in Bima.

Upon his return to Bima, he carried out his mission to perform Da'wah in all areas of Bima, and he joined the Ittihadul Muballighin organization and became the chairman of Nusa Tenggara Barat with his official place in Bima. Ittihadul Muballighin was an organization of all muballigh (those who carry out Da'wah) that focused on education and da'wah activities, which have branches almost in all parts of Bima. Through this organization, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin traveled to all over Bima to carry out the da'wah and share the knowledge he gained during his studies in Mecca.

His organizational experience began when he studied in Mecca, where he worked as the secretary of Ikatan Pelajar Bima-Dompu (Bima-Dompu Students' Association) in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, from 1951 to 1957. From 1966-1980 he served as the third chairman of NU Bima and had served as administrator of M. Salahuddin Bima foundation from 1968 to 2015. In 1968, he worked as chairman of Presidium for the Alim Ulama Talks in Bima Regency. He was the steering committee for the establishment of the IAIN Sunan Ampel Branch Sharia Faculty in 1971. In 1971, he participated in the establishment of the Tarbiyah (educational) faculty of Sunan Giri, which has now become the STIT (Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Tarbiyah - School of Ilmu Tarbiyah) Sunan Giri Bima. From 1973 to 2007, he served as the chairman of the Darul Tarbiyah Bima Foundation. He was chairman of the Ittihadul Muballighin Foundation of Bima from 1980 to 2015. In 1985, he

established and became chairman of the Pendidikan and Dakwah Al-Ittihad Foundation of Bima, which managed the Islamic Boarding School Al-Amin Bima, STIS (Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Syariah – School of Ilmu Syariah) Al-Ittihad Bima, MA (Madrasah Aliyah – Islamic High School) Plus Al-Ittihad, Bima, MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiyah – Islamic Secondary School) La Hami Kab. Bima and RA (Raudlatul Athfal – Islamic Kindergarten) Al-Amin Kota Bima.

In 1990, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin was appointed as the chairman of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI)/Indonesian Council of Ulama of Bima regency. His appointment as chairman of the MUI Bima regency was based on the regional dialogue and the direct appointment of Tuan Imam K.H. Abdurrahman Idris, former chairman of the MUI. This task as the Chairman of MUI has been carried out for 21 years, and he resigned from this position in 2011.

During his 21 years, He appointed as the Chairman of the MUI of the Bima regency, he had taken the Da'wah to the remotest part of Bima to teach about Islam and its purity. From 2000 to 2015, he became a member of the Communication Forum of the Da'wah Institutions in Bima Regency. From 1997 to 2015, he became an advisory member of BAZDA (Badan Amil Zakat Daerah – Regional Amil Zakat Institution) of Bima regency, and from 2004 to 2015, he was a member of the At-Taqwa International foundation, headquartered in London, England.

4. Intellectual Works

In his lifetime, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin dedicated himself to Da'wah and purified religion with the school of *Salaf Ash-Shalih* through the school of *Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah*. In his da'wah and his fight for the purity of religion based on the Quran and the Sunnah, Tuan guru H. M. Said Amin did the da'wah orally or *Da'wah Bi Lisan* but also conveyed his da'wah, and Islamic thoughts through articles and books that were published not only locally but also nationally, and his

works were made as reference for students and lecturers in Islamic Higher Education.

Here is a list of some of his published works:

- a. Sifat Shalat Rasulullah/the characteristics of the Prophet's prayer (published by Sunan Ampel Press IAIN Surabaya in cooperation with IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, in 2012).
- b. Sejarah timbulnya perpecahan di kalangan umat islam/the history of disputes among the Islamic ummah.
- c. Menuju Pelaksanaan Syari'at Islam/Toward the Implementation of Sharia, in 2002.
- d. Peristiwa Ghadir khum melahirkan kebohongan Syi'ah ahlul bait/the Ghadir Khum event as the basis of the Shi'ah ahlul bait lies, in 2001.
- e. Konspirasi Internasional dan masa depan agama-agama/International conspiracy and the future of religions (published by Penamadani Press, Jakarta).
- f. Mewaspadaai pemurtadan umat Islam/beware of apostasy against the Islamic ummah, in 2006.
- g. Adam Abul Basyar (koreksi terhadap buku Ternyata Adam dilahirkan/correction for the book Indeed Adam was birthed), (published by IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2007).
- h. Manusia Dan Ibadah haji/Human being and the Hajj (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima 2008).
- i. Ajaran Agama Masehi setelah kenaikan Isa Al-masih/the teaching of the Messiah's religion after the ascension of Al Masih (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima 2012).
- j. Siksa dan Nikmat Kubur/the torture and favors in the grave (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima 2013).
- k. Menggugat Aliran-Aliran Teologi dalam Islam/suing the theological sects in Islam (published by IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2013).
- l. Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah, Berislam bersama TGH. M. Said Amin/learning Islam with TGH M. Said Amin, (Pengantar Ilmu Hadis dan Ilmu Fiqh/Introduction to Hadith and Fiqh Science), (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2013).

- m. Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah, Berislam menurut Al-Qur`an dan As-Sunnah, seri Aliran-aliran ilmu kalam dan pemimpin yang menyesatkan umat/Arrisalah Al-Aminiyah, Islam According to the Quran and Sunnah, the branches of Qalam science and leaders that misled the ummah series , (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2014).
- n. Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah, Berislam menurut Al-Qur`an dan As-Sunnah, seri Manusia dan Ibadah Haji/ Arrisalah Al-Aminiyah, Islam According to the Quran and Sunnah, Human and the Hajj series (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2014).
- o. Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah, Berislam menurut Al-Qur`an dan As-Sunnah, seri Siksa dan Nikmat Kubur/ Arrisalah Al-Aminiyah, Islam According to the Quran and Sunnah, torture and favors in the grave series (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2014).
- p. Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah, Berislam menurut Al-Qur`an dan As-Sunnah, seri Perjalanan Hidup Manusia dari alam arwah sampai alam Baqa`/ Arrisalah Al-Aminiyah, Islam According to the Quran and Sunnah, the life endeavors from the spirit world to the eternal world (IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2014).
- q. Kitab *Wird al-Ittihad*, the book that consists of prayers and recitals for the Jamaa`ah Al-Ittihad members where he was the leader.¹⁴

5. Involvement of the Bima Ulama in the Network of Ulama Nusantara

For Muslims, including in Indonesia, ulama have played a key role not only in religious aspects, but also in other aspects, such as social,

political, and cultural aspects. Even Clifford Geertz called Ulama as a cultural broker.¹⁵ In the education sector, some Ulama Nusantara has established schools in Mecca and Madinah, such as *Madrasah Darul Ulum ad-Diniyah*, which has a record of nearly 5,000 Indonesian students studying in Haramayn.¹⁶ The Ulama figures, such as Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin as-Sumatrani, Nuruddin ar-Raniri, and Abdurrauf as-Singkili who have made these four scholars and Islamic cultural experts support the Sultans to rule the kingdoms.

The Ulama figures such as Syekh Abdul Ghani al-Bimawi, Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani, and Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, who have studied extensively in Mecca and the height of their career as *Mahaguru* and Imam of the Al-Haram Mosque. One of the most exciting things about this development is that students from different regions who have studied in Mecca are usually considered to have perfected their studies when they are finally guided by one of these famous Ulama from Nusantara.¹⁷

There have been many Ulama in Nusantara, but there are only a few mentioned in Arabic Literature or *tarajim* (hystography) of the Arabs from the 18th century to the contemporary age. Among them are Sayyid `Abd al-Rahman `Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani (from Palembang), Syekh Mahfudz al-Termasi (from Termas East Java), Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani (from Banten), and Syekh Muhammad Yasin ibn Isa al-Padani (from Padang).¹⁸

Almost all of the ulama mentioned above are productive writers who have produced a variety of works. The works are written in Arabic,

¹⁴ Books that he had written are responses and answers to the numerous questions asked by the community, as well as events and phenomenon happened among the Bima community.

¹⁵ Agus Iswanto, "Sejarah Intelektual Ulama Nusantara: Reformulasi Tradisi Di Tengah Perubahan," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 11, no. 2 (December 28, 2013): 456. See also M N Ardi and F Abdullah, "The History of Islam in the Malay Archipelago: An Analytical Study of Abdullah Bin Nuh's Works," *Al-Shajarah* 23, no. 1 (2018): 247–68.

¹⁶ Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java."

¹⁷ Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java."

¹⁸ M Khoiril Anwar, "Peran Ulama Di Nusantara Dalam Mewujudkan Harmonisasi Umat Beragama," *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah Dan Studi Keagamaan* 4, no. 1 (2016): 87. See also Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 264–65.

Malay, Javanese language, or other local languages. Some of those works have been published in cities, such as Istanbul, Cairo, Beirut, Bombay, and Singapore. Many of these works are currently being reprinted in Nusantara.¹⁹

In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, more Ulama from Java (*bilad Jawa*,²⁰ Nusantara) studied in the Holy Land. There is a great deal of information about their biography and it is recorded in detail in *sanad* books and Arabic biographies. Many of them had been certified to teach in the Al-Haram Mosque. This has allowed them to carry on the legacy of Ulama Nusantara, the pioneer of the previous Ulama Nusantara.²¹

Ulama Nusantara in Mecca laid the foundation for the establishment of the Ulama Nusantara network, which later became an Ulama community. Besides the establishment of Islamic schools, the Ulama also have strong spiritual and intellectual connections. They identified themselves as part of the Ulama community who had the *sanad* that could be traced back to the Ulama Nusantara in Mecca.²²

It is, therefore, not surprising that the development of Islam in Nusantara is strongly influenced by Islamic developments in Haramayn. After their return to Indonesia, these ulama have tried to implement similar education to what they had known and studied from Mecca.²³ The position of these Haramayn alumnae is the primary transmitter of religious-

intellectual Islamic heritage from the center of Islamic knowledge and culture in the Middle East to Nusantara.²⁴

Most of these Ulama within the network are committed to the Islamic renaissance. The complexity of thinkings that results from strong relations and interactions through these Ulama networks has triggered an Islamic revitalization effect in the individual and community life of the majority of the Muslim-Malay population in Indonesia.²⁵

In East Nusantara, the Sumbawa islands, consisting of Sumbawa, Dompu, and Bima islands, were known as the center of Islamic schools. Sumbawa has long been known as the central hub of the Ulama network in the east. To name a few, Syekh Abdul Ghani al-Bimawi, who became the teacher of Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani, Syekh Zainuddin Sumbawi²⁶ and other ulama in Nusantara. Ulama and the Islamic schools in Nusantara have a close relationship and have become the main hub of the ulama network, which has a strong connection to the ulama networks in Java, Bali, and Sulawesi.²⁷

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Sultanate of Bima supported its citizens who want to study religion in Java and the Middle East, particularly in Mecca and Medina, as part of the Sultan's attention to the growth of Islamic knowledge and education in Bima. Thus, when they returned from their studies in the Middle East, they would be appointed as religious teachers to teach in Islamic education

¹⁹Nor Huda, *Islam Nusantara: Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: ar-Ruzz Media, 2013). Among those books are *Sirath al-Mustaqim* (fiqh and ibadah) by ar-Raniri, *Terjuman al-Mustafid* (Tafsir) and *Mir'at al Thullab* (fiqh and mu'amalah) karya `Abd rauf as-Singkili, *Sabil al-Muhtadin* (fiqh) by Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, *Minhaj Zawi al-Nazar* (hadith) by Abdullah Mahfudz al-Termasi, *Majmu'at al-Syari'ah*, *Faid al-Rahman* (fiqh and Tafsir) by Muhammad Shalih bin Umar al-Sumarani (Kiyai Sholeh darat Semarang).

²⁰ Bilad Jawa likened a Muslim community from Nusantara who were studying in Mecca and also as a culture religious identity of Muslim Nusantara. See Zuhri, *Pemikiran KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari Tentang Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa Al-Jama'ah*, 92–93.

²¹Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 263.

²²Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 268.

²³Jamaluddin, "Keterlibatan Ulama Sasak Dalam Jaringan Ulama Periode 1754-1904," 52.

²⁴Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, xxvi–xxvii.

²⁵Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, xvii–xviii.

²⁶Syekh Zainuddin Sumbawi is the leader of tarekat Qadiriyyah, that is a tarekat being referred to of Syekh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani. He received this tarekat Qadiriyyah from Syekh Muhammad Mukrim, mufti Hamad form Syam. His genealogy in hadith Muslim was received from Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani and hadith Bukhari from Syekh Abdul Karim al-Bantani.

²⁷Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 457.

institutions established by the Sultanate, such as *Darul Ulum* school in Raba Bima.²⁸

There was only a handful of Ulama Bima who studied in Al-haramayn and taught at the Mecca as well as became a reciter of the musalsal hadith like Tuan Guru²⁹ H.M. Said Amin,³⁰ the direct student of Syekh Yasin bin Isa al-Fadani al-Makky, and received the certificate of Sanad hadith from him.

Therefore, in order to trace the intellectual genealogy and thought of Tuan Guru H. M Said Amin, it is important to look back at the genealogy of the intellectuality of the ulama, which had a major influence on the development of the Ulama Nusantara Network in the Middle East during the 18-20th century. Figure 1 is the intellectual genealogy of Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin.³¹

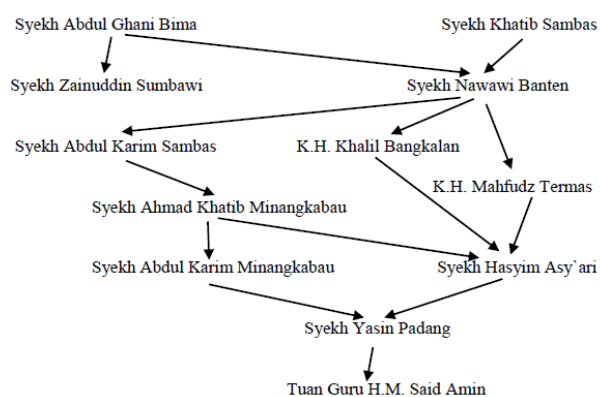


Figure 1 intellectual genealogy of Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin

Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin was one of the productive ulama among the Ulama from

Bima. His Islamic thoughts were published in more than 20 works, most of which were printed into books that addressed Islamic studies, such as Fiqh, Hadith, Aqidah Akhlak, and Tasawuf, as part of his duty as one of the ulama to bring enlightenment for the community. Therefore, through his knowledge and Da'wah practices, he had accomplished three key elements of Da'wah: *Da'wah bi al lisan*, *Da'wah bi al hal*, and *Da'wah bi al qalam*. There are not many ulama like him, so he was given the responsibility to guide the community. This can be seen in his Da'wah efforts during his 21-year leadership of the Indonesia Council of Ulama in Bima regency.

One of his advantages compared to the other ulama in Bima is that he can recite the hadith as he had obtained the certificate of Hadith Sanad (genealogy) from his teacher, Syekh Yasin Padang; therefore, he is licensed to narrate the hadith from the books of the Mu'tabarah hadith whose genealogy can be traced back to the Prophet PBUH. His teacher, Syekh Yasin Padang was awarded the title of *Al-Musnid Dunya* (the world expert of the *musnad*/hadith genealogy) and was an expert in the hadith genealogy science. As a result, many ulama from all over the world came to him to study and to obtain a certificate of hadith genealogy from him, such as Habib Segaf bin Muhammad Assegaf, one of the ulama and Waliyullah from Tarim Hadramaut.³²

Learning from the teaching and learning tradition of Islam, the genealogy of science is

²⁸ This is one of the factors that causes Islamic boarding schools in Bima became less developed, as each alumna who came back from studying in Haramayn, automatically appointed and became religious teacher in schools established by the Sultanate

²⁹ Tuan guru is one of the title addressed to a person with deep religious knowledge. This title is given by the community as their acknowledgement toward that person. The title Tuan Guru is also addressed to an influential figure who have studied in the Middle East, see Fahrurrozi, "Tuan Guru and Social Change in Lombok, Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 135 (2018): 117-34.

³⁰ He was born in Bima on 1st January, 1936 and has passed away on 30th April 2015. He studied in Mecca at

the age of 12 years old in 1948 at Madrasah Dar al-Ulum Mecca and was under the guidance of Syekh Yasin al-Padani. See Muhammad Mutawali, "Tuan Guru HM Said Amin Bima: Ulama Lokal Dalam Jaringan Sanad Hadis," *Dirayah: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Hadis* 4, no. 1 (2019).

³¹ processed and cited from several sources and from the genealogy of the hadith that rooted from Syekh Yasin Padang

³²Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 252. See also Rizem Aizid, *Biografi Ulama Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2016), 173. See also Amirul Ulum, *Syaikh Yasin Ibn Isa Al-Fadani: Sang Musnid Dunia Dari Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Global Press, 2016).

divided into two main elements, any Islamic discipline whose genealogy can be traced back to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. The genealogy is the transmitting component, the source of which is the Prophet. The importance of this genealogy has made Ibn Abdil Bar, who recited from Imam Al-Auza`i that the Imam Al-Auza`i had once said: *the religious science will fade out with the fading of the sanad/genealogy*, Imam Syafi`i had also once said: *there is no science without genealogy*.³³ J.O.Voll, as recited in Azyumardi Azra, wrote that the most important means that create a link within a network relatively stable is the *Isnad* of the hadith, as it plays an important role that connects the ulama within that network, which centered in Haramayn.³⁴

Tuan Guru H.M Said Amin was once appointed as a hadith teacher at his previous school, Madrasah Al-Falah, in Mecca. This honor to be chosen as a teacher in schools in Haramayn is not without a specific reason. In order to be able to teach, the teacher must be certified, which explains the ability of the person (academic credential) of the certificate holder. The most important credential is the *isnad/genealogy*, which is the chain of authority that has shown an unbroken link between teacher and student in the transmission of books or teaching. Usually, a certificate is issued by the teacher to his students after they have completed their studies.³⁵

6. The Thought of Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin

Islam is a perfect, complete religion that regulates all aspects of the lives of its believers. Thus, The Qur'an and Hadith respond to matters arise in Muslim society. Many verses within the Qur'an contain religious principles, either about faith/aqidah, manners/akhlak, and

the principles of human life. These principles guide human beings into the straight path of Allah SWT, into the eternal goodness and happiness. In history, there have been laws governing social and individual actions. These laws may be based on religion, community, or others. Without these governing laws, anarchy and chaos are obvious.³⁶

Misleading in faith and prayer can happen if one does not follow or leave one of the two legacies left by Prophet Muhammad PUBH, Al-Qur'an, and Sunnah. For example, many Muslims practice prayers without having a clear foundation and reference in their prayers. The reason of this practice due to a lack of knowledge of Islam and the blind faith in the tradition that is commonly found in the community. Irrespective of the fact that there are two main sources the Islamic teaching that have clearly described everything related to worship Allah and how to live this life/ibadah and mu'amalah.³⁷

a. Sharia and Fiqh

Islamic sharia, as defined by Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin in his book is a perfect building where all parts of that building are supporting and reinforce each other. The foundation of the Islamic Sharia is the Aqidah and Akhlak, and the pillars are the Ibadah and the Syi'ar, and the wall and corners are all commandments, prohibitions, and guidance, which cover all parts of that sharia building. And all these parts cannot be separated from each other.³⁸

Then the Islamic law/sharia was divided into four sections:

1. One-fourth of prayer
2. One-fourth for the mu'amalah
3. One-fourth of the marriage
4. One-fourth on the criminal.³⁹

³³Bizawie, *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Sanad Dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri, 1830-1945*, 229.

³⁴Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, 120.

³⁵Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, 79.

³⁶Umar Shihab, *Kapita Selekta Mozaik Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 2014), 291.

³⁷Said Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Amīnīyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis* (Bima: IT Press STIS Al-Ittihad Bima, 2013), 1.

³⁸Said Amin, *Menuju Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam* (Bima: Sehati Press, 2002), 14.

³⁹Amin, *Menuju Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam*, 4.

The ways and stages of the implementation of Islamic law, both individually and collectively, should be initiated by the establishment of a relationship between human and Sharia law. He likened this to the relationship between the fertile soil and the good seeds; the rest depends on the supporting elements. He compared fertile soil to human in body and soul, while the good seed is compared to Islamic sharia. If a good seed is planted in fertile soil and properly cared for, it will surely produce a good plant. A healthy plant will then become a complete human being, who will have a good civilization and bring prosperity to human life both in this universe and in the afterlife.⁴⁰

Whereas Fiqh, in Arabic, literally means *al-Fahm ad-Daqiq* or the result of in-depth knowledge with an excellent understanding of the problem as a source of law within the scripture. Terminologically, fiqh is the law relating to a *mukallaf* (adult) actions which, based on the rules, are taken from the source of syara`/sharia.⁴¹

On the basis of the above definitions on the meaning of sharia and fiqh, it can be concluded that fiqh is the result of a comprehensive understanding of Allah's law, revealed to the prophet Muhammad PBUH as His messenger. Therefore, the law of Allah is *qath'i*, not a fiqh, but rather a sharia. Thus, he distinguishes between the sharia and the fiqh.

b. Sources of Islamic Law

Tuan Guru H.M. Said Amin in his book *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh dan Ilmu Hadis*/an introduction to the science of fiqh and hadith, classifying Islamic law into two, the Quran and the Sunnah/the Prophet's ways. According to him, Qur'an is a revelation from Allah SWT to the Prophet Muhammad Saw in the Arabic language, brought down by *mutawattir* (means whose validity is

guaranteed) and reciting it becomes a good deed.⁴² He added that the most legitimate person to describe the content of the Qur'an to the human being is the Prophet Muhammad SAW himself based on the revelation of Allah SWT in the Qur'an Surah An-Nahl: 43-44.

Meanwhile, the Prophet PBUH explains to the Ummah/Muslims followers the miracle of the Prophets and the content of the Qur'an and the previous books and scriptures sent by Allah to the earlier Prophets and Ummah is the Sunnah of the Prophet himself called *Sunnati*, as mentioned in several of his hadiths. Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin agreed with the Ulama hadith who classified sunnah into five categories, namely:

1. Sunnah *qauliyah* or the statement/sentences of the prophet whose meanings and grammars are from the Prophet PBUH himself,
2. Sunnah *fi'liyah* or the deed of the Prophet, which means that the senses are from the prophet, but the utterances/grammars are from the Prophet's companion(s) who saw the Prophet's deeds.
3. Sunnah *taqririyah* or the Prophet's acknowledgment, the words and deeds of the Prophet's companion who's seen or heard or known by the Prophet, then he established them as wrong or right.
4. Sunnah *hammiyah* or the willingness of the Prophet PBUH that could not be done until his passing.
5. Sunnah *khalqiyah* and *khulukiyah*, or the physical attributes and attributes of the Prophet's behavior or the Prophet's deeds.⁴³

He also noted that all these Sunnah are those proclaimed or made by the Prophet PBUH as the reflections of Allah's revelations, as mentioned in the Qur'an in Surah An-Najm: 1-5.

c. Sunnah and Bid'ah (innovation)

⁴⁰Amin, *Menuju Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam*, 4.

⁴¹Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis*, 29.

⁴²Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis*, 5.

⁴³Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis*, 8.

According to him, doing something that has not been told or practiced by the Messenger but showed evidence of reference from one of the sources of Islamic laws which means that the action is *Sunnah*, and not *bid'ah*/innovation in the definition of sharia. However, if the deed is something the Prophet has not said or done, or if there is no clear reference in one of the sources of Islamic laws agreed in Islam, then that action is considered to be an innovation or *bid'ah dhalalah*.⁴⁴

For example, offering prayers together with the Imam and Ma'mum (leader and followers of Jama'ah Prayer) where the Imam offers the prayers and the Ma'mum say Ameen to the du'a (prayers) by raising their hands. Some consider this to be a *bid'ah*, as the Prophet and his companions have never practiced it.

Tuan Guru H. M Said Amin, however, argues that although the Prophet never practiced this activity after the group prayers, there are several hadiths related to this action. Thus, this practice is not considered *bid'ah*. He mentioned the hadith narrated by al-Hakim from Habib bin Salamah al-Fihri. He said that the Prophet once said, "in a gathering of people, then one of them offered a prayer, and the other said Ameen to his du'a; thus his du'a will be surely granted by Allah." (HR. al-Hakim, in Targhib wa Tarhib, juz 1: 331).⁴⁵

d. Number of Raka'ah in Tarawih

Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin wrote about the Prophet Muhammad PBUH practice of *tarawih* prayer. His explanation is supported by the Hadith narrated from Aisyah and compiled in Bukhari about this practice, where the Prophet only conducted *tarawih* that is followed by his companions for three nights in the Masjid of Nabawi. However, there were no clear stipulation on the number of the raka'ah of this *tarawih* prayer during the Prophet time and the Caliph Abu Bakar RA reign. The prophet only explained about the time when to perform

tarawih during Ramadhan month and how to perform it.⁴⁶

The following notes are given in relation to the *tarawih* prayer and its number of *raka'ah*:

1. *Tarawih* prayer during the time of the Prophet and Caliph Abu Bakar RA, there was no clear number of *raka'ah*, and there were no hadith *Sahih* (strongly verified hadith) describing it from the Prophet.
2. The Prophet PBUH did not give an example on the number of *raka'ah* for *tarawih* prayer. However, the Prophet PBUH provided an example on time of this prayer, which is on the last third, half, or all night.
3. The number of the rakaah depends on the ability of the person performing the prayers, on the length of time spent standing and reciting the verses of the Qur'an in each *raka'ah* to fulfill one third, half or all night,
4. Umar bin Khattab performed 20 *raka'ah* of *tarawih* prayer and three rakaah of *witr*, with one salam each two *raka'ah* and reciting not very long surah.
5. Umar's way was agreed upon and followed by all companions, including Aisyah, and no one challenged him. Therefore, it became *Ijma* of the *sahabah/prophet's companions*.
6. the *Tabi'in* and Ulama fiqh also performed the same way, especially the four Imam of the Islamic schools.
7. *Ijma` ulama*, especially the *ijma'* from the Prophet's companion, is one of the sources of the Islamic law that has to be obeyed by the ummah.
8. following the way of the prophet's companion, the *khufaurasyidin* is following the prophet's order.
9. The prayers either 11 or 13 *raka'ah* are the prayers that the prophet usually offers each night is called *witr* or *lail shalah (tahajjud)* and is completed with one *raka'ah* of *witr*.⁴⁷

e. The positions of both hands in Shalat

⁴⁴Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis*, 42.

⁴⁵Amin, *Ar-Risalah Al-Aminiyah: Seri Pengantar Ilmu Fiqh Dan Ilmu Hadis*, 43. See also Said Amin, *Sifat*

Shalat Rasulullah (Surabaya: Sunan Ampel Press, 2012), 162.

⁴⁶Amin, *Sifat Shalat Rasulullah*, 78–83.

⁴⁷Amin, *Sifat Shalat Rasulullah*, 131–33.

Understanding the meanings of the Prophet's hadith, the opinion of the *Mujtahidin* and the majority of the Ulama (Jumhur Ulama) on the position of Muslims both hands in prayer, Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin provides the following notes in his book:

1. When a Muslim man or woman stands straight and recites the *Takbiratul Ihram*, he/she lifts both palms parallel to his/her both shoulders. The fingertips of both hands are in a straight line with the position of the respective ears, while the thumbs are under the ears.
2. When he/she stands to recite *Iftitah* and Surah al-Fatihah and other Qur'anic verses, it is religiously recommended (Sunnah) that he/she holds the palm of the right hand on the wrist of the left hand; he/she places both hands on the chest while reciting Surah al-Fatihah and other verses. It is Sunnah to hold the palm, wrist, and navel.
3. It is Sunnah for him/her to raise his/her both hands from the position of *Ruku'*, parallel to the shoulders and ears; he/she must also lower his/her back for the position of *Sujood* (the position of hands during the *I'tidal* is not crossed over like in reciting Surah al-Fatihah).
4. During the final *Tasyahud*, a Muslim man or woman folds his/her fingers except for the index finger; the thumb is attached to the middle finger in a circle. He/she raises his/her right index finger as if pointing to something while reading the word of Allah (Lafzul Jalalah). He/she also does not move the finger all the time until the end of the prayer (Salaam).⁴⁸

f. Government System

According to Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin, the political system in Islam must be consistent with the following three strong pillars:

1. The Islamic legality or legitimacy that based on Islamic sharia
2. The Islamic Ummah who is implementing it
3. The Islamic power that protects it

He adds if the government has been based on Islamic sharia and the Islamic Ummah agrees

with it, then the issue on the form of government is no longer crucial. According to him, the form of the government could be a kingdom, Khilafah, Imamah, Imarah, Sultanate, Republic, etc., and the leader could use any name, such as Raja, Sultan, Emir, Imam, President, as long as followed the above mentioned pillars.. The most important thing is the selection of the leader and his/her appointment which should comply two main religious principles: that of the sharia and that of the agreement of the Muslim ummah. However, if one of the requirements ignored, the legitimacy of that government will be revoked.⁴⁹

From the explanation above, most of his work related to Islamic law particularly address ibadah practice. He explained in detail what should and should not be done in practicing ibadah. He argued that in term of ibadah should follow in the exact practice performed by the Prophet. In line with most of the ulema trained in Saudi arabia, Tuan Guru also emphasized about the shari'a law as the basis of the establishment of the nation. He did not explain further about the condition of Indonesia that belongs to many ethnics and religions.

C. CONCLUSION

The policy of the Bima Sultanate in Islamic education was to facilitate and provide opportunities for its communities to study Islam in the Middle East, which would later become the primary transmitter of the religious intellectual and socio-moral tradition in Bima.

Bima is one of the main sites of the Ulama Nusantara Network, which has a strong relationship with the Ulama network in Java and Haramayn. The role of the Bima's Ulama in Haramayn is crucial to the network of Nusantara Ulama in the Middle East, such as Syekh Abdul Ghani Al-Bimawi. He was at the highest level of Ulama and the highest teacher at Ulama in Nusantara in the 18th and 19th century.

⁴⁸Amin, *Sifat Shalat Rasulullah*, 46–47.

⁴⁹Amin, *Sifat Shalat Rasulullah*, 79.

In regard to his educational background, figures, intellectual chain and works, and his contribution to the development of Islam in Bima, it is necessary to address that Tuan Guru H. M. Said Amin is the heir of genealogy in the network of Nusantara Ulama who originated from Bima during the 20th century. Besides, his fiqh opinion is influenced by the Shafi'i School. On the other hand, his internalization and contact with contemporary Islamic groups influenced his unique reasoning, which is the combination between Muslim traditionalism and modernism.

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RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION OF MILLENIAL MUSLIMS WITHIN COLLECTIVE NARCISSISM DISCOURSE IN DIGITAL ERA

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Abstract

This article focuses on examining how the religious expression of Indonesian millennial Muslims in the landscape of collective narcissism discourse in the present digital era. This study investigates the social media activities of NU and Muhammadiyah youth organizations, *Pemuda Hijrah*, *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran*, and some of the Radical Groups like ISIS. This study employs discourse analysis with social psychology approach. The result of this research shows that the religious expression of millennial Muslims in Indonesia can be categorized into six types, namely: actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberalist Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Whereas in the discourse of collective religious narcissism, based on several cases study show that mainstream Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah, the activities can be categorized as positive collective religious narcissism. Meanwhile, *Pemuda Hijrah* and *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* are categorized as negative collective religious narcissism. This consideration resulted from their claim as of better than the other group. On the other hand, radical group activities such as ISIS is categorized as destructive collective religious narcissism because they claim rigidly and unequivocally accused others sinful, heretic, and astray and deserve to be banished. In other words, this is the phenomenon of religious expression, which ironically, belongs to acute destructive narcissism.

Keywords:

Religious expression; millennial; muslim; collective narcissism; digital era.

Abstrak

Artikel bermaksud mengkaji bagaimana ekspresi keberagamaan muslim milenial Indonesia dalam lanskap diskursus narsisisme kolektif pada era digital kekinian. Penelitian ini menelaah aktivitas sosial media dari pemuda NU dan Muhammadiyah, Pemuda Hijrah, Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran dan beberapa unggahan Kelompok Radikal. Metode yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana dan kemudian dianalisis menggunakan pendekatan psikologi sosial. Temuan yang diperoleh adalah ekspresi keberagamaan muslim milenial dapat dikategorisasikan ke dalam enam jenis, mencakup: Islam aktual-modernis, Islam kultural-pluralis, Islam liberal, Islam apatis, Islam skriptual-fundamentalis, dan Islam radikal. Sedangkan dalam wacana narsisisme religius kolektif, dapat dijabarkan beberapa temuan studi kasus seperti ormas Islam arus utama yaitu NU dan Muhammadiyah sebagai contoh dari narsisisme religius kolektif yang positif. Kemudian Pemuda Hijrah dan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran sebagai narsisisme religius kolektif yang cenderung mendekati negatif karena merasa bahwa orang lain kalah baik dengan kelompoknya. Sementara bukti narsisisme religius kolektif yang negatif destruktif adalah ISIS, Terorisme dan Kelompok Radikal lain yang secara kaku dan tegas mengklaim bahwa pihak lain penuh dosa, bid'ah, dan bahkan pada tingkat yang ekstrem mempertontonkan bahwa mereka layak dibunuh. Dengan kata lain, inilah fenomena ekspresi keberagamaan, yang secara ironis, tergolong ke dalam narsisisme destruktif akut.

Kata Kunci:

Ekspresi keberagamaan; milenial; muslim; narsisisme kolektif; era digital.

DOI: 10.15575/jw.v4i2.6623

Received: October 5, 2019 ; Accepted: 28 December 2019 ; Published: December 30, 2019

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the subjects of discussion in the study of religions is the religiosity of Muslims with its various dimensions. John L. Esposito,¹ Bernard Lewis,² Karen Armstrong,³ and Annemarie Schimmel⁴ have been researching Islam and Muslim societies in-depth, and they showed that this study remains complex. Nonetheless, in previous studies, “religious expressions”—particularly concerning Islam—show less resonance from internal academic laboratories of higher education institutions to a wider audience.

John L. Esposito explicitly described in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* that the study of Muslim religious expression contains prominent significant patterns such as ritual practices, the culture of the people, the Islamic movement, and the discussion of mysticism in Islam. Meanwhile, Quintan Wictorowicz⁵ focuses on analyzing Islamic activism using the social movement theory approach.

Many researcher in Indonesia encouraged to study many themes of Islamic studies, especially related to actuality and novelty that give different color and contour in the academic map. The emergence of new religious authorities,⁶ *ulama*'s view of the concept of the nation-state,⁷ *pemuda hijrah*,

and Millennial Islamic literature⁸ are few of some interesting Islamic topics that have emerged recently.

Based on the above-mentioned background, this paper explores religious expression of millennial Muslim generations in the digital age, based on their activities in their social media and its relation to the social psychology of new media. This issue is interesting because the current ‘digital era’—borrowing the term from H.M. Amin Syukur—bring and place people to a very high and fast-paced technological civilization.⁹ This phenomenon will make humans who are only able to use it as a device become mentally left behind and even less sophisticated than the technology itself. For this reason, ironically, humans as a subject will shift into an object of technology, materialism, and hedonism of the present century.

Besides, in this era which is social media plays more important role than newspaper and television, “trendicity” seems valuable for Millennials. *Viral, trending topic, most popular viewed* idioms seem to show their legitimacy. It is not seldom that millennial Muslims choose to follow, read and refer to it, moreover some of them also secretly or openly hope to become ‘trending topic’ at their timeline of social media. The presence of social media has made the tendency to *update*, *upload*, and *post* (narciss term) in the community widely recognized (re-known). This term initially introduced by a psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud.¹⁰ In other words, narcissism is not a new term.

¹John L. Esposito, ed., *Ensiklopedi Oxford Dunia Islam Modern* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001).

²Bernard Lewis, ed., *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2002).

³Karen Armstrong, *Islamofobia: Melacak Akar Ketakutan Terhadap Islam Di Dunia Barat*, trans. Pilar Muhammad Pabottingi (Bandung: Mizan, 2018).

⁴Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimension of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

⁵Quintan Wictorowicz, ed., *Gerakan Sosial Islam: Teori, Pendekatan Dan Studi Kasus* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing and Paramadina, 2018).

⁶Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, “Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru,” in *Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019), 179.

⁷Noorhaidi Hasan, ed., *Ulama Dan Negara Bangsa: Membaca Masa Depan Islam Politik Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019).

⁸More deep studies about it can be read in Noorhaidi Hasan, ed., *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, Dan Kontestasi* (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018). And look at Chaider S. Bamualim, Hilman Latief, and Irfan Abubakar, eds., *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme* (Tangerang Selatan: Center for The Study of Religion and Culture, 2018).

⁹H. M. Amin Syukur, *Sufi Healing: Terapi Dengan Metode Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2012), 26.

¹⁰André Green, “A Dual Conception of Narcissism: Positive and Negative Organizations,” *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2002): 631-649.

Thus, based on discussion above, this article examines how the religious expression of young people in the digital era and whether there are implications indicate that their religious expression is considered the narcissism category. This article will highlight social media accounts of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah* (Facebook), *Generasi Muda NU* (Instagram), *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* (Facebook and Instagram), and *Pemuda Hijrah Yuk* (Instagram). First, this article will discuss religious expression of “*Kids Zaman Now*,” the presence of new media and its impact. Second, this paper will provide academic discourse about narcissism, its various types, and the characteristics that underlie it both psychologically and socially. Finally, this study will elaborate several phenomena related to the religious expression of millennial Muslims on social media in contemporary Indonesia, presenting examples of millennial Muslim communities whether they belong to the collective narcissism category in religiosity.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Religious Expression of ‘*Kids Zaman Now*,’ Celebrity Culture and New Media

Karl Mannheim introduced a theory of generations (also known as ‘Sociology of Generations’) in 1928 through his famous essay entitled *The Problem of Generations*.¹¹ According to him, a group of humans born in the same range of socio-anthropological period will have a similar tendency of mindset and character. Since that time, the people nowadays are familiar with the classification of generations based on their birth spans ranging from Generation of Depression Era, World War I Generation, Post-World War II Generation, Baby Boomer Generation, X Generation, Y Generation, and most recently Z Generation.

This paper will focus on Y Generation, which born from 1980 to 1997, and early Z

Generation, which we recognize today as “millennial generation.” Such idioms are embedded because they live through a transitional period to the new Millennium of the 21st century as “*kizano*” (*kids zaman now*). Recently, this generation has been widely discussed both in the academic sphere and mainstream mass media with its various aspects.

Kizano is dominated by those who are in the early adult phase (21-25 years old). Psychologically at this development stage is considered the most urgent, complicated, and called ‘full of the storm’ by Hurlock¹² as the most challenging segment of life in the peak of searching identity phase that carried out since adolescence. At this process, socio-anthropological and political factors play a significant role that causes complexity in the millennial generation, including in religious attitudes and expressions.¹³

In several scientific works of literature, the discussion of religiosity of millennial Muslims is increasing and has a crucial position. Some of them discussed about they expression of Islam in social-media era with hoax wave, post-truth era, and other indications or tendencies such as conservatism and radicalism. The book of *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial*¹⁴ describes the indications of strengthening radicalism issue. The reverse flow of conservatism and populism emerged as a result of the end of the New-Order era (*Orde Baru*) in 1998¹⁵—which automatically changed the circumstance and the pattern of socio-political order. It will have an impact on the understanding and social consciousness of

¹²Elizabeth B Hurlock, *Development Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953).

¹³Syaiful Hamali, “Karakteristik Keberagamaan Remaja Dalam Perspektif Psikologi,” *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 11, no. 1 (2016): 81–98.

¹⁴Bamualim, Latief, and Abubakar, *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme*.

¹⁵Research about Islamism and Islamic Activism in Post-New Order era can be found in the dissertation: Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2006).

¹¹Emma Parry and Peter Urwin, “Generational Differences in Work Values: A Review of Theory and Evidence,” *International Journal of Management Reviews* 13, no. 1 (2011): 79–96.

the millennial generation either directly or indirectly. Some prominent issues after the implementation of post-reform (*Pasca-Reformasi*) are discourse regarding Islamism and transnational movement.

The research by Martin van Bruinessen which involved 935 participants, dominated by young people and held in 18 cities, found signs of increasing Muslim expression and enthusiasm for Indonesian Muslims as ‘*conservative turn*.’¹⁶ The findings of this study showed the passion for the Islamic millennial generation is more inclined to identity, appearance or outside performance, style of public communication, and consumerism culture of religious (Islamic) symbols. This tendency is in line with the ‘hijrah’ discourse by Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto¹⁷ as ‘*pietization*’ (using Bryan S. Turner’s term). These indications can be considered as the practice of “conservative personal piety” that in line with the current market such as the use of innovative fashionable multicolor *hijab*,¹⁸ Islamic and originally made by *Muslimah* designer, the use of halal products, Islamic banking, and other various ‘Islamic’ product forms.

A team at the Postgraduate Program of UIN Sunan Kalijaga reported the research related to the literature usually read by millennial generations about Islam. The team categorized these kinds of literature into several terms, namely: *Tahriri*, *Tarbawi*, *Salafi*, and the latest genre of *Islamic Populer*, which intersect with the three previous types.

¹⁶Martin van Bruinessen, ed., *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the Conservative Turn* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013).

¹⁷Kailani and Sunarwoto, “Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru.”

¹⁸Concerning *Muslimah* clothes and the face of religiosity among Indonesian people, Komaruddin Hidayat argued that nowadays Islam in Indonesia is considered as a *trend-setter* of *Muslimah* in the world because of interesting creative-touch and multicolor design, particularly to Western society. This phenomenon is contrast with Islam in Middle-East countries. Find it on “Ekspresi Islam di Indonesia” in the book Komaruddin Hidayat, *Agama Punya Seribu Nyawa* (Jakarta Selatan: Noura Books, 2012), 179-181.

The latest one also contributes to building a millennial mindset and perspective on Islamic world. A wave of conservatism, puritan-textualist tendencies, and Islamic expression of *salafism* in the millennial Muslim generation, mainly radiating from Muslim women (*muslimah*), is more or less influenced by their reading.¹⁹

Interestingly, the contestation between conservatism Islamic literature and moderate cultural-pluralist literature is still won by the second.²⁰ So, there is a note that all types of *Popular Islamic* reading (*tahriri*, *tarbawi*, and *salafi*) are still lack of significant impact. There is manifest of the basic character result of millennial generation, which is open-minded to aspects of modernity, humanity (*human rights*), and democratic values of Indonesia. Socio anthropological factors and the Post Reform political climate influenced these aspects.

Based on the description above, it is understandable if, while the appearance of religiously compliant millennial Muslim women (*muslimah*) who dressed in long and black clothes, pursuing higher education, they also delight in Korean Boybands and dramas. This ambivalence arises as a new identity—intact but complex—as a result of various other identity bonds fusion. This process is called ‘identity hybridisation.’ It is easy to find such those phenomenon on social media timeline and also in the reality of interpersonal relations in colleges and urban Muslim societies generally.

Communication activities with Islamic nuance such as *akhi-ukhti* calls, the pronunciation of *thayyibah* sentences are common in daily life. *Muslimah* dressed in long and closed clothes are already familiar and become a trend among *hijabers*. Despite such Islamic expression, there is also a

¹⁹Najib Kailani, “Perkembangan Literatur Islamisme Populer Di Indonesia: Apropriasi, Adaptasi, Dan Genre,” in *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018).

²⁰Bamualim, Latief, and Abubakar, *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme*, 248.

shifting tendency in selecting religious authority.²¹

Nowadays, most of the millennials—though not all—prefer well-known and famous actors/actress in the mainstream mass media (newspaper and television) and or social media (*Youtube*, *Instagram*, dan *Facebook*) rather than *Ulama* or *Kiyai* who had strong scientific legitimacy and chain of authority of knowledge in religious affairs. This transition symptom can not be separated from the presence of new media that contributed to shaping the current culture: ‘celebrity culture.’²² This new culture is a type of lifestyle that focuses on the fame created by the media. Because of this celebrity culture services, new religious figures, commonly called ‘*ustaz kondang*,’ ‘*dai*,’ or ‘*ustaz gaul*’ have sprung up. In this case, it is not surprising if the phenomena of many famous artists emigrate and immediately get a strategic position in religious events or teachings because of its popularity. Some of them even “become a preacher and influence others. Lynn Schofield referred it as an authority based on an agreement (*consensus-based authority*).²³

There are two central figures known as ‘ustaz gaul’ among millennials who have a broad audience, particularly in West Java, namely Ustaz Hanan Attaki and Ustaz Evi Effendi. Both of them are quite popular among young people because of their capability and attractive rhetoric in delivering religious messages in a ‘trendy’ and ‘crisp way’ to the audience that is predominantly urban people.²⁴

²¹Further academic discussion about the fragmentation of religious authority is explained more in Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, “Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru.”

²²Joseph Epstein, “Celebrity Culture,” *Hedgehog Review* 7, no. 1 (2005): 6–20. See also Amy Henderson, “Media and the Rise of Celebrity Culture,” *OAH Magazine of History* 6, no. 4 (1992): 49–54.

²³Lynn Schofield Clark, “Religion and Authority in a Remix Culture: How a Late Night TV Host Became an Authority on Religion,” in *Religion, Media and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Gordon Lynch, Jolyon Mitchell, and Anna Strhan (London: Routledge, 2012).

²⁴Munirul Ikhwan, “Ulama Dan Konservatisme Islam Publik Di Bandung: Islam, Politik Identitas, Dan

They prioritize the values of primary sources, the *Al-Quran* and the Hadith, but lack in elaborating the contextualization of Islamic ideology regarding contemporary issues such nation-state concept, political-economic, and sociocultural aspects. Thus, their understanding of Islam can be categorized as scriptural-partialistic – a defender of Islamic orthodoxy.

Based on the description above, the illustration of religious expression among millennial Muslim proved to have varied forms. There are six major categories of millennial religious expressions. Those are actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberal Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Jalaluddin Rakhmat argued that actual Islam is Muslims’ effort in actualizing religious values in the process of modernization.²⁵ The fundamental value of actual-modernist Islam lies in contextualization and its role in overcoming social problems in contemporary society. There are fewer Muslim millennials of this group who get high education and have good intellectual potention.

Cultural-pluralist Islam is the foundation of a more dominant use of a socio-cultural approach to Islamic values to guarantee plurality and diversity in people’s lives.²⁶ This Muslims group often does acculturation of Islam with the local culture (local wisdom) where they live so that the logical consequences will result in a colorful pattern of Islam in Indonesia and its uniqueness. They are mostly young people in rural or suburban areas (*sub-culture*), especially those who get religious education in *pesantren* and *tarekat* groups.

Tantangan Relasi Horizontal,” in , Ed. by ,), 35–63.,” in *Ulama, Politik, Dan Narasi Kebangsaan*, ed. Ibnu Burdah, Najib Kailani, and Munirul Ikhwan (Yogyakarta: PusPIDeP, 2019).

²⁵Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Islam Alternatif* (Bandung: Mizan, 1989), 36.

²⁶Fahrurrozi Fahrurrozi, “Ekspresi Keberagaman Masyarakat Islam Indonesia: Mozaik Multikulturalisme Indonesia,” *Toleransi: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 7, no. 1 (2016): 15–34.

Then, liberal Islam is the one who often receives critics from the community because it is considered controversial, especially since the emergence of JIL (Liberal Islamic Network), which was led by Ulil Abshar Abdala. Principally, liberal Islam is an effort to interpret the revelation in a contextual, critical, dynamic, progressive, and modern way. Slightly similar to actual-modernist Islam, but has a more prominent portion of personal *ijtihad* so that every Muslim avoids blind *taqlid*. Millennial Muslims do not seem interested to join this group because this group adheres to critical-analytic thinking.

Apathetic Islam is a group that tends of ignorant and does not care much about their religious expression because they consider it a private matter. This group emerged as a result of secularization and globalization in the modern era.

Scriptural-fundamentalist Islam is the group that put forward the textual-literal interpretation of religious verses and understand religion rigidly.²⁷ These people thinking style tend to be orthodox and less open to the outside world, which is deemed to be sinful and heretical society. This opinion is the initial of radicalism ideology appearance. At present, several millennial circles have arrived at these thoughts and believed in them as a real Islam. Some of them have a rigid understanding of Islam while they are educated in Indonesian universities.

Scriptural-fundamentalist Islam might someday turn into radical Islam when 'triggers' emerged. Radical Islam is quite a contradictory term because, for some scholars, radicalism is a general term and does not have to refer to a particular religion. According to some scholars, radicalism emerges as an impression of 'tarnishing' the good name of a specific religion.²⁸ Radical Islam is a group that have a rigid and exclusive understanding of Islam, and they even legalize violence acts

in the name of Islam to achieve political, economic, or religious community goals. Although a small percentage of millennials infected with this ideology, it has a potential to spread.

The explanation above has represented the religious expression of Millennial Muslims in Indonesia. The presence of new media in this digital era has formed a celebrity culture effect. These new media support the attitude and behavior of Millennial Muslims in public life. This trend could be classified as narcissism and will be discussed below.

2. Discourse about Narcissism

Narcissism is different from the general understanding of the word '*narciss*' which is merely a symptom of current behavior characterized by a penchant for *selfie* and a continuous *update* on social media. Narcissism has a more complex definition space and is not as simple as commonly known. Narcissism is an initial symptom of personality disorder or mental condition of someone who feels more superior than the others so that he/she is more selfish and less empathetic (*lack of empathy*).²⁹

The term narcissism initially introduced by André Green as a result of Sigmund Freud's thoughts and studies of *autoeroticism*.³⁰ It is taken from the ancient Greek mythology character, namely *Narcissus* (or *Narkissos*), who admires himself reflecting on his face reflection of the lake's surface and is pitifully dead there. Thus, Freud formulated and understood narcissism as a form of pathological relations that colors many relationships between individuals.³¹ While Erich Fromm regarded it as a personality setback phenomenon or termed '*personality regression*.' Narcissism appears as atopic of

²⁷Karen Amstrong, *Berperang Demi Tuhan: Fundamentalisme Dalam Islam, Kristen Dan Yahudi*, trans. Yuliani Liputo (Jakarta: Serambi, 2001), 194.

²⁸Said Agil Siroj, *Tasawuf Sebagai Kritik Sosial* (Bandung: Mizan, 2006), 79.

²⁹Siyin Chen, Rebecca Friesdorf, and Christian H Jordan, "State and Trait Narcissism Predict Everyday Helping," *Self and Identity*, 2019, 1–17.

³⁰Green, "A Dual Conception of Narcissism: Positive and Negative Organizations."

³¹Nurcholish Madjid, "Manusia Modern Mendamba Allah: Renungan Tasawuf Positif" (Jakarta: IIMaN & Hikmah, 2002).

discussion in psychoanalysis theory, and reappeared as a topic of the study in the current era together with the appearance of new media and celebrity culture. It is believed that this era accommodates the potential for growing narcissism in social life.

In line with the discourse about narcissism, there is a potential of the psychological disease called *Narcissistic Personality Disorder* (NPD), which has been recorded in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM V) as a *cluster B personality disorders*. Ironically, psychologist agrees that narcissism is likely to infect young people in the early adult age.

There are at least 9 (nine) criteria of NPD as follows:

- a. Giving priority to his interests above all things (*a grandiose sense of self-importance*).
- b. They preoccupy with fantasizing about *unlimited success*, power, intelligence (*brilliance*), beauty, or looked sweet and ideal love.
- c. Believing that he/she is the most powerful, special, unique, and feel that only others at the same level or higher than him/her who can understand him/her (thirst for excessive recognition).
- d. They are always desiring to be praised and admired (*need for excessive admiration*).
- e. They are expecting special treatment.
- f. They are behaving arrogant and proud.
- g. Lack of empathy.
- h. Feeling jealous of others or believing that many others are jealous of him/her.
- i. The treatment exploits other people (*interpersonally exploitive behavior*).

When an individual or a group of people indicated with at least 5 (five) criteria stated above, it can be a sign of NPD. The discussion about narcissism does not only related to abnormal psychological symptom, but also ethnocentrism, nationalism, socialism, and various other ideologies, including

religion³²—the later known as a type of collective narcissism.

Beyond the agreed standard of NPD as one of the mental disorders, narcissism still has other characteristics. Freud and Kohut illustrate the symptoms of narcissism as “*people they admire and seek high-status roles and egoistically motivated*.”³³ These characteristics contrast sharply with the dimension of pro-social traits that have *altruistically motivated* predictors. Some academics such as Miller and Josephs even examined the superiority index of White-Races exposed to ethnocentric narcissism.³⁴ This study showed that collective narcissism takes on a role in quite diverse areas.

Meanwhile, in other discussions, narcissism is divided into two tendencies: *positive narcissism* (categorized unhealthy according to André Green), and *negative narcissism* (which has a destructive element). Positive narcissism has general criteria such as ignorance of others and excessive self-confidence.³⁵ Yet, on certain circumstances, this narcissism type contributes to *self-esteem maintenance* for inferior people. Besides, this category can *manage one's mood* to be more passionate.

Negative narcissism contributes to the most determinative and dominant form of NPD, which is destructive collective narcissism (*self-destructive drives*).³⁶ There are three

³²Agnieszka Golec De Zavala et al., “Collective Narcissism and Its Social Consequences,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97, no. 6 (2009): 1074.

³³Sara Konrath, Meng-Han Ho, and Sasha Zarins, “The Strategic Helper: Narcissism and Prosocial Motives and Behaviors,” *Current Psychology* 35, no. 2 (2016): 182-194.

³⁴Arianne E Miller and Lawrence Josephs, “Whiteness as Pathological Narcissism,” *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 45, no. 1 (2009): 93-119.

³⁵Amy B Brunell, Laraine Tumblyn, and Melissa T Buelow, “Narcissism and the Motivation to Engage in Volunteerism,” *Current Psychology* 33, no. 3 (2014): 365-376.

³⁶Erika N Carlson, “Honestly Arrogant or Simply Misunderstood? Narcissists' Awareness of Their Narcissism,” *Self and Identity* 12, no. 3 (2013): 259-277.

main characteristics of negative narcissism: *over admiration, less helping, and higher in rivalry* (formed from *antagonistic self-protection* that manifests act of *asserting superiority and devaluing others*). At the religiosity realm, we often find the attitude of discrediting others as heretics and wrong that deserve being ostracized.

3. Collective Religious Narcissism: Case Studies

The phenomenon of *collective religious narcissism* has been studied by several scientists such as Aleksandra Cichocka,³⁷ Martha Marchlewska, and Paulina Gorska.³⁸ It appears to be an excessive fanatical mental attitude towards the group (*in-group*). We can find it in fundamental and radical group that often claim the most right over other groups. So, this attitude can lead a person or group to legitimize (*give him/her-self permission*) violence acts in the name of their group truth (subjective local truth).

Furthermore, Nursamad Kamba even explicitly criticized the portrait of narcissistic tendencies of the present era by terming the trend into ‘*egocentricity*’ and ‘*selfishness*’ that infected modern people.³⁹ A group of people presents themselves in their own public spaces as more exclusive, high-caste, and unique (individuals and collective groups). This presentation can be seen either in a virtual world, cyberspaces, or rural areas by attaching billboards and big posters to show their dominance. In his book, Nursamad Kamba explicitly wrote:

Orang-orang yang mengklaim beragama makin gaduh mempersoalkan siapa-siapa

³⁷Aleksandra Cichocka, “Understanding Defensive and Secure In-Group Positivity: The Role of Collective Narcissism,” *European Review of Social Psychology* 27, no. 1 (2016): 283–317.

³⁸Marta Marchlewska et al., “In Search of an Imaginary Enemy: Catholic Collective Narcissism and the Endorsement of Gender Conspiracy Beliefs,” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 159, no. 6 (2019): 766–779.

³⁹M. Nursamad Kamba, *Kids Zaman Now Menemukan Kembali Islam* (Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka IIMaN, 2018), 286–297.

*yang berhak masuk surga dan siapa saja penghuni neraka. Ironisnya, asas penilaian berhak-tidaknya seseorang masuk surga bukan dari kualitas-kualitas kemanusiaan, melainkan berdasarkan logika kelompok.*⁴⁰ (people who claim to be religious are increasingly rowdy about who deserves to enter heaven and who are the inhabitants of hell. Ironically, the judging principle whether someone deserve-or-not to enter heaven is not based on human qualities, but group logic.”)

This partialistic-exclusive group logic is the starting point for collective religious narcissism (which categorized as harmful and destructive). Many time we hear the truth claim of the radical group as the one who deserves heaven. This article will present case studies identified as collective religious narcissistic behavior in Indonesia, especially among millennials.

a. NU and Muhammadiyah Youth

These two major Muslim organizations (in Bahasa: *Ormas*) are the key-holders of the face of Islam in Indonesia. Their activism—particularly among college students—shows significant existence and role of the majority Indonesian Muslim. According to Andre Green, their collective self-confidence and pride among the young cadres of each mass organization, there still a potential unhealthy narcissism landscape if they see themselves as the most important, most dominant, and demeaning others.

Young cadres from Muhammadiyah organization showed religious expressions represented the actual-modernist group. The Ideology of “*Islam Berkemajuan*” (progressing Islam) put forward by this organization provides psychological encouragement to young people, considering Muhammadiyah as the second largest organization after NU. Figure 1. represent Pemuda Muhammadiyah existence in the social media as a solid and undivided group

⁴⁰Kamba, *Kids Zaman Now Menemukan Kembali Islam*.

regardless of differences in political interests—at least in their own views. It becomes a benchmark of ‘collective self-confidence’ and a sense of belonging to the organization.



120 suka
pp.pemudamuhammadiyah Jangan Sampai Perbedaan Politik Menjauhkan Hubungan Sesama Kader, Apalagi Sampai Memiskinkan Nilai-nilai Ilahiyah Kader PM. Kader Pemuda Muhammadiyah

Figure 1 Pemuda Muhammadiyah

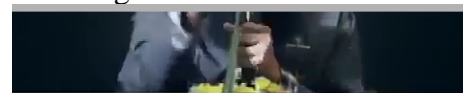


3.991 suka
generasi_muda_nu Kita harus bangga Ber-NU, tak perlu ragu dan malu. Karena kita berada di Jalur yang benar, baik dalam urusan agama maupun negara.

Figure 2 GMNU Instagram

Not much different from the young generation of Pemuda Muhammadiyah, Generasi Muda NU (GMNU) has also been showing their existence in social media. They often show their ‘sense of belonging’ and pride in NU by posting their belief that they are on the right track. One of the GMNU Instagram feeds (figure 2) represents an expression that shows high self-confidence by expressing that “we must be proud to be NU. There is no need to hesitate and ashamed because we are on the right way, either in religious or state matters.”

As part of the cultural pluralist Islamic circle, in other posts, they also display some Instagram feeds that tend to be offensive towards other groups such as HTI and Wahhabi ideology. The contestation between them is quite busy in online social media. Particularly when it comes to the affairs of the Nation-State and Pancasila. NU’s young cadres who are proud to be NU are quite ‘militant’ in defending NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia) and responsive to whom disagree with them.



Hati-hati Bagi Yang Suka Bilang Indonesia Adalah Bumi Pertiwi/Ibu Pertiwi

50.395 tayangan · Disukai oleh faizmiftahulhuda dan cssmoranasional generasi_muda_nu Hampir semua Budaya dan Adat di Nusantara ini tidak luput dari Fatwa HARAM dari kelompok Jenggotan.

Benar kalam Abuya KH Sa'id Aqil Sirodji, semakin panjang jenggotnya semakin Goblok, ini salah satu buktinya.

#WahhabiBentukanZionist
#GenerasiMudaNU

Figure 3 Responsive actions on GMNU Instagram

Example of responsive actions—which tend to be offensive in their caption—have reflected in their Instagram account feeds (figure 3). Generasi Muda Nahdlatul Ulama (GMNU; Nahdlatul Ulama Young Generation) responded to one of Syafiq Riza Basalamah’s teaching and was later criticized that his haram fatwa was considered an act that inseparable from the ‘bearded group’ (kalangan berjenggot). The caption, mentions “the longer the beard, the more idiotic, this is one proof.” In this posting also provides the name of Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU; The Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama) chairman accompanied by the hashtag #WahhabiBentukanZionist or in

English roughly means ‘Wahhabi is a Zionist’s product.’ Such expression showed a high level of confidence in GMNU, and it was later coupled with contestation among groups and posted on social media channels indicating that they also had several elements contained in the predictors of collective religious narcissism.

Some religious expressions shown by millennials of these two organizations members are still at a reasonable stage. Several sub-organization of NU organizations include Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU; Nahdlatul Ulama Students Associations),⁴¹ Keluarga Mahasiswa Nahdlatul Ulama (KMNU; the Family of Nahdlatul Ulama Students), GMNU, and Anshor.⁴² While in Muhammadiyah, Pemuda Muhammadiyah and Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM; Muhammadiyah University Student Union)⁴³ represented quite active in intellectual studies and campus movement.

However, from the actions, dynamics, and how these two mass organizations presenting themselves to the public both in online and social reality, NU and Muhammadiyah can be classified as positive collective narcissism. With the central ‘jargon’ (slogan) of *ahlussunnah wal-jama'ah* and *Wasathiyah* Islamic ideology, these two organizations can motivate *self-interested concerns, enhancing one’s mood, individual self-esteem* and increase *self-confidence* in their Islamic expression.

⁴¹Dwi Oktofianto, “Penguatan Berbasis Karakter Jati Diri Bangsa Pada Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Ketahanan Pribadi Pemuda (Studi Di Pimpinan Cabang IPNU Kabupaten Karanganyar, Provinsi Jawa Tengah),” *PKn Progresif: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Kewarganegaraan* 13, no. 2 (2018): 68–81.

⁴²Imamul Huda Al Siddiq and Ahmad Arif Widiyanto, “Pemuda NU Dalam Pusaran Wacana Dan Komunisme: Sebuah Pergolakan Ideologi,” *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 13, no. 2 (2019): 257-276.

⁴³Arif Widodo, “Transformative Intellectual Discourse and Movement of Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM),” *Iseedu: Journal of Islamic Educational Thoughts and Practices* 1, no. 1 (2017): 126-151.

b. *Pemuda Hijrah and Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran*

Pemuda Hijrah and *Indonesia tanpa pacaran* are two groups that currently emerged among Millennial era that have a similar style. Ideologically, *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* (ITP; Indonesia Without Dating) introduced by Felix Siauw—yet found by La Ode Munafar—is indicated to insert certain *tahriri* values that influenced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). These two groups quite exist, especially in online media. ITP even has many members in the Facebook group. From the digital footprint, the writer found that there are circa 910,280 members who are joining this group.⁴⁴ In one of their posts stated that they had a Whatsapp Group in 2019 and were offered ID-Card facilities for their joining members. They are not only engaged in the campaign of rejecting courtship (or ‘dating’), but also established a series of business ventures of their entrepreneurship.⁴⁵



Figure 4 Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran Campaign

ITP has regular monthly events that contain campaigns not to date following Islamic perspective. Those events are held in popular ways and themes. Tirto (an online news feed) reported that one of their missions is “Indonesia Bebas Pacaran 2024”

⁴⁴For further information, you can look at: <https://id-id.facebook.com/groups/1781499412108314/>

⁴⁵Reja Hidayat and Nindias Nur Khalika, “Bisnis Dan Kontroversi Gerakan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran,” *tirto.id*, accessed November 7, 2019, <https://tirto.id/bisnis-dan-kontroversi-gerakan-indonesia-tanpa-pacaran-cK25>.

campaign—wipe out dating—that has been socialized on several of their social media channels. One of the uploads messages of its members (figure 4) is an example of Millennials who also agree with the campaign, even writing with the hashtag #PacaranMembunuhmu (in English: Dating will kill you). The modification of the sentence from the cigarette advertisement represents the expression of Islamic youth of ITP who want to avoid the courtship culture in this modern era. According to them, immoral behaviour in the current age is increasing that needs a counter-culture. One of them is refusing to date.

While *Pemuda Hijrah* has only a few followers who faithfully attend every Hanan Attaki speech in several cities in Java. The trend of *hijrah* has become a kind of new passion for young people, especially in Bandung city. Becoming a Muslim for *Pemuda Hijrah* in the current era need to be implemented by referring back to the teachings of Islam that are associated with examples in the past. Based on the analysis of this article, this opinion can lead Muslims youth generation to conservative Islamic expression style.⁴⁶

Based on the post uploaded by Pemuda Hijrah Yuk (figure 5), it represents the disquietude of young people, especially Muslim women, towards other Muslim women outside their group circle. The social media account of Pemuda Hijrah Yuk focused on presenting quotes from prominent Muslim figures that contain an invitation to migrate towards something right—in their term: *hijrah*. There are also some posts that criticize the younger generation in addition to those who are still busy spree, hedonist, and immoral.

⁴⁶Dieqy Hasbi Widhana, “Tren Hijrah Anak Muda: Menjadi Muslim Saja Tidak Cukup,” *tirto.id*, accessed November 7, 2019, <https://tirto.id/tren-hijrah-anak-muda-menjadi-muslim-saja-tidak-cukup-ds9k>.



Figure 5 campaign on Pemuda Hijrah Yuk Instagram

Other posts on social media from related to verse or hadith that they consider their basis as a prohibition to date in Islam. It is classified as religious expressions of the scriptural-fundamentalist group. The point of differentiation is that these teachings are represented a stylish way and coupled with creative content such as video, infographics, quotes, and so forth to be more popular than before.

Related campaigns for breaking up in bulk (*putus massal*) also found on their Instagram posts (figure 6). The events they hold are very active in narrating their primary mission while giving away prizes as well as selling products. Their focus on their post is resisting to date is considered ‘militant’ on social media. As a result, they seem to claim what they did is a true Islam while others are not. The example provided in Picture 7 that stated: “If Muslim teenagers understand their *akidah* correctly, surely they will not want to date.” Imply in this post that they make a

value judgment on other religious expression and to other faith.



Figure 6 Campaigns for breaking up in bulk

Both groups also used cyber activities as new transmission media to spread religious messages, one-minute learn (with a *shift* mark) on Instagram, for example. Thus, these two groups are categorized into non-destructive collective religious narcissism. Even though on several occasions they are also classify as negative narcissism because there found several millennial Muslim followers who feel more right than other groups who are secular.

c. ISIS, Terrorism, and Radical-Extremism

We can observe on national news, either online media or television broadcasts, these three groups vividly claim that their group is the most right and true of Islam (*truth-claim*). By this claim, they even legalized the violence treatment to other groups. ISIS has done even more extreme by showing its torture and propaganda videos via Youtube and other social media channels. The dominant tendency to be an exclusive group is also a central

feature of negative-destructive collective religious narcissism like ISIS.⁴⁷



Figure 7 ISIS propaganda video

Figure 7 showed an example of ISIS propaganda video where they burned passports from countries of origin. The video has been widespread on Youtube and contains narratives that express rejection to the current system in Indonesia and Malaysia. In the video, we see teenagers who were recruited by ISIS and sang songs that were passionate about *daulah-Islamiyyah*. This radical and exclusive expression of Islam causes violence symptom.

They claim that all systems in force today are *thoghut* and not following Islamic teachings. People outside their group are labeled as infidels (*kafir*) and even deserve to be killed—halal blood—although they are Muslim. This ‘exclusivist truth-claim’ phenomenon and their violent acts were shown of several violent activities in Youtube channel that are inappropriate to display. The ISIS uploaded their propaganda through social media using several accounts to avoid security forces.

They displayed aspects of *asserting superiority* and *devaluing others* through the torture of other groups that they consider to be heretical, full of sin, and abjection. It is the trait that erodes the opposite of egocentric

⁴⁷Another potrait of destructive collective narcissism, in the international context, found at Nazism ideology (NAZI) in Germany which led by Adolf Hitler in the time of World War II.

narcissism, namely altruism. Although a few Indonesian Muslim millennials have joined this group, it threatens the social harmony of the society.

C. CONCLUSION

This article has presented the expression of Muslim millennial religiosity that interconnected with the emergence of new media phenomena and celebrity culture. This article also provided various theoretical discussions along with concrete empirical examples found in social reality, in either virtual cyberspaces or real public sphere. Some academics have observed that millennial religiosity (Islam) in Indonesia is now more inclined towards what Martin van Bruinessen calls *conservative turn*. This religious expression indicated by the increasing passion for symbols and religious product consumption such as hijab, contemporary Muslim clothing that is entirely closed, cap (*peci*), prayer beads, prayer rugs, Islamic banking, and so forth.

However, this turned out not to be a single face of millennial Muslims expression. Many other expressions are categorized into six types, namely: actual-modernist Islam, cultural-pluralist Islam, liberal Islam, apathetic Islam, scriptural-fundamentalist Islam, and radical Islam. Based on Islamic religiosity expression, in line with the presence of new media, it will be very potential to bring up narcissistic behavior that had been studied by scholars in social psychology. Narcissism, either positive or negative also take a variety of other forms, individual narcissism (NPD), and collective narcissism.

Based on extensive discourse about collective narcissism, there are collective religious narcissism phenomenon found. This article displayed several case studies of Muslim millennial religiosity expression in Indonesia. This article found that mainstream Islamic organizations, NU, and Muhammadiyah are classified in positive collective religious narcissism. *Pemuda Hijrah* and *Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran* categorized as collective religious narcissism

that tends to be harmful because they feel that other people are inferior to those groups. While destructive religious narcissism that represented by ISIS, Terrorism, and other Radical Groups which rigidly accuse others as astray and deserve to be killed. Their religious expression phenomenon even belongs to acute destructive narcissism.

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CONFLICT AND INTEGRATION IN THE SALAFI-WAHABI PURIFICATION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

This article intends to discuss the development of the Salafi-Wahabi movement in South Kalimantan in relation to conflict and integration. In South Kalimantan, the development of the Salafi-Wahabi movement was quite fast. Although less than two decades, this group's preaching has covered almost all regions in this province. The development of this group in recent years has become a topic of discussion among people in South Kalimantan, in both ways: pro and contra. This article employs a qualitative method that contains the study of literature and fieldwork. Fieldwork conducted in Banjar, South Kalimantan, to gather data related to the development of the Salafi-Wahabi movement and its implications to the changes community's social order related to conflict and integration. The research shows that there are many issues of the Islamic purification movement that caused a strong response from the community that potentially prone to conflict. For example, are its teaching on Tawheed (monotheism) and accusation of many practices as *bid'ah* (heresy), which targeted respected local figures or groups like Guru Sekumpul in traditional circles. It becomes the main factor of the negative view of the Salaf-Wahabi group. However, there are some efforts made by Salafi-Wahabi to integrate their activities into the Banjar community.

Keywords:

Conflict; Integration; Islamic Purification; Salafi-Wahabi.

Abstrak

Artikel ini bermaksud membahas tentang perkembangan gerakan pemurnian salafi-wahabi di Kalimantan Selatan dalam kaitannya dengan konflik dan integrasi. Di Kalimantan Selatan perkembangan gerakan Salafi-Wahabi cukup pesat. Meski usianya belum sampai dua dasawarsa, tetapi dakwah kelompok ini telah meliputi hampir semua kawasan di propinsi ini. Perkembangan kelompok ini dalam beberapa tahun terakhir cukup menjadi perbincangan di kalangan masyarakat umum di Kalimantan Selatan, baik pro ataupun kontra. Artikel ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan data dikumpulkan berdasarkan kajian lapangan. Penelitian dilakukan di kota Banjarmasin, Martapura, dan Barabai Kalimantan Selatan. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ada beberapa isu yang rentan menimbulkan konflik, yakni secara material berkaitan dengan ajaran salafi-wahabi berkenaan dengan konsep tauhid dan *bid'ah*, yang menasar kepada figur-figur yang dihormati di kalangan tradisional. Meski demikian, ada upaya yang dilakukan kalangan salafi-wahabi sebagai bentuk upaya mereka melakukan integrasi kepada masyarakat Banjar. Di antara strategi tersebut adalah dengan membangun relasi yang baik dengan masyarakat sekitarnya, tidak terlalu menunjukkan keberbedaan dalam pelaksanaan ajaran Salafinya, aktif dalam memberikan bantuan sosial sambil tetap mengajak untuk kembali ke ajaran utama dari Alquran.

Kata Kunci:

Integrasi; Konflik; Pemurnian Islam; Salafi-Wahabi.

DOI: 10.15575/jw.v4i2.6194

Received: October 20, 2019 ; Accepted: December 30, 2019 ; Published: December 31, 2019

A. INTRODUCTION

The Islamic purification movement in various phases of history has caused multiple reactions in the community, specifically those who are considered to be 'deviant.'¹ In Indonesian, many studies about Islamic purification have been conducted by several scholars like Hasan,² Wahid,³ Qadim,⁴ Faizah,⁵ Tarwiyah,⁶ and Fuad.⁷ The Islamic purification movement as a thesis has caused the response to that purification, which is called antithesis. Furthermore, the debate between the Islamic purification⁸ movement and the response to the movement gives rise to integration, as a synthesis effort to minimize the conflict.⁹

In South Kalimantan, the idea of purifying Islam went through three phases of development. In the 18th century, there was a great cleric figure, Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al Banjari. In his book, *Tuhfah al Raghibin*, he said that there are three main aspects of Islamic purifications: the *wujudiyah sect*, the *manyanggar banua* and *mambuang pasilih* tradition, and becoming friends with the Jinn to gain *muwakkal* knowledge.¹⁰ This purification movement was the antithesis of the practice of

some Banjar people at that time, with their Islamic purification orientation related to monotheistic aspects.¹¹

In the next phase, the idea of purifying Islamic teaching, as carried out by Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari, is no longer sufficient. At the beginning of the 20th century, its Islamic purification movement was greatly influenced by Muhammadiyah, the Islamic purification movement born in Yogyakarta. The purification activities of Muhammadiyah is first appeared in South Kalimantan, particularly in Alabio.¹² The problem that is quite prominent and caused internal conflicts with the traditionalists at that time were: *talaffudz bi al-niyah* or *ushalli, talqin, asyraqal, hilah, and maarwah* (aruh downland), *maniga hari* (three-days ritual), *manujuh hari* (seven-days ritual), *manyalawi* (twenty five-days ritual), *mampat puluh hari* (forty days-ritual), *manyaratus* (one hundred days-ritual) and *mahaul* (one year-days ritual).¹³

At the beginning of the 21st century, these controversial issues that happen between *kaum tuha* (the traditionalist) and *kaum muda* (the

¹Mutohharun Jinan, "Dilema Gerakan Pemurnian Islam," *Ishraqi* 4, no. 1 (2008): 57–72.

²N. Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 83–94, <https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-2006-045>.

³Din Wahid, "Nurturing Salafi Manhaj A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," *Wacana* 15, no. 2 (2015): 367–76.

⁴Husnul Qodim, "Dinamika Salafisme Di Indonesia: Akar-Akar Intelektualitas Dan Orientasi Ideologis Yang Beragam," *Tashwirul Afkar: Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan Dan Kebudayaan*, no. 21 (2007): 46–74.

⁵Faizah Faizah, "Pergulatan Teologi Salafi Dalam Mainstream Keberagamaan Masyarakat Sasak," *Ulumuna* 16, no. 2 (November 7, 2017): 375–402, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v16i2.183>.

⁶Siti Tarwiyah, "Perkembangan Dan Tantangan Sosial Kehidupan Perempuan Salafi Di Kalimantan Selatan," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 15, no. 2 (December 30, 2017): 470, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v15i2.533>.

⁷A Jauhar Fuad, "Infiltrasi Salafi Wahabi Pada Buku Teks Di Madrasah Dan Respons Warga Nahdliyin," *Marâji: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman* 1, no. 2 (2015): 361–92.

⁸The word purification means the effort to pure something. In this context, Islamic purification means that in the course of historical Islam, Islam as a religious teaching is seen no longer pure, it's influenced by other teachings of local culture, so it must be purified in order to be an authentic Islam as it came for the first time and practiced by the prophet in his companions.

⁹Abadir M Ibrahim, "Localizing Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia," *African Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (2016): 127–28.

¹⁰H .M. Asywadie Syukur, *Pemikiran-Pemikiran Syeh Muhammad Arsyad Al Banjari Dalam Bidang Tauhid Dan Tasawuf* (Banjarmasin: COMDES, 2009), 9.

¹¹Anita Arianti, "Gerakan Pemurnian Islam Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari Di Kalimantan Selatan," *Al-Fikr* 14, no. 3 (2017): 377–90.

¹²Administrator, "Sejarah Awal Muhammadiyah Di Kalimantan Selatan," PW Muhammadiyah Kalsel, accessed October 13, 2019, <http://kalsel.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-3-sdet-sejarah.html>.

¹³Rahmadi Rahmadi, "Pembaharuan Islam Di Kalimantan Selatan Awal Abad Ke-20," *Al-Banjari : Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 13, no. 1 (May 12, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.18592/al-banjari.v13i1.390>.

modernist)¹⁴ reemerged with the coming of a new model of the puritan group, the Salafi-Wahabi. The emergence of the Salafi-Wahabi purification movement in South Kalimantan province is related to the religious phenomena that are prevalent in the midst of society.¹⁵ Several religious activities in South Kalimantan mingled with local culture as a form of accommodation of local tradition. Many purification movements try to show that there are no evidence texts in Islam to represent their religious traditions. Many of these traditions are categorized as heresy in religion, superstition, and *khurafat*, which, according to them, are not in line with the prophet tradition and the Qur'an.¹⁶

In general, there are two main issues of the idea of Islamic purification teachings carried out by the Salafi-Wahabi: *shirk* (*syirk*) and heresy (*bid'ah*).¹⁷ *Shirk* referred to the 'deviation' of the beliefs of Banjar people. Heresy is related to the practice of worship, which is not following the practice of the Muslim majority. These two aspects, *shirk* and heresy, are sensitive issues and potentially tend to cause conflict.

Moreover, it will become a latent danger which, if not appropriately managed, can lead to lousy potential in maintaining the diversity in this country.¹⁸

This paper aims to provide a portrait of the conflict that arose from the Islamic purification movement in South Kalimantan and the integration strategy undertaken by the Wahabi-Salafi to be accepted by the Banjar community.

This article is the result of field research conducted in South Kalimantan, particularly in Martapura and Barabai. The data obtained

through observations and interviews. The choice of location is based on the presence of Salafi and the possible potential conflict given in these two regions. In Martapura, there was a prominent religious figure, namely K. H. Muhammad Zaini bin Abdul Ghani (Guru Ijai or known as Guru Sekumpul), who passed away in 2005. In Barabai, there is also a living religious figure, K.H. Muhammad Bachiet (Guru Bachiet). Guru Sekumpul was the most popular religious leader, and he often being criticized by the Salafists.

B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

There are three sources of conflict caused by the presence of the Salafi-Wahabi groups in South Kalimantan, namely: *First*, Salafi criticism to the respected figure of traditionalist Islamic circles; *second*, the strong doctrine of Salafi teachings around *tawheed* and *sunnah* which has implications for the emergence of the concept of *shirk* and heresy; *third*, reduced cohesiveness of emotional ties among communities as a result of differences in many aspects such as the may to dress the relationships between men and women, neglect of the tradition of thanksgiving or *baaruh* which is generally a unifying media in South Kalimantan's society. The following sections explain in detail the conflict emerged.

1. Conflict because of criticism of Guru Sekumpul

The first case is the conflict between Salafi and the followers of Guru Sekumpul. The dispute began when the followers of Guru Sekumpul celebrate his hundred-days commemoration (*haul*) after his death. The Salafi accused this celebration as heresy and

¹⁴Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam Di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 339.

¹⁵Takdir Ali Syahbana, "Fenomena Salafi Di Kalimantan Selatan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin* 14, no. 1 (2016): 67–82.

¹⁶Simply *shirk* means associating partners with God while *bid'ah* means worshiping outside of His statutes. See Agus Moh. Najib, "Gerakan Wahabi: Ajaran Dan Metode Penyebaran," in *Gerakan Wahabi Di Indonesia*

(*Dialog Dan Kritik*, ed. Yudian Wahyudi (Yogyakarta: Bina Harfa, 2009).

¹⁷Din Wahid, "Challenging Religious Authority: The Emergence of Salafi Ustadhs in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 2012): 245–64, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.2.245-264>.

¹⁸Mujiburrahman, "Islamic Theological Texts and Contexts in Banjarese Society: An Overview of the Existing Studies," *Southeast Asian Studies* 3, no. 3 (2014): 611–641.

khurafat that no base in Islam. The Salafi thought on this matter is published in the Salafi social media and viral among the community that sparked the conflict.

In 2013, a quite famous Salafi cleric, UF, who often invited to preach in Banjarmasin uploaded an old video of Guru Sekumpul, who recounted his spiritual experiences that he met the prophet in His grave during the pilgrimage. UF conveyed some points in his writing related to the definition of a companion (*sahabat*) that, according to him, becomes 'problematic' when there is a claim of someone meet the prophet Muhammad in person, not in dreaming. According to UF, this claim is exaggerated and unacceptable and categorized as *khurafat*. The claim made by Guru Sekumpul, originally appeared in Banjar language. One of Salafi ustadz, UAZ, translated it into Indonesian and became a mockery among Salafi adherents. In this translation mentioned that Guru Sekumpul met the Prophet directly – that the Prophet raised from his graveyard, kiss his knees, and accompanied Guru Sekumpul to his bed. Besides, according to this translation, all of the Prophet's wives present at that time.

In Kalimantan, the defense of Guru Sekumpul's lectures from his pupils was quite significant. One of them was a famous teacher, KH. M. Zhofaruddin (Guru Udin) from Samarinda, who explained about the video recording Guru Sekumpul preaching, which was misunderstood by many people, specifically related to the content that the Prophet kissed his knees. According to him, it is not the Prophet who kissed the knees of Guru Sekumpul but otherwise.

Besides, there was a viral lecture in 2018 from one of Salafi preacher, USB, who criticized the tradition of a cult in society to a particular figure more than the appreciation to the Prophet. He addressed the worship of many people to Guru Ijai from Martapura in one of his preachings. This viral preaching soon received a robust response from the pupils of

Guru Sekumpul. One of his pupils is Habib Ahmad Hanafi Hariri Bahasyim, through the social media calling on all Muslims and the followers of Abah Guru Sekumpul all over Indonesia and specifically in Kalimantan to gather on July 12, 2018, at Masjid Raya Sabilal Muhtadin. One of the plan is to protest and submit a petition against all forms of discrimination against Aswaja (*Ahlussunnah wa al-Jamaah*) figure.

The figure of Guru Sekumpul was a sacred person and especially for the Aswaja's circles. Any forms of criticism will raise protests.¹⁹ In South Kalimantan itself, it is considered an insult to the Master and also his students.

In general, Salafis' criticism about Guru Sekumpul caused a negative response from the traditional community in South Kalimantan. Most of the people were not happy with the existence of Salafis and their preaching activities in South Kalimantan.

2. Conflict as a result of Understanding Religious Doctrines: *Tawheed* and *Sunnah*

Two Salafi doctrines, *tawheed*, and *sunnah*, has implications for the emergence of *shirk* and *bid'ah* (heresy) concept in viewing *amaliyah* among traditionalists. The issue of *tawheed* and *sunnah* is fundamental to Salafi propaganda. These aspects are specific characteristics of this group. These issues also had a strong dimension to the spirit of Islamic purification. The concept of *Tawheed* opposed the idea of *shirk*, and the term *bid'ah* is an antithesis of the the *sunnah*.

Salafi has its typical characteristics in interpretation *tawheed* concept. There are three categories of *tawheed*, namely: *tawheed rububiyyah*, *tawheed uluhiyyah* and *tawheed asma* and *sifat*. *Tawheed rububiyyah* is an acknowledgment that Allah is the Rabb of all things and the king of all things, the creator and the keeper of all things, who has the right to govern everything and there is no partner in His

¹⁹This view is typical of the traditional views of rural communities, while the views of urbanites undergo rapid change. See Muhammad Zainal Abidin, "Ulama in

Indonesian Urban Society: A View of Their Role and Position in the Change of Age," *Jurnal THEOLOGIA* 28, no. 2 (2018): 235.

power.²⁰ *Tawheed rububiyah* affirms Allah in every action because He is Allah, the Creator, the Provider of wealth, He is the one who governs all His creations. He also takes care of them with what He bestows in the form of pleasure and faith in all of Allah's actions.²¹

Second, *tawheed uluhiyah*. It is acknowledgment about God with all types of physical and spiritual worship, both words and deeds, and reject all forms of worship others than Allah SWT.²² Consequently, it is not permissible to pray and sacrifice except to Allah SWT. There is no *tawwaf* except in His house, may not ask for help, and may not put their trust but to Rabb.²³ Witnesses that there is no God but Allah and testify that Muhammad is the messenger of God demands on the conditions that the deeds of worship are to be accepted. In other words, the worship only for God alone, and *ittiba'* purification to follow the Prophet in worshiping Allah. Because the Prophet leads us to worship Allah, while others not.²⁴

This kind of Tawheed, according to many Salafis, is essential to be guarded and practiced. Unbelievers deny it and became a source of contention and conflict between previous peoples and the apostles, from the Prophet Noah until the Prophet Muhammad.²⁵ The essence of *tawheed uluhiyah* in worshiping God contains two aspects: *first*, to pray only to God alone and accept God's divinity; *Second*, to follow the Prophet in prescription on how to worship Allah. This worship must be solely intended as obedience and a statement of gratitude to God.²⁶

Among the crucial aspects of the Salafi *da'wah* include: 1) The worship directed only

to Allah and those who worship other than Allah is called polytheists and may be killed; 2) many Muslims are no longer follow the pure *tawheed* because they ask for help to other than Allah. They are considered as polytheists; 3) Giving title and homage to the prophet or a guardian angel, especially in the prayer is regarded as an idolatrous act e.g., inserting the word *Sayyidina*, *habibuna*, or *syafi'una* in prayer. 4) Acquiring and establishing knowledge that is not based on the Qur'an and Sunnah is *kufr*. 5) Interpreting the Qur'an using *takwil* is *kufr*. 6) The *ijtihad* is always open and must be carried out by capable people. Thus, blind *taqlid* to the ulama considered a cult that leads to the *shirk*.²⁷

Third, the *tawheed asma* (names) *wa shifat* (nature) of Allah, namely believing in all the attributes described to Allah. These attributions are called *asmâul husna* and *ash shifât al ulâ*.²⁸ With this *tawheed*, we believe in each of the characteristics and names by which Allah attributes and names Himself. Include in His names are His Greatness and the Quality of each name.²⁹

Faith in God's nature means that people should avoid *ta'wil* (interpretation), *tahrif* (deviation), *takyif* (visuals, depictions), *ta'thil* (cancellation, disclaimer), *tamstil* (similarity), *tafwidh* (delivery, such as which is widely understood by many people) to religious doctrines. For example about the nature of *al istiwa* (residing above), *a nuzul* (descending), *al yad* (hand), *al maji'* (arrival), and other attributes, then all of these terms must be accepted without interpretation beyond what is written in *Nash* (the text).

²⁰Syaikh Hafizh bin Ahmad al Hakami, *Akidah Golongan Selamat*, trans. Amin Ulwi (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Bonjol, 2015), 55.

²¹Abdul Malik Ramadhani, *6 Landasan Utama Dakwah Salafiyah*, trans. Mubarak Bamuallim (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Syafii, 2015), 39.

²²Hakami, *Akidah Golongan Selamat*, 47.

²³Ramadhani, *6 Landasan Utama Dakwah Salafiyah*, 41.

²⁴Ramadhani, *6 Landasan Utama Dakwah Salafiyah*, 94.

²⁵Syaikh Muhammad Bin Jamil Zainu, *Jalan Golongan Yang Selamat*, trans. Ainul Haris Umar Arifin (Jakarta: Darul Haq, 2016), 20.

²⁶Najib, "Gerakan Wahabi: Ajaran Dan Metode Penyebaran," 5–6.

²⁷Najib, 7–8.

²⁸Hakami, *Akidah Golongan Selamat*, 61.

²⁹Ramadhani, *6 Landasan Utama Dakwah Salafiyah*, 47.

Ibn Abdul Wahhab adopted many of Ibn Taymiyah's ideas, especially in the field of Aqeedah, and even tended to be fanatical and tried to actualize them at the time. The implementation of this matter then gave birth to a view that distinguishes it from Ibn Taymiyah (Salafiyah). *First*, Wahhabis consider not only the issue of worship that must be under the textual rules in the Qur'an and Sunnah but also the customs of society. The implication is that the meaning of heresy is broad, all matters not regulated in the Qur'an and Sunnah are considered acts of worship, including dhikr in a congregation, drawing people, drinking coffee, and wearing a ring for men. The perpetrators are then categorized as infidels or polytheists. This narrow scripturalist view prevents Wahhabi from giving space to the development of local culture in Islam. *Second*, they disseminate their teachings not only with persuasion but also with swords and violence on the name of fighting heresy. Heresy for them is an evil deed that must be fought, as stated in the Qur'an to fight evil.³⁰

The Salafi concept of heresy also emerge when discussing any acts that not in accordance with the Sunnah, which they interpreted literally.³¹

Salafi defined heresy as follows: 1) any practices that are contrary to the Qur'an and Sunnah in the form of words, deeds, and beliefs; 2) any practices that are believed to be a form of *taqarrub* to Allah and forbidden by the Prophet; 3) Any practices that no based in religious *texts* and when there are no texts related to that act; 4) any forms of worship that mimic the customs of unbelievers; 5) any practices recommended by one of the ulemas but there is no proof of the argument; 6) any methods of worship taken from the hadith *da'eef* (weak chain of transmission); 7) Excessive in practicing religion; 8) any practices that should be performed but

restricted by humans in terms of place, time or procedure.³²

Salafis have different views on how to categorize heresy. Heresy, according to *Ahlu Sunnah*, categorized into two types: *bid'ah sayyi'ah* and *bid'ah hasanah*. *Bid'ah sayyi'ah* is any practice that are forbidden to do. While *bid'ah hasanah*, any practices that implied goodness is recommended to do.

The categorization of Heresy from Salafi above could trigger potential conflict in the community, many of which fell under those categories. Many religious practices in the community will be accused of heresy. For example, the Salafi criticized the practice of commemorating the prophet's birthday in the month of Rabiul Awwal, which is mostly carried out by Muslim communities in South Kalimantan, especially in Martapura and Barabai. According to them, this practice categorized as heresy, especially when the audience believed that the Prophet is present on that occasion. It can be seen from the act when the audience stands to welcome and honour the Prophet. Besides, this practice resembles with the tradition in Christian; therefore it is *shirk* and *khurafat*. Even in some of the Maulud event, the chanting of praise to the Prophet is sometimes exaggerated and contains elements of *shirk*.

Specifically, the establishment of Radio Gema Madinah at the Sharifah Shalihah Mosque, Martapura, has raised several religious issues, regarding the creed, fiqh, and interpretation of particular surah. Among many materials, *tawheed* is the primary material that often creates tension for the audience (public). In this talks, the Salafi often attack the rituals performed by other groups (traditionalist) that are considered by Salafis as heresy, such as *tahlilan*, grave pilgrimage, mauled, and other holidays celebration. According to Salafis, the

³⁰Najib, "Gerakan Wahabi: Ajaran Dan Metode Penyebaran," 14.

³¹Zainal Abidin Bin Syamsuddin, *Buku Putih Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah: Menyingkap Penistaan Dan*

Penodaan Ajaran Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jamaah (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Bonjol, 2016), 131.

³²Syamsuddin, 130–131.

practice has no basis in the Qur'an nor the Hadith, nor does the Salaf generation.³³

The content of the streaming lectures caused turmoil for the majority of Martapura residents who adopted the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) understanding. As a result, the NU Martapura reported Radio Gema Madinah to the local Ulema Council and demanded to close the radio broadcast. To reduce the conflict, the management of the Sharifah Saleha mosque and Radio Gema Madinah apologized to Guru Khalilurrahman, who served as a chairman of MUI Martapura, as well as a respected figure from NU. According to Guru Khalilurrahman, the unrest arose as a result that the Salafi group did not understand the culture of the Martapura people.³⁴

The tension caused by the broadcast of Radio Gema Madinah affected not only the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) but also the Muhammadiyah organization. Muhammadiyah and Salafi have similarities in the attempt of religious purification. However, there are differences between Salafis and Muhammadiyah in interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith. Salafis are more textual, totally rejecting the role of reason. While Muhammadiyah is more contextual, trying to make sense of the spirit in the text and trying to use the power of reason. As a result, Muhammadiyah also challenged the dakwah of Salafi, Muhammadiyah event invited Salafi to have a dialogue, but the Salafi rejected and apologized instead.³⁵

Radio Gema Madinah broadcast every day to spread Salafi propaganda to the public. The Salafis had attacked the Muhammadiyah establishment regarding the use of the Hisab method in the initial determination of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr (1 Shawwal) because the results were often contrary to the government's decision (*ulil amri*). This criticism spread among communities and triggered a conflict that required the preachers of Salafi to leave

Martapura and Radio Gema Madinah to be closed. However, due to peace between the two parties (Salafi and the local government/community) through dialogue and agreement, finally, the eviction and closing of radio broadcasts did not take place.

3. Conflict as a Result of Religious Expressions

Conflict, according to the sociological category, contrasts with the notions of peace and harmony. The latter is the result of the associative process; while the former is the dissociative process. The associative process is a process that unites people, and dissociative is a process of separation and splitting the community. Conflict and harmony or peace as a social fact involve at least two parties (groups) of different religions. Conflict refers to the discrepant relationship between individuals and or groups, whereas peace or harmony refers to a good relationship between individuals or groups.

In religious life, frictions and conflicts between religious communities often occur due to various reasons. The reasons can be related to religious doctrine and to non-religious issues such as economic or social problems. The emotional ties between communities is diminishing as a result of differences in perspective. For examples are related on how to dress, the relationships between men and women, the neglect of the tradition of thanksgiving or *baaruh* which is generally a unifying events in the society.

The lack of interaction between these communities has led to certain stigma arising from the Salafi movement. One of a research informants, UWY, a former HTI activist, stated that people should be careful with the Salafi ideologies, especially the children who attended their school. He further said that Salafi people tend to think that their *manhaj* is the most correct, without listening to the

³³Din Wahid, "Kontestasi Otoritas Agama: Radio Dakwah Di Ranah Banjar," in *Suara Salafisme: Radio Dakwah Di Indonesia*, ed. Din Wahid and Jamhari

Makruf (Jakarta: PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2017), 70.

³⁴Wahid, 70.

³⁵Wahid, 71.

arguments of other groups. However, he also said that the Salafi Manhaj indeed tends to be more accommodating with the surrounding community since the arrival of Raja Salman and his ministers to Indonesia. The informant also said that for studying the Qur'an, Arabic language science, Salafis are indeed the masters. He mentioned his own experience when studying Arabic in Yogyakarta is one of Salafi Boarding school.

Another informant, Iyul (58 years old) one of the followers of the Al Umm Barabai Mosque, told that despite many differences in teachings between him and her parents, especially about the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet SAW, *haul* and *tahlil*, as a child, she felt that she is still obliged to respect his parents, a form of *birrul walidain*. When the events are held by the family, she still contributes to the event by taking part in providing financial support for the event with her brothers. She also helped in preparing all the needs related to the celebration. When the procession took place, she did not attend, but when the event was over, she came and socialized with friends and other family members who were also present at the event.

Iyul stated further that her husband is the adherent of Salafi. When they got married, he refused to stay in Iyul's family. Iyul's husband not only refused to participate in the celebration of commemorating the Prophet's birthday in Iyul's family but also in his own family. The relationship between Iyul's husband and his brothers no longer harmonious.

Many people who decided to join the Salafi group caused the relationship with their family members disturbed. This disharmony related to the teaching of Salafi, which limits the relation between man and woman, the way to dress which they suggest wearing long and tight veiling some include wear chador. Family conflict usually emerged following their family member followed the Salafi.

Siti Tarwiyah reports in her article that being a Salafi woman, especially in Banjar, is not

easy. Compared to other Islamic schools, becoming a Salafi requires a strong determination, mainly because she has to withdraw from the social environment, family, work, and change the way to dress. Apart from those who remain steadfast in being Salafis, most of the followers have failed. Some of the followers are given up especially when they felt that they could not agree to the Salafi moral conduct and dress code consistently. Many of these followers are university students.³⁶

4. From Conflict to Integration

Conflict or dispute, especially involving humanity as history has told, can never bring peace to the relationship between individuals and groups. The implication, can not be expected to produce prosperity for humankind, other than chaos and unrest in life. Therefore a conflict does not need to be prolonged and needs to be ended or minimized.

Efforts to minimize conflict can be carried out by various parties, in this context by Salafi through their activities in South Kalimantan. Although they are mostly identified to be a source of conflict, they have strategies to minimize the conflict. In this case, they reduce the conflicts and tried to integrate into society.

In the case of South Kalimantan, the Salafi made several efforts to avoid conflict and build integration among elements of the community. This effort is a strategy of Salafi to communicate more intensively with the community and to get access to it.

Some aspects of this integration strategy are: *First*, the issue of mosque and foundation nomenclature of the Salafi. The selection of this nomenclature is essential, because it is the first step to build communication with the surrounding community so that the people do not feel strange with the presence of this group. For example, the Salafi knew that the Muslim in Banjar honour Imam Syafi'i so that the Salafi named after Imam Syafi'i to their mosque of. In Barabai, they called the mosque after the Al Umm Mosque. While in Martapura, which is

³⁶Tarwiyah, "Perkembangan Dan Tantangan Sosial Kehidupan Perempuan Salafi Di Kalimantan Selatan."

very familiar with the tradition of *ahlul bait* (*habaib*), the name chosen is Syarifah Shalihah Mosque.

Second, the Salafis intensively build good communication with community leaders / local officials. One of the respondent UH, the leader of Salafi in Barabai, stated that the Salafi intensively build interaction with various elements in the society. Building a good relationship with local authorities made them easy to get recommendations in building a mosque, although the conditions do not meet. For example, when they build a mosque in Banjarmasin, it was inaugurated by the Governor at that time, Rudy Arifin. This attempt is to show that their mosque is legal and approved by the local government. Another example is when there is a protest toward the Salafi by the community regarding their preaching activities in Radio Gema Madinah in Martapura; the Salafi member directly apologized to the prominent ulama, ustadz Khalil. Likewise, they apologized to the Muhammadiyah party when a response arose due to accusations of being a heresy maker for using the reckoning method in the initial determination of Ramadan and Eid.

Third, In some instances, the Salafi avoid differences with the community concerning religious practices. Ustadz UAZ, the leader of Salafi in Banjarmasin, for example, avoided discussing about local community religious practices that may trigger conflict. In the case of Martapura, the Salafi affiliated to Al Irshad an established organization, to get the acceptance from the local community While in Barabai, the Salafi figure, UH, chose to live and be active in the congregation at the community center, rather than exclusively residing in the Al Umm Mosque complex.

In the case of Salafi followers, a compromise effort was also established, for example, by continuing to attend Yasinan invitations. RM in Barabai stated that he participated at the call of Yasinan although he recited other surahs in the Qur'an, not just Yasin. According to Salafi, this congregation is heresy. Likewise, in the case told by AHR, an official in the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Barabai mentioned that in

his village, a Salafi follower still attends *handilan* events and joins the congregation in *langgar* (small mosque).

The above description is an individual opinion of the Salafi to continue building communication with the community. However, many Salafis refused to manage good relationships with the community around them. Many of them keep a distance from their community, especially for women. The Salafi women even quit their jobs because they considered a career woman is contadict to the teachings of the Salafis. Some of them leave their families to maintain their beliefs.

Fourth, strengthen social and philanthropic aspects to the surrounding community at certain moments, such as in Eid celebrations. For example, Salafi often held fundraising to help the local community in need. Many Salafi followers belong to the upper-middle class so that this event is successfully managed. This social activity in Martapura, for example, providing consumptions for the Friday prayer attendees. Besides, the Salafi also organized social services such as mass circumcision, distribution of sacrificial meat on the day of the Sacrifice to the community, and others. This form of action is very supportive of the dissemination of the cultivation of Salafi values in the community. In Barabai, according to Ustadz H, they gave Eid packages to the pedicab drivers and provided 1000 *qurban* meat packages. This activity is held regularly to build a good relationship with the community.

Fifth, the Salafi emphasize in their preaching activities to return to the primary source of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an, and learn religious teachings directly from the source. In their preaching, the Salafi provide arguments taken from the primary source of Islam that made the audience satisfied and join the group. Many of Salafi followers refer to this reason when they enter the group. Another aspect is they build a center for memorizing the Qur'an for children (*tahfidz* Qur'an). This educational institution specializes in strengthening *tahfidz* ability and became the

main attraction for some people to lodge their children into these Salafi schools.

The existence of Radio Gema Madinah and Rodja TV broadcasts, as well as various other information technology such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, become essential vehicles for Salafi to continue building communication with various parties to introduce Salafi-Wahabi teachings closer to Public. They are continuously spreading their teachings of Salafi so that known by the community, and hopefully, many will join them.

C. CONCLUSION

The notion of a Salafi-Wahabi purification, which is prone to cause conflict with others, is related to two aspects: material and formal. In the material element, it is associated with the content or material of the teachings developed by Salafi-Wahabis in general, namely the idea of monotheism (*tawheed*) and following the sunnah of the prophet. Of the three types of monotheism taught in the Salafi-Wahabi understanding, the *tawheed uluhiyyah* and the *tawheed asma wa shifat*, and *tawheed rububiyah*. In *tawheed uluhiyyah*, giving birth to the concept of *shirk* directed towards those who are considered impure in worshiping God. Whereas in the aspect of *asma* and *sifat*, the idea gave rise to *tajassum* or *mujassimah*. The concept of *itba 'sunnah* has given birth to the idea of heresy, many of which accusations addressed to the traditionalists (NU), who are seen as doing many impure practices. In the formal aspect, which relates to purification strategies, the use of public media such as radio and TV and social media, is seen as contributing to the emergence of conflict in society. The existence of Gema Madinah radio, in particular, has made it possible for the teachings of the purification of Salafi-Wahabi Islam to enter a space that is not only listened to by ideological circles but also from different groups. Their calling to return to the pure teachings of Islam often triggered conflict among the community.

There are several integration models carried out by the Salafi-Wahabi group in South

Kalimantan. They are as follow: 1) the establishment of the Mosque and the Foundation owned by the Salaf-Wahabi; 2) the Communication (gathering) involving community leaders / local officials; 3) accommodating with local culture; 4) Avoiding sharp differences in religious practices related to *Shirk* and *Bid'ah*; 5) strengthen social and philanthropic aspects to the surrounding community; 6) the call to return to the source of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an.

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Characteristics of the Qur'anic Manuscript from Menoreh Magelang

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Abstract

This article focuses on Quranic manuscripts that are believed to be attributed to Prince Diponegoro. This Quranic manuscript stored in Magelang and was brought by Prince Diponegoro during the Java War (1825-1830 AD), which he led. Previous researchers have studied Prince Diponegoro as a religious figure, but no one has examined Quranic manuscripts that credited to his legacy. Through the Philology approach, this paper shows authentic Quranic manuscripts originating from the time of Prince Diponegoro's life. Illumination with Javanese floral style in the manuscript has similarities with the Quranic manuscript collection of the Pura Pakualaman museum with a watermark that shows paper production around 1823-1824 AD. The content of the manuscript strengthened the data on the use of *Imla'i rasm*, and reading symbols in the Manuscripts shows the characteristics of the development of Qur'anic science in the 19th century.

Keywords:

Manuscripts; the Qur'an; Prince Diponegoro; Illuminations; Symbols

Abstrak

Kajian ini fokus pada manuskrip al-Qur'an yang disandarkan kepada Pangeran Diponegoro. Manuskrip al-Quran yang disimpan di Magelang ini diduga berasal dari Pangeran Diponegoro pada saat berlangsungnya Perang Jawa (1825-1830 M) yang dipimpinnya. Beberapa peneliti banyak yang sudah menjelaskan sosok Pangeran Diponegoro sebagai sosoknya yang religius, namun belum ada yang membahas mengenai manuskrip al-Qur'an yang diduga sebagai peninggalannya. Melalui pendekatan Filologi, tulisan ini menunjukkan manuskrip al-Qur'an otentik berasal dari masa Pangeran Diponegoro hidup. Ilmuninasi dengan gaya floral Jawa pada manuskrip memiliki kesamaan dengan manuskrip al-Quran koleksi museum Pura Pakualaman dengan watermark yang menunjukkan produksi kertas sekitar tahun 1823-1824 M. Data ini juga diperkuat dengan isi teks dalam proses penyalinan mushaf. Penggunaan *rasm Imla'i* dan simbol-simbol bacaan pada mushaf menunjukkan ciri khas perkembangan ilmu al-Qur'an pada masa abad 19.

Kata Kunci:

Manuskrip; al-Qur'an; Pangeran Diponegoro; Iluminasi; Simbol-simbol

DOI: 10.15575/jw.v4i2.5957

Received: September 2019; Accepted: December 2019; Published: December 2019

A. INTRODUCTION

The Ninetieth century was a historic moment for Javanese people. At the beginning of this century, there was resistance from the Javanese against the Dutch army known as the Java War. This war was led by Prince Diponegoro, who was the son of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III, the third king of the Yogyakarta sultanate from an unofficial wife (*garwa ampeyan*).¹ Prince Diponegoro is one of the heroes of the archipelago who has an interest in the teachings of Islam. This interest can be identified from a variety of his writings and history books that tell about the religious side of Prince Diponegoro.² The religiosity of Diponegoro was strengthened by the discovery of a manuscript of the Qur'an, which is believed to be a relic of Prince Diponegoro. The Qur'anic manuscript is now kept in the Nurul Falah Islamic Boarding School Menoreh, Salaman, Magelang, Central Java. There is no publication that discusses the legacy of Prince Diponegoro related to this manuscript. This manuscript, accompanied by other documents on fiqh and *uṣūl* fiqh. This article attempts to explore the history of Prince Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript: its authenticity and characteristics. This article will contribute to the discussion of a new discourse in the field of history, both the history of Prince Diponegoro's biography and the history of the Qur'anic Manuscripts in the Archipelago.

The tradition of writing the Qur'an in the archipelago began at the end of the thirtieth century. It initiated when Samudra Pasai became the first coastal kingdom in the archipelago that officially embrace Islam.³ The writing of the Qur'anic Manuscripts was carried out by various layers of the Islamic

community, professional writers, students, and scholars. In general, transcribing the Manuscripts in Islamic Boarding Schools conducted by students was simpler than copying Manuscripts in the palace.⁴ The copying of the Qur'anic Manuscripts in the Archipelago lasted until the end of the 19th century.⁵ Thus, if the manuscript of the Qur'an ascribed to Prince Diponegoro is proven its authenticity, then this manuscript provides a historical picture of the development process of transcribing the Qur'an in the last century using handwriting in the archipelago. Besides, this study also provides a view of the tradition of copying the Qur'an in the palace. This background contributes to the distinctive characteristics of transcribing the Qur'an among aristocrats that differ with that of ordinary people.

Research on transcribing manuscripts has significant meaning because it contains essential information about the history, culture, and civilization of a specific community.⁶ Achadiati reported that the study of old manuscripts was needed to enrich the socio-cultural knowledge, which in turn provided enlightenment for the introduction of national identity.⁷ Likewise, research on Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript explores information about the history and characteristics of the manuscript and the development of the writing of the Qur'an in the Archipelago, especially during the Diponegoro era at the beginning of the 19th century. Research on Qur'anic manuscripts has been conducted by several researchers in Indonesia. Jajang A Rohmana examines the Qur'anic manuscripts in Subang, West Java. He described four Qur'anic

¹Peter Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, trans. Parakitri T. Simbolon (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2016), 82.

²Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 130.

³Hamam Faizin, *Sejarah Pencetakan Al-Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Era Baru Pressindo, 2012), 144.

⁴Elis Suryani, *Filologi* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2012), 54.

⁵Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2015), 9.

⁶Abdul Mustaqim, *Metode Penelitian Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Idea Press Yogyakarta, 2014), 94.

⁷Oman Fathurahman, *Filologi Indonesia: Teori Dan Metode* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2015), 12.

manuscripts available with its characteristics.⁸ The latest research on Qur'anic manuscripts from Javanese aristocrats was carried out by Ahmad Ulil Albab. His study entitled *Diversity of the Qur'anic Manuscripts in the Pura Pakualaman Collection* discusses the codicology of several manuscript collections that are stored in the Pura Pakualaman museum.⁹ At a glance, the main manuscript of Pura Pakualaman has similarities in illumination to the Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript. This data are useful to find out the origin of the Diponegoro manuscript stored in Manoreh, Salaman, Central Java.

Research on works or relics of the past, such as this manuscript, requires special aids related to the object. This article employs a philological approach focusing on codicology as a tool in finding the characteristics of Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript. This study aims to uncover the past information of a specific community that is stored in the form of written relics.¹⁰

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. A Brief History of Prince Diponegoro and the Discovery of the Manuscript

Prince Diponegoro is a descendant of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III, the third king of the Yogyakarta sultanate from an unofficial wife (*garwa ampeyan*) named Raden Ayu Mangkorowati. Prince Diponegoro was born in Yogyakarta Palace on November 11, 1785, just before dawn on Friday Wage. The lineage of Prince Diponegoro through family relatives shows that there is a blood relation with prominent clerics whose ancestors reached Wali Songo from the 15th and 16th centuries. Prince Diponegoro's mother was a descendant of Ki Ageng Prampelan, a figure who has a connection with the first king of Mataram,

Panembahan Senopati.¹¹ Although he was a descendant of the palace, Pangeran Diponegoro spent more time in his childhood and adolescence in Tegalrejo, the area where his great-grandmother lived. Prince Diponegoro began living with his great-grandmother in Tegalrejo in 1793, right at the age of seven years. It is the family of Prince Diponegoro, who has a significant influence in shaping his mindset and social outlook. His social and cultural views are rooted in religious beliefs and social interaction with the *santri* community in Central-South Java. This attitude is something that is not common among royal nobles. The female relative who also influenced in forming the mindset of Prince Diponegoro was his grandmother, Ratu Kedaton, who was a descendant of Panembahan Cokrodingrat II from Madura. Ratu Kedaton is a woman who is loyal to Islam. Prince Diponegoro respected and admired her. However, the most influential person to Prince Diponegoro was his great grandmother, Ratu Ageng Tegalrejo, who had been caring for Prince Diponegoro since he was a baby. Ratu Ageng Tegalrejo's genealogy can be traced to Sultan Bima, Sultan Abdul Kahir I from Sumbawa. According to information, Ratu Ageng is a religious woman who likes to read books about religion. Besides, Ratu Ageng was also diligent in caring for traditional Javanese customs in the palace.¹² It is this character and upbringing from the family of women that might make Prince Diponegoro better recognize the teachings of Islam and prefer to live in Tegalrejo rather than in the Palace.

During his youth, Prince Diponegoro studied from one pesantren to another. Several prominent ulama are believed to be his

⁸Jajang A. Rohmana, "Empat Manuskrip Alquran Di Subang Jawa Barat (Studi Kodikologi Manuskrip Alquran)," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 3, no. 1 (2018): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v3i1.1964>.

⁹Ahmad Ulil Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2019).

¹⁰Siti Baroroh Baried, *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Yogyakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Publikasi Fakultas Seksi Filologi Fakultas Sastra UGM, 1994), 6.

¹¹Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 81–85.

¹²Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 84-90.

teachers.¹³ They are: Kyai Rahmanudin, Kyai Taptojani, and Kyai Mojo.¹⁴ Apart from his as a noble's family, Prince Diponegoro also familiar with religious sciences.

During his life in Tegalrejo, Prince Diponegoro intensely studied the teachings of Islam with his fellow students in his neighborhood. Among Islamic literature favored by Prince Diponegoro is the book of *Tuhfah*, which contains Sufi education and philosophy. Prince Diponegoro is also familiar with the history of the prophets (*Serat Anbiyo*), the interpretation of the Qur'an, and works of Islamic theology and mysticism. However, the subject areas that received enough attention from Prince Diponegoro were 'amaliyyah laws and Islamic fiqh, such as the *Taqrib*, *Lubāb al-Fiqh*, *Muharrar*, and *Taqarrub* (*Taqrib* commentaries). According to information, the books were later treated by one of his friends in Yogyakarta during the Diponegoro Prince war.¹⁵ Prince Diponegoro's fondness and familiarity with Islamic works show the religious side of a nobleman's son who lives in a religious community that is different from the nobles who live in the palace.

During the Dutch colonial period, in the middle of July 1825, Prince Diponegoro gathered around 1500 people in Tegalrejo. Prince Diponegoro also invited many scholars such as Kyai Taptayani and Kyai Nitiprojo to fight the Dutch and Chinese invaders by carrying out unstable warfare.¹⁶ Prince Diponegoro's resistance was triggered by the improvement of small roads that passed the fence east of Tegalrejo. Roadworks for Smissaert's decision were carried out without prior notice to Diponegoro.¹⁷ This became one of the triggers of the resistance of the Javanese

people, especially residents of Tegalrejo, against the Dutch army led directly by Prince Diponegoro. This resistance led to the Javanese war.

The resistance of the Javanese people, along with Prince Diponegoro, did not make the Dutch soldiers keep quiet. They then surrounded and burned Pangeran Diponegoro's residence in Tegalrejo. After Prince Diponegoro's house in Tegalrejo was surrounded and was burned, Prince Diponegoro went to Selarong, which had been secretly prepared as headquarters.¹⁸ But the departure of Prince Diponegoro and his followers continued to be pursued by the Dutch army. After Prince Diponegoro and his soldiers escaped from Selarong cave, Bantul Regency in Yogyakarta, they then left Yogyakarta to reach the Menoreh area, Salaman, Magelang, Central Java. The Menoreh area is considered strategic as a place for guerrilla warfare training.¹⁹ Prince Diponegoro and his soldiers stopped at Menoreh for just over two weeks, around February 21 to March 7, 1830.²⁰ The struggle against the Dutch ended in the city of Magelang. Prince Diponegoro was captured by the Dutch, and the war of Java was ended.

Prince Diponegoro's struggle with his soldiers against the Dutch in 1825-1830 AD in the city of Magelang turned out to leave many historical sites. One of them is a relic in the form of a monument by the local community named the 'Langgar Agung Pangeran Diponegoro.' Langgar Agung is a place used by Prince Diponegoro to worship during the war period of Java located at the slide of Mount Menoreh, about one kilometer from the site. According to information, the Great Langgar was a small *langgar* owned by a *Demang*

¹³Saleh As'ad Djamhari, *Strategi Menjinakkan Diponegoro: Stelsel Benteng 1827-1830* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2003), 35.

¹⁴Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 104-105.

¹⁵Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*.

¹⁶Djamhari, *Strategi Menjinakkan Diponegoro: Stelsel Benteng 1827-1830*, 43.

¹⁷Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 704.

¹⁸Djamhari, *Strategi Menjinakkan Diponegoro: Stelsel Benteng 1827-1830*, 44.

¹⁹H.A. Fathoni, *Riwayat Singkat Langgar Agung PNP Diponegoro* (Magelang: Seksi Pendidikan Keagamaan pada Masyarakat dan Pemberdayaan Masjid Kantor Depag Kabupaten Magelang, 2006).

²⁰Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 797.

(Bupati's assistant) in Menoreh Village. Then in 1964, the *langgar* is renovated and rebuilt and functioned as a mosque by the local community.²¹ In this *langgar* did the Qur'anic manuscript was found and believed to be attributed to the Prince Diponegoro. This manuscript was discovered by K.H. Achmad Nur Shodiq in poor condition in Langgar Agung Pangeran Diponegoro. Previously, this manuscript had been treated by H.A. Fathoni as the manager of the Langgar in 1976 M,²² and the community used it to study the Qur'an. Nowadays, the manuscript is no longer in use due to the poor condition.

2. Description of the Manuscript

This section explains about the codicology of the manuscript of the Prince Diponegoro. The examination includes tracing the storage of the manuscript, the size of the manuscript, the number of pages, language usage, author or copy, material or base, ink color, condition of the manuscript, numbers of lines per page, page numbering, and illumination.

Archipelago ancient manuscripts are usually stored in libraries, museums, churches, and individuals.²³ The manuscript of the Qur'an referred to Prince Diponegoro, is kept and maintained by K.H. Achmad Nur Shodiq, the leader of the Nurul Falah Islamic Boarding School Menoreh, Salaman. In this pesantren, the manuscripts are kept in a cupboard together with other manuscripts of *uṣūl fiqh*, which is also attributed to Prince Diponegoro. The arrival of these manuscripts in Salaman most likely coincided with Prince Diponegoro when he stopped at the place during the Java War. This assumption is strengthened by some data explained in the next section. The Qur'anic Manuscript is still in good condition and intact. The texts can also be read clearly, while the

manuscript condition is vulnerable because it is affected by the age of the manuscript, which is quite old. It is possible that the cover of the manuscript was initially decorated or written but has begun to fade so that it unreadable. However, the traces of the motif found on the cover. Besides, some of the paper at the beginning and the end of the manuscript have torn partially but readable.

The size of Diponegoro's manuscript is 32x21 cm, with a thickness of 7 cm. The total number of pages of this manuscript is 848 pages, either the page is used to write the full text or the page that is left blank due to a writing error and then replaced on the next page. The number of pages is counted manually because the manuscript has no page number. The calculation to count the page for each section is based on the beginning of the section to the end of the section. The number of pages in each section is not consistent. This manuscript is written not to be based on the rules of the Qur'anic corner, which consistently follow to every corner of the verse. The writing of the text freely flows away without regard to every corner of the verse. It can be seen from the end of every page change, that not all are right at the end of the verse. The use of writing of Qur'anic verse in the archipelago is estimated to have existed in the mid-19th century.²⁴ This article concluded that the character of the writing of this manuscript estimated to have existed before the mid of the 19th century. The size and character of this manuscript have similarities with the Qur'anic manuscripts of the Pura Pakualaman dating from the 19th century. The manuscript was copied using a number of the corner in Qur'anic system and had a size of 31.5x22 cm with a thickness of 7 cm.²⁵ The size of these manuscript shows the characteristics of the size

²¹Fathoni, *Riwayat Singkat Langgar Agung PNP Diponegoro*.

²²Achmad Nur Shodiq (The Leader of Nurul Falah Islamic Boarding School) interviewed by Hanifatul Asna, Menoreh, Magelang, on Oktober 18, 2016.

²³Dwi Sulistyorini, *Filologi: Teori Dan Penerapannya* (Malang: Madani, 2015), 31.

²⁴Ali Akbar, "Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Dari Sulawesi Barat Kajian Beberapa Aspek Kodikologi," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Quran Dan Budaya* 7, no. 1 (2014): 112, <https://doi.org/10.22548/shf.v7i1.123>.

²⁵Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman," 40.

of the Qur'an that were commonly found in that century.

3. Illumination, Paper Type and Manuscript Ink

Along with the development of calligraphy, the pages in the Qur'anic manuscripts do not only contain the Qur'anic texts but also decorated with illuminations or decorations. Illuminations or decorations appeared around the 8th or 9th century AD.²⁶ Illuminations derived from the root word "illuminate," which means "to light up, to make bright, to decorate," which is an abstract textual decoration that functions as a light share of the displayed text.²⁷ Illumination has a function to describe the beauty and creation and clarify the meaning. Illumination in a manuscript has an essential function because illumination can explain the origin of a manuscript. The illumination motives of an area have their respective characteristics.²⁸ The illumination that is difficult to recognize is the pattern of illuminations of manuscripts originating from Java because of the very diverse motives. However, there is one form of pattern that often appears in Javanese Manuscripts, namely the use of triangle lines on the edge of the illumination.²⁹

In the Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript, there is a symmetrical two-page illumination at the beginning, middle and end of the Manuscript. The first illumination is found in Surah al-Fātiḥah and the beginning of Surah al-Baqarah, the middle section is at the beginning of Surah al-Kahf, and the last part is in Surah al-Falaq and al-Nās. The illumination patterns that exist at the beginning and end of the Manuscripts have the same shape: three layers that form a rectangle around the text with different motifs on each layer. In the center of

every first and second layer, the pattern is a triangle that is typical to the Javanese Mushaf pattern. The name of Surah and verses are written using floral calligraphy pattern and floral ornamentation on the illumination. The illumination in the middle of the Manuscript is simpler than that of at the beginning and end of the Manuscript. Illumination in the middle of the Manuscripts is only one layer of rectangular pattern surrounding the text. The illumination motif in this layer is the same as the third layer motif at the beginning and end of the manuscript. The ink colors used for illumination are predominantly gold, black, red, and white, see figure 1.

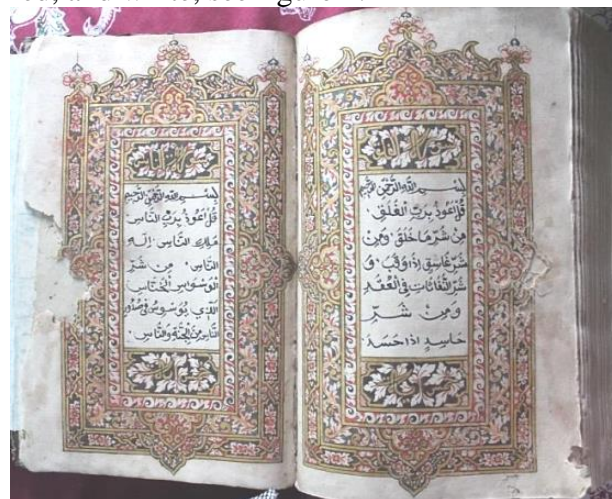


Figure 1 The final illumination of Prince Diponegoro's Qur'anic Manuscripts

After observing, based on the typical illumination patterns that developed in the Javanese Manuscripts, the illumination patterns in Diponegoro Qur'anic Manuscript were almost similar to the illumination patterns that existed in the ancient Puro Pakualaman Yogyakarta manuscripts stored in the Widyapustaka Pura Pakualaman Yogyakarta library.³⁰ The illumination in both Manuscripts

²⁶Faizin, *Sejarah Pencetakan Al-Qur'an*, 77.

²⁷Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 13.

²⁸Achmad Opan Safari, "Illuminasi Dalam Naskah Cirebon," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Quran Dan Budaya* 3, no. 2 (2010): 310.

²⁹Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 13-17.

³⁰Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 39.

showed the pattern of illumination of Javanese Manuscripts and seemed luxurious.



Figure 2 The initial illumination of the Pura Pakualaman Qur'anic Manuscripts

Figure 2 shows the Pura Pakualaman Yogyakarta ancient manuscripts were written on European paper with three stacked crescent watermarks and GMC countermarks.³¹ Watermarks like this approach, the crescent form with code 879, showed the production of paper around the year 1823-1824 AD.³² The estimated year indicated that the manuscripts were copied at the beginning of the 19th century AD. Most likely, the type of paper used in Diponegoro Qur'anic Manuscript is also a paper from the factory, based on the fact that Prince Diponegoro came from a royal family or descendant of the Yogyakarta palace. Peter Carey explained that there were two original letters of Prince Diponegoro to his mother and eldest son, also written using imported Dutch paper.³³ Besides, the basis of the paper used by Diponegoro's Qur'anic Manuscript seemed to be seen by neat fine lines, which reinforced that the paper was a factory-processed product compared to the texture of *daluang* paper that is usually irregular.



Figure 3 Prince Diponegoro's Qur'anic Manuscript Paper

In early Indonesia, there were two types of paper in circulation, namely traditional paper, and paper mill. Traditional paper is paper made by the Indonesian people using raw materials such as bark through traditional methods. An example of this type of paper is *daluang*. Whereas paper mill is paper produced using machines. In Indonesia, European paper is generally used among the court, nobility, and government agencies because the price is relatively high. While among boarding schools and ordinary people are more likely to use *daluang*. In copying manuscripts, European paper is often used as the main ingredient in the palace and the nobility so that it can be decorated in such a way by using gold ink that shows the symbol of luxury. The selection of European paper as a copy of the Manuscripts is because the texture is more supportive than the texture of paper fibers, which is not possible to be decorated in such a way. Therefore, it is scarce to find decorations such as illuminations on *daluang* paper.³⁴ In the 19th century, paper trade in Indonesia was monopolized by the VOC by requiring government agencies to use ProPatria paper.³⁵

The ink colors used for illumination are gold, black, red, and white. While the ink used in writing other manuscript texts without illumination uses two dominant ink colors, namely black and red ink. Black ink is used to write the text of the Qur'an along with the

³¹Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 39.

³²Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman," 48.

³³Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 112.

³⁴Rohmana, "Empat Manuskrip Alquran Di Subang Jawa Barat (Studi Kodikologi Manuskrip Alquran)."

³⁵Syaifudin Syaifuddin and Muhammad Musadad, "Beberapa Karakteristik Mushaf Kuno Dari Situs Giri Gajah Gresik," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Quran Dan Budaya* 8, no. 1 (2015): 13.

harakat, while red ink is used to write *waqaf* signs, *tajwid*, and certain symbols. However, in certain parts of the text, golden ink is used other than illumination pages, such as between juz. In transcribing manuscripts in the Archipelago, Manuscripts originating from the palace usually have gold-plated illuminations. In contrast, Manuscripts from outside the palace seem more simple, even being left empty without illuminations.³⁶ The use of gold ink in the Qur'anic Manuscripts of Prince Diponegoro shows the luxury of the writing that can be referred to as originated from the nobility. Thus, the manuscript can be attributed to Prince Diponegoro, a noble descendant of the Yogyakarta palace.

As for the time and place of writing the Manuscripts, this study found no written data when the beginning and end of the writing period and the location of writing the Manuscripts. The Manuscripts came without any additional data information or colophon that explains the time or place of writing. It can be traced from the watermark in the Pura Pakualaman's Qur'anic manuscript, which showed paper production in 1823-1824 AD, the Qur'anic manuscript of Prince Diponegoro probably already existed at the time of the Java War (1825-1830 AD). During the Java War, as mentioned earlier, Prince Diponegoro had stopped at Manoreh, Salaman, Magelang in 1830 AD for approximately two weeks.³⁷ This calendar shows that the Qur'anic manuscript of the Prince Diponegoro had existed before the peak of the Java War. Another possibility is that the manuscript was taken from Yogyakarta to Salaman during the war and left in the city. So the possibility of writing this manuscript dated back to 1830 AD.

4. Corrupt in the Script

Corrupt is an error contained in the manuscript caused either by the condition of the manuscript, which has been obsolete or during the process of writing or copying text on the manuscript. Determination of corrupted manuscript in Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript is compared to the Qur'an published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs that widely used today. Forms of errors contained in the Diponegoro Qur'anic manuscript in general related to errors of *harakat*, lack of *harakat*, deficiency or excess *tasydid* signs, lack or excess points, several mistakes in writing the letters, mistakes or excess letters, errors in writing words, deficiencies word writing, and mistakes at the end of the verse. In addition to errors in writing *harakat*, excess points, and errors in writing letters also occur in many verses.

Errors in writing *harakat* or giving a point on writing the Manuscript can be assumed for two reasons. First, errors occurred because of pure writing errors. Second, errors occurred due to differences in *qirā'āt* in the passage.³⁸ For example, in QS. Al-Baqarah verse 219 pronunciation of *لَنْ كُنْتُمْ كَافِرِينَ* is written *لَنْ كُنْتُمْ كَافِرِينَ*. In that verse, there was an error writing the word *كُفْرًا* to *كُنْتُمْ*. Among *qirā'āt* scholars, pronunciation is also part of the difference in *qirā'āt*. The scholars who read the pronunciation with the reading *لَنْ كُنْتُمْ كَافِرِينَ* are Hamzah and Kasa'i.³⁹ The same error is also found in QS. Al-Baqarah verse 245 in the articulation of *يَبْسُطُ* is written *يَبْسُطُ*. In the pronunciation, the writing of the *ص* letter is written with the letter *س*. Among the *qirā'āt* expertss, the pronunciation does indeed have different readings; some recited with the letter *س* and some read with the letter *ص*. The Imam who reads with the letter *س* is Ibn Kasir, Aşim from the narration of Hafis, Abu Amr, and Hamzah. While the other who reads with the

³⁶Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 14.

³⁷Carey, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro Dan Akhir Tatanan Lama Di Jawa 1785-1855*, 797.

³⁸Tati Rahmayani, "Karakteristik Manuskrip Mushaf Al-Qur'an H. Abdul Ghaffar" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, 2016), 76.

³⁹Ibnu Mujāhid, *Kitāb Al-Sab'ah fī Al-Qirā'āt* (Kairo: Dār al-Ma'arif, 1972).

letter *ص* is Nafi.⁴⁰ In the current Indonesian standard Manuscripts, the pronunciation is written with the letter *ص* and above it is added with the small letter *س*. While in Diponegoro's Qur'anic Manuscripts writing the pronunciation uses the letter *س*.

5. Rasm

Rasm which is used in the rules of writing Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript, in general, refers to *rasm imla'i*, namely the writing style following the common Arabic spelling. However, there are several words also consistently written according to the rules of *rasm usmani*, such as the words *الصلوة* and *الزكاة*. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the pattern of writing the Qur'an tended to use the *rasm imla'i* writing pattern instead of *rasm usmani*.⁴¹ The use of *rasm* in copying the Manuscripts confirms the existence of the Manuscripts was estimated to have existed in the 19th century, where the Prince Diponegoro lived.

6. Syakl







The use of punctuation in the Qur'anic Manuscripts is generally the same. The punctuation used in Diponegoro's manuscripts are *fathah* (◡), *kasrah* (◥), *dammah* (◤), *fathatain* (◡◡), *kasratain* (◥◥), *dammatain* (◤◤), *fathah 'surging'* (◡◡◡), *sukun* (◌◡◌ / ◌◤◌), and *tasydid* (◡◡◡◡). However, at the beginning and end of the text contained illumination found different punctuation, in the form of *fathah qā'imah* (◡◡◡◡) and *kasrah qā'imah* (◥◥◥◥). This difference in the use of punctuation occurs because of the possibility of manuscript texts written by two different people, as explained in the previous discussion. The use of punctuations in this Manuscript is similar to

that of punctuation that appeared in the manuscripts of the Pura Pakualaman.⁴²

7. Waqf signs

The *waqaf* sign in Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript is different from the *waqaf* sign used in Indonesian standard manuscripts. However, there are several signs that have the same writing of Arabic letters used today, for example, letter *ج*.⁴³ This difference is based on the development of writing manuscripts in the archipelago. There are six types of *waqaf* signs used in the Diponegoro Qur'anic manuscript, as shown in table 1.

Table 1 Six types of *waqaf* signs in the manuscript

No	Waqf Signs	Meaning
1		كافي
2		وقف تام
3		وقف لازم
4		وقف جائز
5		وقف مرخص
6		وقف مطلق

Waqf sign using the letter *ta* as in manuscripts is used in the writing of archipelago ancient manuscripts around the 18th century to 19th AD.⁴⁴ While the *waqaf muṭlaq* (ط) sign has no longer in use in archipelago manuscripts since the results of Ulama of the Quran concensus on 18-19 February 1983 AD.⁴⁵ The signs of this *waqaf*

⁴⁰Mujāhid, *Kitāb Al-Sab'ah fī Al-Qirā'āt*.

⁴¹Zaenal Arifin, "Kajian Ilmu Rasm Usmani Dalam Mushaf Al-Qur'an Standar Usmani Indonesia," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Quran Dan Budaya* 6, no. 1 (2013): 46.

⁴²Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman," 81.

⁴³Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, *Keindahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara*, 69.

⁴⁴Syaifuddin and Musadad, "Beberapa Karakteristik Mushaf Kuno Dari Situs Giri Gajah Gresik."

⁴⁵Rahmayani, "Karakteristik Manuskrip Mushaf Al-Qur'an H. Abdul Ghaffar," 84.

were also used in Pura Pakualaman's manuscripts written in the 19th century AD.⁴⁶

8. Tajwid Signs

In writing the Qur'anic Manuscripts, tajwid signs are used by the author to make it easier for the reader to know the correct recitation. Tajwid signs available in Diponegoro Qur'anic manuscript are as follows (see table 2).

Table 2 Tajwid signs in the manuscript


No	Tajwid Signs	Explanation
1		<i>Izhār dan izhār syafāwī</i>
2		<i>Idgām bi gunnah dan idgām mutamāsilain</i>
3		<i>Idgām bilā gunnah</i>
4		<i>Ikhfā' dan ikhfā' syafāwī</i>
5		<i>Iqlāb</i>
6		<i>Idgām mutamāsilain/mutaqāribain /mutajānisain</i>
7		<i>Mad yang dibaca pendek</i>
8		<i>Mad jā'iz munfaṣil</i>
9		<i>Mad wajib muttaṣil</i>


From table 2, *tajwid* signs indicated by individual letters and wave lines for reading *mad* (rules of long or short reading). All indications are written in red ink, except for signs that indicate the passage of *mad wajib muttaṣil* (prolong reading) written in black ink. Sometimes in the use of recitation signs, one symbol is not only used for one recitation and vice versa. The inconsistency of the use of the


Tajwid sign often occurs in writing ancient manuscripts in the archipelago.⁴⁷ Overall, this *Tajwid* sign is also present in Pura Pakualaman's manuscript. However, there is little difference in the use of *Tajwid* sign of *Iqlab* reading. *Iqlab* readings on Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscripts are marked with letter (م) while Pura Pakualaman's manuscripts used the letter (ب).⁴⁸



9. Symbols

In writing an ancient manuscript, certain symbols are used to signify something. The symbols used in the Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript include: *first*, the Final Symbol of the Verse in the form of a red circle with a black dot in the middle of the ring without the verse

number to indicate the end of the verse . *Second*, the Juz Substitution Symbol is written using gold ink surrounded by red semicircular dots to mean the end of the juz substitution

verse . While the replacement page juz is symbolized by two circles located on the edge of the page on the right and left. This symbol is written in gold ink, and the middle of the ring is written juz information using Arabic in red


ink,  and the center of the circle reads 'من

القران العظيم' . *Third*, the *Sajdah* Verse Symbol is sometimes found in manuscripts. The use of *sajdah* verse symbols is not always consistently used. This study only find in a few verses. The *sajdah* verse in this manuscript is symbolized by the writing 'sajdah' in Arabic by using red ink on the edge of the page, parallel to the final symbol of the verse in the *sajdah* verse . *Fourth*, another symbol used in this manuscript is the *ruku* symbol in the form

⁴⁶Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman," 84.

⁴⁷Jonni Syatri, "Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Di Museum Institut PTIQ Jakarta," *Suhuf: Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Quran Dan Budaya* 7, no. 2 (2014): 221–247.

⁴⁸Albab, "Keragaman Manuskrip Al-Qur'an Koleksi Pura Pakualaman," 86.

of 'ain letters on the edge of the page using red ink .

C. Conclusions

From the above discussion, this study shows several conclusions, namely: (1) Prince Diponegoro through family relatives showed blood relations with prominent clerics of Wali Songo from the 15th and 16th centuries. His interest in Islamic traditions is proven by the existence of historical sites and objects that were left during the time of Prince Diponegoro. In this case, was the Java war against the Dutch invaders in 1825-1830 AD. Prince Diponegoro and his guerrillas went to the city of Magelang. In this city, later found manuscripts of the Qur'an, which is believed to be attributed to Prince Diponegoro and Langgar Agung, which was used as a place of worship of Prince Diponegoro during the Java war. (2) The size of Diponegoro's Qur'anic Manuscript found in Salaman Magelang is 32x21 cm and 7 cm thick. The manuscript was written with the addition of symmetrical two-page floral style Javanese illumination at the beginning, middle, and end using gold ink on European paper. The size and decoration of the manuscript have similarities to the Qur'anic manuscript in Pakualaman dated back to 1823-1824 AD, the year where the Java war occurred. This article argues that the manuscript can be accounted to Prince Diponegoro because it comes from the same period. (3) The writing of this Manuscript used *Imla'i rasm* and is equipped with punctuation marks, *waqaf* signs, recitation signs, and special symbols to indicate specific information. The use of *rasm* and signs in the Prince Diponegoro manuscripts has similarities to that of the Pura Pakualaman. The science of the Qur'an contained in both manuscripts referred to the characteristics that commonly appeared in the 19th century, most of which are no longer used in the tradition of transcribing Qur'anic Manuscripts today. Both writings may be referred to like the same text. Therefore, it is very likely that Diponegoro's Qur'anic manuscript came from Yogyakarta and was taken to Magelang during the peak of the Javanese War in the city.

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Interview

Achmad Nur Shodiq (The Leader of Nurul Falah Islamic Boarding School), interviewed by Hanifatul Asna. Menoreh, Magelang. Oktober 18, 2016.

RETHINKING HIJAB IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA: A STUDY OF HIJAB COMMUNITY “TUNECCA LOVER COMMUNITY”

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Abstract

Hijab (veil) for female Muslims has been subject to a debate regarding its meanings. On the one hand, it represents the virtue of religious obedience and piety. Still, on the other hand, it is associated with the form of women oppressions in the public domain. At this point, the hijab has been an arena of contesting interpretations. Meanwhile, contemporary Indonesia is witnessing the increase in the use of veil among urban female Muslims that leads to the birth of various hijab wearer communities. One of them is Tunecca Lover Community (TLC). This community has become a new sphere where female Muslims articulate their ideas about Islam through various activities such as religious gathering, hijab tutorial class, fashion show, and charity activities. This study seeks to answer several questions: Why do these women decide to wear a hijab? Why do they join the TLC? How do they perceive the veil? Is it related to religious doctrines or other factors such as lifestyle? This research employs a qualitative method using documentation and interview to gather the data among 150 members of the TLC. This research shows that their understanding of the hijab results from the common perception that places the veil as a religious obligation. Nevertheless, each of the members has one's orientation over the hijab. This paper also suggests that they try to transform this understanding into modern settings. As a consequence, they are not only committed to the traditionally spiritual meaning of the hijab but are also nuanced with modern ideas such as lifestyle and particular social class. Their participation in the TLC enables them to reach both goals simultaneously.

Keywords:

hijab; fashion; lifestyle; Tunecca Lover Community.

Abstrak

Perbincangan mengenai penggunaan kerudung (sekarang lebih sering disebut hijab) bagi perempuan Muslim merupakan topik diskusi yang selalu hangat. Hal ini karena kerudung terkadang difahami sebagai simbol ketaatan dan kesalehan. Akan tetapi, di lain waktu penggunaan kerudung sering difahami sebagai bagian dari upaya represi perempuan di ranah publik dalam Islam. Dengan demikian, penggunaan hijab selalu berkaitan dengan interpretasi yang berbeda. Sementara itu, di Indonesia, kita mendapati bahwa penggunaan hijab semakin populer di kalangan perempuan Muslim modern dan bahkan memicu munculnya komunitas-komunitas hijab. Salah satu komunitas tersebut adalah Tunecca Lover Community (Komunitas pengguna Tunecca – salah satu merk pakaian Muslimah). Komunitas ini sudah memiliki banyak anggota dan mereka sering mengadakan berbagai aktifitas seperti pengajian, tutorial hijab, peragaan busana dan penggalangan amal. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab beberapa pertanyaan berkaitan dengan: mengapa para perempuan tersebut memutuskan untuk menggunakan hijab? Mengapa mereka bergabung dengan TLC? Bagaimana persepsi mereka tentang hijab? Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan interview sebagai sarana mengumpulkan data. Interview dilakukan dengan hampir 150 anggota di seluruh Indonesia menggunakan media sosial. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para anggota memiliki persepsi yang berbeda tentang hijab, tetapi mereka berusaha merepresentasikannya ke dalam nuansa modernitas. Untuk itu, mereka melihat hijab bukan lagi sebagaimana dulu difahami hanya sebagai kewajiban bagi perempuan Muslim untuk mengenakannya karena ada aturan agama. Mereka juga memaknai hijab sebagai bagian dari gaya hidup dan kelas sosial.

Kata Kunci:

hijab; fashion; lifestyle; Tunecca Lover Community.

DOI: 10.15575/jw.v4i2.5643

Received: August 2019; Accepted: December 2019; Published: December 2019

A. INTRODUCTION

Hijab discourse is not only part of the dynamism of civilization, but it has also resulted in a right and consistent attitude towards a belief. The concept of the hijab is controversial and becomes a meaningful phenomenon, both theologically and socially.¹ Hijab, in the framework of democracy, is viewed as the symbol of gender segregation as part of patriarchal culture and the control of the public sphere. Besides, wearing a hijab is perceived to be the symbol of women's oppression and a sign of radicalism. In this way, the veil has entered the arena of contestation of a game of meaning and interpretation.

Hijab in Indonesia has become a common phenomenon and familiar. The veil is a symbol of the identity of a woman who wears it. In general, the study of the modernity and religiosity of Muslim women is characterized by clothes that cover their bodies. Clothes play a role as primary utilities to cover the *aurat* (part of the body that must be covered) in the law of Islam. They are considered *maslahah ammah* (public interests). The Qur'an stated various features of clothing include: to cover the body, to symbolize the beauty, to protect from extreme weather, and to identify the social status of the wearer.² Currently, these clothes play beneficiaries (utilities) role as a symbol of "luxury" and "beauty." The development of Muslim clothing is no longer seen as traditional utilities but also as fashion and lifestyle. Hijab is complementary in daily life, involves the likes and dislikes of wearing Muslim clothing, and the situation suitable for wearing the hijab, even what kind of fabric used for the veil is socially and aesthetically appropriated.³

Hijab also becomes a trend in Indonesia for those who wore it. In other words, the hijab can communicate the desires to become modern Muslim women who are willing to follow trendy, fashionable, comfortable, and accurate

attire, according to sharia. Tuneeca Lover Community (herein TLC) is one of the gathering places for Muslim hijab wearers. The community first established through social networking, and they hold meetings in some areas to arrange activities like religious studies, hijab classes, talk shows, fashion shows, social events, and others. This new meaning of the hijab changes people's perceptions from the veil that initially functioned as clothing that covers the body to fashionable clothing.

This research is field research. Tuneeca Lover Community (TLC) is the choice as a research object to explore how Muslim women's knowledge about the concept of hijab and their practices influence their behavior in wearing the hijab that inspired to form a hijab community. This study also analyses how the shifting of veil meaning from the concept of religious attire into a fashion for modern women's community.

This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach by focusing on life experiences among Muslim women belongs to TLC. This study also analyses the meaning of the hijab and their motives among TLC hijab wearers.

This research explores the concept of the veil from the Islamic perspective. It also investigates women's understanding of the hijab perception among TLC as a sample of the modern culture of Indonesian women. The data in this research are collected through documentation and interview with 150 members of TLC spread throughout Indonesia.

This research employs the theory of phenomenology from Alfred Schutz. Schutz introduced the concept of intersubjectivity, meaning, and the essence of interpretation in

¹Atik Catur Budiati, "Jilbab: Gaya Hidup Baru Kaum Hawa," *Jurnal Sosiologi Islam* 1, no. 1 (2011): 59–69.

²M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 15th ed. (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2007), 500.

³Ahmad Suhendra, "Kontestasi Identitas Melalui Pergeseran Interpretasi Hijab Dan Abstrak Jilbab Dalam Al Qur'an," *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* 6, no. 1 (2016): 1–22.

social life.⁴ In the phenomenological context, Muslim women who are members of TLC are actors who consider the community as a medium of communication regarding the hijab. TLC may have one of two motives, namely future-oriented motives and past-oriented motives.

This study also uses the social construction theory of reality suggested by Berger. Berger argues that social reality objectively does exist, but its meaning comes from and by subjective (individual) relationships with the objective world.⁵ Berger's social construction theory about reality explains TLC members' knowledge and experience in carrying out their activities with hijab fashion content in the community and building its social world model by working with other individuals involved in the reality. They construct and reconstruct one another. They create a mutual understanding of hijab and fashion together. This study aims to find their assumptions and biases to explain reality so that it can explore TLC members' understanding of the veil that they practice in their community.

Herbert Mead's theory of symbolic interaction explains that there are three main concepts, namely mind, self, and society. Mead defines the mind as the ability to use symbols that have the same social meaning, and he believes that humans must develop the mind through interaction with others, using language. He defines the self as the ability to reflect on ourselves and other people's perspectives. He does not believe that the 'self' comes from self-introspection or simple self-thinking. According to Mead, the 'self' develops from a special kind of role-taking. When Mead theorizes about symbolic interactionism, he observes that through language, people have the ability to become subjects and objects for

themselves. As subjects, humans act, and as objects, humans perceive themselves as working. He refers to 'self' as the subject acting as 'I' and the 'self' as the object observing as 'me.' The self is a process that integrates between 'I' as a subject and 'me' as an object.⁶ Symbolic interactionism holds that human behavior is a product of their interpretation of the world around them, and response is chosen based on how individuals interpret the situation. This theory also can examine how the actions taken by TLC members form and provide meaning in interactions through symbols (hijab), so there are exchanged meanings in the interaction process delivered in the community.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. General Description of Hijab

The word *Hijab* originated from Arabic, *hajaba* means *al-sitr* (cover). According to the dictionary of *Lisânal-'Arab* and *Mukhtâral-Sahah hijab* means a veil or hiding from view or barrier wall as stated in the Quran Surah al-Ahzab [33]: 59. An object is considered closed if it is behind another object, and through that way, other people cannot see it.⁷ The literal meaning of the hijab is the separation between men and women.⁸ Hijab is not only a cover for women but also their separators from men. Thus, based on previous understanding, the hijab is limiter or protection. In this term, the hijab is a boundary barrier for women not to be seen by men.⁹ The notion of hijab based on the verse of the Qur'an means that something is blocked between two sides so that one of the two cannot see each other. Thus, hijab doesn't mean clothes worn by humans; because even by covering her entire body, a woman can still

⁴Alex Sobur, *Filsafat Komunikasi Tradisi Dan Metode Fenomenologi* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2013), 50.

⁵Poloma Margaret, *Sosiologi Kontemporer* (Jakarta: PT Rajawali Press, 2007), 298.

⁶Ricard West and Lynn H. Turner, *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi Analisis Dan Aplikasi* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2012), 106.

⁷Abd Rasul Abd Hasan Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, trans. Burhanuddin Fanani (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayat, 1995), 35.

⁸Husein Shahab, *Jilbab Menurut Al-Qur'an Dan as-Sunnah* (Bandung: Mizan, 1986), 68–69.

⁹Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, 35–36.

see someone else around her.¹⁰ Hijab prevents the sight of men from women and vice versa. Without the hijab, it is assumed that persons will be challenging to control their desire for one another.¹¹ Hijab term is well-known in several African countries such as Egypt, Sudan, and Yemen.

In Indonesia, there is a tendency to call clothes that are under religious sharia as hijab or *jilbab*.¹² In some literature, the terms *jilbab* and hijab are equal, but in the others, the two are different. The plural form of *jilbab* is *jalabib* (as mentioned in the Quran Surah al-Ahzab[33]: 59). It means loose clothing used to cover a woman's entire body. According to Quraish Shihab, *jilbab* is loose shirts equipped with a veil as a head covering (outer garments or also mantles and cloaks) that can cover the entire body. Therefore, in Arab regions are known different terms: *Jalâbiyyah* in Saudi, *Gallabeyyah* in Egypt, *Jellabah* in Morocco, and *Jubah* (robes) in Indonesia.¹³ This type of clothing in Arabia, according to Fadwa el-Guindi, is known as unisex clothing (which is used by men and women).¹⁴ The definition of the *hijab* is different from one region to another. There is no uniformity of mode regarding hijab in Islamic countries.¹⁵ The command to use of hijab and *jilbab* available in the Qur'an and Sunnah and it's understanding and practice in the present days are different. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, *jilbab* was an outer garment that covered the entire body from the head to the legs of adult women. In Indonesia, the term '*jilbab*' is a head covering, while the hijab is the clothes covering the entire body of a woman from head to toe.¹⁶ Thus, the meaning of hijab and *jilbab* that is

popular in Indonesia has shifted its meaning. For clarity, the meaning of the hijab in this article follows an understanding that is generally understood by Indonesian today, namely loose clothes covering the entire body of a woman from head to toe.

In religious belief, the concept of the hijab has emerged before Islam. All divine religions and other religions generally call on women to use headscarves with their respective backgrounds and motivations. In ancient times before Islam, Arab women wore different models of clothing such as veils to cover the head, long clothes to cover the body, hooded, and dresses worn by some women to cover their faces with holes in their secondary parts.¹⁷ Basically, the veil is popular before the arrival of Islam, such as in Greek and Persian countries.

The use of veil originally means of repelling disaster and warning signals.¹⁸ But in subsequent developments, the veil gained religious legitimacy. Hijab is made a mandatory dress for women, especially when undergoing religious rituals. In history, the wearing of the veil for the Jews became a symbol of high social status; its use was not coercion for women but became a pride. Past civilizations that obliged the wearing of the veil for women did not intend to bring down their humanity and demean a woman, but merely to respect and glorify them, so that values and norms of their social and religious norm did not collapse. Initially, many churches and their nuns wore the veil and head covering while wearing long clothes that covered their entire

¹⁰Abu Syuqqah, *Kebebasan Wanita*, trans. As'ad Yasin (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1998), 16.

¹¹Yasmine Zaki Shahab, *Identitas Dan Otoritas; Rekonstruksi Tradisi Betawi* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 2004), 18–19.

¹²Nina Sutiretna, *Anggun Berjilbab* (Bandung: Al-Bayan, 1997), 52.

¹³M. Quraish Shihab, *Jilbab: Pakaian Wanita Muslimah* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2015).

¹⁴Fadwael-Guindi, *Jilbab Antara Kesalehan, Kesopanan Dan Perlawanan* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2003), 54.

¹⁵Engineer Asghar Ali, *Matinya Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 1999), 103–105.

¹⁶Amir Taufik Kusumayadi, *Enam Puluh Satu Tanya Jawab Tentang Jilbab (Kerudung)* (Bandung: Penerbit Espe Press, 1986), 5.

¹⁷Syuqqah, *Kebebasan Wanita*, 16.

¹⁸Nasaruddin Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab," *Ulumul Qur'an* 5, no. 6 (1996): 36.

bodies so that they were far from cruelty and evil.¹⁹

Islam spread to Indonesia from the 13th to the 15th centuries. From the 15th century onwards, Islam began to develop rapidly when many kingdoms embraced Islam. According to history, around the 15th-century, women in the archipelago used *kebaya*, a kind of clothing that was influenced by Islamic culture.²⁰ The 19th century showed a different pattern in which the wearing of *jilbab* or headscarves was introduced as it was seen in the Paderi Movement in Minangkabau. This revolutionary movement is also struggling to promote wearing the veil in public space.²¹ Twisted veil models have also been commonly used among educated (limited) groups before the independence, such as the community in Diniyah Putri Padang Panjang (established in 1923), Muslimat Jogjakarta (1920), and Persis (established 1923 in Bandung). Likewise, Minang veil model has also been commonly used and applied as student uniforms in several *Madrasahs* or Islamic boarding schools since before the 1980s. At the time of independence, the headscarf (*kerudung*) was popularized by Ibu Fatmawati, the wife of Indonesia's first President. In this case, Fatmawati showed to the world that this is typical Indonesian clothing. So, at that time, the headscarf (*kerudung*) became a symbol of national identity. This fact shows that when the country proclaimed its independence, scarfs as women's attire were not new. Until 1983 the term *kerudung* was still used, and no other terms were known. The term *jilbab* appeared more recently, in the debate about the use of student hair coverings in public schools between the Minister of Education and Culture, Noegroho Notoso (1983-1985), and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI). During the Soeharto regime, Islamic politics

was suppressed, and the Islamic culture was also marginalized. Islamic culture, including Muslim women's clothing, is considered an obstacle to modernization.²²

Along with the development of culture and the progress of Islam, the veil became known in Indonesia. However, the reception of the veil in this country is initially problematic. In the context of Indonesian society, the term hijab is unknown. On the other hand, it also faces discrimination because of political authorities so that its acceptance by the community must go through a complicated process. Even so, slowly but surely, the hijab became popular and then became a trend everywhere. Now, the hijab trend has become a women's fashion for members of religious studies, public school students, women workers, women executives, public officials, women entrepreneurs, television reporters, and celebrities.

Two factors make hijab a trend in Indonesia. The first is external factors, namely international situation that influenced it at that time, among which were quite dominant was the influence of the thought of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn in Egypt and the Iranian revolution in 1979. The second is internal factors, namely, in the 1980s, the relationship between government and Islam began to thaw. The government started to accommodate the interests and aspirations of Muslims.²³

2. Paradigms of Islamic Thought about Hijab

The Qur'an mentions the code of women's clothing in various verses, for example, Q.S. al-Ahzab[33]: 53, 59 and Q.S. an-Nūr[24]: 31. However, there is no single unified perception about the command to wear the hijab in the Quran. The most debated topics are the concept of women's clothing and the boundaries of

¹⁹Al-Ghaffar, *Wanita Islam Dan Gaya Hidup Modern*, 23.

²⁰Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa, Silang Budaya: Jaringan Asia*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), 32.

²¹Ali Tantowi, "The Quest of Indonesian Muslim Identity: Debates on Veiling from the 1920s to 1940s," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 4, no. 1 (2010): 65.

²²Bani Syarif Maula, "Indonesian Muslim Women: Between Culture, Religion, and Politics," *Ijtima'iyah: Journal of Muslim Society Research* 1, no. 1 (2016): 113-131.

²³Abdul Aziz and Imam Tholikhah, *Gerakan Islam Kontemporer Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1994), 211-215.

parts of the body that must be covered.²⁴ Muhammad Shahrur conveys one type of interpretation.²⁵ He argues that women's clothing should adapt to the local situation and conditions. Women in the Arabian Peninsula may not dress like other women in other countries, even among Arab countries. Furthermore, he argues that there is a dress boundary, the minimum and maximum limits for the body to be covered.²⁶ This approach differs significantly from medieval interpretation. Muslim scholars in the medieval period showed that Muslims covered their entire bodies except for their faces and palms. Moreover, some others argue that Muslim women should cover their whole body except the eyes. This explanation is stated in the Quranic interpretations such as *Tafsir Tanwir al-Miqbās* by al-Fayrūzabādy (1329–1414), *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* by Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (1445–1505) and Jalaluddin al-Mahalli (1389–1459), *Safwah al-Tafāsir* by Muhammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī (1930–2009), and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* by al-Imām Ibn Kathīr (1300–1373). The different interpretation occurs because of different interpretive methods, academic background, school of thought, and context the time and place where those Muslim scholars live. There are three paradigms of hijab interpretation in Islamic thought: traditional paradigm, moderate paradigm, and progressive paradigm.

a. Traditional Paradigm

This paradigm comes from orthodox Muslim scholars (*ulamas*) and their followers. This

paradigm states that wearing a hijab for women is part of the obligation to cover all women's bodies in any situation and condition. The goal is that Muslim women are respected and different from the characteristics of ignorant women and slave women. Many scholars grouped in the traditional paradigm are Ibn Kathir (1300–1373) in interpreting the hijab as a scarf worn over women's head and chest (*khimr*);²⁷ Al-Maraghī (1881–1945),²⁸ Imam Al-Qurṭhubi (1214–1273),²⁹ and Ibn Mas'ud (d. 650).³⁰

Ibn Kathir interpreted word *zīnat* in Q.S.24:31 as whole female body parts, including the face. Ibn Mas'ud interpreted visible *zīnat* as clothing, while invisible *zīnat* as anklets, earrings, and wristbands. In contrast, Al-Qurṭubī³¹ and Sayyid Quṭb³² interpret the term usual visible *zīnat* as faces and palms because those are usually seen when carrying out activities and performing worship, for example, when doing prayers and the Hajj.

Al-Jassas argues that woman body parts that should be covered are her whole body, including her face and hands.³³ According to Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, Q.S.al-Ahzab[33]: 59 assign the Prophet to order his wives, his daughters, and all Muslim women to always pay attention to *al-hisymah* (modesty, closure, and shame) in all their circumstances. According to Abu Hayyan, al-Utsaimin, and Ali al-Sabūnī, the textual meaning of QS al-Ahzab[33]: 53 is the basis for obligatory hijab by all Muslim women. Therefore, every Muslim woman is obliged to cover her body, including her face and arms. Hijab separates

²⁴Katherine Bullock, *Rethinking Muslim Women and the Veil: Challenging Historical & Modern Stereotypes* (Surrey: IIIT, 2002), 103.

²⁵Abdul Mustaqim, "Pemikiran Fikih Kontemporer Muhammad Syahrur Tentang Poligami Dan Jilbab," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2011): 67–80.

²⁶Alim Khoiri, *Fiqh Busana Telaah Kritis Pemikiran Syahrur* (Yogyakarta: Kalimedia, 2016), 27.

²⁷Al-Imam al-Hafidz Imam Ad-Din Abi Al-Fida Isma'il Bin Umar Ibnu Katsir Ad-Dimasyqi, *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-'Adzim* (Libanon: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 1971), 10.

²⁸Ahmad Musthafa Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi Juz 22*, trans. Bahrūn Abu Bakar (Semarang: PT Toha Putera, 1987), 61.

²⁹Al-Qurṭhubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Muassasat al-Risalat, 1998).

³⁰M. Ahmad Isawi, *Tafsir Ibnu Mas'ud*, trans. Ali Murtadla Syahudi (Jakarta: Pustaka 'Azzam, 2009), 818.

³¹Al-Qurṭhubi, *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam Al-Qur'an*.

³²Sayyid Quṭb, *Tafsir Fi Dhilal Al-Qur'an*, trans. Fathurrahman Abdul Hamid (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2008), 584.

³³Abu Bakr Ahmad bin Ali al-Razi Al-Jashshash, *Ahkam Al-Qur'an, Juz I* (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya al-Turast al-Arabi, 1992), 673.

between men and women because its meaning is as a barrier. Moreover, this verse is also used by some as a basis for women not to leave their homes except for essential needs, and they must be accompanied by their *mahram* (male relatives), as stated in QS al-Ahzab[33]: 33.³⁴

b. Moderate Paradigm

This paradigm interprets Q.S. 24: 31 that the woman is instructed not to show every part of her *zīinat* but should cover it, except those are habitually seen. According to IbnAthiyah, 'the excluded part' can develop based on the urgent needs of a person. Al-Qurṭhubī commented the face and the palms of the hand are often (usually) seen in daily life, including state of worship such as when praying and hajj. The textual meaning of Q.S. 24: 31, "except those that appear from them," are understood as faces and the usually visible palms.³⁵ This paradigm argues that the exception refers to regular habits. However, which practice is to refer to? Is it the habit in the time of revelation or in the Muslim community at different times? The views of early Muslim scholars such as al-Qurṭhubi argued that the limits tolerated in women's clothing based on the customs were habits during the revelation of the Qur'an. In line with him, IbnMas'ud, al-'Auza'i, Sa'idIbnJubair, and 'Atha' agree with him. Then, followed by several religious scholars such as Hanafiyah, Malikiyah, and Syafi'iyah. This paradigm states that the women's body that should be covered is the whole body except the face, and both palms and some add legs.

M. Quraish Shihab says that "exceptions" are returned to the permanent norm in each society.³⁶ In line with him, Muhammad Ṭahir Ibn 'Asyur, a great ulama from Tunisia, the writer of *Maqâshidasy-Shari'ah al-Islamiyah* (2001), states that the custom of people must not be regarded as imposed customary on other

people in the name of religion, nor can it be forced.³⁷ For this group, Muslim women who wear hijab follow the instruction of the Qur'anic verse. However, Muslim women who do not wear hijab should not be considered to have violated religious teachings because the Qur'an never mentions the part of women's body that should be covered.

c. Progressive Paradigm

The third paradigm consists of progressive thinkers who based their argument on *Usul al-Fiqh* rule "*al-ibrah bi khusûṣal-sabab lâ bi 'umûm al-lafzi*" (legal making is based on the specific context of the revelation of the verse, not on the generality of the textual meaning). QS al-Ahzab[33]: 53 is an order to separate women from men, but this verse is specifically referring to the wives of the Prophet on the grounds of preserving their glory as of the wife of the Prophet. In fact, because of defending their honor, the verse also prohibits the Prophet's wives from remarrying with others after the Prophet's death. However, over time, the hijab has shifted its meaning from separators (that separate, especially the wives of the Prophet with other men) into clothing for all Muslim women in Indonesia.

Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawi,³⁸ the former Egyptian Supreme Judge, explicitly stated that the purpose of the proliferation of clothing in the Qur'an is to distinguish between free women from less honorable women, and the purpose of the order is to honor free women from evil or ill-treatment in society. The verse suggests to give a distinction between believing women and other women, not intended to be a perpetual rule. Therefore, when it is viewed in the present context, the teachings are no longer relevant, because the slavery system is

³⁴Hasanain Muhammad Makhluḥ, *Safwatul Bayan Lima'ani Al-Qur'an* (Kairo: Dar al-Basyair, 1994), 190.

³⁵Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 190.

³⁶Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 70.

³⁷Muhammad Ath-Thahir Ibn 'Asyur, *Tafsir At-Tahrir Wa At-Tanwir* (Tunis: Dar as-Suhnun, 2007).

³⁸Muhammad Said Al-Asymawi, *Kritik Atas Jilbab* (Jakarta: Jaringan Islam Liberal and the Asia Foundation, 2003), 63.

absent.³⁹ Other opinions even claim that the hijab is a complicated symbol. Wearing hijab is a phenomenon that has many different meanings and functions in many different contexts. Therefore, the community should be more accurate to proclaim the veil as an Islamic tradition or as a symbol of the oppression of women in the Muslim community.⁴⁰ The concept of hijab causes women's space limited, not to move freely out of the house because they are always under the supervision of the head of the family. The head of the family has the right to control the women's body, including their sexuality and reproduction.⁴¹ It is characterized by religious rules that give freedom to women to release their veils in front of their husbands or fathers.

The main point of this paradigm is that hijab is a cultural necessity for particular communities and not religious orders. Hijab is a form of local patriarchal Arabic tradition, which is preventive, and it is not relevant to be applied in the current culture (precisely the Indonesian context). Nashruddin Baidan states that the command to wear hijab in the Qur'an seems not explicit and absolute, but depends on individual circumstances. Women are instructed to wear hijab when they are bothered by bad people who always target women who do not wear hijab.⁴² Husein Muhammad also explained that the verse emphasized that hijab means a way to show the identity of free women from servant women. Where servant women in the tradition at that time was considered despicable and seen as not equal to free women, so they were easy victims of sexual harassment.⁴³ Asghar Ali Engineer states that the Qur'an and the Hadith have never specified certain clothing models that cover the face, such as the *burqa* (veil). Hijab, according

to him, is a phenomenon that originated from several community groups in some areas before Islam, for example, from Syria and Palestine, which were in the domination of Roman culture.⁴⁴ Nasaruddin Umar stated that the hadith of the Holy Prophet clearly explained that the face is included in the exceptions, as in the prayer and *haji*, that the face should not be covered.⁴⁵ Even Qasim Amin (1863-1908) considers the hijab covering the face is not part of critical religious subjects in Islam, so he advocated removing the veil (*al-sufūr*) because it is supposed to bring a backward decline in the Islamic world.⁴⁶

3. Understanding the Tunecca Lover Community (TLC) about the Concept of Hijab

In general, the study of the modernity and religiosity of Muslim women is characterized by clothing that covers the private body because of their religious values. Her clothes play a role as primary utilities, but covering the body based on the law of Islam is *masalah ammah* (general benefits). The problem is that these clothes are no longer positioned as beneficiaries (utilities), but become something "luxury" and "beauty." Dressing no longer functions to cover the nakedness and body, but show aesthetic value and luxury. The aesthetic value appears and continues to grow. The creativity of art turns to meet the user's desires and user needs, and then it is known as fashion contestation. The development of fashion is inseparable from productivity and creativity that go hand in hand with expressive novelty values, and naturally, traditional expectations will also take turns. It has happened in 10 years, many appearances portray fashion women.

³⁹Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 72.

⁴⁰A. Bazar Harahap and Nawangsih Sutardi, *Hak Asasi Manusia Dan Hukumnya* (Jakarta: Pecirindo, 2006), 21.

⁴¹Fatimah Mernissi, *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1991), 104.

⁴²Nashrudidin Baidan, *Tafsir Bi Ar-Ra'yi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999), 36.

⁴³Husein Muhammad, *Fiqh Perempuan; Refleksi Kyai Atas Wacana Agama Dan Gender* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2001), 201–209.

⁴⁴Asghar Ali, *Matinya Perempuan*, 46.

⁴⁵Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab," 36.

⁴⁶Umar, "Antropologi Jilbab."

In many countries, which are predominantly Muslim, the simplicity in women's clothing is dictated by law or society. Women are required to cover themselves with traditional Islamic dress.⁴⁷ However, due to the influence of globalization, many Muslims live in societies dominated by other cultural practices. They are encouraged to express freedom of choice and have more flexibility in their selection of clothing. Many Muslim women faced such freedom and have chosen the standard of beauty from mainstream culture by adopting new clothing styles.⁴⁸ The diversity in the practice of dressing may be the result of the acculturation process. Acculturation occurs when people from different cultures make continuous, direct contact, and changes in cultural patterns of one or both groups arise. This cultural contact can lead to the adoption of new values, the creation of new identities, and changes in the practice of dress. Culture refers to the lifestyle of a group of people, including the religious, political, and economic behavior of group members. A culture consists of various ethnic groups that have ancestors, history, language, and religion, place of origin that is the same, tradition or habit.⁴⁹

In Indonesia, as the media consumption dominated in our daily life, various types of Muslim fashion affiliate with famous religious leaders. This Muslim clothing development not only has traditional utilities but also has become fashion and lifestyle. Hijab as complementary in everyday life involved in likes and dislikes wearing Muslim clothing, space was chosen for the veil, and suitable situations to wear hijab that is socially and aesthetically appropriate. In Indonesia, the hijab has turned into sophisticated fashion industry and market. One of the exciting social transformations is the shift in tastes and styles

of Muslim women in a dress that has been a strong tendency since the late 1980s and early 1990s and began to become part of the fashion industry since the late 1990s. There are "semiotic riches" of Muslim fashion when you witness the ways, patterns, accessories, and styles of Muslim dress. According to Berger, religious identity is an area where such a high distinction is perfected through the use of certain types of clothing, goods, and symbols.⁵⁰

The phenomenon of Indonesian society today accompanying economic progress is a lifestyle as a function of the different associations created by consumption relations. Consumption is no longer merely related to the value of use in fulfilling certain utility functions or basic human needs. Still, it is now associated with symbolic elements to mark class, status, or specific social symbols. Consumption expresses one's social position and cultural identity in society. What is consumed is no longer just an object, but also the social meanings are hidden behind it. At present, some modern Muslims regard hijab not only religious clothing but also a change in fashion sense. Many middle-class women and girls are now abuzz wearing Muslim dress designed by famous and expensive artists and designers. It is one example of how the logic of the fashion industry in the world of culture has met with a shift in religious consciousness transformed in the form of exoticism and symbolism of piety in a dress. One of those Muslim clothing brands is Tuneeca. The costumers of its brand make Tuneeca Lovers Community (TLC).

At least four factors influence the birth of the TLC community:

⁴⁷Mahmoud Shirazi, Matloob Ahmed Khan, and Rahat Ali Khan, "Coping Strategies: A Cross-Cultural Study," *Romanian Journal of Psychology, Psychotherapy and Neuroscience* 1, no. 2 (2011): 284–302.

⁴⁸Shirazi, Khan, and Khan, "Coping Strategies: A Cross-Cultural Study".

⁴⁹Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1996), 22.

⁵⁰Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*.

a. Ways to maintain the existence of the hijab for Muslim women

In line with the development of lifestyle, many people encounter a variety of fashion styles that can still be accepted by the community. It has led one brand, Tuneeca, to develop a hijab to compete with other fashion models. For this reason, a hijab wearer community is useful as a forum for Muslim women who want to develop their creativity in terms of wearing a hijab, a stunning hijab model, and certainly not inferior to the current fashion style. In the TLC community, one can share and ask how to wear a stylish hijab and stay fashionable. They can create their desired model.

b. Social interests

TLC seeks to foster a love of Islam through fashion and shows that Islam can keep abreast of the latest fashion styles. TLC is also a gathering place for hijab users in Indonesia. The purpose of joining the community as a friendship facility is evident from the results of the survey that as many as 66.4% of respondents joined the community aimed at friendship and multiplying friends, in addition to following the growing fashion trend. The love of Muslim women towards Tuneeca was manifested in TLC. The familiarity of Tuneeca lovers is not only intertwined through the virtual world but also the intimacy is in the form of gathering in each city where they live. Through TLC, its members like getting new siblings in various cities.

3. Fashion interests

Muslim clothing with an ordinary design makes the hijab less attractive to Muslim women. They are more interested in wearing more fashionable clothes. They wear the hijab with a stylish model in order to gain its popularity. For this reason, the TLC community was formed to keep making the image of a fashionable hijab. The survey results showed that TLC considered clothing or fashion as a lifestyle, as many as 62.7% of respondents answered fashion as love and taste, and 18.3% as trends and styles. This fact shows that fashion as a lifestyle compared to only 2.8% of members who said that the original

function of the hijab is to cover the body. Thus, in choosing clothes, the most important thing is the issue of models and colors that look suitable and bring the aura of beauty to the wearer. Fashion at this time is indeed a much-loved thing by the community. Hijab, which was used to be the clothes of ordinary Muslim women, has been transformed into the latest fashion that is loved by women. It is evidenced by the proliferation of TLC members throughout Indonesia and even Hong Kong. Tuneeca, as one of the modern hijab models among other models, presents to create the use of the latest fashion in order to be accepted by Muslim women so that they can still appear fashionable Muslim women.

c. Business interests

To meet the demands and needs of the hijab, we can see that in the market sector, boutiques and online shops for Muslim clothing appear to be a necessity to beautify themselves (women) through the use of various hijab models, this is a promising business. Unmitigated sometimes in the use of this hijab, use certain artist models to influence consumers. Of course, the price of the hijab becomes expensive. The fashion designers are competing to make the hijab as attractive as possible to become a trend, even costs very expensive. Moreover, when the hijabs are exhibited in star-rated hotels or in malls, those exhibitions are not only arena for expressing Muslim art but also mechanism to promote the latest hijab trends, which will have a high level of financial and quality, and fashion companies. Tuneeca Muslim women are present amid the hectic stretch of the fashion world.

With the mushrooming of the hijab wearer community such as TLC, it is a new opportunity for Muslim clothing business. Muslim women's clothes become one of the best-selling commodities at the moment. The survey results stated that 62% of TLC members also became agents and resellers in collaboration with the Tuneeca Company to boost their sales. With the increasing number of TLC members, the sales of their products became in demand in the market. Producers, agents, and resellers are very supportive of

developing TLC because the profits they make will be very abundant.

The results of this survey found that the reason for the TLC was 98.6% of the 150 respondents based on religious orders. For the TLC 89.4% stated that the hijab was an obligation to cover their bodies and carry them out as a symbol of obedience. The meaning of the hijab for TLC means limiting, protecting, and honoring as a Muslim. The reason for wearing a hijab for TLC is a religious order, but 78.7% admits that hijab forms can be adapted to modern culture. TLC members consider the hijab function as a symbol of obedience and a lifestyle. Regarding the boundaries of the body that must be covered, 76.8% of TLC members conduct a moderate mindset, namely that Muslim women's bodies must be covered except the face, palms, and both soles. As much as 96.5% states that the limits of the body that must be covered are determined by religion, not culture. Many things motivate TLC members to start wearing the hijab. Some are motivated by one's awareness, desires, and religious family environment.

The TLC hijab wearer creates a new meaning in the hijab. Hijab indicates Islamic as well as fashionable at the same time. This new meaning of the hijab changes people's perceptions of hijab: from outdated clothing into fashionable clothes. TLC members use Tuneeca brand that is relatively expensive. As many as 62.7% of TLC members admitted that they bought a hijab more than three times in a month because, for the TLC members, the hijab is not only a primary necessity to cover their body, but it is also a lifestyle. Most of them become hijab collectors. They are fond of collecting hijab. As many as 55.6% of them have an average of 20-50 pieces of Tuneeca collections, and 25.4% have around 35 collections, even 11.3% answered having more than 51 collections. This fact proves that love

and appetite for the hijab and the community can maintain the existence of a hijab in modern Muslim circles. As many as 85.9% of them stated that an ideal Muslim woman is not enough just to be righteous in the realm of religion that is private but also must be smart, stylish, and highly social. Various activities carried out by TLC members, including religious activities, charity and fashion shows, the lifestyle that carries their religious symbols. The modern, fashionable, stylish hijab of TLC members have brought a set of values and trends attached to TLC members as part of their lifestyle.

4. Shifting the Meaning of Hijab From Understanding the Concept of Hijab to Hijab Practices

Aquarini Prabasmoro sees fashion as a form of self-expression following what we want; we believe and make us feel comfortable, even though it is engineering outside them.⁵¹ The transformation in the use of hijab fashion in the Muslim community in Indonesia is the most basic social change in the globalization era that construct consumer culture and a consumerism lifestyle. Baudrillard stated that the characteristic of consumer society is the creation of a society where a logic shift in consumption, from the logic of need to the logic of desire.⁵² It is marked by how the consumption of hijab fashion fulfills not only the body cover but also the need for identity. People no longer consume the use-value, but the value of the signs.⁵³ For example, Muslim women prefer to wear a hijab when attending a wedding because of more practical, cost-effective, or increasing certain prestige. In other formal events, they do too, although they do not wear a hijab in their everyday life.

Most of the Indonesian people began to roll around wearing the hijab, not only among the *santri* or students in Islamic boarding school.

⁵¹Aquarini Prabasmoro, *Tubuh Dan Budaya Populer* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 1996), 56.

⁵²Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. Jimmy Firdaus (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2006), 34.

⁵³George Ritzer, *Modern Sociological Theory*, trans. Alimandan (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2006), 26.

Wearing the hijab had become a trend for the urban community and even became a characteristic of the upper-middle-class families. The veil is not only a symbol of the identity of a woman as a dress accessory; it eventually encourages the wearers to feel the joy of other forms of dressing. Since then, the hijab has become a trend, so that those who wear hijab are considered achieving a certain prestige. In other words, the veil can be regarded as capable of communicating the desire to be a prayerful person and, at the same time a modern Muslim because of the following trends.⁵⁴ Finally, of course, people regard the hijab as part of a lifestyle that can signify modernity. It proves that society transformed into a consumer society, where modern lifestyles are everything. It doesn't matter whether it's part of faithful obedience or just mere camouflage obedience of religion rules. Lifestyle has hidden real capital accumulation. Most are not cultural and symbolic capital. This lifestyle is transformed not only into the needs but also the desires. It proves that capitalism influence consumers to use mass products for producers' interest only.⁵⁵ To increase the need and the desire for hijab, besides communication in cyberspace, TLC often carries out certain events as well as a friendship vehicle to share while wearing clothes that following the modern style. Many activities are also sudden and luxurious. It is, of course, to attract more consumers to use the same quality with the modes. The use of clothing can also be one of its charms. All kinds of various kinds depend on the moment of reflection, for example, for graduation, marriage, leisure, office, etc.

a. Characteristics of Typical Hijab Tuneeca Lover Community Model

David Chaney said that staring or face-to-face now encourages to always appear attractive not only in the fashion world but also in daily life.⁵⁶ Besides, Mary F Rogers stated that women, in particular, must continue to pay attention to their body correctly to look successful.⁵⁷ It is not wrong if women in TLC try to always look up to the contemporary hijab or the fashionable hijab in Indonesia. Talking about the fashion world, according to Paul B Horton and Chester L Hunt, mode or fashions with more slowly style changes are not too trivial, and their appearance tends to cyclical.⁵⁸ So, the latest fashion world will only triumph in a certain period. To be a guide for women, in particular, to always provide the latest creations in appearance.

The survey results show that 72.4% of TLC members answered the function of the hijab not only to cover for the body but also as a lifestyle. In the TLC community, the cool concept is the highlighted main features, which is always a loss not to be followed by fashion lovers. As stated by ELF, one of the community members: "I like clothes with a unique design that have their characteristics, such as Tuneeca model of the hijab that is colorful, full of style and creation, so it fits well with young people."⁵⁹ It means that Tuneeca tries to create their style of hijab, which is not monotonous of colors, and pieces of clothing with a variety of motive colors become something beautiful. ELF believes that the characteristics of Tuneeca hijab model are clothes that are unique in design but simple and more colorful, and of course, ELF continues to pay attention to the hijab rules according to the Islamic religion, which covers the chest. By looking at the way,

⁵⁴Idi Subandy Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2007), 50.

⁵⁵Adlin Alfathri, *Registrasi Gaya Hidup; Teori Dan Realitas* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2006), 46.

⁵⁶David Chaney, *Life Style Sebuah Pengantar Komprehensif* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004), 21.

⁵⁷Mary F Rogers, *Barbie Culture; Ikon Budaya Konsumerisme* (Yogyakarta: Relief, 2009), 27.

⁵⁸Paul B. Horton and Chester L. Hunt, *Sosiologi Jilid II*, trans. Amirudin Ramdan and Tita Sobari (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1996), 65.

⁵⁹ELF (Lampung), interviewed by Wardah, on August 5, 2017.

style, and clothing accessories, there is a shift in how Muslim dress up.

At first glance, the TLC hijab style looks complicated and patchy from outside appearance because what is displayed looks not as simple as its use. After all, it combines various colors and types more and more. Several comments on social networks also say the same thing that the features displayed by Tuneeca are very complicated details imitated from the design side, even though, according to the users themselves, look distinctive and beautiful. BR said the same thing: "The Tuneeca Hijab is considered to be more stylish and cool. It makes us interested in wearing it".⁶⁰ BR's fashion buff is seen as an honest comment that assumes that people wearing TLC-style hijabs will look more stylish and not conservative. BR herself recognizes that the characteristics of TLC can make fashionable Muslim women interested in following unusual hijab styles, which are colorful, unique designs and not easily imitated. BR is pleased with the presence of Tuneeca because initially, BR felt unhappy for fear of the views of others who will judge BR as a woman who is not stylish or not cools. However, after joining and seeing TLC, BR felt that she was given an oasis of modern hijab choices. "I used to use hijab initially for certain events; in daily life, I did not wear a hijab. But after seeing that TLC looks pretty, I was immediately interested in using hijab all the time because the models were cool, so it would not be considered old-fashioned if I used a hijab".⁶¹ In the sociological study, Coley Henslin called this phenomenon as *Looking-glass Self*, where someone imagines their appearance in front of other people, think of evaluations from others and interpret other people's reactions and then form feelings and ideas about themselves. A pleasant reflection in

this social mirror leads to a positive self-concept, while negative thinking leads to a negative self-concept.⁶²

b. Identity of Hijab wearers in Tuneeca Lover Community

In social identity theory, individuals are not regarded as an absolute individual in their life. Individuals are part of a particular group, both consciously and unconsciously. There are two types of identities often discussed by sociologists, according to the Giddens, namely social identity and self-identity.⁶³ Analytical forms of identity are different but closely related to each other. A character is present because humans need to categorize something. That way, social status also involves categories and assigns people to certain large and longer social or social structures than any other particular situation. In the book *Bukan Dunia Berbeda Sosiologi Komunitas Islam*, Nur Syam⁶⁴ explained that someone prefers identity symbols that symbolize beauty (aesthetics) rather than identity substances attached based on realistic functions. The number of luxury homes in many cities represents an aesthetic system in people's lives. He thought that commercialization and life aesthetics were increasingly apparent when he saw various phenomena of performance and style of dress, especially among women. Nowadays, there are more and more mothers and young girls dressed in Islamic clothing ways. They actualize Islamic identity through various dress traditions. The trend has favored the contemporary hijab among women becomes an example of a very prominent global paradox system work.⁶⁵ In TLC, the members attempt to establish an identity as a patron community of contemporary hijab styles. It has become not only the selling point of TLC community that

⁶⁰BR (Malang), interviewed by Wardah, on August 29, 2017.

⁶¹BR (Malang), interviewed by Wardah, on August 29, 2017.

⁶²James M Coley Henslin, *Sosiologi Dengan Pendekatan Membumi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007), 57.

⁶³Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 35.

⁶⁴Nur Syam, *Bukan Dunia Berbeda Sosiologi Komunitas Islam* (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2005).

⁶⁵Bani Syarif Maula, "Indonesian Muslim Women in Contemporary Political Contestations: Challenges to Gender Mainstreaming Policy in the 2019 Elections," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 19, no. 2 (2019): 195–217.

can explain to the public that the perception and use of the hijab have shifted but also an oasis for women who felt dilemmas in wearing a hijab. TLC members until now reach 13,000 members. It indicates that fashion trends quite famous in Indonesia. It certainly provides its own identity for the TLC community.

It is the identity of TLC that spreads the hijab trend in the community, as admitted by RM. She states that the TLC community looks exclusive, which is different from other groups.⁶⁶ The exclusivity of a community emerged from a community's social identity born of collective behavior. Based on RM explanation, exclusivity derived from member behavior, which illustrated differently in their hijab style knowledge compared to others. "I feel exclusive because we know more about hijab models than others."⁶⁷ In creating self-identity and social identity, the community can focus on fashion choices and lifestyles. Like TLC, exclusivity is born from their dress style. This exclusivity also attaches a social status to this contemporary hijab community. John Berger, as quoted by Idi Subandy Ibrahim, said that our clothes, hairstyles, and so on are the same level and used to express our identity.⁶⁸ One of TLC members said, "I feel exclusive because we are different in terms of the forms of activities we make, how to look cute hijab and certainly different from the others."⁶⁹ In line with John Berger, Anthony Giddens argued that social identity refers to specific characteristics that are given to someone or an individual by another person or society. These are markers to indicate who, in a fundamental sense, that person is. At the same time, they are a person in relation to other individuals who share the same attributes.⁷⁰ TLC phenomenon

that forms an exclusive group identity in the dress style is also inseparable from the distortion of understanding desired by TLC. It means that personality is born from a complete form of communication. Body language, dress style, and individual lifestyle determine the birth of labeling for a community. Stratification also appears when lifestyle and fashion choices reflect that they are an upper-class community. Giddens realized that it would be challenging to argue that the stratification of classes no longer depends only on economic differences but also on consumption and lifestyle differences.⁷¹ HR also emphasizes that their collective behavior is a community identity. TLC can plan to form their identity-based on its style of hijab that distinguishes it from other communities. But possible distortions of understanding can occur. Michael Pusey argued that understanding is a potential universal thing that exists in everyday and collective communication and social actions.⁷² HR also underlined that HR is not a community that only focuses on the fashion world by putting aside the religious side.⁷³

According to Chaney, as quoted by Subandy, every behavior of an individual or group will form a social identity, regardless of whether the character is positive or negative.⁷⁴ It means there are functions and identities, whether they want to show or not. Robert K. Merton (1910-2003) suggests that functions can be manifest or latent. The manifest function is a function that is seen or intended, while a latent function is a function that is silent or not intended. These two functions refer to the actions of a person or social group. The description of how the TLC identifies themselves in the community according to its

⁶⁶RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁶⁷RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁶⁸Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*, 103.

⁶⁹RM (Yogyakarta), interviewed by Wardah, on September 12, 2017.

⁷⁰Giddens, *Sociology*, 65.

⁷¹Giddens, *Sociology*, 66.

⁷²Michael Pusey, *Jürgen Habermas: Key Sociologists*, ed. Peter Hamilton (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷³HR (Bandung), interviewed by Wardah, on September 24, 2017

⁷⁴Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*, 17.

members' and committee's viewpoint signifies an exclusive and commercial community in nature. Exclusivity refers to the status that the TLC community has its style. Its style is different from other fashion style communities. This finding is similar to the research conducted by Qowim Mustofa who stated the style of hijab wore by university students belongs to different organizations, signified an identity of that group.⁷⁵

Moreover, TLC members' lifestyle also shows other identities. Their habit of spending free time and money to hunt for their ideal clothes is a consumptive lifestyle. There are also work programs that emphasize commercial behavior and put aside the religious side of a community that carries a religious concept as expressed by Ibrahim about one's religion regarding clothing and lifestyle. He stated, "For contemporary Indonesian Muslims, the dress is not only a statement of one's Islamic religious identity, but clothing is an essential part of the modern expression of attitudes and lifestyles as a trendy and always fashionable Muslim. Fashion is regarded to offer models and materials to construct identity."⁷⁶

Another example of a more commercial lifestyle is when TLC often holds gathering activities, and the present members are subject to inexpensive administrative fees. It establishes social stratification from the TLC community with other communities or individuals. In the social stratification by Weber, upper-class people always differentiate their association with their class. In this case, TLC tends to feel comfortable choosing a lifestyle in slang and luxurious place in the eyes of the public and holds prestigious events in the eyes of young women. The best way to actualize their wealth to be seen publicly. It shows the existence of practices and institutions that make class relations and class

differences have their meaning through certain items and characterized by political wisdom.⁷⁷

The results of the study show that despite the understanding of the hijab itself for TLC, of course, they have different perceptions of the veil when viewed in terms of fashion where the trend of hijab in Indonesia is prevalent because of its increasingly rapid development. According to the phenomenological perspective of Alfred Schutz, as mentioned in Sobur, the social world does not originate from human inventions themselves but is derived socially from people.⁷⁸ It means that human actions are obvious things and imitated from their social environment. The popularity of the hijab in Indonesia because of continuous interaction among Indonesian Muslim women that makes hijab fashion popular and it overgrows.

Understanding of veil for TLC is based on the relation between hijab and fashion. TLC understands the hijab as a positive development from traditional and unattractive hijab usage into an attractive Muslim fashion clothing. Many hijab brands in Indonesia becomes a Muslim fashion icon in the world that has a variety of models, style, color combination so that Muslim dress in Indonesia has its peculiarities. However, fashion hijab in Indonesia also seems to have a harmful impact. It is considered to eliminate the sacred value of Muslim obligation in covering the body part that makes the hijab fashions will only show a practical and realistic side in the modern Muslim lifestyle.

Consumptive behavior is a communication system that occurs because there is a shift in capital values in capitalism. Jean Baudrillard gave an interesting argument about the shift in consumptive activities. In the traditional period, the community carried out consumptive activities on things related to their original

⁷⁵Qowim Musthofa, "Jilbab Sebagai Identitas Organisasi Islam Di Perguruan Tinggi," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 2, no. 2 (2017): 143–155.

⁷⁶Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer Sebagai Komunikasi (Dinamika Popscape Dan Mediascape Di Indonesia Kontemporer)*.

⁷⁷Peter Corrigan, *The Sociological of Consumption* (New Delhi: Sage Production, 1997), 161.

⁷⁸Corrigan, *The Sociological of Consumption*.

functions (use-value) obtained directly from the address or traditional market. During the period of capitalism, people consumed not based on their function (use-value), but rather their exchange value. The exchange rate in Baudrillard's view does not mean economically, like money and things.⁷⁹ About this, Baudrillard refuted Karl Marx's thinking about the economic value inherent in an item or object.⁸⁰ He said that in the current era of capitalism, an item or product is consumed because of its symbolic exchange value (the entity can not be seen but can be understood). For that reason, people wear hijab are not merely for covering their bodies, but also for prestige and class symbol. Modern markets such as malls and supermarkets are built in a luxurious place to facilitate the demands. Numerous boutiques and clothing stores offering hijab models and trends scattered in malls and supermarkets, even in traditional markets.

There are three other logics related to fashion logic or signs, according to Baudrillard.⁸¹ First, functional value logic refers to the philosophy of operational practice, usability, and objects when considered as consumers or something related to them. Second, the logic of a referring exchange rate economy based on price considerations or commercial exchanges. Third, the logic of the symbolic exchange of logic applies to the logic of ambivalence or giving and referring to account of the involvement of relations.

Consumptive practices are part of a different social activity (social differentiation). Those who buy or use specific products will make themselves different from others. In this context, it does not mean merely the construction of economic, social classes, but also political and cultural development. When someone uses the latest model of hijab, it means that she is a rich person, but can also be "labeled" as a career woman, a modern Muslim woman or a socialite woman. Therefore, in

other words, consumptive behavior is closely related to social tastes. So that these tastes then create differences in identity, habits, values, or social expression. Therefore, when someone criticizes a person's consumptive behavior, it means she is criticizing her taste (taste). This sense of identity unwittingly "stimulates" someone to follow the current hijab fashion trend.

Changes in the meaning of the use of the hijab have indeed become a trend among Muslim communities. Can it be considered as a form of other obedience in living a religious system or just "joining in" (considered fashionable) following a lifestyle? The phenomenon of the hijab has finally become a pseudo-reality, hyperreality, according to Baudrillard's thought. Hijab is a sign that the person is Muslim, but on the other hand gives another different meaning, for example, to cover physical shortcomings or to show that the hijab wearers is a modern person who obeys religion. This Hijab is a symbol of the Muslim identity in the contemporary world, even though the Hijab model used has a new form that has been engineered by the market through a growing trend. Ironically, to wear the hijab alone, women folk still have to choose it, especially regarding the model, color, and brand. Similarly, when a hungry person wants to be regarded elegant, he or she must consume McDonald's, for example. Interpreted more radically, actually, the headscarf is just a fake mask to cover up the naturalness of women.

This situation of "hyperreality" makes this modern society excessive in the pattern of consuming something that is not clear of its essence. Most of these people consume not because of their economic needs but because of the effects of simulation models that cause people's lifestyles different. They become more concerned with their lifestyle and the values they uphold. Even though what is offered is all pseudo. It indicates that in Indonesia, the hijab appears in the form of symbols that have many

⁷⁹Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumption Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 56.

⁸⁰Ritzer, *Modern Sociological Theory*.

⁸¹Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002).

meanings and are based on the understanding of women who use them. Furthermore, Suzanne April Brenner emphasized that the hijab in Indonesia is a "one hundred percent modern" event where hijab women are a sign of globalization, a symbol of identification of Muslims in Indonesia with Muslims in other countries in the modern world. Plus, the refusal of local traditions at least in terms of dress and at the same time, the wearer also rejects Western hegemony and other matters related to it in Indonesia.⁸²

Therefore, Washburn also categorized the hijab as a personal symbol, which brings goodness to the level of personality and culture because not everyone wears it.⁸³ The debate of the hijab occurs between media and pop lifestyles spiritual values and slang values. Finally, the phenomenon of the hijab needs to be understood as the application of religious texts, the expression of reality, and the marking of market rulers. Indeed, in the context of understanding the hijab, it is important to remember that the choice of the hijab is a choice of women. Regardless the hijab is interpreted as an identity, as a form of resistance, as social prestige or on the basis of the Qur'an's command. But, in fact, women want to choose the meaning and belief (belief) when they want to (medium) use the hijab. At present, the phenomenon of the hijab is not enough anymore only to be understood merely as an expression of piety. However, for some modern people, Muslim clothing itself does not change the role of contemporary fashion. A misconception appeared on how the logic of the fashion industry met the shift in religious consciousness transformed in the form of exoticism and symbolism of godliness in a dress.

In understanding the trend of hijab in TLC, lack of motivation occurs in the emergence of a community as a medium of fashion hijab communication. A motive is a strength or encouragement that comes from within to act or do something. In psychology, motives are natural; when an individual is born has brought certain causes, but then those will also develop.⁸⁴ TLC, as a communication media, has a variety of motives, namely the motives for appreciation, inspiration, and existence that lie behind the TLC combine in the community that is sensitive to fashion. The motive for recognition is that TLC considers that the community means for communication media that is easy, practical, and efficient and has a wide range of effective information dissemination. The inspiration motive is that the decisions of TLCs in using the hijab were also motivated by those who had already used veil and tried to always look following fashionable trends so that the hijab is not taboo anymore. TLC members' use of gray, ancient, and unsuitable model for young women motivate them to inform the society that wearing Muslim clothing is attended to both an Islamic obligation and fashionable. According to Fiske,⁸⁵ someone expresses something to others intending to encourage changes in others through the garment, one of fashion or clothing items.⁸⁶ Then through the community, they get a space as a *syi'ar* media or *da'wah* to show the public that the use of Muslim fashion is widespread and has a unique style. The use of Muslim clothing now with its fashion characteristics is better known as the word hijab. *Syi'ar* or *da'wah* is the basis of TLC to make the community a medium of communication by displaying attractive hijab fashion. The motive for existence is TLC's use of the community, because they want to show

⁸²Alfathri, *Registrasi Gaya Hidup; Teori Dan Realitas*, 47.

⁸³M A Cooper and K W Washburn, "The Relationships of Body Temperature to Weight Gain, Feed Consumption, and Feed Utilization in Broilers under Heat Stress," *Poultry Science* 77, no. 2 (1998): 237–242.

⁸⁴B Walgito, *Piskologi Sosial: Suatu Pengantar* (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2007), 141.

⁸⁵John Fiske, *Cultural and Communication Studies Sebuah Pengantar Paling Komprehensif* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2004), 57.

⁸⁶Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 16.

its uniqueness in aligning Muslim style with a blend of world fashion trends and those who use hijab. TLC tries to detect the community by demonstrating the use of Muslim clothing to be used for those who do not use Muslim clothing. Cassandra also considers utilizing the community to actively maintain its existence not only in Indonesia but also abroad. The motives described in this study are more referring to aesthetic reasons in the use of community with hijab fashion content. The TLC motive in using the community as a medium of communication about hijab fashion seeks to explain why TLCs always try to show the use of attractive hijab and inseparable from the element of fashion. Besides, TLC's creativity in processing their community to have its theme added with ever-updated fashion hijab content become an added value for TLC in showing and informing the popularity of fashion hijab in Indonesia. It is proved by their uniqueness and creativity that align with the fashion hijab in creating a hijab starting from dress, clothing, accessories, and the choice of places that make controversies more interesting.

TLC members feel many differences before and after being active and start as TLC Indonesia. Communities that are made as hijab fashion communication earn TLC members get useful experiences and insights for themselves and get a lot of responses from other communities who feel inspired because of their content. The Hijab community can encourage the public about the ideas of Islam, and they find out and know new things. Joining communities that are initially only a form of self-expression, it opens opportunities for TLC to get a profession that is considered as their interest and talent. Besides, to get a lot of benefits when known as TLC, they also experience negative responses because of their membership in TLC, such as consumerist women, exclusive socialites, and "hijab only for fashion." Those negative responses are also learning materials for them to be better.

C. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above discussion on TLC, this article concludes that:

TLC creates a new meaning in the hijab that hijab can reflect both Islamic and fashionable. For them, the dressing does not only function to cover the nakedness and body, but also aesthetic value and luxury. Not only following Islamic values but also their lifestyle values. From the discussion above, the TLC aims to shape identity as a patron community of contemporary hijab styles. It has become the selling point of the TLC community, which can explain to the public that the perception and use of the hijab have shifted.

TLC has a variety of motives in joining the community as a medium of communication regarding hijab fashion, which consists of attraction motives, inspiration motives, and existence motives. TLC is a communication media regarding the practice of hijab in the community. The community makes it easy for Muslim women to interact and inspire in all matters relating to the beauty of Muslim women in covering body based on sharia, and also share experiences about Islam.

Phenomenologically, there is a shifting meaning of the hijab from the original function to cover the body to a fashion trend. There is a shift in the age of Muslims in Indonesia, especially in the phenomenon of TLC hijab practices that occur in Indonesia.

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THE CONCEPTS OF *NOSARARA NOSABATUTU* IN THE KAILI COMMUNITY: INSPIRATION FOR RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This article aims to describe the local wisdom and values of *Nosarara Nosabatutu* in the Kaili community in Central Sulawesi using an axiological perspective as an inspiration for religious harmony in Indonesia. This research employs a qualitative method in the field of philosophical axiology. The object of research material is the teaching of *nosarara nosabatutu*, and the formal object is the theory of objectivism of values. The analysis shows that family values are at the vital value level, while the value of unity is at the spiritual value level in the Schelerian hierarchy. Both values indicate spiritual sentiments and spiritual preferences. *Nosarara* teaches individuals to love others as their brothers, as reflected Kaili's term of *sararata le* or *sararata ia* which means s/he is a family. Spiritual *nosabatutu* teaches one to take care of the family property as shared wealth and also keep other people's secrets because everyone in the Kaili ethnic group comes from the same womb and lives from the same treasure as a family.

Keywords:

Kaili; nosarara nosabatutu; family; values; solidarity; objectivism.

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan nilai-nilai *nosarara nosabatutu* masyarakat Kaili di Sulawesi Tengah dalam perspektif aksiologi sebagai inspirasi bagi persoalan keberagaman di Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif bidang filsafat khususnya aksiologi. Objek material penelitian adalah ajaran *nosarara nosabatutu*, dan objek formalnya adalah teori objektivisme nilai. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa nilai kekeluargaan berada pada tingkat nilai vital, sedangkan nilai persatuan berada pada tingkat nilai spiritual dalam hierarki Schelerian. Kedua nilai tersebut menunjukkan adanya sentimen spiritual dan preferensi spiritual. *Nosarara* mengajarkan individu untuk mencintai orang lain sebagai saudara sendiri, sebagaimana tercermin dalam terminologi Kaili *sararata le* atau *sararata ia* yang berarti dia adalah saudara. Spiritualitas *nosabatutu* mengajarkan seseorang untuk merawat harta keluarga sebagai kekayaan bersama dan juga menjaga rahasia orang lain karena semua orang dalam etnik Kaili berasal dari rahim yang sama dan hidup dari harta yang sama sebagai sebuah keluarga.

Kata Kunci:

Kaili; nosarara nosabatutu; kekeluargaan; nilai; persatuan; objektivisme.

DOI: 10.15575/jw.v4i2.6622

Received: August 2019; Accepted: December 2019; Published: December 2019

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a highly sophisticated culture, with constituent elements coming from such diverse ethnic groups as the Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Minangkabau, Batak, Buginese, Torajans, Mandar, Kaili, and many others. Kaili is one of the twelve recognized ethnic groups in Central Sulawesi; other Central Sulawesi peoples include Tomini, Kulawi, Pamona, Lore, Mori, Bungku, Saluan, Balantak, Banggai, Tolitoli, and Buol.¹ The Kaili, who identify themselves as *To Kaili*,² is an indigenous of Central Sulawesi, including Palu, Sirenja, Sindue, Tawaeli, Sigi, Biromaru, Dolo, Marawola, Banawa, Parigi, Dampelas, and Balaisang; migrant Kaili also spread in East Kalimantan and Java.³ Kaili culture, meanwhile, is that culture practiced by the Kaili of Central Sulawesi.

The most prominent element of Kaili culture is solidarity, as Kaili communities tend to be united by strong social bonds.⁴ One tradition maintained by the Kaili is *nosarara nosabatutu*, a principle that promotes a sense of pan-Kaili kinship and unity.⁵ This principle has been maintained and practiced by the Kaili for centuries, and remains the basis of social harmony in modern Kaili society. *Nosarara nosabatutu* embodies values of kinship, unity, and shared responsibility. In conjunction with other elements of local wisdom, including *ada nosibolai*, *libu ntodea*, *sintuvu*, *nopakasongu*, and *tonda talusi*, it continues to structure Kaili. According to the principle of *nosara*

nosabatutu, the Kaili people understand themselves as sharing the same lineage (*nosarara*), and as such, they view themselves as members of a single-family. These kinship bonds are manifested within a family unit known as *batutu*, a central component of the *nosabatutu* concept. The values embodied within the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* are fundamental to reaffirming the third tenet of Pancasila, Indonesia's national ideology: Indonesian unity.

In recent years, Indonesia has experienced a surge of conflict and radicalism. Various cases of inter-ethnic conflict have occurred, including the Dayak–Madurese conflict of West Kalimantan,⁶ the Sentani–Butonese conflict of Papua,⁷ the trilateral Acehese–Batak–Minang conflict in Medan,⁸ and the Madurese–Javanese conflict in Bali. Mamar attributes these inter-ethnic conflicts to the increased marginalization of local values in Indonesian society.⁹ Indonesians have forgotten the ancestral values that guided their ancestors in maintaining social harmony and bonds. Harmony and solidarity have taken an increasingly minimal role in Indonesian society, as Indonesians have failed to incorporate and reflect on their traditional local values, turning instead to their primordial and ethnic identities. Conflict, thus, has been inevitable. It is necessary for local values and wisdoms to be actualized in Indonesian society.

Another factor that has influenced the erosion of local values is globalization.¹⁰

¹Budi Kristanto, *Suku Bangsa Kaili Dari Sejarah Hingga Budayanya* (Manado: Center for the Study of History and Traditional Values, 2002).

²H.A. Mattulada, "Manusia Dan Kebudayaan Kaili Di Sulawesi Tengah," *Majalah Ilmiah Gagasan*, no. 3 (1985).

³Junus Melalatoa, *Ensiklopedi Suku Bangsa Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: C.V. Eka Putra, 1995).

⁴H.A. Mattulada, *Modal Personality Orang Kaili* (Palu: Universitas Tadulako, 1989).

⁵B Ratu, Misnah Misnah, and M Amirullah, "Peace Education Based on Local Wisdom Nosarara Nosabatutu," *JOMSIGN: Journal of Multicultural Studies in Guidance and Counseling* 3, no. 2 (n.d.): 106–118.

⁶Anika König, "Identity Constructions and Dayak Ethnic Strife in West Kalimantan, Indonesia," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 17, no. 2 (2016): 121–137.

⁷F Faisal et al., "From Conflict to Assimilation: Strategies of Muslim Immigrants in Papua Special Autonomy Era," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 4, no. 1 (2019): 103–116.

⁸Ida Liana Tanjung, Bambang Purwanto, and Nur Aini Setyawati, "Colonial Politics in Forming Ethnic Identity of Melayu Minangkabau and Batak in Tapanuli," *Jurnal Humaniora* 28, no. 1 (2016): 106–114.

⁹Sulaiman Mamar, *Perspektif Budaya* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2009).

¹⁰A K M Ahsan Ullah and Hannah Ming Yit Ho, "Globalisation and Cultures in Southeast Asia: Demise,

Indonesia's youths have faced the significant challenge of modernization as science and technology have advanced. Although technological advances have had both positive and negative effects on social behaviors and activities, the negative consequences of materialism and individualism have been particularly prominent.¹¹ Advances in communication and information technology should be balanced with local values, so that the harmful effects of materialism and individualism can be avoidable. Youths should not become strangers of their cultural origin, ignorant of Indonesia's multiculturalism and diversity. To ensure that Indonesia's youths are not swept away by the changes wrought by globalization, a better understanding of local values and wisdom is urgent and relevant.

Sudarminta explains that human beings are always motivated by their values. As such, human beings cannot exist without values, without the qualities and attitudes that make something desirable, honorable, and attractive.¹² Values offer guidance, influence the course of human lives, and thereby shape humans' identities and "fates." It is essential to recognize that the everyday manifestation of a value system in social life does not objectively reflect the value system. In other words, values are not practiced in their ideal form, but cultivated and subjectively interpreted within particular social communities. Maintaining local values and wisdom is central to improving a national culture; in turn, culture provides a nation with the means to develop and advance itself. For example, President Sukarno identified as *berkepribadian dalam kebudayaan*—building character through culture. Akin to human beings, a nation can only establish its dignity based on a good character, a character that acquired through national culture. Without such a character, a

country—such as Indonesia—will become weak and fragmented, with citizens lacking any sense of pride or sense of belonging.

For the Kaili people, the concept of *nosarara nosabatutu* embodies a sense of solidarity and togetherness. Within this concept, all Kaili people identified themselves as sharing the same genealogical lineage (a single bloodline, or *nosarara*). All members of this shared lineage are united in one family unit or *batutu*; this provides the etymological root for *nosabatutu*. The principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* is as old as the Kaili people themselves and is understood as a principle for creating solidarity and mutual concern. Under the traditional system, each Kaili group was led by an elder or chief (*tomalanggai*), who promoted togetherness and solidarity through *nosarara nosabatutu*. As such, the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* can be defined ideally as involving shared living, solidarity, unity, and accountability; for them, it represents a social and ethical value. Building on this background, the current study will examine *nosarara nosabatutu* as a guiding principle of everyday life. The analysis of this study utilizes Max Scheler's theory of the hierarchy of values and axiological objectivism.¹³

The material object of this study is *nosarara nosabatutu* as a Kaili cultural value and principle, while the formal analysis of this study is Max Scheler's value objectivism. This research is library research, particularly a review of books and other literature that are relevant to the material and formal object. These resources were then interpreted, with the results of interpretation providing the basis for this article.

The axiological study of value has shown two predominant tendencies, namely subjectivism and objectivism. Etymologically, subjectivism is derived from the word 'subject',

Fragmentation, Transformation," *Global Society*, 2020, 1–16.

¹¹Helen I Duh, "Antecedents and Consequences of Materialism: An Integrated Theoretical Framework," *Journal of Economics and Behavioral Studies* 7, no. 1 (2015): 20–35.

¹²Paulus Wahana, *Nilai Etika Aksiologi Max Scheler* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2004).

¹³Max Scheler, *Der Formalismus in Der Ethik Und Die Materiale Werthetik* (Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1916).

to be 'subjective'. While objectivism is derived from the word 'object,' focuses on the 'object', and offers the 'objective.' There are four understandings of axiological objectivism, namely: (a) values exist independently of how one understands them; (b) values can be identified and recognized; (c) values must be applied by human beings in their evaluations and their behaviors; (d) objects or activities become valuable or correct because of objective components, which are accepted based on how they are perceived, experienced, or felt.¹⁴

Max Scheler, a major proponent of objectivism, argues that values have their own independent, or *a priori*, qualities. This study employs Scheler's theory of axiological objectivism to analyze cultural values and principles of *nosarara nosabatutu*. Scheler believes that values are organized in an *a priori* hierarchy, with particular values being prioritized over others through specific 'preferences' (i.e., activities of the consciousness). Axiology, thus, focuses on the preferences that underlie values and value systems. 'Preference' should not be confused with 'choice'; choice refers to a tendency, while preference is something consciously recognized, the result of a conscious decision. As such, the hierarchy of values is not shaped by human desires but exists independently of them.¹⁵

According to Scheler, values exist within a particular *a priori* structure, with certain values being prioritized over others through specific 'preferences' (i.e., activities of the consciousness) rather than empirical criteria. Scheler categorizes preferences criteria to the following: 1) the ability of a value to endure and survive; 2) the divisibility of a value, with values that are higher in the hierarchy being less divisible; 3) fundamentality, with values that are higher in the hierarchy being more

fundamental; 4) satisfaction, specifically sentimental satisfaction with a particular value (rather than a sentimental satisfaction with another value; 'satisfaction' should not be confused with 'pleasure' or 'enjoyability', even though 'pleasure' may be derived from satisfaction); and 5) relativity, which references the essence of the value itself; values that are less relative (more absolute) are higher in the hierarchy. The highest of all values are absolute values, which are, by definition, more enduring and satisfactory than dynamic values.¹⁶

Using these criteria, Scheler identifies a hierarchy of values as follows.¹⁷ *First*, at the lowest level, those pleasures and displeasures that are created through worldly and sensory joys and sorrows. Joy is prioritized over pain, pleasure over displeasure, not through observation or induction, but rather because of the value's own *a priori* condition. It can be determined objectively, thus, that all persons will prefer joy over sorrow, and will make decisions that maximize pleasure (rather than make decisions that maximize displeasure).

At the second level are the vital values, which do not depend on and cannot be reduced to pleasure and displeasure, but rather are life values. These may include the noble and the refined, or the ignoble and the rough. This level also includes values of good and evil. Values at this level tend to contribute to public welfare, including at the community level and the personal level, and may include health, vitality, disease, age, strength, and foreboding. These values are not dependent on, or reduced to higher values (i.e., spiritual values) or lower values (i.e., practical/pleasure values).

Third are spiritual values, for which pleasure and vital values must be sacrificed. Spiritual values are entirely independent of the body and the physical environment. Spiritual values are prioritized over pleasure and vital values,

¹⁴Lorens Bagus, *Kamus Filsafat* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996).

¹⁵R Frondizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1971).

¹⁶Wahana, *Nilai Etika Aksiologi Max Scheler*.

¹⁷Frondizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology*.

which are thus sacrificed for them. Spiritual values must be understood through 'spiritual' means, particularly preferences for 'love' and 'hate'; such values cannot be reduced to the biological or physical. This level can be further divided into: (a) aesthetic values (beauty, ugliness, etc.); (b) values of justice and injustice; (c) values of the 'pure knowledge of the truth' sought by philosophy and of positive sciences (these must be distinguished from correctness and incorrectness, which are not part of the value system. Unlike correctness and incorrectness, scientific and cultural values, as well as the knowledge that they embody, become values through reference).

Fourth are sacred values, which exist at the highest level of the hierarchy. These values cannot be reduced to the spiritual, but exist as absolute and independent values. These values may include, for example, deep ecstasy and desperation that refer to the sacral. Love is a means of capturing such values.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. *Nosarara Nosabatutu* as a Kaili Cultural Value

Human beings and human life cannot be separated from their values. Consciously or subconsciously, humans are always influenced by their interactions with each other and their environments.¹⁸ As social beings, humans always interact with their surroundings, including their natural and cultural environments. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck explore the connection between values and culture more explicitly. Michael D. Hills, in his article "Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Values Orientation Theory," explains that values are used to address universal issues and answer universal questions. He writes:¹⁹

There is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples must at all times find some solution;"

While there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is variable within a range of possible solutions;

All alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck explain that value orientations always depart from human beings' efforts to answer fundamental questions. Social groups may reflect on these questions differently, distinguishing themselves from each other, but depart from the same four questions: about time, about the connection between humans and their environment, about the interactions between human beings, and the motivations for human behavior. Time is always seen within three contexts: the past, the present, and the future. Meanwhile, the connection between humans and the environment is examined through questions of extra-human being, of harmony, and of submissiveness. In their interactions, human beings are seen as not only having a linear hierarchy but also as sharing certain similarities. Finally, the motive is linked to one's internal motivations and one's desire for self-development.²⁰

In his *Universal Categories of Culture* (1963), Kluckhohn identifies several universal elements of culture: a system of religion, a system of knowledge, a system of technology (tools and implements), a system of economics (economic behaviors and livelihoods), a system of society (social rules and kinship systems), language (a tool for communication), and a system of art. According to Kluckhohn, every culture has these systems, which tend to differ significantly from each other.²¹ Within this

¹⁸Bambang Daroeso, *Dasar Dan Konsep Pendidikan Moral Pancasila* (Semarang: Aneka Ilmu, 1986).

¹⁹Michael D Hills, "Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Values Orientation Theory," *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, no. 4 (2002), <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1040>.

²⁰Hills, "Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Values Orientation Theory."

²¹Clyde Kluckhohn, "Universal Categories of Culture," in *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, ed. & A. G. Meyer A. L. Kroeber, C.

framework, *nosarara nosabatutu*—as part of Kaili culture that incorporates kinship and unity values—may thus be categorized as a system of society.

The Kaili principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* teaches that family (*nosarara*) and solidarity (*nosabatutu*) are necessary to create harmony. As such, it contains important values that are oriented towards promoting social welfare. Since *nosarara nosabatutu* belongs to the inclusion of family values, *nosarara nosabatutu* also includes spiritual sentiments and preferences. One example of the spiritual sentiments and preferences embodied within the *nosarara* concept is the belief that one must love others as one loves one's own family, as seen in the phrases "sararata le"/"sararata ia" (our brother/our sister). Spiritual values are also contained within the Kaili concept of *nosabatutu*. Haliadi,²² mentions that this concept underscores a shared fate, a mutual respect, an ability to keep secrets, an ability to maintain community resources for mutual interests, and a respect for caution. The principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* shows that the Kaili have prioritized harmony and unity as spiritual values; in other words, this principle has become deeply embedded within Kaili culture and society. Through the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu*, the Kaili has created a sense of family and solidarity, and ultimately a concept of *sintuvu*—of unity through deliberation (*libu ntodea*).

Nosarara nosabatutu, an oral tradition that has developed among the Kaili people, is understood and practiced in their everyday lives. Orality refers to a process in which messages and ideas are passed through repetition over generations.²³ As stated by Gazali, the expressions of oral tradition are

rooted in experiences, in reflection on everyday problems, as filtered through culture.²⁴ *Nosarara nosabatutu* is similarly a product of cultural reflection on everyday problems and issues, one that has informed the world view of the Kaili people and been manifested in various elements of social life. The principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* can be traced back to the Tomalanggai era before Central Sulawesi's first kingdoms (*kemagauan*) were established; it thus predates the Tatanga Kingdom, the Besusu Kingdom, the Banawa Kingdom, the Sigi Kingdom, and the Palu Kingdom.²⁵ The Kaili principle of solidarity and togetherness continued to develop over time through traditional rituals and activities, during which cultural institutions promote discursive and deliberative problem-solving. Discourse and deliberation are evident in norms, sanctions (*givu*), and other elements of community living (weddings, thanksgiving ceremonies, etc.). The results of *libu ntodea*—of deliberative discussions—have and continue to be obeyed and respected by the Kaili people.²⁶

2. Meaning of *Nosarara Nosabatutu* in Kaili Culture

The Kaili people view balance as a necessary and natural part of human life, and their principle of *Nosarara nosabatutu* embodies and manifests the harmony value that underpins their everyday lives. In his article "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Kaili di Sulawesi Tengah," Saleh writes that the Kaili people prioritize balance in their daily lives, and thus attempt to avoid conflict.²⁷ They view balance as a means of preventing conflict and of maintaining harmony between all elements of the universe, including society. As such, *nosarara nosabatutu* is found in all parts of

Kluckhohn, W. *Untereiner* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

²²Haliadi, *Nosarara Nosabatutu* (Yogyakarta: Yogyakarta: Nuansa Aksara, 2008).

²³Jan Vansina, *Tradisi Lisan Sebagai Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014).

²⁴Dunia Gazali, *Sejarah Dan Telaah Sastra Indonesia* (Jakarta: Wijaya, 1971).

²⁵Suaib Djafar, *Mengenal Adat Kaili Di Sulawesi Tengah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2012).

²⁶Djafar, *Mengenal Adat Kaili Di Sulawesi Tengah*.

²⁷Sukmawati Saleh, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Kaili Di Sulawesi Tengah," *Jurnal Academica* 5, no. 2 (2013): 1126–1134.

Kaili society, thereby providing a basis for and driving social harmony.

Evans defines *nosarara* as 'feeling,' 'emotion,' or 'sense,' while *batutu* refers to a cloth bag or sack. Etymologically, the word *nosarara* consists of *no* ('to be'), *sa* ('one'), and *rara* ('heart,' 'feeling'); it thus may be understood as 'to be [of] one heart.'²⁸ Meanwhile, the term *nosabatutu* consists of *no* ('to be'), *sa* ('one'), and *batutu* ('cloth bag/sack'); it may thus be understood as 'to share one cloth bag/sack.' Traditionally, *batutu* were used to store valuable goods, secret items, or other implements. In the Kaili Rai language, the term *batutu* can also denote a mother's womb. By breaking down the phrase *nosarara nosabatutu*, it can thus be defined as a perspective and sense of belonging (kinship and solidarity) that is shared amongst all members of a community. Such a principle is of paramount importance for Indonesia's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society, as it will prevent—or at least minimize—conflicts that could threaten national integrity.

Etymologically, the term *nosarara* contains within it the word *sarara* ('family'). Family can be defined in three ways: 1) members of the same household, 2) siblings and kin, and 3) marital partners (i.e., husbands and wives); *sarara* refers to the family as kin, as siblings. *Nosarara* carries several connotations, including 1) *nosangurara* (heart), 2) *nosanguraa* (blood), and *nosampesuvu* (kin); all of these imply a family, a community, that comes from the same womb.²⁹ The word *nosabatutu* incorporates the word *batutu* ('cloth bag/sack'), as well as the prefixes *no* ('to') and *sa* ('one'); as such, the word *nosabatutu* means 'to share the same cloth sack.' Haliadi shows that *nosarara nosabatutu* contains a commitment to shared living through (1) a strong sense of kinship; (2) an unbreakable social bond; (3) a sense of togetherness known

locally as *sintuvu* (agreement); (4) a united family; (5) a sense of shared responsibilities; (6) a dedication to maintaining existing resources, including natural, environmental, and personal resources, and using said resources to promote the greater good; (7) a sense of secrecy; (8) a sense of caution. *Nosarara nosabatutu* constructively frames social heterogeneity as an essential part of maintaining harmony and solidarity. It understands unity within the family as necessary for creating harmony in society.³⁰

Chalid explored the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* using a sociological and cultural approach.³¹ In his study "Nosarara Nosabatutu (Makna dan Konsep Sosiologis-Kultural To Kaili)," Chalid equated *nosarara* with *nosalara* (pain), while *nosabatutu* is widely found in all Kaili dialects. *Nosarara* refers to family bonds, while *nosabatutu* is understood as a community that uses shared resources to promote its shared interests.

3. *Nosarara Nosabatutu* within a Schelerian Perspective: an Inspiration for Religious Harmony

The term objectivism is grammatically linked to the word *object* (n) and *objective* (adj.) that denotes a perspective related to objects. Unlike subjectivism, which refers to the subject, objectivism refers to the object. Axiological objectivists view values as things that exist independently and identifiable. Values are independent of their observers and offer particular qualities that inform individuals' sense of morality and beauty while shaping their decisions and preferences. Generally, individuals prioritize objects and experiences that they find valuable. Values are not created through observation, but rather exist independently of it. As such, when an axiological objectivist sees a painting, will say 'that painting captivates me' rather than 'that

²⁸Dona Evans, *Kamus Kaili Ledo-Indonesia-Inggris* (Central Sulawesi: Office of Culture and Tourism, 2003).

²⁹Yunita Clara, "Makna Nosarara Nosabatutu (Analisis Semiotika Terhadap Tugu Nunu Dan Tugu Perdamaian)," *Kinesik* 5, no. 3 (2018): 120–131.

³⁰Haliadi, *Nosarara Nosabatutu*.

³¹Syamsuddin H. Chalid, *Nosarara Nosabatutu (Makna Dan Konsep Sosiologis-Kultural To Kaili)* (Palu: Universitas Tadulako, 2007).

painting is beautiful.' They see beauty as an inherent quality rather than as something derived from human perceptions.

Scheler, the main proponent of value objectivism, rejects theories of subjectivism. Value is not relational, but a particular quality. As such, experiences with values cannot be reduced to relational experiences. Scheler disagrees with Locke's idea (as partially supported by Kant) that values are not unique (constituent) elements of objects, but rather that forces, energies, and tendencies within objects can have similar effects. Scheler also rejects the argument that every value experience must stem from its effects. One of Scheler's relevant hypotheses is that values exist independently of their relationships, and thus can be perceived and experienced independently.³²

Scheler views that values have their own *a priori* qualities, qualities that exist independently. Values are thus no different than the objects associated without them. As a result of their independence, values are unchanging, absolute, not conditioned by outside activities and behaviors. Values are not relative; human knowledge is relative. For Scheler, truth is not found within the constellation of values. Scientific and cultural values become values through reference to them and the knowledge they imply.³³

Scheler argues that values are organized within a specific *a priori* hierarchy, wherein certain values are prioritized over others through certain preferences—conscious, rather than empirical, activities. Axiology, thus, focuses on the preferences that underlie values and value systems. 'Preference' should not be confused with 'choice'; choice refers to a tendency, while preference is something consciously recognized, the result of a conscious decision. As such, the hierarchy of values is not shaped by human desires but exists independently of them. The correctness of decisions is determined by the prioritization of

values that are higher in the value hierarchy, as seen through preferences.³⁴

In determining a value position in Scheler's axiological hierarchy, specific criteria—endurance, character, basis, fundamentality, satisfaction, and relativity—are applied. Applying these criteria, Scheler delineates the following hierarchy. First, at the lowest level, are sensory pleasure and displeasure. Second are vital values, such as nobility, refinement, and roughness. Third are spiritual values, which exist independently of the physical and the environmental, and tend to be prioritized over vital values. Fourth—and highest in the hierarchy—are religious values, which exist independently and cannot be reduced to the spiritual.

Scheler's axiological objectivism rejects the arguments that values are relative, instead values exist independently of subjective understandings. He believes that unlimited values exist, independent of human senses and perceptions, and thus rejects that values are shaped by social reality. The facts of life do not affect values; rather, values are ideal objects, above all outside influences. Objective values exist within a hierarchy, wherein pleasure, vital, spiritual, and religious values exist. Vital values may include nobility and refinement, ignobility and roughness, and even good and evil. From these, values of social and personal welfare are derived. Spiritual values, meanwhile, are those that are perceived through one's spiritual sentiments and include such intangible values as love and hate.³⁵

Positioned within the context of Scheler's hierarchy of values, the Kaili principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* may be identified simultaneously as vital and spiritual values. Vital values are independent of the values below them in the hierarchy (pleasure values) and of the values above them (spiritual and religious values). Reflecting the fact that human beings are simultaneously individual

³²Fronzizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology*.

³³Fronzizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology*.

³⁴Wahana, *Nilai Etika Aksiologi Max Scheler*.

³⁵Fronzizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology*.

and social creatures, kinship and family are important values, essential elements of personal and community living. It is through values of kinship and solidarity that the Kaili create welfare and maintain social dignity.

The principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* also embodies spiritual values that occupy a higher position within the value hierarchy than pleasure and vital values. Spiritual values are perceived through a sense of spirituality and incorporate values of love and hate. Spiritual values exist within a hierarchy, as follows: (a) aesthetic values (beauty, ugliness, etc.), (b) values of justice and injustice, (c) pure knowledge of philosophical and scientific 'truth' (not correctness or incorrectness).³⁶

Drawing on Scheler's hierarchy above, the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* embodies spiritual values of love and hate through its emphasis on (a) a shared sense of struggle; (b) a respect for shared resources (natural, environmental, etc.) and intention to use them for shared interests; (c) a sense of secrecy; and (d) a sense of caution. As it not only promotes public welfare but also a shared understanding of ownership and belonging, the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* simultaneously embodies vital and spiritual values.

Among the Kaili people, any possession can be provided to somebody who requires it. There is a sense of shared responsibility, one that needs shared resources to be honored, maintained, and otherwise utilized to promote the greater good. Furthermore, the principle teaches that secrecy and caution must be maintained; as all secrets must be kept, caution in speech and action is necessary. These spiritual values continue to be maintained and practiced by the Kaili through their principle of *nosarara nosabatutu*, in which harmony and solidarity are prioritized above all other. As such, through its embedded values, *nosarara nosabatutu* could offer a necessary means of shaping the character of the Indonesian nation and promoting nationalism and national integrity.

C. CONCLUSIONS

Through their principle of *nosarara nosabatutu*, the Kaili people of Central Sulawesi have created a worldview that promotes social harmony and integrity. The term *nosarara* indicates a strong sense of kinship and family unity. At the same time, *nosabatutu* refers denotatively to a cloth bag or sack that is traditionally used to store resources that can be used for the public good. Using Scheler's hierarchy of values, the principle of *nosarara nosabatutu* can be defined as embodying vital and spiritual values that are manifested in the everyday activities and lives of the Kaili people.

As a principle that promotes kinship, solidarity, and harmony, *nosarara nosabatutu* embodies vital values that are used to maintain social welfare. The kinship embodied by *nosarara* also indicates a specific spiritual sentiment and preference, namely that human beings should love each other as kin, as reflected in the phrase *sararata le/sararata ia* ('our brother/'our sister'). Meanwhile, the spiritual value of *nosabatutu* conveys a shared sense of responsibility, respect, and a willingness to promote the greater good, to maintain secrecy, and to exercise caution. It implies that social harmony and solidarity should be prioritized above all others.

This article has shown that, within a Schelerian hierarchy of values, *nosarara* exists at the vital level while *nosabatutu* exists at the spiritual level; however, both values convey spiritual sentiments and preferences. *Nosarara* teaches the Kaili that they must love each other as they love themselves, thereby reflecting Kaili's spirituality. Meanwhile, *nosabatutu* explains that communities must work together to maintain resources and to keep secrets. As all Kaili come from the same womb, they must live together as a family and share the same resources. This is a valuable inspiration for religious harmony in Indonesia.

³⁶Fronzizi, *What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology*.

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**Acknowledgement to Reviewers of Wawasan:
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The editorial team greatly appreciates the reviewers who have dedicated their considerable time and expertise to the journal's rigorous editorial process, regardless of whether the papers are finally published or not. The editors would like to express their sincere gratitude to the following reviewers for their generous contribution in Volume 4 No. 2, December 2019:

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Jurnal Ilmiah Agama dan Sosial Budaya

Publisher:

Faculty of Ushuluddin UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung
Jl. AH Nasution No. 105 Cibiru, Bandung, West Java, Indonesia

