

## **Cultural Reproduction of the Jawi Book in the Recitation Tradition in Palembang**

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### **Abstract**

The Jawi Books, an essential component of Islamic teachings in Southeast Asia, plays a vital role in cultural and religious education. Its study in Palembang, Indonesia, provides insights into the processes of cultural reproduction and adaptation within a contemporary context. This qualitative research explores the teaching methods, motivations, and cultural implications associated with studying the Jawi Books in Palembang. The methodology includes interviews with local scholars, observations of teaching sessions, and an analysis of the content and usage of the Jawi Book in various religious assemblies. The research discovered that the primary motivation for studying the Jawi Books is to aid local congregations in understanding Arabic texts. Despite its historical roots, the Jawi Books remains a significant source of religious knowledge, supported by a strong network of scholars across regions such as Kalimantan, Aceh, Malaysia, and Thailand. The teaching methods are varied, combining traditional approaches like the *talaqqi* method with modern digital platforms, including YouTube. The study uncovers a symbolic power struggle in the interpretation between Hadromaut and local Palembang clerics, suggesting widespread cultural assimilation. The study of the Jawi Books in Palembang is a prime example of cultural reproduction, adapting traditional Islamic teachings to contemporary needs and contexts, which is crucial for maintaining the relevance and transmission of religious knowledge across generations. These findings underscore the importance of local interpretations and teaching methods in preserving cultural and religious identities in an increasingly globalized world.

Keywords: Cultural Reproduction; Islamic Teachings; Jawi Book; Religious Education; Southeast Asia.

### **Abstrak**

Kitab Jawi, komponen penting dari ajaran Islam di Asia Tenggara, memainkan peran vital dalam pendidikan budaya dan agama. Studinya di Palembang, Indonesia, memberikan wawasan tentang proses reproduksi budaya dan adaptasi dalam konteks kontemporer. Penelitian kualitatif ini mengeksplorasi metode pengajaran, motivasi, dan implikasi budaya yang terkait dengan studi Kitab Jawi di Palembang. Metodologinya meliputi wawancara dengan para ulama lokal, pengamatan sesi pengajaran, dan analisis konten dan penggunaan Kitab Jawi dalam berbagai majelis agama. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa motivasi utama mempelajari Kitab Jawi adalah untuk membantu jemaah lokal memahami teks-teks Arab. Meskipun memiliki akar sejarah, Kitab Jawi tetap menjadi sumber pengetahuan agama yang signifikan, didukung oleh jaringan para ulama yang kuat di berbagai wilayah seperti Kalimantan, Aceh, Malaysia, dan Thailand. Metode pengajarannya bervariasi, menggabungkan pendekatan tradisional seperti metode *talaqqi* dengan platform digital modern, termasuk YouTube. Studi ini mengungkap adanya persaingan kekuatan simbolis dalam interpretasi antara ulama Hadramaut dan ulama lokal Palembang, menunjukkan adanya asimilasi budaya yang luas. Studi Kitab Jawi di Palembang adalah contoh utama reproduksi budaya, mengadaptasi ajaran Islam tradisional ke kebutuhan dan konteks modern, yang penting untuk mempertahankan relevansi dan transmisi pengetahuan agama lintas generasi. Temuan ini menekankan pentingnya interpretasi dan metode pengajaran lokal dalam mempertahankan identitas budaya dan agama di dunia yang semakin global.

Kata Kunci: Reproduksi Budaya; Ajaran Islam; Kitab Jawi; Pendidikan Agama; Asia Tenggara.

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## INTRODUCTION

The practice of interpreting the Quran in Indonesia exhibits a rich diversity in linguistic and scriptural choices, reflecting the varied cultural contexts and regional needs. This tradition dates back to the late 16th century, as evidenced by Anthony H. Johns' research, which highlights the use of local discussions for Quranic interpretation employing Arabic-derived scripts, namely Jawi and Pegon. Further developments in this interpretative tradition have been noted by scholars like Nur Ichwan, who points out the emergence of Quranic exegesis in several local languages such as Javanese, Malay, Bugis, and Sundanese (Ichwan, 2002). The Malay language, in particular, plays a significant role in the region, being one of the official languages in Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and parts of Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines (Low, 2020). Notably, the Indonesian language, while an offshoot of Malay, has undergone significant evolution and adaptation, incorporating numerous elements from Javanese, thus highlighting the linguistic and cultural interplay in the region's religious discourse.

Building upon the diverse linguistic landscape of Quranic interpretation in Indonesia, the 19th century witnessed a significant rise of the Malay ulema, particularly through the proliferation of the Jawi book. This period was marked by a notable contribution from Javanese (Southeast Asian) scholars, many of whom had established their careers in Mecca in the field of Islamic scholarship. Their experiences in Mecca played a crucial role in enhancing their religious authority upon returning to their native lands. Importantly, Meccan influences in the 19th century introduced a pivotal shift in pedagogical approaches among the Javanese scholars. Previously reliant predominantly on oral transmissions from their masters, these scholars began adopting printed texts as a primary medium for teaching. This transition mirrored a broader trend among Meccan cleric intellectuals who started to publish written materials based on their lectures, a practice in which Javanese scholars initially engaged by recording only a few oral utterances (*taqārīr*) (Burhanudin, 2022). This shift towards printed texts signified a critical development in the religious and educational discourse within the region, complementing the existing linguistic and scriptural diversity in Quranic exegesis.

The significance of the Jawi script in the cultural and religious landscape of Indonesia and the wider Archipelago is profound. As Abdullah (2020) notes, the Jawi script, an adaptation of Arabic script, exhibits distinct usage diverging from its Arabic origins. This script's adoption in written Malay represents the deep-rooted influence of Islam and Arabic culture in the region (Mahfud et al., 2021). During the era of the Islamic empires in the archipelago, the Jawi script, primarily utilized in Malay, was extensively employed for various forms of writing, including letters, books, and other documents. This script not only served as a medium for religious and cultural expression but also played a critical role in the preservation and dissemination of knowledge. Classical works written in Jawi, such as the Jawi book, continue to hold immense relevance and are regarded as essential reference materials in Islamic studies across Southeast Asian. This enduring legacy of the Jawi script, in tandem with the previously discussed linguistic diversity and the 19th-century rise of the Malay ulema influenced by Meccan experiences, underscores the intricate tapestry of religious and cultural interactions shaping the Islamic scholarly tradition in the region.

The historical roots of the Jawi language and script extend back to the era of the great kingdoms in the archipelago, highlighting its longstanding significance. The Jawi Book, in particular, has played a pivotal role in forging and strengthening relationships among scholars and the Muslim community across the archipelago. Nabilah & Nikmah (2022) emphasize that the scholarly discourse in the Jawi Book has been instrumental in solidifying Islamic ties within the region. This phenomenon coincides with the established use of the Malay language for bilateral relations between kingdoms, which, prior to the advent of Islam, utilized the Pallawa script, underscoring the Malay language's role as a unifying element among the

archipelago's inhabitants. The widespread distribution and influence of the Jawi Book, extending beyond the archipelago to encompass Southeast Asia, further bolstered these bilateral relations among Muslims in the region. Moreover, the Jawi Book serves as a testament to the close-knit connections between ulama within the archipelago. Eminent scholars, such as Al-Banjari in his work 'Sabilal Muhtadin', frequently acknowledged and referenced their predecessors like Ar-Raniry, illustrating the interlinked scholarly networks. This interconnectedness extends beyond the archipelago, reaching into the Middle East, as the Jawi Book reveals intricate networks of scholarship spanning these regions (Jamaluddin et al., 2020). This rich tapestry of linguistic, religious, and cultural interconnections, as outlined in the Jawi Book, complements the previously discussed themes of linguistic diversity, the rise of the Malay ulema, and the enduring legacy of the Jawi script in Islamic scholarship in Southeast Asia.

Previous studies have extensively examined the pivotal role of the Jawi script in shaping the educational landscape and cultural identity in Southeast Asia, as well as its significance among the Malay race. Research indicates that the Jawi script has been instrumental in the written expression of the Malay language across maritime Southeast Asia since at least the 14th century (Hijjas, 2022). Contrary to common perception, Jawi was not exclusively utilized for Islamic writings; it encompassed a broad spectrum of texts, including secular romances and multiethnic advertising, showcasing its versatility (Hijjas, 2022). Despite the increasing prevalence of the Roman script, Jawi maintains its presence in the linguistic landscapes of Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, and Pattani (Coluzzi, 2022). Recent initiatives have been undertaken to counter the marginalization of Jawi, such as the development of mobile applications aimed at encouraging students to learn the script (Mohd Rashid et al., 2019). Nonetheless, contemporary perspectives in Malaysia often relegate Jawi to a marginalized status, viewing it primarily as a component of national heritage with limited application outside religious discourse (Salehuddin, 2013). These studies highlight the complex dynamics surrounding the Jawi script, underscoring its historical importance and the challenges it faces in the modern era.

While previous research has illuminated the historical and cultural significance of the Jawi script and its diverse applications in Southeast Asia, there remains a dearth of focused study on the contemporary cultural and educational roles of the Jawi Book within specific local traditions, especially in the context of Palembang. Furthermore, existing literature predominantly examines the Jawi script from a linguistic or historical perspective, with limited exploration into its role in the ongoing cultural and religious practices. This study seeks to fill this gap by delving into the use of the Jawi Book in the recitation traditions of Palembang, exploring how it contributes to the cultural reproduction and continuity of Islamic teachings in this region. It aims to provide a nuanced understanding of how the Jawi Book is integrated into the daily religious and cultural lives of the people in Palembang, thereby contributing to the broader discourse on the preservation and evolution of cultural heritage in the Malay-speaking world.

The primary objective of this research is to comprehensively explore and analyze how the Jawi Book contributes to the preservation and transmission of cultural and religious knowledge in Palembang. This study aims to uncover the underlying reasons for the continued use of the Jawi Book in religious recitations and educational practices, despite the prevalence of modern scripts and teaching methods. Additionally, the research seeks to understand the structure of the social network within which the Jawi Book is taught and recited, focusing on the dynamics between teachers and congregants, and how these interactions facilitate the transmission of religious and cultural values. Through this investigation, the study intends to highlight the role of the Jawi Book in maintaining cultural identity and religious traditions within the Malay community in Palembang, thereby contributing valuable insights into the broader context of cultural reproduction and sustainability in the face of globalization and modernization.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This study, rooted in socio-anthropological principles (Astuti, 2022), employs a qualitative approach (Leko et al., 2021; Maxwell, 2021; Mey, 2022) with a case study strategy, focusing on empirical research. The qualitative method is particularly apt for this investigation into the cultural reproduction within the Malay society of Palembang, as it necessitates open-ended questions and direct involvement with the subject matter. Data collection is achieved through a triangulation method, incorporating participant observation (Seim, 2021), in-depth interviews, and documentation studies.

In-depth interviews are conducted in an unstructured format (Chauhan, 2022), eschewing rigid structured guidelines in favor of a more flexible, general outline that addresses the key issues. This approach allows for a more natural and comprehensive exploration of the participants' perspectives. The data analysis follows the Milles and Huberman framework (Price & Smith, 2021), which involves four key steps: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification (Xu et al., 2021). Data reduction is performed as an initial step to simplify and focus the collected data. This is followed by the organization and display of the data, enabling a systematic analysis. Specifically, data from the Taklim Assembly is gathered, identifying and extracting relevant information pertaining to the use of the Jawi book and its role in cultural reproduction. The final step involves analyzing the refined data to draw meaningful conclusions about the study's objectives.

## **RESULTS**

### **Malay and Jawi script**

The development of the Malay language can be segmented into three distinct stages: Old Malay (Daneshgar, 2022), Classical Malay (Hussin & Kamal, 2021), and Modern Malay (Zainal Abidin et al., 2020). The Old Malay language, used from the 7th to the 13th century, coincided with the era of the Sriwijaya kingdom (Islami et al., 2023). Its development was facilitated by a lack of linguistic stratification and a relatively simple structure. During this phase, Old Malay was significantly influenced by Sanskrit (Kahramonovna & Ismatullayeva, 2023), the prevalent language of scholars at the time. This early use of Malay is evidenced by various 7th-century inscriptions, such as the Kedukan Bukit inscription in Palembang (683 AD), and the Talang Ruwo inscriptions, also near Palembang (684 AD).

As the influence of Hinduism gradually waned in the Malay world, this transition also impacted the language and script used by the society. Key historical documents illustrating the evolution of the Malay language include the Letter of the Sultan of Aceh to British Captain James Lancaster, the Letter of Sultan Aluddin Syah to Harry Middleton, and the Letter of the King of Aceh to King Giacomo of Britain. These letters are preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, London. Significantly, the inception of Modern Malay is traced back to the 19th century, predating the British colonization of the region.

The Malay Arabic script, commonly known as the Jawi script, primarily utilizes the Arabic script (Hijaiyah letters), as noted by Makmur et al. (2021). However, not all elements of the Hijaiyah letters are incorporated into the Jawi script. This adaptation arises due to linguistic adjustments, particularly in the use of vowels (punctuation marks). Moreover, the Jawi script includes several unique features not present in the Hijaiyah letters, such as the addition of three dots above or below certain letters and the introduction of new letter forms. This evolution signifies that the Jawi script has been significantly influenced by its parent script, the Arabic script (Ibrahim & Shah, 2020; Malik et al., 2020). Researchers, therefore, categorize the development of the Jawi script into two distinct types: one influenced by Arabic and the other by Malay (Mukhamdanah et al., 2023). The Arabic-influenced Jawi script retains the use of Arabic

diacritics (lines) either throughout the text or in specific words. In contrast, the Malay-influenced Jawi script employs vowels (testimony letters) to substitute for the Arabic script's diacritics (Adam, 2021).

Analyzing the current system of the Jawi script reveals that it has been significantly influenced by Malay, particularly in its substitution of diacritics (lines) with witness letters. This is evident in the contemporary Jawi script, where witness letters are utilized, unlike in the Pegon script, which retains the traditional Arabic script for writing Javanese in Indonesia (Aziz et al., 2022). Initially, the Jawi script relied on Arabic script and its associated diacritics. When comparing the use of lines with witness letters, the former is generally simpler and more straightforward, facilitating easier comprehension. The absence of diacritics in modern Jawi script often leads to reading difficulties and errors, a situation further complicated by the inconsistent application of witness letters, despite them being intended to align with established norms. Conversely, the use of diacritics in Jawi script traditionally ensured more accurate reading.

Furthermore, the significance of Jawi writing extends to its role in the study of religions in the archipelago, especially within Islamic universities. The term "Yellow Book," as referred to by Azyumardi Azra (1994), denotes religious texts in Arabic, Malay, Javanese, or other regional Indonesian languages using the Arabic script. These texts, authored not only by Middle Eastern scholars but also by Indonesian scholars, underscore the diverse contributions to the religious and scholarly landscape of the region (Shobirin & Wafiroh, 2021).

### **The Book of Jawi and Its Development in Palembang**

The Jawi script's history in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, can be traced back to the advent of Islam, believed to have occurred in the 1st century Hijri or the 7th century AD. Evidence of its early use is found in archaeological data, such as tombstones from the 11th, 13th, and early 15th centuries AD, which showcase Arabic inscriptions. Notable examples include the tomb of Fatimah bint Maimun bin Hibatullah (475 H/1082 AD) in Leran-Gresik, adorned with Kufic script; the tombstone of Sultan Malik as-Saleh (696 H/1297 AD) in Gampong Samudera Pasai, Lhokseumawe, featuring Tsuluts script; and the tombstone at Maulana Malik Ibrahim's tomb (822 H/1419 AD) in Gresik, also inscribed in Tsuluts.

The earliest known instance of Jawi script is the Trengganu Inscribed Stone in Malaysia, dated 4 Rajab 702 Hijriah or 22 February 1303 AD, researched by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (2012). According to Hasyim Musa, the Arabic script adapted to the Malay spelling is known as the Jawi script (Sulaiman et al., 2022). However, Hasyim Musa, referring to Omar Awang's opinion, admitted that he was not sure who named the writing. And he denied that the Jawi script was related to the name Java or the island of Java. This does not make sense because the Jawi script already existed and was used in the Land of Sumatra and the Peninsula before Java fell into the hands of the Muslims in 883 H/1468 AD. The word Jawi may have come from the Arabic word 'al Jawah' which was used in Arabic documents which written before the middle of the 14th century AD. for the name of the island of Sumatra from Yaqut,

Basically the Jawi script is the Arabic script used as a whole and a few letters are added which are modified by adding dots to match the consonants that apply in Jawi. (Coluzzi, 2022). The Arabic script consists of twenty nine letters (Alzahrani, 2020). Write from right to left, connecting the consonants according to the respective letters and words. Because the Arabic script is all consonants, not accompanied by vowels. The writing of the Jawi Book already exists. During the period of the Sultanate many writers appeared, for example Shihab al-Din, Kemas Fakhr al-Din, Muhammad Muhyi al-Din, Kemas Muhammad and especially Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani.

## The Tradition of Studying the Jawi Book in Palembang

Majlis Ta'lim, a vital platform for Islamic education, has a deeply rooted tradition that dates back to the early days of Islam, when Prophet Muhammad sought to liberate people from the heretical beliefs of the Quraysh and other forms of oppression (Hafidz, 2020). These gatherings played a critical role in the dissemination of Islamic teachings and the establishment of a communal learning environment.

In Indonesia, the legal framework for Majlis Ta'lim, as a non-formal educational institution, is outlined in Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the national education system, specifically in Article 106 (Ridwan, 2020). In Palembang, several Majlis Ta'lim actively conduct studies of the Jawi Book. Among them is Majlis Ta'lim Babul Ilmi, led by St. Muhammad Azhari, commonly known as Ust. Ari, born on February 6, 1987. Located on Jalan Soak Simpung in Palembang City, this assembly was established in 2012 with initially seven congregants. It initially used Arabic texts like 'Ihya Ulumuddin' by Imam Al Ghazali for recitations. However, to facilitate better understanding and after completing tajwid, Ust. Ari transitioned to using Jawi books, specifically 'Sair Salikin' and 'Hidayatussalin', to teach Fiqh and Tawasuf.

Another notable venue is the Great Mosque of Palembang, or Joyo Kromo Mosque, situated in the city center. It hosts various Majlis, including studies of the Jawi Book, taught by KH Majid Dahlan, born in Palembang on December 27, 1979. With an educational background from SD Negeri, SMP PGRI, and SMKN, Dahlan teaches Jawi books like 'Sair Salikin' and 'Hidayatussalikin' by the renowned Palembang scholar KH Abdussomad Al Palimbani. These sessions aim to make religious understanding accessible to the common people. Although Malay books are used, a basic knowledge of Arabic, including nahwu and sharaf, is still necessary due to the presence of Arabic verses and theorems without vowels. Thus, these gatherings not only preserve the tradition of the Jawi Book but also adapt it to contemporary needs, ensuring the transmission of religious knowledge to broader segments of society.

## Jawi Book Study Method

The study of the Jawi Book in Palembang is an enduring tradition, intricately woven into the fabric of the local Islamic culture. At the heart of this tradition are the teaching methods employed by respected educators like Ustad K H Majid Dahlan, which are instrumental in keeping the Jawi script and its teachings alive in the contemporary Islamic community.

Ustad K H Majid Dahlan, in a detailed interview in 2022, shared insights into his approach to teaching the Jawi Book. He adopts the *Talaqqi* Method, an interactive and explanatory technique that combines lectures with a question-and-answer session, enabling a thorough understanding of the material. This method, rooted in traditional Islamic pedagogy, emphasizes direct transmission of knowledge from teacher to student (Rahim et al., 2016; Yusof et al., 2018). It's a testament to the enduring relevance of classical teaching methods in modern religious education.

Dahlan's classes attract a diverse group of participants, ranging from retirees and entrepreneurs to academics and homemakers. This diversity not only illustrates the widespread appeal of the Jawi Book but also the inclusive nature of Dahlan's teaching approach. As he explains, "After presenting the Jawi Book's teachings, it's crucial to allow time for questions, ensuring that every attendee, regardless of their background, can grasp the material fully" (Dahlan, Personal Communication, 2022).

The tradition of studying the Jawi Book in Palembang dates back to the Majlis Sultan Agung, where teachers like KH Zawawi Izhom have played a pivotal role. Izhom, a mentor to both Ustad Muhammad Azahari and Ustadz KH Majid Dahlan, is credited with detailing the history and progression of the Taklim Assembly and the study of the Jawi Book in Palembang. Significantly, Izhom holds a direct Sanad from Ust Abdu Somad al Palimbani, underscoring a direct lineage of knowledge transmission.

The Majelis Ta'lim Umaria, led by Ustad Kemas Andi Syarifuddin, is another prominent venue for the study of the Jawi Book. Born in 1971, Syarifuddin imparts teachings from the 'Hidayatussalikin' and 'Bidayatul Ilmiah' books, the latter penned by Syekh Muhammad Azhari bin Abdullah Al Palimbani. This approach, deeply entrenched in Sufism and Fiqh, reflects the diverse theological foundations of the Jawi Book. Syarifuddin (Personal Communication, 2022), who studied under his grandfather KH Umar Thoyyib, uses a similar talaqqi and question-and-answer methodology, providing his students with original texts and photocopies for a comprehensive learning experience.

The selection of teachers for the Jawi Book is a meticulous process, focusing on individuals who are not only knowledgeable but also have earned the trust of their own teachers. These educators are recognized for their ability to deliver content effectively, often incorporating the local Palembang language to enhance understanding. Their proficiency in Arabic, both in speaking and writing, is also a crucial component, ensuring authenticity in the transmission of Islamic teachings.

The venues for these teachings are diverse, ranging from mosques and prayer rooms to private residences and local shops, symbolizing the community's deep-rooted commitment to religious education. The flexibility of these settings reflects the adaptability of the Jawi Book teachings to various environments, ensuring wider accessibility.

### **Cultural Reproduction of the Jawi Book in Palembang**

Cultural reproduction, as a term, refers to the intensive process of maintaining the existence of inherent cultural practices within diverse societies, often necessitating adaptation to various cultural backgrounds. This process involves active participation in preserving original cultural practices within different social environments. The culture or tradition is then processed and negotiated to ensure its survival alongside long-standing traditions.

In the discourse on the utilization and adaptation of Islamic texts within the Malay Islamic world, the works of Matheson and Hooker (1988) provide a compelling comparison. Their study on 'al-Fatawa al-Fataniyyah' by Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani exemplifies the intricate process of contextualizing Arabic sources to the local nuances of Southeast Asian societies, including the innovative use of media. This approach mirrors the translation dynamics observed in 'Muhimmat al-Nafa'is fi Bayan As'ilah al-Hadith', originally authored in Arabic by Syekh Dahlan, a Mufti of Mecca from the Shafi'i school. The transformation of this text into Malay was a strategic response to the queries of the local Southeast Asian populace. Iik Arifin Mansurnoor's (1998) observation that the Jawi Book primarily serves as a source of simplified and intermediary texts rather than original research aligns with a broader trend in Islamic scholarly work within the region. These translations, while not original scholarly contributions in the strictest sense, have played a pivotal role in enhancing public engagement with Islamic teachings, indicating a significant overlap with other research findings that emphasize the role of translation and adaptation in disseminating religious knowledge in the Malay Islamic context.

The study of the Jawi Book in Palembang is deeply intertwined with the crucial role played by the ulama in both understanding and educating the public. The city is home to a diverse range of ulama, encompassing native Palembang clerics, Indonesian scholars, and clerics from Hadramaut — some of whom have contributed to writing the Jawi Book, while others do not use it as a reference. This rich tradition of studying the Jawi Book continues to thrive in Palembang, evidenced by the numerous Majelis Ta'lim actively engaged in its study. These assemblies, as highlighted by Saputra & Prastyo (2021), serve as pivotal centers for those seeking to deepen their knowledge of Islamic teachings and traditions, rooted deeply in the history of Islamic development.

The ongoing study and teaching of the Jawi Book in Palembang, as practiced by scholars like KH Zawawi Izhom, Ustad Muhammad Azahari, Ustadz KH Majid Dahlan, and Ustad Kemas Andi Syarifuddin, reflect a broader phenomenon of cultural resilience and adaptation. These scholars, leveraging their social capital - a network of shared knowledge, beliefs, and values as outlined by Mishra (2020) and Analia et al. (2020) - not only perpetuate traditional Islamic teachings but also adapt them to contemporary contexts. This adaptation is evident in their method of teaching the Jawi scriptures, customized to meet the needs of the local congregation, including the use of the Palembang language for clearer understanding.

The robust study network of the Jawi scriptures in Palembang, bridging local and foreign scholars, signifies a vibrant intellectual ecosystem that transcends geographical boundaries. The widespread availability and varying versions of the Jawi Book, both original and translated, signify a demand for accessible religious texts, reflecting the deep-rooted desire for spiritual knowledge across diverse communities.

Moreover, the assimilation of cultural elements from Hadramaut and local clerics, with the use of both original Arabic texts and Jawi translations, highlights a dynamic process of cultural exchange and integration. This phenomenon is indicative of a larger trend in the Islamic world, where the preservation of traditional knowledge coexists with the need to adapt to the linguistic and cultural realities of different communities.

Thus, the study of the Jawi scriptures in Palembang is not merely a local or isolated practice; it is emblematic of the broader process of cultural and religious adaptation within the global Islamic community. It underscores the ability of religious scholarship to evolve while maintaining its core principles, reflecting the ongoing dialogue between tradition and modernity in the Islamic world (Zainuddin, 2023).

The assimilation between Hadramaut and Nusantara scholars in Palembang is a reflection of a broader cultural and scientific exchange. While Hadramaut scholars traditionally relied on original Arabic texts, an increasing number have begun to utilize Jawi translations, although these are not as prominent as those authored by Nusantara scholars. This shift indicates a growing cultural assimilation, where scholars from different backgrounds blend their approaches to religious teachings.

To fully grasp the dynamics of reciting the Jawi scriptures in Palembang, it is essential to understand the 'arena' - a social structure where various actors, including Majlis Ta'lim, congregations, and teachers or ustadz, interact. These actors are not only engaged in the act of recitation but are also involved in a complex interplay of power and legitimacy that validates cultural products within their community. This scenario encompasses a range of social conditions, including the production, circulation, and consumption of symbolic goods.

The study of the Jawi Book in Palembang has evolved from being confined to ustadz's houses, mosques, and prayer rooms with limited congregations, to a more expansive practice. It now takes place in various locations, including congregants' homes and Muslim fashion shops, with flexibility in location being agreed upon by the congregation. This adaptability reflects the changing nature of religious studies and the importance of keeping the community engaged.

The dissemination of information about the Jawi book and its study is not limited to personal networks; it has expanded to digital platforms like Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook. This expansion aligns with Bourdieu's theory, which suggests life is akin to a game where 'capital' - both economic and cultural - plays a crucial role. The blending of traditional and modern methods in studying the Jawi Book is an innovative approach, marking a significant cultural evolution within a relatively short period. Such



innovation includes not just new discoveries but also novel ways of disseminating cultural elements across society.

In the context of Palembang, many of the authors and teachers of the Jawi scriptures were Indonesian ulama, including figures such as Abdus Somad Al Palimbani, Sheikh Arsyad Al Banjari, and Sheikh Abdul Wahab Bugis. Interestingly, there are very few Hadramaut ulama involved in teaching or writing Jawi books. This observation raises the question of a symbolic power struggle between Indonesian ulama and ulama of Hadramaut descent, especially considering that 'Habib' is an anthropological term for Hadramaut descendants of Husein bin Ali. The interaction between these two groups of ulama is an interesting aspect of the cultural and religious landscape of Palembang.

## CONCLUSION

The study on Cultural Reproduction in the Jawi Book in Palembang highlights key insights, showing that its study primarily aims to simplify understanding of Arabic texts for local congregations, attributing enduring value and spiritual significance to the Jawi Book. Despite its age, the Jawi Book remains a vital source of religious knowledge, supported by a strong network of scholars spanning regions like Kalimantan, Aceh, Malaysia, and Thailand. The study practices in Palembang are diverse, utilizing both traditional methods like talaqqi and modern approaches such as sima'i via YouTube, enhancing engagement and preventing monotony. A notable aspect of the study is the symbolic power struggle between Hadramaut and Palembang clerics over the Jawi Book's interpretation, with Hadramaut scholars favoring original Arabic texts, while Palembang scholars appreciate the Jawi Book for its clarity. Instances of Hadramaut clerics referencing Jawi-language books suggest a cultural assimilation between the two scholarly traditions.

The research, however, has its limitations. While it delves into the cultural significance and teaching methods of the Jawi Book, there is an opportunity for further exploration into the contemporary relevance of the Jawi Book among younger generations. The suggestion from teachers and congregations to include the Jawi script in local educational curriculums and to introduce the Jawi Book to the youth highlights a gap in current cultural transmission. Addressing this gap could strengthen the identity and heritage of the Malay community, ensuring the continuity and relevance of the Jawi Book in modern times.

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