

# ESENSIA

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

Religious Inclusivism in Indonesia : Study of  
Pesantren An-Nida and Edi Mancoro, Salatiga,  
Central Java

*Masroer*

المعاملة مع البيئة في منظور القرآن الكريم  
(دراسة التفسير الموضوعي- السياقي)

د.عبد المستقيم

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The Relation of Animism and Diversity in  
Pinrang District

(A Theological Study of Bulu' Nene')

*Hj. Muliati*

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## Shalat Tarawih Juziyyah in Madrasah Huffadz: Community of Memorizers of Quran, Identity Politics, and Religious Authority

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### Abstract

*This article delves the reception of the Quran in Indonesia. This article, phenomenologically speaking, explores the tradition of tarawih juziyyah (the tarawih with completion of Quranic recitation) during Ramadan in Pondok Pesantren Madrasah Huffadz Krapyak Yogyakarta. This paper focuses on hierarchy of meanings emerging from the research subjects involved in the tradition. In addition to that, this research elaborates the transmission and transformation of the Quran taking place in ritual and non-ritual dimension of the tradition. Furthermore, it seeks out the hegemony and identity negotiation being hidden in the tarawih. Concluding the research, I argue that the tarawih juziyyah encapsulates two phenomena (prayer and khataman) in one tradition and thus proves that the Quran holds sufficient power with which its memorizer gain, after sorts of politicization, highly prestigious status among muslims community.*

**Keywords:** *Quran, identity politics, tarawih juziyyah.*

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini membahas tentang bentuk tradisi resepsi al-quran di Indonesia. Penelitian ini secara fenomenologis akan mengeksplor praktek shalat tarawih juziyyah (shalat tarawih dengan membaca satu setengah juz dari al-quran setiap malamnya) pada bulan ramadhan di Pondok Pesantren Madrasah Huffadz Krapyak Yogyakarta. Fokus penelitian ini terletak pada hierarki makna yang muncul dari para subjek penelitian terkait dengan tradisi shalat tarawih juziyyah tersebut. Selain itu, penelitian ini melihat bentuk transmisi dan transformasi pengetahuan yang terjadi, menunjukkan adanya dimensi ritual dan non-ritual dalam praktek itu, serta menjelaskan adanya hegemoni dan negosiasi identitas yang muncul dari tradisi shalat tarawih juziyyah tersebut. Salat tarawih juziyah, yang mengapsulkan dua fenomena dalam satu praktek, menjadi bukti bahwa al-Qur'an memiliki kuasa yang cukup besar untuk dipolitisasi sedemikian rupa sehingga menghafalnya mendapatkan status sangat prestis di kalangan masyarakat muslim.

**Kata kunci:** *Quran, politik identitas, tarawih juziyyah.*



## Madrasah Huffadz

Tarawih<sup>1</sup> *juziyyah*<sup>2</sup> which became the subject here took place in Pondok Pesantren al-Munawwir, particularly Madrasa Huffadz 1, Krapyak, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The study was conducted in 2017 (during ramadhan 1438 H), from day 1 to 20 of ramadan (27 May - 15 June 2017). Such a ritual brings together the *santris* and *ustad badal*<sup>3</sup> of Madrasah Huffadz.

Madrasah Huffadz is a *komplek* (part) of huge pesantren named Pondok Pesantren Al-Munawwir. The pesantren was founded by KH. Muhammad Munawwir on November 15, 1911. After his death on 11 Jumadil Akhir 1360/6 July 1942, the pesantren was then led by “Tiga Serangkai”; KH. R. Abdullah Afandi Munawwir, KH. R. Abdul Qodir Munawwir, and KH. Ali Maksum. As the interests of santri develops to mastering *turas* (classical Islamic texts), in 1955 KH. R. Abdul Qodir Munawwir initiated Madrasah Huffadz, a particular complex for those specialize to memorize the Quran.<sup>4</sup>

After KH. R. Abdul Qadir Munawwir passed away, his son, KH. R. Muhammad Najib Abdul Qadir, holds the leadership. Being aware of the impacts of globalization, KH.R. Muhammad Najib Abdul Qadir accepts *santris* with interest of memorizing and doing their education in formal institutions in Yogyakarta. Beginning in the academic year 2016/2017 and

responding to such a polarization, *Romo Kyai* Najib<sup>5</sup> established new building specialized for those memorizing Quran without enrolling in formal education.

In spite of dormitory-dividing the activities remain the same, gathering all *santris* of two complexes. There are three kinds of routine agendas in Madrasah Huffadz; daily, weekly, and *selapanan*<sup>6</sup> Quran recitation.

## Daily Recitation

*Talaqqi*: Is an activity in which the teacher exemplify the ‘right’ way and manner of reciting the al-quran, then the *santris* imitate his/her. *Talaqqi* is performed daily after the dawn prayer (*salat subh*), every day but Friday. *Talaqqi* is performed alternately in two complexes, Madrasah Huffadz and Ribatul Quran, and is led by *Romo Kyai* Najib.

*Setoran*: Is a memorizing activity involving *santris* and *ustadz badal*. The schedule allows *setoran* to hold twice a day - except Friday: after the *talaqqi* and after the *isha* prayer. *Setoran* are held in the *aula* (meeting room) of each complex with the assigned *ustadz badal*—mostly referred to as *setoran aula*. Having completed reciting 10 *juz* (parts) of the Quran before the *badal*, *santris* are to be examined (reciting 5 parts at minimum *sak lungguhan*) in *sima’an ngaji pak yai*<sup>7</sup> and later

<sup>1</sup> Tarawih is sunna prayer muslims conduct during Ramadan after *isha* prayer, in 20 rakaats in congregation. Further about this, see Andre Moller, Ramadan In Java: The Joy and Jihad of the Fasting Ritual (Sweden: Department of History and Anthropology of Religions Lund University, 2005), 295-305.

<sup>2</sup> *Juziyyah* refers to tarawih in each *raka’at* of which the leader (*imam*) reads a part and half (1.5). It is due to the intention of completing (*khatam*) the whole Quran (with 30 parts/*juz*) on 20<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan.

<sup>3</sup> *Ustadz Badal* is a term for *santri* who has lived in Madrasah Huffadz for long period, has completed (*khatam*) 30 *juz*, and has been assigned to teach (*nyimak*) junior *santris*.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Mas’udi Fathurrahman, *Romo Kyai Qodir: Pendiiri Madrosatul Huffaddh Pondok Pesantren Al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2011), 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Romo Kyai* refers to the leader (mostly called caregiver) of *Pondok Pesantren* (boarding school), especially in Java. The term encapsulates respect of the *santri* to the caregiver of boarding school.

<sup>6</sup> *Selapanan* is an adjective for rituals held in 35 days. Many has put that this term relates to the celebration of childbirth. However the term also relates to other rituals.

<sup>7</sup> In *sima’an*, *santris* undergoing the examination provide snacks, food, and drinks, even cigarettes for *penyimak*, other *santris* listening to the recitation, to correct the reciter for wrong recitation if any. The process begins with the opening by *ustadz badal* by reciting the *hadhras* (a gift of prayer for the teachers, parents, family, etc.) and the al-fatihah letter. The *santri* in exam then recites 5 parts at minimum from memory. Having completed recitation, all *santris* involved are eating together, celebrating the success of the exam. The ritual of eating together is held to help other *santris* to keep their memorization of the Quran, with the blessings of Quran (*bi barakatil Quran*).

allowed to do *setoran* before Romo Yai Najib, in his house.

*Ngantri*: is a term referring only to waiting before *setoran* to Romo Kyai Najib. Conducted twice in a day, i.e., in the afternoon after *dhuhur* prayer (or in the morning during Ramadan) and at night after the *setoran aula* finished. Not only santri from two complexes who do the *ngantri*, but also those from other complexes who have met the prerequisites of *setoran* to Romo Kyai Najib. In terms of what is recited, there is a *qira'ah masyhuroh* (the common way of reciting Quran which is Hafs 'an 'Ashim), and *qira'ah al-sab'ah*.<sup>8</sup>

### Weekly Recitation

- a. *Halaqah*: This activity is held once a week in the *aula*, Sunday night after the *setoran aula*. In this activity, santri are divided into groups of four. Each group recites one part. As one member reads out the Quran from the memory, the other three listen to the reciter, and so on until the four members read that part completely. After all the groups have finished the reciting, they will proceed with *tahlil* and prayer (*du'a*).<sup>9</sup>
- b. *Selapanan* Recitation.
- c. *Simaan*: is the activity done once every 35 days (*selapan*), precisely on Friday *wage*

<sup>8</sup> *Qira'ah al-Sab'ah* are seven ways of reciting al-quran based on the mutawatir chain of transmission of the Imam Qira'ah. The seven Imams are Imam Ibn 'Amir, Imam Ibn Kathir, Imam 'Ashim al-Kufi, Imam Abu 'Amr, Imam Hamzah al-Kufi, Imam Nafi', Imam Ali Kisaiy. See Ahmad Fathoni, *Kaidah Qira'at Tujuh* (Jakarta: Institut PTIQ, Institut Ilmu Al-quran (IIQ), Darul Ulum Press, 2009), 5-13. See Taufik Adnan Amal, *Rekonstruksi Sejarah Al-quran* (Jakarta: Divisi Muslim Demokratis, 2011), 338-346.

<sup>9</sup> *Tahlil* is a tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) which aims to pray for those who have died, be it family, friends, teachers, etc. *Tahlil* contains passages from al-quran among which are al-fatihah, al-ikhlas, al-falaq, al-nass, early al-baqarah (verses 1-5), the final part of al-baqarah (verses 283-286), as well as *kalimat thayyibah* (good prayers) and *shalawat* which are highly recommended to be read by Muslims such as *astaghfirullahal 'adhim, subhanallah, laailaha illallah, allahummashalli' ala sayyidina muhammad*.

at al-Munawwir mosque after the *setoran aula* completed, involving by the santri of Madrasa Huffadz and Ribatul Quran. The readers at this *simaan* of Friday *wage* are Mbah Yai Najib and the *ustadz badal*, by reciting alternately every two pages, while the other santri listen to the recitations. In one *simaan* of Friday *wage*, it only three parts of Quran.

The most interesting thing to observe and still have a close relationship with this research is the study conducted by Clifford Geertz in classifying people in Indonesia-especially Javanese-into three kinds of groups, namely abangan, santri, and priyayi.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of the three groupings, it became clear that the subject of the study that became the focus of this research is the santri group, specifically the santri of Madrasah Huffadz al-Munawwir Krapyak Yogyakarta. According to Geertz, the santri refers to the part of the society who practices the teachings of Islam consistently, becoming a political identity as well as lower and middle class society in Java. Geertz says that:

*"The santri religious tradition, consisting, not only of a careful and regular execution of the basic rituals of Islam—the prayer, the fast, the pilgrimage—but also of a whole complex of social, charitable, and political Islamic organizations..."*<sup>11</sup>

Regardless of the pros and cons of Geertz's argument and classification, it cannot be denied that santri have their own place in the social space of society in Java. Santri is considered the

<sup>10</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*, New York: Free Press, 1960, 5-6. The classification by Geertz actually draws criticism from M.C. Ricklefs, because the actual classification by Geertz is not a new phenomenon that emerged in the mid-20th century, but has existed since the end of the 19th century. See Noorhaidi Hasan dan Irfan Abubakar (ed), *Islam di Ruang Publik: Politik Identitas dan Masa Depan Demokrasi di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Center of The Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2011), 27.

<sup>11</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java*, New York: Free Press, 1960, 6.

most frequent and intense group interacting with the Quran, studying it, reciting it, memorizing it, practicing it, etc. The Quran is no longer understood as a private matter. It has undergone the transmission and transformation from a very private and individual sphere into something public and communal. Not only that, this orientation also changed from the previous theological to a very social. *Khataman al-quran* is usually done by just completing the reciting of the Quran in special *majlis*, now undergoing a transformation into a new form, even also experiencing collaboration with other religious rituals. So it can be concluded that research on tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is not only to examine one phenomenon, but two at once; collaborating in one ritual, the ritual of *tarawih prayer* itself and the ritual of *khatm al-quran* simultaneously.<sup>12</sup>

### Tarawih Juziyyah Prayer: Between Tarawih Prayers and Khataman al-Quran

For the santri of Madrasah Huffadz, Ramadhan is considered the "hari raya" of the santri.<sup>13</sup> Compared to other months than ramadhan, one could see how intensely the santri interact with Quran. They deeply focus on the Quran. Not only the santri, the Romo Yai shows in public that he do respect the ramadan. In 'ordinary' days,<sup>14</sup> *Romo Kyai* often *tindakan*<sup>15</sup> and the *setoran* is absent. He spends 98 percent

<sup>12</sup> *Khatm al-quran* is the activity of completing complete al-quran reciting thirty (30) juz and one hundred and fourteen (114) suras.

<sup>13</sup> The term "hari raya" arose and eventually became a kind of slogan from the Madrasah Huffadz who were pleased with the coming of Ramadhan month, for in this month they can do the *setoran* to *Romo Kyai* for day and night. In ramadhan also, the intensity of the santri for *setoran* to *Romo Kyai* increases compared to the 'ordinary days'. They are doing "kejar setoran." So the "hari raya" here is actually not only applicable for the santri's only, but also for *Romo Kyai* himself.

<sup>14</sup> Muslims held ramadan as very special that one should see other days as very low compared to it.

<sup>15</sup> *Tindakan* is a term commonly used by santri to show the word "go" which is specialized to *Romo Kyai*. The term encapsulate the special position of *Romo Kyai* to santri and pesantren environment.

of his time in pesantren, so that santri can do *setoran* their momorization every day, day and night.

However, among the most striking and unique activities and routines not found on a typical day in Madrasa Huffadz in ramadhan is tarawih *juziyyah* prayer. The tarawih *juziyyah* is held in the *aula* and involving the santri of Madrasah Huffadz in congregation (*jama'ah*). Tarawih *juziyyah* started after the isya 'prayer which is also done in congregation. After the isya 'prayer, the *jama'ah* (people involved) still remain in the places (mosque and *aula*) for *dhikr*. They mostly do prayer between the isya prayer and the tarawih *juziyyah* prayer, commonly known as the *ba'diyyah isya prayer*.<sup>16</sup>

The Imams who lead the tarawih *juziyyah* are those who have the status of *ustadz badal* and those who have khatam-graduation 30 juz. The tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is performed in twenty (20) *rakaat* with two-rakaat-salam model and added with *witr* prayer of three (3) *rakaat*, divided into two (2) *rakaat* greetings and one (1) *rakaat* salam. One of the things that makes the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer unique is that the Imam who leads the prayer is not only one (1) person, but there is a change of Imam in every four (4) *rakaat*. In practice, the Imam who leads the Isha prayer immediately proceeds to lead the tarawih prayer at the beginning, then proceeded by another Imam to finish 20 *rakaat*.<sup>17</sup>

After reciting al-fatihah, the imam reads one and half (1.5) juz each night-20 *rakaat*. For the very reason, the tarawih is called tarawih

<sup>16</sup> In Islam such the prayers are known as *sunnah rawatib* prayer, the *sunnah* prayer done before (*qabliyyah*) and after (*ba'diyyah*) fardlu prayer (obliged). Research on tarawih prayer is the subject of Andre Moller, but his study of tarawih prayer is still too global and narrative-anthropological. See Andre Moller, *Ramadan In Java: The Joy and Jihad of the Fasting Ritual* (Sweden: Department of History and Anthropology of Religions Lund University, 2005), 295-305.

<sup>17</sup> The result of the writer's observation in the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer from 1-20 Ramadhan 1438 H / 27 May - 15 June 2017 M at Madrasah Huffadz, Krapyak, Yogyakarta.

*juziyyah*. In Turkish mushafs, each *juz* is divided into twenty (20) pages with each page numbering thirteen (13) to fifteen (15) lines.<sup>18</sup> So in the night the imam has to complete reciting one half (1.5) *juz*, thirty (30) pages. Every two (2) rakaat the imam reads three (3) pages, two pages in the first rakaat and one page in the second rakaat.

The reason for only reciting one part and half (1.5 *juz*) every night is due to the ramadhan holiday which starts on 21<sup>th</sup> night of ramadhan. The intention is for the santris to *khatam* (complete) thirty (30) *juz* before they go back home. Therefore, I argue that the tradition of tarawih *juziyyah* in Madrasa Huffadz does not represent only one ritual, but two at once, namely tarawih prayer itself and *khataman al-quran*.

In addition to the uniqueness the turning of the Imam and the number of recitations at the time of prayer, another interesting thing is the attitude and behavior of the *makmum* (congregation) during the prayer. In contrast to the general congregation, the ma'mum (those who pray behind the imam) in tarawih *juziyyah* can at least be grouped into two categories, namely the first is the ordinary *makmum*, and the second is the 'listening' *makmum*.

First, the ordinary *makmum* are the followers of the tarawih prayer without listening to the Quranic recitation of the Imam. There are some people who immediately follow the movement of the Imam began *takbir al-ihram*. They wait until the Imam finishes reciting before *ruku'*, waiting for the cues given by the listening *makmum*.

Secondly, the listening *makmum* are who follows the tarawih prayer by listening to the reciting of the Imam. They bring their

own mushaf (small or medium), open the manuscripts, and as they *ruku'* the mushaf is to be in the chest pocket, for the mushaf will be used again in the next raka'at listen. Some of them use the large mushaf put on the table on the front.<sup>19</sup>

These two types of *makmum* indirectly show how the form and reception of santri Madrasaah Huffadz in understanding the verse "*wa idza quria al-quranu fastami'uu lahu wa anshituu la'allakum turhamun*".<sup>20</sup> When the Quran is being recited, the listeners are advisable to listen carefully, not to be noisy, so that they "gain the mercy of the recitation of the Quran". Listening to the recitations of al-Quran is usually done in majelis khataman al-quran. However in tarawih *juziyyah* it is undergoing the transformation from the previous form of the majlis into the form of tarwih *juziyyah*.

In this phenomenon, there are at least two interrelated yet non-conflicting possibilities. The first possibility, the santri also regards tarawih *juziyyah* also as a form of khataman al-Quran. Secondly, the santri regard tarawih *juziyyah* is not as a form of *khataman* al-Quran but as tarawih prayer as usual. It might be the case for ordinary *makmum*. I see another possibility which shows that the phenomenon of tarawih *juziyyah* includes two religious practices at once, tarawih prayer and khataman al-quran. Even the ordinary people who see it as a regular tarawih prayer practice cannot deny that the practice also contains the practice of khataman al-quran.

According to Farid Esack's classification in reciting the relation between al-Quran lovers (lover) and al-Quran (beloved),<sup>21</sup> the Madrasah

<sup>19</sup> Personal observation in the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer from 1-20 Ramadhan 1438 H / 27 May - 15 June 2017 M at Madrasah Huffadz, Krapyak, Yogyakarta.

<sup>20</sup> Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, *Al-Quran Al-Karim dan Terjemahannya*, Surabaya: Halim Publishing & Distributing, 2014, QS: Al-A'raf: 204, 176.

<sup>21</sup> Farid Esack describes the relationship between admirers of the Quran (lover) and the Quran itself (beloved) like a pair of lovers. Then divide the typology

<sup>18</sup> Look Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, *Al-Quran Al-Karim dan Terjemahannya*, Surabaya: Halim Publishing & Distributing, 2014. Read also Ma'had Tahfidh Yanbu'ul Quran Kudus, *Al-Quran Al-Quddus: Bi Al-Rasm Al-Utsmani*, Kudus: CV. Mubarakatan Thoyyibah, 2012.



Huffadz santri who interact with the al-quran belong to the uncritical lover, people who love the Quran are impeccable. They assume that the Quran is the source of the peace of the soul, the answer to all the questions that disturb them. Even those who do not understand the meaning still love it because the Quran can bring them closer to God. Among the groups classified by Esack in his study, the uncritical lover group is the most receptive community and pious practice with the Quran. While the case of Madrasah Huffadz santri this recitation of piety that raised due to his interaction with al-quran was born in the form of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer.

It is important to understand that in genealogical history, the Quran is not a written book, but a spoken book (oral).<sup>22</sup> Orality of the quran occupied an urgent place in the Islamic religion, such as reciting verses of al-quran when one is praying, dhikr, praying. Even reciting itself is regarded a worship even though the reader does not understand its meaning and the meaning of the verse. This suggests that reciting the verses of the Quran orally is not sufficiently understood as the sole form of an individual's spirituality-but more than that- also involves close relation to the piety, identity, sentimental, and even intellectual community.<sup>23</sup>

From the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer that became a tradition in Madrasah Huffadz, I see the existence of efforts to show the identity of Madrasah Huffadz santris as a person who

memorized the Quran.<sup>24</sup> The socio-political identity is directed to clarify the differentiation between santri who memorized al-quran and santri who did not memorize the Quran. This suggests that the recitation of the Quran or the division of the passage of the Quran has certain functions, sensations and significance in the life of a Muslim community or community, for example to show identity and as a symbol of their piety to the other group. Of course this is not entirely true factually, because it is one of the perspectives of the reciting of the phenomenon of tarawih *juziyyah*, although on the other hand it is difficult to be labeled as an imprecise reciting. Because even if this argument is not quite right, then why the sisters of the other complex who do not memorize the Quran does not follow the jama'ah tarawih *juziyyah* prayer in the *aula* although there really is nothing to ban it. This shows that santris from other who do not memorize the Quran and do not join the *jama'ah* tarawih *juziyyah* prayer as the other identity feel "different" with the santri's of Madrasah Huffadz who memorize the Quran and perform tarawih *juziyyah* prayer in congregation. The identity of their piety has different spaces and places which in principle do not have to be mutually exclusive, but also do not rule out choosing their own path in an attempt to identity itself.

As a combined practice between tarawih prayer and khataman al-quran, tarawih *juziyyah* tradition besides having ritual dimension also has non-ritual dimension. Among the ritual dimensions of such practice are the existence of norms that must be obeyed by those who follow the tarawih *juziyyah* prayer, such as the rules of a congregation must keep following the Imam's movement without being able to precede it during the prayer, *wudlu* before praying because it includes the requirement of prayer,

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into two major categories, namely Muslims and non Muslims. The Muslim category itself is divided into three groups: uncritical lover, scholarly lover, and critical lover. For Non-Muslims is divided into three groups, namely: the friend of lover, revisionist, and polimicist. Read Farid Esack, *The Quran A User's Guide*, India: Thomson Press, 20017, 2-9.

<sup>22</sup> Look William Albert Graham, *Beyond The Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in The History of Religion*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 79-80.

<sup>23</sup> Look Jarmo Houtsonen, *Traditional Quranic Education in a Southern Moroccan Village in International Journal of Middle East Studies*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, Vol. 26, No. 3, 492-493.

<sup>24</sup> Read Lansine' Kaba, *The Politics of Quranic Education among Muslim Traders in the Western Sudan: TheSubbanu Experience in Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Taylor & Francis Group, 1976, Vol. 10, No. 3, 420-421.

facing the *qiblah*, listening to the priest's reciting, saying "amen" when the Imam finished reciting al-fatihah letters, etc. Then there is also a non-ritual dimension arising from the practice, such as a shirt worn during prayer is highly recommended long-sleeved shirts, the presence of food, snacks, beverages intended for the listeners *makmum* when listening to the Imams reciting, prayer rugs and microphones provided for the Imam while leading the jama'ah.<sup>25</sup>

But among the many non-ritual dimensions born out of the practice, the most interesting thing is what I see in the khataman on the night of 20 ramadhan. As during the khataman al-quran in general, the tautness in the tradition of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is characterized by various series of ceremonial and religious celebrations.<sup>26</sup> Khataman in tarawih *juziyyah* prayer tradition at Madrasa Huffadz is accompanied by warning of *nuzul al-quran*.<sup>27</sup> In fact, after completing tarawih prayer with thirty (30) juz and having read the prayer of khatm al-quran, the santri flocked to the *ndalem*<sup>28</sup> to prepare and transport the gifts (*berkat*)<sup>29</sup> that have been provided for the jama'ah tarawih prayers that are in mosque of al-Munawwir.

<sup>25</sup> See Anne K Rasmussen, *The Quran in Indonesian Daily Life: The Publik Project of Musical Oratory in Ethnomusicology*, University of Illinois Press, 2001, Vol. 45, No. 1, 32-33

<sup>26</sup> Ceremonial events or festivals mark many forms of piety in the context of Indonesian society, it is a form of Muslim expression and celebration in responding, perception, and interpreting its interaction with al-quran. See Anne K Rasmussen, *Women The Recited The Quran, and Islamic Music in Indonesia*, London: University of California Press, 2010, 125-127.

<sup>27</sup> *Nuzul al-Quran* is one of the commemorations of the big day of Islam held in order to commemorate the decline of the Quran for the first time in Ramadan. Although the *nuzul al-quran* falls on the 17th of Ramadhan, many in its memorial events are not always on that date, including in his warning at Krapayak held on the night of 20 Ramadhan which coincides with the tarawih *juziyyah* prayer that.

<sup>28</sup> *Ndalem* is a term for pesantren nanny homes in Java.

<sup>29</sup> *Berkat* in Javanese terms means the food provided every time there are certain occasions, usually in the form of rice complete with side dishes placed in certain containers to be brought home after the event.

The tarawih prayer in the aula Huffadz Madrasa is always finished faster than the tarawih prayer held at al-Munawwir mosque so the santri's can prepare and arrange the gifts (*berkat*) while waiting for the prayers at the mosque to finish. After the tarawih prayers at the mosque are finished, followed by the reciting of Khatm al-quran prayer by Imam-Romo *Kyai Muhammad Najib-*, the event continued with the lecture at that time performed by KH. Tontowi. While listening to the lecture, the santri's spryly distribute blessing and drinking water glass packaging to the jama'ah by passing it from the jama'ah one to the other jama'ah. After the ceremonial event is over completely and the jama'ah already dispersed, then the santri's take a share of gifts (*berkat*) to eat together.

This phenomenon proves that the Quran not only has a very private ritual and spiritual dimension, but also contains a very communal and social non-ritual dimension. It again shows that the Quran is not only a sign of an individual's piety, but is also a sign of the piety of a particular community. Even the practice also shows that the Quran has a function and significance that is very strong and close to the life of Muslim communities, especially the santri. The Quran is no longer understood only as a reciting material that has merit value (*ganjaran*), but the Quran has become a way of life that has constructed the way they live in interacting with fellow members of the social community.

### **Tarawih Juziyyah Prayer and New Religious Authority**

As a hereditary tradition practiced by the Madrasa Huffadz santri, tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is not only a symbol of religiosity that has a spiritual function but is also a cultural symbol which has a very strong social function and is embedded in every personality of the "santri" community.

Karl Mennheim holds that all forms of human action are essentially shaped by two

dimensions, behavior and meaning.<sup>30</sup> Menheim detailed again the dimensions of meaning in an action into three kinds, namely: *first*, expressive meaning, attributed by actor action. *Second*, the objective meaning is determined by the social context in which the action takes place. *Third*, the documentary meaning, which is often the hidden meaning the agent expresses to the culture as a whole. It is interesting to see the relation with the phenomenon of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer, how the form of external behavior and the meaning of behavior practiced by the santri's of Madrasah Huffadz.

To achieve these three desirable meanings, the most basic thing is to look at the background and social space of each of the Madrasah Huffadz santris, especially those who are key informants in this research. Not so difficult to see the background and social space of the santris of Madrasah Huffadz, because before they enter Madrasah Huffadz they have also previously studied in other pesantren first and there really is no santri who had never studied in pesantren. In short in terms of background and social space they belong to a very religious community with the perspective and mindset of santri based *ahl sunnah wa al-jama'ah*.<sup>31</sup>

As an ordinary *makmum* who does not listen, Muhammad Anas Shoviyyulloh explained that what he expects in tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is *barokah*.<sup>32</sup> Because he himself is still a new santri in the period 2016/2017 which in terms of

rote still a little when compared to other santri, he hopes by participating in the practice it can get *barokah* from al-quran.<sup>33</sup>

In contrast to Imam Fathurrahman, he was a long-time santri (three years) in Madrasah Huffadz and became a listener *makmum* when Tarawih *juziyyah* prayer took place. For him, listening to the Imam's reciting during the prayer is part of his effort to recite his memorization. Because when he listens, he automatically also will repeat (*nderes*) and redouble (*muraja'ah*) memorization of al-quran that has been passed. So the listening activity that he did not only as an ethical form that would justify the Imam's recitings when forgotten or wrong, but also as a form of education on himself to repeat (*nderes*) memorized the Quran through the verses that the Imam read aloud during prayer.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast to both, Muhammad Husain who served as an ustadz has a separate view of the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer itself. According to him, he did that to train his memorized recital to be listened to. He needs to keep *istiqamah* in repeating memorization. Moreover, he served to lead the prayers. At least he launched his memorization of six (6) pages each day for twenty (20) days.<sup>35</sup>

Of the three exposures made by the three informants, the data shows different expressive

<sup>30</sup> Karl Menheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, Canada: Routledge, 2000, hlm. 237-238. Look James P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, trj. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth, Yogyakarta: PT Tiara Wacana, 1970, 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* or commonly called *Sunni* is one of the streams contained in Islam initiated by Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari. In Indonesia alone the Sunni flow is identified with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the sediments of al-Munawwir pesantren including the boarding school which is the base of the NU people.

<sup>32</sup> *Barokah* is one of the most popular concepts among Javanese santri. *Barokah* can be interpreted as *ziyadah al-khair* (he added a kindness), *barokah* became the most common term used in pesantren context to refer to the hope of the usefulness of knowledge gained during studying in pesantren.

<sup>33</sup> Excerpted from the author's interview with Muhammad Anas Shoviyyulloh, a new santri at Madrasah Huffadz who also attended the Da'wah faculty at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Interviews were conducted periodically and sporadically during the tarawih prayer from 1-20 Ramadhan 1438 H.

<sup>34</sup> Excerpted from the writer interview with Imam Fathurrahman, a santri who has been living in Madrasah Huffadz for three years and also concurrently studying in History of Islamic Culture, Faculty of Adab UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Interviews were conducted periodically and sporadically during the tarawih prayer from 1-20 Ramadhan 1438 H.

<sup>35</sup> Excerpted from the author's interview with Ust. Muhammad Husain, a santri who has served as a *ustadz badal* in Madrasah Huffadz and concurrently studying in the Department of Al-Quran and Hadith Studies, Post-Ushuluddin Faculty of UIN sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The interview was conducted on 4 Ramadhan 1438 H, at 18.30 WIB and 8 Ramadhan 1438 H at 21.30 WIB.

meanings. The authors argue that these differences of meaning are heavily influenced by the extent to which their interaction with the Quran is being memorized. The more intense the interaction becomes, the more likely it becomes the more applicable. The meaning grows from the originally very theological because it is oriented *barokah*, being half applicable with the aim repeat (*nderes*) memorization, and ends up being meaning that is very applicable as a means to *simaan*.

But if each of these expressive meanings is summed up into one big meaning by looking at the context of the social space within the practice, it appears that the actual meanings, whether in the form of baroque, listening, or leading the prayer reflect an attempt to launch their memorization of Quran. Because the context surrounding the practice is Pondok Pesantren Madrasah Huffadz which in fact is an educational institution that is intended to memorize the Quran. So it becomes very logical if the meanings produced from each individual is actually reflects the objective meaning of launch the memorization of Quran itself.

Behind these two meanings, the documentary meaning becomes very interesting in this study. With the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer indicates that santri's of Madrasah Huffadz as a community of memorizing al-quran in a socio-political context has its own function to perpetuate its existence by showing their identity with religious symbols. From this emerges a new form of religious authority in the context of Pesantren al-Munawwir narrowly and in the wider context of society. The Madrassah Huffadz santri who created this new religious authority have more power to hegemony religious-spiritual spaces, compared to those who are not from the Huffadz Madrassah and have no memorized al-quran.<sup>36</sup> In this case the dominance of religious-

<sup>36</sup> According to Gramsci, a social class can gain advantage in two ways: first by domination or coercion, and second with moral and intellectual leadership. This second way is called Gramsci as hegemony. Hegemony in a group

spiritual space is reflected in the election of tarawih *juziyyah* prayers Imams practiced in Pondok Pesantren al-Munawwir itself.

The consequence of the emergence of the new religious authority is to trigger the contestation of identity that arises between the community of memorizing al-quran (Madrasah Huffadz sabtri's) and communities who do not memorize the Quran.<sup>37</sup> But the striking thing is that the contestation runs in a very *santrism* form, the contestation does not occur with the nuances of domination, but comes in the form of negotiations between members of the community, whether they memorize the Quran or who do not memorize the Quran. The negotiations are clear when the ceremonial event of khataman is held on the night of twenty (20) ramadhan. Where the identity of santri memorizers of al-quran (Madrasah Huffadz) as the new religious authority interacts with the identity of santris who do not memorize al-quran and heterogeneous community identity. The interaction creates a new identity that accommodates each other, namely cultural identity. This cultural identity if traced to the source, boils down to the holy book of al-quran that has been widely perceived by various community communities and has become the way of life of various communities themselves. The Quran may provide a variety of identities for its readers, but through the Quran also different identities can be reunited into a new identity that accommodates each other, namely cultural identity.

over other groups in the Gramsci sense is not forced. Hegemony must be achieved through political, cultural and intellectual efforts to create a shared worldview for the whole society. Read Muhadi Sugiono, *Kritik Antonio Gramsci Terhadap Pembangunan Dunia Ketiga*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999. Look Nezar Patria dan Andi Arif, *Antonio Gramsci: Negara dan Hegemoni*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999, 117.

<sup>37</sup> A study that talks about contestation of identity and politics of Islamic identity in the public sphere, see Noorhaidi Hasan dan Irfan Abubakar (ed), *Islam di Ruang Publik: Politik Identitas dan Masa Depan Demokrasi di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Center of The Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2011, 78-91.



## Conclusion

Tarawih *juziyyah* prayer is a form of reception from the memorizing community of the Madrasa Huffadz al-quran which has ritual and non-ritual dimensions. This practice is two forms of religious rituals, namely tarawih prayer and khataman al-quran that is practiced into a form of tradition. The practice became a deliberately formed identity to create a differentiation against other groups who did not memorize the Quran. The practice proves that the Quran is not only a private and individual form of spiritual worship, but it is also about communal and public social issues. Expressively, at least the meaning of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer can be barokah, muraja'ah, and rote memorization which are strongly influenced by the intensity level of its interaction with al-qura itself. Being objectively, the meaning that can represent the three expressive meanings refers to the effort to recite memorization. The descriptive meaning that I find from the practice of tarawih *juziyyah* prayer actually creates a new form of religious authority that contribute to the identity of several different social communities, where the contestation occurs not dominantly but with negotiation styles. Indirectly the Quran creates new identities from various receptions that appear to them, but simultaneously-through the Quran itself-can also unify the various identities that are accommodated into a cultural identity.

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3. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, "Living Hadith in a Family: Reinventing Model of Research in Hadith Using Etnografi Research", *Proceeding International Seminar on Sunnah Nabawiyah and its Contemporary Challenges*, 10-11 September 2014, Brunei Darussalam.
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