

PESANTREN TEGALSARI:

The Synergy between Islam and Local Wisdom in Cultural Acculturation

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Abstrak: *The spread of Islam in Java has a distinctive pattern. It occurs through acculturation between doctrines of Islam and local wisdom. The acculturation pattern between Islam and Javanese local wisdom has a dialogical form or occurs by two-way communication between those who want the existence of Javanese culture with the ones who want the implementation of Islamic law. The result is the appearance of a new culture which local people accept and the preachers of Islam can convey the doctrines of Islam as well. This pattern of acculturation also occurred in Pesantren Tegalsari as the oldest pesantren in Java. The theme of Pesantren Tegalsari, especially in the field of cultural acculturation, is interesting to study because many people still do not know about the historical dynamics of this pesantren. Now, Pesantren Tegalsari was better known for the magical stories of The Kiai (religious leaders) of pesantren than pesantren activities in the past. So the study about Pesantren Tegalsari is important to fill empty spaces in local historiography in Indonesia. This paper is the result of qualitative research using an anthropological approach. The results show that acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari is in three fields: architecture, language, and tradition. The three forms of acculturation were used by The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari to spread Islamic teachings so that they could be easily accepted by the people who were still strong*

with the old beliefs (Hindu-Buddha).

Keywords: acculturation, Islam, local wisdom, Pesantren Tegalsari.

المخلص: انتشار الإسلام في جاوى له نمط مختلف، الذي حدث من خلال التثاقف بين العقيدة الإسلامية والحكمة المحلية. النمط التثاقف بين الإسلام والحكمة المحلية الجاوية له شكل حوارى، أو حدث من خلال اتصال ثنائي الاتجاه بين أولئك الذين يريدون وجود ثقافة جاوى وأولئك الذين يريدون تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية. والحاصل ظهور ثقافات جديدة يمكن قبولها من قبل المجتمع المحلي دون إزالة المادة من تعاليم الإسلام. حدث هذا النمط من التثاقف في معهد تيكلساري بصفته أقدم معهد في جاوا الواقعة في بونوروغو. إن موضوع معهد تيكلساري، خاصة في مجال الثقافات الثقافية، أمر مثير للدراسة لأن الكثير من المجتمع ما زالوا لا يعرفون عن الديناميات التاريخية لهذا المعهد. خلال هذا الوقت، كانت معهد تيكلساري مشهور بالقصص السحرية من قادة المعهد. لذا فإن الدراسة عن هذا المعهد مهمة لملء المساحات الفارغة في التاريخ المحلي في إندونيسيا. تستخدم هذه الدراسة طريقة نوعية مع نهج الأنثروبولوجية. أظهرت النتائج أن التثاقف في معهد تيكلساري في ثلاثة مجالات: الهندسة المعمارية واللغة والتقاليد. تم استخدام أشكال التثاقف الثلاثة من قبل قادة المعهد تيكلساري لنشر التعاليم الإسلامية حتى يمكن قبولها بسهولة من قبل المجتمع الذين لم يزالوا قوياً مع المعتقدات القديمة (بوذا-الهندوسي).

Abstrak: *Penyebaran Islam di Jawa memiliki pola yang khas, yaitu terjadi melalui akulturasi antara ajaran Islam dengan kearifan lokal. Pola akulturasi antara Islam dan kearifan lokal Jawa memiliki bentuk dialogis, atau terjadi melalui komunikasi dua arah antara mereka yang menginginkan eksistensi budaya Jawa dengan orang-orang yang menginginkan penerapan hukum Islam secara kaffah. Hasilnya adalah munculnya budaya baru yang diterima masyarakat setempat tanpa menghilangkan substansi dari ajaran agama Islam. Pola akulturasi ini juga terjadi di Pesantren Tegalsari sebagai pesantren tertua di Jawa yang terletak di Ponorogo. Tema tentang Pesantren Tegalsari, khususnya dalam bidang akulturasi budaya, menarik untuk dikaji karena banyak masyarakat yang masih belum mengetahui tentang dinamika historis dari pesantren ini. Selama ini Pesantren Tegalsari lebih dikenal karena kisah-kisah magis dari para kiai pimpinan pesantren daripada aktivitas pesantren di*

masa lalu. Maka tulisan tentang Pesantren Tegalsari menjadi penting untuk mengisi ruang-ruang kosong dalam historiografi lokal di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan antropologis. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa akulturasi di Pesantren Tegalsari terjadi dalam tiga bidang: arsitektur, bahasa, dan tradisi. Ketiga bentuk akulturasi digunakan oleh para kiai pimpinan Pesantren Tegalsari untuk menyebarkan ajaran Islam agar dapat diterima dengan mudah oleh masyarakat sekitar yang masih kuat dengan kepercayaan lama (Hindu-Buddha)

INTRODUCTION

Pesantren Tegalsari was an educational institution established in the early 18th century until the mid-20th century. It was one of the oldest *pesantrens* in Java established by Kiai Ageng Mohamad Besari in the first half of the 18th century. Interaction with local people who still held firmly their local culture was a challenge for The Kiai as the *pesantren* leader. Various methods were carried out by The Kiai so that the community converted to Islam and became a devout Muslim. One of the strategies used was cultural acculturation by combining local traditions with the Islamic doctrines.

Acculturation is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture is confronted with elements of a foreign culture. From this interaction, the elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture, without losing the soul of the origin. This is evident from the absence of diffusion from one element of culture. These elements always move around as a complex combination and are not easily separated.¹

The way of acculturation was taken by The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari in the process of Islamization in Ponorogo, because this was a powerful way to spread Islam. The method of teaching Islam from Sunan Kalijaga was often used as an example of how cultural acculturation became a powerful tool in the process of Islamization. Sunan Kalijaga combined Islam with the local traditions, even Hindu traditions such as *wayang* arts, *grebeg* ceremonies, and *sekaten*. The

¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Jakarta: Rienka Cipta, 1990), 248.

same way was used by The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari for spreading Islam.

Furthermore, acculturation was done to avoid cultural lag that might occur in the local community. The society with strong local traditions would certainly resist if the arrival of Islam suddenly changed all existing structures. This condition was not desired by The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari, thus acculturation was the safest, most effective, and efficient way to spread Islam.

The study of Pesantren Tegalsari is interesting because Pesantren Tegalsari was better known by the people with magical stories from The Kiai in the past. Ironically, at this time many of the villagers of Tegalsari and the people do not know the history of this pesantren that had been famous in the 18th century. Furthermore, the history of Pesantren Tegalsari is rarely found in the Indonesian national history studies, even though this *pesantren* is an embryo of *pesantren* in the present. As a result, there were empty spaces in the history of Islam in Indonesia. Therefore, the study is needed to fill these spaces so that the history of Islam in Indonesia can be studied holistically and comprehensively, not partially and fragmentarily. Thus, the research on acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari is an effort to fill these empty spaces.

Some studies which have been carried out related to Pesantren Tegalsari include "Local Muslim Heritage: Preservation of Islamic Cultural Heritage in Tegalsari Ponorogo" by Dawam Multazam, published in the *Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars* with the theme "Strengthening The Moderate Vision of Indonesian Islam" April 21-22 2018. In this paper, Multazam describes the cultural heritage carried out by the villagers of Tegalsari who claimed to have originated from the time of Kiai Ageng Mohamad Besari. These cultural heritages involve 69 yellow manuscripts (*kitab kuning*), the *syi'iran* ritual which consists of three types: *ujud-ujudan*, *utawen*, and *sallallaahu*.

Second, "*Kajian Poskolonial Gerakan Pemikiran dan Sikap Ulama Pesantren Tegalsari dalam Pusaran Konflik Multidimensional di Jawa (1742-1862)*" by Saifuddin Alif Nurdianto published in *Theologia* vol. 29 no. 1 in 2018. In this article, Nurdianto explains political attitudes of The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari in dealing with various conflicts that have occurred in Java (1742-1862). The results

showed that Kiai Ageng Mohamad Besari (1742-1773) as the founder of Pesantren Tegalsari laid the political foundation of the pesantren as an educational institution free from practical politics. His successor, Kiai Ilyas (1773-1800), continued the pesantren politics that had been outlined by his father. Kiai Ilyas cleverly exploited the political stability that existed at that time to build intellectual traditions in Pesantren Tegalsari, so that the pesantren was known as the producer of *pujangga* (Java intellectual).

The difference between this research and the previous studies lies in the subject. In this study, the subject that will be highlighted is acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari with an anthropological approach. Furthermore, the acculturation will be discussed as media for spreading Islam, as a consequence of Kiai's position as a cultural broker in a rural community.

This study used a qualitative method with an anthropological approach. Data collection techniques were carried out through interviews, observation, and document studies. Interviews were conducted with the heirs of Pesantren Tegalsari, with the consideration of the heirs who were considered the most aware of the role of their ancestors in spreading Islam through Pesantren Tegalsari. Observations were done by observing the heritage of Pesantren Tegalsari: the mosque, the existing pesantren books, and the tradition that is still carried out by Tegalsari villagers. The document study was carried out by examining the books inherited from Pesantren Tegalsari which are currently stored in the British Museum, colonial archives, and the results of research that has been carried out on Pesantren Tegalsari. The validity of the data was ensured through triangulation techniques, by combining the results of interviews, observations, and document studies in order to obtain saturated data. Data analysis was carried out through analysis techniques from Miles and Huberman, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Meanwhile the anthropological approach was used as an analytical tool for acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari.

THE CULTURAL ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is often discussed in anthropology; therefore most acculturation definitions are delivered by anthropologists. Nevertheless, there is no single definition of acculturation.

Anthropologists define acculturation in various forms, depending on the focus of their studies.

John Wesley Powell is the first, in 1880, to introduce the term “acculturation”. According to Powell, acculturation is an evolutionary process in primitive people who try to apply the abilities, technology, and ideas of more advanced societies. Powell explained further that through a process of psychological evolution primitive people try to match the abilities of the people they imitated. Powell explained this by the term “the lower” attempted to compete with “the higher”. There is no further explanation from Powell with the concept of “the lower” and “the higher”. According to Seth J. Schwartz and Jennifer Unger, the concept of “the lower” and “the higher” in Powell’s view could be seen in the context of American society when Powell lived, which is a dynamic social disparity between black and white groups.²

Although Powell became the first to introduced the term “acculturation”, the definition of acculturation often used by many specialists is quoted from Ralph Linton, Robert Redfield, and Melville J. Herskovits. According to these three experts, acculturation is a phenomenon produced when groups with cultural differences establish a contact in a sustainable manner and are accompanied by genuine cultural changes from one or all of the groups that have interactions.³ Furthermore, Koentjaraningrat suggests that acculturation is a social process that arises when a culture of a group is faced with a foreign culture so that gradually the elements of foreign culture are accepted and processed in their own culture without causing the loss of the original cultural personality.⁴

Although the definition of acculturation is expressed in various forms, all experts agree that the concept of acculturation is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture is confronted with elements of a foreign culture. From this interaction, the elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture, without losing the soul of the original culture. This is evident from the absence of diffusion from one element

² *Ibid.*

³ Ralph Linton, Robert Redfield, and Melville J. Herskovits, “Memorandum for The Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist*, no. 38 (1936): 149.

⁴ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 248.

of culture. These elements always move around as a complex combination and are not easily separated.⁵

The acculturation process has a different pattern from one region to another. Michel de Coster explained an acculturation strategy consisting of six stages: 1) contact, 2) communication, 3) evaluation or appreciation, 4) approval/ rejection, 5) integration process, and 6) assimilation.⁶

The first two processes, contact and communication, occur when two communities with different cultures meet and there is a process of mutual influence between one another. In the process of interaction between one community and the other, each of them selects which culture must be adopted and which culture must not. This process is an evaluation and appreciation of the new culture. The process of cultural selection becomes important to reduce the possibility of social conflict because new cultures are not necessarily in accordance with indigenous culture.

After the cultural selection process is passed, a community decides whether to adopt a new culture or reject it. If the decision is to accept the new culture, then the process of integration or unification of culture begins. When the process of cultural integration occurs massively, the original culture cannot be recognized anymore because it is mixed in such a way with a new culture and the assimilation process has taken place. The most common example of this assimilation process could be seen in the Betawi community. Historically, native people of Jakarta were Sundanese, but because the process of cultural integration occurred massively, the indigenous culture could no longer be recognized.

Acculturation occurred in various fields, even in all fields of life. The acculturation is not limited to one or two aspects, but moves in all sectors of life, both physical and non-physical. This is not surprising because the interaction between one culture and another will inevitably lead to unavoidable mixtures. Especially for the Nusantara community, especially Indonesia, the mixing of culture has become a daily sight. This phenomenon occurred because the Indonesian region is located on the continental crossing and becomes the main route for international shipping since the prehistoric era. Therefore many diverse communities from various backgrounds

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Michel de Coster, "Acculturation," *Diogenes* 19, no. 73 (1971): 22.

established interactions with the indigenous population, so that cultural integration becomes a common thing for the Indonesian people.

Although acculturation occurred in various fields, some experts have tried to identify what areas are affected by this acculturation. Arnd Schneider explained that acculturation occurred in five fields; clothing, music and art, beliefs, language, and culture. Similar to what Schneider explains, Koentjaraningrat explained that acculturation occurred in seven fields; language, knowledge system, social organization, living equipment and technology systems, livelihood systems, religious systems, and arts.⁷

JAVANESE ISLAM AND CULTURAL ACCULTURATION

Islam and Java are two interesting words for the anthropological and historical studies. The term of Javanese Islam was interpreted variously by the scholars. Mark R. Woodward interpreted Javanese Islam as a Muslim in the category of *abangan* and *priyayi*. Woodward's view refers to Clifford Geertz's classification of Muslims in Java, which consists of *abangan*, *priyayi*, and *santri*. The *abangan* are ordinary people who practice a religion that is deeply influenced by animism and only on the surface is integrated with Islam. The *priyayi* are descendants of traditional aristocrats and bureaucrats, where they keep a large Hindu-Javanese tradition and have a very soft culture, and enjoyed life in the Javanese philosophical realm. Meanwhile the *santri* are Muslims who obey Islamic law (*shari'a*).⁸

Muhamad Sholikhin in his book "*Ritual dan Tradisi Islam Jawa*" explains that Javanese Islam is Islam that has assimilated with Hinduism, Buddhism and local traditions, which are all united in mystical cultural discourse.⁹ Thus, Javanese Islam in Solikhin's thought is Muslims who implement the Islamic law, but on the other hand they still practice rituals before the arrival of Islam, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, or other local beliefs.

⁷ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, 97.

⁸ Denys Lombard, *Le Carrefour Javanais: Essai D'histoire Global III-Uheritage Des Royaumes Concentriques*, trans. by Winarsih P. Arifin (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka, 2005), 85.

⁹ Muhamad Sholikhin, *Ritual dan Tradisi Islam Jawa: Ritual-Ritual dan Tradisi-Tradisi tentang Kehamilan, Kelahiran, Pernikahan, dan Kematian dalam Kehidupan Sehari-Hari Masyarakat Islam Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2010), 50.

Slamet Muljana has another thought about Javanese Islam. According to Muljana, Javanese Islam is a Muslim who lives with Javanese ethics and worldview.¹⁰ The core of Javanese ethics is explained by Magnis Suseno as a way of life that has harmony as the final destination.¹¹

Some thoughts above refer, more or less, to the same conclusion, that Javanese Islam is Islam with different style from Middle Eastern Islam which tends to be rigid in carrying out Islamic Shari'a. Javanese Islam is Islam which accommodates pre-Islamic Javanese culture and traditions. The existence of a pre-Islamic culture is maintained as long as the culture does not clash with Islamic law, and if a conflict occurs it will be modified in such a way that it is accordance with Islamic law.

This phenomenon occurred because Javanese society has a rich tradition and culture, and those cultures have permeated the Javanese life. So if Islam cannot accommodate the existing traditions and culture, Islam will be rejected and removed from the Javanese life. At this point, the expertise of the preachers of Islam to make the right formula to integrate Islam and Javanese culture, without reducing and calculating the values contained in both, is needed.

Javanese Islam which is the result of acculturation between Islam and Javanese culture has a distinctive pattern. Taufik Abdullah explains that the pattern of acculturation between Islam and culture in Java takes a dialogic form. It means the dialogic form is two-way communication between those who wanted the existence of Javanese culture with those who wanted the implementation of Islamic shari'a totally. The direction of communication between Islam and Javanese culture most commonly takes the form of social-religious structures.¹²

This communication creates a situation in an effort to get the information needed in determining the right decision. During the process, there is a dialogue between interested parties, which in the case of Javanese Islam is between local figures and Islamic scholars.

¹⁰ Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), 101.

¹¹ Franz von Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi tentang Kebijakan Jawa* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993), 75.

¹² Taufik Abdullah, "Islam dan Pembentukan Tradisi di Asia Tenggara," in *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1989), 58–99.

Dialogic patterns in the acculturation of Islam and culture in Java did not appear in Malay. In Malay, the acculturation pattern tends to be integrative. The integrative pattern is Islam and Malay culture fused as a whole and becomes one of the most important pillars in the Malay political structure.¹³

So it is not surprising that in the Minangkabau society appeared the terminology of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah*, which means customs comes from Islamic law, and Islamic law based on the Holy Book (al-Quran).

Back to the issue of Javanese Islam, the dynamics of the development of Islam in Java produced a unique Javanese Islamic phenomenon and we can see it today. Furthermore, the embryo of Javanese Islam emerged from the shift of the sultanate center from the coast (Demak) to the inland of Java (Pajang and Mataram).¹⁴

Especially during the reign of Sultan Agung, Javanese mysticism underwent an articulate development, because the Sultan transformed into a Sufi figure, but remained accommodating Hinduism and Buddhism cosmology as long as it was not contrary to Islamic law.

The Javanese Islamic pattern described above causes Islam in Java has the color and taste of animism and Hinduism-Buddhism. It could be seen now in various Javanese ritual systems, such as *slametan* with its various forms, both *slametan* in the series of *mantenan* (wedding), *sunatan* (circumcising), *bersih desa* (village cleaning), and other religious expressions. Other rituals that have animistic and Hinduism features are *nyadran* and *sekaten*.

PESANTREN TEGALSARI AND CULTURAL ACCULTURATION

Pesantren Tegalsari existed from the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. It is one of the oldest pesantren in Indonesia which was established by Kiai Ageng Mohamad Besari in the first half of the 18th century.¹⁵ The original name of this educational institution is Pesantren Gebang Tinatar. *Gebang* means the gate and *tinatar* means a footing. Literally, *gebang tinatar* could be interpreted as a

¹³ Abdullah, 58–99.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ F. Fokkens, "De Priesterschool te Tegalsari," *Tijdschrift voor Indische: Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* XXIV (1877): 319.

gate that is aimed through a foothold. Philosophically, it could be interpreted that Pesantren Gebang Tinatar is a place to cultivate spiritual power to reach the gate of eternity, the paradise which is promised by Allah Swt. for those who believe and do good deeds.¹⁶

In its journey, Tegalsari was better known by the people, referring to the geographical location of pesantren in Tegalsari village.

Martin van Bruinessen argued that Pesantren Tegalsari is the first pesantren established in Java.¹⁷ This opinion could be true if pesantren refers to Zamakhsyari Dhofier theory about the five basic elements that must be fulfilled by pesantren institutions, those are the existence of *pondok*, mosques, *santri*, *kitab kuning* (religious book), and *kiai*.¹⁸

But if the pesantren was intended for a gathering place to study religion, without the systematization of learning process, the opinion that Pesantren Tegalsari as the oldest pesantren cannot be used as a reference, because there were similarly older educational institutions, namely Pesantren Jan Tampes II in Pamekasan, Madura.¹⁹

Apart from the debate above, it cannot be denied that Pesantren Tegalsari was an embryo of a *pesantren* educational institution that existed in the aftermath. Pesantren Tegalsari appeared as a pioneer of the systematization of pesantren institutions. Learning in *pesantren* which was previously done simply and at certain times, usually after Ashar and Maghrib prayer, in Pesantren Tegalsari was conducted full-day with various books, as the pesantren that exists today. Notes from Fokkens published in 1877 explain that in Pesantren Tegalsari there has been already a classification of learning between beginners and students who already had advanced knowledge. For students who just began to learn, they are taught about reading and writing in Arabic. For those who have been able to read Arabic, they are taught reading and explaining religious books in Arabic (*kitab kuning*). The learning process is carried out at *wetonan* from 7:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

¹⁶ Setyo Wacono, 2 Juli 2018.

¹⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 25.

¹⁸ Dawam Multazam, "The Dynamics of Tegalsari (Santri And Descendants Of Pesantren Tegalsari Ponorogo Kiai's In 19-20th)," *Qolamuna* 9, no. 1 (2017): 92.

¹⁹ Dindin Solahudin, *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), 4.

and *sorogan* at night, usually after *isya* prayer around 7:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.²⁰

Pesantren Tegalsari was an Islamic educational institution established to continue the process of Islamization that had been carried out by the previous preachers of Islam. Therefore, the synergy between pesantren as an Islamic educational institution and the local community was important to build. In Pesantren Tegalsari the synergy was carried out by incorporating Islamic values in culture and tradition of the local community around the pesantren. In other words, cultural acculturation was one of Pesantren Tegalsari's strategies in preaching Islam. Some acculturations in Pesantren Tegalsari are:

a. Mosque Architecture

Tegalsari Mosque might be built in conjunction with the establishment of Pesantren Tegalsari in the second quarter of the 18th century, considering the main requirement for the establishment of a pesantren is the existence of a mosque. The lack of clarity about the year of the building of Tegalsari Mosque was due to the absence of documents or symbols of the year (chronogram) which explained when the mosque was founded.²¹

The architecture of Tegalsari Mosque is similar to the architecture of Demak Mosque. This similarity can be seen from the structure of the building, the roof of the mosque, *mustaka* at the top of the mosque, the mosque's porch in the shape of a *joglo*, and the existence of a moat around the mosque.

The floor of the mosque was first plastered using red cement. Tegalsari Mosque was restored by the Government of Ponorogo Regency in 1976-1977, one of the renovated parts was the roof which was originally made of wood (*sirap*) replaced with tile from clay. But in the second restoration in 1995-1997 conducted by the East Java Antiquities Department, with the consideration of maintaining the authenticity of the mosque's shape, the roof was returned according to its original form using *sirap*. The last restoration was done in 2010 with the addition of poles from concrete materials to replace the wooden poles.²²

²⁰ Fokkens, "De Priesterschool te Tegalsari," 335.

²¹ Wacono, interview.

²² Anonymous, "History of Pesantren Tegalsari" (t.t.).

1) Building axis

Axis is the most basic means in the arrangement of architectural forms and spaces. The axis is a virtual line produced by two points on a space, where the shape and space can be arranged around it both regularly and irregularly. *Pajupat* influences the style of Javanese architecture with the orientation of buildings facing north-south. Javanese people assumed that the direction of the wind has an influence on people's lives according to their respective values. Unlike the Hindu and Javanese architectural styles that have a north-south orientation, the west is *qibla* for Muslims and is the main orientation of religious buildings with the function of this mosque.²³



Image 1

Image 2

Image 3

Image 1: The axis on the site that comes from the gate to the *qibla* direction

Image 2: The main gate of the mosque that leads directly to the mosque building

Image 3: Axis on the mosque plan

Referring to the explanation from Bachtiar Fauzy & Amira Arraya who studied architectural acculturation at the Sulthoni Plosokuning Mosque, acculturation at Tegalsari Mosque also shows the same pattern. In the mosque plan, there are two axis lines that reach buildings in accordance with the dualism principle in the style of Javanese architecture. The line plan divides the mosque into right and left and front and back in accordance with the function of the space in the mosque as a place to worship and porch to gather, this division is also seen in the pattern of division

²³ Bachtiar Fauzy and Amira Arraya, "Dinamika Akulturasi Arsitektur Pada Masjid Sulthoni Plosokuning di Sleman, Yogyakarta," Architectural Research Report (Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, 2015).

of space in a traditional Javanese house, the front (*pendopo*) as a gathering place and the turning part (*senthong*) as a private and sacred area.²⁴

Javanese architecture	Hindu architecture	Architecture of Tegalsari Mosque
Pajupat has a cosmic axis that has a north-south orientation	Has an axis in the four wind directions. The axis is strengthened by the presence of the officer's temple and four entrances	It has an axis that connects the main entrance gate with the mihrab in the west as <i>qibla</i> . This is related to its function as a place to worship for Muslims.

Table 1. Analysis table of the building axis of Tegalsari Mosque

2) Building Form

This mosque has an easily recognizable form from a distance due to its distinctive nature and its stacked roof. The mosque also has a light form because it looks like an open porch and shows standing columns. Overall the characteristic of the Tegalsari mosque has a dominant form in the line and volume elements.

The *Monca-Pat* concept is applied to the style of the Javanese architecture influences the building form. The middle part which functions as a sacred space to worship has a vertical expression that symbolizes the holy mountain Mahameru as a tension between humans and God. Privileges and sacredness of the middle space in buildings with Javanese architectural style, causing the roof structure also starts from the middle room. The roof supports structure in the Javanese houses is also found in the center of the building. This support structure is in the form of wooden columns known as *soko-guru*, which are then passed on to the building's foundations in the form of pedestals (local foundations made of stone in the shape of a trapezoid), with pedestal symbolizing humans above the earth's surface.²⁵

Physically, this affects buildings where its space has a sacred function shaded by a roof with towering shapes. From the shape

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

and access seen from this space has the highest hierarchy of all. The *Monca-Pat* concept in the Javanese architecture style is influenced by the *AxisMundi* concept in the style of Hindu architecture. In Hinduism, nature is divided into three cosmos; *Bhurloka* (underworld), *Bhuvarloka* (middle world) and *Swahloka* (upper world). *Axis-Mundi* is the connecting pole of the three realms. In the form of a plan, in Hindu temples, *Axis-Mundi* is placed in the main dynasty room called *Garbagriha* or ‘womb’.



Image 4. The Tegalsari Mosque form
Image Source: Personal documentation

The mosque has a roof shape that towers over the main praying room in the middle of the mosque, where the roof has a higher hierarchy than the roof in other spaces. The use of the *Monca-Pat* concept in this mosque building is considered to be stronger, the use of the *soko-guru* structure in the center of the main praying room, and the absence of any form of ‘*atman*’ in the mosque’s main room.

J a v a n e s e architecture	Hindu architecture	Architecture of Tegalsari Mosque
<i>Monca-Pat</i> concept and <i>Soko Guru</i> <i>Soko Guru</i> concept	<i>Axis Mundi</i> concept Lingga-Yoni concept.	Having a heightened form in the sacred space, as a symbol of the divine relationship in the teachings of Islam. Found Soko Guru inside

Table 2. Results table analysis of Tegalsari Mosque form

3) Mosque Interior

The interior of the Tegalsari mosque is similar to the interior design of a *joglo* house. This form is an acculturation of traditional Javanese house shapes that are considered to have the most complete structure of the building. The basic form of the *joglo* house is that it has a roof shape that soars high in the middle, which is called the *brunjung* roof. This roof at the bottom is supported by four pillars called *soko guru*. *Brunjung* roof has a pattern of centered up to form a pyramid or similar to *punden berundak*.²⁶ This model is designed as a means of air circulation systems that can adjust to the surrounding environment. When someone is at the most edge of the *joglo* house, the person feels cooler but still feels the air from outside because of his position on the border between the outer space and the inner space. But when it starts to go into the middle, the air is cooler because the volume of space under the roof is bigger. This volume effect utilizes the principle that an increase in temperature in a larger volume of air will be slower than the temperature in a smaller volume of air.²⁷



Image 5. Joglo house and Tegalsari Mosque interior design.

Image Source: <https://www.theyakmag.com>

²⁶ Heinz Frick, *Pola Struktural dan Teknik Bangunan di Indonesia: Suatu Pendekatan Arsitektur Indonesia Melalui Pattern Language Secara Konstruktif dengan Contoh Arsitektur Jawa Tengah* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1997), 175.

²⁷ Frick, 197.

The air conditioning system in *joglo* house architecture is very suitable to use in mosques because the temperature will make worshipers feel more comfortable. That design is used in the interior of Tegalsari Mosque. At the beginning of its construction, the walls of the mosque were made of wood, but now it has been restored and replaced with brick walls.

4) Outer Mosque Roof

The roof of Tegalsari Mosque uses *tajug tumpang telu* model. It is a wooden board known as *sirap*. The lowest part of the bridge houses the worshiping room. The second *tajug* is smaller with a more upright slope than the roof below it, whereas the highest *tajug* is in the shape of a pyramid with a more pointed slope.²⁸

The roof of the mosque which has three layers in the building of Tegalsari Mosque symbolizes three things that must be possessed by a Muslim, namely *iman* (faith), *Islam*, and *ihsan*.²⁹

This roof model is similar to the dome in Demak mosque, as a result of acculturation from Javanese-Hinduism architecture.

The shape of Tegalsari Mosque is an acculturation of the *meru* form in the place where the Hindus worship. This *meru* has a symbolic meaning as *penglukunan dasaksara* or circulation of the ten sacred letters associated with Gods. For the *meru* level three roofs has a symbolic meaning of the three letters in the middle, namely *I*, *omkara*, and *ya* that symbolizes *Tri Purusa* (Panama Shiva, Sada Shiva, and Shiva).³⁰

The roof of Tegalsari Mosque is equipped with a peak called *mustaka* or *memolo* made of upside-down jars. *Mustaka* or *memolo* at Tegalsari Mosque is an acculturation of the temple's *mustaka* in the form of *stupa* or *ratna*. This *Mustaka* is a symbol of the peak of the Creator's power.

²⁸ Ahmad Rofi' Usmani, *Jejak-Jejak Islam: Kamus Sejarah dan Peradaban Islam dari Masa ke Masa* (Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka, 2015), 211.

²⁹ Anonymous, "History of Pesantren Tegalsari."

³⁰ Usmani, *Jejak-Jejak Islam: Kamus Sejarah dan Peradaban Islam dari Masa ke Masa*, 211.



Image 6. *Stupa* of Borobudur Temple, *Meru* of Pura Agung Kentel Gumi in Klungkung Bali, and Roof of Tegalsari Mosque with *Tajug Tumpang Telu* Model.

Image Source: www.wikipedia.org & personal documentation.

b. Language

Acculturation in the language field can be seen in the books used in Pesantren Tegalsari which is written in *Arab pegon* letters. *Arab pegon* is an Arabic letter that has been modified in such a way that it can be used to pronounce words in Javanese.

The term “*pegon*” comes from the Javanese language, *pego*, which means uncommon in pronunciation. This is because the number of Javanese words written in Arabic letters is strange in its words. The term “*pegon*” can also refer to something that is deviant because of the Javanese language which is generally written in Javanese script, but written in Arabic script. This script has two variations; those are *pegon* with *harakat* and *pegon* without *harakat* (*gundul*).³¹ The books used in Pesantren Tegalsari are now saved in the British Library in London. The submission of these books was done by the heirs of The Kiai of Pesantren Tegalsari for better treatment of its.

³¹ Muhammad Yunus Anis, “Sufism Expression and The Empowerment of Arabic Javanese Translaton: Case Study in Al-Hikam Aphorism,” in *Islam and Local Wisdom: Religious Expression in Shoutheast Asia*, ed. by Supriyanto dkk. (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2018), 52–66.



Image 7. The book *Ba Sittin* relics of Pesantren Tegalsari written in *Arab pegon* letters. Image Source: <https://cap.bl.uk/collection/EAP061-3?page=1>

c. Trust and Tradition

1) *Ujud-ujudan*

Ujud-ujudan is an ode which is sung by the congregation of Tegalsari Mosque every Friday morning after performing subuh prayer. This ode is named *ujud-ujudan* because one of the main topics in this ode is about the character of Allah *al-wujud* (existence) and all the attributes of Allah and Rasulullah.

Ujud-ujudan is a form of acculturation between Islam and the local traditions of Javanese people who like to sing a song (*nembang*). It is just that *ujud-ujudan* is freely sung, and does not follow the rhythms of songs that already have attributes such as *sinom*, *mijil*, *maskumambang*, and so on.

Tradition of singing this is held every Friday morning after the morning (*subuh*) prayer at Tegalsari Mosque. Some lyrics of this ode as follows:

“*Wujud pesti ana Allah, muhal yen ora ono | Qidam dingin Allah,
Allah muhal yen kang dingin ana ngadam | Baqo’ langgeng Allah,
Allah muhal yen kinoho rusak | | Utawi wong akil balig iku*”

wajib ngaweruhi | ing sifat ingkang wajib ing allah kaleh doso | lan sifat ingkang wenang ing allah iku kabeh | | ing wajibe rosul iku ana telu shidiq, amanah, tabligh | | sedoyo ing muhal poro rasul iku telu iya kidzib, khiyanah, kitman | | lan wajib ngaweruhi wong akil balig sedoyo ing wenang e poro rasul | iku kabeh ketekanan ngarod basyariah kaya | loro, ngelu, mules, mangan, nginum, turu, luwe | rabi kelawan sepada ne kabeh iku. | |³²



Image 8. Singing ode tradition at the Tegalsari Mosque.

Image Source: Personal documentation

2) *Utawen*

Utawen was same as *ujud-ujudan*. The difference was in the lyrics of the ode. The *utawen* word was taken from the first word in this ode. *Utawen* was sung together after subuh prayer on Friday morning. Some lyrics of this ode as follows:

“Utawi pikukuhe islam iku ono limo | kang dengen syahadat, kaping pindho shalat, kaping telu aweh zakat, kaping papat apuasa, kaping limo mungguh kaji maring baitullah | ... | Anekseni ingsun setuhune ora ono pangeran kang sinembah kelawan sak benere | kang wajib wujud, kang mokal ‘adame kang mesti anane, anging Allah | Anekseni ingsun setuhune kanjeng nabi Muhammad iku utusane

³² *Ibid.*

*Allah, kawulane Allah | kang Romo Raden ‘Abdullah, kang ibu Dewi Aminah | ingkang lahir ono Mekkah, ngalih ing Madinah, gerah ing Madinah, seda ing Madinah, sinareake ing Madinah | bangsane Bangsa Arab, bangsa Hasim, Bangsa Qurasy*³³

3) *Shallallahu*’

Shallallahu’ is actually the same as the prayer in general. The difference is in the typical Tegalsari style used when singing this verse. In addition, in chanting this verse, the letter “hu” is given more pressure. *Shallallahu*’ name was taken from the emphasis on the letter “hu”. *Shallallahu*’ is pronounced together by the congregation of the Tegalsari Mosque pilgrims after every maghrib and subuh prayer. Some lyrics of this ode as follows:

”صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ. يَا رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمْ
 صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ. يَا ذَا الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ
 مِثْنًا عَلَى دِينِ الْإِسْلَامِ. صَلُّوا عَلَى النَّوْرِ الْقَدِيمِ. رَسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ عَلَى الْمُصْطَفَى
 صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَى هَادِي مُحَمَّدٍ شَفِيعِ الْخَلْقِ فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ“

For Tegalsari people, the meaning of the three odes is about how to face life after knowing the attributes of Allah and His Messenger and the obligation of a Muslim who is *mukallaf* as in the ode. What makes this tradition interesting is because it combines Javanese culture with religious knowledge, especially in matters of faith. And with this art method, people can easily understand the content and meaning. Therefore, this tradition of singing ode will continue to be maintained by the people of Tegalsari.³⁴

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation, it can be concluded that acculturation is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture is confronted with elements of a foreign culture. From this interaction, the elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture, without losing the soul of the original culture. Acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari as a media for preaching Islam, in accordance with the function of The Kiai as a cultural broker who had to filter out foreign cultures so that they

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

were easily accepted by the people. Acculturation is important so that people do not have cultural lag because they were still influenced by the old beliefs (Hindu-Buddha). Acculturation in Pesantren Tegalsari includes: (1) Architecture consisting of the axis of the building that connects the main entrance gate with the *mihrab* in the west as *qibla*, a building that has an elevated shape in the sacred space and the existence of a *soko guru* as the main support of the building, the interior of the mosque using a joglo house model with a *brunjung* roof centered up to form a pyramid or similar to *punden berundak*, and a mosque's outer roof that forms *tajug tumpang telu* adopted from *meru* in the places where Hindu followers worship, (2) Language that combines Arabic script systems with Javanese in the *pegon* script, (3) Beliefs and traditions which include *ujud-ujudan*, *utawen*, and *shollallohu*'.

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