

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese Style in Yogyakarta Community: Encounter between Religion and Culture

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Abstract

This study examines Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style. The object of study is in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. This discourse was viral and controversy after Yaser Arafat Reciting Qur'an with Javanese style at the Istana Negara when Isra Mi'raj last May 2015. Some discourses that revolves shows the counter-productivity by considering Javanese style of reciting Qur'an only as a form of resistance to the majority of the reading Qur'an without regard to the character of the Javanese style of reciting Qur'an itself. Javanese people, including Yogyakarta, have strong cultural roots related to how to recite poems and songs. This study will explain some factors underlying the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in Yogyakarta can survive on sidelines of the growth of Reciting Qur'an with Arabic style which is increasing in demand by everyone. This study uses anthropological-social approach and Bernard T. Adeney Ristakotta in three networks of meaning; modernity, religion and ancestral culture. The author found several factors underlying Reciting Qur'an with Javanese style still exist in Yogyakarta. They are cultural, contestation, and ideological factors. All three are factors that influence each other. In this case, the contestation factor became the dominant factor among them.

Keywords: *reciting qur'an, javanese style, reciting of the qur'an with javanese style*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji tentang Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa. Objek kajiannya dibatasi hanya pada lingkup Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. Wacana tentang Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa ini viral dan menimbulkan kontroversi setelah Yaser Arafat melantungkannya di Istana Negara saat peringatan Isra Mikraj pada bulan Mei 2015 lalu. Sebagian wacana yang bergulir memperlihatkan kotra-produktifitas dengan menganggap Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa hanya sebagai bentuk resistensi terhadap mayoritas pembacaan Qur'an tanpa mengindahkan karakter dari Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa itu sendiri. Masyarakat Jawa sendiri, khususnya Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, memiliki akar budaya yang kuat terkait dengan cara melantunkan syair-syair dan tembang-tembang. Penelitian ini akan memaparkan beberapa faktor yang melatarbelakangi Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa di Yogyakarta dapat bertahan di sela-sela tumbuhnya Tilawah Arabi yang semakin diminati oleh hampir semua orang. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan antropologi-sosial dan teori Bernard T. Adeney Ristakotta dalam tiga jaringan makna; modernitas, agama, dan budaya nenek moyang. Penulis menemukan beberapa faktor yang melatarbelakangi Tilawah Qur'an Langgam Jawa masih eksis di Yogyakarta, yakni faktor kultural, faktor kontestasi, dan faktor ideologi. Ketiganya merupakan

faktor yang saling mempengaruhi satu sama lain. Dalam hal ini, faktor kontestasi menjadi sebuah faktor yang mendominasi di antara ketiganya.

Kata Kunci: *tilawah qur'an, langgam jawa, tilawah qur'an langgam jawa*

INTRODUCTION

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a phenomenon of reading the Qur'an that has caused controversy in some Indonesian people. This happens because people assume that the Qur'an must be read in an "Arabic tone", which is a recitation that uses Arabic and regional song styles. The paradigm that has been developed in the midst of this community finally emerged thinking that the Qur'an read in local languages (including Javanese) was considered as a harassment of the Qur'an by the Indonesian people themselves. This assumption was born because the Qur'an is read normatively using recitation. This controversy arises from the representation of Indonesians (including Javanese) themselves who have a history of Islamic culture in Java. Indonesian society is partly trapped in the argument of Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a new style made up for reading the Qur'an, whereas if drawn through the historical path, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style isn't anything new.

In 1977, the Tilawatil Quran Development Institute (LPTQ) endorsed eight elements in the recitation of the Qur'an, which in its entirety were recitation of the Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style, namely *Bayyāti, Šaba, Hijāz, Nahawan, Sikā, Rast, Jiharka, and Bayyāti Husaini* to be recited in the Quran. MTQ arena. This causes the local reclining eroded by Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style which is increasingly popular. Therefore, it is natural that some people assume that Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style is the most appropriate to be red in various places.

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is getting eroded along with the growth of TA. Friction between Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style and Arabic style is happening in the midst of Indonesian people who think that Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style is an absolute Qur'anic recitation, but on the other hand it turns out that in Yogyakarta there are still faint sounds of the Qur'an's recitation of Javanese nuances. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style several times is still often heard in the mosques and musolas in Yogyakarta, mostly red by elderly people who either because they have not been able to follow the trend of reading the Qur'an with Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style or indeed the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style being red is purely as a form of respect for the Qur'an.

In this case, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is on the verge of being threatened or extinct because there is no future generation that can sing Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style, even in some areas, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is considered lost. Almost everyone is used to reading the Qur'an in an Arabic tone. However, there is still hope built by several singers who deliberately re-activate and echo Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in the midst of Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style. These

reciters try to revive Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style, who almost lost his life. This is not solely done by the singer without any basis.

Therefore, it is necessary to conduct research to add insight into the factors underlying the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in Yogyakarta can survive in the midst of the fertility of Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style which is increasingly sought after by almost everyone.

METHODS

This research is very closely related to the practice of reading the Qur'an with Javanese style in the city of Yogyakarta. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style practice is one kind from religious phenomena that occur and can't be denied in the middle of life Javanese people, especially in Yogyakarta. This research use anthropological-social approach. Anthropology literally comes from language Greek, from the word *anthropos* which means human and *logos* which means knowledge. Anthropology is the science that deals with humans and strives for examine systems related to human life, society, and the culture.¹

Sociology comes from the Latin language, *socius* (community) and *logos* (science). This study uses an anthropological-social approach because both have interconnectedness with each other and influence each other. That is, research on Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style doesn't only describe in detail about it which shows itself, but its relation to other elements in society, such as politics, economics, social, culture, and others. These elements which then form the individual in reciting Qur'an activities.

This research involve the culture of Yogyakarta which is still counted thick Javanese culture, so that anthropology will play a big role in this research. According to the perspective of anthropology, culture is a system of ideas, behaviors, and behavioral results. Simply put, culture is the result of human creativity, taste and intention.²

Culture is not static, because it is capable of subjecting change to changes slow but sure (read: evolutionary change).³ Cultural change is related to the process of entry of various cultures from other places, tribes and races. These changes originate from a subsystem culture which then affects other subsystems. For example, changes to the economic subsystem, then spread to the subsystems of religion, art, and so on.⁴

The author not only use anthropological-social approach, but also use Bernard T. Adeney Ristakotta's theory to analyze this research. Bernard T. Adeney Ristakotta in modernity, religion and culture of the ancestors, of which the three implies a linkage using a network of meanings or language that shapes the real life of Indonesian society. Thing this is because all Indonesian people are affected by three phenomena: modernity, religion, and

¹ Feryani Umi Rosidah, "Pendekatan Antropologi dalam Studi Agama", *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, Vol. I, No. I, 2011, p. 24.

² Simuh, *Islam dan Pergumulan Budaya Jawa*, ed. Jejen Musfah, 1st edition, (Bandung: Teraju, 2003), p. 1.

³ Nur Syam, *Madzhab-madzhab Antropologi*, 2nd edition, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2012), p. 16-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

ancestral culture. There is no class modern, pure religious and cultural groups. Term modernity, religion, and ancestral culture do not show ideology certainly, but rather a kind of life structure and the mindset used by everyone.⁵

DEFINITION OF RECITING QUR'AN WITH JAVANESE STYLE

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the word reciting means reading the verses of the Qur'an well and beautifully.⁶ The other explanation about recitations is the activity of reciting the letters which are collected in the verses of the Qur'an according to the rules of recitation (tajwid).⁷ Reciting means the recitation of the Qur'an in accordance with the rules of the recitation of the Qur'an equipped with the beauty of sound. The recitation of the Javanese style of the Qur'an is a form of synthesis of the terms of the recitation of the Qur'an and the Javanese style. In terminology, recitations of the Qur'an is the activity of reading the Qur'an or the process of reciting verses of the Qur'an in accordance with recitation. *Langgam* (tone) means a harmonious and distinctive form of rhythm. The term Javanese style is because the rhythm has a characteristic when hummed by the Javanese people.

In the beginning, there was no term Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style which was popular among any region, especially in the region of Java itself. Why is that? That is because the Javanese people don't even realize that the Qur'anic verses that are sung for that long are a recitation which is currently loved by the term Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style as a form of Islamic-Javanese identities. At that time, the Javanese were not aware of the local style in the area itself because such chanting was already considered a daily style.

The term Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style appeared later after the term Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style rose a few decades ago. In fact, at that time the term Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was not yet a term that prevailed in Javanese society. The term Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style actually appears on the surface after the blasphemy tragedy as well as praise for Yaser Arafat's action on the stage of the State Palace (Istana Negara) in 2015. Academics and humanists agree with the terms Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style or *Tilawah Jawi*, while the Javanese people themselves don't want to name the recitations as such, because for them, reading the Qur'an that has been recited by Javanese people is a recitation that is used to be recited without having to give a title.

THE EMERGENCE OF TILAWAH QUR'AN JAVANESE STYLE; FORGOTTEN HISTORY

Many history books say that in the beginning Hinduism was very dominant in Java. The change occurred when Sunan Maulana Malik Ibrahim began injecting Islamic teachings into

⁵ Bernard T Adeney Risakotta (ed.) in *Sociology of Religion Reader*, (Yogyakarta: UGM, 2004), p. 251.

⁶ Kementerian Pendidikan dan Budaya, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Ver. V, ed. Digital.

⁷ Bahrudin and Kumaidi, "Model Asesmen Musabaqah Tilawah Alquran (MTQ) Cabang Tilawah", *Jurnal Penelitian dan Evaluasi Pendidikan*, No. II, 2014, p. 158.

Javanese people located in Gresik, East Java.⁸ He spread the religion of Islam slowly but surely. The arrival of Sunan Gresik coincided when the Majapahit kingdom was in its golden period.⁹

This is certainly a challenge for Sunan Gresik in planting seeds of Islamic teachings in the middle of the majority of Javanese Hindu communities. Long story short, thanks to his patience and perseverance in approaching the surrounding community without reducing his respect for the Javanese Hindu community, he was finally able to gradually draw Gresik residents to follow the teachings of Islam that he delivered. Likewise felt by other walisongos who experienced inhaling in the middle of the majority of the Javanese Muslim community who embraced Hinduism.

Transition of Hinduism to Islam can't be done simply by abandoning Hinduism in totality, because at that time Hinduism was deeply rooted in the bloodstream of Javanese society. There was syncretism involving Javanese Hinduism and Islamic doctrine brought by walisongo.¹⁰ Since Islam came to the archipelago, it has been fused with symbols, rituals, songs, poems, place names, object names, food names, architecture, and various local cultures. Therefore, there is no dichotomy between Islam and culture.¹¹

Sunan Pakubuwono X from the Palace of Solo (Central Java) once stated the impossibility of separating Islam and culture. He said that the king and the poet were walisongo and scholars. God has desired the life of Islam and Java. Therefore, Javanese people need to preserve the dual and not be allowed to stay away from one of them.¹²

In some cases, sometimes there is a Muslim who deliberately separates between Islam and culture. One of them is the case of reading the Qur'an with Javanese style which has caused a lot of controversy, especially some respons by netizen in the world. That is due to the emergence of the assumption that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is an activity that harasses the Qur'an and is read not in accordance with recitation. In another place, it was mentioned that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was too forceful in reading the Qur'an to be recited using Javanese traditional sound art. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is considered to be in violation of the general custom, namely Tilawah Arabi (Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style).

In this case, many people assume that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is something that was just born yesterday. In fact, if you look at its history, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a socio-cultural fact in Java, including in Yogyakarta. He is older than Tilawah Arabi. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was created from the sound art and spiritual dimension of Java called *sekar macapat*.

⁸ M. Darori Amin, "Sinkretisme dalam Masyarakat Jawa" in Abdul Jamil et.al, *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2000), p. 93-94.

⁹ Simuh, *Islam dan Pergumulan Budaya Jawa*, 1st edition, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2003), p. 66-67.

¹⁰ M. Darori Amin, "Sinkretis me dalam Masyarakat Jawa", p. 87-88.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

There is a Thesis written by Tika Puspitasari, he revealed that Yaser Arafat was the first person to create Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style. The following expressions are written in her Thesis;

"Yaser has contributed by giving birth to a new work, which is to chant the Qur'an by putting elements of Javanese music into its recitations without destroying the laws of recitation. Yaser is a creative artist. This can be proven by Yaser by creating a new song form and structure in the Tilawah Qur'an Art, namely by replacing the maqāmat Arabiyyah system with the pelog nem barrel."¹³

Thus she assumed that before the appearance of Yaser Arafat, the Qur'an was only read with Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style. That is, Yaser Arafat was the first artist to create Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style. But for the writer, this argument can't be strengthened because Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is part of socio-cultural facts. It's not something new that was created yesterday. This is based on tracking the history of the Islamization of Java with all its changes and developments to the present. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style can't be known with certainty the date of birth, but there is an assumption that arises that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was born in Java along with the arrival of the Qur'an on Java, which coincided with the spread of Islam in Java which was propagated by saints. That is because when the Javanese people have a Javanese song tradition, then the rhythm automatically (read: Javanese twisted) or maqāmat Jawiyyah drifted in the reading of the Qur'an orally.

If you look at the history of al-Qur'an, Allah revealed the Qur'an in an original way and without using certain elements to Jibril and Rasulullah saw. But in its distribution, the Qur'an experienced developments in its delivery where the Qur'an was then read in a style. That is because the Qur'an comes into contact with various cultures that accompany it.

Culture in a society gives birth to the uniqueness that is only owned by that community. Likewise with the distribution of the Qur'an in Indonesia. The Qur'an introduces its face to the people of Indonesia goes hand in hand with the process of spreading and the formation of Islam brought by walisongo in the 13th century. Walisongo has a big role in the process of islamization the archipelago, especially the land of Java.¹⁴ The people who converted to Islam at that time still unable to write Arabic script, so that the Javanese people. The dominant is only able to convey the Qur'an reading orally.¹⁵

This gave birth to a distinctive tone in the middle of Javanese society in reading Qur'an (read: Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style). Various styles in society are forms fairness because the Qur'an was revealed in the middle of a culture. On its spread, the Qur'an

¹³ Tika Puspitasari, "Gaya Tilawah Jawi Muhammad Yaser Arafat", *Thesis*, Institut Seni Indonesia Surakarta, 2016, p. v.

¹⁴ Anne K. Rasmussen, "The Qur'an in Indonesian Daily Life: The Public Project of Musical Oratory", *Journal Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 2001, p. 30.

¹⁵ Jan Vansina, *Tradisi Lisan sebagai Sejarah*, translate. Astrid Reza, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2014), p. 305.

underwent a cultural transformation. Interaction between Arab and Javanese culture brought forth a variety of responses in the community positioning the Qur'an itself.

The presumption of the emergence of Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in the 13th century is also guaranteed by one of reciter who showed the face of Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in Indonesian society, Yaser Arafat. Arguing some experience after chanting Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in several the place where he had once visited, Yaser collected several pieces of "code" delivered according to the listener's testimony from Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style chanting.

"There are three spiritual testimonies about this that I got. In 2013, I once led Maghrib prayers at the mosque Jendral Sudirman Yogyakarta. I deliberately wore it Javanese style to read Surat al-Fatihah and the following verse after that. After the prayer, a congregant whose hair has been full of gray hair came up to me. Later I learned that he was named Surya. He is a practitioner of Javanese spirituality. Half whispered, in Indonesian, he said to me: Earlier, when I was very calm, suddenly I was thrown into the place. Many people were busy carrying road torches, lined up, neatly. Everyone wants to come to the mosque. At the end of my prayer, a new one realized, it turns out it was in the days of the former walisongo.

I received almost the same testimony from Godam. Since in his youth, Godam pursued Javanese spirituality, though he did live in Tangerang. When I listened to Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style to him one day before I performed at the Istana Negara RI, he stressed Surya's testimony. The third witness is mystical too came from Kiai. He lives in a village in Bayat, Klaten, Central Java. Everyday he works to take care cows entrusted people, became the imam of the local mosque prayer, and serving many guests who come with the intention to ask a cure for mental illnesses they suffer. "The walisongo like that used to sing the Qur'an. He told me." Yaser Arafat Said.¹⁶

Hear a story based on that experience, then that hypothesis is the re-emergence is that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a socio-cultural fact. Code gained from Yaser's experience is strengthened by several resource persons, including the Chairperson of the Yogyakarta Lesbumi, Awalludin Mualif (familiar called Cak Udin) who assumed that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style had existed since the era of walisongo.

"Although there is no written Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style history, I'm sure Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style has existed since the time of the walisongo by itself, because at that time the tone or style of each region must be different. One of them is Javanese who reads Qur'an with Javanese style. Sunan Ampel Mosque in Surabaya that is when the call to prayer uses Javanese style, from the last Sunan Ampel continued by Sunan Drajat, and continued to be sung down hereditary. Until now, a muezzin who prayed at the mosque it is always muezzin who uses Javanese style. That's the symbols that are left at this time. " Udin said.¹⁷

¹⁶ Interview with Muhammad Yaser Arafat, 36 years old, qari and lecture at UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

¹⁷ Interview with Awalludin Mualif, 31 years old, a leader of Lesbumi Yogyakarta and cultural observer.

During this time, there is no authentic evidence that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was born in amid the walisongo civilization along with the process of Islamization of Java, but the remaining Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style now strengthens the argument that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style has existed since the time of the walisongo. It is turned on hereditary from sunan one to another sunan.

This gives an influence to the Muslim community in surrounding ones used to listen chanting verses, *azan* (in Islam, it's call to prayer), *selawat* (short prayer) with (curved) Javanese style that is already very familiar heard before. Because of this, it indicates that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is with local elements in reading the Qur'an others in Indonesia, even he became the main style in chanting Qur'an in the era of walisongo on the island of Java.

If seen its development, recitations that use maqāmat Jawiyyah is not only applied when reading the Qur'an, even in some other religious rituals, the chanting of maqāmat Jawiyyah bending (which today seems to be old tone) several times heard in the chanting of the call to prayer (*azan*), *selawat*, *tablilan*, *yasinan*, *burdahan*, and in various religious traditions on Java.

Several times the researcher heard the Javanese reading contortion. For example in the *Kidoeng Karma Wibangga* event which was held in Kajoran Village, Magelang. In the middle of the art performance is inserted a burdah reading using Javanese style. In addition to the burdah, several times heard old person who chant the call to prayer at the Al-Munawwaroh Mosque which is located at Watugetheg Village, Donoharjo Subdistrict, Ngaglik District, Sleman. Other than that, some of the activities when leading at the Kauman Gedhe Mosque had Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style chants were heard during the congregational prayers.

There is also the General Mosque Sudirman (Demangan, Yogyakarta) which is always heard after Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style strains tarawih prayers. The strains are clearly heard because it uses loudspeakers every night of Ramadan at the time of necessity. In addition, the Kaliopak Boarding School which is located on Jalan Wonosari KM. 11, Klenggotan Village, Srimulyo, Piyungan, Bantul is very maintaining its Javanese tradition, including *selawat* (short prayer for Rasulullah saw., his family, and his friends) and recite Qur'an.

Javanese style in *murattal* of the Qur'an is indeed rarely found, but it was once a custom among Javanese Muslims in the 1980s, Jadul claimed to still often hear a number of lecturers from the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga read the Qur'an with Javanese customers when he was an imam salat, recitation like this was once a common thing in the villages and pesantren, but this has long been forgotten.¹⁸

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is not only sung by grandmothers or seniors, even researchers have heard the confession of a lecturer at UIN Sunan Kalijaga (Yogyakarta)

¹⁸ Interview with Jadul Maula, 50 years old, a leader of Pondok Pesantren Kaliopak Bantul and cultural observer. Jawa.

which often lead the prayer using Javanese style, Abdul Mustaqim. On one occasion he stated that;

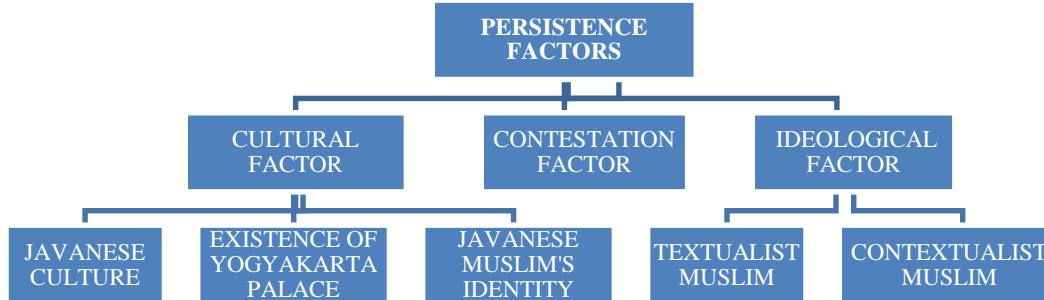
"Some of my activities, for example when leading the Rahmatan lil Alamin Mosque prayers, I use the Javanese timetable. I did this to emphasize that Reciting Qur'an with Javanese style is not something that is prohibited. The principle is not to violate tajwid and makharijul letters. " He explained.¹⁹

The statement is an affirmation of that culture important to accommodate, wrap, and practice the teachings of Islam, one of them is in the activity of reading the Qur'an. In this case there is no once the goal is to change the Qur'an and its meaning, the Qur'an is still original the language is this way, it's just how to read it developed using maqāmat Jawiyyah.

PERSISTENCE FACTORS OF THE QUR'AN RECITATIONS IN JAVANESE STYLE

Based on discussions with a number of sources, the authors found several factors underlying Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style to still be alive in Yogyakarta. These factors have pushed Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style to continue to have a strong fortress in the midst of the current heavy current of Arabization which has caused Javanese natives to exaggerate the Middle East as the center of Islamic civilization.

Several factors driving Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in the city of Yogyakarta can still be sustained to date, including the following chart:



Draft 1. Factors that Influence the Existence of Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese Style in Yogyakarta

The description of the chart above will be more detailed in the following explanation;

Cultural Factors

Javanese Original Culture

Yogyakarta, a special city that is much sought after by migrants in all its needs, certainly has accumulated a variety of cultures that have long been bagged by nomads from their respective regions and brought to Yogyakarta. This does not affect the emergence of new cultures in the

¹⁹ Interview with Abdul Mustaqim, 46 years old, lecture at Ushuluddin and Islamic Consideration Faculty (Fak. Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam) and a chief of Prodi Ilmu Alquran dan Tafsir UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

Yogyakarta community. Javanese life pattern has firm roots in the lives of the people of Yogyakarta.²⁰

The Palace's Atmosphere is Strong

The philosophy of forming the City of Yogyakarta rests on the existence of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace (hereinafter referred to as the Yogyakarta Palace) which specifically radiates the image of the city and builds the image of the city of Yogyakarta as a city of culture and art, a city of struggle, an city of education, and a city of tourism. This is formed on the development of dominant city service functions in line with the growth and development of community development.²¹

Yogyakarta Palace is an Islamic Kingdom. This can be seen from the title carried by the king. Panembahan Senopati was crowned Sri Sultan HB I with the title Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwana Senopati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Kalifatullah ing Ngayogyakarta.²² In addition, it can also be seen from the symbols contained in the physical building and literary works, as well as cultural ceremonies that Islamic breathe.

As the successor to the Islamic Mataram Kingdom that continued the tradition of the Sultanate of Demak,²³ the Yogyakarta Palace also revived traditions that had a Muslim spirit, such as *Grebeg Mulud* to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad who was equipped with a secular ceremony (derived from Arabic, shahada). Besides *Grebeg Mulud*, there is also *Grebeg Syawal* to commemorate the month of Shawwal where there is a tradition of friendship between the sultan and his people, and *Grebeg Besar* to commemorate Eid al-Adha where the sultan also participates in the sacrifice.

Since four centuries ago, the city of Yogyakarta has had quite advanced art in the form of dance, the art of the palace, and is characterized by a syncretic religious life. This Javanese palace area is often referred to as *negarigung* and is known as the cultural center of the palace.²⁴

The existence of the Yogyakarta Palace greatly influences the mindset and actions of the people of Yogyakarta. The palace has the authority in issuing discourse to preserve Javanese culture. This was done in order to maintain the existence of the Yogyakarta Palace, as well as the Islamic symbol of the Yogyakarta Muslim community.

The Yogyakarta Palace gives enthusiasm to safeguard Islamic traditions from the past onwards. But are all Yogyakarta people able to maintain the Islamic tradition? The answer is 'not all of it'. This is due to a cultural shift, so that sometimes there is something that actually belongs to the people of Yogyakarta (Javanese identity), but it is not symbolized as a whole, for example in the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style phenomenon.

²⁰ Interview with Yaser Muhammad Arafat.

²¹ Walikota Yogyakarta, "Peraturan Walikota Yogyakarta tentang Rencana Kerja Pembangunan Daerah Kota Yogyakarta Tahun 2015", No. XXIV, 2014.

²² Muhammad Damami, *Makna Agama dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, 1st edition, (Yogyakarta: Lesfi, 2002), p. 13.

²³ Ibnu Burdah, *Politik Internasional Mataram Islam*, (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016), p. 20.

²⁴ Muhammad Damami, *Makna Agama dalam Masyarakat Jawa*, p. 14.

Cultural identity as Javanese Muslim

Today, religious life has been fused with various symbols. Hinduism with its cow symbol, Buddha with its Ganesha, and Muslims with a skullcap and its unique sarong, call to prayer as a sign of prayer, the Qur'an as the Muslim holy book, and so on. As a good Javanese Muslim, the attitude that must be prioritized is to be sincere in matters of speech and action. This attitude is a principle emphasized by Javanese people in daily life. As a Muslim, a series of worship such as prayer, recitation, azan, and so on are common activities.

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style which is a form of synthesis of Islamic religious activities (Reciting Qur'an) and Javanese art treasures (Javanese style) is still often performed in some religious activities. This Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style practice can be found when listening to the *Imam* (leader) who is leading the prayer, fathers, mothers, or elderly who are doing the Qur'anic tadarus, the elderly who echo the call to prayer in remote musalas in a village, burdahan event, etc. -other. Some of these examples show that Javanese Muslims have a cultural identity in the form of Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style. In this case, culture is something that is important to wrap and practice the teachings of Islam in the practice of reading the Qur'an.²⁵

Contestation Factors

Middle Eastern culture opens its civilization in the middle of a vast expanse of Indonesian land.²⁶ When we browse the aisles (small streets or alleyways in villages and or cities), the chanting of the Qur'an is accustomed to being heard on the speakers of the local mosque, like being listening to murattal in the Grand Mosque. This is due to the fact that Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style seeds have flourished in the midst of community habits in reading the Qur'an. The trend of Arabization is now rife on this country. One small example is in the Qur'an recitation. As explained in previous chapters, this research is based on a mindset that is embedded in Indonesian society that reading the Qur'an must be in Arabic recitations.

Yogyakarta, known as a city of tolerance, is occupied by migrants from various regions and sects. The existence of the Yogyakarta Palace does not become an obstacle for Islamic groups that tend to understand Arabicism to help enliven the settlers who live in the Yogyakarta region. Occasionally, even many times these groups create new cultural colors in religion for Muslims. They are trying to change the mindset of the people of Yogyakarta to participate in the success of the program to create an atmosphere of Islamic life like the atmosphere in the Middle East. Ranging from clothing, ways of worship, even to disbelieve the Javanese who read the Qur'an with the rhythm of Javanese style too. Fortunately, the people of Yogyakarta have an awareness of Javanese culture that has been embedded in him. Awareness

²⁵ Interview with Abdul Mustaqim.

²⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), p. 67-68.

of the identity it has become one of the factors of the people of Yogyakarta is not much influenced by foreign cultures that enter between their lives.

The Yogyakarta people are aware of their cultural identity as Javanese (Yogyakarta), so they will not forbid anyone to change their lifestyle or the Arabic style of worship. On the other hand, he still recognizes his identity by not contributing to the destruction of Javanese culture and the culture of the Yogyakarta Palace. This struggle between the Middle Eastern culture (Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style) and Java (Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style) which is not transparent is a serious problem in the middle of the Yogyakarta

Muslim community which is known as a city that is good at preserving Javanese culture. Yogyakarta, with all its dynamics, gave birth to educated people. This is in accordance with one of Yogyakarta's image as a student city. Thus, awareness emerged from several academics, humanists, and reciters that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style was a form of resistance to the development of the understanding of arabism (wahabi) and radicalism which increasingly flourished in the motherland, Indonesia.²⁷

Ideological Factors

In addition to cultural factors and contestation factors, other factors that influence the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style exclusivity in Yogyakarta are ideological factors. Ideological factors are ways of thinking of a person or group. Lately, Indonesia has been surprised by the birth of increasingly colorful ideologies, ranging from ideologies that seek to develop Islamic values while maintaining the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, to ideologies that vigorously establish the State of Indonesia as an Islamic State. In this case, the writer simply divides into two categories of subjects involved in betting these two ideologies. The author calls it Muslim Textualist and Muslim Contextualist.

Textualist Muslims, namely Muslims who understand Islam quite simply through text without understanding certain situations and contexts and contexts. Thus, Textualist Muslims tend to have an attitude as if all religious activities and social activities must be the same as the application in Arabic (the opening place of the history of Islamic civilization). For example, the activity of reciting or the prayer of the prayer must be the same as the recitations of Abdurrahman as-Sudais, Abd al-Basit, Abu Bakr Ash-Shatri, Husary, Muhammad Ayyoub, Saad al-Ghamdi, and Arabic reciters, Makkah and Madinah. While what the authors call Contextualist Muslims, namely Muslim societies that are appropriate to the context of their neighborhood. Although ideologically they do not understand contextual terms, but they read the Qur'an in accordance with the atmosphere they feel in their daily lives. For example in Yogyakarta there are still many people who are accustomed to listening to Javanese music, Javanese song, Javanese tunings with *pelog* and *slendro*.

The dispute between Islamic ideological doctrines in Indonesia is inseparable from the interference of Muslim youths and girls who think that the religion of Islam is intact and

²⁷ Interview with some informants; reciter and cultural observer.

actually understands Arabic Islam. This is natural because the seeds of the birth of Islam were originally planted in the Arab region (Middle East). The effect that then arises is the emergence of a number of understandings which by shouting that Islam is essential and needs to be upheld is the "Arabic model" (religion) of Islam. Actually there is nothing wrong with that, but it is not suitable if the understanding must be applied in Indonesian society which has a variety of local cultures.

In this case, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a big problem for Muslims who understand Arabism. This group will assume that the recitation of the Holy Qur'an is unlawful if it is sung with the rhythm of Javanese style which is generally used by Javanese Muslims in chanting the sacred verse. As for Contextual Muslims, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is considered legitimate because it does not damage the Ottoman rasm and does not break from the rules of recitation. Islam is indeed born in the Arab region, but that does not mean that all religious activities must "trace" Arabic without any local content in its implementation.

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style practice that is still alive in Yogyakarta is a continuation of the symbols of Islam from walisongo. In the past, walisongo used Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style as a tool to attract the attention of the Javanese people to accept and read the Qur'an. That is because the Javanese (including the people of Yogyakarta) have already known song or *sekar macapat* as one of Javanese arts. Keep in mind that the people of Yogyakarta are very difficult to leave the traditions that were born in the earth of Yogyakarta itself. Therefore, in terms of the spread of Islam and the Qur'an, it must be flavored with Javanese art that has been born first so that the hearts of the people of Yogyakarta can be attracted to know, learn, and love the Qur'an.

According to one of the sources, Abdul Mustaqim, Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style needs to be introduced (back) to the Javanese people that the recitations are Javanese cultural identity in the midst of friction between Textual Muslims and Contextual Muslims. A good Javanese Muslim will maintain his cultural identity without being provoked that all religious activities (including the practice of reading the Qur'an) must be carried out according to Arabic (version).²⁸

The difference between Textual Muslim and Contextual Muslim is obvious because each of them has two different things. In Textual Muslims, the doctrine that has been implanted is Islam which is completely Arabicized, for example the calling ummi, abī, ana, antī, antum, akhī, ukhtī, and the like. Another thing that characterizes Textual Muslims is also reflected in the activity of reading the Qur'an which must be read in Arabic dialects and styles (Reciting of the Qur'an with Arabic style). This last point became a trending topic (especially) on social media after Yaser Arafat performed his performance on the stage of the State Palace in the commemoration of the Isra Mikraj event two years ago (in May 2015).

²⁸ Interview with Abdul Mustaqim.

A person's lack of understanding of history sometimes leads to an anti-local attitude. He considered that the Qur'an must be legally read in Arabic style and condemned the Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style chanters who were considered to be harassing and ignoring the Qur'an because they did not read it according to the Arabic style which was already very friendly to the tongue of the Indonesian people.

There is a note from Geertz. He illustrated that each part of society has a color as a distinctive marker that distinguishes one another. For example the santri group which is divided into modernist groups and conservative groups. Both have behaviors that are symbols of their respective groups. Modernist groups reject traditional elements, such as slametan and other traditions. This group is more focused on the order of behavior governed by the Qur'an and Hadith. On the contrary, conservatives are still willing to accept such elements and still live the tradition. Affiliated organizations are different. Modernist groups are more focused on Community Organizations such as Muhammadiyah, while the example of conservative groups is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).²⁹ These differences then produce a typology of the Muhammadiyah movement as a movement that is inclined towards Middle Eastern culture and the NU religious movement is more local.³⁰

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in its long journey to spread Islam has an image as a cultural propagator. Muhammadiyah too. Muhammadiyah's dialogue with local traditions is still double faced. One side rejects the local arts which he considers laden with the contents of munkar behavior, as a result there is a tension between the actors with the Muhammadiyah leaders. On the other hand, the other side raises the view that art is a worldly affair, so there is freedom of expression and creation. In this case, the arts are not too associated with the normative view of Shari'a which is purificative.

Based on the theory of Bernard T. Adeney Ristakotta, namely modernity, religion, and culture of ancestors who were also referred to by Zunly Nadia,³¹ the authors think there has been a shift in the ideology of Javanese society (between those who follow the currents of modernity and those who still hold fast to great-grandmother's culture ancestors) related to Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style which also cannot be separated from the three networks of meaning carried by Bernard. The three elements involved in Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style can be seen in the following table:

	Modernity	Religion	Ancestral Culture
Reciting Qur'an	Religious activity	Religious activity	Religious activity, magic

²⁹ Zainuddin Maliki, *Agama Priyayi: Makna Agama di Tangan Elite Penguasa*, ed. Islah Gusman, 1st edition, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004), p. 43-44.

³⁰ Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 2nd edition, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011), p. 82.

³¹ Zunly Nadia, "Tradisi Maulid pada Masyarakat Mlangi Yogyakarta", *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, Vol. XII, No. II, Juli 2011, p. 375.

Purposes Reciters Normative Yogyakarta Society's Responses			formula, pray
	Resist of Arabism ideology	Understanding of Qur'an's meaning	Keeping tradition of Javanese identity
	Qari, cultural observer	All of Muslims	Java Muslims who can reciting Qur'an
	Tajwid and makhraj huruf	Tajwid and makhraj huruf	<i>Pelog and slendro</i>
	Feeling strange and different	Textualist Muslim and Contextualist Muslim	<i>Habitual action</i>

Tabel 1. Three Networks of Meaning; Modernity, Religion, and Ancestral Culture

The table above shows that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a cultural process that continues to this day. It's not static because Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is part of culture. Through these three networks of meaning, it can be seen that Yogyakarta Muslims are used to performing religious rituals without reducing respect for the traditions left by their ancestors. In this case, some religious activities can be found that still use the cover of "past traditions", but the contents have been modified with Islamic teachings and values.

For modernists, such as Muhammadiyah and Islamic groups (institutions) like that, they have an ideology and a doctrine that the implementation of religious activities must also follow the Middle Eastern culture and put aside Javanese traditions and local cultures considering that Islam descended in Mecca. Therefore, it is natural that people in this category (read: modernity group) feel strange when listening to the Qur'an read with Javanese style. That is because the recitations or readings of the Qur'an that are commonly heard are Arabic-aligned recitations.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the extraction of information from the results of interviews with several chanters and cultural figures in Yogyakarta, it can be concluded that some of the factors underlying Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style in Yogyakarta still have a breath of life in the midst of the bustle of understanding Arabicism. These factors are caused by cultural factors, contestation

factors, and ideological factors. In this case, the most dominating factor is the contestation factor. This is because the chanters, cultural observers, and academics who also voiced Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style up to now are driven by a sense of enthusiasm in the effort to maintain Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style as a Javanese identity.

Some of these are factors that cause Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style to still be alive in Yogyakarta until now. Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style has a distinctive characteristic, which has rhythmic twisted just like the crooked sound of *sekar macapat*. However Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style can't be equated with macapat because macapat already has a teacher of gatra and a certain number teacher. While the twisted in Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style depends on the high and low chanting of the Qur'an. In this case, the authors divide three characteristics, namely *slendro*, *pelog*, and mixed tones. Javanese peculiar twists can be heard in several places when reading the verses of the Qur'an falls on the law of long reading or commonly called mad.

Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style who returned to show his face in the middle of Javanese culture didn't arbitrarily get a good response, even in Yogyakarta, there were some modernists who felt that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style sounded inappropriate. This is reasonable, given the symptoms of the Middle East are almost rooted and become close friends in everyday life, so that many are reluctant to admit that Reciting of the Qur'an with Javanese style is a symptom of Javanese cultural facts. This is the cause of trans-culture that has taken place in the middle of the life of the people of Yogyakarta. However, this is the process of a culture so there is no culture that is static.

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