

THE DIALECTIC OF ISLAMIC LITERACY AND *ADAT* CONSERVATION: REMOTE COMMUNITY RECEPTION OF HADITHS IN THE *KHUTBAH NAGA* MANUSCRIPT OF WEST PAPUA

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to explore the pattern of hadith reception in the *da'wah* practices within the Muslim community of Lilinta, Raja Ampat. In particular, it aims to explore how the hadith text, articulated in Arabic, continues to influence local behaviors, beliefs and customs, despite the community's lack of cognitive understanding of the language. Employing the living hadith approach and adopting Stuart Hall's reception theory, this study reveals that Lilinta community demonstrates a habitus pattern of 'negotiation' in hadith reception. This study found that while on the one hand the redaction of the hadith was not literally understood by the local Muslims, but the essence of hadith was practiced as cultural doctrines. The pattern of hadith transformation suggests that the hadith and its practices co-exist on divergent paths. Practice transpires through doctrinal channels, while the narrative remains misunderstood. This communal-practical living hadith, grounded in habitus rather than cognition, culminates in robust, albeit static traditions. This study concludes that hadith effectively molds the behavior and beliefs of the Lilinta community when viewed from the practiced behaviors over cognitive understanding.

Keywords: Islamic Literacy, Customary Conservation, Stuart Hall's Reception Theory, Cultural Preservation

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan pola resepsi hadis dalam praktik khutbah masyarakat Muslim di Lilinta, Raja Ampat, dengan menjawab pertanyaan tentang bagaimana teks hadis yang disampaikan dalam bahasa Arab tetap efektif dalam membentuk perilaku, keyakinan, dan konservasi adat setempat meskipun tidak dipahami secara kognitif oleh masyarakat. Melalui pendekatan living hadis dan teori resepsi Stuart Hall, ditemukan bahwa Lilinta memiliki pola habitus negosiasi resepsi dengan hadis yang diwariskan sejak abad ke-18. Penerimaan hadis di Lilinta didasarkan pada dominasi habitus yang telah menjadi kekuatan adat/budaya dominan, sementara narasi teks hadis disampaikan melalui khutbah yang tidak dipahami tetapi tetap dipraktikkan sebagai doktrin politik leluhur. Pola transformasi hadis menunjukkan bahwa hadis dan praktiknya berjalan beriringan namun pada jalur yang berbeda, dengan praktik hadis melalui saluran doktrinal dan narasi teks hadis tidak dipahami. Ini disebut living hadis komunal-praktis berdasarkan habitus, bukan kognisi, yang menyebabkan tradisi lebih kuat tetapi sulit berkembang. Kesimpulannya, teks hadis tetap efektif membentuk perilaku dan keyakinan masyarakat Lilinta karena lebih menekankan aspek amalan daripada pemahaman kognitif.

Kata kunci: Literasi Islam, Konservasi Adat, Teori Resepsi Stuart Hall, Pelestarian Budaya

INTRODUCTION

This research is centered on the pattern of hadith reception in the *Khutbah Naga* (Dragon Sermon) manuscript, which is recited in every Friday sermon among the Lilinta community in West Papua. The primary issue under investigation is the efficacy of hadith texts, delivered in Arabic but not cognitively understood by the remote local community, in shaping local customs, beliefs, and conservation practices. This research holds significance as it aims to integrate Islamic literacy with indigenous conservation in remote regions, and to comprehend how religious traditions can persist and influence daily life despite language barriers and societal changes.

Current literature has been exploring the effectiveness of sermons in diverse languages, the relevance of sermon topics to

audiences and efforts to preserve regional languages in the Friday sermons. However, research specifically investigating the reception and influence of hadith texts within remote communities like Lilinta remains scarce. This study seeks to fill this gap by analyzing the impact of the Arabic-delivered text of the *Khutbah Naga* on individuals who do not comprehend the language.

In the context of Islam, a sermon is a form of literary art that conveys a message to a group of people using fluent words, short or long. Friday sermons, within the Islamic tradition, serve as crucial mediums of communication and religious education. Sermons, as a genre within the religious domain, have garnered attention from experts across various fields, including theology, religious law, history, sociology, politics and language. Islamic sermons emerged concurrently with the advent of Islam, during the time of Prophet Muhammad¹.

As one of the social realities, the sermon has evolved significantly over time, yet it retains the originality of its ritualistic aspect, ensuring its continuity. Al-Nawawi presents two perspectives on the law of preaching in Arabic, the language of Prophet Muhammad: the majority of Islamic jurists mandate Arabic sermons to preserve the originality of rituals, while some scholars recommend sermons in other languages (*mustahabb*), emphasizing the sermon's essence of providing advice².

From the standpoint of communication relevance theory, Friday sermons serve as a communication medium that maximizes the relevance of topics to the audience³. In various Muslim communities, the use of Arabic in sermons is often not understood by the majority of worshippers, raising questions about the effectiveness of sermons in conveying messages and shaping congregational behavior. A study found that sermons in

¹ Muhammad Khalil Al-Khathib, *Khuthab Al-Rasul S.A.W: 574 Khutbah Min Kunuz Al-Durar Wa Jawami' Al-Kalim*, 1st ed. Kairo: Dar al-Fadlilah, 1983.

² Abu Zakariya Muhyiddin bin Syaraf Al-Nawawi, *Al-Majmu' Syarh Al-Muhaddzab* (Kairo: Mathba'ah al-Tadlamun al-Ukhawi, 2009), vol. 4/522.

³ Emad S Awad and Maram M Qasim, "Relevance Theory in Friday Khutba," *European Journal of Applied Linguistics Studies* 1, no. 2 (2019): 78–88, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3227254>.

languages not understood by the congregation are less effective, even if they fulfill the legal prerequisites for Friday prayers⁴.

Similar to Arabic, sermons in regional languages often fail to engage the younger generation. For instance, in East Java, many sermons are still delivered in the *Javanese Krama* language, which is not universally understood by young congregants. This lack of comprehension results in diminished interest in the sermon. Kango's findings reveal that the community disagreed with the use of the Gorontalo regional language in the Friday sermon, deeming it less effective. However, some expressed approval, viewing it as a means to preserve regional languages⁵, but acknowledged the need for a solution to ensure the sermon material is well received by the congregation⁶.

In Lilinta, Raja Ampat, West Papua, Indonesia, Friday sermons have been conducted in Arabic for centuries. Despite the unchanged material, the sermon, written in the text of the *Khutbah Naga*, effectively shapes people's beliefs and ideologies. This is evident from the strong public trust, even though they do not understand the sermon's content. However, in terms of relevance, the material presented is no longer pertinent as the needs and problems of people's lives are continually evolving.

This present study is particularly relevant as it examines the pattern of the Lilinta community's reception to the hadiths in the Arabic text of the *Khutbah Naga*, and how this sermon text influences the behavior and beliefs of people who do not understand Arabic.

This research is expected to provide a comprehensive overview of the acceptance of hadith in the Lilinta community

⁴ Ahmad Kurnia Sandi, Dadan Suherdiana, and Muhamad Khoyin, "Respon Jamaah Terhadap Khutbah Jumat Menggunakan Bahasa Arab," *Prophetica : Scientific and Research Journal of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2018): 25–42

⁵ Prembayun Miji Lestari, "Bahasa Khotbah Jumat di Masiid Agung Kabupaten Klaten: Upaya Konservasi Bahasa Jawa melalui Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Agama," *Widyaparwa* 42, no. 1 (2014): 47–60.

⁶ Andreas Kango, "Preferensi Jamaah Terhadap Khutbah Jumat Berbahasa Daerah Gorontalo Di Masjid Agung Baiturrahman Kabupaten Gorontalo" (*Gorontalo*, 2016), 38–39.

and open opportunities for community education towards better progress. The unique phenomenon in Lilinta, where sermon texts in Arabic continue to influence people's behavior and beliefs even though they do not understand the language, has not been previously studied by religious researchers. This research will not only fill gaps in the literature but also offer new insights into how Islamic literacy can be integrated with indigenous conservation in remote areas. With a deeper understanding of these dynamics, it is hoped that more effective strategies can be developed to support positive developments in remote communities such as Lilinta.

The novelty of this research lies in the study of the Prophet's hadith in mythological theories in a region. Messages, including the hadith of the Prophet, can transform into myths if not conveyed scientifically and become prose narratives told in certain societies to be considered as true stories of what happened in the past⁷. Cohen states that an important function of myths is to anchor the present to the past with dramatically significant events⁸. In Lilinta, the sacred tradition of sermons with rolled Arabic texts is also used to anchor people's beliefs to the past, from the time of the Goa sultanate to the Prophet Muhammad.

The phenomenon of sacred traditions involving such myths is similar to what is called *al-turats* (tradition) by Arkoun⁹. However, for the context of Lilinta, what Arkoun offers as a deconstruction-reconstruction has not been seen at all there. This article will actually carry out deconstruction and reconstruction. As for the picture in Lilinta, we see it from the point of view of encoding-decoding theory.

⁷ Daniela Merolla and Mineke Schipper, "Myth, Theory and Area Studies," *Religion Compass* 3, no. 1 (January 2009): 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8171.2008.00130.x>; William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives," *The Journal of American Folklore* 78, no. 307 (1965): 4, <https://doi.org/10.2307/538099>.

⁸ Percy S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth," *Man* 4, no. 3 (September 1969): 349–50, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2798111>.

⁹ Mohammed Arkoun, *Al-Fikr Al-Islami: Qiraat Al-Ilmiyyah*, ed. Hashim Shaleh (Beirut: Markaz al-Inma' al-Qaumi, 1987).

This article practically deconstructs and reconstructs the phenomenon of sacred tradition in Lilinta using the point of view of encoding-decoding theory put forward by Stuart Hall. The main focus of this research is to observe how the Prophet's hadith underwent transformation into a myth in remote areas, as well as the pattern of the Lilinta community's acceptance of the hadith. This transformation not only created dominant habits in society, but also involved the concept of habitus theory carried out by Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's habitus theory emphasizes that individual and collective behavior is formed through unconsciously internalized social practices,¹⁰ and this is particularly relevant in the context of this research. Taking this theory into account, research can explore further into how the values and beliefs disseminated through Friday sermons in Arabic still influence the mindset and actions of the Lilinta people, even though the sermon language is not fully understood linguistically.

Furthermore, this research is expected to provide a comprehensive overview of the reception of hadith in the Lilinta community, as well as highlight the dynamics between texts (hadith) and context (community life) in the integration of Islamic literacy with local customary conservation.

METHOD

The process of texts becoming context is an important step in the study of living hadith. Technically, hadith texts are studied and interpreted in the context of the lives of people who practice them.¹¹ In this study, the text of the *Khutbah Naga* which is read every Friday in Lilinta, Raja Ampat, West Papua, is the main object of study. The collection of text data involved an Arabic

¹⁰ Anna Asimaki, "Habitus: An Attempt at a Thorough Analysis of a Controversial Concept in Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice," *Social Sciences* 3, no. 4 (2014): 121, <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ss.20140304.13>.

¹¹ Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy et al., "The Making of Living Ḥadīth: A New Direction of Ḥadīth Studies in Indonesia," *Culture and Religion*, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2024.2336461>; Ahmad Ubaydi Hasbillah, "Ilmu Living Qur'an-Hadist: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi," *Maktabah Darus-Sunnah*, 2019, 22.

Khutbah Gulung manuscript containing four hadiths of the Prophet, as well as verification of the validity of the hadith using the digital *shamil takhrij* hadith method. This is needed to gather a complete and comprehensive picture of the existence and development of hadith narration from time to time to the digital era like today.¹² Contextual data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews with *Bapak Imam*, traditional leaders, and local people to understand the community's reception of the *Khutbah*. In addition, direct observation of the implementation of sermons (*khutbah*) and documentation studies was carried out to support the validity of the data.

By employing interviews, observations and documentation, this study presents a comprehensive portrait of the reception of hadith in the Lilinta community, highlighting the dynamics between the *text* (hadith) and the *context* (community life). Additionally, a simple survey was also conducted to gather a general view of the Lilinta's understanding and frequency of reading hadith.

Symbolic syntagmatic analysis includes the encoding and decoding processes initiated by Stuart Hall¹³ explaining that the message captured by the reader can be a different outcome, due to the different levels of knowledge and socio-culture that surrounds it.¹⁴ Encoding process includes interpreting hadiths, understanding the historical context (*asbāb al-wurud*), and interpreting various interpretations of scholars on the hadith in the *Khutbah Gulung*. Decoding explains how the Lilinta people understand and interpret hadith in sermons, highlighting varia-

¹² Ahmad 'Ubaydi Hasbillah, "The Message of Peace in The Hadith of The Command for Warfare 'Umirtu An Uqātil Al-Nās': An Analysis of the Science of Wurūd Al-Hadīs," *Nabawi: Journal of Hadith Studies* 4, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.55987/njhs.v4i2.109>.

¹³ Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications Inc., 2009); Stuart Hall, "Encoding-Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 264.

¹⁴ Adrienne Shaw, "Encoding and Decoding Affordances: Stuart Hall and Interactive Media Technologies," *Media, Culture and Society* 39, no. 4 (2017): 592–602, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717692741>.

tions in understanding based on knowledge and socio-cultural background, and identifying the reader's position: *hegemonic* (full acceptance of the content of the sermon), *negotiating* (acceptance of part of the sermon content with negotiation of a particular part), or *oppositional* (rejection of most of the content of the sermon).¹⁵

This study adopts Stuart Hall's reception theory, specifically the concept of "encoding-decoding", to analyze how the hadith in the *Khutbah Naga* is understood by the Lilinta community. Encoding is the process of making and delivering sermons by the *Imam*, which contextualizes the hadith in accordance with local values and norms. Decoding is the process of receiving and interpreting sermons by the community, identifying how Lilinta citizens receive and interpret messages based on their social, cultural, and intellectual backgrounds. This process is not always symmetrical, allowing for distortion or variation in understanding.¹⁶

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Lilinta and Living Hadith in Remote Communities of West Papua

Lilinta is referred to as a remote community because geographically it is located in the middle of the ocean between Papua and Maluku. To be precise, it is located in the area of West Misool District, Raja Ampat Regency, West Papua Province. Its long distance from the city makes the infrastructure development in this region very slow. Electricity as an energy source cannot operate all day. Education and health facilities are also very far from ideal. This influenced the development of religious understanding, including the pattern of reception of the Prophet's hadith.

Demographically, Lilinta Island which is located at the coordinate point -1.9747094779924639, 130.1162064729047

¹⁵ Hall, "Encoding-Decoding."

¹⁶ Poonam Pillai, "Rereading Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding Model," *Communication Theory* 2, no. 3 (1992), <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.1992.tb00040.x>.

consists of various tribes, namely Mat Lou (Beach People), Mat-Bat (Landlord), Javanese, Seram, Ternate, Makassar, and Bugis. Based on data obtained from the Lilinta Village Hall in 2021, the number of residents based on fam/clan and tribes from outside who inhabit Lilinta village is as follows:

Table 1.
Lilinta Demographics

No.	Tribe Name and Sub Tribes	Number of Souls	No.	Tribe Name and Sub Tribes	Number of Souls
1.	Maya	52	9.	Rumadai	28
2.	Bat-bat	38	10.	Umkabu	106
3.	Jawa	19	11.	Umsafiat	58
4.	Seram	24	12.	Makassar	42
5.	Ternate	16	13.	Bugis	82
6.	Talafuka	28	14.	Matbat (Landlord)	61
7.	Wihel	32	15.	Others	26
8.	Alting	51	TOTAL		662

Source: Lilinta Village Hall, 2021

From the data above, the community of Lilinta is further categorized into several sub-tribes which all have kinship relationships (fraternal/family ties) between one clan (*fam*) with another. Interbreeding between clans is the main cause. Therefore, even though they have different surnames, they remain in one family bond.

In the past, Lilinta was one of the villages under the rule of the Little Islamic kingdom, namely the Islamic Kingdom of Misool. It was recorded that this kingdom has experienced changes in leadership from time to time, namely since the arrival of the bearers of Islam before the 19th century until today. These kings were Abdul Majid (1872 -1904), Jamaluddin (1904-1945), Baharuddin Dekamboe (1945 - 2013) and Abdul Razak Umkabu (2013-present).

This Islamic kingdom has a strong influence on the current population of Muslims in Lilinta, which is 99% of the 662 people. Meanwhile, the rest, only 1% are immigrants who are Catholic and Protestant from neighboring villages.

Table 2.
Muslim population in Lilinta

No.	Religion	Number of Adherents
1.	Islam	656
2.	Protestant	4
3.	Roman Catholic	2
Total Amount		662

Source: Lilinta Village Hall, 2021.

Before the emergence of the term “Raja” (king), people around the Misool islands had known the term for a ruler as “Fun”, Before the ascension of the king of Lilinta, these rulers were known as “Jajao”, petty kings who governed the region. At least two Jajao, namely Jajao Gamta and Jajao Waigama, were known in the Misool region. However, following the arrival of immigrants, the titles of Kapitan Fafanlap and King Lilinta emerged as new designations for rulers. The position of king was a bestowed honor from the Sultanate of Tidore. The title “Kapitan”, signifying a War Leader who hails from outside, specifically from the sea, originates from the Misool word “Kapit”, meaning pinch. “Fafanlap” refers to weathered wooden boards on the edges.¹⁷ Before the aforementioned kings, there were indeed kings who had embraced Islam. However, their weak tradition of literacy resulted in the omission of these kings’ names and genealogies from manuscripts. Consequently, information about them can only be gleaned from oral traditions, passed down and memorized by the Lilinta people over generations

The Darussalam Mosque, which has stood since the 16th century, serves as the sole center of hadith living activities in Lilinta. The mosque has undergone three restorations, the most recent of which was completed in 2021. It is within this mosque that the *Khutbah Gulung* has been recited for generations since the 16th century, with an unchanged script, content and language. This phenomenon marks a significant event, as it is only in this

¹⁷ Arman, Interview by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *History of Islam in Lilinta* (29, 07).

mosque that they have heard four hadiths, recited repeatedly since the 16th century. No other hadith is recited in Lilinta.

Among the myths that persist to this day among some Raja Ampat people that they originated from seven eggs, of which only six hatched and subsequently became Kings in the Raja Ampat islands. Another myth involves the dragon serpent, whose symbol is emblazoned in the mosque and on the sermon script.

The Lilinta Dragon, as depicted in the Lilinta mosque and the manuscript of the *Khutbah Gulung*, bears a closer resemblance to the mythical depiction of the dragon from China. According to Arman, this was influenced by the imagination of Chinese immigrants who migrated to the Lilinta area. Traces of Chinese people can be observed in old Chinese graves interspersed among other graves. Given their orientation, which differs from that of Muslim graves, it is strongly suspected that they were not Muslims. They migrated to Lilinta for trading purposes¹⁸.

Arman recalled a childhood story about the myth of the dragon snake. He once lived in a cave full of hidden treasures near Lilinta. The image of the dragon on the pulpit of the Darussalam mosque and on the sheets of the *Khutbah Gulung* resembles a form of perpetuation of the legend.¹⁹ Therefore, the people of Lilinta named the manuscript as the *Kutbah Naga*. Arman recalled:

"So here in the past, the worshippers of the people here have seen dragon snakes on the islands around here, and people of the current generation have only seen traces or pictures in shape... In the sand, there is a dragon-shaped thing, and there are also four-legged scales."²⁰

¹⁸ Arman, Interview by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *History of Islam in Lilinta* (29, 07).

¹⁹ Arman, Interview by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *History of Islam in Lilinta* (29, 07).

²⁰ Haruna, and Abu, interview by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *History of Lilinta* (26, 07).

The above description reinforces a study finding that mosques in those centuries were established to reinforce the closeness of the sultan's position with the *ulama*. This means that there is a religious socio-political motive. However, at the same time, it is also a means of blending foreign cultures, in this case Arabs, with local cultures.²¹ This depiction is useful to understand the pattern of living hadith in Lilinta. Remarkably, only four living hadiths in Lilinta have been orally transmitted from the 16th century to the present. There exists a singular medium and method for the narration of these hadiths. The influence and manifestations of these four hadiths are distinctly evident in the beliefs and behaviors of the current residents of Lilinta.

This present study, through the examination of living hadith, significantly contributes to our understanding of the status of beliefs and sermon practices in remote areas of Indonesia. The study of these living hadiths allows for the religious practices in Lilinta to be legitimized and evaluated with careful objectivity²².

Arabic Sermons, Social Structure and Education in Lilinta

Arabic sermons have been prevalent in Indonesia since before the 20th century. However, sermon manuscripts in local languages were only discovered after this period, and they were primarily translations of Arabic sermons²³. The scarcity of translated sermon texts during that time was due to concerns about ideological overlap resulting from the translation process involving two languages²⁴. This situation was not unique to

²¹ Zaini Dahlan and Hasan Asari, "Sejarah Keagamaan Dan Sosial Masjid-Masjid Tua Di Langkat," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 2 (2020): 333–64.

²² Ahmad 'Ubaydi Hasbillah, *Ilmu Living Quran-Hadis: Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Maktabah Darus-Sunnah, 2018).

²³ Moch. Syarif Hidayatullah, "Bukti Hubungan Kerajaan Aceh Dan Kesultanan Turki Utsmani Dalam Naskah Khotbah Jihad," ...: *Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan Informasi Islam*, 2016, 54, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/228603984.pdf>.

²⁴ Benjamin G. Zimmer, "Al-'Arābīyah and Basa Sunda: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslim of West Java," *Studia*

Indonesia but was also observed in developed countries like Russia²⁵.

In the 19th century, translated sermons began to be utilized in Indonesia, albeit not predominantly. During the Aceh war in the same century, sermons promoting jihad were extensively delivered in the local language. These sermons primarily revolved around three major discourses: the understanding of jihad, the Acehnese people's response to Dutch aggression, and Aceh's attempts to form alliances with the kings of the Ottoman Empire, the world rulers at that time²⁶.

In Lilinta, a remote Indonesian community, sermons, intended to be educational mediums, have not been effective. As of 2023, Lilinta continues to use Arabic script in sermon texts, aligning with a study finding that scholars in the Nusantara region during this period tended to write in Arabic language or script²⁷. The Friday sermon in Lilinta does not include any updates to the material or manuscript other than the roll sermon written on a two-meter-long cloth roll. This roll sermon, also known as the Khutbah Naga Manuscript or Khutbah Gulung, is a copy of an ancient sermon manuscript. Based on another study findings^{28,29}, it is believed to have been produced before the 20th

Islamika 7, no. 3 (2000): 32, <https://doi.org/10.15408/SDI.V7I3.702>; Hidayatullah, "Bukti Hubungan Kerajaan Aceh Dan Kesultanan Turki Utsmani Dalam Naskah Khotbah Jihad."

²⁵ Feniya F. Farkhutdinova and Khalit A. Yakupov, "Khutbah Presented in Russian in the Context of a Modern Linguocultural Situation," *Zanry Reci* 17, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.18500/2311-0740-2022-17-1-33-28-37>.

²⁶ Moch. Syarif Hidayatullah, *Khotbah Berjihad Perang Aceh Abad XIX* Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama, 2013.

²⁷ K H Muhammad et al., "Tradisi Tulis Ulama Kerinci: Manuskrip Islam Peninggalan K.H Muhammad Burkan Saleh (1912-2010)," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 2 (2020).

²⁸ Wahyudi Buska et al., "Islamic Values in Speech Roll Tradition as Humanist Education in Jambi," 2020, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200513.036>.

²⁹ *Khutbah Jihad in the Aceh War of the XIX Century*.

century. The lack of material updates is attributed to the strong adherence to inherited doctrines by local customs.

The practice of *Khutbah Gulung* is not exclusive to Lilinta but was widespread in Nusantara (Indonesia) in the 18th century. These sermons share common characteristics: they are monotonous, unchanging and contain sacred elements. Interestingly, studies on *Khutbah Gulung* consistently reveal a correlation between the values, behaviors and habits of the local community and the material written in the *Khutbah Gulung*. For instance, in Jambi, it has long been used to educate people about humanistic values³⁰.

One of the informants, Saputra noted that the *Khutbah Gulung* is a form of *ijtihad* creativity and cultural acculturation to facilitate community groups in carrying out their sermon activities.³¹ While the use of Arabic in remote areas like Lilinta, according to him, actually shows the history of the entry of Islam in Indonesia by Arabs.³² However, we (authors) differ with him on this. The use of Arabic is actually based on the doctrine of “the originality of jurisprudential ideology”.³³

During the field observation in this study, the practice of delivering sermons was observed as follows: The Khatib would unroll a two-meter-long cloth, inscribed with the sermon text, and read it aloud. Historically, these texts were written on animal skins rather than cloth. The second part of the sermon typically included prayers for kings, with the specific king being prayed for depending on the historical jurisdiction of the mosque’s location. If the the mosque is located in a territory that was once under the rule of the Kingdom of Ternate, then the prayer asks Allah for the Kings of Ternate.

³⁰ Buska et al., “Islamic Values in Speech Roll Tradition as Humanist Education in Jambi.”

³¹ Ighfirli Saputra, “MENELAAH EKSISTENSI MANUSKRIP KHUTBAH GULUNGAN ABAD XVIII PERSPEKTIF KONTEKSTUAL,” *Tabuah* 26, no. 1 (May 30, 2022): 30–38, <https://doi.org/10.37108/tabuah.v26i1.704>.

³² Saputra.

³³ Farkhutdinova and Yakupov, “Khutbah Presented in Russian in the Context of a Modern Linguocultural Situation.”

The assumption is that the Raja Ampat community, which has its own distinct culture, has accepted the Hadith's message about sermons that originated in Arabia. During the period when the Raja Ampat territory was under the Sultanate of Ternate and the Sultanate of Tidore, each Sultanate had its own Mufti who served as a bridge between the text and social reality. These Muftis interpreted the text according to the local people's situation and conditions, considering the vast spatial and temporal gap between the text's origin and the Lilinta Muslim community. This practice of Khutbah interpretation is one of many diverse practices carried out by Muslims in Indonesia, with Muftis or Islamic figures in certain powers playing a central role in shaping the acceptance of Hadith³⁴.

For the Lilinta people, the most accessible and cost-effective form of education is the Khutbah (sermon) delivered in the mosque. Formal education is challenging due to the community's remote location, making social changes difficult to implement. The community's educational infrastructure, access and demographics further complicate their pursuit of higher education.

Sermons serve as an economical educational medium for the Lilinta people for several reasons: 1) The Lilinta people have held a long-standing belief that attending Friday worship is a non-negotiable obligation. This is evidenced by their unwavering commitment to return home every Friday to perform prayers, regardless of the distance they must travel. 2) This belief aligns with the material in the text of the Khutbah Gulung, even though the meaning and intent of the sermon content remain unknown to this day. 3) Friday sermons do not require any media or infrastructure, and are considered sacred by the community. 4) Sermons are delivered regularly and repeatedly by a highly respected figure, the "Bapak Imam."

...That is, the Bapak Imam is the one who leads the congregation to pray. The tradition that lives here, if there is already one Imam, then only he becomes a priest, while

³⁴ Saifuddin Zuhry Qudsy and Subkhani Kusuma Dewi, *Living Hadis: Praktik, Resepsi, Teks, Dan Transmisi* (Yogyakarta: Q-Media, 2018).

*others cannot advance to become a priest. Therefore, the position of priest cannot be shifted by anyone*³⁵.

Not anyone serve as the "Bapak Imam" in Lilinta. No matter how smart a person is, he cannot be an imam or khatib if he is not of Bugis descent. This has to do with the division of power in Lilinta that only the son of the imam has the right to be ordained the next imam. In some exempt cases, there are indeed khatibs who are not children of the Imam. In July 2022, there was once a Friday Khatib who was an adopted son born in Yellu, reciting the text of the holy Khutbah Roll.³⁶

By veto, the King has the right to determine and choose the Imam. However, the process of selecting imams is still carried out through Shari'a Judge (*hakim syara'*). If the Imam dies, then the person who appears is his representative and then is replaced by the khatib in order. If khatib is not found, then it is replaced by *mu'jhim* (their spelling for *muazin*; *azan officer*). In case of emergency, those appointed to come forward are anyone who is considered old who is found in the mosque.

According to one of the informants, the Imam cannot be the king. In contrast, the king could not be an Imam. The king is entitled to several facilities. Among them are customary rights related to power ranging from land to sea, namely the West Misool region. In addition, he also gets an "envelope" (thank you money) when someone asks for an autograph, clears land, and builds a house. Of course, it all requires the release of customs, which of course is closely related to the signature that makes money³⁷. This was one of the treaties in the past, between the Umkabu royal family and the religious Bugis family. Furthermore, according to him, the Imam must be born to a Bugis

³⁵ Maelan, interviewed by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *Sejarah dan Teknis Pelaksanaan Khutbah di Lilinta* (31, 07).

³⁶ Maelan, interview by M. Tohar Al Abza and Zulfadhli. 2022. *History and Technical Implementation of Sermons in Lilinta* (31, 07).

³⁷ Sahail, interviewed by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *Struktur Keagamaan di Lilinta* (29, 07).

female family.³⁸ The Imam can be removed from office. According to information from citizens who did not want to be named, it once happened that a priest would be fired, due to internal royal political cases.³⁹

Once, Mr. Kahar, a local Madrasah Tsanawiyah teacher was asked to advance to Friday khatib, even though he had never been a khatib on Eid. This is due to emergencies. No one dared to come forward to recite the text of the sermon except that person. It seems that the lack of literacy in the Lilinta community causes limited human resources who are able to be khatib, besides the community tendency to depend on actual officers.⁴⁰

The selection of representatives or khatibs is also through certain considerations. Among these is that a person is taken from a person who was once a khatib of Eid. Furthermore, the khatib was given a Decree (SK) through an application to the Raja Ampat Regional Government. The decree will later affect the economic life of the owners of the names in the decree. They are entitled to money that is not set in amount. At least, for 2022 they receive payment of Rp.300.000,- The money can be withdrawn every six months through Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) where they have to sail the ocean for hours, because ATM machines are not yet available in Lilinta.

The position of the Imam in Lilinta was as the "sole ruler" in the religious field. Although there were immigrant *ustadz* who were more pious-knowledgeable than the imam, the *ustadz* still could not occupy the position of imam. While those who can give sermons are only Imam. This is why religious education in Lilinta is not developed at all.

On the other hand, the local people actually wanted to know the content of the sermon, but it is hindered by the power and scientific limitations of the ruler. In fact, education is the

³⁸ Sahail, interview by M. Tohar Al Abza and Zulfadhli. 2022. *Religious Structures in Lilinta* (29, 07).

³⁹ AA, interview by M. Tohar Al Abza and Zulfadhli. 2022. *Social Structure of Lilinta Community* (30 07).

⁴⁰ MZ, interview by M. Tohar Al Abza. 2022. *History and Technical Implementation of Sermons in Lilinta* (28, 07).

most basic need for humans to be developed, as the teachings of the *Maqasid al-Quran*.⁴¹

Hadiths Living in the Remote Community of Lilinta

The way to identify the hadith of the Prophet in this *Khutbah Naga* is the presence of phrase " قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم", meaning "The Holy Prophet said,". Any sentence after this phrase is attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, or *hadith*⁴². Based on careful reading of the text, there are four hadiths founded in the text of the sermon above, as in the following table:

Table 2.

Comparison of Hadith Text in Roll Sermon Manuscript with Hadiths Text in Hadith Main Sources of Hadith

No.	The text of the hadith in the <i>Khutbah Naga</i>	Original text in primary sources of hadith and information about its quality
1	قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ رَأْسٌ وَنُورٌ. وَرَأْسُ الدِّينِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالْحَمْسُ. وَلِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عِمَادٌ. وَعِمَادُ الدِّينِ الصَّلَاةُ. وَمَنْ تَرَكَهَا فَقَدْ هَدَمَ الدِّينَ.	Derived from two hadiths combined into one (<i>mudraj</i>), as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • أَلَا أُخْبِرُكُمْ بِرَأْسِ الْأَمْرِ وَعَمُودِهِ وَذُرُوءِ سَنَامِهِ؟ قلتُ: بلى يارسولَ اللهِ، قال: رأسُ الأمرِ الإسلامُ، وعمودُه الصلاةُ، وذُرُوءُه سنامُه الجهادُ • الصلاةُ عِمَادُ الدِّينِ
2	قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَوْضِعُ الصَّلَاةِ فِي الدِّينِ كَمَوْضِعِ الرَّأْسِ فِي الْجَسَدِ.	"لا إيمان لمن لا أمانة له، ولا صلاة لمن لا طهور له، ولا دين لمن لا صلاة له، وموضع الصلاة من الدين كموضع الرأس من الجسد". (رواه الطبراني في الأوسط عن ابن عمر) <i>There is no perfect faith for those who do not pray. There is no valid prayer for those who are not holy, whether holy from hadas or najis. There is no perfect religion for people who do not pray. The position of prayer in</i>

⁴¹ Ahmad 'Ubaydi Hasbillah, "From the War to Reformation and Peace: Exegesis of the Jihad Verse with Maqa-Sid Perspective," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 23, no. 1 (2022): 145–72, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.2022.2301-08>.

⁴² Jalaluddin al-Suyuthi, *Tadrib Al-Rawi*, ed. Abu Qutaybah Nashar Muhammad Al-Faryabi, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Maktabah al-Kautsar, 1966).

		religion is like the accusation of the head in the organs of the body". ⁴³
3	<p>قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: الصَّلَاةُ كَشَجَرَةٍ وَتَمْرُهَا ثَلَاثَةٌ: أَوَّلُهَا عِنَقٌ مِنَ النَّارِ. وَثَانِيهَا دُخُولُ الْجَنَّةِ. وَثَالِثُهَا رُؤْيَا رَبِّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ.</p>	There is no expression in the hadith source with the same redaction or meaning as that text. In <i>takhrij</i> , this is commonly referred to as <i>la ashla lahu</i> , or <i>la yujad lahu ashkun</i> , i.e. it has no source; or the source is not found.
4	<p>قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَنْ تَرَكَ ثَلَاثَ جُمُعَاتٍ مُتَوَالِيَاتٍ كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ "مُتَافِقَاتٌ" فِي لَوْحِ الْمَحْفُوظِ</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • مَنْ تَرَكَ ثَلَاثَ جُمُعَاتٍ مُتَوَالِيَاتٍ بِهَا، طَبَعَ اللَّهُ عَلَى قَلْبِهِ. • مَنْ تَرَكَ ثَلَاثَ جُمُعَاتٍ مِنْ غَيْرِ عَذْرِ كَتَبَ مِنَ الْمُنَافِقِينَ

Source: Khutbah Naga Manuscript and Main Sources of Hadith

The results of the *takhrij* indicate that there is no single hadith source that can show the same redaction of the hadith as written in the text of the Khutbah Naga. In *takhrij* studies, it can be expressed as *la ashla lahu*. These hadiths have meanings similar to some hadiths that have reliable sources. There are two hadiths that come from a combination of hadith texts such as hadith. It means, judging from its content, the text of the hadith in the Khutbah Naga manuscript is a form of *riwayah bil ma'na*; presented in *mudraj*; Taken a piece of phrase that suits the need; and not quoted from the book of Hadith directly.

Of the four narrations claimed to be hadiths, only one hadith has valid qualities. While the other three hadiths are of *dhaif* (weak) quality. Further, there is no source in classical Islamic literature that mentions the same redaction of hadith as in the Khutbah Naga. This shows two things. *First*, the compiler of the text of this sermon is a person who is proficient in Arabic, has sufficient hadith insight, but has limitations in memorizing hadith and accessing the books of hadith directly. Therefore, he delivered the hadith with a self-made redaction, although there

⁴³ Sulaiman bin Ahmad bin Ayyub bin Muthair al-Lakhmi Al-Thabarani, *Al-Mu'jam Al-Ausath* (Dar al-Haramain, 1995), n. 2292; Zakiyyuddin Abdul Azhim bin Abdul Qawi al-Mundziri, *Al-Tarhib Wa Al-Tarhib Min Al-Hadith Al-Syarif*, ed. Ibrahim Syamsuddin, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2003).

was no problem in substance. *Secondly*, the pattern of quoting hadith in the sultanate society of Ternate in the 18th century and in Lilinta in the 21st century is still relatively simple, has not followed the rules of *takhrij*, and has not developed at all.

Remote Papuans Reception of Arabic Hadith

To define the pattern of the Lilinta people's reception of the hadiths in the sermon text, it is necessary to first examine matters related to the source of knowledge of the Lilinta community about hadith.

A simple survey conducted for this study revealed that the people of Lilinta seldom read hadiths. They are aware of what a hadith is, but their knowledge does not extend beyond this basic understanding. When asked about the phrase “*qala al-nabi sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam,*” they were unable to comprehend its meaning and did not recognize it as a sign of a hadith. Their understanding of hadiths as a source of Islamic teachings is limited to what they hear, rather than what they learn.

Table 3.
Intensity of Hadith Reading

The Intensity of Lilinta People in Reading Hadith		
Very often	Often	Infrequently
0%	1%	99%

Source: Survey

The category ‘Very Often’ implies that the individual reads the hadith daily. ‘Often’ signifies that the hadith is read once a week, while ‘Rare’ indicates an uncertainty in the frequency of reading hadiths among informants. Diverse responses were received from the informants. Only 1% of the population in Lilinta reported reading hadiths frequently. The individuals who recite the hadith once a week are limited to the local khatib and religious teacher. The majority, 99% of Lilinta’s population, reported rarely reading hadiths. Interestingly, none of the respondents fell into the category of reading hadiths very often.

The sources from which they acquire knowledge or hadith readings include the Text of the Khutbah, Hadith Books, the

Internet, and Other Sources. Of these four sources, 1% of respondents claimed to obtain hadith readings from the text of the sermon, and another 1% from books. None reported obtaining hadith readings from the internet, which is understandable given the challenging internet conditions, particularly the limited electricity supply from 18.00 WIT to 06.00 WIT. This situation contrasts with conditions in other places or cities. A significant 80% reported obtaining their knowledge from Other Sources, which were not specified.

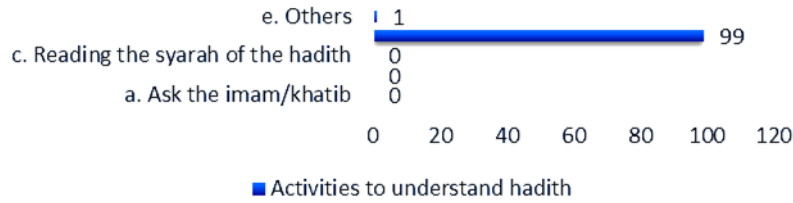
These findings indicate that *da'wah* has not effectively reached the remote areas of Lilinta. Islamic *da'wah* has remained static for decades. Such a society is vulnerable to misunderstandings if someone erroneously teaches the understanding of hadiths in the future. Their only defense against the infiltration of radicalization under the guise of *ihya' al-sunnah* is their inherited tradition. Tradition plays a strong role in shaping culture and strengthening national resilience⁴⁴. However, it may falter when confronted with the religious doctrine of its primary source, especially if it is supported by the Salafi proselytizing movement through new media that has penetrated remote areas without borders⁴⁵.

Furthermore, the activities of the Lilinta community to assist in understanding the meaning of the hadith text, are as follows:

Tabel 3. Intensity of Hadith Reading

⁴⁴ Asep Saefullah, Arif Syibromalisi, and Dede Burhanudin, "Models of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Environmental Conservation, and Cultural Advancement: A Study of The Cipari Kuningan Archaeological Park Site," *Journal of Religious Policy* 2, no. 2 (December 11, 2023): 383–416, <https://doi.org/10.31330/repo.v2i2.35>.

⁴⁵ Eko Saputra and Fadhli Fadhli, "Media Baru, Fragmentasi dan Kontestasi Otoritas Keagamaan Di Aceh: Dari Ulama Lokal Ke Ustaz," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 2 (2020): 429–62.



Source: Survey

From points a-e, as many as 99% of Lilinta people do nothing, or they do not know the meaning of the hadiths contained in the text of the Friday sermon. This is consistent with the initial information that the khatib himself did not understand the content of the sermon's text message in Arabic. While 1% they get it through doctrine for generations. This can be seen in their practice when they actually take the time to return home from sea just to perform Friday prayers. At the same time, the hadith underlying this practice is the shahih hadith. They claim to fear sin and hell torture and even a curse that has fatal consequences to the point of harm in the world.

The transformation of the hadith message into a myth occurs through oral traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. The limitations of literacy and the integration of religious messages with local customs reinforce this belief, which is affirmed by religious leaders and community leaders, so that the hadith turns into a myth of curse for those who leave Friday prayers.

Here, hadith has truly transformed into a myth because it has become a religious narrative that uses patterns, characters, and subjects that are already known in a particular culture.⁴⁶ This transformation plays a role in directing people's lives to structure thoughts, experiences and actions.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Jari Martikainen and Inari Sakki, "Myths, the Bible, and Romanticism as Ingredients of Political Narratives in the Finns Party Election Video," 2, accessed May 10, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2021.100466>.

⁴⁷ D.S.A. Bell, "Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity (Review)," *British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2003): 63–81, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0007131032000045905>.

The Living Hadith in Lilinta: From Hadith to Myth to Habitus

The inclusion of hadith in the text of the sermon can be categorized as a process of narration by method of *kitabah*, the fifth level in the *ilm riwayat hadith*⁴⁸, then now changed to *I'lam* method. This means that it decreases to the sixth level⁴⁹. But in practice, the transmission of the text of the sermon from one khatib to the next or from one imam to the next is more similar to the process of *munawalah maqrunah bil ijazah* which occupies the fourth level in the science of *riwayat hadith*⁵⁰. This means that the narration of hadith in Lilinta can be declared very weak, no one reaches level one or two. There is no teacher-student interaction at all in the transmission of hadith in the manner described above. Yet it is this relationship that can form civilization, scientific militancy and spiritual ties.⁵¹ As a result, there is a disconnected understanding. The transfer of knowledge derived from hadith does not take place here. In contrast to the practice of narrating hadith with *the method of sama'i, qira'ah, and ijazah* which is very strong⁵² and can bring great changes to society.

The quotation of hadith in the text of the Khutbah Naga is meaningfully (*riwayat bi al-ma'na*). This also indicates that the hadith narration literacy is still weak. Moreover, this narration model needs strict conditions⁵³, because it is considered to have great potential to cause conflicts of religious thought and

⁴⁸ Abd al-Rahman bin Abu Bakr Jalal al-Din Al-Suyuti, *Tadrib Al-Rawi Fi Sharh Taqrib Al-Nawawi*, ed. Abu Qutaybah Al-Fariyabi (Riyad, 2010), 480.

⁴⁹ Al-Suyuti, 484.

⁵⁰ Al-Suyuti, 467.

⁵¹ M Thohar Al Abza, Kamsi Kamsi Kamsi, and Nawari Ismail, "THE SOCIOPOLITICAL ENTANGLEMENT OF SUFISM," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 14, no. 2 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2019.14.2.215-234>.

⁵² Al-Suyuti, *Tadrib Al-Rawi Fi Sharh Taqrib Al-Nawawi*, 418.

⁵³ Al-Suyuti, 532, 537.

social⁵⁴, and to result errors in belief.⁵⁵ It seems clear that the hadith there is not quoted from primary hadith sources. This is understandable because takhrij literacy in Indonesia was only widely accepted at the beginning of the 21st century⁵⁶. The prophet's hadiths circulating in Lilinta were only disseminated through one medium, namely the *Khutbah Naga Scroll Manuscript*. Even then they did not know that the manuscript contained hadith. They only know the word "*qala al-nabi*", without knowing the term hadith. The status of hadith in the manuscript is also less popular and less sacred than the status of the manuscript itself.

The Lilinta people's incomprehension of the contents of the Kutbah Naga Manuscript can be seen from two things. *First* from the recognition of the citizens themselves. They claim that none of them understand. *Secondly*, it can be seen from the scriptwriter himself. Artistically, the type of khat used is quite nice and neat. This indicates that the author is a person who has long studied the basic science of Islam. The Arabic writing is quite nice and neat. But in terms of content, it can be seen from the title of the manuscript, it is clear that the author does not understand the content of the sermon. From the title of the sermon used, the words "لا يرجال" are written. There is no word from residents about the reason why the title is "*La Yurjali*". The title is written in Arabic, but there is no such Arabic vocabulary. We believe that the title is taken from a disproportionate chunk

⁵⁴ Saqqaf Aly Alawi Alaydrus, "Narrating Hadith Through Meaning And Its Effect In The Fiqih Disagreement," *Majallah Al-Andalus Li Al-Ulum Al-Insaniyyah Wa Al-Ijtima'iyah* 32, no. 7 (2020): 36–63, <http://andalusuniv.net/AUSTNEW/magazine/sh/2020/7/32/8b59471e0b7a8c95aa62095d3f14ee7e.pdf>.

⁵⁵ Yaser Ahmad Al-Shamaly, "The Impact of the Narration Sense - Applied in the Belief Ahadith," *Journal of College of Sharia & Islamic Studies* 28, no. 1 (2010): 21–54, <https://doi.org/http://hdl.handle.net/10576/4035>.

⁵⁶ D. Indah Syifana and Ferdy Pratama, "Perkembangan Kajian Hadis DI Indonesia Pada Bad 20-21 M," *Elfurqonia* 07, no. 01 (2021): 94–118; Ramli Abdul Wahid and Dedi Masri, "PERKEMBANGAN TERKINI STUDI HADIS DI INDONESIA," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 42, no. 2 (February 4, 2019): 263, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v42i2.572>.

of votes from one of the first sentences in the text of the sermon, as follows:

الحمد لله الذي لا يرجا لكشف الشدائد إلا هوا.

The text of this sermon is recited with its signature song repeatedly from century to century. When it comes to the phrase "... *La Yurja Likasyfis-Syada'idi...*," it was beheaded in half, but not in the right place. Ideally, if it is forced to be beheaded without changing its meaning, then it should read "*la yurja ... Likasyfis-Shada'idi*". However, in practice, beheading occurs in the middle of the word, becoming "*laa yurjaali...Kasyfis-Syada'idi*".



Figure 1.

Khutbah Gulung Manuscript entitled *La Yurjali*

Source: Imam of Masjid Darussalam, Lilinta

This phenomenon describes a pattern of reception that is not on the substance, but only on the outer aspects of the text. Such receptions indicate that people do not understand the text, only accept the text sacredly on the basis of tradition or habitus. Within the framework of Hall's theory, this pattern of acceptance

cannot be categorized as a pattern of hegemony, but rather of negotiation. The habitus and myth that are dominant in Lilinta negotiate with the hadith text in the sacred text to form beliefs about the Friday prayer law.

This finding is in line with that stated by Insoll. Religion, myth, and power are often an inseparable unity in human culture. This has even happened since prehistoric times. It is closely related to the position of the king so that it can be legitimized and ordained so that it gradually gives birth to science, myths, culture and discourses that are overwhelmed by strong beliefs as well as great fear if they violate it.⁵⁷ Such is the description of the hadith material of the Friday sermon in Lilinta.

Through the lens of reception theories, it can be inferred that Lilinta, a remote community in West Papua, exhibits a “negotiated” pattern of reception towards the hadith of the Prophet. The reading, which forms the basis for the narrative of this hadith, is rooted in ancestral doctrine, which has evolved into a form of myth. Its meaning is passed down through generations, independent of the content of the sermon text. Consequently, the four hadiths in Lilinta are disseminated through two channels: the mythical path and the khutbah path. The mythical path conveys dirayah or its content, while the khutbah path conveys the text, despite the text having undergone modifications from the original source.

Stacey posits that myth is a component of the religious repertoire that ensures the longevity and sustainability of a belief, accepted across generations⁵⁸. Therefore, in Lilinta, the content of the hadith is predominantly conveyed through mythology rather than its original sources. The recitation of the hadith is negotiated with habitus, resulting in a pattern of acceptance that manifests in high observance of Friday worship. This negotiated

⁵⁷ Timothy Insoll, “Archaeology of Cult and Religion,” *Archaeology: The Key Concepts* 1 (January 1, 2024): 140–61, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-323-90799-6.00201-9>.

⁵⁸ Timothy Stacey, “Religious Repertoires of Sustainability: Why Religion Is Central to Sustainability Transitions, Whatever You Believe,” *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 50, no. February (2024): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2024.100821>.

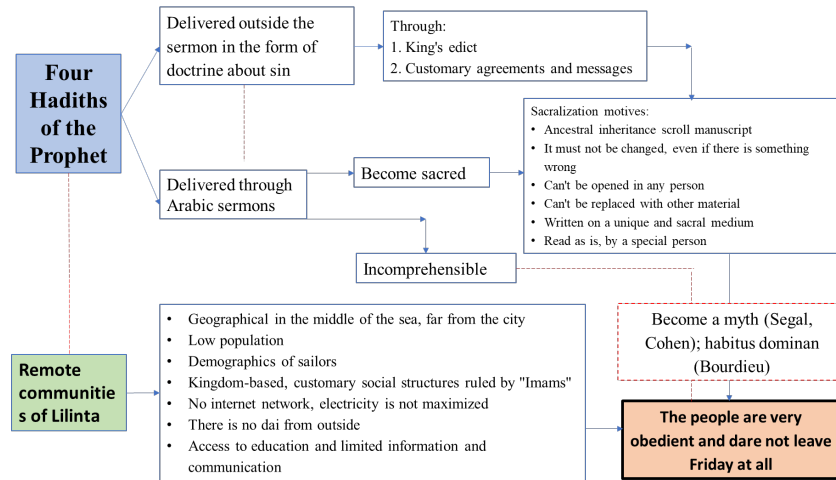
acceptance is rooted in the dominance of habitus, passed down through generations since the era of the Ternate kingdom in the 18th century. The limited access to education and information technology gives this negotiated reception a unique character. On one hand, custom is dominant, but on the other hand, the doctrine conveyed by the hadith in the text of the sermon is also robust and non-negotiable. Thus, the dominance of habitus underpins the implementation of the hadith in the *Khutbah Naga*.

The text of *Khutbah Naga* is not a sacralization of the hadith, but rather of the text of the *Khutbah* itself. The motif of sacralization stems from the belief that the manuscript is an ancestral heritage that must be preserved and revered. The text should not be altered for correction, even in the face of evident errors. It cannot be handled and opened by just anyone. In practice, sermon material should not be substituted with other materials or manuscripts. Additionally, the writing medium is distinctive, a two-meter-long cloth that is unrolled and read in a standing position, gradually unfolding to resemble the body of a dragon snake.

Furthermore, the lack of access to education results in no citizen understanding the contents of the hadith. The Arabic sermon has become an irreplaceable dogma. They read the hadith, accepting its contents without comprehending the text that has been read from generation to generation for centuries. The acceptance of the content of the hadith is not derived from knowledge of the content of the hadith, but from the political doctrine of the ancestors, which later transformed into a dominant customary/cultural force. This is where the negotiations lie. Cultural forces govern the content of the hadith through habituation, not through education.

This pattern is termed *Negotiated reading* because they accept the text of the hadith as sacred. They do not feel the need to understand its content, nor do they oppose or reject its content. This is evidenced by the practice of the Friday wrong legal hadith, which aligns exactly with the content of the hadith that they consistently hear without understanding. This pattern cannot be classified as *Proportional reading*. To label it as *Dominant Reading* is also inappropriate because they do not understand at

all, so the dominant factor is not the reading of the hadith, but the dominant culture that maintains the content of the hadith without feeling the need to understand the content of the hadith text. Ultimately, the content of the hadith has been negotiated with the dominant culture of the Ternate kingdom.



Source: Data Analysis Results

Figure 2.

Hadith Negotiations and the Dominant Culture of the Kingdom of Ternate

Based on the above analysis, it can be said that the mosque in Lilinta actually has significant potential and role for the progress of civilization in the area. Islamic literacy education in this regard proved more effective in mosques than in schools in Lilinta. The concept of mosque schools that have been developed in remote villages in Afghanistan seems to have the opportunity to be a solution to prevent conflict and maintain relations between Islam and the State in the land of Lilinta. The presence of mosque schools in Afghanistan is even connected to formal schools, can be accessed more easily in remote areas, and has succeeded in boosting achievements, and mainly becoming a means of overcoming the impact of conflict. Of course, this

success is also supported by the role of the government as the owner of policy-making authority.⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the practice of hadith in Lilinta is primarily behavioral, rather than cognitive. This means that while the narration of the hadith occurs unconsciously and without comprehension, the practice of the hadith remains alive, mirroring the original message contained within the hadith. In theological terms, the practice of living hadith, particularly in relation to Friday prayers, does not contravene religious rules.

However, the transformation pattern does not proceed directly from the text of the hadith to independent understanding and then to practice. Instead, the transformation pattern between the hadith and its practice runs parallel but on different tracks. The practice of the hadith proceeds through doctrinal channels that have become habitus, while the narrative of hadith texts proceeds independently through sermons that are not easily comprehensible. This pattern is referred to as communal-practical hadith living, which is based on habitus rather than cognition and education or any other academic-scientific process.

Living hadith in this model is typically more deeply embedded in thought and ingrained because it is not accompanied by critical reasoning. It results in a form of indigenization of the Prophet's teachings, separate from the text. The defense of tradition is also stronger, but due to the lack of access to correct information, it becomes difficult to develop or change. On one hand, this is positive for the preservation of Islamic teachings about sermons and Friday prayers. On the other hand, it is considered negative because the lack of developed education can lead to less valuable habits that are susceptible to infiltration by other teachings. If the pattern of living hadith is appropriated and

⁵⁹ Dana Burde, Joel A. Middleton, and Rachel Wahl, "Islamic Studies as Early Childhood Education in Countries Affected by Conflict: The Role of Mosque Schools in Remote Afghan Villages," *International Journal of Educational Development* 41 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.10.005>.

infiltrated by deviant material, it could pose a threat to state defense. This is particularly concerning given that the teachings are deeply ingrained and resistant to change.

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