SOCIAL SEMIOTIC READING OF SHALAWAT BADAR: THE RESPONSE OF THE PESANTREN COMMUNITY TO INDONESIAN POLITICS

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مستلخص

العمل الأدبي هو نتاج سياق اجتماعي سياسي وأيديولوجي ويتطور في مجتمع معين ، وهذا ينطبق على النصوص الأدبية ذات الأنواع الدينية ، ومن بينها صلوات بدر. تأخذ هذه الدراسة إطارًا نظريًا من السيميائية الاجتماعية، أي ممارسة اجتماعية ثقافية، وتحلل هذه الدراسة النص الديني لصلوات بدر من تأليف الكياهي علي منشور، وهو عالم من علماء جمبر، جاوة الشرقية خلال السنة الستينيات. تشير نتائج التحليل النصي والسياق لنص صلوات بدر إلى أن المؤلف قد نجح في مزج هذا النص الأدبي من النوع الديني بديناميكيات السياقات السياسية في عصره. لا تمثل صلوات بدر فقط مشاعر المؤلف وتوجهاته الأيديولوجية في البحث عن المعنى الحقيقي للحياة ولكن أيضًا انخراطه المتعمد والهادف في الحقائق الاجتماعية والسياسية في عصره. وعلى وجه الخصوص ، تعكس صلوات بدر هوية ووسيلة حركة ومقاومة المعاهد الإسلامية لديناميكيات السياسة الوطنية خاصة في نهاية عهد النظام القديم (orde lama). بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، تسلط المادة النصية لصلوات بدر الضوء على التنافس الاجتماعي والسياسي للشعب الإندونيسي خلال عهد النظام القديم ، وخاصة مقاومة المعاهد الإسلامية لحركة الحزب الشيوعي الإندونيسي (PKI). ويستمر معنى وإسناد صلوات بدر في التطور بمرور الوقت ، أي من المقاومة السياسية ونضال المعاهد الإسلامية تجاه الحزب الشيوعي الإندونيسي إلى الأداة الانتخابية العملية لحزب نهضة العلماء (NU)، إلى أن تصبح جزءًا من صناعة الأعمال الموسيقية من قبل مجموعات الموسيقى الإسلامية في العصر الحديث.

الكلمات المفتاحية : *صلوات بدر؛ المعاهد الإسلامية؛ السياسية؛ السيميائية الاجتماعية*

Abstract

The literary work is a result of the socio-political environment and ideology that exist and grow in a certain culture, and this is true for religious literary writings such as Shalawat Badar. This research studies the religious text Shalawat Badar, produced by KH Ali Manshur, a Kiai (Muslim cleric) from Jember, East Java, in the 1960s, using a theoretical framework from social semiotics, meaning-making as a socio-cultural process. The Shalawat Badar textual and contextual analysis results show that the author skillfully integrated this religious, literary masterpiece with the dynamics of his time's political circumstances. This Shalawat Badar shows not only the author's sentiments and ideological orientations in his quest for the ultimate meaning of life, but also his conscious and purposeful interaction with the socio-political realities of his day. Shalawat Badar, in particular, symbolizes the identity and medium of movement and resistance of the Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) to the dynamics of national politics, particularly after the Old Testament era. Furthermore, Shalawat Badar's textual material emphasizes the socio-political contestation of Indonesian society in the Old Order, particularly the opposition of Islamic boarding schools against the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) movement. Indeed, the meaning and attribution of Shalawat Badar have changed over time, from the political resistance and struggle of the Pesantren against the PKI to the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) Party's practical electoral instrument to Islamic music groups becoming part of the music business industry in the most recent era.

Keywords: Shalawat Badar; Islamic Boarding Schools; Politics; Social Semiotics.

INTRODUCTION

In the course of Indonesian political history, Shalawat Badr (Badr Prayers) not only represents the religious and cultural values of the largest socio-religious organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama but also captures the intense political struggles of the organization and the Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) community. For the so-called Nahdliyin, NU's members, Shalawat Badr is not only valid as a literary text and ordinary prayer but also a special religious text that has a special position in the organization as an obligatory song and an auspicious text that is considered extremely meaningful for the Nahdliyin congregation.[1]

Shalawat Badr contains praises for the Messenger of Allah and the fighters of Badr (the companions of the Prophet who were martyred in the battle of Badr). This prayer is in the form of poetry and is sung to a distinctive song. Sholawat Badr was composed in 1960 by Kiai Ali Manshur, a grandson of KH. Muhammad Shiddiq Jember. Kiai Ali Manshur served at that time as the Head of the Banyuwangi Religious Affairs Department as well as the Chairman of the PCNU in the same region. Shalawat Badr was first introduced by KH Ali Manshur in the Banyuwangi area of East Java and was only heard at religious events.[2] However, in subsequent developments, Shalawat Badr became the leader of Nahdliyin's struggle in responding to political developments and contestations in Indonesia, especially as a struggle against the PKI in the periods of 1963–1965.[3] Practically, at that time, apart from having a role in the religious field, Shalawat Badr also played a role in the social, political, and cultural fields.

Based on a theoretical perspective, this special historical event reinforces a view that states that the emergence of literary works cannot be separated from the socio-political situations and conditions of their time.[4] Literature is always closely connected with the dimensions of space and time in the sense that all literary works are context-specific and that their understanding should take into account the particularities of where, when, and why they are produced.[5] Furthermore, the historical development of literature suggests that literary works can indeed contribute to civil society struggles for political power in various parts of the world.[6] About

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[1] Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2003).

[2] Ahmad Zahro, *Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il 1926-1999, Tradisi Intelektual NU* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004).

[3] The political rivalry that took place between NU and the PKI had actually occurred since the 1955 elections. NU's opposition to the PKI was rooted in the ideology adopted by the PKI, in which its teachings were considered to be contrary to Islam, and even anti-religious. Ahmad Zahro, Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il 1926-1999, NU Intellectual Tradition (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2004), 54-65.

[4] See: Ariel Hariyanto, Contextual Literary Debate (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1985), 37-77.

[5] Ariel Heriyanto, *Perdebatan Sastra Kontekstual* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1985).

[6] Mark A. Graber, :":From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality," *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (2005), https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.110.3.804; Maikel Waardenburg, "Understanding the Microfoundations of Government–Civil Society Relations," *Voluntas* 32, no. 3 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00221-w; Valesca Lima, *Participatory Citizenship and Crisis in Contemporary Brazil, Participatory Citizenship and Crisis in Contemporary Brazil*, 2020, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-19120-7; Mahathir Muhammad Iqbal, "Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Pusaran

Islamic literature in the archipelago, for instance, there is a view that tends to see that Nusantara Islamic literature has nothing to do with politics. If it is developed more broadly, there is also an assumption that there is no connection between the study of Islamic literature in the archipelago and politics in the country.

At the very least, the existing doubts as to the incompatibility or lack of compatibility between literature, Islam, and politics in Indonesia are among the factors which seem to have caused a scarcity of research on Arabic literature by Nusantara scholars. Meanwhile, regarding Nusantara Islamic literature, there are quite a several literary works from Nusantara scholars which are equally important in their literary values and aesthetics at least compared to several prominent Middle Eastern writers.[7] Some Nusantara scholars have demonstrated their capacity as intellectuals who are qualified in various interdisciplinary scientific fields, including the field of Arabic literature.[8] Additionally, studies on the relationship between literature and politics show strong correlations to the extent that literary works can catalyze political struggles and empowerment.[9]

Based on the aforementioned background, this article analyzes a very famous Shalawat, especially among the Nahdliyin, which was composed by KH. Ali Manshur in 1960 and called Shalawat Badr. Drawing theoretical underpinnings from social semiotics, the article explores how meanings brought by and attributed to this special Shalawat have been articulated, mediated, and communicated as representing dynamic interactions between text and context.

Politik: Sebuah Otokriktik Orientasi NU Dalam Politik Perspektif Insider," *Jurnal Inovasi Ilmu Sosial Dan Politik* 1, no. 2 (2019), https://doi.org/10.33474/jisop.v1i2.4852.

[7]M. Rahmat Effendi, "Mimbar, Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan: 'Kekuasaan Negara Dalam Perspektif Dakwah Islam,'" *Pusat Penerbitan Universitas, LPPM Unisba*, 2003.

[8]Say, for example Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i, Nur al-Din al-Raniri (d. 1658), 'Abd al-Ra'uf ibn 'Ali al-Jawi al-Fansuri (1615-1693) , Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari (1629-1699), 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani, Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812), Dawud al-Fatani (d. 1847), and Nawawi al-Bantani (1813-1879). As interdisciplinary scholars, their names are connected with a number of prominent scholars in Haramayn, some of them even become teachers for a number of Arab students, in addition to students from Tanah Jawi themselves. See: Oman Fathurahman, Tafsir Wahdat Al-wujūd for the Jawi Community (Study on Ithāf al-Dzakī Ibrahim al-Kurani), in the Meeting Point Journal, Journal of Civilization Dialogue, (Vol. 5 Number 1, July-December 2012), 127- 128

[9] Marta Regina de Leão D'agord, Charles Elias Lang, and Vitor Hugo Couto Triska, "The Psychopathology of the Pandemic: Literature, Science and Politics," *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatologia Fundamental* 23, no. 3 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1590/1415-4714.2020v23n3p597.10; Cristina Pinto-Bailey, "Adam Joseph Shellhorse. Anti-Literature. The Politics and Limits of Representation in Modern Brazil and Argentina.," *Revista Iberoamericana* 85, no. 267 (2019), https://doi.org/10.5195/reviberoamer.2019.7779; Shannon Pritting, "Book Review: Literature and Politics Today: The Political Nature of Modern Fiction and Drama," *Reference & User Services Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (2015), https://doi.org/10.5860/rusq.55n1.74b; Ghulam Hussain, "Ethno-Nationality of Caste in Pakistan: Privileged Caste Morality in Sindhi Progressive Literature and Politics," *Critical Sociology* 48, no. 1 (2022), https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520964541; Catherine O'Donnell, "Literature and Politics in the Early Republic: Views from the Bridge," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 2010, https://doi.org/10.1353/jer.0.0138.

In particular, this article emphasizes how this Shalawat has served as a catalyst for the political struggles of the Nahdliyin and the Pesantren community, especially during the Old Order era.

A study of literary work and its relation to politics in the Indonesian context of this kind is a distinctive one worth undertaking.[10] Unlike other Shalawats, Shalawat Badr, especially for the Pesantren communities and the Nahdliyin, has a special position because, in its history, Shalawat Badr cannot be separated from NU's political movements. Shalawat Badr holds an important position in Indonesia's political constellation and contestation.Moreover, in the history of Indonesian politics, Shalawat Badr has become the symbol of the struggles of the Pesantren communities and the Nahdliyin in many political events throughout the country. Indeed, there are quite some literary works in different contexts that highlight that literary works can serve as a transformative catalyst for ideological, liberation, and identity movements and struggles.[11]

METHOD

This article is based on a qualitative study that is analytical and interpretive in nature.[12] It situates at the center of its analysis the dynamics of meaning-making practices related to Shalawat Badr and how such meaning-making practices are strongly driven by and contextualized in relevant social realities. In such analysis, this study is theoretically rooted in and framed by social semiotics, as a form of interdisciplinary inquiry that deals with semiotic production and interpretation which strongly engages with social theory.[13] This social semiotic analysis theorizes the relations between textual products and their contextual processes in the making, maintaining, and changing of systems of social meaning-making practices.[14] In this study, Shalawat Badr is viewed in terms of the dynamic relationships that exist between a

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[10]Oman Fathurahman, "Tafsir Wahdat Al-Wujūd Bagi Komunitas Jawi (Kajian Atas Ithāf Al-Dzakī Ibrahim Al-Kurani)," *Jurnal Titik Temu, Jurnal Dialog Peradaban* 5, no. 1 (2012): 125–55.

[11]Almaz Ildarovich Zakirov et al., "Literature and Ideology," *LAPLAGE EM REVISTA* 6, no. Extra-B (2020), https://doi.org/10.24115/s2446-622020206extra-b598p.94-99; Špela Virant, "Epistemology, Ideology, and Literature: Radical Constructivism, Decolonial Studies, and Native American Literature," *Primerjalna Knjizevnost*, 2019; Maurizio Ascari and Gilberta Golinelli, "Early Modern Crime Literature Ideology, Emotions and Social Norms," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 10 (2021), https://doi.org/10.13128/jems-2279-7149-12537; Tito Eugênio Santos Souza, "Between Literature and Ideology: Brazilian Criticism and the Search for a National Identity," *Taller de Letras*, 2018; John R Morelock, "A Systematic Literature Review of Engineering Identity: Definitions, Factors, and Interventions Affecting Development, and Means of Measurement," *European Journal of Engineering Education* 42, no. 6 (2017), https://doi.org/10.1080/03043797.2017.1287664; Akhmad Taufiq, "Multicultural Literature: The Identity Construction In Indonesian Novels," *Jurnal Humaniora*, 2014.

[12]Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Sage publications, 2014). See also Sharan B Merriam and Robin S Grenier, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis* (John Wiley & Sons, 2019).

[13]Theo Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (Psychology Press, 2005).

[14]Paul J Thibault, *Social Semiotics as Praxis: Text, Social Meaning Making, and Nabokov's Ada* (U of Minnesota Press, 1990).

textual material produced in a specific spatial and temporal setting and its contextual processes, which represent the dynamics and particularities of prevailing socio-cultural circumstances.

According to Paul J Thibault, a theory of social meaning-making is always constituted in and through a given ensemble of social meaning-making practices, and it can work, among others, to articulate points of resistance to dominant cultural axioms, in ways that can destabilize them.[15] The social semiotic conceptual framework is, therefore, concerned with the systems of meaning-making resources, their patterns of use in texts and social occasions of discourse, and the social practices of the social formations in and through which these textual meanings are made, remade, imposed, contested, and changed from one textual production or social occasion of discourse to another. Social semiotics, therefore, strives to be a critical, self-reflexive theory of the dynamics of these social meaning-making practices. It is critical because it seeks to show how regular and systematic co-patterning's of textual meaning relations and associated meaning-making practices function in ways that enact, maintain, reproduce, and change the social semiotic system.

Central to the social semiotic framework espoused in this study is the idea of a "semiotic resource," which, according to Theo Van Leeuwen, refers to actions and artifacts we use for meaning-making purposes in a particular social context. These meaning-making practices can be done physiologically (using vocal apparatus and gestures) or technologically (utilizing tools or gadgets).[16] In doing the analyses in this article, therefore, the authors took the following procedures:

1) Collecting, documenting, and systematically cataloging the Shalawat Badr as a semiotic resource and exploring its history of use in the Indonesian socio-political context.

2) Investigating and analyzing how the Shalawat Badr, as a semiotic resource, has been created and used in its historical, cultural, and institutional contexts, and how people, especially the Nahdliyin and the Pesantren community, have treated, taught, and justified its use in relevant contextual circumstances,

3) Interpreting meaning-making practices conditioned and contextualized by the Shalawat Badr and its author in the Indonesian socio-political context and contributing to the discovery of new forms of socio-economic uses of the Shalawat Badr.[17]

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[15]Thibault., p. 6.

[16]Van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics,* p. 3.

[17]See Van Leeuwen, for details on this analytical procedure "*Introducing Social Semiotics",* pp. 3-4.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Shalawat Badr as a Discourse in Indonesian Religious Literature

Textual Material of Shalawat Badr[18]

صلوات البدر	
صَـلاَةَ اللهِ سَـلاَمُ اللهِ عَـلَى طـهَ رَسُـوْلِ اللهِ صَـلاَةَ اللهِ سَـلاَمُ اللهِ عَـلَى يـس حَبِيْبِ اللهِ تَوَ سَـلْنَا بِـبِـسْمِ اللهِ وَبِالْـهَادِى رَسُوْلِ اللهِ وَ كُـلِّ مُجَـا هِدِ للهِ بِاَهْلِ الْبَدْ رِ يَـا اَللهُ اِلـهـى سَلِّـم أَلاُمَّـة مِنَ أْلافـاتِ وَالنِّـقْمَة وَمِنْ هَـمٍ وَمِنْ غُمَّـةٍ بَا هْلِ الْبَدْ رِ يَـا اَللهُ اِلـهى نَجِّـنَا وَاكْـشِفْ جَمِيْعَ اَذِ يَّةٍ وَا صْرِفْ مَكَائـدَ الْعِدَا وَالْطُفْ بِاَ هْلِ الْبَدْ رِ يَـا اَللهُ اِلـهى نَفِّـس الْـكُرَبَا مِنَ الْعَاصِيْنَ وَالْعَطْبَا وَ كُـلِّ بَـلِيَّـةٍ وَوَبَـا بِاَ هْلِ الْبَدْ رِ يَـا اَللهُ	God's blessings, God's peace be upon Prophet Muhammad (Taha), the Messenger of God God's blessings, God's peace be upon Yassin, the beloved of God We asked in the name of God and in the guide the Messenger of God And everyone who strives for God with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, O God. Oh my God, save the Muslims from calamity and torment as well as from hardship and anxiety with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, Oh God. O my Lord, save us, remove all that hurts return the machinations (evil designs) of the enemy and give us love with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, O Allah. Oh my God, remove the hardships and damage caused by the actions of the wicked (disobedient), all disasters and infectious diseases (plague) with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, O Allah. *(Translation by the authors)*

It is known that the Indonesian Muslim community, especially the Pesantren, is very familiar with the world of literary texts that are manifested in religious practices. This is reflected in the various forms of stanzas in the literary texts of Shalawat, which have become a tradition in every daily activity, even in profane activities, such as waiting for merchandise, working in the fields, and putting babies to sleep, even the latter of which is believed to calm a restless and crying baby.

The tradition of reciting a Shalawat (the Prophet's prayers) has also been set at the appointed times. This stipulation is now more widespread, such as when waiting for the call to prayer and iqamah with the reading of Shalawat, both in Arabic and in vernacular languages. The literary texts of Shalawats written by Nusantara (Indonesian Archipelago) scholars also appear in many variations, forms, and functions. Shalawat, which was originally a prayer of mercy and

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[18]Saiful Islam, *Sang Pencipta Shalawat Badar, KHR. Ali Manshur* (Surabaya: Amantra, 2004). Although the complete textual material of Shalawat Badr consists of 14 stanzas, these five stanzas constitute the most familiar part to most of the Nahdliyin and Pesantren communities.

greetings for the Prophet Muhammad, later developed into poems relating to the personal majesty and history of the Prophet's life.[19]

Among the Nahdiliyin themselves, Shalawat Badr is very famous, even though this Shalawat is one of the mandatory songs at every religious event or some important activities. But until now, not many people, including the Nahdliyin themselves, knew about the creator or composer of the Shalawat Badr.[20] So far, people are more familiar with the Shalawat Badr as religious literature written by Middle Eastern scholars. Some opinions say that the Shalawat Badr is the result of Imam Al-Bushiri's composition[21], and KH Ali Manshur simply sang it.Others think this Shalawat was created by Kyai Hanafi, a Muslim cleric. Unfortunately, it cannot be scientifically proven because there is no historical data or evidence to support this claim. These two opinions are also classified as weak because Imam Al-Bushiri himself is one of the scholars who have distinctive Arabic language and literary skills with a very strong Arabic *dzauq* (linguistic sense). One of his creations,[22] Qosidah Burdah[23] has a distinctive Arabic *Dzauq* and has become a work of religious literature that is very familiar to the Indonesian Muslim community, especially among Islamic boarding schools. The Shalawat Badr, on the other hand, is rather different; its linguistic sense is not as strong as the works of Al-Bushiri.[24]

Some other opinions mention that the Shalawat Badr was created by a great scholar without explicitly mentioning who the ulama is. The question about the creator of this Shalawat is getting unclear because the family at that time has not provided a response or comment on the existing controversy.[25] Based on the confession of one of the families of KH Ali Manshur,

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[19]Kholid Mawardi, Shalawatan: Moral Learning Among Traditionalists, in the Insanis Journal (Vol.14 No.3, September-December, 2009), 1-2.

[20] Fadhil Munawwar Mashur, "Resepsi Kasidah Burdah Al Bushiri Dalam Masyarakat Pesantren," *Jurnal HUMANIORA* 18, no. 3 (2006): 102–13.

[21]Imam Al-Bushiri is a Sufi Muslim from Dalash, in the village of Bani Yusuf. He was born in the year 1212. His father was of Moroccan descent, who came from the village of Abu Shary, an expression appears which states the expression ad-dalashiry for the name Muhammad bin Said. Because of the possibility of difficulty in pronouncing and difficult to remember, finally the popular expression is al-bushiry. See: Fadhil Munawwar Mashur, Reception of Kasidah Burdah Al Bushiri in Pesantren Society, in Journal of HUMANIORA Vol. 18, No.2, 2006, p. 102.

[22] Khairi, *Islam Dan Budaya Masyarakat* (Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka, 2008).

[23]*Qasidah Burdah* are songs that contain poetry about praise or shalawat to the Prophet Muhammad. The poem was written by Imam al-Bushiri from Egypt in the 13th century AD, namely during the transition from the Ayyubid dynasty to the Mamluk dynasty. See: Khairi, Islam and Community Culture (Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka, 2008), p. 229. See also: Ulin Nihayah, Qasidah Burdah Imam Al-Bushiri's Concept of Art as an Alternative to Growing Mental Health, in the Journal of Da'wah Science, Vo. 34, No.1, January-June 2014, p. 298-299.

[24]Ulin Nihayah, "Konsep Seni Qasidah Burdah Imam Al-Bushiri Sebagai Alternatif Menumbuhkan Kesehatan Mental," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* Vo. 34, No.1 (2014): 859–77.

[25]Although the family has some data that the creator of Shalawat Badr is KH Ali Manshur, the family does not comment. This could be because the family does not really believe that Kiai Ali Manshur is the creator. Moreover, Kiai Ali Manshur never verbally informed him that the shalawat was his creation.

whom the authors met, the family has the original manuscript or handwriting of the Shalawat Badr along with information on its composition and distribution. However, the family itself felt no need to claim, and the reason is that their names are pinned with the creator of the Shalawat Badr, which is a blessing in itself.

Initially, information about the creator of the Shalawat Badr first came from KH Abdurrahman Wahid, also known as Gus Dur, as the General Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board at the 28th NU Congress in Krapyak, Yogyakarta.[26] At that time, Gus Dur gave the NU star award to KH Ali Manshur for his services in creating the Shalawat Badr. This was also reinforced by the testimony of some figures, including KH. Muhith Muzadi (the big brother of the late KH. Hasyim Muzadi, former chairman of Tanfidiyah PBNU).[27]

Another testimony also came from KH. Gufron (former Dean of IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya), who said that while studying in Egypt (1958–1964), he had never heard of a Shalawat with the style of the Shalawat Badr. He claimed to have never heard of or seen anything about the Shalawat in any book. He found out about it after returning to Indonesia in 1964."If the Shalawat Badr was created by Al-Bushiri, of course, I should have already known based on literature studies, and it is known to many people," said KH. Ghufron.[28]

Meanwhile, KH. Kholil Bisri of Rembang admitted that the Shalawat Badr was first heard from Nyai Faiqoh Zainab (KH Ali Manshur's cousin), who was known to be close to him.When Nyai Faiqoh Zainab sees KH Ali Manshur's photo, he always says Kiai Ali Manshur is the creator of the Shalawat Badr. Mrs. Maryam, KH Ali Manshur's cousin, provided additional testimony.She claimed that she learned Shalawat Badr directly from KH Ali Manshur.Even Mrs. Maryam often demonstrated her ability to recite the Shalawat Badr originally, namely with a complete opening.

According to Gus Ishom[29] According to Gus Ishom (one of the great-grandsons of KH Hasyim Asy'ari), who is known as an observer of Arabic literature, when viewed in terms of its siyir (poem) content, Shalawat Badr was not created by Middle Eastern people. The si'ir of the Arabs is usually very precise, and there is very little repetition of words. Gus Ishom believes that Shalawat Badr is characteristically Javanese because it does not find convoluted meanings, but its meanings are easy to understand and simple, as well as straight to the point, and have a Javanese linguistic sense.

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[26]In addition to the 28th NU Congress, Gus Dur also gave a speech as President of the Republic of Indonesia at the NU Congress in Lirboyo Kediri that the creator of the Badr Prayer was KH Ali Manshur. See: Saiful Islam, The Creator of Shalawat Badr, KH Ali Manshur, pp.97-98

[27] Islam, *Sang Pencipta Shalawat Badar, KHR. Ali Manshur*.

[28]This information is taken from the book Saiful Islam, The Creator of Shalawat Badr, KH Ali Manshur, p.100.

[29]Gus Ishom is known as a pentahqiq for the works of his great-grandfather, Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari Jombang.

Gus Dur himself claimed to have read a lot of Arabic literary books, but he did not find such characteristics in the Shalawat Badr. According to Gus Dur, this shalawat was not created by Al-Bushiri because, in terms of its meaning, it has Indonesian characteristics. Second, this Shalawat is closely related to Javanese rhetoric in terms of Balaghah (Arabic Rhetoric). This was confirmed by KH. Imam Ghazali Said, a lecturer at IAIN Sunan Ampel's Adab Faculty, who stated that this Shalawat Badr is a folklore work, namely a simple work, not too poetic, and the language is not too daqiq (deep in meaning and style), but is legendary among the Indonesian Muslim community.

KH Ali Manshur: The Creator of Shalawat Badr

Based on the evidence presented thus far, KH Ali Manshur is widely regarded as the author of the Shalawat Badr.In some of the writings of KH Ali Manshur, many facts were found, including a book entitled Jaliyatul Kadar where there is a piece of KH Ali Manshur's work that explicitly states that the Shalawat Badr is his original work. Imam Mawardi (the Secretary of the Central Java Muslim Ulama Council, MUI) once received a certificate of the Shalawat Badr from KH Achmad Siddiq in 1964. At that time, KH Achmad Siddiq admitted to receiving a diploma directly from KH Ali Manshur.[30]

According to Kiai Abdurrahman Pasuruan (KH Ali Manshur's cousin), KH Ali Manshur is a scholar in the fields of Arudh and Qawafi (Arabic poetic notation). While still studying at the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school, Kediri, he witnessed Kiai Ali's skill in Arudh and Qawafi and saw him sing Arabic Syi'ir. Kiai Maimoen Zubair said that in 1968–1969 KH Ali Manshur often recited the Shalawat Badr, and he was indeed its original creator.[31]

According to Chotimah, the wife of KH Ali Manshur, when he lived in Banyuwangi, he had an unusual habit, namely, that he often entered the prayer room and wrote something. Before writing, he used to do sunnah prayers (recommended prayers), then hold a pen to write something; sometimes there were torn papers in the trash. When asked by Nyai Chotimah, Kiai Ali just smiled and did not explain what he wrote. Kiai Ali was most likely thinking about writing first drafts of the Shalawat Badr script at the time.Taken together, all the testimonies above strengthen the opinion that KH Ali Manshur is the creator of the Shalawat Badr. In addition, since he was young, Kiai Ali was known to love to write and adapt the texts of the Shalawats. He also often wrote prayers that were certified by the Habaib (Muslim clerics of Arab descent) and often wrote the Shalawat Burdah in his diary, including the collection of prayers on Al-Wasilatul Hurriyyah collected by his uncle, KH Ahmad Qusyairi.[32]

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[30] Kholid Mawardi, "Shalawatan: Pembelajaran Akhlak Kalangan Tradisionalis," *Jurnal Insanis* 14, no. 3 (2009): 1–9.

[31]According to his presentation, KH Ali Manshur was always able to answer the fastest and best when Kiai Manaf (one of the kiai at the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School Kediri) asked the students to sing his writings on the blackboard.

[32]Saiful Islam, The Creator of Shalawat Badr, KHR. AliManshur (Surabaya: Amantra, 2004)

The Sufistic Meaning of Shalawat Badr

In terms of its meaning, the Shalawat Badr contains a sufistic aspect as a form of submission by a servant to his Lord. The verses in the Shalawat Badr are also dominated by expressions of a servant's repentance to his Lord, as is typical of Sufi poems.The language conveyed in this poem is quite light and easy to understand. Five stanzas use the word "divine" (O my Lord) as an expression of a servant's prayer request to his Lord. in contrast to prayer texts in general, which usually use the expressions Allahumma (O Allah) or Rabbana (O Our Lord). This is a sign of the sufistic side of the author, who feels inferior before his Lord and confesses that he is full of despicable sins before Allah SWT.

The author of Shalawat Badr explicitly asks Allah to save the people from various disasters and tempests that have the potential to divide the unity of Muslims, especially in Indonesia. This is followed by a seventh stanza, where the poet repeats his prayer for Muslims facing various challenges and problems in life to be given victory and salvation. Then in the eighth stanza, the author expresses prayers in succession, as if Allah Almighty needs a more detailed description of the hopes and desires of His servant. In his prayers, the poet pleads on his behalf, but these requests are addressed to all people. In the ninth stanza, it is still a series of prayers from the fifth stanza. The author begs Allah to release the people from the shackles of calamities that make life difficult and difficult, particularly disasters caused by a group of people who commit crimes but are not held accountable for violating life's norms.[33]

After the expression of prayer and supplication, KH Ali Manshur also delivered a prayer of forgiveness or repentance to Allah (SWT). as is generally done by the mystic to cleanse his heart of various sins. The expression of the prayer of repentance is found in the 23rd and 25th stanzas.[34] In that stanza, KH Ali shows his consistency by continuing to use the word "divine." He begged his Lord for the needs of the people and the achievement of hope and freedom from their difficulties.[35]

Strong Counter to the Genjer-Genjer Song

The creation of the Shalawat Badr itself cannot be separated from several motives, among others, as a form of the author's love for the heroic events of the Prophet's companions during the battle of Badr. Aside from that its creation also could not be separated from the socio-

[33] Idrus Al-Kaf, "Sastra Dan Sufisme (Studi Terhadap Dîwân Al-Durr Al-Manzhûm Li Dzawi Al-`Uqûl Wa Al-Fuhûm Karya Syaikh Abdullah Al-Haddâd)," *TAMADDUN: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Sastra Islam* 19, no. 1 (2019), https://doi.org/10.19109/tamaddun.v19i1.3396; Miftachul Hudha, "Wajah Sufisme Antroposentris Kepustakaan Islam Kejawen dalam Pandangan Simuh," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v3i1.2161; Lili Di Puppo and Jesko Schmoller, "Here or Elsewhere: Sufism and Traditional Islam in Russia's Volga-Ural Region," *Contemporary Islam* 14, no. 2 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-018-00434-3; Mohd Musa, "Javanese Sufism and Prophetic Literature," *Cultura. International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology* 8, no. 2 (2011), https://doi.org/10.2478/v10193-011-0027-7.

[34] RM. Imam Abdillah, "Shalawat Badar Dan Politik NU," *Qalamniora Press*, 2019.

[35]RM. Imam Abdillah, Shaawat Badr and NU Politics (Attack: Qalamniora Press, 2019), p. 146-148

political background at that time where KH Ali Manshur was concerned about the socio-political situation in Indonesia. This can be seen from the text in the form of a request to Allah SWT to save people from danger and calamity, as illustrated in the following stanzas (3-5):

> *"Oh my God, save the Muslims from calamity and torment as well as from hardship and anxiety with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle,*
>
> *Oh God. O my Lord, save us, remove all that hurts, return the trickery (evil designs) of the enemy, and give us love with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, O Allah.*
>
> *"Oh my God, remove the hardships and damage caused by the actions of the wicked (disobedient), all disasters, and infectious diseases (the plague) with the blessings of the warriors of Badr battle, O Allah.*

The semiotic resource above cannot be separated from the writer's concern for the socio-political dynamics of Indonesia at that time. After the involvement of Pesantren in the struggle to expel colonialism from Indonesia, the domestic challenge was more focused on the consolidation of the early government of the Republic of Indonesia. At the end of the Old Order era, especially, the political challenges for the Pesantren circles were more severe and complex. This is because ideological conflicts do not only clash with right-leaning Muslim parties but also with left-leaning parties. Meanwhile, the involvement of the Pesantren community in the dynamics of Indonesian politics is not limited to the structure of government, the debate about the Islamic state in the constituent assembly, or the dynamics of traditionalist versus modernist Muslim politics in political parties. Moreover, Pesantren's political reactions toward the end of the Old Order were also focused on its resistance to the Indonesian Communist Party's (PKI) actions. In this context, the role of the Pesantren community, through the spirit of spirituality-based resistance sung through the recitation of Shalawat Badr, finds its relevance. The conflict between NU and PKI erupted, particularly after the PKI carried out rebellions in various regions, including among the elite of the Pesantren community.The Pesantren community became ABRI's partners in dealing with the communists, especially in East Java. In that context, violence has appeared sporadically during unilateral actions by the PKI to carry out land reform since 1964. The communists referred to Muslim landowners as "village devils" or "bourgeois," as a reflection of the hidden class conflicts between the ulama-ulama and farm laborers. The feud escalated as the PKI grew. In May 1965, the PKI claimed to have three million party members and 20 million members of its organizations.[36] Pesantrens are preparing themselves for battles that are thought to be getting more serious. The NU youth organization,

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[36] Andree Feillard, *NU Vis a Vis Negara, Pencarian Isi, Bentuk Dan Makna Di Tengah Prahara* (Yogyakarta: Basa Basi Yogyakarta, 2017).

GP Ansor, formed the Multipurpose Front (Banser) in 1964, believing that the PKI had seeped into the Armed Forces. The NU called on its members to help ABRI restore peace.[37]

The Pesantren were the most active in resisting the PKI in East Java, their territory of strength, which was also a communist area. Anshor spearheaded anti-communist actions in the area. In that context, more specifically the horizontal conflict between the Pesantren and the PKI group, the Shalawat Badr was part of the march that was sung by the Pesantren to respond to the political turmoil at that time.One of them is this Shalawat Badr, which serves as a counterpoint to the song Genjer-Genjer, which is frequently sung by the PKI group.At that time, Shalawat Badr became the identity of the Nahdliyin as well as a symbol of the struggle of the NU party. Linguistically, the message used and the content of the Shalawat Badr put forward the aspect of piety to Allah SWT. Meanwhile, Genjer-Genjer was the campaign jargon of the PKI party because the message contained in it was so easy to understand and in harmony with the conditions of the proletarian people at that time, who were considered to be marginalized by the bourgeoisie.

Shalawat Badr accommodates religious communities from the general public, Santri (students at Islamic boarding schools), Kiai (Muslim clerics), and Islamic activists, including reformist Islamic groups. Meanwhile, Genjer-Genjer accommodates the proletariat of workers and peasants who are marginalized and feel hurt by the policies of the rulers who do not pay attention to economic equality at the lower levels and the political intimidation they receive. In this case, the PKI played an important role as a representative of the proletariat.[38] Shalawat Badr is used by the NU party to mobilize the masses, the majority of whom are Muslims, in remote villages and urban areas. Meanwhile, the Genjer-Genjer were used by the PKI as a means of mobilizing political messages to reach the farming community and anyone who felt impoverished by policies that were deemed not pro-people.

Between Shalawat Badr and Genjer-Genjer, there is an ideological competition that is not caused by the intrinsic aspects of the two poems but because of the role of the political party that acquired them as a campaign tool to gain mass as well as social criticism of the authorities. Intrinsically, there are some similarities between Shalawat Badr and Genjer-Genjer (the Indonesian communist party song), even in terms of the motivation for their creation. They are both equally motivated because of the alarming social phenomena in Indonesia.[39] The political rivalry between Shalawat Badr and Genjer-Genjer stems from the political parties that employ them.If traced back to the past, the historical roots of the creation of Genjer-Genjer poems have nothing to do with the PKI party. Genjer-Genjer is a popular folk song created by a Banyuwangi

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[37]Andree Feillard, NU Vis a Vis Negara, Searching for Content, Form and Meaning in the Midst of Tempest, p.66.

[38]Fadhillah Rachmawati, "Kritik Terhadap Konsep Ideologi Komunisme Karl Marx," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia (JSAI)* 1, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v1i1.424; Indriaty Ismail and Mohd Zuhaili Kamal Basir, "Karl Marx Dan Konsep Perjuangan Kelas Sosial," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 1, no. 1 (2012), https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.01.2012.004.

[39]RM. Imam Abdillah, Shaawat Badr and NU Politics (Attack: qalamniora press, 2019), p. 120-126

musician named M. Arief. The song was created when Banyuwangi was under Japanese occupation in 1942. Genjer-Genjer is a critique of the colonialism that occurred at that time.

After being freed from Japanese deception and breathing the air of independence in 1945, M. Arief joined the People's Culture Institute (Lekra). Genjer-genjer was a political issue at the time, especially after the PKI popularized it.[40] In 1963, the Genjer-Genjer song entered a new phase when it was played intensively through RRI and TVRI broadcasts (Indonesian national radio and television), even reverberating at every activity involving PKI members and sympathizers.[41]

According to Syakir Ali, the Shalawat Badr was not created to fight the Genjer-Genjer songs, although in the next phase it was used to match the splendor of the PKI song. If you pay close attention, in the verses of the Shalawat of Badr's semiotics, some meanings refer to the social and political situation at that time. Shalawat Badr is the result of pent-up anxiety about the socio-political reality that is becoming increasingly unfavorable to Muslims.[42]

Shalawat Badr is used as a slogan and campaign song for the NU Party because both in text and context it can be used as a symbol of the NU party and its political representation. Motivated by the heroic spirit of the war companions of Badr represented by NU activists in the war against the PKI and its land reformist motto. In addition, seeing the poor socio-political conditions in Indonesia, full of intrigues of power and not reluctant to give good and bad labels to a group of people.[43] This reality demonstrates that the political conflict between the Pesantren community and the PKI was not only physical, but also permeated the conflicts of marching songs and identities on each side.

From Politicization to Commodification

In the New Order era, especially after the fall of the PKI in Indonesia, NU as a party that represents the Pesantren, at least the traditional Pesantren community, is in a place full of mines, and it is because NU had to choose to be in opposition to the New Order government system. Especially after the close of the heated debate on the Islamic state in 1959, NU began to become increasingly critical of the New Order government. At that time, the state of the country was quite weak. Inflation soared, production decreased, as did state income, unemployment increased, and economic infrastructure deteriorated. Facing these many problems, NU chose to be critical of the government so that its opinions would be taken into account in the DPR. However, under these circumstances, NU is powerless to maintain its religious, social, and educational activities, which have declined after being dragged into the

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[40]Utan Parlindungan, "Mitos Genjer-Genjer: Politik Makna Dalam Lagu," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* Vol.17, No. 3 (2014): 236–53.

[41]Utan Parlindungan, Genjer-Genjer Myth: The Politics of Meaning in Song, (Journal of Social and Political Science, Vol.17, No. 3, March, 2014), p. 236-253.

[42]Umberto Eco, *Teori Semiotika* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2009).

[43]RM. Imam Abdillah, Shaawat Badr and NU Politics (Attack: qalamniora press, 2019), p. 120-126

current government opposition. Nevertheless, NU continued to develop and play an important role, especially since NU was the only major political force, apart from the army, that remained intact. NU won more than 18% of the vote in the 1955 General Election, and until 1971, it was able to demonstrate its political reliability. NU's response to developments in the early days after the coup against Soekarno was very influential in the formation of the Indonesian political system after "Guided Democracy." The opposition to NU's voice that is based in many Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia cannot be separated from this opposition's choice. Shalawat, as the identity of the NU citizens, has again become a symbol of the resistance of the Pesantren community to the New Order government. Therefore, it is not uncommon for Shalawat Badr to be sung not only at religious events but also in every NU party campaign. Explicitly, this shows that the struggle of NU citizens in the spirit of their political struggle is based on strong religious values, one of which is chanting Shalawat Badr.

Meanwhile, in the Reformation Era, Shalawat Badr is no longer a medium for the Pesantren community's movement in national politics.Although the tradition of reciting Shalawat is still rampant in various Islamic boarding schools or at least in the religious activities of Nahdliyin residents, it is only done as a mere reading of religious prayers. Indeed, there is a small part, a kind of glorification of political campaigns, by one of the political parties that frequently use this Shalawat in their political campaign activities, such as the PKB, which at the time was considered the Nahdliyin's party.

The development of Shalawat Badr in the reform era, with its socio-political particularities, again experienced a change in meaning. When in the Old Order era, Shalawat Badr served more as a struggle among the Pesantren community against the development of national politics, especially the upheaval and many disturbances caused by the PKI movement, in the New Order era, this Shalawat served more as the political identity of Nahdliyin, which in this case is manifested in NU politics. In the reform era, this Shalawat is not only sung by the Pesantren circles, but it is also becoming familiar to numerous interest groups. Even in the latest developments, the Shalawat Badr has been arranged into a popular religious music genre that can be watched on various social media platforms.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis and discussion above, several conclusions can be drawn. First, Shalawat Badr, the work of KH. Ali Manshur, is not only a text of a religious literary genre. This poem also shows the identity as well as the resistance of the Pesantren community to the dynamics of politics in Indonesia. This Shalawat contains the expression of the writer's heart and ideology in seeing the meaning of life and the socio-political reality of his time. Through this famous Shalawat, KH Ali Manshur, its composer, succeeded in raising awareness of the spirituality of the community, especially the Pesantren community, and their movements toward their aspirations.

Second, a semiotic reading of the Shalawat Badr describes the socio-political reality of Indonesian society in the Old Order era, especially the resistance of the Pesantren community

to the PKI's movements. This Shalawat is a product of the socio-political context and ideology that developed within the structure of society, especially towards the end of the Old Order era.

Third, Shalawat Badr is the original work of Indonesian scholars, and with all the arguments, it is rather groundless to say that this Shalawat comes from the Middle East. The view that this Shalawat was created by scholars of the Middle East is rather weak because it lacks rigorous evidence at the academic level. On the other hand, the view that claims this Shalawat was created by KH Ali Manshur sounds well supported with relevant evidence consisting of historical facts, testimonies of scholars, and sources that come directly from his family.

Fourth, semiotically, the meaning-making and interpretation of the Shalawat Badr continue to move with the times. At first, this Shalawat was created as a religious text that expresses the author's anxiety about the socio-political conditions of the time. It then moved to serve as the glorifying spirit of the Pesantren community in fighting the PKI. In particular, in 1971, the Shalawat Badr played a strong role in the field of practical politics, especially when it was often used in the political struggle of the NU Party.

Fifth, in the reform era, this Shalawat Badr underwent another change of meaning in its socio-cultural use, where it is no longer used for practical political interests. On the other hand, this Shalawat tends to be reproduced and repackaged for the socio-economic benefits of various genres of music by Islamic bands or religious musicians to become an important part of the business industry, especially on social media platforms. Up to the moment, for instance, various renditions of Shalawat Badr on tapes or videos by numerous bands can be found on different social media platforms such as YouTube, and this trend just keeps growing and expanding significantly. It can be hypothesized, therefore, that from a social semiotic perspective, the production and interpretation of the meaning-making practice of the Shalawat of Badr will continue to move with its future eras as the horizons of knowledge of readers vary due to differences in knowledge, experience, and socio-cultural circumstances.

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