

# Tabot Festival: Shia Tradition Within The Sunni Community Of Bengkulu City On Sociology of Islamic Law Perspective

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## Tabot Festival: Shia Tradition Within The Sunni Community Of Bengkulu City On Sociology of Islamic Law Perspective

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### Abstract

The purpose of this research is to describe the Tabot festival, a legacy of the Shia tradition but still exists and held continuously in the Sunni community of Bengkulu City. This festival is a manifestation of love for Sayidina Husen bin Ali from people of Bengkulu. However, even though the purpose of this Tabot is useful, there are still some people who are questioning the legality of Tabot's law because it is strongly suspected that Shiites brought this festival to the Bengkulu. This research was held to answer the legality of Tabot law, which is still being disputed by the Sunni community. Through this study, the researcher explained in detail the Tabot legal issues through sociology of Islamic law Perspective. This research is categorized as field research, and the approach used in this research is the sociology of Islamic law. Data collection techniques used were interview and documentation techniques. After an in-depth study, it was concluded that the Tabot Festival was accepted by the Sunni community, but there are a few sets of events that need to be improved, because it was considered to violate Shari'ah. The allowed event series are *Duduk Penja*, *Meradai*, *Menjara/Mengandun*, *Arak Penja*, *Mengarak Penja Bersurban*, *Gam*, and *Arak Gendang*. There are two series of Tabot programs that need to be improved, namely *Menggambik Tanah* and *Tabot Tebuang*.

**Keywords:** Sociology of Islamic Law, Sunni, Syi'ah, Tabot Festival.

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### Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mendiskripsikan festival Tabot yang merupakan warisan tradisi Syi'ah namun tetap eksis diadakan terus menerus pada komunitas sunni kota Bengkulu. Sebenarnya, Festival ini

merupakan manifestasi kecintaan masyarakat Kota Bengkulu terhadap sayidina Husen bin Ali, namun sekalipun tujuan diadakan Festival Tabot ini baik masih ada sebagian masyarakat kota Bengkulu yang memperlakukan legalitas hukumnya karena diduga kuat Festival ini dibawa oleh orang-orang syiah ke kota Bengkulu. Penelitian ini sendiri diadakan untuk menjawab persoalan legalitas hukum Festival Tabot yang selama ini masih dipermasalahkan keabsahannya oleh kalangan Islam Sunni. Melalui kajian ini peneliti memaparkan secara mendetail persoalan status hukum Festival Tabot melalui pendekatan sosiologi hukum Islam. Penelitian ini termasuk kategori *field research* (penelitian lapangan), dan pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan sosiologi hukum Islam. Teknik pengumpulan data yang dipergunakan adalah teknik wawancara dan dokumentasi. Setelah dilakukan kajian mendalam diperoleh sebuah kesimpulan bahwa pada dasarnya Festival Tabot diterima oleh kalangan Islam Sunni namun ada sedikit rangkaian acaranya yang harus diperbaiki karena dianggap melanggar syari'at. Adapun rangkaian acara yang diperbolehkan adalah *Duduk Penja, Meradai, Menjara/Mengandung, Arak Penja, Mengarak Penja Bersurban, Gam dan Arak Gendang*. Prosesi acara Tabot yang harus diperbaiki ada dua, yakni *Menggambik Tanah* dan *Tabot Tebuang*.

**Kata kunci:** Festival Tabot, Sosiologi Hukum Islam, Sunni, Syi'ah.

## Introduction

Tabot<sup>1</sup> is a local Festival of Bengkulu, which is regularly held every year. This celebration was held to commemorate the murder of Sayidina Ali's son, Sayidina Husein. This tradition is celebrated in the month of Muharram from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup>. In addition to remembering the struggle and sacrifice of Sayidina Husein, Tabot was also held to welcome the Islamic new year.

Syeh Burhanuddin<sup>5</sup> held the first Celebration of Tabot in Bengkulu, better known by the community as Imam Senggolo, in 1685 (AD).<sup>2</sup> Syeh Burhanuddin or Imam Senggolo then married a native woman in Bengkulu, and her descendants were called Kerukunan Keluarga Tabot (KKT), continue to hold the Tabot ritual until now.

In further developments, the Tabot celebration was influenced by local festivals from Bengkulu residents. Currently, Tabot celebrations are also filled

<sup>1</sup> The change of the word *tabut* become *tabot* is unknown since when it was changed. what is clear is that on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1916, the term is still the *tabut*, and this can be seen and proven from the writing on the photo covered by Chinese citizens of Bencoolen<sup>12</sup> the cultural celebration of the *tabut* on 10<sup>th</sup> Muharram 1335 H / 6<sup>th</sup> November 1916. Syaifril, *Tabut Karbala Bencoolen Dari Punjab Symbol Melawan Kebidaban* (Jakarta: PT.Walaw Bengkulu, 2012), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>19</sup> Twin Sepiolita, "Ritual Mengambiktanah Dalam Upacara Tabot Di Kota Bengkulu," *Jurnal Seni Tari* Vol 6 (n.d.): p. 3.

with art performances, folk markets, handicraft exhibitions, and other contests, such as tambourines, tabot dances, ornamental delmans, and various other art events.

Although the Tabot Festival is regularly held every year, there is still a significant problem, namely the legality of Tabot's law. The religious experts disagree with the tabot's legality, and they are divided into two groups. First, the group states that the Tabot celebration is legal (mubah). This group argues that Festival of Tabot is a custom that does not contradict Islamic religion, even the Festival of Tabot is held to commemorate the Islamic New Year and also to commemorate the struggle and sacrifice of the Prophet's grandchildren.

Second, groups who argue that the Festival of Tabot is still problematic in terms of legality. This group believes that the Festival of Tabot is full of elements that are forbidden in Islam. Seeing the facts above, the author feels interested in studying in detail related to the legality issues of Tabot in terms of the science of ushul fiqh, namely from the sociological perspective of Islamic law.

In order to maximize this research process, researchers do several important things to support the study's success. Some of these points include:

**First**, the type of research that researchers do to reveal the facts related to the Festival of Tabot problem in Bengkulu is field research.<sup>3</sup> In this study, the researcher will search for in-depth data and analyze intensively related to Tabot in Bengkulu through the sociological perspective of Islamic law. While the approach used in this study is sociology of law.

**Second**, Location and Time of Research. According to the title raised in this study, this research is located in the City of Bengkulu. The reason for choosing this location is that the City of Bengkulu is the center of Tabot's Festival activities in the Province of Bengkulu, so it is hoped that the data to be collected will come from a wider variety of variants. At the same time, the implementation time of this research is approximately six months.

**Third**, Research Data Sources. The meaning of data sources in this study is the subject of where the data was obtained. In this study, researchers use several sources of data as reference material, including Primary Data Sources. Primary data sources for researchers in this study are the words and actions of the Bengkulu Society relating to Festival of Tabot. Primary data sources by researchers will be recorded through written notes. Secondary Data Sources, Secondary data sources are sources that are indirectly related to the object of this

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<sup>3</sup> Field study research are research that intends to study intensively about the background of the current situation and social interactions, individuals, groups, institutions and society. Husaini Usman and Purnomo Setiady Akbar, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial* (Jakarta: PT Bumi Aksara, 2003), 5.

study but are felt to be very supportive in research, whether in the form of books, articles, newspapers, etc. related to the Tabot Bengkulu.

**Fourth, Data Collection Techniques.** In this study, researchers used two techniques in gathering research data, namely: Interviews and documentation. Researchers conducted interviews using unstructured interview techniques. The researcher chose this technique because it was more flexible and designed to fit the subject interview. Researchers use this documentation technique by collecting documents and literature related to the issue of the Tabot Bengkulu.

**Fifth, Data Analysis Techniques.** The data analysis technique used in this study is inductive qualitative<sup>4</sup> analysis. Inductive analysis in question is an analysis that departs from specific data, and then general conclusions are drawn. In this qualitative study, the researcher will go through three main components: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.<sup>5</sup>

After conducting this research, the researcher hopes that the legal status of the tabot festival can become clear. If there are some activities in the tabot festival that are not in accordance with Islamic law, they can be corrected immediately to comply with Islamic law without having to reject the entire tabot event.

## Results and Discussion

### The Festival Of Tabot at Bengkulu

#### 1. Definition of Tabot

The term Tabot if traced, actually comes from the Arabic word, which is from the word Tabut. The term Tabot etymologically means a wooden box or crate.<sup>6</sup> The nation of Israel, the people of the Prophet Moses, also know the term Tabot, namely Tabot Moses, which contains the Torah of the Prophet Moses. This can be seen from the Word of Allah SWT, in Surah Al Baqoroh Verse 248,

وَقَالَ لَهُمْ نَبِيُّهُمْ إِنَّ آيَةَ مُلْكِهِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوتُ فِيهِ سَكِينَةٌ مِّنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَبَقِيَّةٌ مِّمَّا تَرَكَ آلُ مُوسَىٰ وَآلُ هَارُونَ تَحْمِلُهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَةً لِّكُمْ إِن كُنتُمْ مُّؤْمِنِينَ

*And their Prophet said to them: "Verily the sign he will be king, is the return of the tabut to you, in it, there is rest from your Lord and the remnants of the family of Moses and Aaron's*

<sup>4</sup> Qualitative analysis means describing quality data in the form of regular, concise, logic, non-overlapping, and effective sentences making it easier to understand and interpret data. Abdul Kadir Muhammad, *Hukum Dan Penelitian Hukum* (Jakarta: PT. Citra Aditya Bhakti, 2004), 172.

<sup>5</sup> Sugiyono, *Model Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2010), 247–53.

<sup>6</sup> Tim Lintas Media, *Kamus Al-Akbar* (Jombang: Lintas Media, 2009), 352.



*family; angels brought the tabut. Verily in that, there is a sign for you, if you are a believer. (Qs. Al-Baqarah:248).*

Bani Israel strongly believes that if Tabot Musa arises, it will get right, but if this Tabot disappears, then the Bani Israel will get disastrous. Currently, the Tabot used in the festival of tabot in Bengkulu is a multi-story building such as the m<sup>3</sup>arets, the Serpent Dragon, King Hanoman, and others. This tabot is made in various sizes and is decorated with colorful layers of paper, and is adorned with a beautiful sprinkling of decorative lamps.

Tabot is a local Festival in the town of Bengkulu, which is regularly held every year. This celebration was held to commemorate the killing of Sayidina Ali's son, Sayidina Husein.<sup>7</sup> This tradition is celebrated in the month of Muharram from 1<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> of Muharram. In addition to remembering the struggle and sacrifice of Sayidina Husein, Tabot was also held to welcome the Islamic new year.

## 2. Tabot Event Series

Tabot series of events has two aspects, namely the ritual and non-ritual aspects. In a series of tabot events, the ritual aspect can only be performed by the Tabot family and can only be led by a Tabot Shaman (trusted person). Whereas at any event of tabot that contains non-ritual aspects, anyone can participate.<sup>8</sup>

Tabot Festival, which is always held in the city of Bengkulu, has nine series of events that are interconnected with one another. The first series of events starts when the land is taken, which in the local language is known as Menggambik Tanah. The p<sup>1</sup>rocess of taking this land should not be done haphazardly. The land that is taken must contain magical elements and can only t<sup>1</sup>aken from a sacred place. The second event is *Duduk Penja* (mencuci jari-jari). Penja is an object made of brass, silver, or copper in the form of a human palm complete with fingers. Because of this resemblance, Bengkulu City residents also call penja with fingers.<sup>9</sup> The third series of events is Meradai (fundraising) conducted by Jola (the person responsible for withdrawing funds for community activities, usually consisting of children aged 10-12 years). This Meradai event was held on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Muharram. The fourt<sup>1</sup>series of events is Menjara or mengandung. Jara or mengandung means visiting other groups to test/compete for dol, a kind of drum made of wood with a hole in the middle and covered with

<sup>7</sup> The Tabot ceremony is a local articulation of Bengkulu Muslims which has a similarity to the Ta'ziyah tr<sup>16</sup>on of Shi'ites in Iran which is also carried out in commemoration killing of Imam Hussein's. R. Michael Feener, "Tabot: Muharam Observances in the History of Bengkulu," *Jurnal Studia Islamika* Vol. 6, no. No. 2 (1992): 101-3.

<sup>8</sup> Badrul Munir Hamidi, *Upacara Tradisional Bengkulu: Upacara Tabot Di Bengkulu* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1991), 75-76.

<sup>9</sup> Harapandi Dahri, *Titik Temu Sunny Dan Sy'i; Kajian Tradisi Tabot Bengkulu* (Jakarta: Penamadani, 2008), 71.

low skin. The fifth series of events is Arak Penja. The penja at this event was placed in the Tabot and paraded through the main streets of Bengkulu City. The sixth series of events is a parade program added with a white turban and put on a small Tabot. The seventh series of events is Gam (calm/mourning),<sup>10</sup> which is the stage in the Tabot ceremony that must be obeyed. In this Gam, it is not allowed to do any activities or activities. The eighth series of events were held on the 9<sup>th</sup> of Muharram, also called Arak Gendang. The release of the Besanding Tabot on each saw is a sign that the drum process has begun. The final set of events from the entire series of Tabot ceremonies called Tabot Tebuang was held on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Muharram. For more details on various Tabot events, see the table below:

No	schedule of activities	The ritual aspect of the organizer	The Non-ritual aspect of the organizer
1	Mengambik Tanah	1. Tabot shaman 2. Elders of the Tabot family 3. Three adult men 4. five children or six adults	Nothing
2	Duduk Penja	1. Tabot shaman 2. The eldest son of Tabot shaman	1. Some mothers 2. Children and young people
3	Menjara	Nothing	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Community leaders 3. Dol art members of each group
4	Meradai	Nothing	Children around ten to twelve years old
5	Arak Penja	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Adult man, one of the Shaman Assistant	1. Some young people 2. Community leaders 3. Dol art members of each group
6	Arak seroban	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Adult man, one of the Shaman Assistant	1. Five to ten young people 2. Children aged seven to thirteen.
7	Gam	Nothing	Nothing

<sup>10</sup> Gam derived from the word ghum, which means closed or blocked Hamidi, *Upacara Tradisional Bengkulu: Upacara Tabot Di Bengkulu*, 71.

8	Arak gedang	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Adult men from the tabot family	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Some young people 3. Adult men from the tabot family
9	Tabot tebuang	1. Tabot Shaman 2. The whole family is close to the Tabot family	1. Tabot Shaman 2. Men of tabot harmony 3. Youth, adolescents, and children involved in previous activities

In further developments, the Tabot festival is not only filled with sacred ceremonies, but there are many artistic activities and celebrations. The series of tabot activities include new dance creations, the Princess Hijab selection, tambourine competition, paraded turban, telong-telong, and many others. The Tabot festival is now an attractive tourist icon because the Tabot festival combines the diversity of festivals in Indonesia (local wisdom), which are full of noble values of the festival, religion (sacred), history, and social.

### 3. Acculturation of Tabot from Religious Rituals becomes festival

The tabot festival is very nuanced with sacred and mystical nuances formerly. The sacredness of Tabot was born from the belief that if this ritual were not carried out, it would bring disaster. But along with the times, there was acculturation of the original Tabot Festival with the Bengkulu City Festival. As a result of the acculturation of the festival, its sacred values began to fade.<sup>11</sup> The Tabot family and non-Tabot families only previously were able to hold a Tabot ceremony. But now, the government and the community may have the Tabot ceremony. The Tabot ceremony is now performed semi-ritual (sacred) and semi-secular (spectacle).

This means that there are still groups of people who hold Tabot complete with rituals and sacred. However, in different places, there are Tabot festivals which are carried out by other community so that the religious value of the tradition gradually wears off and only becomes a celebration.

For the non-family of Tabot, Tabot is considered as a regional Festival for tourism purposes. Tabot for non-family groups, Tabot is interpreted as one of the potential Festival products to benefit regional tourism. The regional government developed this understanding by bringing up the term development Tabot. The regional government considers the Tabot celebration as a potential Festival product for the benefit of regional tourism development. Currently,

<sup>11</sup> Rizqi Handayani, "Dinamika Kultural Tabot Bengkulu," *Jurnal Al-Turas* Vol. 19, no. 2 (2013): 252.



tabot celebrations are acculturated with local art festivals and festivals of Bengkulu traditional art creations, such as Fish-Fish Competition, Telong-Telong Competition, Dol Competition, Dance Competition, and Barong Competition. Acculturation of the Festival is what, according to some people, even made Tabot still exist today.

#### 4. Benefits of Tabot

Some of the benefits of the Tabot festival are felt by Bengkulu City residents, as follows:

##### a. Syi'ar Islamic symbol

One of the aims of the Tabot Festival is to commemorate Islamic holidays, the Islamic New Year. In addition to celebrating the Islamic new year, this celebration was held to commemorate the killing of Sayidina Ali's son named Sayidina Husein. This is like the interview data below:

“Tabot is held regularly every year from the 1<sup>st</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> of Muharram. The aim is to revitalize the Islamic syi'ar and coincide with the Islamic new year. Enliven the Islamic new year not only the new year which is enlivened”<sup>12</sup>

The excitement of the Tabot festival is not only in a series of festivals but also seeps into the heart of festival visitors. They began to understand the meaning of the struggle and sacrifice of totality carried out by Sayidina Hesein bin Ali RA. The public can take the example that in matters of religion and truth cannot be negotiated. This heroic spirit seeped into the hearts of the Taboot Festival visitors. This is like the interview data below, “incredible, I just found out that the sacrifice of the Prophet's grandchildren was extraordinary. Brave, true knight.”<sup>13</sup>

Next interview data,

“This is an event that we must support. Our new year is this. This must be spread as widely as possible so that people are more familiar with the Islamic new year”<sup>14</sup>

The value of Dakwah in the Tabot festival was very effective because people flocked to come alone and unconsciously were invited to get to know the Islamic new year and be invited to imitate the struggle and sacrifice of Huseain RA. This category is known as Dakwah bil hal. Dakwah invites people, but people who are invited are not aware of being changed.

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<sup>12</sup> Supardi, Interview, On Agustus 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Hamdan, Interview, September 2, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Weny Wijayanti, Interview, September 3, 2019.

b. Tabot Festival becomes People's Entertainment

Besides having religious value, the Tabot festival is also an entertainment park for adults and children. The excitement at the Tabot festival can be seen in the picture below:



There are a lot of games prepared to entertain the people who attended the Tabot festival. The concept of entertainment offered at the Tabot event is quite effective in attracting the attention of the public to flock to this festival. This is like the interview data below:

“My son loves to ride hobbyhorse here. He enjoys it. The price is also relatively affordable for us.”<sup>15</sup>

next interview data,

“The local dancing is excellent, and the dancers are very compact. All of us here are entertained and, at the same time, thank the organizers for holding this year's Tabot festival.”<sup>16</sup>

This public entertainment is highly anticipated later by the community because it is only held once a year, and the event is exciting.

c. Activator of Community Economy

The Tabot festival is one of the economic drivers for Bengkulu's city because many local and international tourists deliberately visit the city of Bengkulu to see this festival.<sup>17</sup> They can see the festival show and buy souvenirs in the city of Bengkulu. Residents of Bengkulu did not waste this opportunity, they set up stands/shops to sell during the Tabot Festival. This is like the interview data below:

<sup>15</sup> Eka, Interview, September 3, 2019.

<sup>16</sup> Kukun, Interview, On September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Government tourism office and Tabot Family Harmony works together to develop the commodification of Tabot into a commodity that attracts tourists by making the Tabot Festival. Yuliati, “Upacara Religi Dan Pemasaran Pariwisata di Provinsi Bengkulu,” *JISIP: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* Vol. 5, no. 3 (2016): p. 193.

“It’s crowded here, bro. There are lots of buying and selling transactions. The benefits that I can also multiply from selling in other places.”<sup>18</sup>

The money brought by tourists both locally and internationally can move the wheels of the people’s economy. If a lot of money comes in, the community’s economy will certainly run and develop.

d. Acculturation of local and foreign cultures

Acculturation This festival occurs naturally without any element of engineering or coercion. Arabic culture blends naturally with the culture of Bengkulu. Islamic values are also absorbed naturally into the local Festival of Bengkulu. This acculturation caused the absorption of positive sides between the Festival of Bengkulu and the Islamic Festival. The values of togetherness, tolerance, and diversity are fostered and grow well because of this acculturation. The people of Bengkulu City who were initially unfamiliar with the new year syi’ar, through this festival, became even more familiar. This is as the data obtained from the interview:

Tolerance is so well developed because of this festival. The attitude of accepting differences is also indirectly taught to the broader community through this event. Many art performances are displayed from various backgrounds, both from the local Festival of Bengkulu to the Islamic Festival, to enliven the Tabot festival.”<sup>19</sup>

Next interview data,

“Many Islamic festivals are absorbed by the citizens of the city of Bengkulu. the value of the struggle and sacrifice of Imam Husein also inspired life for the citizens of the city of Bengkulu.”<sup>20</sup>

Cultural acculturation that occurs naturally will give birth to positive values, unlike if the acculturation process is colored with an element of coercion. For example, due to colonialism, it will cause resistance from the local population.

e. Analysis of Islamic law Sociology at The Tabot Festival

To know the Tabot festival laws, you cannot see one side, but it must be done comprehensively. Tabot Festival event if there is a problem (in shari’a review), in one part, it does not necessarily make the entire tabot banned, but only the problematic parts are prohibited (closed) so as not to violate the sharia. While a series of other events that do not conflict with the Shari’ah can still be continued.

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<sup>18</sup> Nasron, Interview, On September 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Eka, Interview.

<sup>20</sup> Badri, Interview, On September 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

Tabot Festival is divided into two, namely the ritual and non-ritual aspects. In a series of tabot events, the ritual aspect can only be carried out by the Tabot family and may only be led by a Tabot Shaman (a trusted person). Whereas at any event of tabot that contains non-ritual aspects, it may be followed by anyone. For more details, researchers will describe one by one the series of Tabot events Islamic law sociology perspective, including:

The first series of events starts during land acquisition, which is known as *Mengambik Tanah* in the local language. **1** The process of taking this land should not be done haphazardly. The land that is taken must contain magical elements and can only be taken from a sacred place. The procession of taking the ground is a symbol of collecting Imam Husain's body. The land will later be placed inside the replica of Imam Husain's coffin. The land that can be taken only comes from two places: *Tanah Keramat Tapak Padri* and *Tanah Keramat Anggut*.

From the Islamic law sociology perspective, this stage of the process is prohibited because it is very vulnerable to falling into polytheists. It is not a matter of taking the land. Still, the problem is believing "only certain land can be taken or believing certain land has a sanctity." origin law of taking land is permissible but can be *haram* (forbidden) because there is a reason. It does not become *haram* (forbidden); two solutions can be done according to the path of *istinbath islamic law*. First, the process of taking the land is stopped completely replaced with another procession; based on the method,

مَا ذَلَّ عَلَى حَرَامٍ فَهُوَ حَرَامٌ

*Something that causes (make) to haram (forbidden) so that it is punished haram (forbidden) too.*

The original law of taking land is *mubah*, but because it can cause polytheism, then this *mubah* law turns to be *haram* (forbidden). The second solution, the process of taking the land, does not need to be stopped completely. Still, just the element of polytheism is removed, that is, by removing the magical element, the sacredness, and the belief that only certain soil can be taken because the land is sacred. How to eliminate the process of taking land can be done from any land so that indirectly, the element of magic and sacredness will disappear by itself.

The second series **4** of tabot events is *Duduk Penja* (washing the fingers), the procession of washing objects made of brass, silver, or copper in the form of human palms complete with fingers. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, *duduk penja* procession is not a problem as long as this procession is considered as



a form of *thobaroh* or cleaning up. Duduk penja is allowed because it does not contain *mafsadat*<sup>21</sup> which is prohibited by the Sharia.

The third series of events is *Meradai* (collecting funds) conducted by Jola (the person in charge of taking funds for community activities, usually consisting of children aged ten to twelve years). This *Meradai* event was held on Muharram 6<sup>th</sup>. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, the procession of *Meradai* is punished by *mubab* because collecting funds from the Muslims is permissible as long as there is no coercion.

The fourth series of tabot events are *Menjara* or *mengandun*. *Menjara* or *mengandun* means visiting other groups to compete for *dol*, a type of drum made of wood with a hole in the middle and covered with cow skin. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, *Menjara*, or *mengandun* is not *haram* (forbidden). The concept applied to *Menjara* or *Mengandun* is in harmony with the friendship principle in establishing *ukhuwah Islamiyah*. In the hadith, even Rosulluloh SAW, emphasized that those who want their lives to be extended and their income made easier they must connect friendship,

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ أَبِي يَعْقُوبَ الْكِرْمَانِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا حَسَّانُ، حَدَّثَنَا يُونُسُ، قَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ هُوَ الرَّهْرِيُّ،  
عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: ” مَنْ  
سَرَّهُ أَنْ يُبْسَطَ لَهُ فِي رِزْقِهِ، أَوْ يُنْسَأَ لَهُ فِي أَثَرِهِ، فَلْيَصِلْ رَحِمَهُ

18  
*Mubammad bin Abi Ya'qub Al-Kirmaaniy tells us about Hassaan: Has told us Yuunus: Has said Mubammad - he is Az-Zubriy -, from Anas bin Maalik RA., he said: I hear The Messenger of Allah SAW. said: "Whoever would like to expand his income and postpone his death, must maintain friendship" ([HR. Bukhori).<sup>22</sup>*

1 The fifth series of tabot events is *Arak Penja*. The Penja at this event was placed in the Tabot and paraded through the main streets of Bengkulu City. From the Islamic law sociology perspective, the *Arak Penja* is not forbidden long as the polytheism is absent. It paraded on the city of Bengkulu's main streets only as a symbol of excitement alone should not be interpreted as having sacred, magical and other values.

The sixth series of tabot events are *Arak Suroban*, parades of *penja*, added with a white turban, and placed on small Tabot. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, the procession at this stage is punished the same as the procession on the *arak penja*, which is equally not prohibited.

<sup>21</sup> *Mafsadat* is something that endangers humans both in this world and in the hereafter. Musthafâ Daib al-Bughâ, *At-Tabdzib Fi Adilatil Matni Al Ghoyab Wal Tagrib* (Demaskus: Darul Mustofa, 2009), p. 572.

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad bin Ismail Abu Abdullah Bukhari, *Al-Jami' Ash-Shabih al-Mukhtashar*, vol. Juz 5 (Beirut: Dar Ibn Katsir, 1987), 2228.



The seventh series of tabot events is <sup>1</sup> *Gam* (calm/mourning), a stage in the Tabot ceremony that must be obeyed. At this *Gam* Stage, no activities are allowed. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, the procession of *Gam* is not prohibited as long as the meaning of not doing any activity here is other than worship activities, especially sholat (prayer). If the implementation of *Gam* is like a person doing meditation all day long, then *Gam* in the Islamic law sociology perspective is not allowed. If there is an emergency, then the legal status that was originally prohibited can change to be allowed.

As stated in the rules of fiqh:

الضَّرُورَاتُ تُبَيِّحُ الْمَحْظُورَاتِ

*The state of urgency (dharurat) can be the basis for allowing something that is forbidden*.<sup>23</sup>

مَا أُبِيحَ لِلضَّرُورَةِ يُقَدَّرُ بِقَدْرِهَا

*Something that is allowed because of dharurat (very urgent conditions) is measured by the level of dharurat*.<sup>24</sup>

In *Gam* there are no life-threatening *dharurats* so this is not allowed. The eighth series of tabot events were held on Muharram 9<sup>th</sup>, and it is called the *Arak Gendang*. The release of Tabot Besanding in their *gerga* is a sign that the *arak gendang* process has begun. From the Islamic law sociology perspective, the procession of *arak gendang* is not a problem because it is only a celebration without being accompanied by the element of polytheism.

The last series of tabot events from the whole series of Tabot ceremonies is called <sup>3</sup> *Tabot Tebuang*, which was held on Muharram 10<sup>th</sup>. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, the procession of Tabot tebuang is punished forbidden because there are two reasons, among others: First, there is a belief that if the tabot is not thrown away, they will be affected by the disaster. Secondly, there is a belief that a tabot disposal site should not be carried out anywhere but must be in a sacred place, namely the sengolo priest's grave. Therefore, if we want to continue implementing the Tabot tebuang procession, the two elements that cause this prohibition must be removed first. the purpose of a good tabot festival cannot be the cause of allowing this event. As stated in the rules of fiqh:

الْغَايَةُ لَا تُبْرِزُ الْوَسَائِلَ

*Purpose (good) cannot justify/ legalize intermediaries (bad)*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Muhammad Mahmûd al-Harîrî, *Al-Madkhal Ilâ al-Qawâid al-Fiqh al-Kulliyab*. Cet I. (Umman: Dâr Imâr, 1998), 103.

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Mahmûd al-Harîrî, 104.

<sup>25</sup> *Dlarîrat* is a condition which urges someone who has no choice but to do so. If not done, then he will be slumped to an alarming condition or fall to death. Ibrâhîm Muhammad

To more clearly understand the map *istinbath abkam*<sup>26</sup> on the Tabot festival, can be seen in the table below:

No	Schedule of activities	Saddu Dzari'ah		The solution
		Mubah (allowed)	Haram (forbidden)	
1	Menggambik Tanah	-	Forbidden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The process of taking the land is stopped completely replaced with another procession.</li> <li>• The process of taking the land does not need to be stopped completely. Still, just the element of polytheism is removed, that is, by removing the magical element, the sacredness, and the belief that only certain soil can be taken because the land is sacred. How to eliminate the process of taking land can be done from any land so that indirectly the element of magic and sacredness will disappear by itself</li> </ul>
2	Duduk Penja	Allowed	-	
3	Meradai	Allowed	-	

Mahmūd al-Harīrī, *Al-Madkhal Ilâ al-Qawâid al-Fiqh al-Kulliyah*, Cet I (Umman: Dâr Imâr, 1998), 107.

<sup>26</sup> *Istinbath abkam* should be done with care and should not follow lust. Wahbah Zuhaily, *Ushul Fiqh*, vol. Juz II (Libanon: Darul Fiqr, 2004), 918.

4	Menjara/Mengandun	Allowed	-	
5	Arak Penja	Allowed	-	
6	Arak Suroban	Allowed	-	
7	Gam	Allowed	-	
8	Arak Gendang	Allowed	-	
9	Tabot Tebuang	-	Forbidden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It must be removed that if the tabot is not thrown away, they will be affected by the disaster.</li> <li>• It must be removed that a tabot disposal site should not be carried out anywhere, but must be in a sacred place, namely the sengolo priest's grave.</li> </ul>

There are a lot of non-ritual Tabot events, for example, folk entertainment and night markets. In the Islamic law sociology perspective, there is certainly no problem because it does not bring harm. Folk entertainment such as dance during attention to the limits of aurat is certainly not a problem. There are many dances performed at the Tabot festival to entertain the visitors and a promotional event for the typical city of Bengkulu to both local and international tourists. The following are the dance pictures that were staged in the Tabot event,



The dance in the picture explains that the dancers still cover the boundaries of the female genitalia. According to shar'i, every dance that covers the aurat is categorized as a *mubah* (allowed). However, if the dancers do not

cover the aurat boundaries that have been set in shar'i, then the dance is prohibited from being displayed. as well, in ceremonials, other non-ritual events are punished in the same as analogizing the law with the same case

### Conclusions

The Tabot festival is a legacy of the Shia tradition but still exists and is held continuously in the Sunni community of Bengkulu City. This festival is a manifestation of love for Sayidina Husen bin Ali from people of Bengkulu. Basically, the Tabot Festival is accepted by the Sunni community, but there are a few series of events that need to be improved because it is considered to violate Shari'ah. The series of events in the Tabot Festival is divided into two, namely rituals and non-ritual events. The ritual Tabot program is divided into two categories, some of which are permitted in the Islamic law, and there are also a series of events that are not allowed. However, this prohibition law can still be changed as long as the cause of the prohibition can be removed. The allowed event series is *Duduk Penja*, *Meradai*, *Menjara/Mengandun*, *Arak Penja*, *Mengarak Penja Bersurban*, *Gam* dan *Arak Gendang*. There are two processions for the Tabot event that are prohibited, namely *Mengambik Tanah* and *Tabot Tebuang*. The prohibition of the two processions is to avoid falling into the valley of polytheism because these two processions are full of mystical and sacred things. Therefore, if these two processions still want to be held, the mystical and sacred elements in these two processions must be removed first.

While the series of non-ritual Tabot events, there is a lot in the form of public entertainment and the night market. In the perspective of Islamic law, the non-ritual Tabot program is no problem because it does not bring *mudharat* and violate the basic principles of *shar'i*. The dances that are performed in entertaining while still paying attention to the aurat boundaries may be punished, but if violating the basic principles of aurat boundaries are punished haram. Likewise, the other activities are punished the same as analogizing the law with the same case.

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