Pegon as Indigenous and the Cultural Confrontation (18-19 century)

Choeroni[1]*, Muna Yastuti Madrah[2] and Abdul Aziz[3]

[1,2,3]Islamic Studies Department UNISSULA Indonesia

choeroni@unissula.ac.id

This study is uncovering a Pegon script as a symbol of Islamic resistance in Java in the 18-19th century. The author argues that the emergence of Pegon Script based on primordial and political reasons because most of the Javanese people were still using symbols and beliefs previous. Therefore, syncretism is a theological fact of the conversion process is not yet complete culture in the Islamization of the Javanese people. Acculturation between Arabic letters and the Java language has become a barometer of local independence Islam in Java since centuries ago. The authors look at the elements of resistance of scholars in the use of the Pegon script. This situation described in the socio-historical context, which showed that the colonialism era was ongoing on Java in the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. While on the other hand, the wave of Islamic Puritanism also became a threat of local Islam. Thus, the Pegon script was a symbol of resistance to colonialism and Islamic exclusivism by the scholars and Javanese people. By the socio-historical approach, this study seeks to explore the symbolic meanings of resistances of Islam in Java by Pegon Script.

Keywords: Pegon Script, Islamic Resistance, Colonialism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, Java has always been a unique area regarding the development of Islam in Nusantara. One of the uniqueness is the richness of works of literature and cultures as the result of the assimilation of Islam and the existing Javanese culture. For example, in the tradition of pesantren, there is one media that still exist and continually use by the students to support the learning process, namely *Pegon*. In a simple sense, *Pegon* is the Javanese language written in the form of Arabic text (Hija'iyah). [1]

The process of Islamization in Java formed the new way of writing literature using the *Pegon* alphabet. Jawi's script (Javanese alphabet) became a written communication tool for Malay-Nusantara people since the 14th century. It replaced several forms of writing that evolved in the previous era. Jawi's language holds a lot of information in past information such as culture, literature, and religion. Politically, Jawi has connected the Malay community with the broader Muslim community. The other Muslim community, like Parsi, Urdu, Turkish, central Asia, have already had a tradition of literacy. [2]

The use of Pegon in the Arabic-Javanese translation has marked a particular phase in the historical dynamics of Islamic intellectualism in Nusantara and particularly in Java. This translation activity resulted in the [3] That makes the broader community can read it. The variety of themes of *kitab kuning* makes the Islamic discourse in the community grow rapidly[3].

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[1] See: Syamsul Hadi, 1995, Bahasa Arab dan Khasanah Sastra Keagamaan di Indonesia, Humaniora, II), 94.

[2] Oman Fathurrahman, *Filologi Indonesia; Teori dan Metode.* (Jakarta: Prenada media Grup,2015)123.

[3]Kitab kuning in Islamic Religious education, refers to the traditional books that contain Islamic religious lessons (diraasah al-Islamiyyah). This book contains many Islamic value and lessons. Ranging from fiqh, Aqidah, Akhlaq/Sufism, Arabic grammar (' Nahwu Science and ' Sharf Science '), Hadith, Tafseer, ' Ulumul Qur'an, to social sciences and societal (Mu'amalah).

The substance of the Arabic-Javanese translation study has led the life of Muslims peacefully far from the violence and intolerance regarding religious issues. All level of Islamic education uses the Arabic-Javaneese translation as a supplement such as in *madrasah diniyah* and *majelis taklim*. Along with the time, much of the Arabic-Javanese reading has now transformed into a translation book in Bahasa Indonesia. Nevertheless, there are still many Arabic-Javanese translation books that remain inhabit the simple manual. In Islamic intellectual tradition, Jawi's writings are acknowledged to have brought the Muslim community in the Malay world that was initially on the periphery to become a part of the mainstream Islamic world. The books of "Ashabul Jawi"[4] are scattered throughout the archipelago.[5]

[6] and Islamic vernacularization, pegon become indigenous script use as a struggle of the colonialism. Concerning the process of teaching and learning, many pesantren scholar did a variation of pegon to facilitate the transfer of knowledge process. As done by Sheikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri (died 1069 H/1658 M), with his masterpiece, namely the Book of AS-Shirat al-Mustaqim, the first and most comprehensive Book of fiqh of Madhhab Syafi'i using *Pegon*. This book is scattered in Medan, Aceh, Palembang, Padang, Riau.[7]

The traditional Islamic community in Java are mostly very familiar with the letter of Pegon. Pegon becomes very popular after the entry of Islam to Nusantara. The emergence of Pegon may due to primordial and political reasons since most of the Javanese people use the symbols of the previous belief. Therefore, syncretism is the theological fact of the uncompleted process of cultural conversion in Java. The elaboration between the Arabic alphabet and Javanese language has become a barometer of local Islamic independence in Javanese land since centuries ago. Thus, Pegon has become a necessity to be understood and learned hereditary in the traditional Islamic circles, especially the scholars as perpetrators of da'wah in traditional education (pesantren).[8]

Many scholars argue that Pegon firstly introduced by Sunan Ampel or Raden Rahmat. The other scholar predicts that Pegon was the creativity of Sunan Gunung Jati or Syarif Hidayatullah continuous by the charismatic Ulama, Nawawi al-Bantani. However, historically, *Pegon* popularized by; Kh. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak (1786-1878); KH. Sholeh Darat Semarang (1820-1903); Kh. Hasyim Ash'ari Jombang (1875-1947); Haji Hasan Mustafa, Garut (1852-1930), KH. Bisri Mustofa Rembang (1915-1977), KH. Misbah bin Zainul Musthofa, Bangilan, Tuban (born in 1916), KH Asrari Ahmad Wanasari, Tempuran, Magelang and others. Almost all of their books use *pegon* letters. Those books were about philosophy, theology, Hadith, Fiqh, Sufism, Tafseer, and *Nahwu-Shorof* (grammar). Their works are evidence of the Islamic consensus in the frame of cultural and local wisdom.[9]

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[4] "*Ashabul Jawiyin*" is the indigenous community from Java who study in Arabic Countries particularly in *Haramayn*, such as Abdussomad al-Palimbani, Dawud al-Patani dan Nawawi al-Bantani. See: Oman Fathurrahman, *Filologi Indonesia; Teori dan Metode...*, 125.

[5] Oman Fathurrahman, *Filologi Indonesia...*, 125.

[6] The domestication process makes the adoption of the Arabic more natural used by the community. Although many letters were coming before, pegon is unique. Pegon consists of 32 letters. Twenty-six notes adoption from the hija'iyah letter and six from the modification. Principally, pegon adopted the hijaiyah with additional notes adjusted from the previous Javanese script. For example, the letter Ca is the modification of Jim in Hijaiyah with the other character (dot). Letter Po is a modification from Fa' plus triple-dot above, etc. See Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon, Studi tentang simbol perlawanan Islam Jawa abad ke-XVIII-XIX*", (Artikel Penelitian), 2.

[7] A. Ginanjar Sya'ban, "Mahakarya Islam Nusantara; Kitab, Naskah, Manuskrip Dan Korespondensi Ulama Nusantara" (Jakarta: Pustaka Kompas, 2017), 7.

[8] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon...*, 2.

[9] However, nowadays, pegon only used in the traditional salafy pesantren. When Kemal Attaturk overthrows the latest Utsmaniyah Sultanate, there was a shifting from pegon to Latin and Romeletter.

KH. Khoil Bangkalan and his students followed this step in several pesantren in Java. He lived in a time when Pesantren was experiencing a consolidation process as a center for Islamic learning and the basis of the establishment of the Santri community. Pesantren does not only present an Islamic pattern that is increasingly different from the colonial-oriented Islamic discourse by the Penghulu but also leads to the creation of space for the Islamic vernacularization process. Islam gave a fundamental affirmation of identity for his pesantren. It distinguished from the colonial project which required to use Latin writing. Pegon, in this context, has a political and cultural significance for students and strengthens the formation of a Muslim community structure.[10]

The wave of [11]Thus, Pegon becomes a symbol of resistance performed by Javanese scholars and people against colonialism and exclusivity. This Study will identify and explore the symbolic meaning of pegon using the historical and critical sociology approach.

2. THE MEANING OF PEGON

According to the official Indonesian dictionary, pegon means the letters to write the Javanese language or Arabic letter without vocalic sound symbols (diacritic). Pegon was becoming very popular in Nusantara since 18-19 Century. A lot of evidence in the form of manuscripts, inscriptions, books (kitab kuning), and correspondent. Pegon in one side has severed the purity of Islam, but from the front of this was as creative innovation contextualized with the Islamic culture that exists in Java.
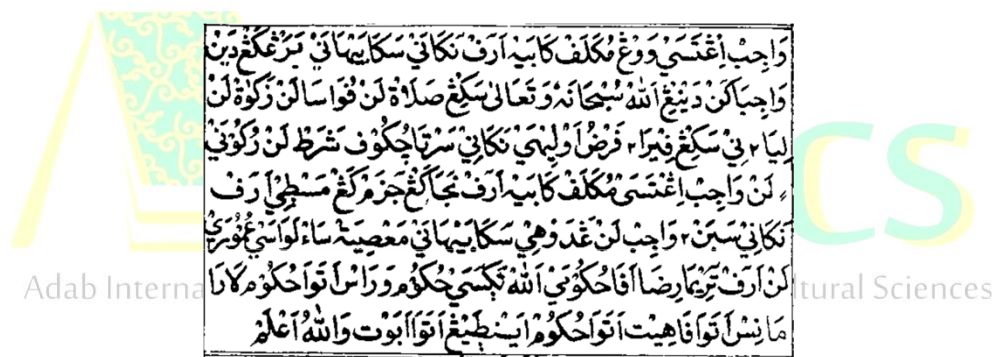

Figure 1: Sample of text *Pegon*

Source:
From Kitab *Majmu'ah al Syariah* karya KH Saleh

Pegon is the letter of Jawi modified to write the Javanese language also Sundanese. The word Pegon derived from the Javanese style of *pego*, which means distorted. Because the Javanese language written in Arabic letters is considered something unusual different from the letter Jawi, which written without a harakat (symbol to vocals). Pegon always has a vocal sign, if not, then it is not called Pegon anymore. The Javanese language has a spoken

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According to the languages Congres hold in Singapore in 1950that agreed on the use of Rome letter, since that all newspaper, book, and magazine shifted from Malay Arabic (pegon) to the Latino and Rome.See Zainul Milal Bizawie, "*Masterpiece Islam Nusantara; Sanad dan Jejaring Ulama-Santri (1830-1945)*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Kompas, 2016), 446. Dan Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon...*, 3. Also see: Abdul Munip, "*Tracing the History...*, 49.

[10] Zainul Milal Bizawie, "*Masterpiece Islam Nusantara...*, 447.

[11]the purified Islam indoctrinated the ideology of Islami fundamental. Puritanism recalled all Muslim to be back to the pure Islamic foundation (Al Quran and Al Hadith). This ideology firstly developed by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in the 18 century in Arabic countries. However, in Indonesia already rooted the traditional Islamic nuanced by the local values.

vocabulary (Swara script) more than the Malay language. To avoid confusion, then the vocals do not need to be written[12].

The Arabic-Malay inscription is called Jawi/Pegon in modern Malay. There is no clear point why its called Jawi, many scholars have argued on it. The term of' Jawi ' derived from the Arabic mention of Javanese frankincense and is also stated that ' Java ' was used to mention the name of a particular place referring to java nad Sumatra islands. The oldest Malay inscription is written in Arabic or Hijaiah. The orthography founded on the upstream of the Trengganu River, about 60 kilometers inland from the northeastern coast of peninsular[13].

Arabic-Malay writing is a mixture of Hijaiyah letters, with six letters not from Hijaiah letters but modifications by the Malay community itself. The addition is intended for the needs of the Malay phoneme more than the Hijaiah phoneme. The additional notes are "pa" (ڤ), "nga" (ڠ), "nya" (ث), "va" (ۏ), "ca" (چ) and "ga" (ڬ). Arabic-Malay is one of the archipelago's cultural treasures. Teaching Arabic-Malay in formal and non-formal schools means participating in maintaining the cultural values of the archipelago. Riau Province and Riau Islands are the centers of the Malay kingdom. Riau is advanced and high about the cultural heritage of Arabic-Malay writing[14].

Pigeaud emphasized that Javanese texts written in Arabic script were called pegon documents, meaning something that had impression distorted. This naming is since the number of scripts are parallel with Javanese scripts is less than the basis of Arabic script[15]. It stressed here why it is strange, pego and deviant, of course the most appropriate. Javanese is written with its script, the Javanese script. Suluk literature, and the distribution of the *kitab kuning* by way of *nadhoman*, *nadhoman* translation, *jenggotan* translation and syi'iran type of essay, are all written in pegon writing. Like Jawi writing, pegon also uses *naskhi, tsuluts* and there is no Javanese type of Arabic script. Besides, it is also necessary to know that the pegon knows two variations, namely the pegon with *harakat* and the *pegon gundul* (without harakat)[16]. Both have their respective functions and roles. Suluk literature, and the distribution of the kitab kuning by nadhoman translation, jenggotan translation and syi'iran type of literature (poetry), are all written in pegon characters, both with Harakat and without harakat . Like the writing of Arabic letters, the pegon script also uses popular *khot* (font) such as the types of naskhi, tsulutsi, riq'i and others.

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[12] Masyhur Dungcik,*et al*, "*Standarisasi Sistem Tulisan Jawi Di Dunia Melayu*: *Sebuah Upaya Mencari Standar Penulisan yang Baku Berdasarkan Aspek Fonetis"*, Program Studi Bahasa dan Sastra Arab Fakultas Adab dan Budaya Islam UIN Raden Fatah Palembang, 44.

[13] DR. Elyza Roza, M.Hum, "*Sejarah Tamadun Melayu*"(Yogyakarta: Aswaja pressindo,2016), 201.

[14] Dian Risdiawati, *et al, Pengembangan Bahan Ajar Tulisan Arab-Melayu*, Jurnal Pendidikan: Teori, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan. Volume: 1 Nomor: 6 Bulan: Juni Tahun: 2016 Halaman: 1002-1007, (Pendidikan Bahasa Indonesia Pascasarjana-Universitas Negeri Malang), 1002.

[15] Lihat: Pudjiastuti, Titik. "*Aksara Pegon: Sarana Dakwah dan Sastra dalam Budaya Jawa*", (makalah untuk Temu Wicara Antar Jurusan Daerah, Universitas dan IKIP se-Indonesia di UGM Yogyakarta, 1993), 3.

[16] Syamsul Hadi, 1995, *Bahasa Arab dan Khasanah Sastra Keagamaan di Indonesia, Humaniora*, II), 94.
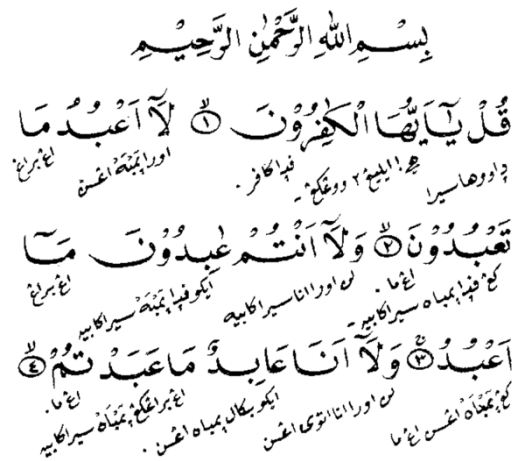
Figure 2: *Pegon in the form of Hanging meaning*
Sample from Tafsir *al-Ibriz* KH. Mushtofa Bisri

The sample above is a pegon script that is often used in pesantren with the term hanging meaning (*jenggotan*). The tradition of writing the Pegon script has been inherent among students who read the classic book (*kitab kuning*), so the script is popular with the term *ngabsahi* (given-meaning). As with Arabic letters in general, Pegon script is also written from right to left. The function of writing the meaning is to better provide students with fluency in learning to write Arabic or hijaiyah letters and strengthening Islamic values. Pegon script in the form of this meaning is also often referred to as the bald pegon, so it requires more accuracy because in writing it does not use punctuation (*harakat / syakal*)[17].

Apart from an understanding of the Pegon script that characterizes the culture of Javanese Islamic society, They use Arabic letters (hijaiyah) also to write their respective languages, such as the Buginese language in Sulawesi, Sundanese in West Java, the word as well as Madura. Thus, the Pegon script is an Arabic letter that has been modified to write Javanese or local languages in the archipelago with standards in using hijaiyah letters. In addition to the Pegon script, there are also Malay or Jawi characters commonly used by the Islamic community in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Malaysia, Brunei, and Southern Thailand (Patani). The basic pattern of this script does have the same concept as the Pegon script. It's just that the language used is Malay, which is almost similar to Indonesian today.

3. SEMIOTIC STUDY ON THE PEGON SCRIPT

To initiate the identification and internalization of the Pegon script as a symbol of resistance, first, know the theory of semiotic [18] as tools of analysis.

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[17] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon...*, 6.

[18] Semiotics is the science of signs. This science considers that social / community and cultural phenomena are signs. Semiotics is studying the systems, rules, and conventions that allow the sign to have meaning. In linguistics, the term sign does not compete with other terms used in different fields of science. When he wanted to describe the relationship in the marking process, Saussure immediately aborted the term symbol (because this term implies a specific motivation) and chose the term sign which was defined as a marriage between the marker and the signifier (compared to the front and back of a piece of paper). Saussure considers that sign language has two sides, namely signified and the signifier (in Saussure (French), Signifier and significant). Signifiers and significant are "acoustic images" (image acoustique), which is the sound impression that we can hear in a fantasy, not the utterance spoken. According to Saussure, "acoustic images are no more than the whole elements or phonemes of a limited amount that can be realized with written symbols and spadan numbers. The signified and signifier are concepts. Saussure did not give a calm explanation of the concept's understanding, but he only revealed that the concept was more abstract than an acoustic image. Thus,

Faculty of Adab and Cultural Sciences
UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Semiotics emerged as a study that specifically addresses the signs carried by famous figures are Ferdinand De Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce. But according to Richard, the pioneers of semiotics were Plato and Aristotle who examined the origins of language in stylus. The marking system had a massive influence at the time since the sign had been a source of debate. One of them was a follower of the Stoic school and the Epicureans in Athens in the period around 300 BC. Their discussion about natural signs that occur naturally and conventional signs is a sign made for communication[19].

Saussure stressed in the theory of semiotics the need for social conventions, including the language community about the meaning of a sign. So Yasraf's conclusion based on Saussure's formulation is that one word has a certain meaning due to a social agreement among the language user community about that meaning[20]. Meanwhile, Charles Sanders Pierce, stressed that we could only think with the medium of the sign. Humans can only communicate utilizing signs. Signs in human life can be signs of movement or cues. Hand wave that can be interpreted as calling or nodding the head can be translated agree. Sound signals, such as whistles, trumpets, drums, human voices, telephone rings. Signs, including letters and numbers. It could also be a sign in the form of traffic signs, and there are still many variations[21].

An index is a sign that has a causal relationship with what it represents. Also called a sign as evidence. For example, smoke and fire, smoke shows the presence of light. The footprints on the ground are an index of people passing through that place. A signature is an index of the existence of someone who carved that signature. Symbols are signs based on conventions, regulations, or agreements that are mutually agreed. New symbols can be understood if someone has understood the meaning decided upon in advance. Garuda Pancasila for the Indonesian people is a bird that has a logo that is rich in meaning. But for people who have different cultural backgrounds, such as Eskimos, for example, Garuda Pancasila is just an ordinary eagle.

In this research, semiotic analysis is an attempt to find something that feels "strange," something that is further questioned when we observe the pegon script symbols in the text or narration. The analysis is ambiguous in the sense of trying to find meaning, including the things hidden behind a book. The text itself, according to Tommy Christomy is a linguistic unit (verbal) that has both form and content, or in terms of expression and conditions of content. To be called a text, it must have textual criteria, that is to have cohesion (among which there are semantic elements that are formally marked), coherence (in terms of content acceptable because they meet textual logic), intertextuality (having semantic links with other texts), information (containing certain information and messages).

A literary work reflects the society and the forces of his day. Thus this study is qualitative because it wants to reveal and understand the pegon characters of research

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the sign of language has two integral elements, such as two sides of a coin. Signified and Signifier in Indonesian translated as "signifier" and "marker". The relationship between Signified (signified) and Signifier (marker), according to Saussure is a judge (semena or manasuka). Roland Barthes, a French culturalist, thinks that the Saussure semiology system is only a first stage semiology system. He felt the need to form the second level of semiology system. The first system he calls the linguistic system and the second system is called mythic (myth). Barthes uses different terms for the three aspects of the sign, namely the form (signifier) concept (signified) and signification (sign). The second level semiology system takes the entire first level sign system as a form, while a myth reader created the concept. "See: Wirman Hardi Gunawan, "*Analisis Semiotika Teks Terjemahan Syair Selakaran Dalam Tradisi Ngurisang Pada Acara Lebaran Topat Di Makam Keramat Batulayar*", (Jurnal Mabasindo Volume 1 Nomor 1 Edisi Mei 2017), 100.

[19] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon...*, 5

[20] Yasraf Amir Piliang, "*Semiotika Teks: Sebuah Pendekatan Analisis Teks*", Jurnal MEDIATOR, Vol.5, No.2, 2004, 194.

[21] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon...*, 6.

subjects in-depth in the form of text and visuals (symbols). The method used is the Charles Sanders Peirce semiotic analysis method[22]. This approach was chosen because Peirce raised an understanding of the existence of figures, indexes, and symbols in every text and visual communication. A form will give rise to a perception that can influence communicant thought and cause an understanding of specific meanings. The use of icons, indexes, and symbols will be able to lift specific fragments and codes from the unique form of the pegon script.

The analysis begins with the selection of the subject of an image containing icons, indexes, and symbols. There are three symbols analyzed, namely resistance to escape from the hegemony of old beliefs in Java, Hindu-Buddhism. Texts were written in pegon script to instill anti-colonial zeal, as well as resistance to maintain the structure of local Islamic culture from the onslaught of Puritan Islam carried by the Wahabi movement. These symbols are interpretations of the Pegon script representing Islamic resistance in Java in the 18-19 AD century.

4. ISLAMIC RESISTANCE IN JAVA IN THE XIX CENTURY

Theoretically, the emergence of resistance is caused by the rejection of power, which imposes the will on the other party. Strength will be carried out by groups of people or individuals who feel oppressed, frustrated, and the presence of situations of injustice in their midst. If this situation of crime and frustration reaches its peak, it will cause (what is referred to as) a social movement or social movement, which will result in a change in social, political, and economic conditions into conditions that are different from before.

The socio-political conditions that occurred in Java in the 18-19th Century, as described in the previous chapters indicate the existence of injustice during the community. Based on historical facts of Cultuurstelsel[23] is a colonial government policy implemented by Governor General Johannes Van den Bosch. This policy began in 1830, where people were required to set aside 20% of their land for planting export commodities such as sugar cane, indigo and coffee. These export commodities were then handed over to the colonial government to be sold to the international community, and the income from these export commodities would go to the Dutch East Indies colonial government treasury.

Meanwhile, villagers who do not own land in the village are required to work in colonial government gardens for 75 days a year (20%). Johannes Van den Bosch who coined this policy was awarded the title Graaf by the Dutch king and was appointed as governor-general in the Dutch East Indies to concretize his strategy. Meanwhile, the company that carries out this policy is Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij (NHM), where NHM is the reincarnation of the VOC that had gone bankrupt before. This policy emerged based on the assumption that the people of the Archipelago had a debt to the colonial government, so to repay the debt the villages had to follow the policy. If the village income from 20% of land exceeds the land tax that must be paid, then the colonial government would return it. But if it is lacking, later the village must pay the shortfall. In theory, this cultuurstelsel policy emerged as a middle way during the crisis period of the Dutch East Indies colonial

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[22]. If you refer to Pierce's theory, then the signs in the picture can be seen from the types of image that are classified in semiotics. Among them: icons, indexes, and symbols. The icon is a sign that is similar to the object that it represents. It can also be said, a sign that has the same characteristics as what is intended. For example, the photo of Sri Sultan Hamangkubuwono X as King of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace is an icon of Mr. Sultan. Map of Yogyakarta is an icon from the area of Yogyakarta depicted on the map. Pak Sultan's thumbprint is the icon of Mr. Sultan's thumb.

[23]Cultuurstelsel is a forced cultivation system. The reason will make Java more prosperous. See: Ricklefs. *Et al*,"*Sejarah Asia Tenggara, dari Prasejarah sampai Kontemporer*", penerj: Tim Komunitas Bambu (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2013), 333-334.

government, where the hope that arose was a policy that brought in revenue for the colonial government but did not bring misery to the people of Indonesia.

But in the scope of practice, it turns out that things that are happening are exploitative without fairy-humanity. The combination of the policies of cultuurstelsel capitalism and the feudal culture of the archipelago resulted in oppression to the people. When the proceeds from the land tax are given to the village (more precisely the landlord / lurah), the lurah tries as much as possible the available land to be used for planting export commodities. From the rules that initially applied 20% of land as land for planting export commodities, it changed to almost 100% of the area used for export commodities. As for those who do not own property, for a full year are required to work on government plantations. Besides the land tax that should be paid from the 20% yield of the land, becomes a tax outside of the 20% commodity export land, in other words, the people are still required to pay the land tax.

The impact of implementing this cultuurstelsel policy is an increase in poverty rates in the archipelago (especially in Java). This is as a result of the disease and famine that plagued Java as a result of the absence of planting food commodities. The role of a landlord in governing the people under him is so great that the people cannot do anything. This starvation condition arises because there is no rice supply, but export commodities are so abundant. As happened in Cirebon in 1843 and Central Java in 1850, where the price of rice soared due to reduced production.

In addition to economic policies caused misery people of Java, the colonial government implemented a system towards Muslims regarding the pilgrimage with resolutions of 1825 and 1831. Resolution of 1825 was directed at limiting as much hajj pilgrimage as possible, and therefore payment was made for the compulsory pilgrimage passport owned. This policy was also accompanied by "secret letters" addressed to residents and regents to severely limit the community from performing the pilgrimage. The way residents complicate pilgrimage passport, while the regents with their influence the people so as not to go on pilgrimage. What are the sanctions for those who make Hajj but do not buy a passport? Through the 1825 regulation, pilgrims who do not have a visa will be fined 1,000 guilders. From the rules of 1825 it is very apparent how the colonial government tried very hard so that the people would not perform the pilgrimage. Compare the amount of the fine charged with unbalanced passport fees. In 1831 the regulation of a fine of 1000 guilders was amended by a new rule. Fines are only charged at twice the passport price of 220 guilders, because one thousand guilders is considered to be unable to pay. The regulation is generally applied, but not officially announced in Staatblad. The rule also applies only to Java and Madura, because in practice the outer regions are not under Dutch authority[24].

After a long period, in 1852 through decision No.9, the regulation was amended. The change contained, when the road was required but was given free of charge, while the fine was abolished altogether. This action was taken based on the Surabaya District Court's verdict on Haji Abdul Salam, who was unwilling to pay a fine of 220 guilders. The court made the decision, that the rules 1825 and 1831 were not announced, and therefore did not apply. In Steenbrink logic From the government side, one of the considerations to release this regulation is because it turns out that the rule has not succeeded in stemming the growing number of prospective pilgrims.[25]

In 1859 the colonial government re-enacted new rules, which became known as the Ordinance of 1859 whose contents were:
   a. Prospective pilgrims must have a statement from a regent that he has sufficient funds for commuting, and besides that, the income for the family left behind is guaranteed.

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[24] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara*...", 224
[25] Aqib Suminto, "*Politik Hindia Belanda*" (Jakarta:LP3ES, 1985),

b. Upon returning from Mecca, the pilgrimage must run an exam, or the pilgrimage test, which must be able to prove that the person visited Mecca.

c. Only when he has passed the test, he is justified in holding the title of hajj and wearing unique hajj clothing.

The oppressive policies above eventually triggered resistance and rebellion in various ways. In theory, during the decades that preceded the uprising, social, and economic conditions have created pressures and demands different from before. These demands are caused by problems that are cumulative and not revealed, which are a source of frustration for triggering the emergence of resistance. Resistance carried out by marginalized groups (such as laborers, traders, farmers, etc.) is sporadic. In fighting for its desires, this movement does not have a clear struggle strategy so that it is easier to extinguish it by the authorities. If ideological elements have entered this movement, then this movement will become a radical movement. In the political arena, the mass of this group becomes fertile ground for fighting over various warring groups. Thus the resistance has a clear purpose, and in a massive wave, this movement tends to go against the flow of the times, the current of the status quo in power[26].

5. PURIFYING FROM THE ISLAMIC *KEJAWEN*

In the process of spreading Islam in Java until the founding of Mataram, it has given birth to Islam Kejawen which is still adhered to by some people. Since the Mataram kingdom came to power, Javanese land has known Islam thanks to the intensive Islamization carried out by the Sultanate of Demak with Walisongo as the spearhead. After the Demak sultanate, the Da'wah relay was taken over by the Kingdom of Pajang and then held by the Kingdom of Mataram. At that moment, the da'wah of Islam in Java experienced a new era. Although Demak is able to Islamize the land of Java, Islamic activities are mostly happening in the coastal areas. It was Mataram which then completed the Islamic da'wah in the interior. However, Demak is undoubtedly different from Mataram. Although Demak uses acculturation in da'wah, the saints still maintain the pure Islamic law, especially monotheism[27].

When Mataram came to power, Islamic da'wah began to change. They are very carefully combining Islamic culture and previous culture. In terms of religious time (Sultan Agung) tends to hold considerations between Islam and Pegon Script as a symbol of Hindu Cultural Confrontation. The work of Mataram centered in the interior of Java or more or less in the center of the land of Java became a tug of war between orthodox coastal style Islam and Javanese-Hinduism. Javanese Islamization is getting stronger, and conversely, the Javanization of Islam is also very strong. Primarily after Mataram conquered Islamic teaching centers on the north coast of Java, such as Pasuruan (1617), Tuban (1619), Surabaya (1625), Pati (1627), and Giri (1636)[28].

Destruction of coastal areas has a political purpose, namely the leadership of the Mataram state will implement syncretic Islam, bearing in mind that the people of the interior are still thick with pre-Islamic ideology (Javanese). Thus, the founding of the kingdom of Mataram had implications for the change from orthodox Islam to kejawen Islam (a mixture of Islam and kejawen ideology). In the book also mentioned, Islam was originally spread to Java in its original form. However, after being taken to the interior, it must adjust to Javanese

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[26] Aqib Suminto, "*Politik Hindia.....*", 180.

[27] Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, "*Api Sejarah*", Jilid ke-satu (Bandung: Penerbit Suryadinasti, 2014), 79.

[28] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara; Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia*" (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2016), 69.

culture or local traditions. When the kingdom of Demak was still active, Islam was spread puritanically. However, Javanese rulers who were thick with local customs, such as Hadiwijaya and Senopati, established the Islamic Kingdom to shift from the coastal areas to the interior that was still deeply rooted in the agrarian-traditional Javanese culture of the Majapahit era. Therefore, Islamic syncretism in the interior is stronger. Especially after the rulers of Mataram (Sultan Agung) destroyed the centers of puritan Islamic civilization in the coastal areas[29].

Sultan Agung was indeed noted to be more inclined towards syncretism. Apart from moving the center of Islamic civilization to the interior, the sultan was no longer close to the descendants of Walisongo. The Sultanate of Mataram also let scholars who embrace mysticism. Besides, the sultan once made a pilgrimage to Tembayat. He also chose to use the Saka calendar instead of Islam. In this condition, the condition of the Mataram Muslim community can then be distinguished in Clifford Geertz's theory which divides Javanese society into three main groups, namely santri who are orthodox Muslim circles, who apply pure Islamic law; prijajis, aristocrats influenced mainly by Hindu-Javanese traditions; and abangan, animist villagers[30].

In this context, the Pegon script becomes very useful as the subject under study. As a communication tool, the meanings in the pegon script symbol in this context become a symbol of liberation from Mataram and Kejawen hegemony. Pegon is very relevant to be analyzed using the semiotic approach because Piliang called semiotics as a method of study into various branches of science because there is a tendency to view multiple social discourses as language phenomena. In other words, language is used as a model in multiple social discussions. Based on the view of semiotics, if all social practices can be regarded as language phenomena, then all of them can also be seen as signs. This is possible because of the broad understanding of the sign itself.

6. *PEGON* AS A CULTURAL CONFRONTATION

In the XVIII-XIX centuries, symbols of resistance of the Islamic community in Java were manifested in the form of texts written in the Pegon script. The opposition was the indoctrination of the ulama over colonialism to the santri and the community. K.H.'s teachings Ahmad Rifa'i[31] The doctrine of protest against the colonial government and its traditional and feudal apparatuses were most contained in his books entitled Date, Nadzam Wikayah, Syarihul Iman, Bayan, Tafrikah, Abyanul Hawaij, Tasyrihatul Muhtaj, and Riyatul

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[29] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara....*, 69.

[30] Clifford Geertz, "*Agama Jawa; Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*" penerj: Aswab Mahasin (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2013), xxx.

[31] KH. Ahmad Rifa'i bin Muhammad Marhum was born on the 9th of Muharam 1200H / 1786M. In the village of Tempuran, Kendal Regency, Central Java. His father's name was Muhammad Marhum bin Sujak Wijaya, and his mother was named Siti Rahmah. Muhammad Marhum is a religious official or headman. He died when Ahmad Rifa'i was seven years old. Ahmad Rifa'i was then taken care of by his brother-in-law, KH. Ash'ari, caretaker of the Kaliwungu Islamic boarding school. In 1816, when he was 30 years old, Ahmad Rifa 'went to Mecca. As it happened at that time, the pilgrims did not immediately go home after the pilgrimage was finished. He lived in Mecca for some time to explore various religious knowledge. Ahmad Rufa 'I lived for 20 years. Here he studied with Shaykh Usman and Shaykh Faqih Muhammad ibn Abd al-Aziz. After that Rifa'i went to Egypt. He spent 12 years of his time and much studied the Shafi'i schools of fiqh. Among his teachers was Shaykh al-Bajuri, the author of al-Bajuri. Immediately after returning to Java KH. Ahmad Rifa'i is carrying out his da'wah activities. Following his present existence and the situation of the times that accompanied him, namely Dutch colonialism had demanded attention from him. Besides the teaching of Islam that have been in it, he also ignited the spirit of opposition to Dutch colonialism. He protested a lot against the Dutch and the officials he appointed. Because he was seen as disrupting the work of the government he was finally exiled to Ambon in 1859. And he died in exile in 1870. See: Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara....*, 142-147. Dan Ajat Sudrajat, *K.H. Ahmad Rifa'I ....*, 3-4

Himmah. Even now writing is being sought to collect the teachings of the protest in the form of a volume of books[32]. In the doctrine of his protest against the colonial government, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i based his teachings on the argument that the Dutch colonial government was an infidel. Besides, it is recommended to all K.H followers. Ahmad Rifa 'in order to fight to save Java in particular and Indonesia in general[33]. In the doctrine of his protest against the colonial government, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i based his teachings on the argument that the Dutch colonial government was an infidel. Besides, it is recommended to all K.H followers. Ahmad Rifa 'in order to fight to save Java in particular and Indonesia in general[34].

Transkrip Teks:

"*Slamete dunya akherat wajib kinira nglawan raja kafir sekuasane kafikira tur perang sabil lewih kadene ukara kacukupan tan kanti akeh bala kuncara*"
means:

"The salvation of the world-hereafter must be taken into account against the heathen king his abilities need to be considered 'as well as sabil warfare rather than saying enough not to use a large army"[35]

KH. Rifa'I taught the poem to the people and their congregation so that more and more a deep sense of hatred was embedded in the colonial government. At the same time he also always ignited the spirit of opposition to the Dutch colonial. Thus creating an atmosphere of a society that is anti against Dutch colonialism. In addition to doctrines to the Dutch colonial government, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i also taught the doctrine of his protest to the feudal and traditional bureaucrats who were accomplices of the Netherlands.[36] This doctrine is seen in the book of Tarqhib [37];

Text Script:

"*Tanbihun, tinemu negara Jawi rajane kufur Iku amar naha ora gugur Saben mukalaf ghalib ana kuasa milahur Uga bisa ghalib derajate luwih luhur Tinemu alim fasiq ngilmune ketanggungan Ningali ing negara Jawi dhalim rajane kinaweruhan Iku aweh pitutur tinemu linakonan Wajib amar naha sabab akeh kamaksiatan*"

Translation

Keep in mind! Now it is found that the invaders have taken control of the Javanese state, striving to prevent it, it is hoped that every adult will be able to carry out. The people's attitude should be to explain the right direction to be carried out, because they must prevent if there is an outbreak of disobedience.

Text Script:

"*Ghalib alim lan haji fasik pada tulung marang raja kafir asih pada njunjung ikulah wong alim munafik imane suwung dumeh diangkat drajat dadi Tumenggung Lamun wong alim weruhe ing alane wong takabur mongko ora tinemu dadi qadli miluhur*"

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[32] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara*...", 148.

[33] Risma Sofiatil Ulya, "*Pergulatan Rifai`Yah Dalam Mencari Legalitas Diri Di Tengah Polemik Tuduhan Ajaran Sesat, Kabupaten Pekalongan 1965-1999*" *Indonesian Journal of History Education,* (Jurusan Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia, 2013), 5.

[34] Dahrul Muftadin, "*Fikih Perlawanan Kolonialisme Ahmad Rifa'i*", Jurnal Penelitian – ISSN: 1829-9903 (p); 2541-6944 (e), 10.

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[35] Ajat Sudrajat, *K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Dari Kalisalak Pekalongan Dan Gerakan Protes Sosial Abad 19*, (Jurnal Prodi Ilmu Sejarah FISE UNY),

[36] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara*...", 144

[37] Ajat Sudrajat, *K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i*...., 6.

Translation
"Ghalib alim and wicked Hajj help the infidel king and like to support him that hypocritical pious people are empty of faith because they feel they are appointed to tumenggung."[38]

However, the influence of the teachings of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i as a whole, such as marriage problems, Friday prayers, and teachings of his protests, still made the colonial government apprehensive. From the question of marriage, for example, with the opinion of KH. Ahmad Rifa'i about the illegitimacy of marriage by the prince, at least it will affect their authority in the eyes of the people. And more importantly, their income from the wedding will disappear. Likewise, the invalidity of the Friday Prayers is the Imam and the preachers. Then there will be many empty mosques because people are hesitant about their Friday prayers and eventually avoid mosques where the imam and preacher are unfairly blocked (prince). This influence is further strengthened by teachings that have a protesting tone, which invites people not to submit and even oppose their commands. Also though it was not the physical movements of the authorities he had made chaotic.[39]

The 19th Century was not only Kiai Rifai, but there were also Kiai Saleh Darat who lived during the colonial period. Many of his works have become symbols of resistance in the form of texts which he built together with the people of Central Java. This situation is the base of the entire analysis process and is used to see his later works. As a figure, he must appear to implement the amar ma'ruf nahi munkar, and free people from ignorance, poverty and oppression. The suffering that struck the community at that time was troubling. Kiai Saleh Land's anxiety was expressed in his concern for the layman so he formulated the Book of Majmû`at ash-Syarî`at al-Kâfiyah li al-'Awâm, as a stimulant to the lay person to seek knowledge and understand his religious faith correctly in order to free ignorance due to the clutches of the colonialists[40].

Kiai Saleh Darat was very aware that the objects written in his books would cause reactions from other parties, especially colonial. For this reason, Kiai Saleh's thoughts are outlined in Javanese Pegon. The use of the Pegon Script by Kiai Saleh Darat is very reasonable. Besides being based on pragmatic reasons[41], for the benefit of the local community as an instrument of language in expressing ideas and religions which in Javanese santri society, also have idealistic reasons based on political interests. Related to this research, the writer sees the existence of resistance elements by ulama in the use of Pegon Script. This situation can be seen in the socio-historical context which shows that in Central Java in the 19th century[42].

In addition to the theological construction of nationalism above, Kyai Saleh also believes that Muslims are forbidden to wear clothing that resembles non-Muslim clothing such as wearing a coat, hat or tie even though his heart does not like it. Likewise, a Muslim cannot eat as non-Muslim eat. He put forward the argument "Laisa minna man tasyabbaha bighairin". Although here Kyai Saleh did not directly declare anti-colonialism, a view of his displeasure towards the colonialists was implied. This type of fatwa was widespread before Indonesia's independence.

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[38] Ajat Sudrajat, *K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i....*, 5.

[39] Dahrul Muftadin, "*Fikih Perlawanan...*, 287-288

[40] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara...*, 353

[41] This was recognized by one of Indonesia's prominent women leaders, R.A Kartini, according to him, the method used by Kiai Sholeh Darat was very creative and adapted to the context of the surrounding community. Until Kartini's wedding, Kiai Sholeh Darat gave her a gift in the form of the Arabic Tafsir Book of Pegon.

[42] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara...*, 354-355.

Text Script:
"...*Tegese ora nana pituduh ingsun lan ora ono saking agomo ningsun wong kang tiru-tiru kelawan liyane wongkang ahli agomo ningsun. tegese aja nyrupani siro kabeh marang liyane ahli Islam, ing dalem penganggone lan tingkah polahe lan mangan ngombene lan cecaturane lan salamane, maka haram ingatase wong Islam aweh isarah mareng wong islam kelawan tangane utawa kelawan drijine utawa angantera2 tangane naliko salaman kerana arah tiru-tiru ahlil kitab kaya mengkono wus angendikaaken syech....*"

Translation
"That, my religion and I do not justify, someone imitating other people who are experts on my religion. do not all resemble other than Muslims, in dressing and behaving, and eating and drinking, and his handshake. It is forbidden for Muslims to give an indication to Muslims with their hands or fingers by swinging their hands when shaking hands. "

Text Script
" *Lan sarehne ora ana ingdalem iki zaman wong kang nglakoni mengkono mider-mider marang kampung-kampung utawa marang desa-desa, kerana arah muruki agama Islam kerana kinaweden fitnah zaman, maka dadi wajib ing atasi alim arep gaweake kita perkarane agama Islam sangking 'aqaidul ilam, lan furu' al-Syari'ah, bab al-thoharoh lan bab al-Sholatkelawan endi-endi carane, cara melayu utawa cara Jawa*"[43]

The purpose words are that due to the conditions of the age that made it impossible, no kiai went around the village to preach the religion of Islam. This is caused by the "slander of the times", namely strict government regulations on the Islamic movement, so that preaching Islam openly invites and carries risks. For that, preaching can be done by writing religious books in the local language.

Indonesian Muslims have experienced the bitter reality with the policy of "religious teacher colleges" implemented by the government. Thus it is Deandless's policy. A religious leader must get permission from the local authorities in teaching Islam. This wisdom was the reaction of the Dutch East Indies government to the rebellion that had taken place like the Banten rebellion in 1888. This of course considerably narrowed the space for the Kiai or pesantren scholars, recitation teachers, and meballighs in developing Islam[44].

It is with this very tight situation that ideological attacks are carried out by the kiai, as illustrated above. For example, although the Kiai Rifai movement and its congregation did not come to a physical clash with the Dutch, the impact could be felt. Kiai Sholeh is the same as Kiai Rifa'I who made a strict and strict fatwa on Muslims. Both of them use pegon script media in launching attacks and sharp criticism towards Dutch policy behavior.

7. SIMBOL *INDIGENOUS* ISLAM JAWA

Indigenous is a term that the writer borrows from Nur Cholis Majid's statement in defining pesantren because of its unique and unique Indonesian identity, an identity that is attached to something. In the writer's observation, Pegon also has the same original and unique Indonesian values. And in this case, there are also in some Malay regions around Sumatra. As a symbol of resistance from the Islamic Society, the pegon script is the

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[43] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara...*, 225
[44] Nor Huda, "*Islam Nusantara...*, 225

legitimacy built by Javanese Islam in strengthening their identity as an Islamic society. The word identity comes from English, personality, which has a literal understanding; traits, signs, or status attached to a person, group, or something that distinguishes it from the others. Identity is also the whole or totality that shows the characteristics or particular circumstances of a person or identity from biological, psychological, and sociological factors that underlie individual behavior.[45]

Borrowing the term Fong in Samovar, that the Pegon script occupies a position of cultural identity as the communication identification of verbal and nonverbal symbolic behavioral systems that have meaning and which are shared among group members who have a sense of mutual ownership and share traditions, inheritance, language, and norms. The same rule. Therefore, cultural identity is a product of one's membership in a group through their interactions in their cultural group. Status is generally understood as an awareness of personal unity and continuity with the group. A person's self-identity is a distinctiveness distinguishes person from others at the same time is an integration of the stages of development that have been passed before. Identity comes from the interaction of individuals with society. Social status usually produces more positive feelings because we describe the group itself has good norms. Norms in a group are mutually agreed upon by group members to strengthen the integration of the group.

Understanding identity must be based on understanding human action in its social context. Social status is similarity and difference, a matter of personal and social, a concern of what you have together with some people and what distinguishes you from others. The social identity perspective is self-awareness, whose primary focus is specifically more on relationships between groups, or associations between individuals in small group members. Identity is built based on the assumptions that exist in the group.

In the process of institutionalization, all human actions will undergo a process of habituation. The activity will be carried out repeatedly in his life, eventually, the culprit will understand it as the intended pattern. The actions of humans in the institutionalization process will then be legitimized. The function of legitimacy is to make the objectivity of human activities institutionalized to be objectively available and to make sense subjectively. Social processes form the identity of a group. Social structures determine the social means that shape and maintain identity. A group cannot be understood directly by the community that the group has an identity. It is necessary to construct a group's identity to the community so that the group is understood as a group that has an identity. The identity construction can be done by institutionalization and internalization.[46]

The second process of identity construction is internalization through socialization. There are two processes in socialization, namely the primary socialization process and the secondary socialization process. The primary method of socialization in humans is the first process of socialization, starting from the scope of the family when childhood to become a member of society. The process of primary socialization in a social group is not different in scope from the family, that is, its range within the social group itself. The method of secondary socialization within a social group is not only within the social group itself but also in broad scope outside the social group[47].

Based on the above definition, a common thread can be drawn that the identity of the Javanese Islamic community who popularized the Pegon script as their symbol is a characteristic of a group that can distinguish these groups from other groups, namely the Javanese themselves. At the same time, the social construction of reality (Social Construction

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[45] Dahrul Muftadin, "*Fikih Perlawanan*...,
[46] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon*..., 16.
[47] Ibnu Fikri, "*Aksara Pegon*..., 20.

of Reality) introduced by Peter L. Gerer and Thomas Luckman illustrates the social process through its actions and interactions, where individuals continually create a reality that is shared and subjectively experienced together.

8. CONCLUSION

The historical background of the development of the Pegon script in Java in the 18-19 century was based on a dialectical consequence of the emergence and development of Islam as a new belief among Javanese society. Pegon script has shown a strength of community spirit that can bring together Islamic culture (Arabic) and Javanese culture. Islamic culture is represented by the hijaiyah alphabet structure, while the kawi language structure represents Javanese culture through the Honocoroko alphabet. The dialectical process between the two and contextualized with reality makes the synthesis of this method very easy and sustainable. History records that the Pegon script was popular as a means of communication, indoctrination of Islamic teachings and the struggle against colonialism. This script has existed since the 14th century, along with the emergence of Malay script (Jawi) in the Sumatra region which was conceived by 18th-century scholars. The idea of the introduction of pegon characters occurred after Javanese scholars spread and sought knowledge in Mecca; they had created a network Islamic Archipelago with various backgrounds.

Based on ideological, political, and pragmatic interests, the Pegon script made a significant contribution to the development of Islamic teachings in Java in the 18-19 century. In general, Javanese scholars who coined the concept of pegon as a means of communication and Islamic movements have contributed much to the development of Islam. This pattern is beneficial in providing understanding to the Javanese Islamic community who are still having difficulty learning Arabic. One example is the world of Pesantren. The oldest educational institution in Java, it is common to use the pegon script as a tool to understand classic books, from Arabic to local languages (Javanese), using pesantren-style teaching methods. The symbol of resistance is manifested in the form of distinguishing antithesis from the prevalence of characters that already exist in Java, namely honocoroko. Semiotic this unusualness is a cultural symbol of breaking away from the hegemony of old beliefs in Java, Hindu-Buddhist. In addition, resistance symbols in the form of texts written in pegon script in order to instill an anti-colonial spirit. This fact can be seen by the great works of the 18-19 century scholars as written by KH. Ahmad Rifai kalisalak Batang, KH. Soleh Land Semarang. While the implementation of the pegon script, which continues to be preserved among traditional Islam or in the world of pesantren, is a symbol of resistance to maintain the structure of local Islamic culture from the onslaught of Puritan Islam.

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