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SANTRI WORLD VIEWS: STUDY ON RONGGENG DUKUH PARUK TRILOGY AS REPRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC MODERATE THOUGHT

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Abstract:-

The structure of Javanese society is shaped by social groups stratified on the basis of economic and religious perspectives. The grouping of societies on the basis of economics distinguishes between wong cilik and priyayi, while grouping on the basis of divinity distinguishes between abangan and santri. The relationship between the two social groups is very dynamic, so there is often friction. The social dynamics of Javanese society are recorded and represented in literary works, especially novels published in the 1980s. The novel trilogy of "Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk" by Ahmad Tohari represents the Javanese culture subculture of the Banyumas variant and the santri/Islamic world view that flourished in the 1970s when Indonesian Muslims were 'forced' to embrace the ideology of Pancasila as a single principle in all aspects of its life.

Keywords:-Representation, world view, santri, abangan, wong cilik, priyayi.

INTRODUCTION

One of the new trends in the development of Indonesian literature in the 80s was the elevation of local Javanese colors into literary works. The new trend is certainly interesting to note because during this orientation of Indonesian literary culture is dominated by the color Minangkabau, especially in the early days of its growth. In the 70s the local cultural elements reappeared but were no longer dominated by the Minang culture, but rather the culture that reflected the plurality of subcultural traditions in the Nusantara territory.

Based on that fact Jakob Sumarjo (1985) draws the conclusion that the dominance of Indonesia's latest literary works has shifted to Java, especially Central Java after previously dominated by Sumatra and Jakarta. The shift of the epicenter demonstrates the increasingly recognizable role of literary writers of ethnic Javanese backgrounds in the Indonesian literary arena. Teeuw (1988) says that the novels of Javanese culture and society elevate the world's views (vision du monde) of each author in their own way.

The novel trilogy of Ahmad Tohari, titled "Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk", "Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari", and "Jantera Bianglala", published in 1982, 1985 and 1986 respectively. His presence as a citizen of Indonesian literature has contributed to the color and variety of subcultural traditions, thus attracting the attention of literary observers and sociocultural issues, both from within the country itself and foreign observers. Two foreign observers who pay serious attention to the RDP trilogy are Maier (1984) and Teeuw (1988).

The review of these two literary scholars seems to be enough proof that in this trilogy is contained something interesting, a potential to be explored more deeply in relation to issues outside of literary matters. Eisy (1987) considers that the RDP trilogy is relevant to the conditions of Indonesian society; this trilogy is deeply involved with societal issues, with political upheaval and its effects. Sahid (1988) considers that the local color of the RDP trilogy is integral to the plot, thus making this trilogy unique, only possible in the Javanese culture of the Banyumas variant. Yudiono K.S. (1988) are more interested in the Srintil worldview associated with social stratification of the *wong cilik*.

From foreign and domestic observer reviews it becomes increasingly clear that this RDP trilogy does indeed have the potential to be explored in terms of issues outside of literature. Strictly speaking, the RDP trilogy is a sociocultural problem because, as mentioned above, the RDP trilogy reveals a very specific subculture tradition, the Javanese culture of the Banyumas variant. On the other hand, the RDP trilogy, through its structure, also offers universal values that make it understandable to readers outside of its cultural sphere.

WORLD VIEWS (VISION DU MONDE)

The approach to literature that considers aspects of society is called the sociology of literature (Djoko-Damono, 1984). This approach starts from the concept that art (literature) is a social product (Wolff, 1981: 1). That is, works of art (including literature) created by artists/writers to be enjoyed, understood, and utilized by the community. The writer is bound by a certain social status, the language he uses is a social creation, and the life he describes is a social reality.

Theoretical concepts of literary sociology have a very wide and complex range of territories (Djoko-Damono, 1984; Junus, 1986; Faruk, 2005). Therefore, in accordance with the objectives to be achieved, the theoretical concepts used in this study are the theoretical concepts of vision du monde or world views initiated by Lucien Goldmann. This concept is considered appropriate because it can explain the relationship between the structure of literary works with the structure of society.

Goldmann called his theory with genetic-structuralism. To sustain his theory he built a set of interrelated categories, namely the facts of humanity, the collective subject, the structure, the worldview, the understanding and explanation (Faruk, 2005: 12). The world view is defined as a complex of ideas, aspirations, and feelings that connect members of social groups and differentiate them from other social group members (Goldmann, 1977: 17; Djoko-Damono, 1984: 41; Faruk, 2005: 16).

Furthermore, the worldview is said to be a collective form of consciousness that unites individuals into a group that has a collective identity. The worldview is not only an expression of social groups but also social class (Djoko-Damono, 1984: 41; Goldmann, 1973: 114). A writers is a member of a particular group and social class, and it is through such groups and social classes that they are engaged and engaged in social and political change. Thus, the worldview is not an empirical reality, but a theoretical abstraction or expression of a particular social class in a certain historical period (Djoko-Damono, 1984: 41). The poet, as a member of a particular group and social class, expresses his world view through their works.

In practice, to understand the worldview expressed by the author, a literary reviewer must first disassemble the structure of the work in question. Because, according to Goldmann, the worldview determines the structure of a work. A valid literary work is a literary work that possesses an internal cohesiveness that causes it to express the universal and basic human condition (Djoko-Damono 1984: 42).

Accordingly, the study of the RDP trilogy will use theoretical concepts of structural and theoretical concepts of world view. For structural analysis, the theoretical concept of binary opposition is used, developed by Prague's linguistic flow and social anthropology Claude LeviStrauss. Meanwhile, to expose the worldview used theoretical concepts about the worldview as already stated in front.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE RDP TRILOGY

Novel of Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk

The RDP opens with a description of the nature of Dukuh Paruk, which is in the midst of a long dry season (pp. 5--6), followed by a description of the Dukuh Paruk residents consisting of ancestors (pp. 7), Rasus and his friends shepherd the goats while playing (pp. 8--9). In the scene called the end of it began to appear obstacles associated with

ronggeng songs. In TRDP ronggeng songs are disputed with tembang-tembang kidung. So, the ronggeng songs are not portrayed for the song itself but has been interpreted its meaning by the narrator. Songs ronggeng can not be viewed in terms of referential meaning its linguistics, but in terms of symbolic. Similarly, the formal unit facing him, namely tembang-tembang kidung.

The opposition between *tembang kidung* with *ronggeng* songs, *sopan* with *cabul*, *orang tua* with *anak-anak* above it can be used as a binary opposition model for things or events that occur before and after. In the first there is an opposition between *kemarau* and *genangan air* (page 5); *gerumbul kecil* with *padang yang amat luas* (p.7); *wangsit* with *wahyu* (page 12); *matahari* with the *bulan* (pp. 14); *binatang* with *manusia* (pp. 15); *malapetaka* with *penolak bala* (page 27); *menolak* with *menerima* (p.33); *hidup* with *mati* (pp. 36, 37, 41); and the opposition between *bunga sedap malam* and the *asap kemenyan* (p. 43).

The second part opens with a series of oppositions between the *legenda* with *kebenaran*, *emak* with *mantri*, *emak* and *Srintil* (p45); between *Dukuh Paruk* and *luar Dukuh Paruk*, *perempuan* with *laki-laki* (page 50); between women awake with women asleep (pp. 59); between believing not percava, reality with delusions (p. 61); between *perempuan sebagai kekasih* and *perempuan sebagai ibu* (h1m.67); between *halaman rumah* with *pekuburan* (pp. 69). The third section presents the opposition between *keperawanan* with *sekeping ringgit emas* (pp. 78); between *miskin* with *kaya* (pp. 77); *menerima* with *menolak* (pp. 84); siang with *malam*, *terang* with *gelap* (pp. 120).

The fourth section opens with descriptions and reflections on the poor, obscene, and stupid Dukuh Paruk. In this passage, there is not much opposition, but the scope is broader, ie the opposition between *Dukuh Paruk* with *Dawuan* (pp. 128); between *nilai lama* with the *nilai baru* (pp. 136--137).

Novel of Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari

LKDH opens with a long description of the natural flora and fauna that is orderly, orderly, in accordance with the laws of nature. In this chapter, there are many opposing forces. The Opposition between *kusut* with *lembut*, *alam tidur* with *alam jaga* (page 9) opens this passage, followed by opposition between *dunia besar* with *dunia kecil*, *laki-laki* with *perempuan*, *menangis* with *sukacita* (pp. 12); between the *mantera* with *air kencing*, *rikuh* with *akrab* (p.15); between *induk* with *anak* (page 17); between *kiri* with *kanan* (pp. 21); between *betina* with *jantan* (him 33); between *tebal* with *tipis* (p.35); between *tidur* with *jaga* (p. 36); between *jalan besar* with *pematang*, *cucu* with *nenek* (p. 43).

The second part opened with the arrival of Tampi with his son to visit the sick Srintil. In this passage there is an opposition between the *rohani* with *ragawi* (pp. 46); between *kesegaran remaja* and *kematangan seorang ibu* (p. 50); between *laki-laki munyuk* and *laki-laki kijang* (p. 54); between *langit* and *bumi* (pp. 55); between *nada cepat bergairah* with *suara pilu yang menggayut* (pp. 71); between *bersih* and *kotor* (pp. 73); between *malam* with *dini hari* (him 75); between *ayam betina* and *jago* (pp. 76).

The third part opens with Sakarya's concern, Srintil's grandfather, because Srintil refuses to perform and serves men. In this passage there is a series of oppositions between *priyayi* and *wong dusun* (pp. 84); between *laki-laki* and *perempuan*, *darah kental* with *air bening* (pp. 103); between *khotbah* and *kepura-puraan* (pp. 107); between *dendam* and *hati bersih* (pp. 108); between *kegembiraan* and *kesusahan* (pp. 111); between *menguntungkan* and *merugikan* (pp. 112); between *ramai* and *sepi* (pp. 115); between *utara* and *selatan* (pp. 118); between *tertawa terbahak-bahak* and *tangis sedih* (pp. 119); between *cantik* and *udik* (pp. 122).

The fourth section opens with the arrival of Sentika to ask for the willingness of Srintil to *ronggeng*-ing as well as being *gowok*. In this section there is a series of oppositions between *kusir* and *penumpang* (pp 139); between *laki-laki* and *perempuan* (pp. 169); between *ada* with *tiada*, *siang* and *malam*, *air* with *api*, *keperempuanan* with *kelelakian* (page 177).

The fifth section opens with a series of oppositions between *siang* and *malam* (pp. 184); between *hening* and *tegang* (pp. 196); between *ramai* and *sepi* (p. 198); between *tua* and *muda* (pp. 200); between *kehangatan* and *dingin* (pp. 202); between *harapan* with *ketakutan* (pp. 205); between *sadar* and *tidak sadar* (pp. 208).

Novel of Jantera Bianglala

The first section opens with a description of the situation of Dukuh Paruk after the event of stampeding of rice and the burning of houses. In this section there is an attack of opposition between *Dukuh Paruk* and *luar Dukuh Paruk* (pp. 8); between *curah hujan* and *terik matahari*, *kehidupan* with *kebisuan* (pp. 9); between *kaum laki-laki* and *perempuan* (p.17); between *lumrah* and *istimewa* (pp. 20); between *sistem nilai lama* and *sistem nilai baru* (p.26); between *siang* and *malam*, *tua* and *muda* (pp. 28); between *hidup* and *mati* (p.31).

The second part opens with the natural description of Dukuh Paruk, the rainy season and the dry season come and go. A series of oppositions between *musim kemarau* and *musim penghujan*, *jantan* with *betina* (p.32) open this section, followed by opposition between *jatuh* and *bangun*, *laki-laki* with *perempuan* (p.34); between *lega* and *berduka* (p.35); between *kepahlawanan* and *pengkhianatan*, *budi luhur* with *kebejatan*, *mengatasi sang waktu* with *menyerah pada kunci waktu* (p.37); between *pengalaman hidup yang lembut dan santai* with *pengalaman hidup yang keras dan getir* (page 38); between *dunia bocah* and *dunia orang dewasa* (p.40); between *tertawa* with *diam* (pp. 46); between *perempuan cantik* and *perempuan buruk*, *murka* with *penyesalan yang dalam*, pilu with *kemarahan*, pucat pasi with rona kemerahan (page 53); between *kepentingan diri-sendiri* and *kepentingan orang lain* (p. 54); between *duta keperempuanan kepentingan kelelakian* (pp. 55); between *muncul* with *tenggelam*, *hilang* with *tampak* (pp. 57); between *berat* and *ringan* (pp. 58); between *hasrat besar* and *perkara kecil* (pp. 69); between *dongeng* and *kisah nyata*, *pohon-pohon besar* with *tetumbuhan kecil* (pp. 72); between *birahi manusia* with *birahi munyuk*, the *manusia* with *Penguasa Alam*, *laki-laki* with *perempuan*, *suami* with *istri* (pp. 74).

The third section opens with a series of oppositions between hitam and putih, kiri with kanan (pp. 105); between pengetahuan with mistik, ngelmu with ilmu, nilai_lama with nilai baru (pp. 106); between penguasa besar and penguasa kecil (p.111); between lelaki bujangan and perempuan tanpa suami (pp. 115); between ronggeng and perempuan somahan (pp. 119); between air and api kelelakian (pp. 128); between keperempuanan and kelelakian, tunas istri with tunas ronggeng (pp. 129); between matahari and bulan, liar with jinak (p.158).

The fourth or last section opens with a story about Dawuan district that began to be touched by development. There is little opposition in this section. There is only a large-scale opposition such as the opposition between *nilai desa* and *nilai kota* (p.165), and other opposition ambushes such as the opposition between *lelaki baik* and *lelaki petualang* (p166); between *muncul* with *tenggelam* (pp. 167); between *rumah* and *luar rumah* (page 193); between *membunuh* with *dibunuh* (pp. 207); and between *derajat manusia* and *derajat binatang* (pp. 218).

Based on the above description it can be concluded that the RDP trilogy presents a series of oppositions on a small and large scale. On a large scale, the RDP trilogy presents the opposition between two value systems, the old value system with the new value system; Javanese value system with Islamic value system; value system of Dukuh Paruk with value system outside Dukuh Paruk; village value system with city value system.

In this series of oppositions, the position of the characters is quite clear. Srintil and the Dukuh Paruk people are in the old value system, while Rasus has adopted a new value system. Nevertheless, they are sometimes trapped between the two opposite poles, before they can make a choice.

At the most abstract level, the RDP trilogy actually tells about the relationship between man and fate, with the power that determines that fate. All the events that occur in the life of the Dukuh Paruk, they believe that the fate line should be accepted with resignation. Srintil must accept fate as a ronggeng dancer, as has been outlined by life, as taught by his ancestors, that human life is *pakem*; people live to be the actors who play on the will of the mastermind (LKDH, p 76).

On the other hand, Srintil and the Dukuh Paruk people are actually trying to resist the bad fate line, but the rejection does not cancel the stipulated provisions. Also against the calamity that befalls them, the people of Dukuh Paruk accept it with resignation. In the presence of the fate, man is utterly powerless. However, on the other hand, TRDP, through the character of Rasus, implicitly rejects the belief that human destiny cannot be changed (RDP, pp. 138). According to Rasus, fate can be changed as long as humans want to try to change it. On the other hand, the RDP trilogy also implicitly rejected the religious system of the Dukuh Paruk people, which he considered wrong.

Now when it is shared, the structure of the relationship between man and fate, with a ruler, or God and man's attitude to that structure will be shaped as follows.

Chart 1. Structure of Relationship between Man and Authority
TRDP WORLD

SRINTIL receiving RULER refusing RASUS

Such a structure of relationships also applies to the relationship between man and other more concrete forces, such as relationships among human beings, human beings with nature, people with money, people with their customs, between men and women. *Priyayi*, men, nature, money, and tradition are in the position of rulers, while the *wong cilik*, women, and human beings generally take the position of servant.

The relationship between fellow human beings showing the pattern of the RulerServant relationship in the RDP trilogy is the relationship between *priyayi* and *wong cilik*. The *priyayi* in the RDP trilogy is described as very powerful, authoritarian, and arbitrary forces. In the same sense also includes the relationship between men and women. The rejection of the priyayi and men as rulers exists but is weak.

In the relationship between man and customs and myths, the rulers are the customs and myths, while the human being is a servant. Similarly in terms of the relationship between man and nature, and between man and money. The customs and myths of the TRDP are the belief systems of the Dukuh Paruk people, controlling the nature of thought and the natural sense, as a marker of mythic culture (van Peursen 1976: 42). The same is true of nature because nature is believed to be a manifestation of *adikodrati* powers so that they respect nature as well as respecting the spirits of their ancestors (Magnis-Suseno 1988: 82).

The customs and myths, nature, and money in the TRDP are manifested as evil forces, forces that destroy the joints of private life and the community of Dukuh Paruk. Against the customs and myths that developed in Dukuh Paruk, TRDP accepted (through the figure Srintil), and refused (through the figure of Rasus). To the power of the RDP trilogy money is not as firm as its rejection of the power of the spirit (LKDH, him 51). TRDP's rejection of the human belief that nature is a manifestation of evil forces is expressed through the description of nature strikingly and repeatedly. In the RDP trilogy the description of nature is not for the beauty of nature itself, but for its meaning for the narrator, to emphasize the meaning of a harmonious order and the power of God. Below is an illustration.

"Pohon dadap memilih cara yang hampir sama bagi penyebaran jenisnya. Biji dadap yang telah tua menggunakan kulit polongnya untuk terbang sebagai baling-baling. Bila angin berhembus, tampak seperti ratusan kupu terbang menuruti arah angin meninggalkan pohon dadap. Kalau tidak terganggu oleh anak-anak Dukuh Paruk, biji dadap itu akan tumbuh di tempat yang jauh dari induknya. Begitu perintah alam."

(RDP, pp. 6--7)

"The *dadap* tree chooses almost the same way for its species to spread. The old *dadap* seeds use its pods to fly as propellers. When the wind blows, it looks like hundreds of butterflies fly in the direction of the wind leaving the tree *dadap* If not disturbed by the child -Dukuh Paruk, the *dadap* seed will grow in a place far from its mother, as soon as the command of nature."

The above structural alignments not only stop at the alignment itself in which the problems are mutually exclusive. Between the structure of one with the other structure, there is a process of signification of reciprocity or dialectic signification. The abstract structure gives added meaning to the more concrete structure, whereas the more concrete structure implies an abstract structure.

With such structural patterns, the elements in the hierarchical structure not only include the structures mentioned above, but also the combination structure (parallel) which has been described in the previous section. The placement of narrative figures on two opposite poles - Srintil and the Dukuh Paruk people, on the one hand, Rasus on the other - in themselves implies both acceptance and rejection.

TRILOGY OF RDP AND ITS AUTHOR

Ahmad Tohari, the author of TRDP, is a *santri*. The predicate of the *santri* inherent in him reflects his ambiguous position, especially in the social structure of Javanese society. A *santri*, thus, has a dual identity, namely Java and Islam. As is known, Javanese culture is always overwhelmed by a strong belief in the things of the supernatural (Magnis-Suseno, 1988: 86). This shows that the Javanese religion derives from the teachings of pantheism. On the contrary, Islam is a religion of monotheism, a religion of *taukhid*, which teaches the unity of God. From this point of view, it is clear that in Ahmad Tohari as a person has been contained two cultural tendencies which are contradictory, but which cannot be avoided.

Based on information obtained from interviews with authors, and Ahmad Tohari's interview with *Pelita* daily, Dermawan (1986) concludes that TRDP is very closely related to the author's life history. His strong commitment to the *wong cilik*; revolutionary religious attitudes; its fundamental views; depictions of the likes of medical students, who chose to live in the village rather than the harshness of the city, Srintil at the crossroads, the modest Dukuh Paruk people; they are all depictions that can be seen as part of Ahmad Tohari's characteristics. That is why eliminating Ahmad Tohad from TRDP is difficult to do.

RDP TRILOGY AND CULTURAL SYSTEM OF THE AGE

The first years of Indonesian independence were periods of transitional power and political change of the state, from colonized countries into sovereign states. This transitional period is characterized by a lack of political order which in turn results in socio-cultural order. On the one hand the goal of liberating the state is achieved, on the other hand, the colonial trauma is still very felt inherent in the heart of the Indonesian nation.

As experienced by all colonized peoples, Indonesia also faced the problem of decolonization (Coalition, 1976: 49) during the transition. In the process of decolonization, the old norms and regulations that were considered feudal or colonial were broken into and replaced with new values. However, in the implementation of the breaking of the old value system, it became the goal that the new values aspired to be realized did not go unnoticed.

According to Koentjaraningrat (1976: 49), the problems of post-revolution and decolonization process in Indonesia are so slow that efforts to rehabilitate old economic means and infrastructure are neglected. Such political, social and economic situation was the backdrop of Indonesia's political run "unfinished revolution" until 1965 (Rahardjo in Madjid, 1991: 11), which was apparently greatly utilized by the communists to seize power.

Since the issuance of "Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret" the seat of the Indonesian government practically shifted into the hands of the New Order government. Issues about the acceleration of development to catch up Indonesia from developed countries was soon rolled. The main idea to accelerate the development of a developing country like Indonesia is transformation. According to Kayam (Achmad, 1983: 83), the main transformation takes place in the political field, namely the change of tribal society toward the nation state society. These ideas are motivated by the historical fact, namely, the socio-cultural division of society in ethnicity has proven to make the life of the community is fragile.

The process of transforming tribal culture into a culture of nationality lowers the second transformation process, namely the transformation of the culture of agricultural society to the post-agricultural society or industrial society (Kayam in Achmad 1983: 83). Choosing to be a nation-state means not only opening the cultural boundaries of tribal societies but also willing to open the national cultural boundaries of the nation to foreign cultures, the culture of industrialized nations (Lombard, 2000).

The characteristic of modernity adopted by industrialized nations is its very strong orientation to materialism, to the economic system of money. The entry of the money economy system has both social and cultural impacts at the same time. According to Goldmann (1977: 7-8) the emergence of the economic system of money that gave birth to a culture that is mediated or degraded. If before the money economy system was born the relationship between human with the product is natural, based on the value of use, then with the money economy system that relationship turned into a relationship on the basis of the exchange rate, with money as its intermediary.

Further Goldmann (1977: 7) explains that the value-oriented authentic value is actually still inherent in human life. However, its existence is depressed downward to the point of producing problematic human beings. In the TRDP the problematic situation is reflected from the life of the indigenous people of Dukuh Paruk who are alienated, poor, ignorant and still attached to the traditional mentality. The money economy system in the TRDP looks at the implementation of the customs and behaviors of its characters. Ceremony *bukak-klambu* held so that later ronggeng can charge a fee to people who use his services. Rasus can not follow the ceremony because the tariffs set by the ronggeng shaman can not be fulfilled.

In terms of structure as a whole, the RDP trilogy also shows the money economy system. As noted earlier, the RDP trilogy presents a structure imbued with an ambiguous attitude, by a problematic tendency. The dualism of this attitude is a hallmark of modern society, that is, the society that lies between the demands of the value of use coming from within itself with the exchange rate dictated from the outside inevitably.

The idea of modernism is a product of Western culture, both as a result of the economic system and the inclusion of Western education systems. Therefore, it is not surprising that the idea was born and developed in the city. This fact has given rise to conflicts between the city and the village. Cities are often identified with progress, while the village remains a symbol of backwardness (cf Teeuw, 1988). All civilizations are determined by the city as the center.

It is the fact that the idea of modernism always accompanied by the advancement of science and technology has grown a culture of competition and subjugated the values of religion, ethics, morals, and aesthetics. The noble values of man must be subject to the demands of rationalization and secularization (Kuntowijoyo in Achmad, 1983: 76). This fact reinforces humanity about the need for religion as a mental therapy to overcome the ideological crisis faced by this XXth century human (Ward, 1982).

In the 1970s came the thinking of young Islamic reformers, Nurcholish Madjid, about the refresher of the understanding of religion. According to Rahardjo (Achmad, 1983: 33) the subject matter proposed by Nurcholish Madjid at that time was the struggle between the ideological ideology of Islam with the idea of the nation state, the process of modernization and social change. He seeks to provide the "religious response" needed by Indonesian Muslims to face the process of social change influenced by the influx of Western thought and to provide a solution to the problem of Islamic contradictions against Pancasila.

Nurcholish Madjid seeks to explain the nature of religion and the essence of Islamic teachings as reflected in its most fundamental values. Thus, Muslims can place themselves in a country with the ideology of Pancasila. Indirectly Nurcholis Madjid tried to function the values of Pancasila in the meaning of Islami. This means that an Indonesian Muslim can accept, embrace, and believe in Pancasila as the state ideology without having to deny the Islamic creed.

THE RDP TRILOGY AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE AGE Social Groups in Java Society

Geertz (1983) creates a social group of Javanese societies on the basis of an economic perspective and a religious perspective. The grouping of societies on the basis of economics distinguishes between the *wong cilik* and the *priyayi*, while the grouping on the basis of divinity distinguishes between *abangan* and *santri*. Within the structure of traditional Javanese societies, the pair of groups are at odds, at least in disguise, but there is the possibility of integrating each other in shaping the overall social structure.

Javanese community polarization in the *wong cilik vs priyayi* and *abangan vs santri* has a long history. Since the entry of Islam to Java in the XIV century (Koentjaraningrat, 1984: 49) the process of dialogue between Java and Islam takes place with a lot and slow, unlike in Aceh or West Sumatra. The Sultanate of Demak who was listed as the first Islamic empire in Java was not able to defeat the Majapahit kingdom for granted. New on the second attack, namely in 1527 Majapahit subdued.

The spread of Islam in the interior may be carried out in tandem with the military expansion of the Demak sultanate. The Islamic broadcasters do their work by traveling as religious teachers or as pious people. The way they are used is like in the educational institutions of the pre-Islamic *mandala* but converted into self-help education called pesantren (Koentjaraningrat, 1984: 60). Later this educational institution then gave birth to the terminology of *santri* and its logical consequences gave rise to *abangan* terminology, as opposition. *Santri* is Javanese-Islamic, while *abangan* Islam-Jawa. Java-Islam is Javanese but the soul of Islam, while Islam-Java is Muslim but Javanese cultural mentality.

At the time of the Sultanate of Demak, the spread of Islam has made significant progress. This is thanks to the efforts of a guardian named Sunan Kalijaga, who tries to 'marry' Islam with Java through gamelan, wayang, sound art, and architecture. However, Sunan Kalijaga's idea was opposed by Sunan Giri. The latter entails the pursuit of pure Islamic teachings, without the elements of Hindu-Buddhism. Organization of the guardians broke out into two groups. The first group is called *Islam Abangan* or Tuban flow, led by Sunan Kalijaga, with followers of Sunan Bonang, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Gunung Jati. The second group is called *Islam Putihan*, led by Sunan Giri, with followers of Sunan Ampel and Sunan Drajat (Hashim, t.t.:42).

From the above description, it appears that since the Sultanate of Demak to premodernity Indonesia, Java-Islam or the famous *santri* class of coastal zeal has a tendency of open, egalitarian, cosmopolitan and democratic character. Meanwhile, the abangan group is famous for the politics and the hinterland culture that is *jumud*, feudal, and authoritarianism inland politics and culture (Najib, 1990).

Such conditions were further aggravated by the arrival of the Belan-da colonials. Political and socio-cultural politics between *abangan* and *santri* forces became a powerful weapon for the Dutch to support the implementation of the political *devide et impera*. One of the main strategies of the Netherlands to grip the island nation is how to widen or at least treat the conflict between the santri and the abangan. In other configurations also conflicts between *wong cilik* and *priyayi*.

In the political perspective of *abangan* power can transform anything into nationalist nationalism, while the *santri* have difficulty choosing words or actions that roughly do not arouse the suspicion of the authorities. The motto used by *abangan*-s is nationalism, national development, national integrity, or democracy of Pancasila. Clothes worn by *abangan*-s are secularism, materialism, and intellectualism. On the contrary, the *santri* community often has difficulty determining attitudes, first of all, whether he is Javanese (Indonesian) or a Muslim; which is primary, which is secondary; which is primordial, which is universal.

Toward the turn of the 1960s, modernization is a new theme in the context of socio-political changes in Indonesia. Most groups in Indonesia see it critically when faced with dominant nationalism, tradition, and religious understanding. Thinkers see that behind the idea of a hidden modernization of Western understandings, both from a political, economic and cultural point of view.

The *santri*, especially the younger generation, face two main issues in relation to the theme of modernization (Rahardjo in Madjid, 1991: 16). First, they must respond and take a stand against the modernization ideas that are urging the Indonesian people. They must respond because modernization is an enormous cultural and intellectual urgency, behind which stands the power of Western economy and capital. Second, they must take a stand, whether to participate in the development process, become a bureaucrat, or just be a spectator. In such situations, it is difficult to draw a clear line that by participating in the process of change and development means agreeing to all political policies taken by the government.

Facing such a question arises the question, why can *santri*-s not participate in leading the government, as it did in the 1940s and 1950s? Why are they always cornered into opposition groups, when they represent a large part of society? Why do some of them engage in rebellion, which consequently affects all Muslims? The question is no less disturbing is, why Muslims are always labeled as extremist and anti-Pancasila, but its moral principle no one is against the teachings of Islam?

Since 1968 the problem of modernization has received considerable seriousness from the *santri*. Spearheaded by young people incorporated in youth organizations such as HMI (Islamic Student Association), GPI (Islamic Youth Movement), PII (Indonesian Islamic Students), and PMII (Islamic Student Movement of Indonesia) are busy discussing problems of modernization. Their thoughts are contained in student newspapers such as *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, *Himbar Demokrasi*, *Gema Mahasiswa*, *Harian Kami*, and others.

Among the young thinkers of Islam came the name Nurcholish Madjid, whose ideas on religious teachings and attitudes were considered highly revolutionary at the time. He wrote, among other things, a long article entitled "Modernisasi ialah Rasionalisasi, bukan Westernisasi". He says that modernization is a rationalization sustained by moral dimensions, based on the principle of faith in God. For him, modernization is not westernized because in the westernization contained secularism.

The other two important ideas of Nurcholis Madjid are the problem of secularization and ijtihad (Effendi and Natsir, 1988: 81--82). Secularization is the translation of Islamic teachings that are global into worldly reality, while ijtihad is the use of human reason to translate the teachings of Islam. The two problems are considered important to understand the teachings of Islam dynamically, in accordance with the times. Madjid (1991: 80) says that what Indonesian Muslims really need, through their bachelors, is the courage to re-examine the established teachings of Islam and measure it again with the *yardstick* of Islam's own holy source, the Qur'an, and Sunnah.

The idea of Nurcholis Madjid, especially about secularization, received strong reactions from Orthodox *santri* and young generations. Because of that term, he was later accused of being a secularist, no less. Kamal Hassan branded him a "secular modernist." Nadjib (1990), for example, argues that national development should not focus its departure from the subjectivity of *santri* or *abangan*, but from the objectivity of development itself. As a result, national development should aim at creating people's welfare, social justice, and democracy. The Islam of a *santri* is enough to be placed in the heart, while the flag that is set up in front of his house is red and white. In addition, the historical reality also indicates that the polarization of *santri-abangan* is not the will of the Muslims, but is engineered by the 'elephant of the elephant'.

Ahmad Tohari was born on June 13, 1948, in Tinggarjaya village, Jatilawang subdistrict, Banyumas district, Central Java. He is the fourth child of 12 *santri* family brothers. His father was still alive at the head of the Office of Religious Affairs, and his mother was a merchant. His family is still strongly adhered to the old idea that children are not just a ball flower or home decoration; children is an investment that has an immediate economic value can be perceived benefits.

Such circumstances do not relax Tohari's spirit to add knowledge. He began to learn to read from the newspaper subscriptions of his father who was actively plunged into politics so when he entered elementary school he was able to read. Besides, he has a passion for watching puppets and reading fairy tales. His interest in the literary world may be said to have grown from his two hobbies.

After high school, he followed his brother who lives in Jakarta and had studied at the YARSI Medical Faculty (Yayasan Rumah Sakit Islam), but only until the third year. Then he entered the Faculty of Economics Unsoed, Purwokerto. In this college, he only survived a year later out again. The reason is simple, he does not fit with his friends who he thinks never seriously talk about science and books.

After two "failed" lectures he became an honorary employee at BNI 1946 Jakarta, then moved to the *Merdeka* general daily as editor of the script. Unable to live in Jakarta he returned to his hometown. After that, around 1981-1986, his trilogy was born. In his position as chief editor of *Amanah* magazine, he chose once a week to return to his hometown rather than settle in Jakarta.

From the summary of his life history above it is clear that Ahmad Tohari came from a group of *santri*. In the social structure of Javanese society, he belonged to the middle class. Having gone through the Western education system, it can also be classified as a modern *santri* generation. In terms of interpreting religious teachings and religious attitudes, Ahmad Tohari's views are much in common with the Nurcholish Madjid group.

Muslim Intellectuals Group in Indonesia

As mentioned before, in Ahmad Tohari there are two distinct cultural tendencies, namely Java and Islam. It was recorded clearly in his work. The RDP trilogy, on the one hand, presents social, cultural, political and religious views

that are very close to the ideas of the Muslim intellectuals, pioneered by Nurcholis Madjid and friends; on the other hand, it shows the views of the Javanese tendency in general.

As noted earlier, the Javanese generally argue that life is *pakem*, man only becomes the perpetrators of *dalang*'s will. This view causes the Javanese tend to accept the fate as it is, resigned, and lazy to try. Concepts such as *nrimo ing pandum*, *alon-alon waton kelakon*, *ana anwan pangan*, *uripe manungsa wis pinesthi ing Pangeran* show clearly the attitude of the fatalism of the Javanese (Hardjowirogo, 1983). Islam, on the other hand, teaches that fate is in the hands of men, not in the hands of God, as Allah says in the letter of Ar Ra'ad verse 11: "Verily Allah does not change the circumstances of a people so that they change the circumstances on themselves."

In addition to actualizing the teachings of Islam, in general, the RDP trilogy also actualizes the views which became the tendency of Muslim intellectuals in the 1970s. As Nurcholish Madjid and his friends, Ahmad Tohari also holds that Islam is a universal-minded religion. Therefore, the presence of Islam on earth must give a renaissance to the nature of it and can give *taukhid* enlightenment to mankind, regardless of race, color, religion, class, position, and so on.

This view is actualized in the overall structure of the RDP trilogy. The means to actualize these views is the character of Rasus. Despite having embraced Islam, or been a *santri*, Rasus has a strong commitment to *abangan* groups and people who are dependent. He does not disparage them as the average Muslim does against people of different faiths. Rasus sees the need to provide help to the people, even though he has to leave his army.

Like Nurcholish Madjid, Ahmad Tohari also holds that poverty and ignorance cause people to become kufr, not believing in God. Therefore, the first step that will be done by Rasus is to eradicate poverty and ignorance, before touching the issue of faith and divinity. It is like what is done by the Prophet when sent on earth, the first task he did was to fix morals.

Rasus's attitude is the attitude of an ideal *santri*, who became the ideals of Nurcholish Madjid and his friends. Like the young Muslim scholars, Ahmad Tohari also holds that Islam should not be used as an ivory tower or taken to a narrow-angle by sectarian thinking. Islam must stand on earth, giving answers to all human problems in order to achieve Allah's blessing. In other words, the character of Rasus in the RDP trilogy has embodied the idea of 'secularization' from the Nurcho? Ides Madjid group.

After Indonesia gained independence the opportunity to integrate with fellow countrymen for the *santri* wide open. However, they still face socio-cultural, political, ideological, and psychological barriers. The conflicts surrounding the constraints faced by Islamic reformers are also recorded in the RDP trilogy (JB, pp. 212-213).

In addition to the criticisms of the government, which directly or indirectly have created the gap between the rich and the poor, criticism of corrupt political injustice, the idea of the Nurcholish Madjid group is essentially a correction of Muslims' religious attitudes. In the RDP trilogy, the correction of self is exemplified by the contemplation of the character of Rasus as follows.

"Lama sekali aku mengembara dalam alam permenungan sebelum akhirnya aku memperoleh jawaban yang memadai. Jawaban itu datang bersamaan dengan munculnya kesadaran bahwa sejauh ini aku telah keliru bersikap terhadap Dukuh Paruk. Selama ini aku mencintai Dukuh Paruk dengan cara membiarkannya lelap dengan mimpi cabul, mengigau dengan segala macam sumpah-serapah. Aku telah sekian lama membiarkan kumbang tahi beterbangan bebas, membiarkan koreng merayapi kaki dan tangan anak-anak sedarah dan membiarkan mereka puas makan singkong. Aku alpa membiarkan tanah airku yang kecil, buta dan pekak terhadap kasih sayang Ilahi, kasih sayang sejati yang menjadi motivasi dasar keterberadaan Dukuh Paruk bersama segenap isinya. Semula aku berkeyakinan sikapku terhadap Dukuh Paruk sudah benar; membiarkan tanah airku hidup seperti apa adanya adalah sama berharga dengan membiarkan lumut atau bunga bangkai tumbuh dalam kebebasannya. Atau membiarkan katak berjuang antara hidup dan mati dalam mulut ular. Atau bersikap toleran terhadap cerpelai yang sekali-sekali mencuri anak ayam agar kehidupan jenisnya selamat dari kepunahan." (JB, p. 211)

"For a long time, I wandered in the ponderous world before I finally got an adequate answer. These answers came with the awareness that I have so far been wrong with the Dukuh Paruk, so far I have loved Dukuh Paruk by letting it fall with an obscene dream, delirious with all sorts of oaths, I have for so long allowed the dung beetles to fly freely, letting the scabs crawl into the limbs and hands of the children of blood and allowing them to be content to eat cassava I neglected to let my small, blind, to the Divine compassion, the true compassion that became the basic motivation of the existence of Hamlet Paruk with all its contents. Initially, I believed my attitude towards Dukuh Paruk was right, to let my homeland live as it is is as valuable as letting the moss or carcass flower grow in its freedom. Letting frogs fight between life and death in the snake's mouth u being tolerant of stoats that occasionally steal chicks so that life of its kind survives from extinction." (JB, p. 211)

Wahib (Effendi and Natsir, 1988: 197) considered that democracy in Indonesia has not been fully functioning. It is not solely due to the authoritarian attitude of the government but is also determined by the attitude of the community. The rise and fall of democracy depend on the two social components, government, and people. Like Wahib, Ahmad Tohari also criticizes a hierarchical social system, which can kill democracy (JB, pp. 111-112). Criticism of the hierarchical social system is not only in certain parts but in general. The structure of the RDP trilogy is imbued with both the rejection and acceptance of the hierarchical structure.

In the field of culture, the young Islamic reformers also had completely different ideas with the earlier *santri*. The early scholars or *kyai* held the view that art in Islam was not a valuefree activity. Islam teaches that the purpose of human life is to serve God (Adz Dzariyat: 56) so that art is also in order to seek the pleasure of Allah. It may be because of his understanding of *taukhid* that the Islamic art, in general, cannot develop.

In the view of a group of Muslim intellectuals such as Abdurrahman Wahid, for example, art is indeed an appreciation and practice of religious teachings. Art is a vehicle of worship (Wahid, 1984b: 234), which in Islam cannot be limited only to aspects of ritual and liturgy alone. According to him, worship is to live life as a whole in order to reference faith and morals that have been established by God.

About the art material, Abdurrahman Wahid said that art in Islam as part of Islamic civilization has two main attitudes. First, it has an eclectic character, namely that Islam is able to absorb from any source of inspiration. He gave the example of al-Zais fables entitled *Kitabulhayan*, which apparently took many elements from Greece, Rome, and India. Similarly, when the Islamic philosopher Al Farabi wrote a book entitled *Negara Utama*, he took the principles of Plato's government. In other words, the book is the source of the Qur'an, the skeleton of Plato's thought. Secondly, Islam is a universal religion so that the literature on which Islam is based should not be limited to its use only by and for Muslims only.

From the historical projection, it appears that the Islamize, not the person, not the chassis, and not the material, namely Al Quran and Hadith. Since literature is not something of a legal-formalistic nature, literature does not have to originate in the Qur'an and Hadith. Religious experience has its own legitimacy that is not based on official sources. In other words, according to Wahid (1984b: 270--271), literary reference is life itself.

Ahmad Tohari also has a similar view, which is actualized in the entire RDP trilogy. "Cultural Bid'ah" Ahmad Tohari looks at the attitude of Rasus towards ronggeng art. Rasus argues that ronggeng is not an art that is forbidden or forbidden in Islam as long as it can be entered into the soul of *taukhid*, excluding sex scenes. What is forbidden by Islam is not rong—gengnya, but the freedom of sex because of freedom of sex violates the provisions of God.

Abdurahman Wahid's view of Islamic art is also seen in the structure of the RDP trilogy. As a literary work of a double-faced RDP trilogy: the soul of the Qur'an, the skeleton of the puppets; his natural setting expressed harmony and piety to God, his social setting expressed the denial of God's laws. Because of the dual and contradictory spirit of the structure, in the Indonesian literary constellation, the RDP trilogy can occupy two positions at once. The RDP trilogy can be regarded as a general literary work, it can also be diseased as a religious literature.

CONCLUSION

Based on all the above description can be concluded the following matters. With the pattern of hierarchical and combinational structures (parallel) that contain the meaning of dualism, namely acceptance as well as rejection, also means expressing the worldview of Java and the worldview of the Islamic world. Furthermore, the Islamic worldview in this context is the *santri* worldview expressed by relying on the concept of *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (leading to good and combating evil) and optimism. This "da'wah" is voiced in peaceful ways, as has been done by the *wali* in presenting the teachings of Islam, and finds its momentum and relevance to the ideas of young Muslim intellectuals who spearheaded Nurcholish Madjid and his friends in the 1970s, teachings of Islam within the state of Pancasila.

The worldview is the product of various levels of social relationships, (1) the relationship between the author as a person and his or her family environment, (2) the relationship between the author as a writer and his / her social environment, and (3) the relationship between the author as a member of the youth group Islam with the environment and in social systems that are undergoing a process of great and conflicting change.

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