

Bridging Faith and Tradition: A Discourse on Moderate Islamic Path in Jambi Malay *Seloko*

Adeni Adeni,^{1*} Osman Koroglu,² Rafi'ud Derajat¹

¹Department of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting, Faculty of Da'wah and Communication, Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, Semarang Indonesia, ²Department of New Media and Communication Sciences, Epoka University, Tiranë, Albania

Abstract

Islam-based local wisdom is unique because it represents a moderate religious path. This article analyzes how the moderate path works in the Jambi Malay traditional *seloko*. The Jambi Malay people have customs that guide their lives. By using a qualitative method based on content analysis, where data was collected by (1) reading Jambi Malay traditional *seloko* documents and (2) interviews with Jambi Malay traditional leaders, this study proves that Jambi Malay traditional *seloko* displays a harmonious dialogue between Islam and the locality. In the case of the *seloko adat* regarding washing the village (*cuci kampung*), for example, as a punishment for committing adultery, the discipline of stoning (*rajm*) or flogging (*jild*) as per Islamic law is not applied, even though it is said that the Jambi custom is a custom that originates from Islamic Law. In this case, the people of Jambi use a substitute punishment for stoning and flogging, which is marrying the two adulterers. The Islamic law based on the Qur'an and hadith textually is not applied as the Indonesian state is not based on sharia. It is a form of dialogue between Islam and Jambi local wisdom according to the concept of the moderate Islamic path. Apart from that, there are several other values, such as tolerance, democracy, and nationality. The findings of this study can strengthen the study of Islamic moderation in the context of local wisdom amidst various damaging accusations against local Islam as impure Islam.

Kearifan lokal berbasis Islam memiliki keunikan dalam konteks dialog Islam dan lokalitas, yang umumnya merepresentasikan suatu jalan keagamaan yang moderat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis

*Corresponding Authors: Adeni Adeni (adeni@walisongo.ac.id), Faculty of Da'wah dan Communication, Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, Jl. Prof Dr. HAMKA, Kampus 3, Ngaliyan, Semarang 50185, Indonesia.

bagaimana jalan moderat bekerja dalam seloko adat Melayu Jambi. Masyarakat Melayu Jambi memiliki adat yang menjadi pedoman bagi kehidupan mereka. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif berbasis konten analisis, yang mana data dikumpulkan dengan 1) membaca dokumen seloko adat Melayu Jambi dan 2) wawancara dengan tokoh adat Melayu Jambi, studi ini membuktikan bahwa seloko adat Melayu Jambi menampilkan dialog harmonis antara Islam dan lokalitas. Dalam kasus seloko adat tentang cuci kampung misalnya sebagai hukuman bagi pelaku zina, tidak diberlakukan hukuman rajam atau cambuk sebagaimana syariat Islam, meskipun dikatakan adat Jambi adalah adat yang bersumber dari syariat Islam. Dalam hal ini, masyarakat Jambi menerapkan hukuman pengganti rajam dan cambuk, yaitu menikahkan kedua pelaku zina. Adat Jambi tidak menerapkan syariat Islam karena menyesuaikan dengan negara Indonesia yang tidak berbasis syariat. Ini merupakan bentuk dialogis Islam dengan kearifan lokal Jambi sejalan dengan konsep jalan Tengah Islam. Selain itu, terdapat beberapa nilai lain seperti toleransi, demokrasi, dan kebangsaan. Temuan studi ini dapat memperkuat kajian moderasi Islam dalam konteks kearifan lokal di tengah berbagai tuduhan negative terhadap Islam lokal sebagai Islam yang tidak murni.

Keywords: Jambi Malay; moderate path; *seloko adat*

Introduction

Neo-Salafi puritan Muslim groups want Islamic practices not to be contaminated by local wisdom. Studies conducted by Asy'ari (2013), Wahib (2017), Wahid (2012), Yakin (2018), Duderija (2010), and Adeni (2020) prove that there is a tendency for the puritan movement to reject all forms of Islam based on local elements. However, the facts show that the meeting of Islam and local wisdom has produced a varied and dynamic but substantive face of Islam.

Locality elements can contribute to strengthening the existence of Islamic teachings anytime and anywhere. "Indonesian Islam" is a form of local wisdom that synergizes with Islamic teachings. Indonesian Islam is Islam that refers to moderate ways of interpreting religious texts (Azra, 2006; Hefner, 2002). An immoderate text interpretation can lead to other justifications, such as fundamentalist, radical, or extremist. In Indonesia, religion cannot be separated from culture; even cultural position is decisive in describing Muslims' religious behavior and political preferences (Azra, 2006; Verbos & Humphries, 2015).

One of the local wisdoms still in Indonesia is the Jambi Malay local wisdom which is summed up in verse “*Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah.*” Jambi's traditional *seloko*, based on Islamic law, is interesting because it contains the dialogue between Islam and local wisdom. Islamic teachings are not applied textually but contextually to the social conditions of the Jambi people. As an example, there is a traditional verse, “*Tegak mengintai lenggang, duduk menanti kelam, tegak berdua begandeng dua, salah bujang gadis dikawinkan*” (Lembaga Adat Jambi, 2001).

The point is that boys and girls strongly suspected of having violated customs and causing shame to the village must be married. The punishment is not stoning (*rajm*) and lashing (*jild*) as stated in the Qur'an. Indigenous Jambi takes the moderate path by giving warnings/advice to the perpetrators. Then, if they still repeat their actions, a *cuci kampung* fine of 1 goat and 20 bushels of rice is imposed, and they must be married.

Several previous studies have only discussed the existence and role of traditional *seloko* in Jambi society, such as the study of Kurniadi and Zulkarnain (2021), who saw that *seloko* as an oral tradition contains advice and instructions for the life of the Jambi people. Likewise, Supian (2018), in his study of the philosophy of traditional *seloko* sees *seloko* as a sentence that is rich in meaning, rich in philosophy, and rich in religious values which can be a guide for actualization in the life of a nation and state society. Furthermore, al-Juwaini (2017) stated that *seloko* is often used in several activities, such as *menganta tando* agenda, religious lectures, conflict resolution meetings, and day-to-day interaction. The traditional *seloko* of the Jambi Malay community is compatible with the da'wah message, which includes aqidah, sharia messages, and moral messages. A similar study was also carried out by al-Munir and Ja'far (2016), who looked at the role of the traditional school in Jambi Malay's leadership.

In addition, Kurnain (2007) studied Islamic law in Jambi Malay custom. The findings show the attitude of the Jambi traditional middle way in appreciating Islamic law. Ahmad (2014) also gave the same argument in his study of integrating Islamic values in Jambi Malay customs, concluding that

Jambi Malay contains the spirit of universal Islamic teachings through a harmonious dialogue between Islam and tradition. This dialogical relationship between Islam and local wisdom in Jambi can also be seen in the study of Noor (2019), found that the da'wah movement with local wisdom in Jambi Malay culture resulted in a close relationship between Islam and Jambi Malay culture; such as the modification of Islamic values into customary law which generally uses *seloko* language. This reality shows harmony between the local culture, the al-Qur'an, and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Rustam (2018) explored a similar topic in a deeper ethnographic study. According to Rustam, Jambi Malay cultural values originate from Islam, the implementation of which can be seen in the Jambi Malay community who adhere to the Islamic faith as the principle of their universal view, highly respect leaders, highly protect resam customs, including abstinence from prohibitions and customs, prioritize older adults or seniors, prioritize ties family and friendship relations, be polite, and cooperate.

These studies have yet to examine the ways of moderate Islam in dialogue with Jambi's traditional *seloko*. Thus, this study aims to fill this scientific gap, proving that the traditional *seloko* of Jambi Malay reflects a moderate way so that Jambi custom has an Islamic substance, although not formally. The study also emphasizes that Jambi Malay customs differ from what some people consider to be local customs that are polluted and far from the truth of Islam. The concept used is the concept of a moderate way, stating that the message of Islam must adapt to the situation and conditions of the community to which it is preached (Zaidan, 1997). We used a qualitative method by applying content analysis techniques (Sudaryanto, 1993) with several stages, namely 1) determining the Jambi traditional *seloko* document to be studied, namely the book *Pokok-pokok Adat Pucuk Jambi Sembilan Lurah*; 2) identifying relevant customary *seloko*; 3) exploring the contents of *seloko* which reflects the relationship between Islam and locality. Meanwhile, interviews were conducted with religious figures who were also traditional figures, namely Suhaimi, Burhani, Muhammad Shalih, M. Amri, Abdul Mu'in, and Abdul Mannan. These

choices were due to their involvement in preserving customs in Jambi society, especially in Beringin Sanggul Village, Jambi.

Jambi Traditional *Seloko* Based on Ritual and Law

***Seloko* Related to *Pampas* (*Pampah*) Legal Tradition**

Pampas is a customary law that relates to acts of physical harm to others in the form of killing or injuring. *Pampas* customs can be carried out whenever a criminal act occurs (Roni, 2021). *Pampas* law in Jambi Malay custom is a law made by traditional figures and religious leaders against someone who commits a crime (*al-jarāim*), ranging from low crime (low injuries, high injuries, and serious injuries) to major crimes in the act of killing or taking the life of another person. The form of customary implementation is to make peace between the heirs who were killed or injured (victims) and the perpetrators. Usually, this settlement is carried out at the Village Hall (*balai desa*), attended by three historical figures, namely *tetuo adat* (*tokoh adat*/traditional leader), religious leaders, government figures, and the general public. The details of *Pampas* are as follows:

Luka-lekih dipampas

This traditional *seloko* relates to the act of physically injuring another person. Anyone who hurts another person's body/physically is punished with the obligation to pay *Pampas* divided into three categories: first, a low wound (*luka rendah*), with *Pampas* of a chicken, a bushel of rice, and two pieces of coconut; second, high injuries (*luka tinggi*), with the *Pampas* of a goat and 20 (twenty) bushels of rice. Third, serious injuries (*luka parah*), in the form of half punishment of the *mati dibangun*, are explained below.

Mati dibangun

It relates to the act of killing or depriving another person's life. The perpetrators were subject to a penalty called *mati dibangun*, with the obligation to pay a fine of 1 (one) buffalo, 100 (one hundred) bushels of rice, and 1 (one) white cloth (Lembaga Adat Jambi, 2001, p. 32).

Regarding the *Pampas* law, the Qur'an discusses the law of *qishās* as in Surah al-Baqarah verse 178.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِصَاصُ فِي الْقَتْلِ ۗ الْحُرُّ بِالْحُرِّ وَالْعَبْدُ بِالْعَبْدِ
وَالْأُنثَىٰ بِالْأُنثَىٰ ۗ فَمَنْ عُفِيَ لَهُ مِنْ أَخِيهِ شَيْءٌ فَاتَّبِعْ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَأَدَاءٌ إِلَيْهِ بِإِحْسَانٍ
ۗ ذَلِكَ تَخْفِيفٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَرَحْمَةٌ ۗ فَمَنِ اعْتَدَىٰ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَلَهُ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

“O ye who believe! the law of equality is prescribed to you in cases of murder: the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the woman for the woman. But if any remission is made by the brother of the slain, then grant any reasonable demand, and compensate him with handsome gratitude, this is a concession and a Mercy from your Lord. After this whoever exceeds the limits shall be in grave penalty.”¹

This verse contains two crucial aspects, namely: first, imposing appropriate punishment. Second, to punish by imposing a fine (*diyāt*).

The implementation of Jambi Malay custom follows the principle of cultural da'wah that combines text and context (al-Bayanuni, 1995) to facilitate the community. In this case, the people of Jambi did not apply qishash law but chose *diyāt* or paid fines for minor or major crimes. What the people of Jambi have done in this matter is a form of contextualization of the Qur'anic text regarding qishash law. It is carried out with several considerations, according to the Jambi traditional leader, Abdul Muin:

“Jambi is part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, which does not make Islam the basis of the state, so applying Islamic law in textual interpretation can trigger social conflict. The people of Jambi like to be gentle and forgive one another. Every existing problem can always be resolved in a family way” (Abdul Muin, personal interview, 2022).

It seems that, based on the verse of al-Baqarah earlier, the qishash is annulled on the condition that the heir who is killed does not give any reaction or forgive the criminal. Of course, the traditional elders in Jambi apply contextual principles of Islamic teachings to criminals. Jambi traditional

¹ The translation of the Qur'anic verses in this article refers to the translation of the Qur'an by Abdullah Yusuf Ali in *The Noble Quran* - <https://quran.com/>

elders chose not to use qishash law in the form of an equal punishment between the perpetrator and the victim, such as losing a hand was punished accordingly by removing the hand, or losing one's life (killed) was punished accordingly by losing one's life too, and so on.

The law chosen is the second law, namely the payment of a fine from the perpetrator to the victim on condition that the victim's family has forgiven him. To meet the demands of the Qur'anic text, which says "who has been forgiven (*fa man 'ufiya labu*)," the families of the perpetrators and victims sit together to talk privately and forgive each other. Even further, the family of the perpetrator and the victim's family often lift or bind the family ties between them so that the emotional wounds or grudges in the hearts of each perpetrator and victim can be eliminated (Amri, personal interview, 2022).

However, it leaves a problem related to the number of diyats required, which seems too low to realize proper punishment for criminals. This *Pampas* law is also tentative and contextual, which can change and be adapted to the needs of today's people. One religious' leader in Jambi acknowledged that "what the Shari'a wants is not fully commensurate with the *Pampas* customary law tradition applied by the Jambi Malay community. However, one thing is certain: the Jambi Malay community has at least sought a punish-ment to sanction the perpetrators of crimes" (Syamsudin, personal interview, 2022).

Jambi people realize that crime cannot be tolerated because crime can damage social stability. Of course, what the Jambi people do is not only for partial purposes but is a goal that is in line with the objectives of establishing syaria' law in doing da'wah, which is called *maqāsid shari'ah*, namely to 1) maintain the benefit of religion, 2) protect the soul, 3) maintain the mind, 4) maintaining offspring, and 5) maintaining property and honor, and 6) maintaining the environment (Zaidan, 1997).

Thus, the people of Jambi have carried out the universal message of Islamic law by taking the second option from the legal content of the verse al-Baqarah above. The people of Jambi do not let crime go unpunished. Of course, the Jambi people are familiar with the term social sanctions, where

people who are not given customary sanctions for their criminal actions will be shunned and ostracized from society. Thus, *Pampas* custom is a form of moral and social concern for perpetrators and victims.

Furthermore, it can be said that *Pampas* customary law was initially sourced from the Shari'a, but the amount of the fine determined refers to the customs prevailing in Jambi. *Pampas* law refers to the universal mission of Islamic law, which is to spread goodness to all humanity. So, this *Pampas* custom can apply to anyone, not only Muslims but also non-Muslims who live in Jambi.

Traditional *Seloko* Related to the *Cuci kampung* Ritual

Cuci kampung is a tradition related to sanctions for immoral actors in Jambi society. It is called washing the village (*cuci kampung*) because the people of Jambi feel that the town where they live have been polluted by immoral acts committed by men and women, so they must clean up the village. In one version of the opinion, it is said that *cuci kampung* means to reject the reinforcements arising from immoral acts. At a practical level, the *cuci kampung* tradition is a customary ritual to give punishment to those who commit wrong (sinful) actions, namely those that occur between single girls or between single girls and people who are married.

Regarding this ritual, the Jambi traditional elders explained it in *seloko adat*: tegak mengintai lenggang, duduk menanti kelam, tegak berdua begandeng dua, salah bujang gadis dikawinkan. It means that if there is a relationship between boys and girls or married people who are strongly suspected of violating the applicable customary rules, then they must be married off. In the traditional language, it is stated, “mereka yang membuat malu kampung, tanpa *sisik siang* harus dikawinkan” (Burhani, personal interview, 2022).

There are several versions of the *cuci kampung* punishment applied in Jambi Malay custom, namely: 1) It is advised on the actions they have taken. It seems that this applies to those who are still in the process of approaching immoral (adultery) but have not yet committed adultery, so they are given

advice. 2) However, suppose they have been proven to have committed adultery. In that case, they will be punished with a *cuci kampung* fine of 1 (one) goat and 20 (twenty) bushels of rice for boy and girl cases, but those who are married (have a husband or wife) are fined by slaughtering a buffalo. 3) They must be married off. It applies to boys and girls. However, some say that there is no need to get married as long as the male (male) and female (girl) families do not feel aggrieved by the act of adultery. However, the majority of the Jambi Malay community requires that single men and girls who have committed immorality marry off. As for married people, village meetings are usually held by presenting both parties and their respective legal spouses. The two parties who commit adultery do not need to be married if their legal partner can still accept and forgive the perpetrator and the perpetrator still loves their legal partner. However, suppose the legal partners of the perpetrators do not accept and do not forgive. In that case, the two perpetrators must be married after both are divorced from their respective legal partners (Kurnain, 2007). 4) However, there are also other versions of several customary practices, namely that the perpetrators of adultery are expelled from the village because they are considered to have polluted the village (Syamsudin, personal interview, 2022).

The various versions of the customary implementation are not a problem for the people of Jambi because all of them have the same essence, namely, giving punishment/sanctions to the perpetrators of adultery.

The execution of the punishment was carried out in a traditional ritual at the village hall, which many people witnessed and attended. We were once involved in a *cuci kampung* ritual event where the perpetrators were those who were married and had legal partners. They are unmarried because they are still committed to building good relations with their legal partners. They were only fined for washing the village by slaughtering a buffalo sacrificed at a village hall consumed and witnessed by many people. It was done after they were asked to leave the village to restore its good name.

It seems that the *cuci kampung* ritual is not found in the Qur'an. The Qur'an of Surah al-Nūr verse 2 states:

الرَّانِيَةُ وَالرَّانِي فَاجْلِدُوا كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنْهُمَا مِائَةَ جَلْدَةٍ ۚ وَلَا تَأْخُذْكُمْ بِهِمَا رَأْفَةٌ فِي دِينِ اللَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ۚ وَلِيَشْهَدَ عَدَاِبَهُمَا طَائِفَةٌ مِّنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۚ

“The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication,- flog each of them with a hundred stripes: Let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if ye believe in Allah and the Last Day: and let a party of the Believers witness their punishmen.”

According to this verse, a person who commits adultery must be whipped one hundred times (*fajlidū kulla wāḥidin minhumā mi'ata jaldah*), or in the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim stated that unmarried men and women (single girls) or adulterers *ghayr muḥṣan* are whipped one hundred times and exiled to a faraway place for one year, and for those who are married (have a partner) or are called *muḥṣan* adulterers, subject to stoning (stoned to death) (al-'Asqalanī, 2017). Of course, the punishment of caning or stoning does not seem to align with what is applied in the traditional life of the Jambi Malay community. However, the Jambi Malay custom is still a *syara'* based custom for several reasons, namely:

First, this tradition of washing the village contains the spirit of universal Islamic teachings as the primary goal for the revelation of the Qur'an (Hamdi, 2018). The Jambi Malay traditional elders said:

“The non-implementation of stoning or lashing as contained in the Qur'an and hadith was not deliberately contradictory to the Qur'an. Precisely, it is intended to appreciate the universal spirit of Islamic teachings in creating a harmonious social order. The decision was made considering that Indonesia is not a country based on Islamic law” (Muhammad Salih, personal interview, 2022).

For the Jambi people, the purpose of enacting the village washing customary law is to provide a lesson for the perpetrators and other people who follow the village washing tradition so they do not do the same thing. The keyword for applying this punishment is a deterrent effect. This punishment was chosen to have a deterrent effect on the perpetrators. Thus, even though the Jambi Malay community does not impose caning and

stoning as the law of the Qur'an and hadith, the imposition of punishments such as washing the village is a legal remedy that can be appreciated. This is, of course, much better than no sanctions at all.

One religious' leader in Jambi said:

“In principle, the punishment that is oriented towards giving a deterrent effect to the perpetrators is in the same position as the main objective of Islamic law to be revealed (*maqasid syari'ah*) although, of course, the village washing law does not necessarily free adulterers from punishment before God in the Hereafter.” (Suhaimi, personal interview, 2022).

With a different description, a religious figure, Abdul Manan said:

“Jambi people are people who understand customs. If there is the temperament of a single girl or anyone from society who makes a mistake, then they are subject to customary sanctions. It is the village washing custom. This village wash is a symbol of our commitment to morals. Now, washing the village aligns with the spirit of Islamic teachings.” (Abdul Mannan, personal interview, 2022).

Second, the absence of stoning or lashing in Jambi Malay society is because Indonesia is not an Islamic state or a country that makes Islamic law the basis of the state (Islamic state). The application of the stoning law is contrary to the principles of human rights and article 338 of the KUHP, which reads: “Whoever deliberately takes the lives of other people, because he is guilty of murder, is subject to imprisonment for a maximum of 15 years” and Article 340 of KUHP, “Whoever deliberately and with prior planning takes the life of another person, is threatened with premeditated murder, with a capital punishment or imprisonment for life or a specified period, for a maximum of twenty years.”

On that basis, the traditional Jambi Malay elders determined a middle way to reconcile *adat* and shari'a to maintain public morality. What was done was to oblige both men and women who committed adultery to pay a fine, then both had to be married off, and some were asked to leave the village until conditions were truly conducive.

The attempt at punishment in the form of marrying off adulterers is not contrary to Islamic teachings. However, it aligns with the spirit of the Qur'an itself, namely Surah al-Nūr verse 2. It is just that social construction that

develops in society shows that punishment for perpetrators of adultery is simply whipped and stoned according to Islamic teachings as if there were no other options other than these two laws.

This verse is a reference to the moderate attitude of the people of Jambi in giving punishment to the perpetrators of adultery. Thus, the Jambi custom remains a custom that is in harmony with the universal principles of Islamic teachings. Uniquely, the punishment as above applies to all religions where they are part of Jambi society. If there are non-Muslims living in a village in Jambi, then they commit adultery, they will be fined, married off, or asked to leave their hometown.

Traditional *Seloko* in Dealing with Communal Conflict

In maintaining social harmony, the Jambi Malay community determines how to get along with each other. The Jambi Malay community has an existing law regarding this, which is explained in a traditional *seloko* which reads, “memekik mengentam tanah, menggulung lengan baju, menyingsing kaki celana”. The act of inviting, challenging, provoking, terrorizing, or igniting the emotions of others to conflict or fight is subject to customary law. This punishment can be divided into two parts. first, if the position of the person who is challenged or invited to fight is on the same level as the person who is challenged (also called an ordinary person), then the punishment is one chicken, 1 (one) bushel of rice, and two coconuts. However, if the position of the challenged person is higher or older than the challenger, the penalty is 1 (one) goat, 20 (twenty) bushels of rice, and 20 (twenty) coconuts (Lembaga Adat Jambi, 2001).

This customary punishment is an attempt by the people of Jambi to maintain social relations between communities. Uniquely, this punishment is a contextualization or translation of the contents of the Qur'an by traditional elders in the Jambi community to realize the message of the Qur'an about advocating maintaining social relations in the life of the Jambi people. In this case, the people of Jambi use their creativity to determine what law to give to those who destroy social relations. As mentioned above,

the details of the law are not found in the Qur'an or hadith but are implemented in the Jambi Malay custom.

Some verses in the Qur'an prohibit people from being arrogant, raising their voices, boasting about themselves, and walking with arrogance, as found in the Qur'an Surah Luqmān verses 18-19.

وَلَا تُصَعِّرْ خَدَّكَ لِلنَّاسِ وَلَا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ فَخُورٍ ۝ (١٨) وَأَقْصِدْ فِي مَشْيِكَ وَاغْضُضْ مِنْ صَوْتِكَ ۚ إِنَّ أَنْكَرَ الْأَصْوَاتِ لَصَوْتُ الْحَمِيرِ (١٩)

“And swell not thy cheek (for pride) at men, nor walk in insolence through the earth; for Allah loveth not any arrogant boaster. And be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice; for the harshest of sounds without doubt is the braying of the ass.”

In addition, efforts to maintain social harmony are also found in verses of the Qur'an that encourage us to reconcile disputes/disputes, such as the Qur'an Surah al-Hujurāt: 9-10.

وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا ۚ فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الْأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ ۚ فَإِنْ فَاءَتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا بِالْعَدْلِ وَأَقْسِطُوا ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ (٩) إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَ أَخَوَيْكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ (١٠)

“If two parties among the Believers fall into a quarrel, make ye peace between them: but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of Allah; but if it complies, then make peace between them with justice, and be fair: for Allah loves those who are fair (and just). The Believers are but a single Brotherhood: So make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers; and fear Allah, that ye may receive Mercy.”

Efforts to maintain harmonious social relations can also be seen from the prohibition to challenge or frighten other people as contained in the hadith narrated by Bukhari-Muslim originating from Abu Hurairah, which states

that the Prophet said, “Whoever points a gun at his brother, the angels will curse him.” even though it is his sibling” (al-Nawawī, 2002, p. 422). Likewise, the Prophet said in a hadith contained in Sunan Abu Dawud that, “it is not lawful for a Muslim to frighten other Muslims.”

These hadiths discuss the prohibition of causing chaos in society. What is known as terrorism, which has been happening lately, is in line with the prohibition contained in this hadith, that it is forbidden for anyone to terrorize or frighten other people.

The people of Jambi have taken a socio-cultural approach to understanding these verses and hadiths. According to one Jambi traditional leader, “These customs and details of fines are based on social and cultural reasoning made by traditional elders in the Jambi community. The details explain the meaning of the prohibitions against violating social ethics contained in the Qur’an and hadith” (Suhaimi, personal interview, 2022).

The spirit contained in traditional *seloko* related to this topic is maintaining harmony between community members. People need a set of rules that can guide and control their lives in the process of daily interaction, and the details of punishment in Jambi Malay custom are an attempt to provide reasonable boundaries in the process of social interaction.

Jambi Traditional *Seloko* in the Social-Political-Social Sector

As for what is meant by Jambi traditional *seloko* in the social field are *seloko*, which contain advice and motivation for relations between communities, religions, groups, participation in the state.

1. *Seloko adat*: “*Dibulekkan karena nak digulingkan; dipipihkan karno nak dilayangkan; bulek aek kareno pembuluh; bulek kato dek mufakat*”

This *seloko* can be said as a *seloko* that contains a message about democracy, where any decision is built based on consensus deliberation. Deliberation has become a tradition that has long been rooted in the life of the people of Jambi. Jambi people always emphasize the principle of deliberation to produce consensus on various important matters that require mutual agreement. The principles prove that the people of Jambi are not

oriented towards the interests of individuals or just one group in decision-making but for the involvement of all individuals and groups.

According to *adat* figure Ahmad Muiz, this *seloko adat* is in line with the verses of the Qur'an Surah al-Shūrā verse 38.

وَالَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِرَبِّهِمْ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ ۖ وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَىٰ بَيْنَهُمْ ۖ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ (٣٨)

“Those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular Prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual Consultation; who spend out of what We bestow on them for Sustenance.”

As the Jambi Malay custom is a custom that originates from *syara'*, the principle of deliberation that is applied is also a concept derived from the Qur'an. One traditional leader, when asked about this, said:

“It is true that the people of Jambi are a democratic society. There should not be a person in our society who thinks he is the most righteous or the best. Whenever there is a social problem, we refer to the principle of deliberation” (Abdul Mannan, personal interview, 2022).

Burhani who is a religious figure, emphasized:

“This deliberation is already in the Qur'an. The teachings of deliberation are related to social problems that require solutions. Deliberations in this village are based on a meeting of three traditional leaders: traditional leaders, religious leaders, and government figures. Everyone is allowed to express their opinion in public meetings” (Burhani, personal interview, 2022).

Thus, the people of Jambi reject ways that are not wise or ways of physical violence in solving community problems. Even if there is physical violence, the settlement is always done through deliberation for consensus.

2. *Seloko adat*: “*Nan manih jalan seiring, nan elok jalan se ampar, nak lomak kato nan seiyo*”

This *seloko* is in line with other *seloko* which reads, “*biduk sebiduk selantai samo, angguk-angguk bunyipun samo, segendang sekemeno, sebiduk sepeculang.*” This *seloko* contains efforts to build a life that goes hand in hand between individuals and groups to achieve a goal, both in private and

public life. This *seloko* is also often used to explain a life whole of tolerance between elements of society in Jambi. Communities from any circle or group can work together and go hand in hand to achieve a common goal.

In matters of religion, for example, Jambi society is not mono but multi-religious, even though the majority are Muslims. However, the majority of Muslims do not have close communication with various groups from other religious groups. They can still work together and live side by side to achieve common goals. A Jambi traditional figure, Burhani stated that this *seloko* is in line with the contents of the Qur'an Surah al-Mumtahanah verses 8-9.

لَا يَنْهَكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُمْ مِّنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ (۸) إِنَّمَا يَنْهَكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ قَاتَلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُمْ مِّنْ دِيَارِكُمْ وَظَاهَرُوا عَلَىٰ إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَن تَوَلَّوهُمْ ۗ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ (۹)

“Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) Faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for Allah loveth those who are just. Allah only forbids you, with regard to those who fight you for (your) Faith, and drive you out of your homes, and support (others) in driving you out, from turning to them (for friendship and protection). It is such as turn to them (in these circumstances), that do wrong.”

It is reinforced by the fact that the people of Jambi emphasize manners and courtesy in relations between people across ages, statuses, and societal positions. It is following *seloko*: *kecik dak namo; besak dak baimbou gela*. That is, manners and manners and mutual respect must be lived because every human being, both young and old, has advantages, according to the content of Surah al-Nahl verse 71.

وَاللَّهُ فَضَّلَ بَعْضَكُمْ عَلَىٰ بَعْضٍ فِي الرِّزْقِ ۗ فَمَا الَّذِينَ فُضِّلُوا بِرَادِّي رِزْقِهِمْ عَلَىٰ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُهُمْ فَهُمْ فِيهِ سَوَاءٌ ۗ أَفَبِنِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ يَجْحَدُونَ (۷۱)

“Allah has bestowed His gifts of sustenance more freely on some of you than on others: those more favoured are not going to throw back their gifts

to those whom their right hands possess, so as to be equal in that respect. Will they then deny the favours of Allah?”

Furthermore, this culture of respecting each person in Jambi society is also based on Surah Hujurāt verse 13's awareness that only piety distinguishes human status. Therefore, social relations must be carried out within the justice, equality, respect, and mutual cooperation framework.

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ (١٣)

“O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise (each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things).”

3. *Seloko adat*: “*Berjalan hendak menepi, supaya idak tapijak kanti baca-kap piaro lidah, supaya kanti idak meludah*”

In daily social relations, Jambi people emphasize the importance of maintaining attitudes, actions and speech. Everyone is required to be careful in all actions so as not to harm others, not to offend others. This *seloko* applies to all forms of association in society. In the life of the nation and state, every individual in Jambi society is required to have an attitude like that contained in this *seloko*. According to Abdul Muiz, this *seloko* is in line with the contents of the Qur'an Surah al-Isrā' verse 37.

وَلَا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا ۖ إِنَّكَ لَنْ تَخْرِقَ الْأَرْضَ وَلَنْ تَبْلُغَ الْجِبَالَ طُولًا (٣٧)

“Nor walk on the earth with insolence: for thou canst not rend the earth asunder, nor reach the mountains in height.”

4. *Seloko adat*: “*Pemimpin itu hendaknya ibarat sebatang pohon; batangnya besak tempat besandar; daunnya rimbun tempat belindung ketika hujan; tempat beteduh ketika panas; akarnya besak tempat besilo; pegi tempat betanyo, balik tempat babarito*”

This *seloko* shows the Jambi people's depiction of a good leader. They are described as a large tree from which people derive many benefits: a) The

tree trunk is large as a place for people to lean on, complaining about various social problems; b) The leaves of the tree are lush as a place for people to take shelter and take shelter when it is hot and rainy; 3) The roots of the tree are large as a place for people to cross their legs, sit, and even live (al-Munir & Ja'far, 2016)

However, there is an interesting philosophy of a tree to illustrate a leader. One of the Jambi traditional leaders said:

“A leader is likened to a tree because a tree grows from the bottom, but as much as possible, he still rests on the roots.” That is, the leader is produced from the grassroots, grows and takes root in society, understands community problems, so that his greatness is used to provide as many benefits as possible for the place where he is rooted” (Sanusi, personal interview, 2022).

This value is relevant to the principle of leaders in the context of democracy. Leaders come from the people and for the people, where they are elected to be responsible to the people. Thus, in other customary *seloko*, as a form of democracy, the people of Jambi often say, “rajo alim, rajo disembah, rajo lalim rajo disanggah,” or “salah hukum penghulu pecat, tidak dihukum penghulu pecat.” Someone who is able to manage community affairs (*ulil amri*) is needed in society, but in a democratic country, the leaders can be changed if the person concerned is no longer rooted in society.

The principle of leadership democracy in Jambi society aligns with Qur'an, Surah al-Anfāl verse 27.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَخُونُوا اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ وَتَخُونُوا أَمْنِيَّتِكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ (٢٧)

“ O ye that believe! betray not the trust of Allah and the Messenger, nor misappropriate knowingly things entrusted to you.”

The democratic principle of leadership in Jambi society is strengthened by the attitude of the Jambi people, who are open to whoever is elected as a leader. So, having *adat* does not make the people of Jambi anti-government. Parhan said:

“Of course, we are good citizens of the country. This custom is just an expression of the bay area, part of the local wealth we continue to excel. Our Jambi custom is in line with our national goal. We as Jambi people

always accept differences, no matter what. The proof is that every time there is a traditional event, there are messages of citizenship there. We also conveyed the importance of being a good citizen (Parhan, personal interview, 2022).

It is just that, as is usual in a democracy, the people of Jambi know the term refute a leader when the leader is proven to have committed tyranny.

5. *Seloko adat*: “Negeri aman padi menjadi; air jernih ikannyo jinak; rumput mudo kerbaunyo gemuk; turun ke sungai cemetik keno; naik ke darat perangkap berisi”

This traditional *seloko* reflects the attitude of the people of Jambi, who love their homeland. It describes a prosperous country, a safe country full of harmony, and a prosperous country. In order to realize this idealized country, we need a set of rules or guidelines that all components of society can follow. It is related to the *seloko*, “*rumah berpagar adat, tepian berpagar baso, negeri berpagang undang,*” meaning that the people of Jambi have rules, both customary rules and statutory rules, as references and guidelines in carrying out life as citizens. Jambi people believe that without a constitutional system that regulates, humans will be trapped in the law of the jungle. This aspired country is described in the Qur’an, Surah al-A’rāf verse 96 as a blessed land.

وَلَوْ أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْقُرَىٰ آمَنُوا وَاتَّقَوْا لَفَتَحْنَا عَلَيْهِم بَرَكَاتٍ مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَلَكِن كَذَّبُوا فَأَخَذْنَاهُم بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ (٩٦)

“ If the people of the towns had but believed and feared Allah, We should indeed have opened out to them (All kinds of) blessings from heaven and earth; but they rejected (the truth), and We brought them to book for their misdeeds.”

The people of Jambi are required to be good citizens so that the dream of a safe country can be realized. Jambi Malay's custom is to create a safe, peaceful, and prosperous social life. *Seloko* related to this topic is the philosophical basis for the attitude of love for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia that belongs to the people of Jambi. The value of nationalism is not built from the treasures of modernism or Western influence

but based on what has long been rooted in society. Jambi Malay has instilled a mindset about a civilized and cultured country with various progress achieved.

Discussion on Moderate Path of Islam in Jambi's Traditional *Seloko*: Islam, Locality, and Nationality

Locality and nationality are two critical keywords in discussing the moderate path of Islam (Alvian & Ardhani, 2023; Kourgiotis, 2020; Ni'am, 2015; Rashid et al., 2020). How can Islam dialogue with local wisdom, and how can Islamic-based local wisdom strengthen national culture? Each of these questions can find a variety of answers. However, the exciting thing is that the Jambi Malay custom strengthens the national culture even though it is based on *syara'* (Islamic religion). It is unique compared to Aceh, who declared themselves based on sharia and applied Islamic law daily. However, the people of Jambi take contextual ways.

The efforts of traditional leaders in formulating laws following the conditions of local communities in Jambi are efforts to build a spirit of locality. Traditional leaders who collaborated with religious leaders were not oriented towards bringing the Qur'an and hadith textually to life in Jambi society. Therefore, the Qur'an and hadith are translated into the local language of the Jambi Malay community (Hamdi, 2018).

Building local regulations based on the essence of Islamic teachings is challenging. An adequate understanding of locality conditions is required. What the traditional elders did in Jambi was to protect and preserve the locality as it should. The people of Jambi remain in their culture formally but substantively become Islamicized with various compromises made by traditional elders and religious leaders (Fikri, 2018; Qomar, 2015).

The three traditions (village washing fines, *Pampas* fines, and fines for inviting fights) are purely a combination of a strong understanding of Islam and locality. So, the Jambi customs reflect an Islamic orientation on the one hand and the orientation of strengthening locality on the other. That is why Jambi custom is called *Adat basandi Syarak* in a substantive sense, namely

custom resulting from contextualization or dialogue between the Qur'an and hadith and locality, but not formally because formal matters of Islamic teachings are not applied at all.

In addition, Jambi people have an orientation to maintain nationality and Indonesianness. Efforts to translate Islamic teachings into local languages are aimed at maintaining a balance with the form of the Indonesian state, which is indeed not based on Islamic law, even though Jambi people always say that Jambi customs are *Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (customs based on shari'ah; shari'ah based on Kitābullāh (al-Qur'an and hadith).

From here, the national orientation of the Jambi Malay custom can be explained. Several examples of punishment are village washing fines, *Pampas* fines, and fines for inviting fights, which are applied to the life of the people of Jambi, have a distinct goal of strengthening nationality. The Jambi people's choice of minimal (substantive) punishment is based on maintaining harmony between Jambi customs and the foundation of the Indonesian state (Gafari, 2018; Sumadi, 2016) Apart from maintaining relations with the state, Jambi customs also want to maintain relations with other religious communities (Zuhdi, 2020) who live in Jambi, so that the application of minimalist and substantive punishment-based customary law can be applied to Muslims and non-Muslims in Jambi.

So, to maintain social cohesion in a broader national orientation, Jambi customs have so many traditional symbols in the social and political fields that reflect the values of harmony, such as 1) deliberation for consensus, avoiding unwise actions or physical violence in making a decision; 2) tolerance, mutual respect, and not boasting; 3) togetherness and cooperation; 4) maintain attitude and communication; 5) act and speak just and proportionately; 6) democratic in the election of leaders; 7) As well as maintaining an attitude of nationalism or love for the motherland.

These values are, of course, very relevant to the condition of the Indonesian nation, which is based on Pancasila to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. What the government calls

indicators of religious moderation: anti-violence, nationalism, tolerance, and accommodating local culture have been contextually and actualized in the life of Jambi people long before Indonesia's independence as something written and practiced in Jambi Malay customs. The Jambi traditional *seloko* case strengthens Islam's moderate path in preaching (Zaidan, 1997).

Conclusion

This study proves that traditional *seloko* and their practices in the life of the Jambi Malay community reflect a moderate path of Islam. The moderate path in Jambi Malay custom is not only at the level of the message content contained in the verses of *seloko* but also at the level of the formulation of traditional *seloko*, especially traditional *seloko* which contains issues of tradition and law, such as *Pampas* punishment, village washing (*cuci kampung*) punishment, and fines (*diyats*) for terrorizing or causing chaos in the community.

At the *seloko* content level, there are values of religious moderation such as deliberation, avoiding physical violence, tolerance, togetherness, demeanor and communication, acting and speaking just, being democratic in choosing leaders, and loving the country. It is apparent in the traditional verses relating to social and national political issues.

Meanwhile, at the level of the formulation of *seloko* texts in verses containing customary law, *seloko adat* was made based on a compromise between traditional and religious leaders. Islamic law contained in the Qur'an and hadith is contextualized or dialogued with localities in Jambi to produce traditional *seloko*, which contains customary-oriented laws on the one hand and Islamic-oriented on the other. The customs of washing the village (*cuci kampung*), *Pampas*, and fines for inviting fights/terrorizing/triggering chaos are based on a substantive understanding of the purpose of the sharia being passed down. It means that formalistic matters such as stoning, whipping, or qishash are not applied in Jambi society, but a middle way is sought by emphasizing minimalist punishment. This was done considering that Indonesia does not implement Islamic law. What the people

of Jambi do reflects a good harmony between locality, Islam, and nationality.

This study has limitations in revealing in-depth historical aspects regarding how a traditional *seloko* appears about locality and Islamic dialogue. In this study, the researchers only focused on capturing the message and meaning of traditional *seloko* with a da'wah approach. Thus, future researchers can develop studies in historical aspects to perfect the study of religious moderation messages that researchers are doing.[w]

References

- Adeni, A. (2020). Paradoks Komunikasi-dakwah Fundamentalists Salafi: Kasus Masjid Nurul Jam'iyah Jambi (The Salafi Fundamentalist Communication-dakwah Paradox: The Case of The Nurul Jam'iyah Mosque in Jambi). *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah*, 31(1), 48–69. <https://doi.org/10.24014/jdr.v31i1.8882>
- Ahmad, H. (2014). Integrasi Nilai-nilai Islam dalam Adat Melayu Jambi: Pendekatan Filosofis. IAIN Jambi.
- Alvian, R. A., & Ardhani, I. (2023). The Politics of Moderate Islam in Indonesia: Between International Pressure and Domestic Contestations. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 61(1), 19–57. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2023.611.19-57>
- al-'Asqalanī, A. I. 'Ali I. Hajjar. (2017). *Bulūgh al-Marām*. Dār al-'Aqīdah.
- Asyari, S. (2013). Managing Islamic Public Space: Responses of Sumantran Malay Muslims toward “Neo-anti Bid'ah Movement.” *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 7(2), 217–245. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.2.217-245>
- Azra, A. (2006). Pluralism, Coexistence and Religious Harmony in Southeast Asia: Indonesian Experience in the “Middle Path.” *Contemporary Islam: Dynamic, Not Static*, 227–241. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203965382>
- al-Bayanuni, M. A. F. (1995). *al-Madkhal ilā 'Ilm al-Da'wah*. Muassasah al-Risalah.
- Duderija, A. (2010). Constructing the Religious Self and the Other: Neo-traditional Salafi Manhaj. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 21(1), 75–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410903481879>

- Fikri, I. F. (2018). Universalitas Islam dan Lokalitas Budaya dalam Bingkai Islam Nusantara. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 8(1), 62–82. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2018.8.1.113-133>
- Gafari, A. (2018). *Perkembangan Hukum Adat Melayu Jambi pada Era Otonomi Daerah*. [Master thesis]. Universitas Islam Indonesia.
- Hamdi, A. Z. (2018). Dinamika Hubungan Islam dan Lokalitas: Perebutan Makna Keislaman di Madura. *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 8(2), 433–456. <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2018.8.2.430-454>
- Hefner, R. W. (2002). Global Violence and Indonesian Muslim Politics. *American Anthropologist*, 104(3), 754–765. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2002.104.3.754>
- al-Juwaini, A. (2017). *Seloko Adat Masyarakat Melayu Jambi dalam Aktivitas Dakwah Islamiyah: Studi Deskriptif pada Seloko Adat di Desa Pematang Gadung Kecamatan Mersam Kabupaten Batanghari Jambi*. [Undergraduate thesis]. UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung.
- Kourgiotis, P. (2020). ‘Moderate Islam’ Made in the United Arab Emirates: Public Diplomacy and the Politics of Containment. *Religions*, 11(1), 43. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11010043>
- Kurnain, R. (2007). *Adat Bersendi Syara, Syara Bersendi Kitabullah*. [Master thesis]. IAIN Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi.
- Kurniadi, M. D., & Zulkarnain, Z. (2021). The Role of Jambi Malay Traditional Institutions in the Seloko Oral Traditions of the Jambi Culture in Maintaining the Advancement of Culture. *Budapest International Research and Critics in Linguistics and Education (BirLE) Journal*, 4(1), 570–576. <https://doi.org/10.33258/birle.v4i1.1721>
- Lembaga Adat Jambi. (2001). *Pokok-pokok Adat Pucuk Jambi Sembilan Lurah: Sejarah Adat Jambi*. Lembaga Adat Jambi.
- al-Munir, M. I., & Ja'far, M. H. (2016). Etika Kepemimpinan dalam Seloko Adat Melayu Jambi. *Kontekstualita*, 28(2), 127–140.
- al-Nawawī, al-I. Y. (2002). *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*. Dār Ibn Kathīr.
- Ni'am, S. (2015). Pesantren: The Miniature of Moderate Islam in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 5(1), 111–134. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v5i1.111-134>
- the Noble Quran*. (n.d.). The Noble Quran. <https://quran.com>
- Noor, S. (2019). Local Wisdom Based Da'wah in the Oral Tradition of the Jambi Malay Seloko Adat. *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for*

- Homiletic Studies*, 13(2), 233–249.
<https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v13i2.7328>
- Qomar, M. (2015). Islam Nusantara: Sebuah Alternatif Model Pemikiran, Pemahaman, dan Pengamalan Islam. *El-Harakah: Jurnal Budaya Islam*, 17(2), 198–217. <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v17i2.3345>
- Ramli, S. (2018). Filosofi dan Aktualisasi Seloko Adat di Bumi Tanah Pilih Pusako Betuah Kota Jambi. *Titian: Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora*, 2(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.22437/titian.v2i1.5213>
- Rashid, R. A., Fazal, S. A., Ab. Halim, Z., Mat Isa, N., Mohamad Yusoff, Z. J., Musa, R., & Hamzah, M. I. (2020). Conceptualizing the Characteristics of Moderate Muslims: A Systematic Review. *Social Identities*, 26(6), 829–841.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2020.1814720>
- Roni, A. (2021). *Eksistensi dan Pelaksanaan Adat Pampeh di Merangin Bangko, Jambi*.
- Rustam, R. (2018). Tamadun Melayu Jambi: Kajian Etnografi. *Pena: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra*, 8(1), 93–101. <https://online-journal.unja.ac.id/pena/article/view/5822>
- Sudaryanto. (1993). *Metode dan Aneka Teknik Analisis Bahasa*. Duta Wacana University Press.
- Sumadi, E. (2016). Keislaman dan Kebangsaan: Modal Dasar Pengembangan Organisasi Dakwah. *Tadbir: Jurnal Manajemen Dakwah*, 1(1), 167–184.
<https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/tadbir/article/view/2388>
- Verbos, A. K., & Humphries, M. T. (2015). Indigenous Wisdom and the PRME: Inclusion or Illusion? *Journal of Management Development*, 34(1), 90–100. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMD-01-2013-0016>
- Wahib, A. B. (2017). Being Pious among Indonesian Salafists. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 55(1), 1–26.
<https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.551.1-26>
- Wahid, D. (2012). Challenging Religious Authority: The Emergence of Salafi Ustadhs in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 6(2), 245–264.
<https://doi.org/10.15642/jiis.2012.6.2.245-264>
- Yakin, A. U. (2018). Salafi Dakwah and the Dissemination of Islamic Puritanism in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Radio of Rodja. *Ulumuna*, 22(2), 205–236. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i2.335>

Zaidan, A. K. (1997). *Uṣūl al-Da'wah*. Muassasah al-Risālah.

Zuhdi, M. (2020). Dirasah Islamiyah: Relasi Agama Islam dengan Agama Lain. *Al-Rasikh: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 10(1).
<https://doi.org/10.38073/rasikh.v11i1.447>