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Practices of the *I'adah* Zuhur after Friday Prayers in Aceh Besar District: An Analysis with The perspectives of Islamic Law Approaches

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Abstract: This study discusses the practice of *i'adah* dzuhur after the Friday Prayers in Aceh Besar. *I'adah* dzuhur is carried out by some people as they see that the performance of Friday Prayers is considered to have ignored several conditions. This leads to some people's decisions to re-perform the dzuhur prayer. This fact encourages the author to explore reasons that some people consider carrying out the *i'adah* dzuhur after Friday prayers. In addition, the performance of *i'adah* dzuhur was also driven by perspectives of Muslim scholars graduated from Islamic traditional boarding schools suggesting that the performance of Friday praying has yet to meet certain level of validity. This study is an empirical juridical study using the Islamic legal approach. The data for the study was collected through interviews, observation and document analysis. In addition, the data was analyzed using qualitative data analysis procedures. The results showed that the performance of Friday prayers in Aceh Besar has met the rules as mandated in the fiqh. However, some people in Aceh Besar are cautious on the eligibility of the Friday prayer performances. This caution is in regard with the two requirements for the validity of Friday: First, the location between mosques should be adjacent with each other. Second, there should be the minimum number of 40 Friday prayer congregations, and all of them should be well educated on the nature of Friday prayers. As a result of being unsure about the fulfillment of these two conditions and caution (*ihtiyati*), some people perform the *i'adah* dzuhur after Friday. Such communal understanding is influenced by the alumni of Islamic traditional Boarding

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schools (dayah) due to several factors. First, the emergence of Islamic figures from the traditional Islamic boarding school; second, the alumni has been active in various socio-religious activities, and third, the alumni have gained some charisma.

Keywords: I'adah Zuhur, Friday Prayer, Dayah Scholars, Islamic law

Abstrak: Kajian ini membahas tentang praktik i'adah Zuhur setelah Salat Jumat di Aceh Besar. I'adah Zuhur dilaksanakan oleh sebagian masyarakat karena pelaksanaan Salat Jumat dianggap mengabaikan beberapa syarat sehingga sebagian jamaah melaksanakan kembali Salat Zuhur. Berdasarkan permasalahan di atas, tulisan ini membahas faktor yang mendorong masyarakat melaksanakan I'adah Zuhur setelah salat Jumat, dan pengaruh pemikiran ulama dayah terhadap pemahaman keagamaan masyarakat Aceh Besar tentang keabsahan salat Jumat. Studi ini merupakan kajian yuridis empiris yang dianalisis dengan pendekatan hukum Islam. Teknik pengumpulan data yang dipakai yaitu wawancara, observasi dan studi dokumen, teknik ini digunakan untuk menganalisis permasalahan yang dikaji. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pelaksanaan salat Jumat di Aceh Besar dilakukan sesuai dengan aturan yang ada dalam kitab-kitab fikih, tidak ada kekurangan jika dilihat dari segi rukun dan syaratnya. Namun sebagian masyarakat Aceh Besar agak ketat dalam memahami dua persyaratan keabsahan Jumat: Pertama, letak lokasi antara mesjid dalam pelaksanaan salat Jumat tidak boleh berdekatan. Kedua, jumlah jamaah salat Jumat minimal 40 orang harus benar-benar memahami persoalan salat Jumat. Akibat dari dan tidak yakin terpenuhinya kedua syarat tersebut dan kehati-hatian (ihtiyati), sebagian masyarakat kembali melakukan salat Zuhur setelah Jumat. Pemahaman masyarakat seperti itu dipengaruhi oleh para alumni dayah karena beberapa faktor. Pertama, lahirnya figur-figur ulama dari dayah. Kedua, keaktifan alumni dayah dalam berbagai kegiatan sosial keagamaan. Ketiga, kharismatik yang dimiliki alumni dayah.

Kata Kunci: I'adah Zuhur, Salat Jumat, Ulama Dayah, Hukum Islam

Introduction

There are two different perceptions emerged in the performance of Friday prayers in Aceh Besar. On the one hand, some Muslims do not pray *dzuhur* prayer after Friday prayers fulfillment, while on the other hand, some believe to pray *dzuhur* after Friday prayer performance, since they believe that Friday prayers have not been performed perfectly, in which the Friday prayers have been considered to have ignored several validity requirements

This distinctive view occurs because some people tend to strictly understand the requirements for carrying out Friday prayers. It is as if the

requirements for Friday prayers are more complicated than other obligatory prayers making it difficult for the public to meet the requirements of Friday's legality. Some of the requirements for the implementation of Friday prayers have been formulated by the scholars, and they have different opinions in determining these requirements, both in relation to the place of implementation, the number of worshipers, and the procedure for delivering the sermon. In the Hanafi school of thought, for example, the number of congregations for the performance of Friday is only 4 people along with the priest.¹ According to the Maliki school of thought, the minimum number of Friday worshipers is 12,² while in the Syafi'i school the minimum number of Friday worshipers is 40.³

The majority of the Acehnese people follow the Syafi'i school of thought related with obligatory worship, including the performance of Friday prayers. Aceh Besar, as one of the districts in Aceh, is the area where the practice of performing the *dzuhur* prayer in congregation is most common after Friday prayers, in contrast to other areas in the Aceh Province where this practice is rarely found. This practice leaves a big question though, since Muslims are not supposed to perform the *dzuhur* prayer on Friday, because they have performed the obligatory Friday prayers.⁴

The Syafi'i school of thought explains that the requirements for Friday prayers are measurable and can be fulfilled within the ability of people, because it is impossible for Allah to give a burden beyond the capability to take it over (*taklif ma la yutaq*). However, in practice, for some people these requirements seem not feasible to fulfill. Therefore, the practice of repeating the midday prayer after Friday prayer is persistent up to this day.

On the other hand, the existence of traditional Islamic boarding school (*dayah*) and the popularity of the *dayah* ulama have further strengthened the practice of repeating the *dzuhur* prayer on Fridays in Aceh Besar, because they represent view of the Syafi'i school of thought in the society. The strong influence of the *dayah* scholars in the Aceh Besar society in terms of religious understanding has shaped religious practices of the community. This is as explained by Black and Watson, Bruinessen and Azra

¹ Syamsuddin Al-Sarakhsi, *Al-Mabsut, Juz II*, Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifah, 1989, p. 24.

² Syihabuddin Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Idris ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sanhaji Al-Qarafi, *Al-Dhakhirah Fi Furu' Al-Malikiyyah, Jilid II*, 1st ed. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2001.

³ Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib Al-Mawardi, *Al-Hawi Al-Kabir, Juz III*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1994, p. 14.

⁴ Al-Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Talibin 'Ala Hill Alfaz Fath Al-Mu'in, Juz II*, Beirut: Dar Ihya al-Turath al-'Arabi, n.d., p. 52.

that scholars are recognized as having a central position in the community, and are influential in the society. These *dayah* scholars own Islamic boarding schools and thus enjoy a strong authority, and in turn, they become potential resources and a driving force for national development.⁵

This fact need immediate discussion as it may deviate a common belief that the Friday prayer is in fact substitutes the *dzuhur* prayer. Islam suggests that Friday prayer is an obligation for Muslim men, and there is no *dzuhur* prayer obliged for them, except for those who are not obliged to observe Friday such as travelers and women.⁶ Supposedly, if the performance of Friday has been considered invalid because it does not meet the requirements, a solution must be sought to fulfill the requirements for the validity of that Friday, so that there is no need to substitute the midday prayer.

In referring to the issue raised in this paper, it is necessary to have an in-depth exploration to find out factors that encourage the people of Aceh Besar District to perform *i'adah dzuhur* after Friday prayer, and also examine to what extent the popularity of the *dayah* scholars influence religious understanding of the Aceh Besar community about the validity of Friday prayers. This study is an empirical juridical study analyzed using the Islamic legal approach.⁷ Sources of data used in this study were in-depth interviews with several religious leaders and ordinary people. Interviews were conducted to see the level of public understanding of their Friday prayer practices, the factors that encourage people to doubt the validity of prayers so that the *dzuhur* prayers continue to be carried out after Friday and their views on the existence of *teungku dayah* (*dayah scholars*) as the guardian of the community. In addition to interviews, this study also used document analysis to collect data related to the procedures for conducting Friday prayers that had been formulated by scholars, and *fiqh* in the Syafi'i school of thought were used as the main reference to obtain the necessary data. Observations were also made to see firsthand the practice of Friday prayers in Aceh Besar District, so that the performance of Friday will be

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⁵T. Østebø, M., & Østebø, "Are Religious Leaders a Magic Bullet for Social/Societal Change? A Critical Look at Anti-FGM Interventions in Ethiopia," *Africa Today*, Volume 60, Issue 3 (2014): 83–101. Martin Van Buinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012. 12. M. Yumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi dan Modernisasi Menuju Milenium Baru*, Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000.

⁶Ibrahim Al-Bajuri, *Hasyiyah Al-Bajuri, Juz I*, Semarang: Usaha Keluarga, n.d..

⁷ Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2014, p. 30. Jonaedi Efendi dan Johnny Ibrahim, *Metode Penelitian Hukum: Normatif dan Empiris*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2018, p. 149.

clearly illustrated as a result of the understanding drawn from Islamic jurisprudence literature.

The performance of the Friday prayers in Aceh Besar

The Friday prayer is a prayer service for two *rak'ahs* held in congregation on Friday, preceded by two sermons. Friday prayers are *fardhu ain* for Muslim men who are already *baligh* (grown up), independent and *muqim* (residence) and have no barriers or age to attend Friday. The procedures for performing Friday prayers and their legal requirements are clearly stated in the *fiqh* literature, including in the literature of the Syafi'i school of thought, which is the main reference for the Acehnese people in worshiping and practicing religious teachings.

However, if the requirements for the validity of the Friday prayers are analyzed in depth, it will lead to a variety of understanding among Muslim scholars, especially the Acehnese scholars. This various understandings occur because of controversies in the meaning of the criteria and the number of the Friday's congregation. In addition, subjectivities in interpreting the principle of Friday prayer also produce different ways of performing the Friday prayer. This subjective interpretation on the principles of performing the Friday prayers produce two ways of performance: the congregations perform the Friday prayer without repeating the *dzuhur* prayer and those who perform the Friday prayer and following it with the *i'adah dzuhur*.

The Factors of Conducting the *i'adah dzuhur* Prayer after Friday

One of the unique phenomena that can be seen in the practice of Friday prayers in Aceh Besar district is the performance of the *dzuhur* prayer in congregation after the Friday prayer, which is unlike that taking place in other parts of the Acehnese society. There are several factors that some Muslims in Aceh Besar district do the *i'adah dzuhur*.

1. *Ta'addud* Friday prayers in one village

Our interviews with several *Tengku dayah* (the *dayah* scholars) in the Aceh Besar area suggest that doubts on the validity of Friday prayer is due to the fact that adjacent villages perform Friday prayers respectively. As a result, substituting the Friday prayer with the *dzuhur* prayer is persistent as it is seen as the solution for this doubt.

They believed that basically Friday prayers could only be held only in one mosque within a village. As stated by Tengku Azhari, he said that *i'adah dzuhur* is performed because of the issue of *qaryah* (village), basically one *qaryah* can only have one mosque-and if there is only a mosque

available in a village, one does not need to do the *i'adah dzuhur*. For example, Lambaro and Lamsayuen are two villages adjacent to each other, and if in both villages the Friday prayers are performed, only the one starts earlier is considered legitimate. However, as none correctly determine which village starts Friday prayer earlier, the concession then, the midday prayer or *dzuhur* is performed after the Friday prayer. Nevertheless, if Friday prayers are believed to be legitimate, the *i'adah dzuhur* is unlawful.⁸

Similar narration is also conveyed by Teungku Abdur Razak explaining that if the *ta'addud* of Friday prayer, the Friday prayer performance earlier is considered legitimate, while the one deemed invalid on Friday, it is obligatory to pray *dzuhur*.⁹ However, if there is a *syar'i* need to be performed more than one Friday within a village is seen permissible. In this case, Teungku Azhari said the need for a mosque in all villages was the reason for allowing *ta'addud*, since it is no longer possible for only one mosque to accommodate congregations from many villages. This is the reason that Muslim scholars in North Aceh consider *ta'addud* the Friday prayer is permissible. At the time of Imam Syafi'i in Egypt, there was a village separated by rivers, and thus the *ta'adud* Friday prayer is permissible. Nevertheless, whether *ta'addud* the Friday prayer is permissible relies on the meaning of 'the need', and that if there is a need *ta'addud* the Friday prayer is permitted.¹⁰

Referring to the popular reference/book of the Syafi'i school of thought regarding the legitimacy to carry out more than one Friday in one village for reasons of 'the need', the researcher found 2 (two) views of the *syafi'iyah* scholars. The First opinion confirms that it is not permissible to observe Friday either out of necessity or not. This leads to the legal status of Friday prayers as follows:

- a. If the Friday *takbiratul ihram* coincides or it is doubtful, which one of them precedes the other, it is obligatory for both mosques to repeat the Friday prayer as long as the prayer time is sufficient; otherwise, the congregation of both mosque should do the *i'adah* of the Friday prayer.
- b. If it is confirmed that the *takbiratul ihram* is sequential, then the Friday prayer with the first *takbiratul ihram* is considered legitimate,

⁸An interview with Tgk. Azhari bin Maneh, Dayah Ulee Titi, Aceh Besar, on 13 March 2020.

⁹An interview with Tgk. Abdur Razak, Anggota MPU Kabupaten Aceh Besar, Lam Ceu, on 16 March 2020.

¹⁰ An interview with Tgk. Azhari bin Maneh, Dayah Ulee Titi, Aceh Besar, on 13 March 2020.

while the others are canceled, and it is obligatory for them to perform the midday prayer.

- c. If there is doubtful on which mosques start the *takbiratul ihram*, the two mosques should perform the *i'adah* of the Friday prayer.¹¹

The second opinion suggests that it is permissible to hold more than one Friday prayers within a village if needed for lawful reasons such as limited capacity of mosques that accommodating congregation is not possible and conflict between the villages in general or the presence of mosques that are relatively far away from the other side of a village. It is referred to a *mu'tamad* opinion in the Sya'fi school of thought.

Imam Nawawi, a famous scholar in the Sya'fi school of thought in the book *al-Majmu'*, states that observing Friday prayer in more than one mosque within a village is permissible as it is difficult to gather the congregation in a particular mosque.¹²

Our interviews with dayah scholars and congregations of Friday prayers in multiple mosques in the Aceh Besar region, suggest that basically they have common understanding that observing Friday prayers in multiple mosques within a village is permissible for reasons of need. In fact, in this case, it is unlawful to perform the *dzuhur* prayer to substitute the Friday prayers. However, in practice there is a mixture of the logical consequences of the different opinion of the ulama between those who allow more than one Friday prayers in one village and those who do not.

On the one hand, the dayah scholars believe that observing Friday prayers in multiple mosques within a village is permissible, on the other; these scholars are in doubt on its validity due to some 'lawful' reasons mentioned earlier. If the congregation is doubtful on the legitimacy of the Friday prayers, the *i'adah dzuhur* becomes mandatory.

Although according to the Sya'fi school of thought the *ta'addud* of the Friday prayer is permissible due to the needs to do so, it is also strongly recommended to do the *i'adah* for cautious should the Friday prayer is not legitimate, and this is relevant to Tgk Abdul Razaq's opinions. This conception was also revealed in the seminar took place at *Dayah Ulee Titi* that the *i'adah* of the Friday prayer is not a mandatory; it is only an *ihtiyati*, the cautious action taken given that the Friday prayer is not legitimate.¹³

¹¹ Al-Nawawi, *Kitab Al-Majmu' Syarah Al-Muhazzab, Jilid 4*, Maktabah al-Irsyad: Maktabah al-Irsyad, n.d., p. 453.

¹² Al-Nawawi, *Kitab Al-Majmu'...*, p. 453.

¹³ Wahbah Al-Zuhayli, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh, Juz II*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1997, p. 1283.

When it is believed that the legal status of the *dzuhur i'adah* prayer is only limited to *sunnah*-recommendation, as believed by some scholars of the Syafi'i school of thought, there should be no need to doubt on the validity of Friday prayers. Even so, there are some congregational Friday prayers who understand that the status of the *dzuhur* prayer *i'adah* is mandatory because the requirements of the Friday *ta'addud* are not fulfilled. This is as conveyed by Teungku Azhari, explaining that some people in Aceh Besar consider the *dzuhur i'adah* obligatory because the general public is not knowledgeable on the issue of *i'adah* because they do not have deep religious knowledge so that they claim that *dzuhur i'adah* is mandatory, while it is only voluntary due to the caution on the legitimacy of the Friday prayer.¹⁴ Some other interviewees also believe that the *i'adah* of the Friday prayer is not mandatory, and thus this suggests that the performance of the Friday prayer is legitimate and lawful, in which the debate on the debate of the *i'adah dzuhur* does not find a momentum.

In addition, some people suggest that the Muslims should observe Friday prayer as practiced at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. However, this argument is not strong enough as in the past, there was no need to perform the Friday prayer in more than one place as most Muslims, in fact are willing to pray in congregation with the Prophet Muhammad.¹⁵

This explanation suggests that in the Syafi'i school of thought, if it is not possible to gather people in one mosque due to a large number of congregations, a big size of a village is large, and other lawful reasons, Friday prayers can be established in more than one place within a particular area. This is in line with Imam Nawawi's opinion suggesting that in Baghdad/Iraq, Imam Syafi'i allow the Friday prayers to be performed in multiple mosques within one area for the same cause.¹⁶

When compared with the opinion in the Syafi'i school of thought, it seems that the conditions related to the place where Friday is held are more stringent, because in the Syafi'i school of thought, Friday can be carried out in a village (*qaryah*), in a place that is suitable for residents (not necessarily in a big city or *Misr* as suggested in the Hanafi school of thought).¹⁷ The same thing was explained by al-Dimyathi that the Syafi'i school of thought

¹⁴ An interview with Tgk. Azhari bin Maneh Dayah Ulee Titi, Aceh Besar, on 13 March 2020.

¹⁵ Wahbah Al-Zuhayli, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh*, Juz II, 4th ed. Damaskus: Dar al-Fikr, 1997.

¹⁶ Al-Nawawi, *Rawdat Al-Talibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Mutin*, Cet. III, p. 5; Al-Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Talibin 'Ala Hill Alfaz Fath Al-Mu'in*, Juz II, p. 62.

¹⁷ Al-Zuhayli, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh*, Juz II, 1997, p. 1294.

does not require *misr* for Friday prayer performance.¹⁸ Whether in the country (*bilad*) or village (*qaryah*),¹⁹ as long as there is a building that is permanently occupied, whether made of stone, mud, or wood, is allowed to carry out Friday prayer. This is however, irrelevant to the nomadic population (*ahl al-khiyam*), due to their regular migration from one place to the other.²⁰

2. Insufficient number of Friday congregation

2 One of the requirements for the performance of Friday prayers in the syafi'i school of thought is the fulfillment of 40 male adult (*mukallaf*), independent, and permanent congregation of the Friday prayer

This is in line with Imam al-Jaziri's opinion suggesting that the congregation should be 40 permanent settlers who are unlikely to move out for a long period of time; except for the urgent cause.²¹ However, the *qawl qadim*-initial opinion of the Syafi'i school of thought suggests that 3 congregations including the priest are sufficient for the Friday prayer to take place.²²

The permanent settlers should be a mandatory requirement for Friday, not a condition for the performance of Friday.²³ For those living closed by and hearing the sermon for the Friday, they are obliged to perform the Friday prayer, while those living further away, in which the sermon is not heard, the Friday prayer is not mandatory for them.²⁴ In this context, the hearing of the call to prayer is if a person hears the sermon echoed by someone who is standing at the end of the village during the calm and quiet day. In this case, if the Friday prayer is attended by at least 40 congregations, they do not need to perform the *dzuhur* prayer.²⁵

Our interviews suggest that for the Friday prayer to be legitimate; there should be at least 40 matured, adult, and independent male congregations. These congregations' knowledge on the principles of performing the Friday prayer is also a prerequisite for the legitimacy of the Friday prayer. This is in line with Teungku Abdur Razak's statement suggesting similar narration. These narrations should be knowledgeable in the procedures, principles, and

¹⁸ Al-Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Talibin 'Ala Hill Alfaz Fath Al-Mu'in*, Juz II, p. 58.

¹⁹ Abdurrahman Al-Jaziri, *Kitab Al-Fiqh 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-Arba'ah*, Juz I, Kairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2003, p. 213.

²⁰ Al-Nawawi, *Rawdat Al-Talibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Mutin*, Cet. III, p. 4.

²¹ Al-Jaziri, *Kitab Al-Fiqh 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-Arba'ah*, Juz I, p. 308.

²² Al-Nawawi, *Rawdat Al-Talibin Wa 'Umdat Al-Mutin*, Cet. III, p. 7.

²³ Al-Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Talibin 'Ala Hill Alfaz Fath Al-Mu'in*, Juz II, p. 54.

²⁴ Al-Jaziri, *Kitab Al-Fiqh 'ala Al-Madhahib Al-Arba'ah*, Juz I, p. 308.

²⁵ Al-Nawawi, *Kitab Al-Majmu' Syarah Al-Muhazzab*, Jilid 4, p. 353.

regulations of the Friday prayers.²⁶ Similar narration was also conveyed by Adi Darma, Head of the Aceh Besar Dayah Agency that the congregations must understand principles of Friday prayers. He emphasized that "I think it is indeed a requirement there should be 40 worshipers to establish Friday prayers, at least they know the pillars of the *khutbah* that enable them to replace the priest when necessary".²⁷

One resident of Lhoknga Subdistrict also explained that the congregations of the Friday praying must be at least 40 people, and that they should have an in-depth understanding on the pillars of the *khutbah* in detail. However, it is complicated to make sure that the congregations of the Friday praying meet this requirement, Friday prayers choose to make up the *dzuhur* prayer.²⁸ Unlike the other participants, Teungku Azhari suggested otherwise. He describes that these 40 congregations are not expected to understand principles of the Friday praying.²⁹ In fact, there is no strong emphasis in many references in the Syafi'i school of thought on the requirement of the congregations to understand the principles of the *khutbah*, they are only required to be able to observe and comprehend the contents of the *khutbah*.³⁰

Based on our observations, 40 congregations are likely to be fulfilled in mosques, in which most attendees are local residents (permanent residents), indicating with the ownership of identity cards, since the ownership of the ID is a statement of local domicile. However, with the addition of the criteria for Friday congregations to have an understanding of the principles of the *khutbah*, it is difficult to ascertain if the Friday prayers' legitimacy can be well fulfilled, and thus doubts about the legitimacy of Friday prayers cannot be eliminated. This is because most congregations lack of knowledge on the principles of Friday prayers, and efforts to educate them are limited.

Referring to the Islamic literature or the books of *fiqh*, there is neither a clear argument nor the prophetic traditions that Friday congregation should be 40 people. The only reference available suggesting that number is the *hadith* narrated from Ka'ab, where the first Friday congregation in Medina

²⁶ An interview with Tgk. Abdur Razak, the member of MPU (Ulama Council) Aceh Besar District, Lam Ceu, on 16 March 2020.

²⁷ An interview with Adi Darma, Head of the Badan Dayah Aceh Besar district, Jantho, on 11 March 2020.

²⁸ An interview with Malikussaleh, a resident of Aceh Besar, Lhoknga on 20 March 2020.

²⁹ An interview with Tgk. Azhari bin Maneh, Dayah Ulee Titi, Lambaro, on 13 March 2020.

³⁰ Al-Dimyathi, *I'anat Al-Talibin 'Ala Hill Alfaz Fath Al-Mu'in*, Juz II, p. 68; Al-Bajuri, *Hasyiyah Al-Bajuri*, Juz I, p. 219.

was 40 people as reported by As'ad ibn Zararah, this assertion was also supported by Baihaqi as reported from Ibn Umar that the Prophet performed Friday prayers in Medina with 40 male congregations.³¹

However, without serious intervention from influential Muslim scholars to educate Friday congregations, doubts on the legitimacy of Friday prayer in this current condition is persistent. This should be the concern of Muslim clerics, since the Islamic teaching suggests that Muslims are prohibited to perform any kinds of doubtful worships.³² This is relevant to *fiqh* that all kinds of worships are initially prohibited unless it is stated otherwise by a strong legal standing.

The Influence of Dayah Ulama on Friday Prayer Practices

Dayah *ulama*/scholars as community figures have an important role in socio-religious life in Aceh, they become the community's reference in various religious issues, the existence of *dayah* scholars has influenced the people's mindset in religious matters, especially in the field of worship. Dayah as a non-formal educational institution has shown its influence in various regions in the Aceh regions. This is evident by the increasing number of dayahs in various corners and getting a good reception from the community.

1. Teaching Methods used by the Scholars in the dayah (Islamic traditional boarding school)

Muslim scholars from the traditional Islamic boarding school (*dayah*) consistently disseminate the Islamic teaching referring to books of *fiqh*, the main references in the dayah. The content of the curriculum implemented in the *dayah* is limited to the traditional books developed by the *dayah* Muslim scholars. Most *dayah* refer to certain school of thought or *mazhab* in their understanding of religious practices. In addition, teaching approaches used in some *dayah* tend to be teacher-centered, in which rooms for students' creativities and critical thinking are limited.³³ In response to this, one of our participants, Tengku Jufri, reiterated that most Muslim scholars in the *dayah* based their religious understanding on the traditional literature adopted by some schools of thought that Friday congregation should be at least 40 congregations. In response to this, one of our participants, Tengku Jufri,

³¹ Al-Zuhayli, *Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh*, Juz II, 1997, p. 1297.

³² Jalaluddin Abdurrahman Al-Suyuti, *Al-Ashbah Wa Al-Naza'ir*, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1983, p. 40-41.

³³ Salman Abdul Muthalib, "Tipologi Pemikiran Nahdhatul Ulama," *Jurnal Tahqiq*, Volume 4, Issue 2 (2011): 35. Mohammad Darwis, Peran Ulama Pesantren dalam Perspektif NU, *Jurnal Tarbiyatuna*, Volume 8, Issue 1, Juni 2015.

reiterated that "Most Muslim scholars in the *dayah* based their religious understanding on the traditional literature adopted by some schools of thought that Friday congregation should be at least 40 congregations, permanent settlers and matured male congregations".³⁴

However, there are some other strategies referred to in understanding and disseminating religious teaching. Some of them, the *salafis* tend to understand *shari'at* (*fiqh*) only according to the practices occurred at the time of the Prophet and his companions. This group of Muslims appears simply, especially in physical appearance and simplifies matters, do not want to systematize in explaining issues. *Fiqh* is understood according to what was practiced at the time of the Prophet and the companions, who to some extent tried to avoid the use and categorization of *syara'* (*taklifi and wadh'i*) laws, there was no attempt to adapt and develop *fiqh* to suit the contexts.³⁵

In addition to using the books of *fiqh* in the Syafi'i school of thought as the main references, in the teaching of the Islamic principles, they tend to use real examples to contextualize the lesson. As the effort to transfer the Islamic teaching effectively, they use the local language, in this case the Acehnese language to enable effective absorption of the lesson. Classroom techniques used by the *dayah* scholars are found to be simple but contextual, and these scholars are very much capable at convincing their audiences to accept their opinions on religious issues. They also make their audiences believe that the teaching materials are indeed taken from prominent sources in the Syafi'i school of thought.³⁶ It is also apparent during the fieldwork that the *dayah* scholars refer to the *fiqh* of the Syafi'i school of thought as the learning sources, such the book of *Taqrib, Bajuri, I'ana al-Talibin, al-Mahalli* and other prominent sources in the Syafi'i school of thought, and this is one of the reasons that these *dayah* scholars' views on Islamic teachings are well accepted by wider communities in the Acehnese society.

2. The Influence of the *Dayah* Scholars in understanding religiosity

This study suggests two reasons that strengthen the acceptance of the *dayah* scholars' opinions: sources of teaching materials used and instructional approaches implemented. As most Muslims in the Acehnese society hold on the Syafi'i school of thought, Islamic teaching preached is well accepted, in which they tend to refer to the opinion of *dayah's* scholars in fulfilling their religious duties, including the issues of *i'adah dhuhur*

³⁴ An interview with Tgk. Jufri, Ingin Jaya, on 12 March 2020.

³⁵ Al Yasa Abubakar, "Pemikiran Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy Dalam Konteks Pelaksanaan Syari'at Islam Di NAD," *Makalah Yang Disampaikan Pada Simposium Nasional Dalam Rangka Hari Jadi Ke-40 IAIN A-Raniry.*, n.d.

³⁶ An interview with Tgk. Jufri, Ingin Jaya, on 12 March 2020.

payers. In addition, most lay people in the Acehese society hold firmly on the opinions of some prominent figures, in which they do not give chance for themselves to critically question these opinions.³⁷

This is also acknowledged by some participants such as Malikussaleh in Lhoknga, stating that most people in the area refer to the teaching of a religious figure, Abu Ghaffar, a religious cleric at the Lhoknga mosque. Abu Ghaffar has consistently practiced the *i'adah dzuhur* and most people tend to accept his religious teaching and abide by his religious practices.³⁸

Our findings suggest several factors leading to people's willingness to take religious teaching as perceived by the *dayah* scholars as their references in worship.

a. The strong figure of Muslim clerics

The *dayah* figures are well respected and acclaimed figures within the community. Although the majority of students in *dayah* educational institutions come from ordinary families, they spend times in the *dayah* to gain knowledge in the hope that having completed their study, they will return to serving the community. In addition, there are also some students come from a well-known Muslim cleric families, which then increases public confidence in the individual capacities of these students.³⁹ These important figures at the *dayah* enhance trust of the people and thus they see these figures have capacities to construct certain kinds of practices, such as *i'adah dzuhur*, based on true Islamic principles.⁴⁰

When a scholar receives a good reception from the community, he develops the authority to preach his religious thoughts. These Religious authorities also allow these scholars to interpret religious understanding and thus convince Muslims to refer to their religious thought in performing worships. In fact, the Islamic literature, the Muslim clerics or scholars have been recognized as having a central position in the society, and this is relevant to Black and Watson's perception, in which religious leaders are potential resources, and "vehicles for development"⁴¹ The concept of

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³⁷ Arief Salleh Rosman, "Pemahaman Terhadap Metodologi Ikhtilaf Fiqhi Ke Arah Menyelesaikan Isu Fanatisme," *Jurnal Pengurusan Dan Penyelidikan Fatwa* 7 (2016): 141.

³⁸ An interview with Malikussaleh, Masyarakat Aceh Besar, Lhoknga, on 20 March 2020.

³⁹ An interview with Tgk. Jufri, Ingin Jaya, on 12 March 2020.

⁴⁰ Mujiburrahman, "Ulama Banjar Kharismatik Masa Kini Di Kalimantan Selatan," *Jurnal Al-Anjari*, Volume 11, Issue 2 (2012): 129.

⁴¹ Østebø, M., & Østebø, Are Religious Leaders a Magic Bullet for Social/Societal Change? A Critical Look at Anti-FGM Interventions in Ethiopia. *Africa Today*, Volume 60, Issue 3 (2014): 83–101.

authority in the Islamic world is closely related to authority drawn from the history of the Prophet Muhammad as the messenger of Allah, where in contemporary times as explained by Robinson, religious authority is strongly attached to the figure of the clerics as the heirs of the Prophet peace be upon Him, although in practice, it is often contested and even marginalized by the ruling authorities such as the government.⁴²

The authority of Muslim clerics is deeply rooted in historical ties as the successor to Allah's Apostle. In the traditional Islamic institutions, students or '*santri*' *pondok* is seen as the successors of their teachers, since they are under the direct supervision and direction of their teachers. In addition, the authority of Muslim scholars can be seen from their influences in social life as they are eligible to be independently authorized to interpret the teaching of Islam. In the interpretation of Islam, these Muslim scholars consider the contexts, in which the the teaching of Islam is implemented.⁴³ In addition, some Muslims refer to Islamic principles as interpreted by some scholars as their parents has been a strong followers of these particular Muslim scholars.⁴⁴ Even though the *dayah* scholars have become figures and role models in the Aceh Besar society, it does not mean that there are no people who follow other figures outside the *dayah*. Broad access to knowledge through printed and electronic media, has opened spaces and opportunities for people to enhance their religious insights, resulting in various alternatives in understanding the Islamic teaching

b. Active engagement in wider communities

One of the strategies to influence the mindset of the society is through constant engagement with the communities. This is a central strategy implemented by the *dayah* scholars in spreading the teaching of Islam. They spend time with the communities and engage with them regularly to narrow the gaps. The *dayah* scholars are also ready to serve and play an active role in various socio-religious activities. One of the participants said that so far the *dayah* scholars have been more dominant in providing enlightenment, advice, and service in the villages. This engagement and closeness have led Muslim communities see them as reference for Islamic principles.⁴⁵

⁴² Francis Robinson, Crisis of Authority of Islam? *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 19, Issue 3 (2009): 339–54.

⁴³ Shiozaki and Kushimoto Hiroko Yuki, Reconfigurations of Islamic Authority in Malaysia, *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 42, Issue 5 (2014): 602–19.

⁴⁴ An interview with Zamhari, Masyarakat Aceh Besar, Lamteungoh, on 14 March 2020.

⁴⁵ An interview with Tgk. Jufri, Ingin Jaya, on 12 March 2020.

Teungku Zamhari also conveyed similar narration, stating that since childhood, he has joint his father's Islamic congregations, in which Islamic teaching was delivered by the *dayah* scholars. As a result, he was shaped to take his religious identities based on the school of thoughts adopted by the *dayah* scholars.⁴⁶ The *dayah* scholars and the alumni of *dayah* are inclusive into the wider communities. They always take part in activities carried out in the community. This enables these scholars and the *dayah* alumni to narrow gaps between them and the wider communities. These groups of scholars are also an integral part of the community, in which they engage in many socio-cultural activities. Most activities they engage at are voluntarily, and thus strengthen their bond with the wider communities. Scholars graduated from formal schooling or institution do not engage in the communities' activities as much as the *dayah* alumni do, which in turns draw a wider gap between these scholars with the wider communities.⁴⁷

c. Being charismatic

The *dayah* scholars are charismatic. This is because apart from holding firmly on the Syafi'i school of thought, the *dayah* scholars are wearing a well-received kind of outfit; this is so since wider communities see symbols as the true representation of one's quality. Jannah and Sangayu state that in certain communities, charisma and religious symbols are highly appreciated and they are seen as assets to win the people's heart.⁴⁸ In this instance, those wearing a 'perceived' polite outfit will be considered as charismatic and qualified individuals worth respecting.

Charismatic scholars are capable of influencing others without coercion, and they will be most likely win the heart of many people, which turn to be their supporters and followers.⁴⁹ The research suggests that most *dayah* scholars are charismatic and most of them are able to convince others. Most people in certain communities see symbols, such as 'proper outfit'

⁴⁶ An interview with Zamhari, Masyarakat Aceh Besar, Lamteungoh on 14 March 2020.

⁴⁷ Aziz Muslim, Pendekatan Partisipatif Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, *Jurnal Aplikasi*, Volume 8, Issue 2 (2007): 93.

⁴⁸ Hasanatul Jannah, Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Pusat Otoritas Ulama Madura, *Al-Hikmah; Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah dan Pengembangan Masyarakat*, Volume 17, Issue 1, Oktober 2019. Sangayu Ketut Laksemi Nilotama, Makna Simbol Gelar Raja Dalam Masyarakat Adat Bali, *Jurnal ITB J. Vist. Art & Des*, Volume 3, Issue 1 (2009): 45.

⁴⁹ Ferri Wicaksono, Kiai Kharismatik Dan Hegemoninya (Telaah Fenomena Habib Syech Bin Abdul Qadir Assegaf), *Jurnal Pemerintahan Dan Politik Global*, Volume 3, Issue 3 (2018): 124. Moh. Baharuddin, Peran Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama dalam Menyiarkan Paham Keagamaan Moderat di Provinsi Lampung, *Jurnal Analisis*, Volume 3, Issue 1, Juni 2017.

represent ones' wellbeings. However, proper and polite outfit is not a real representation of ones' quality and intellectual ability. Outfit alone cannot be used as the reference to judge one's quality.

These three factors encourage Muslims in the Aceh Besar district to support and take seriously *dayah* scholars' interpretation on the Islamic teaching, especially in the performance of the *ibadat*, such as Friday prayers. In spite of some differences in religious views on certain issues, there is no conflict occurs whatsoever. This is so because most Muslims in Aceh Besar are well educated and do not see differences in the interpretation of the Islamic teaching as a source of conflict.⁵⁰ Being tolerated to differences is the main prerequisite to have a peaceful way of living Islam. Hoffe suggested three kinds of toleration: personal attitude; the principles of politic of the state; and principles of social and cultures, and these three attitudes are supporting with each other.⁵¹ This also shows that the people of Aceh Besar are well educated and mature in understanding the teaching of Islam.

Conclusion

The performance of Friday prayer in Aceh Besar district has been in line with the regulations as stipulated in the *fiqh*. However, in some parts of the Aceh Besar, people hold on strict regulations of the requirements for Friday prayers, while the books of *fiqh* are indeed flexible and contextual in setting the principles of the Friday prayers. Two factors divide the people's understanding on the legitimacy of the Friday prayers, and that the *i'adah dzuhur* is continuously performed: First, two mosques, in which the Friday prayer is performed, are located closely to each other. In this case, the one starts the *takbiratul ihram* earlier, has a legitimate Friday prayers. Others suggest that the one recites the *salam* has the Friday prayer. As it is difficult to identify such criteria, some congregations decide to perform *i'adah dzuhur*. The second factor is the case with the number of congregations. When 40 congregations who are knowledgeable with the principles of Friday prayer cannot be fulfilled, the *i'adah dzuhur* is performed out of caution. This perception emerges due to the teaching of Islam as preached by the *dayah* scholars who hold firmly on the Syafi'i school of thought. The findings suggest several factors encouraging Muslims in Aceh Besar to follow the preaching of Islam by the *dayah* scholars. First, the *dayah* has produced important figures influential in the wider society; second, the

⁵⁰ Mursyid Djawas and Sri Astuti Abdul Samad, Conflict, Traditional, and Family Resistance: The Pattern of Dispute Resolution in Acehnese Community According to Islamic Law, *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam*, Volume 4, Issue 1, (2020): 65–84.

⁵¹ Otfried Höffe, *Pluralism and Tolerance*, *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences: Second Edition*, Second Edi, vol. 18 (Elsevier, 2015).

dayah scholars and alumni are actively engaged with activities in the communities, and third, most *dayah* scholars are charismatic in their nature, which encourages most people to take for granted their religious thoughts. The findings then suggest, in spite of these differences, there is no conflict occurs whatsoever regarding the performance of the *ibadat*, which then shows maturity of the Muslims in Aceh Besar in regard with different ways of practicing Islam.

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