Abstract

This article discusses the efforts to strengthen cultural and ethnic identity the Minang people in diaspora (ranau), specifically in the context of the Harakatul Jannah mosque in Gadog, Ciawi, Bogor, West Java. In addition to being a symbol of the acculturating Minangkabau culture in the local community, this mosque preserves the social and religious institutions of Minangkabau custom in diasporic lands. This study uses a qualitative method. Data collection is done not only through literature review but also through direct observation. Analysis of collected data is based on heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiographical techniques. This study finds that through the Harakatul Jannah mosque, the diasporic community from Minangkabau is able to relive the Minang tradition in social activities, education, as well as architecture. Combining European and Middle Eastern styles with traditional styles, this mosque was constructed without losing Minangkabau cultural characteristics, which are reflected in several elements, such as the Bundo Kanduang Gate, the Hajjah Tower, and the Majlis of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. These are manifestations of archipelago culture in architecture. In the field of education, the activities of the students and the community of the mosque shows many similarities with the Islamic intellectual tradition of 19th century Minangkabau. All educational and religious activities in the mosque aim at preserving and strengthening the Minang cultural identity in diasporic lands.

Keywords: Minang People; Ranah Rantau; Minang Culture; Harakatul Jannah Mosque

Background

The Harakatul Jannah mosque in Gadog, Ciawi, Bogor serves a similar function to other mosques. In addition to being places of worship, such as obligatory daily prayers, Friday prayers, and other religious rituals, mosques also function as centers of Islamic culture that host many social activities. This function is a continuation of traditional practices, where the mosque was the medium of religious propagation (da‘wah) and the center of activities of the new generations of Indonesian Muslims. It was the primary means by which Muslims achieved civilizational progress in Indonesia.1

However, what distinguishes the Harakatul Jannah mosque from other mosques in the vicinity is that it was built by a group of Minang people who are in the diaspora. They believe that building a mosque is a very important task in Muslim societies. This phenomenon of a group of Muslims building mosques has a long history in the development of Islam in Indonesia. A growing Muslim population would agree to build a mosque and establish it as a cosmopolitan center to hold community activities.

Maintaining an Islamic life and integrating it with the local tradition is characteristic of the Minang people. The ethnographic work of Mochtar Naim, *Migrating the Minangkabau Ethnic Migration Pattern* (1984), confirms this. According to Naim, migration is a unique custom of the Minang people. Through the practice of migrating to various regions, the diasporic Minangkabau contributed to the social, economic, including cultural life of their newly adopted communities. The wanderers of Minangkabau in history did not only take part in the commercial sector (trade) alone but also made contributions in education and Islamic propagation.

As illustrated in Tsuyoshi Kato’s work, *Matriliny and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia* (1982), the tradition of *merantau* (migration) for the Minangkabau people is an essential part of life, as it forms one of the more prominent aspects of their inherited custom (*adat*). The *perantau* (wanderers, or those who undergo migration and diaspora) remain bound to the Minangkabau *adat*, despite being in diaspora. For example, wanderers in the city would distribute charities for common good in the *Nagari* by building mosques, clinics, schools, and others. This practice encouraged the Minang diasporic community in the city of Bogor and surrounding areas to establish the Harakatul Jannah Mosque.

In the long tradition of *merantau*, the Minang people are faithful to the maxim, *adat basandi sarak*, *sarak basandi Kitabullah* (“*adat* is based on *shari’ah* (Islamic law), *shari’ah* is based on the Quran”). This maxim is held wherever they may be. As a result, Islamic teachings are the foundation of their behavior and interactions, as they contain guidance on maintaining one’s relationship with God (the horizontal-vertical framework) and one’s relationship with other people (the horizontal-horizontal framework).

But can this maxim survive outside the Minangkabau region, especially in areas with different cultures, such as Javanese culture? This question must be raised because, diasporic cultures usually face difficulties in getting acknowledgement and acceptance from the local community, which already have its own culture to maintain. Can Minang culture blend with and contribute to the people of Java? In this regard, Stuart Hall in *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* explains that identity is not only based

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2 The Minang people in this article refer to a group of wanderers from Minangkabau, particularly the majority of the largest population of the West Sumatra province. See, for example, Elizabeth E. Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1981), p. 53.


6 Naim.

7 This term is used by the West Sumatrans to refer to the village or sub-district area. It can also refer to the central area of a particular village, and signifies the heart of the community.


on archeological evidence but is also founded on the depiction of the past, where cultural identity and history are seen as a unity of shared ownership. Thus, even though a tradition exists in a place different from where it originated, each adat holder’s existence indicates a shared ownership of the culture.

Minang people believe that they should continue to preserve their ancestors’ noble values wherever they may be. These values will naturally be preserved by the Minang adat holders as they are a major part of their private lives. When each individual and group is united by the noble values of Minangkabau culture in diasporic lands, they will try to strengthen their bond with them. Harmony will occur between Minang culture and that of other regions, in this case, Bogor in West Java.

The method used in this research is qualitative. While the data collection is done through literature research and documentation, data analysis is based on heuristic techniques, verification, interpretation, and historiographical methods. This study finds that through the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, the wanderers from Minangkabau are able to relive the Minang tradition both in social activities and in the form of architecture. Although European and Middle Eastern architectural elements are dominant in this mosque, they do not eliminate the Minangkabau cultural character, which is reflected in several mosque elements, such as the Bundo Kanduang Gate, the Hajjah Tower, and the Majlis of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi.

The article will focus on the integration of Minang culture with the outside world, as seen in the presence of the Harakatul Jannah mosque. A mosque is a form of acculturation of Minang culture both in local traditions (the Sundanese culture) and with the outside world (Europe and the Middle East).

The case of the acculturation of Minang culture in the outside world has been researched by Wahab and Bahauddin (2016; 2018). In “Merantau: Agents of Developments of Malay Heritages Built Environment” (2018: 163-171), they identify elements of Minang architecture in Rembau, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia. They examine the cultural history and impact of migration on the development of Malay architecture. Cultural acculturation is seen through elements of traditional home architectural design in Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, which has similarities to Minangkabau homes in Indonesia.

In this context, migration is no longer limited the movement of people from one place to another but is also the process of adaptation as well as cultural acculturation. This process is reflected in various things, both architectural buildings (traditional houses) and other objects such as tools, boats, and other means of transportation.

This article attempts to complement Wahab and Bahauddin’s findings. While the case in Negeri Sembilan is more focused on the acculturation of Minang culture in the Malay world through the medium of traditional houses, deals with the mediator of customs (i.e. the Sunda culture of West Java), as well as

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European and Middle Eastern cultures. These elements of acculturation are represented in the building of a house of worship, Masjid Harakatul Jannah in Bogor, West Java.

**History of Mosque Establishment**

In the context of the development of Islam in modern Indonesia, mosques increasingly play an essential role as a medium for Islamic teachings. If in the early days of Islam, building and maintaining the mosque was the moral responsibility of the leader of the community or state. As the number of Muslims grew, the role shifted: the villages and towns took over this responsibility from the leader of the city or the country. With this change, the pattern of establishment, function, ideology, and architecture of the mosque became more diverse. Influenced by the community’s socio-cultural conditions, the construction of the mosque became a very cosmopolitan affair. It was not fixated on one culture but was very multicultural. This is in full display in the design of the Harakatul Jannah mosque.

Despite the Minang origins of its founders, the mosque is open to everyone. Aside from being a prayer place for all Muslims, the mosque is also a meeting center for traders from various parts of the city. Located on the main route to Bogor, at the edge of the Ciawi highway, the Harakatul Jannah mosque has become a space of inter-community interaction that contributes to social integration. Given its strategic location, its attractive architecture, it is not surprising that many people worship and carry out other religious activities at the Harakatul Jannah mosque.

True to the traditional role of the mosque, the Harakatul Jannah mosque was also the center of various Muslim activities. In addition to functioning as a place of worship, prayers, and *dhikr* (collective meditation gatherings), it is also a center for various activities, including discussions and consultations on a range of issues, whether economic, social, cultural, educational, and political issues. It has also served as a place where people meet to settle contracts, discuss legal disputes, receive guests, conduct marriage ceremonies. Given its location, it has also served as shelter for the traveler, and a center of information.\(^{15}\)

The Harakatul Jannah mosque occupies a land area of 1.1 hectares. It was conceived by Datuk Syahrul Effendi,\(^{16}\) through self-financing and money raised from 88 donors are consisting of several wanderers from Minangkabau.\(^{17}\) They were move by the common religious exhortation that by building mosques in the world, they will have a home in heaven. This statement, which refers to a report of the Prophet’s statement has encouraged many Muslims to build mosques, whether individually or as a group. This was why the Minang migrants of the are decided to build a magnificent and beautiful mosque.\(^{18}\)

The naming of the mosque, *harakat al-jannah*, which means “the movement towards heaven”, or the “road to heaven,” was inspired by the concern of Minang migrants for the social condition of the city of Bogor. Their concern was expressed in the form of an organization named GeSOR (Migrants’ Social Movement).\(^{19}\) The members of this organization consists of alumni various universities in Jakarta who are of Minang origins. They felt the need for a forum that could bring them together with the ultimate motivation of facilitating worship among

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\(^{15}\)Swambodo Murdariatmo Adi, 'Mosque as a Model of Learning Principles of Sustainable Architecture’, *Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 4.1 (2016), 33 [https://doi.org/10.18860/jia.v4i1.3090].

\(^{16}\)Syahrul Effendi is a former Mayor of South Jakarta, having served as Deputy Governor for Population and Settlement Control.


\(^{18}\)Syahrul Effendi (The founder of Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), *Interview* [15 September 2017].

\(^{19}\)DKM Team.
Muslims. GeSOR’s activities strives to contribute to the local community. Specifically, they focus on responses to natural disasters, education, and social problems. GeSOR assisted in the construction of several mosques in the islands of Java and Sumatra, such as the structure of the Al-Muchtar mosque in Panarukan Subang, the Al-Ikhsas mosque in Cigalontang and Sodang Ilir Tasik Malaya-West Java. They also rebuilt mosques that were affected by natural disasters, such as the 2010 earthquake in Simpang Haru-Padang, Punggung Ladiang, and Kurai Taji Padang Pariaman, West Sumatra.  

Many factors have prompted the Minang migrants to build the Harakatul Jannah mosque. Among them is their belief in the propagation (syiar) of Islam. Through the mosque, it is hoped that the Muslim community will be able to carry out religious activities from which the spread of Islam can take place. Among the 2,188 mosques in the Bogor regency, the Harakatul Jannah Mosque contributed to the growth and diversity of religious life in the region, while contributing to the progress of Islamic civilization in the world.

With the mosques mission of orienting oneself “towards heaven,” Mr. Datuk Syahrul hopes that leaders will emerge with qualified knowledge, who have courage to uphold justice and spread goodness in accordance to the spirit of the Prophets and Apostles. This spirit is based on the principles of truthfulness (siddiq), trustworthiness (amanah), propagation of the divine message (tabligh), and intelligence (fatanah). Through the mosque, it is hoped that Islamic principles will be maintained in order to further develop civilization.

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20DKM Team.
21Bahrol Ulum (Head section of the Ministry of Religion, Bogor), Interview {September 12, 2017}.
22Irvan (Secretary of the MUI Bogor Regency Organization and Foreign Relations Commission), Interview {September 12, 2017}.
24Haris.
overlapping roofs represents the acculturated style that reveal local influence.\textsuperscript{26}

Mosque construction do not contain rules regarding how a mosque should be built. This encourages the growth of mosques with diverse styles of architecture, since each mosque is intended to appeal to the sense of beauty held by the local congregation.\textsuperscript{27} Adaptation of the mosque building to local values encourages the growth of mosques with diverse characters.\textsuperscript{28} Scholars have shown that the mosque architecture in Indonesia was influenced not only by the style of the Arabian Peninsula but also by the aesthetics of Chinese, Indian and Javanese architecture. This shows how acceptance of local knowledge and culture in Islamic teachings leads to greater success in integration efforts.\textsuperscript{29}

The prototype of the Harakatul Jannah mosque is marked by this process of acculturation. It is inspired by the triumph of Islam in reaching the various regions of the world. We see elements of Middle Eastern, European, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, and Malay styles combining into a single building. The founder’s message from each corner of the mosque can be conveyed to the congregation.\textsuperscript{30}

The Harakatul Jannah mosque combine Islamic culture with modern culture. The Taj Mahal, for example, was a major inspiration for the architectures. Located on the medial side of the mosque building, a large dome is made to resemble an onion with a round bottom. There are six other domes, smaller and made of copper, which adorn the mosque building. All of them are decorated with octagonal star ornaments, which are presented in the form of embossing. Besides, there are also eight-angle star ornaments that illustrate Islam’s perfection (syumul Islam), which is equipped with small stars and is surrounded by 12 other actors. On the top of the dome, there is a cover in the form of a lotus flower with a pole supporting the crescent and star.\textsuperscript{31}

In general, we can see how the mosque was built by integrating Arabic and Turkish architecture, as well as elements from Asia, Europe, and Africa.\textsuperscript{32} This is seen in the dome design of the mosque, which is very inspired by the model of the mosque in the heyday of the Ottoman Empire. The influence of European architecture can also be seen in the pillars of the mosque, which uses the gothic style that is widely used medieval European buildings. With the use of pillars that coincide between two tall pillars and two shorter pillars, the mosque architects wanted to portray the glory of Islam in the continent of Europe. Furthermore, as a backrest of the four pillars, there is a rectangular building that has a touch of Arabic architecture. The shape of the black square building resembles the Kaaba. It is coated with black granite, two yellow-brown lines, and white lines on the top and bottom that coincide with the yellow line.\textsuperscript{33}

The geographical location of the Harakatul Jannah mosque is very advantageous. It is located when visitors are about to enter the highland area with relatively cold temperatures. As a result, there is no need for ventilation of air or large-sized shutters. Therefore, the windows in the mosque section are marked by

\textsuperscript{26}Haris.
\textsuperscript{27}Tawalnuddin Haris, 	extit{Majjid-majjid Bersejarah di Jakarta} (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2010), p.12.
\textsuperscript{29}Amelia Fauzia and others, 	extit{Majjid dan Pembangunan Perdamaian: Studi Kasus Pusd, Ambon, Ternate, dan Jayapura} (Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2011), p. 27.
\textsuperscript{30}Syahrul Effendi (The founder of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), 	extit{Interview} {15 September 2017}.
\textsuperscript{31}DKM Team.
\textsuperscript{33}DKM Team.
typical Malay prototypes, such as those used in the Malay region (i.e., with small window sizes). Also, the use of shutters with Malay characteristics is an indication of the spread of Islam in the Malay and Sumatran lands.

The doors of the Harakatul Jannah mosque are made of highly detailed teak carvings, with quality teak wood choices. The doors are broader and taller than standard doors. This feature of the mosque gives the effect of majesty and grandeur. Each door is made in the form of a sizeable slender-shaped pull made of carved copper.

The ceiling of the mosque on the first floor is filled with carved teak ornament. In the middle, there is a square made of teak wood complete with detailed carvings. The square frames an eight-star engraving that symbolizes the perfection of Islam. The teak carving was done repeatedly because at the beginning of its manufacturing, there was an error in the teak wood carving motif. Precisely in the middle of an eight-star engraving are placed imported crystal lamps that complement the spatial layout of the mosque.

Another noteworthy element is the mosque’s mihrab (frontmost niche where the leader of the prayer stands), which is made with the same material as the interior ceiling decoration, namely teak carvings. In fact, the unique properties of the teak carving can be seen in this mihrab section, because the motifs are made to resemble those of the carvings at the famous Sunan Kudus mosque, Central Java. Parts of teak wood carved on the doors, ceiling and mihrab are made directly in parts of the mosque. By bringing in materials from Jepara, Central Java, and hiring experienced craftsman, the high level of detail and quality of the work was ensured. Indeed, the carvings alone took approximately three years to complete.

The Harakatul Jannah mosque consists of two floors. The first floor is used as the main hall, where mosque activities take place. At times when the congregation is congested, the first floor is also used as a prayer room. During Friday prayer, the second floor is used as the main room for prayer meetings. Therefore, a staircase connects the first floor with the second floor. The stairs are constructed in the shape of a half circle on the left and right side of the main hall. This is inspired by Indian architecture. The main ingredient of the stairs is marble. The railing is made of wrought iron, with a handrail made of teak wood. This staircase is inspired primarily by the architecture of ancient buildings in India.

The materials used for the flooring of the first floor is of high quality. It made from marble from Italy and Sulawesi. Specifically, in the middle of the mosque, there is a woven pattern. The woven pattern is in the form of lines that are interlaced. This represents the relationship between Muslims from various regions in Indonesia who are bound by an Islamic fraternal bond (ukhuwah Islamiyah). The black part of the line is made of granite, and the sides are made of lines that act as a border for the rows when praying in congregation.

In the eastern part of the mosque, there is also a place for ablution that is separate from the mosque’s hall. Exactly below the plaza, accompanied by a unique staircase to get to the mosque’s main building, the ablution room is also equipped with footwear storage shelves. This feature has also been added to the ablution room in the courtyard of the mosque, which is located at the left side of the ablution place that was first built. In the southern part of the mosque on the second floor, there is a reception room for guests, especially for prayer leaders (imans) and preachers (khatib). The place is located just below dome supported by 12 pillars.

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34 Syahrul Effendi (The founder of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), Interview {15 September 2017}. 
Usually, before and after Friday prayers, the imam and khatib rest in this room.

Another noteworthy element is the mosque’s ornaments.\(^{35}\) In general, the establishment of any mosque must be accompanied by the typical forms of ornamentation, such as the carvings or paintings of verses from the Quran, and other sacred words, such as the names of God (asma’ al-husna). These decorations elicit admiration and awe on the part of the worshipers who see it. In the case of the Harakatul Jannah mosque, interior decorations are also of great concern. The mosque’s interior is full of calligraphic decorations found on a rectangular frame below the dome. Each side of the square has a different verse in the Quran.

The front of the rectangular side below the dome bears the calligraphy of Surat al-Taubah: 18:

> “Those who prosper the mosques of Allah are only those who believe in Allah and the next day and continue to establish prayers, perform zakat and are not afraid (of anyone) other than Allah. They are the people who belong to the group of people who know.”

On the right-hand side is the Surat al-Ankabut: 45:

> “Read what has been revealed to you, namely the Book (the Quran) and pray. Surely prayer prevents from the heinous and unjust (acts)”

Furthermore, on the left side is Surat al-Tawbah: 108:

> “Do not pray in the mosque forever. Indeed, the mosque, which was founded based on piety (Quba mosque), from the first day is more worthy of you to pray in it. Inside there are people who want to clean themselves. And Allah likes clean people”.

And at the back is inscribed Surat al-Jumah: 9:

> “Meaning: O you who believe, when it is called upon to pray on Friday, then hasten to remember Allah and leave trade. That is better for you if you know.”

Furthermore, in addition to these architectural styles, several elements of the mosque strongly reflect Minangkabau cultural characteristics. These elements include:

**Bundo Kanduang Gate**

The touch of Minangkabau architectural tradition can be seen in the main gate of the mosque. The gate is located on right on the main street, often inviting interest from passers-by. The main gates of the mosque has a pointed roof on the right and left, which is an application of the typical Minangkabau gonjong (pitched) roof. The gonjong roof that resembles buffalo horns is uniquely applied to the gate and bears an strong golden yellow color that is of Malay provenance.\(^{36}\)

According to the founder of the mosque, Datuk Syahrul Effendi, the philosophy that led to the construction of the magnificent gate is embedded in Minangkabau culture. He said that the Minang people do not forget aforementioned traditional teaching of “adat bersanding sarak, sarak bersanding Kitabullah” (adat is based on shari’ab (Islamic law), shari’ab is based on the Quran). The Minang people cannot be separated from the Book of God (i.e., the Quran and hadith). He described the existence of the main gate as a portrait of the Minang traditional teachings. This is because when entering, the person will be met with the symbol of the sarak (Islamic law) and Kitabullah (Quran), namely the mosque.\(^{37}\)

The part of the building that has the architectural form of a pointed roof (gonjong) is a standard feature of mosques in Minangkabau. However, this feature has always “collaborated” with local cultures, even within Minang land.\(^{38}\)

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\(^{37}\)Syahrul Effendi (The founder of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), *Interview* [September 15, 2017].


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For example, Minangkabau mosques in Padang have a Minangkabau architectural style but with a more modern touch.  

**Hajjah Tower**

The Hajjah Tower or the Harakatul Jannah Tower is a mosque element that expresses Minangkabau cultural values. The aspect stands on the right side of the mosque visually resembles the Gadjah (“large”) clock in Fort de Kock, which is located in Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. Datuk Syahrul Effendi said that the Hajjah Tower, which is equipped with a clock on the sides of the top of the tower, suggests two things. First, glorifying mothers and women. This is particularly important because building of the mosque was a mandate given by his mother; this noble request was the fundamental reason why he embarked on the construction project. Thus, wanting to glorify mothers and women, he made sure that the Hajjah Tower was built higher than other mosque elements. Second, the Hajjah Tower is considered as a lighthouse to remind people of time. Datuk Syahrul Effendi said: “Betapa cepat hidup ini, kita harus mengetahui arah hidup kita (how fast life is; we must know the direction of our lives).” Also, the philosophy of glorifying the position of a mother is related closely to the matrilineal kinship system in Minangkabau society, which is still upheld.

At the bottom of the Hajjah Tower, there is a room that will later become the International Islamic Center. The construction of the room is not yet complete, and the institution has not been legally formalized. However, the Harakatul Jannah mosque was active several times in meetings involving major religious scholars (ulamas), like the visit of the Shaykh (religious scholar) Muhammad Fadil al-Jaylani al-Hasani al-Husayni from Turkey in 2018, and a number of Afghan ulamas who were visiting Indonesian at the time (2017). The scholars around the mosque were also involved in conducting dialogue directly with these ulamas. The mosque also participated in a number of international conferences. Agus Mulyadi, the Chairperson of the Harakatul Jannah mosque Board, met representatives of various countries. First, he met in official capacity with Swiss representatives at the Peles Palace. Second, he travelled to the Philippines in a series of events discussing world peace. Third, he travelled to Japan at the invitation of Professor Takeshi Kumura of Tsukuba University, who had previously visited the Harakatul Jannah mosque. The meeting in Japan was held as a dialogue with the Muslim Professional Japan Association (MPJA), or also known as the Muslim Council of Japan, discussing the Japanese need for Indonesian preachers. Activities that have been carried out in these countries support the existence of the International Islamic Center later.

**Majlis of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi**

Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi Majlis (Assembly) is a mosque building located right next to the Hajjah Tower. The element of this mosque is named as the majlis (assembly) of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. The naming is a sign of respect to this figure, given his role in the process of Islamic renewal in Minangkabau (circa 1324 H/1906 CE).

The activities carried out in the Majlis of Shaykh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi assembly involve the students and administrators of the Harakatul Jannah mosque. After the Maghrib (sunset) prayers of every

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41 Syahrul Effendi (The founder of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), *Interview* {15 September 2017}.
42 Agus Mulyana (Chairman of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), *Interview* {22 September 2017}.
43 Syahrul Effendi (The founder of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), *Interview* {15 September 2017}.

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Friday, all the students, mosque officials, imams, as well as the founder himself, Datuk Syahrul, would gather to hold a weekly gathering. The program is to hold examinations for the students’ memorization of the Quran. The administrators themselves test the quality of the students’ memorization.44

This activity has similarities with religious and intellectual activities in Minangkabau. In the Minangkabau community, every boy is not allowed to spend the night at his mother’s house. Rather, he must spend the night in the surau.45 This practice aims at maximizing the process of religious learning.46 The santri activities of the Harakatul Jannah mosque are focused on studying religion, especially memorizing the Quran and learning the Arabic language. The students’ involvement in the Harakatul Jannah mosque’s activities shows that these are different from other mosques in general, because it also functions as a place for spiritual learning.

Boarding House

The mosque’s Board and other officials are also involved in the surrounding community. The mosque and the community contribute to each other’s well-being and prosperity. To foster this relationship, the Harakatul Jannah mosque administrators select several boys from the community around the mosque to receive a scholarship to study in the House of Tahfiz Harakatul Jannah. Until now, there are six students from the local community who are being trained to memorize the entirety of the Quran. The boarding house, called Dangau Sarasah, is a place where students live and conduct their daily learning activities, such as the deepening knowledge of the Quran guided by a teacher, memorizing the holy book, and learning the Arabic language.

The uniqueness of the architectural style of the mosque is due to the fact that there are no specific rules as to how to build a place of worship in both the Quran and hadith. The only rule agreed by all is the direction of the building, which must face the Kaaba (i.e., the direction of the qiblah).47 Thus, in the Islamic world, architects and Muslim communities have the freedom to be creative in the building of mosques (Tjandrasasmita, 1991: 48-75).

Another factor, according to Uka Tjandrasasmita (1985: 20), is that the mosque architecture is also designed in such a way as to attract non-Muslims to embrace Islam. If they enter these mosques, they will not experience a culture shock, because the structure will be aesthetically familiar. The only difference is that in the mosque, the monotheistic teachings of the Prophet is taught. In other words, architecture and decorative art can be considered not only a means for Islamization but also a means for community integration.48

The process of social integration is also possible because the mosque has the function of being a center of Islamic education, a practice that is quite prominent in Indonesian mosques.49 The mosque’s position as the center of Islamic culture is a manifestation of the universalism of the traditional education system, which draws inspiration from mosques

44Agus Mulyana (Chairman of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque, Bogor), Interview {September 22, 2017}.
45Linguistically, surau means place or place of worship. Surau is a small building intended in the process of worshipping ancestors; for this reason, the mosque is usually built-in high places in the countryside. See, Azyumardi Azra, Surau: Traditional Islamic Education in Transition and Modernisasi (Jakarta: Kencana, 2017), p. 23.
at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In many places, where Muslims are not so influenced by Western culture, scholars are found who devotedly teach students in mosques, and give advice and encouragement to their students to continue the tradition that was formed since the beginning of Islam.

The principle of cooperation makes the process of community integration through the mosque even stronger. The mosque not only functions as a place of worship, it is a symbol of community unity and Islamic fraternity (wukunah Islamiyyah). The Harakatul Jannah mosque was also built to reflect the principle of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, a national symbol articulating the unity of the Indonesian people despite the great diversity of the land. Thus, until now, the role and function of the Harakatul Jannah mosque are increasingly influential, especially as a medium of social integration. Its management is based on the importance of openness and multiculturalism.

The ‘Multicultural’ Management of Harakatul Jannah Mosque

The Harakatul Jannah Mosque has a strategic role as a center that aims to produce to a unified, protected, moderate, and tolerant Muslim community. In doing so, the mosque makes contributions to economic, educational, socio-cultural life. This is in line with the Decree of the Director-General of Islamic Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs No. D.J.II / 802I, 2014, concerning the Standards for Mosque Management. This regulation stipulates that mosques like Harakatul Jannah is to be used for various community activities, including marriage, education, and Islamic holiday celebrations.

The Harakatul Jannah Mosque has become a symbol of multiculturalism, uniting a diversity of people and cultures, reconciling differences, and strengthening social integration. This is evidenced by the policies adopted by the management, where the Mosque is open to anyone—there is even no prohibition for non-Muslims to enter the Mosque. There are no Muslim groups, whether it is Muhammadiyah, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Persatuan Islam (Persis), Lembaga Da’wah Islam Indonesia (LDII), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), as well as the Shi’ah and even Ahmadiyyah sects. Everyone can enter the Harakatul Jannah mosque. Although Minang diaspora figures formulated the concept of its founding, the mosque was intended for all groups, with the primary role as a place of unity, where tolerance and respect is maintained between various communities.

This principle is important, given the perception that mosques can be the sites of radicalism, where the values of multiculturalism and social integration is weakened. If specific mechanisms are not created that enable dialogue between communities, the narrow space of multiculturalism will increase the potential for conflict between groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim, as well as between modernist Muslims and traditional Muslims. The Baidhawy Study (2014), for example, has jurisdiction.
identified the scope of material for religious sermons in mosques and other religious gatherings in the city of Solo, Central Java. It identifies the multicultural and anti-multicultural messages delivered in speeches and lectures.

The study concluded the following. First, the diversity of society, whether in terms of ethnicity, culture, or religion, received little attention from preachers in various mosques and religious gatherings. Second, in addition to multicultural values, religious sermons and lectures contain anti-multicultural messages, such as prejudice and stereotypes towards other groups, especially non-Muslims and Western countries. Third, the material of religious sermons and lectures implies the intensity of the so-called puritanical movement.\(^5\)

This has become a significant challenge in the process of establishing mosques as a medium of social integration between people.\(^5\) The mosque should be a means to strengthen tolerance between communities.\(^5\) Through the mosque, an attitude of mutual respect, both between religions and between cultures, should be fostered. This would further enhance diversity, which is a characteristic of Indonesia. The variety of Indonesian cultures and faiths needs to be maintained, and mosques can become a medium to strengthen social integration in a multicultural society. It was in this context that the Harakatul Jannah mosque was founded.

Efforts to further vivify this mosque as a medium for strengthening social integration in multicultural communities continue to be carried out by mosque activists gathered around the mosque’s Board. These efforts have always involved the local community. Some activities that have so far been routinely carried out include the following\(^5\):

**Majlis Ta’lim**

Majlis Ta’lim (religious assembly for collective meditation and prayers) are routinely carried out on Friday mornings, attended mainly by the women of the local community surrounding the Harakatul Jannah mosque. Usually, the task of offering \(d\)a’\(w\)ah speeches (i.e., general guidance for better practice of Islam) and the topic under discussion of the Assembly of Ta’lim Women are determined by the mosque Board. However, currently the discussions have revolved around issues that are being faced by the community.

It is more naturally to integrate the mosque institution in the local community when they do it together as a congregation. The Islamic Student Assembly of the Harakatul Jannah mosque sometimes hosts other students from the Ulama Cadre Education (PKU) of the local Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) office in the city of Bogor. Seeing the prestige and knowledge of these religious studies students from the PKU facilitates the mosque administrators in preaching to the local congregation. This is very important considering how significant the \(a\)ulama’s role in providing Islamic teachings, especially with respect to religious issues that the community often experiences.

**Istighasah**

Another monthly activity that is carried out at the Harakatul Jannah mosque is the


\(^{5}\)Results of Author Observation; Personal Interview with Agus Mulyana (Chairperson of the DKM Mosque Harakatul Jannah-Bogor), *Interview* {22 September 2017}.
Istighasah (Arabic: istighatha, meaning “to request,” to “call for help”). This activity has been held routinely since the inauguration of the mosque five years ago. Istighasah is held on Saturday night at the beginning of every month. This schedule changes only in the occasion of Muslim holidays such as Eid al-Fitr or Eid al-Adha.

The joint Istighasah performs an important function for the mosque Board and administrators, namely, to foster a good relationship between the mosque and the local community. This is achieved by inviting well-known and charismatic figures, such as venerable scholars (kyai), descendants of the Prophet (habib), religious studies students (santri) of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren).

**Khatamul Quran Prayer**

The Khatam Quran Prayer (i.e., a collective prayer done after finishing a reading of the entire Quran) is held routinely every Friday morning, specifically after the evening prayer (Maghrib) until late in the evening. This session not only includes the Khatamul Quran prayer, it also involves the examination of students from the Tahfizh (Quran memorization) House of the Harakatul Jannah Mosque. The testing begins with a recitation of one or two verses of the Quran performed by one of the administrators or even the entire Board. The students are then asked to memorize these verses and continue the cantation.

Accompanied by mosque officials who test the students’ memorization, the students and the administrators also listen to the reading of the Quran. There is usually a lecture given by representatives of the Board or the mosque management if time is available. Datuk Syahrul Effendi as the founder of the Harakatul Jannah mosque is also a frequent attendee. He often monitors various activities in the mosque involving students from the Tahfizh House.

Through these various religious activities, the Harakatul Jannah mosque was able to attract the local community’s interest to come to the mosque, both for worship and other events. Indeed, the city gave a positive response. The Bogor Regency office of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), for example, welcomed the establishment of the Harakatul Jannah mosque because it showed that through the building of the mosque, the task of spreading the message of Islam in that region is being fulfilled. The strategic location of the mosque also allows it to become a tourist spot in the city.

The fact that the mosque is built in a visibly Minang style is something well-known to the public, especially coupled with the background of its founder’s hometown. The mosque is considered as a fine representation of Islam in Indonesia. This can be seen in the architectural elements that adopt Javanese, Chinese, and Malay cultures. Moreover, the portrayal of culture in the Harakatul Jannah mosque building is dominated by Islamic values. This is due to the Minang cultural guideline that stipulates the importance of making sure that custom (adat) and divine law are in harmony. This has encouraged the growth of religious scholarship in the mosque’s institutions.

Regarding the question of acculturation, the MUI considers that this term is useful to express the collaboration between Islam and the various cultures in Indonesia. Furthermore, this collaboration does not infringe upon Islamic values. Instead, the existence of mosques such as the Harakatul Jannah is part of the history...
and life Nusantara mosques. The representation of Indonesian Islam in the construction of mosques is not always oriented towards the architecture or prototypes of mosque buildings in Arabia. In addition to activities in the Mosque, The Bogor Regency MUI also often conducts joint activities, such as giving lectures in the women’s Majlis Ta’lim, and other preaching activities involving students from the aforementioned PKU.62

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Religious Affairs office of the Bogor Regency considers the existence of the Harakatul Jannah mosque as a very strategic mosque in the area, especially due to the mosque’s location at the edge of the highway. This has made it easier to spread the message of Islam not only to worshipers around the district of Gadog but also worshipers from other regions. Regarding the question of acculturation of Minang culture within the Sundanese population of the area, the office felt that this was not a problem. The mosque administrators made sure that teachings that deviate from the tenets of Islam are not being spread in the mosque. This concern is especially important, given the diversity of the various tribes, religions, and cultures of the Bogor Regency. The office also believes that the presentation of da’wah on a weekly schedule, such as the Majlis Ta’lim for women and the Friday sermons, are well-delivered. The Friday preacher (khatib) are scheduled alternately and convey diverse topics that are relevant to the congregation. Activities on major holidays such as Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha are often more crowded.63

The local government of the district of Megamendung also gave a positive assessment. They consider that the Harakatul Jannah mosque in Gadog has been able to introduce diversity to the people of Megamendung, especially Gadog, Sukamahi, and Ciawi. This includes pilgrims from various regions who are often in dire need of mosques in the transit area, especially at the time of Friday Prayer. Regarding the mosque architecture, the Megamendung Subdistrict considers that there is no problem with the acculturation of a Minang-style mosque in the midst of a Sundanese population. This is because in Megamendung, many different tribes from outside the Bogor community live in the area. The district of Megamendung recognizes the presence of Ambon, Batak, and other non-Sundanese communities. Thus, the Harakatul Jannah mosque adds to the cultural treasury of the city. Activities that are often carried out by inviting scholars from outside the immediate network of the mosque’s administrators; this indicates an openness to diversity and acceptance of the Bogor community at large.64

**Conclusion**

There is no doubt that every community has some form of cultural responsibility. This can be realized in various aspects of life. Maintaining the Minang culture is the duty of anyone who feels to be Minang, wherever they may be.

The case of the Harakatul Jannah mosque in Bogor shows how the Minang people are always trying to maintain their original culture even though they are physically far from their hometown. Building mosques with Minang architecture is a way they show their cultural responsibility.

In addition to strengthening the community’s identity in modern life, they also sought to bring the Minang atmosphere to the island of Java. The activities of the students and the general public in the mosque show similarities to the Islamic intellectual traditions

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62Irvan (Secretary of the Commission on Organization and Foreign Relations), Interview (September 12, 2017).
63Bahruul Ulum (The head section of Ministry of Religion, Bogor), Interview {12 September 2017}.
64Ade Chaidir (The head section of P.K.M), Interview {22 September 2017}.
of 19th century Minangkabau. This is how Minang cultural identity is strengthened in diasporic lands.

The acculturation of Minang culture through the Harakatul Jannah mosque is not a unique phenomenon. It is likely that similar initiatives are found in other regions. Because of this, further research is needed if we are to understand how Minang culture is integrated in the cultural life of the various ethnic groups and communities of Indonesia.

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