

## SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF SULANG SILIMA IN THE EMPOWERMENT OF THE ZAM-ZAM POND MOSQUE IN DAIRI REGENCY, NORTH SUMATERA

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### Abstract

This research aims to describe the role of Sulang Silima local wisdom; *perisang-isang*, *pertulan Tengah*, *perukur-ukur*, *puhun* and *anak berru* in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra. The type of research is qualitative, the data collection tools used are observation and interviews with religious and traditional leaders who know exactly the Sulang Silima culture. Based on the research results, it was found that the local wisdom of Sulang Silima can be interpreted socially in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque. *Perisang-isang* is synonymous with the protective and advisory section of the Mosque Prosperity Board (BKM). The middle person is the Chairman of the Mosque Prosperity Board, secretary and treasurer. *Perukur-ukur* are areas or sections of mosque management; *da'wah*, education, social welfare and public relations. *Puhun* is synonymous with the field of mosque planning and programming. Meanwhile, *Berru's* children are mosque *marbots*; janitors, *muezzins* and mosque guards. These five elements are collaborative and complement each other in carrying out their respective duties and functions. In practice, these five elements of local culture were transferred into Islamic acculturation and turned out to be effective in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque.

Keywords: Social interpretation; Sulang silima; Telaga zam-zam mosque.

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as a Pancasila state, is pluralistic and multicultural in terms of religion, language, ethnicity, social groups, and culture. Regarding religion, six religions are officially recognized: Islam, Catholic Christianity, Protestant Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. This is enshrined in the 1945 Constitution, Article 29, clauses 1 and 2. Clause 1 states that everyone is free to practice their own religion and worship according to their religion and beliefs. Clause 2 ensures that the state guarantees the freedom of every individual to practice their religion and worship as per their beliefs.

In Indonesia comprises 478 ethnic groups, 742 regional dialects, and 1,728 cultural heritages stretching from Sabang, Aceh, to Papua. Given this vast number, Indonesia is considered a culturally rich nation with high-value, popular, and deeply rooted traditions inherited from ancestors across generations (Marzuki & Fikri, 2022).

The cultural diversity in Indonesian society is exemplified by the Minangkabau ethnic group in West Sumatra, which adheres to the "*Tigo Tungku Sejarahngan*" (three pillars): *Ninik Mamak* (traditional elders), *Alim Ulama* (religious leaders), and *Cadiak Pandai* (intellectuals). According (Ardieansyah, Meiyenti, Mulya Nalien, & Sentosa, 2020), the foundation of Minangkabau culture is the principle "*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*" (custom is based on religious law, and religious law is based on the Quran). *Ninik Mamak* are traditional elders appointed by village leaders in each hamlet, typically the founders of the village or members of the aristocracy. *Alim Ulama* refers to religious figures such as ulemas, preachers, and *imams*, whose words and actions serve as examples. *Cadiak Pandai* represents intellectuals, including village heads and scholars, who are rational, integrative, creative, and innovative in advancing their community.

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The Mandailing community follows the "*Dalihan Na Tolu*" culture. "*Dalihan*" means hearth, "*na*" means "the," and "*tolu*" means three, referring to the three harmonious pillars: *Mora* (elders), *Kahanggi* (cousins), and *Anak Boru* (sons/daughters-in-law). These three pillars regulate all social and cultural activities (Sahrul & Daulai, 2019). Similarly, the Batak Toba community also practices "*Dalihan Na Tolu*," comprising *Hula-hula* (elders), *Dongan Sabutuha* (cousins), and *Anak Boru* (sons/daughters-in-law). Although terminology differs between Mandailing and Batak Toba communities, the essence remains the same.

The Pakpak Dairi community follows the "Sulang Silima" culture, which includes *Perisang-isang* (elders), *Pertulan Tengah* (cousins), *Perukur-ukur* (youngest generation), *Puang/Puhun* (relatives), and *Anak Berru* (sons/daughters-in-law). These five cultural elements are applied in religious, social, and cultural life. Notably, these elements are interpreted socially and implemented in empowering the minority Muslim community's Telaga Zam Zam mosque in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra.

Over the past five years, significant research has been conducted on the "Sulang Silima" culture of Pakpak Dairi. (Baiduri & Panjaitan, 2022) examined the role of women in the "*Menglolo Utang Pranikahan*" (pre-wedding debt settlement) tradition in Dairi, North Sumatra. Their findings revealed that "Sulang Silima" plays a critical role in resolving debts before marriage. (Berutu, Amal, & Hidayat, 2022) studied reciprocity in the "*Mengrumbang*" ceremony among the Pakpak ethnic community in Sidikalang, Dairi Regency. Their research showed that "Sulang Silima" is crucial for the "*Mengrumbang*" ceremony (settling customary debts), where unresolved debts prevent individuals from participating in communal ceremonies. (Angkat & Katimin, 2021) explored the acculturation of Islam and local culture among the Muslim minority in Pakpak Dairi, uncovering how Pakpak culture integrates Christian, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements, as evident in traditional ceremonies and cultural expressions. Religious and cultural leaders play a vital role in this acculturation process.

This study differs from previous research by focusing on the social interpretation of "Sulang Silima" in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque through Islamic acculturation in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra. "Sulang Silima" is not only applied in traditional ceremonies, such as cultural festivals, death rituals, and weddings, but also in mosque empowerment. This empowerment involves integrating the five "Sulang Silima" elements into mosque management, covering administration (*idaroh*), welfare (*imaroh*), planning (*ri'ayah*), supervision (*riqabah*), and evaluation (*taqyim*). These elements function synergistically, fostering collaboration and clarity of roles and responsibilities as part of the Mosque Welfare Board (BKM). Siddik & Ibrahim (Ibrahim, 2013; Siddik, 2010) and (Muhyiddin & Umam, 2023) emphasized that empowerment involves optimizing resources to achieve specific goals. In this study, empowerment refers to the functional application of the five "Sulang Silima" elements in mosque management, emphasizing synergy, collaboration, and role clarity within the BKM framework.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method with a combination of phenomenological and ethnographic approaches. Quoting Creswell (Creswell, 2010) qualitative research is an interpretive study, in which researchers are directly involved in conducting interviews and observations. Its characteristics are natural, researchers are key instruments, various data sources, inductive data analysis, participatory observation, dynamic design, reflexivity and holistic views. Suyanto and Sutinah (Suyanto & Sutinah, 2015) qualitative research is a written narrative that is the result of interviews, observations and documentation studies. The reason for choosing a phenomenological approach is to find out the real experiences of humans in various phenomena. Rofiah (Rofiah, 2023) informs several steps of the phenomenological approach, namely Bracketing (identifying) about the phenomenon being observed, Intuition (taking soul) meaning truly understanding the phenomenon being observed, Analysing (interpretation) meaning being able to interpret what is being observed, and Describing (interpreting) researchers can interpret and identify real phenomena in society (Suprayogo & Tobroni, 2003). While the ethnographic approach is to map

the culture adopted by ethnic groups or community groups. The research informants consisted of five people who were truly experts in religion and culture. They were over 50 years old, domiciled in Dairi Regency, and truly understood the Sulang Silima culture. The method of recruiting informants based on dialogue and information from community leaders and new religious experts was determined by purposive sampling. The data collection tools used were interviews and observations. The data analysis techniques used were data reduction, data display and conclusion verification.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Socio-Cultural Realities of the Dairi Community

The Dairi Regency community shares similarities with the Batak Toba ethnic group in terms of religion, customs, language, clan systems, forms of address (*tutor sapa*), and traditional houses. However, they generally identify as an indigenous Dairi ethnic group rather than being part of the Batak Toba group. As explained by Gultom (Ibrahim Gultom, 2018), the Dairi Pakpak people do not adhere to the cultural pattern of *Dalihan Na Tolu* (three-legged hearth) but instead follow the *Sulang Silima* culture. From a religious perspective, they do not worship *Tuhan Jadi Nabolon* (the Great God) but instead practice Christianity, specifically the Trinity (God the Father in Heaven, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit). Despite these distinctions, the Pakpak Dairi community exhibits significant similarities with the Batak Toba people (Lubis, 2020).

The population of Dairi Regency is 285,980, with 177,754 individuals (62.3%) adhering to Protestant Christianity, 39,653 individuals (13.9%) identifying as Catholic, 67,573 individuals (23.7%) practicing Islam, 107 Buddhists, and 11 Hindus (Purba, 2020). The Buddhists are predominantly ethnic Chinese, who are migrants and traders. Despite the Christian majority, interfaith harmony, tolerance, and mutual respect are well-maintained. Churches and mosques often coexist in close proximity. Non-halal cuisine is common along streets and corners of the cities.

Muslims are free to build mosques and prayer rooms (*mushalla*) and may even play Quranic recitations before the *adhan* (call to prayer). Likewise, Buddhists are permitted to establish temples, especially in the *Taman Wisata Iman* (Faith Tourism Park), as places of worship for adherents from within Indonesia, such as Medan, Padang, Pekanbaru, Jambi, and Palembang, and from abroad, including Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand. This religious tolerance has fostered a spirit of moderation that remains intact.

The *Sulang Silima* culture represents local wisdom that originates authentically from the Dairi community and is practiced in religious rituals, traditional ceremonies, weddings, thanksgiving for rice planting and harvesting, and funerals (Sibarani, 2018). It is not adopted from the Batak Toba or Mandailing cultures, although similarities exist in cultural structures.

The *Sulang Silima* culture is manifested in religious, social, and cultural life. In religion, it can be applied to mosque management, incorporating the acculturation of Islamic principles. In customary practices, all community members must understand their positions, including forms of address. For instance, an individual's paternal grandfather is addressed as *ompung* (grandfather), the elder brother of the father as *ayah tobang* or *pak tua*, and the mother's younger brother as *tulang*. Similarly, the wife of an uncle is addressed as *inanguda*, and the wife of a younger maternal uncle as *nan tulang*. These traditional forms of address (*partuturan*) govern social interactions and are deeply embedded in society. In wedding ceremonies, adherence to cultural norms is non-negotiable, as any deviation is perceived as uncultured and disgraceful, potentially subjecting individuals to social ridicule.

### Telaga Zam Zam Mosque, Dairi Regency

The Telaga Zam Zam Mosque is a waqf land located next to a well which was built by a Muslim convert named Soang Ujung in 1954. Initially he was an animist religion, namely a form of belief in spirits and spirits which were thought to be able to regulates all human life (Suwitra, 2024). However, under the guidance of Allah Swt, he converted to Islam two years before marrying the

girl he loved (wife). From this marriage, they became a husband and wife who are obedient in carrying out prayers, fasting, almsgiving, and are fond of charity and other sunnah practices. For both of them, true Muslims not only practice mahdah samata worship but can develop ghaira mahdah worship which is beneficial for many people. Therefore, a smart and creative thought arose in the husband's mind to make a manually dug well that could be used for the Muslim community around his house and also for the non-Muslim community. Indeed, in 1954 it was quite difficult to get water in Dairi, Sidikalang, because the area was hilly and mountainous. They did not give up while trying and praying to get water. From the results of this effort, they actually got abundant water and met the needs of ablution, household and community water. around. Due to the abundance of water from the well, Soang Ujung and his wife channeled it to the prayer room (*surau*) near his house, now called Telaga Zam Zam mosque. The naming is closely related to the fact that behind the Kaaba there is a Zam-zam lake (Zam Zam well) which is abundant overflowing water. The Dairi community also gave the name Telaga Zam Zam mosque. For the dedication of Soang Ujung, the Dairi community gave him the title Partaki *Surau*, meaning father of the *surau*. Now, the well is still functioning but is not used as the main source of ablution water, and has switched to PAM water (*Perusahaan Drinking Water*) Dairi Regency.

Along with the increasingly dynamic development of da'wah and the increasing number of worshipers, the Telaga Zam Zam mosque has been renovated twice. Now, it is equipped with traveler's rooms for men and women. It is quite strategic, because Jl. Ahmad Yani as the location of this mosque is on the side of a major road connecting the city of Sidikalang with the city of Kabanjahe, Karo Regency in the north, West Pakpak Regency in the south and in the east of Toba Samosir Regency.

The uniqueness of the Telaga Zam Zam mosque is that it still maintains the crown dome tower symbolizing the Jojong house, which is the traditional house of the king of the Dairi community. By removing the images of geckos, chicken combs, buffalo horns and images of women's breasts (Sahrul & Daulai, 2024). Because it is considered syncretism, a form of shirk and disrespect for women. The uniqueness of this tower is one of the characteristics of the Telaga Zam Zam mosque in Dairi, North Sumatra. See the following picture:



Figure 1. Telaga Zam-Zam Dairi Mosque, North Sumatra

The dome image on the Telaga Zam-Zam mosque does not appear to use the symbol of women's breasts, something that is very taboo to discuss in society because it is related to morals, ethics, and morals. This problem may only be discussed between husband and wife. Meanwhile, the gecko and comb images symbolize statues and living creatures that are forbidden to be worshipped. From the perspective of monotheism, it is shirk, meaning associating partners with Allah Swt. After these three elements were removed, the jojong house symbol was allowed as a symbol of the mosque. However, the gorda symbol is still maintained, an original work of art by the Batak Toba and Pakpak Dairi. These two ethnic groups have almost the same culture in terms of language, art, and customs. In essence, to harmonize the relationship between religion and culture.

Mosques in Muslim-majority areas and urban areas are classified as advanced, orderly in terms of administration, management and magnificent physical construction. Likewise, the

activities of the religious study groups are active, the congregation is busy, the amount of *infak* and *waqf* is relatively large. Some mosques have charitable efforts to support the operational costs of the mosque and to improve the welfare of the congregation. This condition is certainly different when compared to mosques in Muslim minority areas, including in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra.

Based on data from the Ministry of Religion of Dairi Regency in 2023, there were 149 mosques and 73 prayer rooms. The mosque buildings are varied; magnificent, simple and the condition of the buildings is quite concerning. Likewise, the condition of the congregation is crowded, small, the amount of donations and *waqf* is not enough to cover the operational costs of the mosque each month. Among the mosques that are classified as magnificent are the Dairi Grand Mosque, on Jl. Barna Number 5 Sidikalang, Telaga Zam Zam Mosque, Jl. Ahmad Yani No. 154 Batang Beruh Sidikalang, Jamik Bintang Mosque, Jl. Lae Pinang Buntang Mersada village. Meanwhile, the mosque that is classified as a simple building and is in great need of donations from the congregation is in Parbuluan village. In this village there are 1,945 Muslims out of a population of 22,198. Next, the mosque in Siempat Nempu Hilir village has 1,631 Muslims out of 10,995 residents and in Silahi Sabungan village there are 198 Muslims out of 4,727 residents (Statistik, 2023).

### The Meaning and Application of the Sulang Silima Principle in Mosque Empowerment

In terms of function, mosques and prayer rooms in Dairi Regency have the same function as other mosques in North Sumatra, namely as a place of worship, a gathering place, a place for *qurban* worship, a religious study group, a discussion, a center for da'wah activities and a place for charity (H. Abror, 2014). Quoting Syarifudin and Fitri (Syarifudin, Ren, & Fitri, 2020), today the function of mosques is more varied, meaning that they are no longer limited to places of prostration but have become centers for community empowerment, such as education, health, social, organizing *baitul mal*, *zakat* services, *infak* and *sedekah*. The same opinion was also explained by Ridwanullah and Herdiana (Ridwanullah & Herdiana, 2018) the function of mosques as a bridge for *mahdah* and *ghaira mahdah* worship.

It is honestly acknowledged that the function of mosques in the country is more as a place of worship that is not balanced with the implementation of *muamalah ad-duniawiyah* worship. If referred to the era of the Prophet Muhammad, the function of the mosque is to balance between *mahdah* and *ghaira mahdah* worship. This includes transforming knowledge, deliberation in decision-making and even socio-political affairs. Referring to QS Al-Baqarah/2: 125, that the function of the mosque apart from being a place of worship is also used as a gathering place and a safe place for humans. Next, QS Ali Imran/3: 96) informs that in fact the first house (of worship) built for humans was the *Baitullah* in Bakkah (Mecca) and became a guide for the entire universe. In an effort to maximize the function of the mosque, of course, modern mosque empowerment is needed to regulate all da'wah activities. Related to this, there are five points that are the main focus in empowering the mosque. First, the field of *idarah* (Empowerment). Second, the field of *imarah* (Welfare). Third, the field of *ri'ayah* (planning). Fourth, the field of *riqabah* (control). Fifth, the field of *taqyim* (evaluation). The five focuses of mosque empowerment are synergistic and collaborative in carrying out their respective duties and functions. The five elements of mosque empowerment have been implemented in accordance with the organizational structure of the Ministry of Religion's mosque in 2020. However, in its implementation, it adopts the acculturation of Sulang Silima culture as a form of local wisdom. The goal is for mosque administrators to build synergy, collectivity and know their respective functions both in terms of culture and formally the organization. In practice, the management and approach of cultural language have a much stronger social role and accommodating attitude when compared to the formal role of the organization. (Results of an interview with Wahlin Munte, Chairperson of the Telaga Zam Zam Mosque Prosperity Agency, November 2023).

The cultural structure of Sulang Silima in empowering mosques. *First, Perisang-isang* is traditionally called *mora*. Socio-culturally called *somba marhula-hula* meaning people who are honored and respected, to them must be polite and loyal. If interpreted socially, they consist of advisors and protectors of the mosque welfare agency. The advisors are the MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) of Dairi Regency and the mosque council of the sub-district. The protectors are the Head

of the Religious Affairs Office (KUA), village heads and hamlet heads. They are people who have broad insight, understand the leadership of the mosque, the condition of the congregation and are willing to sincerely fight with their wealth and thoughts for the progress of the mosque. Voluntarily asked or not to provide advice, input, criticism and suggestions to the mosque management. Their position is not limited to the inclusion of names but is truly functional in carrying out their duties (Pasaribu, 2007).

*Second, Pertulan tengah*, traditionally called cousins or semarga. Socio-culturally consists of the chairman, secretary and treasurer of BKM. They are appointed based on the Decree of the Head of the religious affairs office (KUA) on the proposal of the results of the deliberation of all administrators of the mosque prosperity agency. The term of office is four years, if the term of office expires then they can be reappointed. In order for the empowerment of the mosque to be more optimal, the head of the Mosque Prosperity Agency (BKM) is assisted by a deputy chairman, secretary, deputy secretary, treasurer and deputy treasurer. In mosque management, it is called the core administrator who is responsible for the smooth running of daily management. It can also be said to be a top manager who has the task of empowering, educating, and advancing the mosque congregation culturally and also synergizing with a structural approach so that minority Muslims are more advanced and more solid in developing da'wah.

The leadership of the *pertulan tengah* (cousin or same surname), in its application uses the concept of *manat mardongantubu* which means *saroha* (one soul) or one word in managing the leadership of the mosque. Now it is similar to the concept of cigarettes, namely having a good plan, being perfectly organized, coordinating properly, operating well and controlling according to the rules. Through this concept, it is important for the middle-class group (cousins) to have adequate insight, high concern for the mosque, reliable management and the ability to translate the acculturation between religion and culture.

*Third*, the measurement (young generation). Socio-culturally, it is a field or section that includes *idarah, imarah*. *Idarah* in language is empowerment management to organize planning, administration, documentation and public relations of the mosque. The main point of the planning field is planning *da'wah* activities, short and long term. This includes preparing a certificate of waqf land, the National Identity Number (ID) of the mosque and the Articles of Association (AD) and the Mosque's Bylaws (ART). The field of *imarah* is the welfare of the mosque congregation not only from the aspect of worship but also the development of the community's economy by building social charity. Although in reality not all congregations agree that the mosque is a place for developing the Islamic economy. Referring to the results of a survey conducted by Mustafa and Yahya (Mustofa, 2020) of 1,307 respondents, 83.5% agreed that the mosque is the center of Islamic economic development, education, culture and social in Yogyakarta. While 16.5% disagreed and stated that the mosque is only a place of worship. In this regard, (Muhyiddin & Umam, 2023) inform that mosques should be functional in terms of worship and also functional in terms of developing the people's economy.

The field that is given the mandate is the *imarah* which consists of the worship section, empowerment of zakat, waqf and the people's economy, education and skills section, section for commemorating Islamic holidays and congregation development. Therefore, in order for the *imarah* field to be more optimal in carrying out its functions, a traveler's room charity was built at the Telaga Zam Zam mosque for men and women. The person who is given the mandate is someone who is experienced in government, educated, has broad insight, can establish cooperation and communication with local government, traditional and religious leaders. Referring to the results of the interview with Walhin Munte, the *imarah* field is someone who can develop the mosque formally and carry out a cultural acculturation approach in empowering the mosque. (Interview results, August 27, 2023, at the MUI office of Dairi Regency).

*Fourth, puang or puhun* (relatives). Socio-culturally interpreted, namely the field of *ri'ayah* (planning) includes the planning section, building maintenance, equipment, supplies, environment, parks and youth development of the mosque. Its main task is to maintain the mosque not only in terms of the building but also as a symbol and a place for practicing the teachings of

Islamic values in accordance with the mission of the *amar ma'ruf* and *nahi mungkar da'wah* movement (inviting to the path of goodness and preventing humans from the path of evil).

*Fifth*, the children of *berru* (sons-in-law). Nasution (Nasution, 2005) is a line of workers in the household. Socio-culturally interpreted as the mosque caretaker; cleaners, muezzins and mosque guards. In order for them to be functional in carrying out their duties, the concept of *elek marboru* is used, meaning to protect, nurture, respect, love and provide salaries on time. In terms of the customary and organizational structure, the mosque caretaker is subject to and obedient to the middle *pertulan* (cousin or clan), namely the chairman, secretary and treasurer of the BKM. Therefore, every mandate given by the chairman of the BKM they do sincerely such as opening the mosque for the five daily prayers in congregation, maintaining cleanliness, providing for travelers, not prohibiting children from praying at the mosque and the call to prayer on time. However, sometimes the mosque caretakers are looked down upon and have low social status in society even though they have worked sincerely and patiently.

For the Pakpak Dairi tribe, the main principle of Sulang Silima is *sangkp Ngglluh*, meaning cultural values that regulate religious life, culture and become a source of behavior, ethics and morals in society (Rajamarpodang, 1992). From this source of ethics and morals, the Pakpak Dairi tribe cannot separate themselves from culture and can be practiced throughout life so that they become harmonious, meaning they do not conflict between religion and culture. If it is found in society that there are violations of customs, ethics and morals, then it is said that the community group is uncivilized. Likewise, in the empowerment of mosques, there are violations of culture, ethics or morals among mosque administrators, it means that they do not respect the cultural values that have been passed down from generation to generation .

### Social Impact of Implementing Tafsir Sulang Silima

In Indonesia, in general, mosque empowerment uses a religious approach and has not used a cultural approach. This is different from North Sumatra, especially in Dairi Regency, where mosque empowerment combines a religious and cultural approach. That is one of the special features of the Telaga Zam Zam mosque empowerment. This application is considered appropriate and unique because local wisdom culture is an icon of mosque empowerment. Because so far there has been a view that the concept of religion always clashes with culture and is even considered taboo, especially in mosque empowerment. On the contrary, using a cultural approach is quite effective in empowering mosques, especially in Muslim minority areas.

The ability to combine religious and cultural approaches in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque has a social impact when viewed from the positive and negative sides. From the positive side. First, there is synergy between the management elements at the *perisang-isang*, *pertulan tengah*, *perukur-ukur*, *puang* and *anak berru* levels. Each of these elements understands its duties and functions. *Pertulan tengah* as a protector and advisor highly respects the elements below it, as well as the *anak berru* elements submit and obey the elements above it. Based on the synergy of all areas of *idarah*, (empowerment management), *imarah* (social welfare), *ri'ayah* (planning), *riqabah* (control) and *taqyim* (evaluation) running smoothly in empowering the mosque.

Second, the down-to-earth attitude of mutual respect among elements of the mosque management (Zainuri, 2021). Because the attitude of respect is applied according to religion and customs without looking at the level. Sometimes structural orders are not obeyed in carrying out tasks but if the order is from a customary perspective then people must carry out their duties. Third, social politeness. In the Pakpak Dairi community, social politeness is a barometer in religious and cultural life. Moreover, the *anak berru* (*marbot*) of the mosque does not carry out orders from the *perisang-isang* (protector and advisor of the BKM) and *pertulan tengah* (Head of the Mosque Welfare Agency, secretary and treasurer) is considered to be violating customary rules. Fourth, the Dairi community cannot leave local culture in empowering the mosque. Fifth, the transfer of local culture into an acculturation of Islam with an Islamic nuance with three principles (1). Accepting (2). Legitimizing local culture. (3). Used as a means of cultural preaching. From the negative side, it is still found (1). The attitude of the indecisiveness of the ranks of the protectors and advisors and

the middlemen (Head of BKM, secretary and treasurer) towards the elements below them because there are elements of family and kinship. (2). Personnel placed in the management of the mosque often do not see the aspects of human resources, insight, responsibility, education and instead focus more on the customary structure in empowering the mosque .

## CONCLUSION

The empowerment of Telaga Zam Zam Mosque in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra, applies the Sulang Silima concept, which is a form of local wisdom that combines religious and cultural approaches. In its implementation, the position of *perisang-isang*, if interpreted socially, is the protector and advisor of the Mosque Welfare Agency, a highly respected and glorified line. The *pertulan tengah*, namely the chairman of BKM, secretary and treasurer, are positioned as top managers who regulate the entire leadership of the mosque. *Perekur-ukur* is the youngest generation. Interpreted socially are the sections in the management of the Mosque Welfare Agency that take care of the *idarah* (management) and *imarah* (mosque welfare). *Puang* or *puhun* (relatives) are interpreted socially as the *ri'ayah* (planning) sector which functions to maintain the mosque in terms of physical aspects and make the mosque a center for da'wah activities. While *anak berru* (son-in-law) is interpreted socially as the mosque caretaker; janitor, *muezzin* and mosque guard. The five elements are synergistic and collaborative in empowering the Telaga Zam Zam mosque in Dairi Regency, North Sumatra. However, weaknesses are still found, namely the lack of assertiveness of the middle (top manager) towards the elements below it because there are family and kinship factors.

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