

## ***Selamatan* Day of the Dead From a Javanese Cultural Perspective among *Santri* and *Abangan*: a Case Study in Tulungagung District**

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**Abstract:** *Selamatan* (communal feast) is tradition to commemerate one's death day conducted by the Javanese community. Its implementation is different from one region to others. The study focused on describing and explaining the differences of *selamatan* between *santri* and *abangan* community. It was a field study carried out in Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung Regency. The data were obtained by conducting an observation to the Tanen community. Besides, the data were also collected through interview and literature study. The results indicate that there are two versions of implementing the *selamatan* tradition in Tanen Village. The *abangan* version still maintains traditions from the ancestors, in terms of using *sesajen* (offering) as a cultural symbol and means in a ritual. The time also remains the same as inherited from the ancestors, in which the ritual is conducted from the first day until *nyewu dina* or 1000<sup>th</sup> day. The *santri* version only conducts the *selamatan* tradition from the first until seventh days after the funeral and does not use *sesajen* considering its inappropriateness with Islamic lessons. Apart from these differences, the *selamatan* tradition has positive functions, including a means to give alms, close the bound between community members, entertain a family of a deceased, and remember the death.

**Keywords:** *selamatan* tradition, Javanese society, *santri* community, *abangan* community, Javanese-Islamic culture acculturation

## A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that is famous for its natural wealth and cultural diversity. This condition can occur because of the customs of various ethnic groups, which adorn the existing traditions in it. Tradition is a hereditary custom from the ancestors that is still carried out by the community. Tradition is carried out continuously by the Javanese as a form of reminder and a means of respecting the ancestors who have created a system that regulates all aspects of life (Bagus Wahyu Setyawan & Saddhono, 2018). The existence of tradition in society is also used as a symbol and identity of certain community groups. Tradition covers several aspects of Javanese life, starting from the life cycle, behavior, grammar, to the belief system of the community. Tradition has even turned into a binding customary law. Some Javanese people believe that if you do something that does not adhere to the traditions of the ancestors, you will get a catastrophe in the future.

Tradition has various manifestations in the daily life of Javanese people, it can be as a norm, a ritual or traditional ceremony, the use of language, the way of dressing, even manifesting in the products of the community's culture, such as literature and art (Kamayanti & Ahmar, 2019). One of the traditions found in ethnic groups in Indonesia who are on the island of Java is the *kenduri* or *selamatan* tradition. *Kenduri* or *selamatan* is held for an important event in a person's life journey. These events such as birth, death, marriage, building a house, the beginning of plowing or harvesting, circumcision, celebration of holidays, and many other events decorated with the *selamatan* tradition. *Selamatan* is believed to be a spiritual tool that can overcome all forms of crises that hit and can bring blessings to those who organize it (Kholil, 2010). The object that is used as a means of worship in the *selamatan* tradition when people do not know Islam is the spirit of the ancestors who are considered to have magical powers. In addition, this *selamatan* is also a means of glorifying, honoring, and commemorating ancestral spirits, namely the ancestors.

*Selamatan* isa main ceremony or the most important element of almost all ceremonial rites in the religious system of the Javanese society in general, the Javanese-Islamic community and adherents of the Javanese religion or what is known as the *Kejawen* Religion. *Selamatan* itself comes from the word congratulations, the Javanese people interpret it as a medium to say a prayer asking for safety for those who have died and those left behind (Roibin,

2013). In general, the goal of *selamatan* is to create a state of well-being, safe and free from disturbances of real (gross) beings as well as spirits (a state called *selamet* or safe). Javanese society is very closely related to nature and their ancestors, so every life cannot be separated from the ritual of salvation, which of course aims as a means of respecting nature and cosmology in the broad sense that surrounds the life of the Javanese people (Setyawan & Saddhono, 2017).

*Selamatan* or *kenduri* is also not only dedicated to seeking safety or salvation for individuals or living beings but several traditional salvation rituals are specifically dedicated to people who have died, to ancestors or figures who have a certain influence in an area. The *selamatan* ceremony for people who have died has implications or goals so that the spirits of the ancestors or the deceased can be given salvation. *Selamet* or safe are meant here is safe in living post-life in the natural world until finally you can meet God in Heaven (Karim, 2017). Some also argue that the *selamatan* ceremony can guide the ancestors or people who have died so that they can find a way of peace in the grave and the afterlife.

Javanese people hold a *selamatan* ceremony at the family home of the deceased by inviting family members, closest neighbors, and acquaintances who live not too far away. Geertz (in Faris, 2016) explained that the *selamatan* does not only function to maintain a sense of solidarity between the participants of the ceremony, but also to maintain good relations with ancestral spirits. There are several types of ceremonies for the *selamatan* and death feast in Javanese society, which are adjusted according to the day the person or relative died. The implementation of the *selamatan* ceremony in Javanese society has differences caused by several factors. One of the factors of prayer is related to the religious background and cultural background of the Javanese people. The religious and cultural background of the Javanese people as stated by Clifford Geertz (2014) through the trichotomy theory of Javanese society, Javanese society is divided into three groups, namely the *Santri*, *Abangan*, and *Priyayi* groups. The existence of the trichotomy indirectly influences the implementation of the customs and traditions of the Javanese people, including the implementation of the *selamatan* ceremony. According to the *abangan*, the *selamatan* is a religious rite that is solely based on the hereditary habits of the ancestors that must always be preserved. Otherwise, it is believed

that the ancestral spirits will be angry and curse people who do not carry out the *selamatan*. Belief in mystical things is the basis of this group in carrying out religious rituals.

On the other hand, the view of the *santri* considers that the *selamatan* is a mere relic of their ancestors. *Selamatan* is not a religious ritual but just a Javanese tradition. While the *priyayi* do not have a clear view of the *selamatan*. This is because this group belongs to a class in the social stratification of Javanese society that adheres to Islam which comes from Arabic culture (Burhani, 2017). In the *priyayi* body sometimes there are *santri* and *abangan* groups, so it is difficult to describe their religious views on this *selamatan* ritual. In this study, it will be discussed in more depth about the differences in the implementation of the *kenduri* or *selamatan* tradition from the perspective of the *santri* group and the *abangan* group.

Research on the *selamatan* ceremonies is an interesting field to be studied and studied further. This has been proven that many studies have been carried out with objects in the form of the Javanese tradition of salvation. One of them is research from Sari (2017) which discusses the salvation of death in Jaweng Village, Boyolali Regency. This study discusses the tradition of the death salvation in Jaweng Boyolali Village which has changed from time to time. Some of these changes start from the procession which no longer uses offerings and food dishes that have begun to be adapted to the needs of the community, such as basic necessities and staple foods. The *selamatan* tradition is carried out in Javanese society, especially in three provinces that have a Javanese cultural background, namely Yogyakarta, Central Java, and East Java. Mawardi has also done related to the tradition of salvation in Yogyakarta Province (2019) with the title "Tradisi Nyewu di Komunitas Jamaah Mujahadah Sapu Jagad Dusun Jiwan, Desa Argomulyo, Kecamatan Cangkringan Kabupaten Sleman Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta". This research focuses on the implementation of the *selamatan nyewu* of the Sapu Jagad Mujahadah Community, which is the middle line between the *abangan* group and the *santri*. The *selamatan* from the Sapu Jagad Mujahadah Community congregation adopted the *selamatan* procession from the *santri* group and the *abangan* group. The specialty lies in the addition of activities that were not previously included in the *Nyewu* ritual series, namely the *tahlil pitung leksan* activity.

The *selamatan* tradition is also not only viewed from the point of view of cultural science and ethnography. Several studies discuss the *selamatan* tradition from the point of view of other disciplines. One of them is research from Mahmudah & Saputera (2019) about the *Kejawen* Islamic Death Ritual Tradition in terms of the Sociology of Islamic Law. The result of the research is the fact that the *selamatan* tradition is a Javanese cultural heritage since before Islamic was come. The essence of this ritual is to foster the spirit of *da'wah*, build togetherness, draw closer to Allah through *dhikr*, prayer, and reading the Qur'an. Furthermore, research from Jannah (2020) on the Form and Meaning of the Naming of the Javanese *Selamatan*: Anthropological Linguistic Studies. From the results of the study, it was found that the form of naming *selamatan* in Javanese society is mostly formed from numbers in the pre-birth and death period, while during life it is formed from the activities to be carried out. The naming when studied with a semantic approach has a lexical and referential meaning.

Some of these previous studies were used as the basis for thinking in this study, especially to examine the differentiation of the implementation of the *selamatan* ritual in terms of the culture of the *santri* group and the *abangan* group. This research was conducted by taking the location in Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung Regency. The factors that underlie the selection of the research object are viewed from the socio-religious and sociological aspects. From the sociological aspect, in Tanen Village there are several Javanese communities from diverse and heterogeneous backgrounds, there are even some immigrant communities from outside the area who settle and give a different color to the community. This makes the dynamics of the community in Tanen Village very diverse so that if it is used as an object of research, it will be interesting and varied, especially related to research data. From the socio-religious aspect, the people of Tanen Village consist of 3 groups, namely the *santri* group, the *abangan* group, and the *priyayi* group. The diversity of backgrounds provides diversity in carrying out traditions, customs, and cultural rituals, including the implementation of the death feast ritual. This study focuses more on the differentiation of ritual processions, the essence, meaning, and purpose of the *selamatan* tradition of the two groups of Javanese society. This is a follow-up to previous research which just focused on the *selamatan* ritual in terms of one point of view only.

## B. METHODS

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the differences in the traditional tradition of salvation carried out by the Javanese community of *santri* and *abangan* groups. To achieve the research objectives, field research was conducted using an ethnographic approach. Ethnography was chosen as the frame of this research because it has distinctive characteristics such as full involvement of researchers, exploring community culture, and requiring depth of data exposure (Windiani & Rahmawati, 2016: 68). The research data was obtained by observing the community in Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung Regency. The data source was chosen because in Tanen Village there are several Javanese communities from diverse and heterogeneous backgrounds. The diversity of backgrounds provides diversity in carrying out traditions, customs, and cultural rituals, including the implementation *selamatan* of the death ceremony. From these data sources, several data collection techniques were carried out to be able to record and obtain comprehensive research data.

Data collection techniques in this study consisted of observation techniques, interview techniques, and literature study techniques. Observations were made when the people of Tanen Village performed the *selamatan* cultural ritual on the Day of Death from two perspectives, namely the *santri* group and the *abangan* group. Interviews were conducted with elders, *tahlil* priests, and kyai who often lead the festivities or celebratory rituals on the day of the dead in Tanen Village. The researcher also conducted a literature study of several references related to the celebration of the death day of the Javanese community, the *santri* group and the *abangan* group, which consisted of books, scientific journals, and several other related sources. To obtain the validity of the data, the data triangulation technique was used in this study.

## C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Judging from the socio-historical aspect, the emergence of this belief tradition in the archipelago was heavily influenced by refugees from Cempa who were Muslim. The incident that occurred in the period between 1446 and 1471 AD apparently contributed no small amount to the occurrence of socio-cultural religious changes in Majapahit (Kingdom in Java Island)(Muniri, 2020). This can also be seen from the *Selamatan* or Kenduri Tradition on the

Commemoration of the Day of the Dead which has been carried out since the time of the Mapahit Kingdom which adhered to Hinduism. This *kenduri* ceremony is held at the time of the Galungan Day celebration. It also aims to bring down and invite deceased ancestors to be prayed for and given offerings, and before the feast is usually preceded by *nyekar* (bringing flower and giving pray) to the ancestral graves of each family (Susanti, 2017: 491). The purpose of holding this feast is to ask for prayers to all those who follow this tradition so that their dreams can be fulfilled. The form of the *kenduri* tradition is in the form of a banquet to commemorate the death of the west or family, asking for blessings, and so on.

Over time the tradition of *selamatan* or *kenduri* was acculturated with Islamic culture by the Walisongo who at that time were agents who spread Islam on the island of Java. It can be said that the *kenduri* held by the Javanese people in the pre-Islamic period or during the Majapahit Kingdom with the *kenduri* tradition during the Islamic Kingdom was very different. The *kenduri* tradition in the Walisongo era was to include elements of the Islamic religion in several aspects of its rituals. One of the characteristics of a feast or *selamatan* that has been influenced by acculturation from Islamic culture is the presence of food that is distributed voluntarily without having to see who receives it, where *shodaqoh* is a teaching in Islam. The word *shodaqoh* comes from Arabic which means giving a sign of service. In Javanese, the word *shodaqoh* change into the word *sedekah*.

*Selamatan* or *kenduri* is a tradition left by the ancestors and ancestors of the Javanese people, especially the ancestors of the people who still embrace the Hindu-Buddhist religion. This tradition is carried out to commemorate the death of someone. Javanese people generally carry out this tradition which is usually carried out at night, after the Isha' prayer. This is also commonly done by the people of Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung. However, there is a uniqueness and peculiarity in the celebration of the day of death in Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung Regency, namely when someone dies and their body has not been buried (still at home) then the body is made *sesajen*. The *sesajen* are in the form of two plates of rice and side dishes, also given tea and water placed on the bed that is commonly used by the person while still alive

In addition to holding *selamatan* on the day of death, the people of Tanen Village also still carry out the *surtanah* ceremony. The *selamatan surtanah* is

*selamatan* which is held when the body is buried. The purpose of holding this *selamatan* is so that the spirit of the deceased gets a proper place and a clear path and is accepted by God. At this *surtanah* ceremony, the local community provides rice in the form of *golong gilik* or circular which is given a side dish of shredded and shredded chicken. There are seven plates of rice. One of the seven rice's plate is different. The difference is, there is one plate filled with two rices which made into *gilik* (rounded shapes). Between the two rices in the middle is given a leg of chicken leg, which the local community calls *ungkur-ungkuran*.

The difference between the two plates of rice placed on the bed and the rice in the *surtanah* is that the two plates of rice are believed to be eaten by the spirits of the dead and for guests of the dead. Meanwhile, the rice in the *surtanah* is to save the souls of the dead so that they can be launched in the afterlife and provide salvation for those who dig graves to be occupied by the deceased. The presentation of these *sesajen* certainly has a meaningful meaning for those who are left behind and those who have died.

*Selamatan* or *kenduri* in Tanen Village is held when someone has died or *geblak*, then in the evening until the seventh night held *kenduri* or recitation. In this *selamatan*, blessings are distributed at the time of *ungkur-ungkur*, *nelung dina*, *mitung dina*, *mature ten*, *nyatus dina*, *mendhak pisan*, *mendhak pindho*, and *nyewu dina*. The determination of the *selamatan* is based on the number of days calculated from the day of death of relatives or relatives. The event of death is a stage of life that is considered sacred by most people because it is a phase of displacement experienced by humans, namely from the natural world to the spiritual realm. Therefore, so that the spirit can safely go to another world (afterlife), a series of ceremonies and *selamatan* are held by the bereaved family.

In Tanen Village there are several groups of people who have different cultural backgrounds. This difference in cultural background makes several traditions carried out by the community also different, especially traditions related to the human life cycle, ranging from pregnancy, birth, developmental phases, to death, including the *selamatan* ceremony on the day of death. This difference is based on the beliefs and ideologies held by each society. The existence of this difference does not change the essence of the *kenduri* or *selamatan* tradition, because each community can understand each other's customs and there is no compulsion on certain beliefs.

## 1. The *Selamatan* Tradition Ritual from the Viewpoint of the Santri Group

The diversity of Islam in Java is known as two groups, namely *abangan* and *santri*. The two groups are distinguished based on their religion, even though they are all Muslims. The term *santri* refers to people who study religious knowledge in the *pesantren* environment (Hana, 2018). They study Islamic religious knowledge under the teachings of a teacher called an *ustadz*. *Santri* is a group of people who have a lifestyle by the Islamic religion. They carry out their Islamic religious obligations seriously and manage their lives according to religious rules (Suhendra, 2019). This group is usually included in the traders and businessmen whose economic level is higher than *wong cilik* (common society), but is still below the *priyayi* group. They usually live in areas close to mosques and markets.

In the Tanen Village community, the *santri* group can be seen and identified from the community who have studied at Islamic boarding schools or often referred to as “mondok”, mosque *marbots*, religious teachers, kyai, Qur’an teachers, and elders who often lead the *selamatan* ritual or known as *Imam tahlil*. This community group, when analyzed from the point of view of Geertz’s categorization, is included in the *santri* group (Muhakamur-rohman, 2014). If the community group performs the *kenduri* or *selamatan* tradition, the form of the *selamatan* ceremony is following the rules of the *santri*, which is very thick with the influence of Islam by following the straight Islamic religious law. The ritual procession of the *kenduri* from the *santri* group is as follows.

### 1. Opening

The opening ceremony was filled with thanks to the community for being willing to take part in the recitation held by the bereaved family. This opening speech is also a representative of the host in welcoming the guests. During the opening, someone will also be appointed who will lead the feast or *tahlil* priest as well as lead the prayer at the end of the event.

### 2. *Tahlilan*

This *tahlilan* event is led by religious leaders or often referred to as *imam tahlil*. In generally these religious leaders have often led recitations and are considered to have qualified knowledge of religious knowledge. Then the

religious figure or *modin* recites the holy verses of the Koran, *wirid*, and some dhikr. Usually there is a choice of *dikir pidak*, namely dhikr which the number of readings reaches 70,000 times and is divided according to the number of participants who take part in the *tahlil* event.

### 3. Closing

The implementation of the *selametan* among *santri* group is carried out by holding a recitation event. In this way, there is hope from the recitation leader the term *kenduri* can be abandoned and gradually replaced by the term recitation. On the seventh night, new blessings were distributed to the recitation participants. For the previous night of recitation, only pray for people who have died and recitation participants are only served drinks and snacks.

## 2. The Ritual of the *Selametan* tradition of the Abangan Group

The second group of people after the *santri* according to Geertz's view is the *abangan* group. The mention of the name *abangan* because *abangan* is the opposite of *mutihan* where the term *mutihan* is often associated with the *santri* group. In fact, the religious traditions of the *abangan* and *santri* groups are indeed different and contradictory. Islam is acculturating because of the strong Javanese tradition in society (Hariwijaya, 2005: 23). Therefore, some people still carry out Javanese traditions in their religious life. They are the *abangan* group which is associated with the term Javanese people, namely a group of Muslims who are still thick with the teachings of inheritance from their ancestors. The *abangan* group is a group of people who legally embrace Islam, but in their live they still adhere to the religion and traditions of their ancestors. They were not indifferent to doctrine, but were interested in ceremonial matters. The *abangan* group is closely related to ceremonial matters because of the attitude of those who want to preserve Javanese customs and the religious teachings of their ancestors.

According to Koentjaraningrat (Pramudita & Rosnawati, 2019) the Javanese religious group is people who believe in the teachings of Islam, but they are not completely obedient in carrying out the pillars of the Islamic religion. They rarely pray, never fast, have no desire to perform Hajj and so on. The reason is because there is an opinion that the order of nature and

society has been determined in all its aspects. Religious traditions carried out include a ceremonial feast called a *selamatan*, belief in spirits, a series of theories and practices of medicine and magic (Geertz, 2014).

In Tanen Village, the *abangan* group tends to be older people who still adhere to the teachings of their ancestors. These elderly people mostly work as farmers who rarely travel outside the area, so they are less able to accept foreign knowledge and culture because they think it violates the teachings of their ancestors. In addition, the *abangan* group can also come from people who are joined in the community or cultural preservation association that seeks to preserve the culture of the ancestors. Although most of these *abangan* groups are Muslim, at the time of the death ceremony procession there are some differences with the *selamatan* ritual of the *santri* group. The *selamatan* tradition procession from the *abangan* view consists of several processions that are almost the same as the *kenduri* procession from the *santri* group, which consists of an opening ceremony, joint prayer or *tahlilan*, and ends with a meal together. The thing that distinguishes the *selamatan* tradition from the *santri* group and the *abangan* group is the time of its implementation. The time of the implementation of the *selamatan* tradition of the *abangan* group is still influenced by the *selamatan* tradition of Hindu culture. In Hindu belief, ancestral spirits (dead people) must be respected because they can become the closest gods and humans. In addition, it is also known in Hinduism that there is *samsara* (incarnation/reincarnation). In the Book of Manawa Dharma Sastra Wedait is stated: "Blessed is the *selamatan* held on the first, seventh, forty, one hundred and thousand days" prayer together or *tahlilan*, and ends with a meal together. The thing that distinguishes the *selamatan* tradition from the *santri* group and the *abangan* group is the time of its implementation." (Karim, 2017: 146). The entry of Islamic tradition with the presence of Walisongo in the 14<sup>th</sup> century then modified the timing of the implementation of the *kenduri* tradition or the day of death to become, first day *selamatan*, *nelung dina*, *mitung dina*, *mature ten*, *nyatus dina*, *mendhak pisan*, *mendhak pindho*, and *nyewu dina*. The description of each procession is as follows.

- On the first day after someone's body is buried, the family performs a ceremony called *surtanah*. The purpose of this *sesajen* is so that the spirit of the deceased does not find it difficult to pass tests and examinations by angels. Apart from the *surtanah*, what is unique about the *selamatan* among the people of Tanen village is the offerings placed on the bed of

the deceased. These *sesajen* are believed to be for the banquet of spirits of people who have died.

- On the third day after the death of a person, another ceremony is held called the tradition of *selamatan nelung dina*. In generally this *selamatan* consists of plain rice, *nasi uduk*, chicken stew (*ingkung*), *apem*, sticky rice, compote, and potluck side dishes. The purpose of this *sesajen* is for the separation of the deceased spirit from the physical body to run smoothly and without hindrance.
- On the seventh day after a person dies, a ceremony called *Mitung Dina* is held. The meal is the same as the dish on the third day. The goal is for the spirit of the deceased to pass through the *sirathal mustaqim* bridge without any hindrance.
- On the fortieth day after a person's death, another ceremony is held which is called *matang puluh*. The meal is the same as the meal on seven days. This *selamatan* is done because at such a time or time, the corpse's body reaches the peak of its destruction, everything has melted into the ground except for the bones.
- On the hundredth day after someone dies, to honor the deceased, the Javanese perform another *selamatan* called *nyatus dina*. The servings required are equal to servings for forty days. This ceremony was carried out because at that time the spirits of the dead had started to move away from the family a bit.
- In the first year after someone dies, a *selamatan* is made called *mendhak pisan* as a memorial to the deceased. This *selamatan* is carried out to commemorate the anniversary of the death, so that we remember each other, both the dead to the living and the living to the dead.
- In the second year after someone dies, a *selamatan* is made called *Mendhak Pindho* as a memorial to the deceased. This ceremony is the same as the *mendhak pisan selamatan* which aims to commemorate the anniversary of the death, so that we remember each other, both the dead to the living and the living to the dead.
- On the thousandth day, after someone dies, another memorial ceremony is held called *nyewu dina* because at that time the spirit of the person who has died has truly left the family and entered the afterlife. After *nyewu dina*, some people still hold another *selamatan* called *ngirim*, that

is, after a thousand days of sending prayers that are performed at the house of a person who has died. In this *selamatan nyewudina*, it is only done by the family, in the sense of not inviting local residents. For this reason, the families left behind make offerings in the form of rice and side dishes and give them to relatives who have been left behind.

### **3. The Difference Between the *Selamatan* Traditions Between the *Santri* Group and the *Abangan* Group**

When viewed from the description and data found during field observations in the community of Tanen Village, Rejotangan District, Tulungagung Regency, it can be said that the implementation of the *selamatan* tradition of the *santri* group and the *abangan* group does not have such a significant difference. This is because the people of Tanen Village have almost the same social and cultural backgrounds, so that the actualization of the implementation of the procession of traditions, customs, and community culture there are still some similarities. Livelihood factors also affect the pattern of interaction and implementation of community culture in Tanen Village. Tanen Village residents mostly work as farmers, so the majority of the community has a conservative view of the traditions and culture of their ancestors. This is in line with the results of research from Faris, (2016) that the conservative view of the community makes cultural products and understandings from outside the region less acceptable to the community. In addition, according to the narrative of Mbah Warso (Personal Communication, October 15, 2019) who is a village elder, he explained that the majority of Tanen Village people are Muslim, but in practice in carrying out their traditions they still adhere to the teachings of their ancestors.

However, as time goes by, many people in Tanen Village are studying outside the village, most of them study at Islamic boarding schools in religious schools, some even continue their studies to college which incidentally is a big city with a very heterogeneous society (Ahmadi, Personal Communication, 20 November 2019). This has led to the entry of new understanding among the community. The knowledge and knowledge gained after attending studies and schools indirectly shape the mindset of the community. These factors formed a new understanding in Tanen Village, especially regarding the implementation of the *selamatan* tradition. These groups are trying to change the *selamatan* tradition so that it is more in line with Islamic religious law,

which is following the teachings he received during his studies or recitations that are often followed. According to Geertz's classification, this group is called the *santri* group. The *santri* group in Tanen Village modified the traditional *tahlilan* procession which was commonly carried out by the community, modified with the appropriate views and knowledge obtained during boarding or reciting the religion teacher.

From the description of the traditional *selamatan* procession in the previous discussion, it can be identified the differences in the procession of the *santri* group and the *abangan* group. The *selamatan* tradition of the *abangan* group is a *kenduri* or *selamatan* tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation by the people of Tanen Village. This tradition was adapted from the Hindu cultural tradition which was modified by Walisongo in the early days of the development of Islam. The strongest thing is the use of *sesajen* as a cultural symbol in the *kenduri* tradition. The *sesajen* are in the form of rice which is shaped like a circle or *gilik* with a side dish of shredded chicken and shredded chicken. There are seven plates of rice. One of the seven rice's plate is different. The difference is, there is one plate filled with two rice's form shaped into *gilik*. Between the two rice's shape in the middle is given a leg of chicken thigh, which the local community calls *ungkur unukuran*. In addition, on the first day of death, a funeral ceremony is held with offerings also in the form of rice placed on two plates.

The existence of these *sesajen* is a cultural symbol or ceremonial instrument in the customs and traditions of the *selamatan* in Tanen Village. However, this is considered by the *santri* group to be something that leads to idolatrous actions and is not following the demands of the Islamic religion. Therefore, the *santri* group does not use *sesajen* and the *surtanah* ceremony on the day of death among their family. The existence of this difference is solely due to differences in the understanding and ideology of the community. The *abangan* group, which incidentally has conservative thinking, tries to preserve the traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation by the ancestors, but the *santri* group disagrees because it is considered not following Islamic religious guidance. The difference in the *selamatan* procession from the *santri* and *abangan* groups is considered normal by the people of Tanen Village so that it does not cause a social conflict between community members. This fact is in line with the findings of Mawardi (2019)

which also discussed the phenomenon of compromise and tolerance of the *Sapu Jagad mujahadah* congregation related to the contestation of the *nyewu* tradition. Indeed, it can be said that the Javanese people are very *nrima*, *legawa*, and *tepa slira* so that when there is a difference, it is not immediately used as a source of conflict, but a middle way is sought. The term can be interpreted as keeping the taste and feeling free. The taste of *tepa selira* and *njaga rasa* is indeed very thick among the Javanese people so that it makes Javanese society harmonious (Wibowo, 2020).

Furthermore, the timing of the post-death *selamatan* celebration between the *santri* group and the *abangan* group also has differences. The *santri* group only performs *kenduri* until the seventh day after death. After that, the *selamatan* is only held by family or close relatives, there are even some who do not carry out the *selamatan* and just pray. In contrast to the *abangan* group, the implementation of the *selamatan* tradition is carried out until the thousandth day or referred to as *nyewu dina* from the day of death. Apart from being a means to preserve the traditions of the ancestors, the *abangan* group's view is that the spirits of relatives or relatives are still tied to the family. If often sent prayers through diving then the spirit of the family that has died can be given the safe and fluency in living life in the grave.

Apart from the differences in the tradition of *kenduri* or *selamatan* from the *abangan* group and the *santri* group, the people of Tanen Village still understand and accept these differences. This is because from the tradition of *kenduri* and *selamatan* there are several good values and goals, namely as a means of strengthening friendship between members of the community. In addition, there are several positive functions of the *selamatan* tradition in Tanen Village, including the following.

- *Selamatan* as a means of charity for the local community. In addition to praying for people who have died, having a *selamatan* and the presence of food being distributed or referred to as blessings, can attract people's interest to recite recitations or pray for the dead.
- *Selamatan* in the Tanen Village community is seen as a means of friendship, because in this feast the community can interact directly with one another. At the time of the *selamatan* tradition, a positive social interaction will be established, so that the relationship between residents is getting closer. It is also mentioned by Durkheim (Boanergis

et al., 2019) that ritual ceremonies and worship are to increase solidarity, to eliminate attention to individual interests. People who perform rituals dissolve in the common interest. It can be seen that the meaning contained in religious ceremonies is to the needs of the community or social solidarity.

- The effect of *selamatan* in terms of psychological aspects can be used as a means to entertain family members who have been abandoned by one of their relatives. By holding a *selamatan*, the funeral home becomes crowded, many visit and entertain. This can slightly relieve the sadness of family members who have been left by their relatives.
- Another function of the *selamatan* that is very influential on individuals in society in general is as a means of reminding of death. For that, every human being should prepare his deeds and worship as well as possible, to avoid the remains of the grave and hell.

#### D. CONCLUSION

The tradition of *selamatan* on the anniversary of the death in Tanen Village is still being carried out today. Local people consider that this tradition is an ancestral heritage that must be preserved. There is a belief that if this tradition is abandoned, it is believed that it will be disastrous. For this reason, the local community does not dare to leave this tradition, because it has become a habit that must be carried out. There are differences between the *santri* group and the *abangan* group in the implementation of the *selamatan* tradition. The term *selamatan* for the *santri* group does not exist, but is replaced with a recitation program. Meanwhile, in the *abangan* group the term *selamatan* is still used in their understanding. The terms found in *santri* regarding the recitation and the term *selamatan* in *abangan* are essentially the same, that is still carrying out the *selamatan* ritual. It's just that the presentation and implementation of the *selamatan* between *abangan* and *santri* is different. With this difference, it makes its own uniqueness for the people of Tanen Village.

The procession of implementing the *selamatan* tradition between the *abangan* and *santri* groups also has differences. The *abangan* group still adheres to the teachings of their ancestors by still using offerings as cultural symbols in the *selamatan* tradition or the day of death *selamatan*. The timing

of the celebration of the celebration or *selamatan* also still follows the teachings of the ancestors, starting with the *surtanah* ceremony, *nelung dina*, *mitung dina*, *matang puluh*, *nyatus dina*, *mendhak pisan*, *mendhak pindho*, and *nyewu dina*. The implementation of the *selamatan* tradition in the *santri* group is simpler, because it is only carried out until the seventh day. In addition, the *santri* group also does not use *sesajen* or other cultural tools because they are considered not following the guidance of Islam. Apart from these differences, *selamatan* tradition for the community in Tanen Village has several positive functions and goals for the community. Among them are as a means of *shodaqoh* or giving alms, a means of strengthening the ties of friendship between communities, a means to entertain the bereaved family, and as a means of remembering death.

## E. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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