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The Tradition of *Rokat Pandhabâ Pangantanan*: a Historical Development of Islam in the Cross Culture of Hindu

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Abstract

Islam is a blessing for the universe. Islam is a present and accepted in a long process. Assimilation, acculturation, and conferences with similar social dimensions occur in the archipelago. Like Islam, it entered Madura through the sea around Parindu Beach, south coast of Sumenep Madura. Penetration Pasifique, the Islamic way of engaging in cultural battles with residents in Sumenep, Madura. Therefore, in its development, Islam has succeeded in basing the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith through cross-cultural found in local traditions in Bringin village, Sumenep District, Madura Regency. This research is a historical study of the development of Islam in Sumenep, Madura through the local tradition of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan in Bringin Village, Dasuk District, Sumenep, Madura. The theory of Milanowski's functionalism is used to find meanings and uses in two cross-cultural relationships of Islam and Hinduism that are believed by the practitioners of the local tradition of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan. Qualitative research methods and historical approaches are applied using comparative study techniques including sociology, anthropologyculture, philology, and multidimensionality.

Keywords: history, cross culture, rokat, pandhâbâ pangantanan.



Abstrak

Islam adalah rahmat bagi alam semesta. Islam hadir dan diterima dalam proses yang panjang. Asimilasi, akulturasi, dan konferensi dengan dimensi sosial serupa terjadi di Nusantara. Seperti Islam, masuk ke Madura melalui laut di sekitar Pantai Parindu, pesisir selatan Sumenep Madura. Penetrasi Pasifique, cara Islam terlibat dalam pertarungan budaya dengan warga di Sumenep, Madura. Oleh karena itu, dalam perkembangannya, Islam telah berhasil mendasarkan ajaran Al-Qur'an dan Hadist melalui lintas budaya yang terdapat dalam tradisi lokal di desa Bringin, Kecamatan Sumenep, Kabupaten Madura. Penelitian ini merupakan kajian sejarah perkembangan Islam di Sumenep, Madura melalui tradisi lokal Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan di Desa Bringin, Kecamatan Dasuk, Sumenep, Madura. Teori fungsionalisme Milanowski digunakan untuk menemukan makna dan kegunaan dalam dua hubungan lintas budaya Islam dan Hindu yang diyakini oleh para praktisi tradisi lokal Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan. Metode penelitian kualitatif dan pendekatan sejarah diterapkan dengan menggunakan teknik studi banding yang meliputi sosiologi, antropologibudaya, filologi, dan multidimensi.

Kata kunci: sejarah, lintas budaya, rokat, pandhâbâ pangantanan.

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 13th century, Islam in Sumenep had experienced a significant expansion. Starting from the king of Sumenep, named *Panembahan Joharsari* in 1319 AD, the king declared his conversion to Islam which, previously, Sumenep, was led by the Aryans. In Hinduism, the title Arya was only given to who has reached a high level of scientific (materialism) and spiritual (spiritualism) values. Among the Sumenep kings, there were some who held the Aryan title, including Aria Banyak Wedi (Aria Wiraraja I) in 1269-1292 AD, Ario Bangah (Aria Wiraraja II) in 1292-1301 AD, Ario Danurwenda (Lembu Sarenggono) in 1301-1311 AD, and Ario Assrapati in 1311 -1319 AD, who later was replaced by Panembahan Joharsari in 1319-1331 AD (Zulkarnain 2010).

Since Joharsari King embraced Islam, Islamization in Madura was increasingly widespread until the Middle Ages (16 AD). The impact of the Sumenep king for being embraced into Islam encouraged the spread of the teachings brought by the Prophet Muhammad. Then, it was continued to be well consolidated, especially by merchants and

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religious groups in the southern coastal area of Sumenep, Parindu. During the economic growth in the Islamic era of Madura, Sumenep was one of the most prominent centers of economic activity. In addition to Pamekasan, Panarukan, Probolinggo, Pasuruan, Lasem, Sedayu, Besuki, and Banten, Sumenep—although agriculturally less profitable due to less fertile agricultural land—as a port city, also has significance as a route and center of trade in East Java. Trading activities experienced rapid development between the 15th and 18th centuries (Zulkarnain 2010).

Lapian (1992) revealed that the standing out characteristic in the community of a port city or maritime is the openness in accepting elements from outside (Lapian 1992). Apart from Parindu and Kalianget in Sumenep, based on historical sources, Samudra Pasai, Aceh, Malacca, Demak, Gresik, Tuban, Cirebon, Banten, and Ternate areas are referred to as cities. The 15th and 16th centuries were seen as a period of growth and development of Islam in Indonesia. Indeed, their socio-cultural life is influenced by Islam. These cities were generally located in coastal areas and estuaries of large rivers, so that they also function as the center of a maritime-style kingdom, or a duchy or port city. Geographically, the Sumenep region is a city that is synonymous with a maritime city (Burhanuddin et al 2018). It is strongly proved because there is a maritime route on the Parindu Beach, Kalianget Port, and Marengan River that connects sea transportation to the Sumenep city gate.

As a bustling trading area, the coastal area of Sumenep became an important Islamic area and it is certain that an external cultural presence occurred for the first time in maritime trading centers. Over time, the struggle or cross-cultural experience converges values, symbols, and ideologies with the relics of the life of the local population. Gradually, acculturation of local traditions with Islamic teachings was finally introduced in an open and dialogical manner. The term harmony is used by M. Abdul Karim (2014), as a *Penetration Pasifique*; Islam is present in the community because of the ability of Islamic teachings themselves to open spaces for dialogue with the realities of the local community (Karim 2014). They spread the teachings of Islam through trading routes. In addition, these traders assimilated with the local



population, including through marriage, Sufism, education, and expansion (Karim 2014). However, looking at the social conditions of the Bringin village community with the local Islamic tradition embedded in the values and meanings of the *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan*, it can be ascertained that Islamic teachings have been implemented through a cultural system, an acculturation.

Coastal residents, including the Bringin village community, Dasuk, Sumenep, were chosen as a research location because it is known as the only place that still preserves the local art tradition of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan which still exists today compared to other villages in Dasuk District, Sumenep Regency. Most of the rural population of Bringin inland are more active in the agricultural sector compared to villagers spread out on the northern coast, where people are mostly a fisherman. The existence of the traditional arts of the people on the north coast of Sumenep is also a distinctive feature influenced by the geographical background, ecosystem, social structure, and lifestyle of the coastal population in general, such as assembling or making boats in Slopeng coastal village, the arts or crafts of carving masks in Dasuk Barat and Dasuk Laok villages with the art of jungan (tembang). The local villagers are belonged to the northern coastal community of Sumenep in Dasuk, meanwhile the people of Bringin village are classified as inland residents.

The range of time as stated in the title is a subject discussion of historical analysis on the cross culture of Hindu and Islam which is then constructed with the dimensions of life and the belief space of the local community in Bringin village, Dasuk sub-district, Sumenep, Madura. The complexity of human religious living space always breathes with beliefs and myths born from ideas, symbols, and spiritual values to support common (communal) interests, as one of the conditions for the Bringin community to get grace and help from Allah SWT. Among them are by carrying out the ritual tradition of *Rokat Pandhabâ Pangantanan*, which inherited the beliefs of the previous community, Hindu, whereas in the 17th century, it was a sign of the development of Islam which had been included in several local traditional practices in Sumenep brought by Raden Bhindara Dwiryapada through *dudusan*/ *padusan* tradition, which later known as Sunan Paddusan, whereas the *Padusan*/ *Dudusan* tradition is an important part of the procession in the tradition.

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In general, the Rokat Pandhâbâ ritual has been mentioned in several journals, one of which is entitled "Rokat Pandhâbâ Sebagai Pertunjukan Budaya Masyarakat Madura di Kabupaten Sumenep." In this study, Eko Wahyuni Rahayu raised the Rokat Panḍhâbâ ritual as a performance of ritual activities as referred from historical sources, the social and spiritual spirit of the Madurese community in Sumenep Regency, then framed in the concept of "cultural performance". Historically, the subject matter is well presented. However, there is still a gap to be supplemented by sources of historical studies in general with Islamic history and local traditions. Hitherto, researcher have not found from several types of research on *Rokat Pandhâbâ* in Sumenep, Madura that include understandings or teachings of Islamic values as well as in the ritual procedures of the *Rokat Pandhâbâ*. Furthermore, researcher have not found a specific, detail, and in-depth study of the meaning and value as an important life mandated for the perpetrators of the Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan ritual tradition, the wedding couple.

The focus of this study examines the Historical Development of Islam in the 17th century, through a sociological and cultural approach. As a new finding to strengthen the hypothesis, it is important to analyze and critically describe the history and process of Cross Culture between Islam and Hindu in the practice of the local *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition in Bringin village, Dasuk sub-district, Sumenep district, Madura.

RESEARCH METHODE

The research method uses qualitative method oriented to library research and field studies. The presentation of descriptive-analytical writing is also intended to describe the phenomena experienced by the Bringin community, both natural phenomena and human engineering (Moleong 2000). Heuristics is used to test the validity of new facts known to have coherence with the background in the content of local traditions and the history of Islamic development in Sumenep. To find out the forms of Islamic development in the cultural struggle in Bringin and find the form of values and meanings in the process of religious acculturation through the system or function of local traditional beliefs,



data collection techniques used are interviews, observation, and documentation.

DISCUSSION

The subject of discussion in this journal is a cross culture in the tradition of *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* in Bringin Village, Dasuk District, Sumenep Regency, Madura in 17th Century. The convergence of Islamic values in an ethos and cultural cult in society, such as the local tradition of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan which has long existence until now in Bringin village, is enough to mark the existence of social facts related to cross-culturalism between Islam and Hindu in Sumenep-Madura. The main discussion will be divided into three, namely the history of cultural crosses between Islam and Hinduism, how the process of assimilation and giving meanings are by society towards *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan*, and the concept of acceptance of values or symbols for the life of the Bringin people, Sumenep Madura.

The Historical Development of Islam and Cross Culture in the Local Tradition of *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan*

The entry of Islam in Tuban and Surabaya in 1416 AD was included in the spread of Islam during the Wali Songo period. Including the Islamization of residents in Madura to Lombok, Hitu to Ternate, it is the continuation of the spread of Islamic teachings in the hands of Sunan Giri Gresik, a student of Sunan Ampel Surabaya. The network of *Ulama* with local religious preacher in Sumenep was continued by Sunan Padusan. He gave Islamic religious lessons to the people of Sumenep. Historically, if a student was able to carry out the pillars of Islam, then the student was then showered with water mixed with various kinds of very fragrant flowers. The practice of showering is known by the Madurese in general as "edudus". This showering practice was developed through mubaligh to teachers of the Qur'an spread throughout the villages and islands in Sumenep. Sunan Padusan lived during the reign of Jokotole (Secaradiningrat III), in 1415-1460 AD. Jokotole made his daughter to marry Sunan Manyuran Mandalika's son, Raden Dwiryapadha or Sunan Padusan (Zulkarnain 2010).

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According to the background of economic and political progress, Sumenep seems to have a very good impact on the development of Islamic teachings in an open process. Likewise with the struggle of culture or tradition and art that can be said to have reached the golden peak of human civilization, it is an era reflecting the progress of the relics of the life of the Sumenep people during the heyday of Prince Natakusuma or Panembahan Somala ruled, (Adipati Sumenep 1762-1811 AD), which can be found in the patterns, symbols and ideas in the architecture of the main building of the Jamik Mosque built since 1198 H (1779 AD) and was completed in 1206 H (1787 AD) (Zulkarnain 2010). The dominant architectural style of the building displays reliefs from elements of Chinese and Arab culture, showing how open the Sumenep people are to various forms of struggle or cultural assimilation processes that are intact and sustainable from the 15th century to the 17th century. In addition to mark the progress of civilization in Sumenep, it helped to emphasize aspects of the character and thoughts of the Sumenep people which characterize the identity of a maritime city.

The acculturation of Islam established through the dialogue space of both Islam and Hinduism in Sumenep, especially in the village of Bringin, is also the result of unifying the system of functions openly accepted by the community. Then, experiencing development in the practical aspects of the implementation of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan values are heavily sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith. Like the acculturation process, the struggle with local cultural forms, Islam has entered through three conditions, including Tahmil, Taghyir and Tahrim. Islamic cross culture in local traditions is certainly teachings on belief (tauhid), morals (ahlak), and law (sharia) which Islam have fused with the norms, cult, and culture of the Bringin village community. Therefore, Islam is not just a patch but also an advanced and dynamic religion. Furthermore, Islam has also guaranteed the sustainability of these local traditional practices, as a legacy and life mandate from their predecessors, which is very valuable, and important to maintain and needs to be preserved. Islam itself exists without forcibly eliminating, dictating, or destroying the value order of local traditions with new forms of Islamic tradition and culture (pure). Instead,



Islam can be found with a perfect amalgamation of its goals, symbols, and meanings in the implementation of *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan*. In accordance with the principles stated in the Qur'an; "there is no compulsion in religion", (al-Baqarah): 256.

As stated above, during the process of spreading Islam, the position of the ulama played an important role in its development. After the spread of Islam was carried out by Wali Songo, local preachers and religious leaders took an important role as intermediaries who could fulfill the immanent-transcendence aspects, until they were intact until now. In connection with the Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan tradition, the position and function of the role of the keyae or kiai and the Qur'an reciters or teachers as religious leaders in the village of Bringin, are very central as a liaison between the two worldly and *ukhrawi* elements. The fusion of Islamic teachings with local traditions through the taghyir process has succeeded in constructing the understanding of the Bringin village community towards a harmony of meaning containing values and goals in it. Thus, people's understanding of the Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan ritual is accepted with full confidence in the orientation of the life of the two realms, namely, the macrocosm and the microcosm. This orientation is believed to be able to guide the creature (creation) to the creator, the ruler of the universe. The balance between the two realms is always strived for and maintained, so that life is always harmonious (Soegianto 2003). In practice, keyae or kaji become spiritual guides and advisors during the Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan process.

Acceptance and Belief of the Bringin Village Community towards Rokat Panghâbâ Pangantanan

The acculturation of Islam in its development reaffirms that Islamic teachings have received a dialogical acceptance (*Penetration Pasifique*), which is then displayed in the form of beliefs and all myths expressed through the treasures of symbols and values from the understanding of Islamic teachings itself. As in the practice of *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan*, a particular pre-wedding ritual, is also believed by the people in Bringin Village as a local tradition born from the historical heritage and religious myths of the previous community (Hindu) and is still preserved today. The Islamic cross culture in the

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process of its development is identified on how Islamic teachings have contributed to give space to the beliefs of the local community, (moderate). Namely, they believe that people who carry out these rituals can change the course of their lives to avoid harm or as a repellent from all kinds of calamities, misfortune, or bad luck, *bhelei*.

This ritual has been carried out for generations by each family in Bringin village. Their acceptance and belief in the myth of Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan, in Malinowski's judgment, can be used to reveal the real personalities of people. Knowing the acceptance and belief of the Bringin village community towards Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan functions as spiritual values and social dimensions mandated in their daily lives. Thus, Malinowski's theory of functionalism is very relevant to this study from Radcliffe-Brown's functional concept, which is more interested in reviewing the individual as a person who occupies a certain status in a social structure. However, Malinowski pays more attention to the individual as a psycho-biological reality in a society (culture). Meanwhile, Malinowski sees "function" as the same as "use", which is associated with human psychological and biological needs, in contrast to Brown, who puts aspects of function on social items contributing to the stability of a social structure. In contrast to Malinowski, this study is very relevant to be used to clarify the usefulness of the institution in meeting the psycho-biological needs of individual members of a society (Marzali n.d.).

For the people of Bringin village, the ritual practice of *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* is believed to fulfil seven basic needs that are fully in fulfilling individual psycho-biological needs and maintaining the continuity of social group life, as stated by Malinowski, namely (1) nutrition; (2) reproductions; (3) bodily comforts; (4) safety; (5) relaxation; (6) movement, and (7) growth. A series of implementations of the tradition carried out by individuals is to fulfill the seven basic needs above. However, activities to meet these basic needs are not direct but are carried out by social engineering by social influences (modified).

People in Bringin village, Dasuk sub-district, Sumenep-Madura regency, believe that the symbols around them have a function for their daily life. They believe that the symbol is in harmony with the cosmos,



and according to their respective functions. This is in accordance with the theoretical basis of Malinowski's functionalism which assumes that all elements of culture function for life. As for the elements of value and function in the ritual practice of the *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition, one of them can be found in the practice of *dudusan* or *edudus*, which is a special and important ritual even sacred for the beliefs of the people in Bringin village. The practice has been received from the Wali Sunan Paddusan in the seventeenth century.

The Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan tradition is known to have long breathed with the values of belief, thought, and the cult of the life of the Bringin village community, Dasuk District, Sumenep-Madura Regency. The concept and characteristics of the ritual contain the same elements of values and symbols inherited from the teachings of the Hindus, namely *Pandhabâ*. The assimilation of both teachings, Islam and Hinduism, has succeeded in uniting in a socio-cultural construct of the Bringin village community, to the socio-economic and political aspects. The Bringin village community also believes that the social and spiritual aspects contained in the ritual practice of *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* have a functional bond directly integrated in the *ukhrawi*, namely *hablun minallah* (ocentric), which is born through a relationship with the worldly nature, both *hablun minannas* (anthropocentric), and *hablun minal*'s nature, (ecocentric).

Etymologically, *Rokat* in the Madurese language has the meaning of salvation or alms. The *rokat* ritual for the Madurese aims to prevent themselves and their descendants from all forms of danger or as a repellent for reinforcements that can haunt a house, a person, or a society (Rahayu 2018). *Rokat Pandhâbâ*, like *ruwatan murwakala*¹ in Java, is a Hindu religious ritual tradition in Madura which is originated from public belief in the danger threat of the Bethara Kala to the safety of a child.

Pandhâbâ or Pandavas are very famous in Hinduism. The word is a term for the five sons of Pandu and all of them are male, namely Puntadewa, Werkudara, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sadewa. For most

¹ *Murwakala*; means the beginning of time or era, where everything new exists. It was the beginning of calendar based on solar moving in the year summary of Hindu. However, in *wayang*, *wayang purwa* is a symbol of the beginning of the Saka century.

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people, especially the Javanese, the Pandavas' figures in the puppet epics Ramayana and Mahabharata are considered a charismatic figure who excels in various fields, especially those related to ethics and character. In addition, they are also known as the knights who defend the truth and the protagonists. Because they are not a perfect human type, the Pandavas have also made mistakes. The Pandavas are human figures who are quick to respond to their mistakes. In the perspective of Sufism, they are human beings who have a high spirit to climb the ranks of Insan Kamil, one of the characteristics of which is to be active in doing good deeds, reflecting on themselves and being responsive and full of awareness, immediately admitting sinful acts by praying for forgiveness, asking God for forgiveness (Haq 2010).

Inheriting the beliefs and myths in it, the people of the village of Bringin also believe that if their children or descendants have the qualities of virtue and evil, *epanḍhâbâi* (the Pandavas ritual) is performed. By the Madurese community in general, a child has its own designation or category in the *panḍhâbâ* ritual, that is, depending on the number of siblings it has. Among them:

- a) The only son or daughter is called *panḍhâbâ* tiger/ *panḍhâbâ* lion/ *panḍhâbâ rato* or *ontang-anting*.
- b) Two brothers and sisters are called pandhâbâpangtantan.
- c) Two brothers are all called *kondang kase* or two sisters are all called *sekar sarakit/ panḍhâbâ ta antèng*.
- d) All three brothers or sisters are called *panḍhâbâ tri suku* panggung.
- e) All four brothers are called *saromba* or all girls are called *pa'empa'*.
- f) The five brothers are all called panḍhâbâ lèma'.
- g) One male among several sisters, or conversely one female among several brothers is also called *panḍhâbâ* tiger or just *panḍhâbâ* (Rahayu 2018).

The tradition of *Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* is one of the special rituals believed to be hereditary by the Madurese community as a ritual of repellent before holding *pangantanan* or marriage. This ritual is only perpetuated for the family of the groom. The ritual is held one or two days before the day of engagement (marriage). Usually, the Madurese



people prefer the *Bulan Rasol* as the month considered to bring blessings from the Prophet Muhammad. When elements of Islamic culture are integrated into Javanese-Hindu practice—among various sesajen or food for ancestors and spirits—in Javanese society, it is generally called *ngrasulake*, a Javanese compound word based on the Arabic word Rasul or Nabi².

Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan is not only a ritual activity, but also is considered as a life mandate which is very closely related to historical relations which contain the legacy of moral teachings from their predecessors or ancestors. It looks a little different in some previous studies or research, where the space and concept of the performance or event in the ritual in Bringin Sumenep Village is not open as public entertainment but is very simply held. Some of them hold the ritual as people's entertainment in the form of Wayang Wong or Mask. However, it is different from the people in Bringin Village, which are much simpler and more sacred, prioritizing the goals and functions of their sociospiritual values.

We can observe the spiritual values desired simultaneously in the ritual from a series of processions of the *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* ritual tradition. In the ritual, we can find elements of the function of these traditions in the complex concept of living space, the environment, views and lifestyles, and their dependence on the universe. The purpose of all of this is as a tactic to support the blessings and resignation of life in the world and in the hereafter, as well as how the Bringin village community celebrates surrendering themselves to Allah's provisions (destiny), feeling sincerely and surrendering physically and mentally. In the view of Islam, willing is often termed as *ridha*. If someone is happy, there is no attempt to oppose the *qada* and *qadar* of Allah swt (Nasution 1983).

While in the dimension of social space, the *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition can be felt through the socio-culture of the Bringin village community, which emphasizes the value of empathy and

² Bulan Rasol is the fourth month according to Madura calendar, which means that the month of Hijriyah Rabi'ul Akhir is considered as a month with full of blessings and grateful. It is because in the second spring, it comes the harvest season of agriculture.

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emotional kinship through *alalakon*, and *alaola* ³. Generally, both cannot be separated from every community activity in Madura. The relationship with *the Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition is that from the harmony of understanding and awareness of living together (social). It will give birth to a form of agreement to bind the ideas and meanings of the purpose of living together (politics), in order to fulfill the elements of virtue (humanity), achieve religious (spiritual) aspects, and support material (economic) aspects. This is then transformed through social-practical means as a benchmark for the success of a common purpose (*gotong-royong*), during the preparation process until the performance of the *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition is completed.

Malinowski emphasized the importance of examining the function of a system mentioned above, for the integrity of the work of society/culture comprehensively through the important elements of the culture of a society, for example from the political system, economic system, belief system, and kinship system (Marzali n.d.).

"...bheletangghe, apa pole taretan, mon tak e ajeg a lalakon otabe a laola, e angghep tak e beca ben tak a buku."⁴

(Neighbours, especially relatives, if they are not invited to help/work and to cook are considered unread and unwritten (considered forgotten).

The belief of the Islamic community in Bringin village in carrying out this local tradition of *Rokatan Pandhabâ* is considered a noble mandate in living in this world and preparation for living in the next life, (the hereafter). The procession in the *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* tradition contains elements of balance values taken from the understanding of Islam. More than just a tradition, *Rokat Pandhabâ Pangantanan* is actually a prayer asking for salvation for Muslims. Like the prayers of salvation for Muslims in general, the the pray says

³ A lalakon is more identically with men's work spaces according to people in Madura. Workspaces that require more masculinity. While A laola or cooking is a special space only for women in Madura to serve all kinds of dishes, both raw and ready to serve in large quantities.

⁴ Interview with Jumina, Bringin Village, Dasuk, Sumenep, Tuesday 12 January 2021. 19.21 WIB.



"rabbana atina fiddunya hasanah wa fil Akhirai hasanah waqina 'adabannar', is an implementation of the purpose of human life, in terms of its meaning and function in the practice of the Rokat Pandhabâ ritual. In terms of adopting the meaning of the phrase "fiddunya hasanah", it implies that if a person's social life is good, for example getting along with neighbors, having cooperation, undergoing zakat and several other forms of social behavior that have a good value, then goodness in the world will also bring one's happiness later in the hereafter.

"If this tradition is lost, then its meaning (social relations) will also be lost. Although the heritage of the Panḍhâbâ tradition is from Hinduism, the teachings, and values of Islam in are not a patch. In fact, the teachings are philosophically rooted.⁵"

The crossing of Islam and local culture in the village of Bringin, is a success of Islam in its development in Sumenep. Furthermore, most acculturation and convergence of traditions or cultures that complement each other, then merge into the goals, meanings, and functions in human life. This social fact has indicated that Islam as a religion of *rahmatan lil'alamin* is able to construct the religious values of its adherents and influence the quality of human civilization reflected in a cultural expression in Islamic treasures and local traditions of *Rokat Panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* in Bringin village, Dasuk district, district. Sumenep-Madura.

Cross Culture of Hindu-Islam; Practice, Value, and Meaning

A tradition or any cultural product that is close to awareness of spiritual, social and ecosystem values, is always an integral part of the needs of the dimensions of ideas, ego, and human empathy. However, it is impossible if material dependence, which is very tight and absolute, does not foster a sense of care, respect and responsibility which is carried out by strengthening the relationship to the creator (spiritual). For example, there are elements of teachings found from the results of cross culture of Muslim-Hindu in the *Rokat Pandhabâ Pangantanan* ritual. It can be found from the beginning of the procedure until the end of the procession of the tradition carried out. *Rokat panḍhâbâ Pangantanan* is implemented to free a person (*panḍhâbâ*) from threats

⁵ Interview with Kiai Mohammad Ruslan, Monday, June 21, 2021. at 13.48 WIB.

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that can disrupt the peace of life, both personal and family life. Therefore, to avoid disaster, the ritual is held a day before the wedding day. This ritual is more often found and held by the groom's family. In the implementation procession, it can be described as follows⁶:

Asalamet (selamatan)

The family and *onjengan bengalan* (a special invitation for men living close to the event house or neighbors), read selected letters in the Qur'an such as Surah Yasin, Maryam, al-Baqarah, al-Kahf, al-Waqiah and *khataman* of thirty *Juz*. After reciting Qur'an, the religious leader, who leads this ritual, closes the ritual by reciting the *Pangrokat* or a pray to ask Allah for protection from danger, or as a repellent. *Pangrokat* or a pray to ask for protection from Allah swt. has two versions. Among them are a pray in Madurese-Javanese version written in Arabic pegon and prayers in Arabic. After reading the *pangrokat*, *Kae* or *keaji/kaji*, blow his pray into the water called *komkoman*; water contained in a glass mixed with sliced pandan leaves, jasmine flowers and seven kinds of flowers, (*kembhâng campor bhâbur*). After that, *komkoman* is poured into a tub or jug already filled with water. Then, the prospective groom (male) is covered with a *labun*/ shroud as wide as a veil, the groom is bathed or *edudus*.

Edudus, (bathed).

For the Madurese, the *Rokat Pandhâbâ Pangantanan* ritual is usually held not far from the house yard. Those who are showering must be clean from small and big *Hadas*. In this dudusan procession, it is first initiated and led by the *keaji/kaji* or *pak kae*, a local village senior citizen who has religious knowledge. Then, parents, relatives and neighbors take a turn in showering. Second, the condition for showering is required to read *sholawat* three times, or at least read bismillah and accompanied by *pangocap* prayers (prayers of hope). Third, before showering, although it is not obligatory, people must throw *sakse*. This *sakse* is in the form of money or coins which symbolically prays for the couple being blessed with lots of wealth.

⁶ Interview with Sudahnan, Dasuk, Friday 01 January 2021. 15.37 WIB.



Epandhâbâi

After the ritual of *dudusan* is completed, the prospective couple is herded to the *tanean* or house yard. Then, the bride and groom are tied between hands with *tale labei* or *tampar pote* (*tampar*/ white rope). *Pak kae* or *keaji* and relatives form a tenuous circle, then the *Pandhabâ* drama begins. The play in this ritual has three stages, namely: (1) *Keaji* who plays the role of the puppeteer (*dalang*); (2) the bride and groom who act as a bull; (3). the sibling who represents the role of a bull seller; and (4) the buyer who is acted by *Pak kae* or village elders.

As for the storyline of this *Pandhabâ Pangantan* drama, there are three stages; First, the bride who plays the role as a bull is offered to the buyer with an expensive offer. However, the shortcomings of the bull or the groom are also not covered. This means that the sale and purchase of cattle is carried out in an open and respectable manner. The bargaining session lasts up to two or up to three stages which the stages are adjusted to follow the number of markets formed by the puppeteer. The role of the puppeteer can only be held by Keaji or local village religious leaders. After the bargaining reaches the final market, the sale and purchase transaction reach an agreement on a price in accordance with the value and quality of the bull. If the practice of bargaining takes place, there should be no form of fraud that can harm either party, especially the buyer. For example, when the substitute or the bull shows having injuries or there are physical defects in the body, this must not be covered by the seller. The meaning is that psychologically or mentally a man who wants to get married must be confident, be grateful for her shortcomings and have a character of honest (siddig), to avoid problems or bheleih. Because every human being has advantages and disadvantages, one must always do good (ikhtiyar), accept, and live with grace (sincere) in this real life. From a spiritual point of view, humans must be grateful for what God has given to their creations sincerely without feeling angok-ngokan ka pangeran (kufr).

Second, after reaching an agreement, the bull is released from the *tale labei* bond by doing *eoje* or thrown into the kitchen. In the kitchen, the bride and groom are required to eat the food available, this ritual is called *ngakan lalampatan*. The life mandate conveyed to the bride and groom is that a family leader must be mature, have a responsibility to

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fulfill the needs of himself and his family's life (sustenance). As the head of the family, the groom is taught to be able to educate his wife and accept the wife's attitude sincerely, which is symbolized in the form of simple food. While the term "ngakan lalampatan" is indicated for the man to maintain the family's dignity, both in terms of trust (faith), property (tanah sangkol/ inherited land), and honor (ethnicity/ identity) which has been inherited by his family from generation to generation.

Third, after entering the kitchen, the parents of the couple to-be (especially for the mothers), to take away the *beretakalal brotokolo* or *Bhatara Kala*, then throw them to *Pakdeng-deng*, which is a road having four or more intersections. *Beretakala* symbolizes the form of magical things that bring damage, *bheli*, or danger in one's life. Regarding how to carry it by being paraded or carried away, it is a sign of hope to be shunned from all forms of crime or *bhelei* that could have been caused by both their parents and their family's predecessors. Therefore, this procession can only be done by the parents of the bride and groom.

Uniquely, the shape or appearance of *Beretakala* is made using a living banana tree completed with bananas and cobs. The reason and meaning behind the use of the banana tree is unknown yet. However, that does not mean that it is symbolically separated from its value and meaning in the beliefs of the Bringin village community. Ethical form in Bringin village is not like the form in the tradition of Indonesian society in general whereas the form of *Bhetara Kala* is made with works that are still thick with teachings in the Hindu-Balinese religion. The materials and accessories are made of stone/ figure and look like *ogoogoh*.

The decorations used on the banana tree in this *rokat panḍhâbâ Pangtan* ritual has various shapes and colors, such as *jhejenan macem pa'empa'* (offerings of four shapes and forms). There are *sarabhi* (*serabi*), *topak* (*ketupat*), *contong* (white rice wrapped in a cone-shaped banana leaf), and *kocor* (*kue cucur*). Each of them is seven in number. All types of *jhejenan like pa'empa'* were flanked onto a *perreng/* bamboo stem that had been measured and adjusted to the height of the bride and groom, then plugged it into the *kadebbhung/*banana tree trunk. Of the several types of snacks, each has its own meaning and significances, they are:



- 1. Sarabhi and kocor as meng-tameng (shield/ protector), which has the meaning of protecting from various kinds of evil both physically and spiritually.
- 2. *Topak*, which is symbolizing spaciousness of life, honor and happiness (*dahir-bathin*). For having a life journey of the bride and groom which avoid various types of danger (*bhelei*), a person must do good and have a life in accordance with the teachings of Islam perfectly.
- 3. *Contong*, which is interpreted that to make one's soul remains pure, protected from all kinds of worldly temptations. It is a symbol for someone to live and die in a state of Faith, Islam and Ihsan, (*bherkat*).

In addition to use *jhejhenan macem pa'empa'* by the community in Bringin village, Dasuk District, Sumenep Regency, Madura, there are also *jhejhen gennak* (complementary offerings), each of which is *pote/* white, *koneng/* yellow, *mera/* red, and *bhiru/* green⁷. The various colors have the meaning of the character of the creation as follows:

- 1. Pote/ white; spirit.
- 2. Bhirul green; heart (emotion).
- 3. Mera/ red; napso atau lust (anger).
- 4. Koneng/ yellow; reason or mind (intellectual).

Among the offerings, equipped with *dhemar kambheng*, (resin resembled by the shape of a flower), those have value and meaning revealing that among the four kinds of forms as the origin of the creation of *Nur Ilahi*, which is implied from the verse in the Qur'an, "*Allahu Nuru as-Samawati wa al-Ardhi*".

Then there is the gheddeng sa-abaei/ a bunch of bananas which means male fertility or symbolizes offspring and there is also a set of kitchen utensil, such as soblhuk/ pot, bejhen/ wok, sodtel/ spatula, talam/ tray, sodu/ tablespoon, etc. The function of the kitchen utensil will produce sounds which, in the myth of the traditional rokat panḍhâbâ Pangtan, if Beretakala is very afraid of and runs away when he hears

⁷ In Madura, people say blue whether it is more identical to the color of green. The Madurese are more symbolic to identify various colors. For example, green is being called as "*bhiru deun*", from the words "blue" and "leaf" which means; green.

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voices or sounds. People in Bringin village also believe that the sounds can bring enough sustenance for the needs of their children's families.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the traditional ritual of *rokat pandhâbâ Pangtan* which was held before the wedding day, by the community in Bringin village, Dasuk sub-district, Sumenep Madura, was believed to be passed down from generation to generation as a local cultural heritage from their ancestors. However, it is a special and an important ritual, even sacred to their beliefs. The sacredness is received from the assimilation of Islamic teachings, both from pray, procedures and symbolic forms of practice such as edudus received from the Wali Sunan Paddusan in the 17th century. Apart from being considered as a connection of the teachings and historical meaning of their predecessors, this tradition is also believed to have a relationship between the social and the spiritual dimension for their daily life, transcendent-immanent. Looking at the aspects of the practice and the functions of the ritual of pandhâbâ Pangtan with a series of special rituals, sesajen or offerings, as well as various elements of art in it. Thus, it indicates that the cultural product born from the struggle of values and ideas from Islamic teachings has succeeded in completing the values of the life goals of its adherents. It is a sign of nature and its contents as a complex of interrelated elements that form a system of harmony, both worldly and hereafter. Thus, the balance between the related elements (social, economic, and political systems), is always preserved as a form of alleviating gratitude, being *nrimo* or accepting the power given and determined by the Creator (khaliq), to a servant (creature). Awareness as a servant is a form of human achievement regarding harmony and happiness reflected in appreciation, responsibility, experience, and practice of life values that are born socio-cultural constructs through (wisdom). This "indigenous" awareness becomes a reference in social interaction. An effort to maintain the regularity of the system of functions are integrated in a circular manner and are intertwined with their values and meanings; hablun minallah (ocentric), hablun minannas (anthrophocentric), and hablun minal 'alam, (ecocentric). It is then, expressed through the ritual



form of *rokat pandhâbâ Pangtan*, as a visualization of the nature of the mind and human servitude to the Almighty.

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