

Ruwat Islami: Islamic Dialectics and Culture in Java, Indonesia

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Abstract: This paper studies the Islamic *ruwat* tradition as a manifestation of the encounter between Islam and local culture in Java within the framework of the *Islam Nusantara* discourse. This study begins with a literature survey enriched with qualitative field research. Informants in this research are religious leaders as well as community leaders who have knowledge and experience about *ruwatan*. The data that has been collected is then analyzed qualitatively according to the research focus. The results of this study found that *ruwat islami* tradition is a form of harmonization between Islamic teachings and Javanese culture that is still sustainable today. The practice of *ruwat islami* rituals requires various types of dishes (*sajen*) as a form of alms that contain symbolic meanings in the form of Islamic values, teachings/doctrines, and history. The meeting point between the two resulted in the *ruwat islami* tradition which is one of the heritage of the *Islam Nusantara* tradition.

Keywords: Dialectics, *Islam Nusantara*, Local Culture, *Ruwatan*.

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Muslim Islamic expressions have very diverse patterns. Its growth and development are not only influenced by the dimensions of theological understanding, but also other dimensions such as the social and cultural dimensions that affect the perspective of the Muslim community (Ghufron, 2016, p. 19). This phenomenon of differences in Islamic practice

has encouraged many researchers to map various patterns of Islamic practice in Indonesia. Suprpto noted several terms used to map this, such as local Islam-universal Islam, practical Islam-textual Islam, folk Islam-*ulama* Islam, symbolic Islam-normative Islam, and popular Islam-official Islam. For him, the variety of terms used leads to two broad categories: textual Islam and contextual Islam. (Suprpto, 2020, pp. 37–38). From these two categories, it can be understood that various patterns of Islamic practice give birth to various Islamic thought traditions that continue to develop in accordance with the challenges and spirit of their times.

Related to that, Mujamil Qomar explained that the tradition of Islamic thought is one part of the Islamic tradition. The Islamic tradition includes many components that span doctrine, practice, morals, understanding, ideas, concepts, philosophies, and thoughts. At the same time, the essence of the tradition of Islamic thought is all the thoughts produced by scholars and Muslims due to the dialogue between Islam and the demands of its time. The consequence is that the tradition of Islamic thought occupies a position as a culture that results from creation, taste, and taste despite relying on revelation. Another consequence is about the extent of its truth, which is temporary. This means that the truth of Islamic thought is open to accepting criticism and questions, so the tradition of Islamic thought continues to run dialectically according to its time (Qomar, 2019, p. 13).

Furthermore, Qomar analogizes the tradition of Islamic thought to a tree. The tradition of Islamic thought is a rod that can stand tall because of the solidity of the roots. It is the root, that is the basis for the strength of the tree. The roots that construct the traditions of Islamic thought are a revelation, good customs/traditions/culture (*'urf al-shalih*), the experiences and views of scholars (Qomar, 2019, pp. 13–14). Therefore, tradition can be derived from the revelation of God interacting with various situations and conditions of his society (Qomar, 2019, p. 20). In this context, the presence of *Islam Nusantara* discourse can be categorized as part of the creative tradition of Islamic thought born from the challenges and spirit of the times of contemporary Indonesian religious life. In other words, *Islam Nusantara* is present as a response to various contemporary problems, both globalization, migration, ideology, and culture that are carried away by technological currents due to the easier access to information that is increasingly digitized (NF, 2021).

For this reason, this paper focuses on the dynamics of the meaning of *Islam Nusantara* and how to actualize the encounter between Islamic teachings and local culture in the *ruwat islami* tradition in Kediri. This study is basically a literature study. However, the authors also enriched the study with examples taken from the results of field research. In the enrichment process, researchers intensively interviewed a religious leader and a community leader in one of the villages in the Pagu District of Kediri Regency. The consideration of the selection of informants refers to the mastery of information and the experience of informants who are not only able to do *ruwat* other people and villages but also have experienced being a person who is directly had been *ruwat* by their *kyai* who then continue to be taught how to do *ruwat* Islamically.

B. STRAIGHTENING OUT THE MEANING OF *ISLAM NUSANTARA*

Since the 33rd NU Muktamar in Jombang made the term “*Islam Nusantara*” as the theme of the muktamar, the term became a public discourse that attracted many Indonesian Islamic studies. Meanwhile, the term *Islam Berke-majuan* became the theme raised by Muhammadiyah at the 47th muktamar in Makassar in 2015 (Sahal, 2015, p. 26). As a public discourse, the idea of *Islam Nusantara* gave birth to conceptual debates. This debate gave rise to polarization between groups that affirmed and negate the conceptual ideas of *Islam Nusantara*. Zainul Milal Bizawie informs that those who reject and criticize *Islam Nusantara* refer to several things, including imposing opposition to Islam in Arabia, being considered racial, giving rise to primordial fanaticism that leads to the tinkering of Muslims, and some even consider it a new strategy of the liberal and Zionist Islamic agendas. (Bizawie, 2015, p. 239). Islam does not need to be mediated for them, but it is Nusantara that must be proclaimed (Moqsith, 2016). This problem indicates the importance of meaning the concept of *Islam Nusantara* so that there is no overlap and ongoing misunderstandings. This meaning also has a significant contribution to understanding the nature of *Islam Nusantara* because meaning is the opening of the initial path for one’s understanding (Qomar, 2015). According to Rumadi Ahmad, the word *Islam Nusantara* can give rise to many interpretations, perspectives and even imaginations (Ahmad, 2021, p. 2). Where mistaken imagination can give rise to errors that delegitimize the meaning of the word *Islam Nusantara* (Ahmad, 2015, 2021, p. 2). Thus, various responses to rejection of the concept of *Islam Nusantara* are rooted in misunderstandings about its meaning.

For this reason, the meaning of *Islam Nusantara* both in language and terms is the basic capital to overcome these problems and a way to develop the concept of *Islam Nusantara* as an alternative to Indonesian Islamic thought and movements. In addition, the meaning of *Islam Nusantara* is also increasingly important because in the internal body of NU itself as the proponent of this idea there is an ambivalent attitude. Ahmad Zainul Hamdi's research found that in Madura, many NU *kyai* are sympathetic to *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) proselytizing model, even becoming its administrators. These *kyai* judged that what the FPI did was actually in line with what was read in *kitab kuning*. Meanwhile, on the side of Muhammadiyah, which narrates *Islam Berkemajuan*, there are also Muhammadiyah administrators who are blatantly figures of *Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an* (MTA) in their area. These findings show that the dynamics of Indonesian Islam have given birth to a distinctive type of Islamic discourse. Although it is never separated from the dynamics of global Islam, it has its own dynamics that gave birth to an Islam that is uniquely Indonesian (Hamdi, 2020).

Islam Nusantara is composed of two words, namely Islam and *Nusantara*. Islam is a religion taught by the Prophet Muhammad, guided by the holy book of the Qur'an which was handed down to the world through the revelation of Allah Almighty (Bahasa, 2016a). In comparison, the word *Nusantara* means a designation (name) for the entire archipelago (Bahasa, 2016b). Thus, the meaning of *Islam Nusantara* linguistically is Islam located in Nusantara (Ahmad, 2015). This simple definition has parallels with the opinion of Gus Mus who relies on the definition of *Islam Nusantara* as a form of *idhafah* or relational relationship whose meaning is not singular, but can vary, namely meaning *lam* (for, to), meaning *fii* (in, inside) and meaning *min* (from) (Bisri, 2015, p. 14). Related to that, Ahmad Baso detailed Gus Mus's explanation as follows. First, Islam *li Nusantara* is the presence of the Islamic teachings of *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah* (*Aswaja*) embraced by most Indonesian Muslims. With a *sanad* instrument that connects the scholars and *kitab-kitab Nusantara* to the scholars in the Arab lands to the *tabiins*, companions, and Rasulullah. Second, Islam *fi Nusantara* which is meant as a historical experience of Indonesian Muslims includes normative textual reflections that are practised and taught by scholars in the country to the contribution of Indonesian Muslims to the national movement and the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as the formulation of *Pancasila* and the 1945

constitution. Third, Islam *min Nusantara*, the association of *qaul ulama Nusantara*, provides normative and historical benchmarks about the practice of Islam, which is *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (Baso, 2018).

Meanwhile, Rumadi Ahmad defines *Islam Nusantara* as a struggle to implement Islamic teachings with *waqi'iyah*/reality awareness (Ahmad, 2015). This realistic attitude does not mean *taslim* or giving up on the situation that occurs, but not turning a blind eye to reality while still trying to achieve the ideal condition of how Islamic teachings can be implemented without damaging life. This is a form of implementing one of the basic principles of Islamic law (*mabadi al-shari'ah*), namely *wasathiyyah*/moderate (Ahmad, 2021, p. 4). In addition, *Islam Nusantara* also has a meaning as an understanding and practice of Islam in *Nusantara* to the dialectic between the *Shari'a* text and the reality of local culture (Muhajir, 2015, p. 67). Zainul Milal Bizawie also conveyed a similar opinion, for him *Islam Nusantara* is a typical Indonesian Islam which is a combination of Islamic theological values with the values of local traditions, culture, and customs in the country (Bizawie, 2015, p. 239). Furthermore, Mujamil Qomar defines *Islam Nusantara* as a model of thought, understanding, practice of Islamic teachings packaged through cultures and traditions developed in the Southeast Asian region (Qomar, 2015). This explanation also indicates that the word *Nusantara* has a broad meaning related to regional studies because of the spread of Islam in the early days in Indonesia. The archipelago in that context does not only include Indonesia as Azra revealed that *Nusantara* includes Southeast Asia as a whole (Azra, 2002, p. 15).

From this, it appears that *Islam Nusantara* is not new. But it is more about how Muslims in *Nusantara* actualize and represent their Islamic understanding and practice according to their respective localities. That way, islamic expression becomes very diverse due to the process of a mutual relationship between Islamic teachings and local traditions of the local community. This fact also has strong historical roots as shown and passed down by the saints, especially the proselytizing of Wali Sanga in islamicizing *Nusantara* in peaceful ways that accommodate the local culture. Where the heritage is still maintained and preserved by scholars who later developed it so that there are not a few academic works born from Indonesian scholars and various cultural expressions both *soft culture* such as pilgrimage traditions, *anjangsana*, homecoming, and so on as well as cultural expressions that are *complex culture* as

seen in various instruments that until now have been preserved by Indonesian Muslims such as bedbugs, mosques, tombs, and so on.

C. DIALECTICS OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL TEXTS

Indonesian Muslims have a different view on understanding and practising the teachings of Islam. This difference has to do with their response to the demands of the benefit of life. That view can be categorized into two forms of paradigms: exclusive and inclusive. In this context, NU's Islamic legal paradigm has harmoniously established the dialectic between religious and cultural legal norms. This means that Islamic law with an *Nusantara* perspective respects customs/culture as long as it does not conflict with the norms of Islamic law as seen in the main principles of national life proclaimed by KH. M. Hashim Asy'ari about *hubbul wathan minal iman* (love of homeland part of faith). In addition, one of the lines of NU's struggle formulated in its *khittah* is "the foundation in *Aswaja* which is established based on the customary cultural conditions of the people in Indonesia, both religious and social foundations." This shows that the basic dialectic base of Islamic law and cultural customs within NU figures and *ulama* is inclusive (Dahlan, 2020). This paradigm of thinking is known as *al-'Adah Muhakkamah*, that is, custom can be the basis for the establishment of Islamic law. Custom is what people have known so that it becomes a habit that prevails in their lives (Busyro, 2020, p. 196). The word *al-'Adah Muhakkamah* is one of the rules of jurisprudence in addition to the rule of *al-Umur bi Maqasidhiha* (everything/affairs depend on its purpose), *al-Yaqin la Yuzalu bisy Shakh* (belief cannot be eliminated by doubt), *al-Masyaqqah Tajlibut Taisir* (difficulty encouraging ease), and *al-Dhararu Yuzalu* (danger/*madarat* must be eliminated) (Ridwan, 2019).

Abdul Wahab Khallaf explained that for *ahli syara'*, there is no difference between custom and *al-'urf*. *Urf* is divided into two, namely *'urf* which is true in the form of habits practised by man and does not conflict with *sharia*, the law must be maintained. Whereas *corrupted 'urf* is a habit that man does but contrary to *sharia* that does not need to be observed or followed. Laws that refer to customs will change in time and place because new problems can change due to changes in the problem of origin. Therefore, the difference lies in the time and time, not in the postulates and reasons (Khallaf, 2003, pp. 117–119). In this regard, Abdul Moqsith Ghazali explained that if *istihsan* makes many exception laws, then *'urf* often accommodates local culture. The im-

portance of the position of *'urf* then in *ushul fiqh* gives a mandate to him to *takhsish* general pronunciation for which there is no technical guide to its implementation in the Qur'an and Hadith. This indicates that Islam highly values various forms of cultural creation of the people. Provided that the tradition does not injure the dignity of humanity or violate the principles of humanity. If it is the other way around, then there is no reason to keep it. Thus, *Islam Nusantara*, manifested in harmonization between religious teachings and cultural contexts, does not just enslave tradition because tradition is not immune to criticism. This also allows scholars to use cultural strategies in indicting Islam in certain cases such as Sunan Kalijaga who uses *wayang kulit* as a medium for proselytizing. Instead of destroying traditions, ulama-ulama are accommodating the ongoing culture in society (Ghazali, 2015, pp. 112–113).

There are many forms of Islamic assimilation with local traditions. Nurcholis Madjid reported that not a few Javanese customs are now only in the form of skeletons, but their content and substance have been islamized. For example, ceremonies for people who have just died after 3, 7, 40, 100, and 1000 days are referred to as *'selamatan'* (the event of begging for *salamah*, one root word with *Islam* and *greetings*, namely peace and well-being). This ceremony was later referred to as *'tahlilan'*, which is to read the *tahlil* recitation together as an effective way of instilling the soul of *tawhid* in an emotion that makes people sentimental (full of feelings) and suggestive (easy to accept teaching/understanding). Another, simpler example is the tradition of wearing a sarong. The sarong does not only contain the universal intrinsic value of Islam, which is to close the *aurat*. But it also contains a local instrumental value, namely the material form of the clothing itself. Elsewhere, many use different instrumental values to cover the *aurat* such as by wearing gamis in Arabia, *seruwal (sirwda)* in India, and pantaloons in Western lands. An example that ranks more difficult is a linguistic instrument for uncovering religious ideas and flavours. In the *santri* community, the role of Indonesian has not been able to beat Javanese, which is second only to Arabic. Some examples are Islamic acculturation with an excellent and conservable local culture. Since *the urf* of society contains elements that are wrong and right at the same time, it must be viewed critically rather than merely justifying. This critical attitude towards tradition allows for the social transformation of a society that has undergone an introduction to Islam. So tradition is not

necessarily mean that all the elements are not good, so it must be seen and researched which ones are good to maintain and follow. Meanwhile, traditionality is definitely not good because it is a closed attitude due to the abandonment of tradition as a whole without a critical attitude to separate the elements of good and bad (Madjid, 1998, pp. 577–582).

According to Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Islam and culture have their own independence but both have overlapping areas. Islam is rooted in revelation and has its own norms. Since it is normative, it tends to be permanent. While culture is artificial, therefore it develops according to the times and tends to be dynamic. This difference does not preclude the possibility of the manifestation of religious life in a cultural form. Thus came the *Seudati* dance, the student's way of life, the culture of respecting the *kyai*, and so on which the community accepted and carried out unceremoniously without questioning the argument. *Abangan* Muslims who stay away from *ma lima* (drunkenness, gambling, stealing, immorality, smoking marijuana) are not necessarily for religious reasons, but may be due to cultural reasons such as obedience to *kyai* or parents. The overlap between Islam and culture will last continuously as a process that will enrich life and make it not arid. The starting point of reconciliation is to ask that revelation be understood considering contextual factors, including legal awareness and its sense of justice. From here, Wahid then introduced the term pribumization of Islam.

The essence of islamic pribumization is the need, not avoiding polarization between religion and culture. The pribumization of Islam is not Jawanization or syncretism because the pribumization of Islam only considers local needs in formulating religious laws, without adding to the law itself. Nor is it abandoning norms for the sake of culture, but for them to accommodate cultural needs by using the opportunities provided by the variations in *nash* understanding while still giving a role to the *ushul* of jurisprudence and the rules of jurisprudence. This process of struggle with reality does not change Islam but only changes the manifestations of Islamic religious life (Wahid, 2015, p. 33).

D. TYPOLOGY OF RUWATAN TRADITION

Ruwat in Old Javanese means wrong or damaged (Reksosusilo, 2006). *Ruwat* also means release, intended to release humans already classified as *sukerta* (people being *ruwat*). In Javanese belief, people who have been *ruwat*

are believed to be free from everything that causes bad luck for them (Pamungkas, 2008, p. vi). Until now, the Javanese people still preserve the *ruwat* ritual with various types (Kasanova, 2018). In its development, *ruwatan* has various forms, among others, *ruwatan rasul*, *ruwatan wayang* or *wayang kulit* shows, *ruwatan masal*, *ruwatan agung*, *ruwatan desa* (Reksosusilo, 2006). Even so, the various types of *ruwatan* developments can basically be grouped into three general types of *ruwat* rituals. First, yourself *ruwat*. This type of *ruwatan* aims to avoid the misfortune that is in him. Spiritualists usually do *ruwat* of this type. Second, *ruwat* for others, where spiritualists/*peruwat* do *ruwatan* on others. Third, *ruwat* for the public. This treatment is usually done to treat a certain area (Pamungkas, 2008, p. 2).

Of the three general categories, the third type of *ruwatan* is a form of *ruwat* that has recently been studied. In this regard, Wahidah classifies *ruwatan desa* as a form of *slametan*, a tradition that has long lived in Javanese culture. Several religions or cultures influence this tradition as a 'hybrid tradition' of Hinduism, Islam, and Javanese Culture. His research concluded that the village *ruwatan* ritual in Mojokerto is a representation of the people's respect for their ancestors (Wahidah, 2015). Another common *ruwat* tradition is *ruwat Jolotundo*, a *ruwat* ritual carried out at the Airlangga Jolotundo Temple, where there are several water sources. This tradition is believed to positively impact the preservation of water resources, plants and animals in the area and encourage the community to be aware of protecting the environment. (Lestari et al., 2021). Next is Nur Syam and Nurhalizah, who define *ruwatan* as a traditional ceremony that aims to free a person, community or specific area from disaster. His research found that the ceremonial traditions in Candipari Village which are still sustainable are divided into three types of traditions (*slametan*, *ruwatan*, *nyandran*) which are influenced by local culture (ancestors) and global culture (religion), where the preservation of the tradition is still preserved as an ancestral heritage, even though it has become a local Islamic tradition (Syam & Nurhalizah, 2020). Thus, the *ruwat* ritual with various types and developments that are still sustainable today is proof that the Javanese people have inherited a strong ancestral tradition and are inclusive of various forms of cultural adaptation to religious teachings (Islam).

E. ASPECTS OF ISLAM NUSANTARA IN THE 'RUWAT TRADITION' IN KEDIRI

Ruwat means erasing past mistakes and opening a new page of life after completing the *ruwat* ritual. In short, maintenance means removing mistakes. The meaning removed here is that what has been passed is no longer there, now starting the first step. For example, people get married on a wrong day, or at the wrong time, so they experience ups and downs, usually the whole body, often gets sick, especially in economic matters. The implementation of *ruwat* requires special alms, where the variety of special charities has its meaning. The following is a list of *ruwat* charities that must be prepared by the person who will be *ruwat* before carrying out the *ruwat* ritual because everything is a prayer (Mbah Min, personal communication, July 7, 2021):

1. *Sego gurih (nasi gurih/nasi uduk)*. In Javanese terms, it is referred to as “*sekul suci ulam sari, caos pahormatan*” which means *sego gurih* and *iwak ingkung* (whole chicken cooked with yellow spices). The symbolic meaning contained in this kind of alms is to pay homage to the Prophet Muhammad and his family (wives and descendants) and his companions who were asked for *syafa'at*/help so that Allah granted this wish.
2. *Sego golong 5 pieces*, the side dishes are whole fried eggs, as many as 11 grains. *Golong* means rice shaped to the size of a fist by squeezing the rice with your hands. Regarding the number, there are two opinions, namely a number of 7 pieces which refers to the number of days and a number of 5 which refers to the *pasaran*. Both are true, but the number 5 becomes better if it is intended to ease the burden on people who have a celebration (to be *ruwat*). This explanation shows that the symbolic meaning of this dish refers to the number of days, namely 7 days as a general day and 5 days as a Javanese day (*pasaran*).
3. *Sego tumpeng (nasi tumpeng)*, The side dishes are scaly sea fish, *trancam* with seven kinds of vegetables, *ungkusan jeroan*, and yellow spices *tofu-tempe*. *Tumpeng* here is meant to be a cone to Prophet Sulaiman so that later he will get sufficient sustenance and blessings because he is famous for his wealth. Sea fish with scales is a condition that has a special meaning, namely, fish scales are a symbol of loose change; although the nominal is small, the amount is significant (symbolization of sustenance). *Trancam* also varies vegetables which means that later the person being *ruwat* can

eat a variety of food menus.

4. 4 plates of *jenang sengkolo* and 7 plates of *sumsum* porridge. 4 plates of *jenang sengkolo* consists of four types of *jenang sengkolo*, including white, black, red white *jenang* (white *jenang* is given a spoonful of red *jenang* in the middle), and red and white (red *jenang* is given white *jenang* in the middle). The number of 4 refers to the scientific guidelines 4. While the 7 plates of *sumsum* porridge consist of white *sumsum* porridge (white sugar), red (brown sugar), green (pandan leaves), yellow (turmeric), black (abu klaras banana kepok, otherwise there can be replaced with black sticky rice), red white, white red. This red and white lathe is technically the same as red and white *jenang* which means love (*mawaddah*), the other meaning is flesh and blood. The number 7 refers to the number of days in a week. Other meanings are *pitutur*, *pituduh*, *pitulung*.
5. 41 *Apem goreng*. Apem means ‘*afwun*, which means to get Allah’s forgiveness for past mistakes so that those mistakes can be erased.
6. *Kupat*, side dishes are *abon*, spicy *srundeng*, *dele* powder, and soup. *Kupat* means *pojokan papat* (four corners), which contains four sciences: *shari’a*, *tarekat*, *hakikat*, and *ma’rifat*. In other words, when living in good and prosperous conditions, do not forget to continue to hold on to the four knowledges. *Kupat* also means *ngaku lepat* (admitting past mistakes). Thus, the existence of *apem* and *kupat* has the same direction: to get God’s forgiveness.
7. *Raja* banana *setangkep* (2 *lirang*), 2 *lirang* is a symbol of the king and queen.
8. *Setaman* flowers for bathing consist of 2 red roses, 2 white roses, 2 white *kantil*, 2 yellow *kantil*, 5 jasmine, 9 ylang ylang, 5 red henna, 5 white courtship, 11 tuberose, lime 2 slices, turmeric 9 slices, 10 grains *wedak adem*, vambo oil.
9. Snacks market 5 kinds of 7 packs. This type of market snack selection is relatively free, but one of them is preferably tape. While the number of 5 kinds refers to the number of *pasaran*, and 7 packs refer to the number of days.

Such is the variety of alms that needs to be prepared for implementing *Ruwatan*. Before the implementation of the *ruwatan*, *peruwat* has determined the day of its implementation. The choice of the day also has its peculiarities.

For that, it seems necessary to explain the purpose of these days. First, Monday. The alms are rice *uduk* and scaly sea fish if the ceremony falls on a Monday. In addition to this addition to alms, other additions are *tawasul* and additional readings when praying. The additional *tawasul* is special addressed to the Prophet Dawud (AS). As for further readings when praying, read the *Salawat* and *do'a kub*. Second, Tuesday. The additional alms are 40 pieces of *kupat* and four kinds of side dishes (in an emergency, *kupat* can be replaced with *lontong*, usually the primary consideration for this replacement is the economic condition of the person to be treated). Other additions are reading *tawasul* for Prophet Sulaiman AS and reading *Salawat* and *do'a selamat* when praying.

Third, Wednesday. If the ceremony falls on a Wednesday, the alms are 7 pieces of *golong* rice, *pecel* seasoned rooster, *sayur menir* (spinach and corn with *temukunci*). In addition to alms, other additions are *tawasul*, which is devoted to the Prophet Ya'qub AS and when praying he adds *Salawat* and *qobul* prayers. Fourth, Thursday. The charity consists of three kinds of sticky rice: white *jenang*, red *jenang* and black *jenang*. *Tawasul* was particularly addressed to Prophet Ibrahim AS and added prayers and *do'a kubur* while praying. Fifth Friday. If the observance falls on a Friday, the charity is rice and meat (in an emergency, *meat* can be replaced with *hati*). Usually, the most common and easy to get or make is goat satay. In addition to alms, other extras are *tawasul* which is devoted to the Prophet Muhammad and reading *salawat* when praying. Sixth, Saturday. Alms and additional readings when praying are the same as on Wednesdays. The difference is that the recitation of *tawasul* is devoted to the Prophet Sholeh. Seventh, Sunday. The additional alms are *sego gurih*, *ingkung*, *tawasul* to Prophet Isa AS and adding *salawat* and *do'a selamat* when praying. The *salawat* that is commonly used is the *Munjiyat Salawat* and the *Nariyah Salawat* (Mbah Min, personal communication, July 11, 2021).

After preparing all the necessary *ruwat* alms, including additional alms according to the day of *ruwat*. Then the *ruwat* ceremony is carried out by involving neighbors and if possible the closest relatives. The implementation begins with the reading of *tawasul*, including additional *tawasul* according to the day of implementation. Then read a special *wirid ruwat* and prayer readings. After that, the food alms are eaten together and taken home. Meanwhile, the person being *ruwat* takes a bath by adding a *setaman* flower which is included during the *ruwatan* procession until the prayer is finished.

The criteria for people who are usually *ruwat* today are people who get married on a wrong day, or at the wrong time, so they usually experience ups and downs, their bodies often get sick, and their economy is even more so. Next is the only child, both a boy and a girl, and the last is a sick person for whom there is no cure. Apart from that, it doesn't need to be *ruwat*. For example, marriage. However, this also needs to be investigated first. If nothing is wrong with the day, time, and marriage contract, but during the journey of household continuity, negative problems occur that lead to household rifts, then there is no need to *ruwat* them. This is usually because words that are not realized or do not feel thrown by the husband to his wife that allude to the *talak* so that the household experiences ups and downs. This problem does not need to be treated, but only needs to *mbangun nikah*, this has become a tradition of the Javanese people, especially the people of Kediri. This tradition does not conflict with the teachings of Islam because in Islamic teachings, there is the concept of *tajdidun nikah* which means equivalent to *mbangun nikah* tradition (Mbah Min, personal communication, July 21, 2021).

From the description above, it appears that *ruwatan* is still practiced by the people of Kediri, especially the people of Tanjung Village, Pagu District, Kediri Regency and students who are alumni of the *Pesantren Salafiyah Kapurejo*, Kediri Regency. This village refers to research informants who act as *peruwat* and are known as religious leaders and elderly community leaders, even though the people who ask for treatment come from various villages and sub-districts in the Kediri area. Referring to the concept of the relationship between Islam and local culture that continues dialectically in today's society, it appears that the *ruwat* tradition in this study has transformed from its original form which gave birth to new *ruwat* variants. This means that the community still preserves the *ruwat* tradition as one of the cultural heritages of Javanese ancestors, but with a unique pattern that is adjusting to Islamic teachings and considering the conditions of the local community. This fact is in line with the opinion of Suwito, et al., who state that Javanese Muslims practice Islamic teachings by referring to the Qur'an and Hadith as a way of life but still preserve the practices and beliefs inherited by their ancestors. (Suwito et al., 2015).

Adjustment to Islamic teachings appears in almost all dimensions, starting from the meaning of the variety of food that must be prepared by the person who will be *ruwat*, the implementation of the *ruwat* ritual which begins with

the reading of *tawasul* until the *ruwat* process is completed. This shows that the content and substance of *ruwat* has been transformed into very Islamic even though its framework is an ancestral cultural heritage. Thus, this finding is also relevant to Nurcholis Madjid's view regarding the acculturation of Islam with local culture, that many Javanese traditions are now only the framework. Still, the content and substance have been converted to Islam. (Madjid, 1998, p. 581). Even so, this finding also shows a slight difference because the form of transformation does not always change the name of the original tradition, namely *ruwat*. It's just that the practice of *ruwat* that is carried out can be categorized as a new variant of *ruwat*, namely *Ruwat Islami* even though in general people only refer to it as *ruwatan*.

The consideration of the community condition can be seen from the choice of the amount of food amounting to 5 and 7, where both are equally correct and have references. In addition, the choice of a smaller number also eases the burden on people who will be *ruwat* and is related to the possibility of replacing certain types of food in an emergency. This means that the ongoing transformation also considers the needs and conditions of local communities. The relationship between Islamic teachings and the cultural context in this description is a form of assimilation, not syncretism. Because syncretism is an attempt to integrate the theology or the old belief system with Islam which leads to the formation of pantheism (Wahid, 2015, p. 35).

F. CONCLUSION

This study finds that *ruwatan*, a form of synthesis/relationship/dialectic between Islam and local traditions, gave birth to this new tradition embodied in the *Ruwat Islami* tradition. This study also shows that the use of the dialectical concept of religious texts with a cultural context has allowed this research to observe aspects that are 'considered' traditionally abandoned by society but underwent a transformation into an Islamic tradition still practised by the community today. This transformation of the 'Islamic' tradition simultaneously enriches the diverse expressions of Islamic thought and practice in the archipelago and how a community interprets customs and Islam harmoniously. The limitations of this study indicate the need for further comparative studies by considering the different typologies of different communities or regions.

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