



ESSÉR JEMMU': An Ecological Adaptation Ritual in a House Construction in Madura

Emna Laisa*, Indah Husnul Khotimah**

Tarbiyah, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Pamekasan, Indonesia

email: *e2nk.cute@gmail.com, **indah.elnafs@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

For the people of Bungbungan, it is imperative that they build a new house, especially when they have a daughter. This is based on the concept of *tanéyan lanjhang* which adheres to auxorilocality and matrilocality. The purpose of this study is to describe the essence of a house for the Bungbungan community, various important guidelines in the preparation of building a new house, various ritual offerings, and ritual practice of *essér jemma'*. This study is an ethnographic study based on Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory to describe the pattern of relations between Islam in the context of *pesantren* and of the villagers in addressing the ritual of *essér jemma'* as an ecological adaptation ritual in a house construction. The result of this study shows that the house could be a symbol of social status as well as a sign that girls should not be brought to their husband's house. The process of building a new house begins with various rituals influenced by myths including to determine the direction and layout of the house which are based on the *pancabara* and *babukon*. Various offerings are put into a *polo'* then planted in the yard. The practice of *essér jemma'* ritual consists of prayers and ritual practices led by a *kiai* from *pesantren* or from the village, in which it shows a pattern of domination-subordination relationship of Islam of the *pesantren* to village Islam.

ABSTRAK

Bagi masyarakat Bungbungan, membangun rumah baru merupakan sebuah keharusan, terutama jika memiliki anak perempuan. Hal ini berdasarkan konsep *tanéyan lanjhang* yang menganut ukxorilokalitas dan matrilocalitas. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan hakikat rumah bagi masyarakat Bungbungan, berbagai pedoman penting dalam persiapan pembuatan rumah, ragam sesaji ritual, dan praktik ritual *essér jemma'*. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian etnografi yang berdasarkan teori habitus Pierre Bourdieu untuk mendeskripsikan pola relasi antara Islam pesantren dan Islam kampung dalam menyikapi praktik ritual *essér jemma'* sebagai ritual adaptasi ekologis dalam pembangunan rumah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa rumah merupakan penanda status sosial sekaligus isyarat bahwa anak perempuan tidak boleh diboyong ke rumah suami. Proses pembangunan rumah diawali dengan berbagai ritual yang dipengaruhi oleh mitos yang meliputi penentuan arah dan tata letak rumah berdasarkan *pancabara* dan *babukon*. Ragam sesaji dimasukkan ke dalam *polo'* kemudian ditanam di pekarangan. Praktik ritual *essér jemma'* berisi doa-doa dan laku ritual yang dipimpin kiai pesantren atau kiai kampung yang menunjukkan pola relasi dominasi-subordinasi Islam pesantren terhadap Islam kampung.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 26 February
2021

Accepted 14 June 2021

KEYWORDS

Essér jemma'; ecological
adaptation ritual; Madura;
pesantren; village



Introduction

Madurese people always undergo a series of life transition ceremonies in their social environment. From the phase of in the womb, the newborn, children, adolescence, adulthood, until death, they are familiar with religious traditions. The religious tradition surrounding one's life in Madura is manifested as a unique tradition. The tradition is conducted with clear grounds and arguments, so that it becomes a belief in the community, both normatively (religion) and sociologically.¹ The Islamic tradition in Madura also intersects with cultural rites related to daily life activities, in terms of both seeking blessings at work and ceremonies related to residence, such as building a new house, official ceremony of a new house, and moving into a new house.² This kind of tradition is also applied in Bungbungan Village, Bluto District, Sumenep Regency.

Regarding the residence, the people of Bungbungan Village still hold the tradition that in terms of inheritance rights, girls have the right to get *pakarangan*,³ namely *roma patobin*⁴ (house of family origin) as well as various supporting facilities on the land. If the parents can afford it, for girls, they would build a new house that is not far from the *roma patobin*, while the boys get livestock, a large area of agricultural land, and a stable. This rule indicates that a married daughter will not be allowed to leave their parents' house, while boys are indeed prepared to live in their wife's house or build a new house independently. In addition, the reason why she

¹ Achmad Mulyadi, "Memaknai Praktik Tradisi Ritual Masyarakat Muslim Sumenep," *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June, 2018): 125, <https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.1.2.124-135>.

² Muhammad Syamsuddin, *History of Madura, Sejarah, Budaya dan Ajaran Luhur Masyarakat Madura* (Yogyakarta: Araska, 2019), p. 195.

³ *Pakarangan* is the Madurese language of the yard. *Pakarangan* has the synonym of *tanèyan*, which means the distance from the yard to the house. Ibid., p. 90. According to Dendi Sugono, *pakarangan* comes from the word "karang" which means the yard of the house. Dendi Sugono, et. al., *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008), p. 640. However, the definition of *pakarangan* understood by researchers from the Bungbungan Village community includes a plot of land and everything built on it which includes houses, kitchens, cages, *mushallâ* (prayer room), and so on according to its boundaries. Usually the provision of various buildings and other facilities besides the house, depending on the sincerity of the parents. If there is a family who does not own land as an inheritance, then their descendants will occupy *roma patobin* together.

⁴ *Roma patobin* is a house occupied by parents as a *pamolèyan* house (where all family members return), both families who have separated from their homes or families who still stay together with people at the *roma patobin*. If there is a family who does not own land as an inheritance, then their descendants will occupy *roma patobin* together. Mohammad Hipni, "Hibah dan Nilai Keadilan pada Keluarga Pekerja Wanita Imigran Madura: Kajian terhadap Praktik Waris Adat Madura," in *Proceeding 2nd ACIEL: Annual Conference on Islamic Economic and Law Universitas Trunojoyo Madura* (Bangkalan, 20 November 2019), p. 142.



has the right to get the *romapatobin* is that because she will be her brother's place to back home (*pamolëyan*) when he gets divorce or experiences other unwanted cases.⁵

The process of a house construction is done after careful consideration of *babukon*,⁶ *pancabara*,⁷ and some ritual practices that are influenced by animist and Hindu-Buddhist beliefs. In the beliefs of pagan/animists, there is a relationship between the living and the dead.⁸ Public views that the existence of ancestral spirits (*bhângatowa*) and the supernatural realm is closely attached. The ancestral spirits are considered as guardians of the land so that they must always be remembered, given offerings, and prayed for in order to help protect the house from all negative energies.

Gradually, animist beliefs began to be pushed back by Hinduism and Buddhism, which were developed by several major kingdoms, such as Kediri (1050-1222), Singasari (1222-1292), and Majapahit (1294-1572).⁹ These new beliefs gained a lot of sympathy and followers, because they respect the human soul and do not oppose the worship of ancestors that had been done by the previous animistic beliefs. Traces of the spread of Hinduism in Sumenep can be seen in the statue of Lord Vishnu in Candi Village, Dungkek District and the naming of Mandala Village in Rubaru District which means the place for education and the village of Hindu-Buddhist hermits.¹⁰

Around the 15th century AD, Islamic power was able to overthrow the existence of Majapahit. The spread of Islam in Sumenep has occurred since the reign of Panembahan Joharsari, whose palace is located in the Bluto area, the main sub-district of Bungbungan Village.¹¹ After Islam came, Islamic values covered all aspects of community life. The old culture is then colored with the new Islamic values without eliminating the original cultural identity as long as it does not conflict with Islamic teachings. Likewise, the *essér jemma'* ritual

⁵ Masthuriyah Sa'dan, "Tradisi Perkawinan Matrilokal Madura (Akulturasi Adat & Hukum Islam)," *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, vol. 14, no. 1 (June, 2016): 136, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v14i1.622>.

⁶ *Pancabara* is a way of forecasting or predicting something based on a combination of 7 days and 5 market days. Roy Edward Jordaan, *Folk Medicine in Madura* (Leiden: Rijkuniversiteit, 1985), p. 129.

⁷ *Babukon* Babukon is used to determine the unlucky and good time for humans, livestock, and plants. Marsono, *Sistem Penanggalan Sultan Agung dalam Mempertanyakan Jati Diri Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Divisi Penerbitan Unit Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004), p. 240.

⁸ Zainollah Ahmad, *Babad Modern Sumenep: Sebuah Telaah Historiografi* (Yogyakarta: Araska, 2018), p. 16.

⁹ Huub de Jonge, *Madura dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, dan Islam Suatu Studi Antropologi Ekonomi* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989), p. 45.

¹⁰ Ahmad, *Babad Modern Sumenep*, 39; and Tim Penulis Sejarah Sumenep, *Sejarah Sumenep* (Sumenep: Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Sumenep, 2003), p. 28.

¹¹ Ahmad, *Babad Modern Sumenep*, p. 248.



has undergone an adaptation process. *Essér jemmu'* becomes a tradition that goes dynamically through a process of cultural inheritance from generation to generation. It is a form of ecological adaptation ritual among village Muslims, which contains certain myths functioning to preserve the culture from extinction and strengthen the morality of society.

Research on *essér jemmu'* is rarely found. Several related studies include Moh. Adhim's research entitled *Islam Lokal: Studi tentang Upacara Rokot Pekarangan di Desa Bragung Kabupaten Sumenep Madura*,¹² Ilham Abadi and Soebijantoro's research entitled *Upacara Adat Ruwatan Bumi di Kelurahan Winongo Kecamatan Manguharjo Kota Madiun: Latar Sejarah, Nilai-nilai Filosofis, dan Potensinya sebagai Sumber Pembelajaran Sejarah Lokal*,¹³ and Ratna Umay, Cahya, and Imam Setyobudi's research entitled *Ritual Numbal dalam Upacara Ruwatan Bumi di Kampung Banceuy-Subang*.¹⁴ The three studies only describe the ritual practices of exorcism ritual of the land in various regions without discussing the pattern of relations between religious authorities and cultural preservation figures in responding to the existence of rituals that deviate from religious teachings. In fact, there is no research that specifically addresses the rituals of house construction ceremonies.

This research is based on Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) habitus theory aimed to describe the relationship pattern between "pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) Islam" represented by the *pesantren kiai* (Islamic scholar) and "village Islam" represented by the village *kiai* or traditional leaders with regard to various religious traditions develop in the society. Habitus relates to capital owned by individuals or groups in the form of economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital that creates legitimacy from other parties.¹⁵ This research is an ethnographic research. Ethnography is a study of the life and culture of society or ethnicity such as customs, habits, law, art, religion and language. Ethnography seeks to explore the culture of society.¹⁶

¹² Moh. Adhim, *Islam Lokal: Studi tentang Upacara Rokot Pekarangan di Desa Bragung Kabupaten Sumenep Madura* (Thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Surabaya, 2014), p. 82.

¹³ Ilham Abadi dan Soebijantoro, "Upacara Adat Ruwatan Bumi di Kelurahan Winongo Kecamatan Manguharjo Kota Madiun; Latar Sejarah, Nilai-nilai Filosofis, dan Potensinya sebagai Sumber Pembelajaran Sejarah Lokal," *Agastya: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pembelajarannya*, vol. 6, no. 1 (January, 2016): 82, <http://doi.org/10.25273/ajsp.v6i01.883>.

¹⁴ Ratna Umay, Cahya and Imam Setyobudi, "Ritual Numbal dalam Upacara Ruwatan Bumi di Kampung Banceuy-Subang," *Jurnal Budaya Etnika*, vol. 3, no. 1 (June, 2019): 41.

¹⁵ Mohammad Hefni, *Islam Madura: Sebuah Studi Konstruktivisme Strukturalis tentang Relasi Islam Pesantren dan Islam Kampung di Sumenep Madura* (Malang: Literasi Nusantara, 2019), pp.22-3.

¹⁶ Sujana Joko and Rustono Farady Marta, "Etnografi Komunikasi pada Tiga Generasi Anggota Perkumpulan Marga Ang Bagansiapi-api," *Komunikatif: Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July, 2017):53, <https://doi.org/10.33508/jk.v6i1.1588>.



Ethnography study attempts to explore the culture of the society.¹⁷ This ethnography study will provide an understanding of culture to study and understand individual life from a cultural perspective¹⁸ regarding the ritual of *essér jemma'* in building new houses in Bungbungan Village, Bluto District, Sumenep Regency. The Bungbungan community views that the main thing that must be prepared by a man after marriage is a house.

The Nature of a House for Bungbungan Community

The Bungbungan community views that the main thing that must be prepared by a man after marriage is a house. Providing a house for children seems to be an obligation. This is an unwritten rule and reflects the totality of parents in preparing for their children's future. This situation is not only seen from the material side, but more for the honor of a family. This is because the tradition of the Bungbungan community requires married daughters not to leave their parents' house.

The meaning of home for the Bungbungan community helps shape the mindset and patterns of the social system in their environment. Apart from being an indicator of a person's social status, the house can give an indication as to whether or not a girl can be brought to her husband's house. If there is no house made for a mature daughter, it will give a chance for the family of the prospective husband to bring her into his house. It is common knowledge that the house is also a benchmark in accepting a marriage proposal from a prospective husband; the nicer the house of a girl, the higher is the social strata of the prospective husband whose proposal will be accepted.

The provision of a house for girls also implies the love of parents who do not want to see their children live in hardship. *Ngampong bhunga* (having a share of happiness) is something parents want when they see their children succeed and focus on preparing for the future of their grandchildren without having to be burdened with the urgent demands of building a house because the house has been prepared. They hope that this tradition will be continued by the next generation. In addition, parents also hope that there is a reciprocal relationship with their children, that the children care for them in their old age. The parents consider that it is inappropriate and they are reluctant to be cared for by their sons or daughters-in-law.

¹⁷ Windiani and Farida Nurul R, "Menggunakan Metode Etnografi dalam Penelitian," *Dimensi: Jurnal Sociology*, vol. 9, no 2 (November, 2016): 88.

¹⁸ Setyowati, "Etnografi sebagai Metode Pilihan dalam Penelitian Kualitatif di Keperawatan," *JKI: Jurnal Keperawatan Indonesia*, vol. 10, no. 1 (March, 2006): 36-39, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v10i1.171>.



In building a new house, the people of Bungbungan carry out various stages of planning using certain standards that have been inherited from their ancestors from generation to generation. Some important things that must be prepared include the following:

1. Setting the layout of the house

Setting the layout of the house is done because there is a belief that an improper layout will cause disaster for the home owner. Some examples of myths that are believed include: the front door and the back door should not be in a straight line, because it is believed to cause *ta' serra' bhârkat* (the property of the home owner would not be blessed) and it is analogous to *alessong burto'* (perforated mortar). The analogy suggests that the occupants of the house will have difficulty in their works or their assets will quickly run out because of disaster. However, it can be avoided by partitioning the room or putting a screen between the two doors, either in the form of a permanent wall partition or an object that functions as a barrier such as a cupboard.

The rooftop of the house should also be properly arranged so that there are no conflicts in the household that can lead to divorce. In addition, the position of the doors between rooms should not be facing each other, because it is considered *parsèko* (danger or prone to slander) if the house is occupied by several couples. Some of these rules are almost the same as the Feng Shui used by Chinese ethnic.

The number of family members who live in the house cannot be three couples, as it is believed to cause disaster to one of the couples. This situation is often overcome by parents in many ways, one of which is the habit of parents who then moved to the kitchen or small cubicle next to the house to avoid this taboo.

Madurese kitchens are usually equipped with a *dhurung*, which is a room above the kitchen that is used as a place to store crops. This *dhurung* also has certain rules, namely the number of logs from the base frame must be five or nine based on the principles of *totop*, *tompeng*, *gorang*, and *gareng*. In the count, the number five or nine will fall on the word *totop* with closed mouth in pronouncing it, which is interpreted as *cokop* (sufficient or not straitened).

2. Setting the position of the yard

For the people of Bungbungan, having land with a higher ground structure (*attas tabun*) is a blessing and is considered to bring good luck. People who have land lower than the



road will backfill the land to the street level. Otherwise, they will perform a ritual of ceremonial meal by slaughtering the *embi' ghendhi*, which is a black goat whose stomach has a white stripe encircling its body.

Likewise, other beliefs related to the sanitation system and the land slope include; the land which is *sèlèng mor lao'* or *sèlèng tèmor*, namely the drainage hole is in the southeast or east of the yard, is regarded as the best position. Accordingly, making the drainage in the west side of the land must be avoided. It is no less important to make sure that the position of the front gate must not be in the middle of the yard. It is preferable to make it in a position of one third of the length of the yard. The gate should not be in the same direction and in line with the neighbor's gate, because it is believed to bring bad luck to a house with a lower ground position. If this happens, then one of the neighbors must change the position of the gate.

The people of Bungbungan avoid building houses on *tombhâg lorong*, which is land that is directly opposite the road where the position of the house is seen like being speared by the road. If the construction continues with this position, then the only way is to build the house without crossing a straight line of the road. The same applies to *tombhâg tabun* land, namely land that is cut off by the edge of someone else's land in the middle.

3. Setting the time when to build a new house

Setting the time when to build a new house is not done recklessly by the Bungbungan community. They usually consult with community leaders or *kiai* of the village to determine the good day, date and month to start building a new house. In general, things that need to be considered are the *pancabara* and *babukon* which can be seen on calendars that use the Javanese calendar system.

Pancabara is found on five consecutive days and the count starts from *pon*, *pahing*, *legi*, *kliwon*, and *wage*. Mostly, the *pancabara* used is *pahing*, while *legi* is avoided in the hope that they will be kept away from robbing. However, the use of the *pancabara* is not absolute, because it still has to be combined with the good *babukon*, date and month.

The *babukon* in Madurese calendar system consists of 30 *buko* (periods). Each *buko* has its own character and is often used to recognize human character and destiny based on the day of their birth. In the *babukon*, there is a *buko* which is believed to cause harm for living things.



The *buko* of *senta*, *langker*, *tamber*, *bala*, and *matal* are referred to as *buko matè* (dead periods) which are believed to bring bad luck to humans, so they are advised not to build a new house during these periods. The Bungbungan people also avoid the *buko* of *pa'ang*, because they are believed to be *lakona kèlap* (the period of lightning). If they are determined to build houses or plant seeds or plants at that time, they are worried that they will be struck by lightning and will quickly be damaged. *Babukon* of *bala'* should also be avoided so that trials of life or disasters for the residents of the house do not occur. Meanwhile, *babukon* of *galungan* and *kuningan* are the good choices because they are considered good and bring good luck when building a new house or starting a business. Each *babukon* lasts one week to change to another *babukon*.

According to the *kiai* of the village, there are several months that are mostly chosen to start building a new house. They are: Rajab (*Rejeb*), Sya'bân (*Rebbâ*), Syawwâl (*Sabâl*), and Dzû al-Hijjah (*Rèrajâh*). While the months that are avoided are Muḥarram(*Sora*), Rabi' al-Awwâl (*Molod*), and Dzû al-Qa'dah (*Takèpè*). Accordingly, determining the dates to start building a new house must be done carefully because there are certain dates which are considered as *na'as nabi* (unlucky days), namely the 4th, 5th, 13th, 16th, 21st, 24th, and 25th of each month. The construction process usually takes place from the 1st to 15th of the Hijri month. It is attributed to the appearance of the moon, which progresses from a crescent shape to a perfectly round shape. This implies a philosophical meaning and hope that the home owner could live a smooth life, succeed in his work, and work hard starting from small to large capital.

Various Complements to the *Essér Jemmu'* Ritual

After the preparatory stage is complete, the construction process will be carried out immediately. In the evening before the construction of a new house, the owner should hold a ceremonial meal of the *essér jemmu'* by inviting close neighbors and male relatives. Female relatives usually help provide various ritual needs, offerings, meal for the guests, and *bhârkat* (meal to take home by the guests).

In general, the things that must be prepared are as follows:

1. Rice

There are two kinds of rice for the *essér jemmu'*, namely steamed white rice as a sign of the *essér* and *nasè' sella* (rice mixed with corn) as the *jemmu'*. Each type of these rices is cooked



with a measure of one bushel. A plate of *sekkol tonoh* (roasted grated coconut that has been seasoned) is placed on the side of the rice to complement it.



Picture 1. Mixed rice and white rice

2. Grilled chicken

It is required that the chicken to be roasted hasto be a young rooster and preferably with white fur. After the chicken is slaughtered, the feathers are not thrown away but they should be put into *apolo'* (a clay container) along with the blood, a pair of wings, a pair of legs, *pèna'an* (betel, areca nut, *gambir*, and chopped tobacco), brown sugar, and a slice of coconut. The roasted chicken is put on top of the *nasè' sella* and placed amongst the guests.



Picture 2. Grilled chicken

3. *Katopa'*/*Ketupat* (rice cake boiled in a rhombus shaped packed of plaited young coconut leaves)

There are two types of *ketupat* used in the ritual, namely *katopa' lobar* and *katopa' sango*. *Katopa' lobar* is a *ketupat* which has the same shape and is arranged in two in each structure. This *ketupat* means *lebbhâr*, that is, it is hoped that the construction of the house can be completed on time and with no obstacles. While the *ketupat sango* is analogous to the house as a place to achieve a happy life in this world and provision for the hereafter.

4. *Jhâjhân genna'*

Jhâjhân genna' are seven kinds of wet pastries in different forms and are usually bought in the market, such as donuts, *cucur* (fried cake made of rice flour and sugar), and fried bananas. The *jhâjhân genna'* is a symbol of the number of days in a week, from Monday to Sunday.



5. *Jhâjhân konah*

Jhâjhân konah is an old recipe from the ancestor's heritage and must be served in the ritual. These pastries include *gellung teleng*, *buggabug*, *leppet*, *nagasarè*, and are equipped with a bunch of bananas.

6. *Tajhin bârna lèma'* (five-coloured porridge)

The colour of the *tajhin bârna lèma'* (five-colored porridge) usually consists of green, yellow, red, black, and white. The ingredients are green beans, rice and sticky rice. The philosophical meanings of the coloured porridge include: first, green porridge (*tajhin bhiru*) is usually made from green beans. The green color symbolizes *nafs muthma'innah* (reassured soul) in human. Second, yellow porridge (*tajhin koning*) is made from sticky rice which is given yellow food coloring. Yellow symbolizes *shufiyah* soul. Third, red porridge (*tajhin mèra*) is made from *cempah* (brown rice). This color symbolizes the *ammârah* soul of human. Fourth, black porridge (*tajhin celleng*) is made from *ètem* (black sticky rice), symbolizing the soul of *lawwâmah*. Fifth, white porridge (*tajhin potè*) is made from white rice, which symbolizes the sanctity of the human soul. The *tajhin bârna lèma'* symbolizes *pancabara*.

The *tajhin bârna lèma'* is placed in the corners of the foundation of the house and the center of the house. *Tajhin bhiru* is devoted to the guardian of *mor lao'* (southeast), namely the Prophet Khidir. The *tajhin koneng* is to be placed in the *bârâ' lao'* (southwest) guarded by the Prophet Dzulqarnain. The *tajhin mèra* is placed in the *bârâ' dâjâ* (northwest) guarded by the prophet Rijal Gaib. The *tajhin celleng* is devoted to the guardian of *mor dâjâ* (northeast), namely the Prophet Ilyas. The *tajhin potè* was placed in the middle of the foundation of the house guarded by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jailânî.

7. *Sarabih* (rice flour pancake)

Sarabih is used as a symbol for the opening of the Quran just like al-Fâtihah. It is served specifically for the invitees. Two *sarabihs* stacked together are analogous to lips. This symbol is intended that the ritual process runs smoothly and the reading is correct.



Picture 3. Sarabih

8. *Komkoman* Water

Komkoman is a mixture of seven flowers mixed with water that is placed in a small container. This flower concoction is called *bhebur* and usually consists of slices of pandan leaves, jasmine, rose, cananga, *kantil* (magnolia), *beddhá' kembhâng*, and doused with liquid flower oil.

9. *Dhâmar Kambang*

Dhâmar kambang is a small lamp placed in a bowl fueled with coconut oil. *Dhâmar kambang* is used as a sign of whether or not the house construction process is running smoothly. If the flames are bright and large, it is believed that the construction of the house will run smoothly, otherwise, if the flames are dim, it is considered a sign that there will be some obstacles during the construction. The *dhâmar kambang* is usually lit continuously during the construction process.



Picture 4. *Dhâmar kambang* and *komkoman* water

The Practice of the *Essér Jemmu'* as an Ecological Adaptation Ritual

The *essér jemmu'* ritual is carried out by inviting adult males, and are usually heads of family of the relatives and close neighbors of the host. *Essér jemmu'* is led by a *kiai* of a *pesantren*, a *kiai* of the village, or a collaboration between the two of them. The *kiai* of *pesantren* and the village have different roles in the implementation of the *essér jemmu'*; the *kiai* of *pesantren* lead the prayers during the procession, while the village *kiai* continues to carry out various rituals of ancestral beliefs after the *kiai* of *pesantren* return home.

The ritual of *essér jemmu'* begins with recitation of al-Fâtiḥah to the Prophet Muhammad, the apostles, scholars, saints, and pious people, then the recitation of al-Fâtiḥah is devoted to



the deceased elders and host families. Furthermore, the *kiai* or traditional leaders read *tahlil* and end with a prayer.

There is a slight difference in the reading version between the *kiai* of *pesantren* and the *kiai* of the village. In general, the specificity of the recitation of the al-Fâtihah read by *kiai* of *pesantren* and the *kiai* of the village is the same, but the *kiai* of the village adds *tarètan sè empa'* (the four brothers), namely Rohanna, Rohanni, Sariya, and Nuriya. There is also a *kiai* who call them Karamang, Karibing, Kapala, and Katuba. The reading during the ritual is also relatively the same, but what distinguishes the *kiai* of the village from the *kiai* of *pesantren* is the part of prayer. The *kiai* of the village has a special prayer in which there is a mixture of Javanese and the duration of the prayer is longer than the recitation of the *tahlil*. The *kiai's* prayer for the *essér jemmu'* is not handed down carelessly to everyone, but only to certain people who can inherit it, namely the son of the *kiai*. If he does not have a son, the prayer is sent down to his nephew. The prayer is written in an old book and must be memorized.

After the prayer, the invitees are welcome to eat the dishes served. There are one or two relatives who help distribute grilled chicken, rice, *ketupat*, and various snacks required for the ceremony to put into the *bhârkat* (a package to take home) for the invitees. After eating the meal, the *kiai* of *pesantren* dismissed the guests by reading *shalâwat* for the Prophet. The *kiai* usually does not go home immediately, but he still chats briefly with the host.

The main thing that the *kiai* of *pesantren* wants to convey is to remind the people that the ritual of planting *polo'* and the placement of offerings in the four cardinal directions led by the *kiai* of the village do not lead to the behavior of throwing away property and idolatry by ensuring that there is no intention of offering them to spirits as a means of repelling disasters. The correct attitude is to change the intention to become an intention to give alms by placing them in a place that is easily accessible and consumed by humans. Meanwhile, the offerings put in the *polo'* are replaced with those do not show redundant, such as chicken wings are replaced with bones after being consumed by the invitees and the chicken feet are only taken from the bones and nails, not the part that could be eaten. The offerings planted in *polo'* are also intended to feed the living things in the soil.

This tradition is still preserved by complying with the advice of the *kiai*. The Bungbungan community always involves their children in various rituals of ecological adaptation from an early age. They consider *adhât têngka* (tradition) not to be eliminated because society believes



that ritual of *ofessér jemma'* is the result of the contemplation of saints who are close to the Transcendent. The ritual of *essér jemma'* is a form of almsgiving to all God's creatures and an expression of gratitude for Allah's blessings.



Picture 5. Ritual of *ofessérjemma'*

The Essence of a House for the Bungbungan Community

For the Bungbungan community, a house is not only a place of refuge and a place to live most of their lives, but as a symbol of social status of the community as well as a benchmark in determining the social status of the prospective groom.

After marriage, the husband will usually settle in the wife's house that has been prepared by her parents. If the wife has provided a house, then the husband is responsible for filling the house with various household furniture, such as chairs, cabinets, and beds according to the husband's ability based on his economic status. This tradition means that, in the family, all parties must complement, share, and maintain a balance so that the household becomes stronger and more affectionate.¹⁹

In anthropological studies, this concept is called uxori-locality and matrilocality. Uxori-locality indicates that after marriage, women remain in the house of their parents, so that the husband is required to move to the house of his wife or parents-in-laws, while matrilocality is a social system in which children will remain with their mother after marriage.²⁰

Such a culture eventually leads to a settlement system of *tanèyan lanjhang*²¹ with housing layouts arranged in the following order: the house of the parents, the oldest daughter, and

¹⁹ A. Dardiri Zubairi, *Rahasia Perempuan Madura: Esai-esai Remeh Seputar Kebudayaan Madura* (Surabaya: al-Afkar Press, 2013), pp. 103-5.

²⁰ de Jonge, *Madura dalam Empat Zaman*, pp. 14-6.

²¹ *Tanèyan lanjhang* consists of two words, namely "tanèyan" which means the distance from the yard to the house and "lanjhang" which is an elongated form of the yard. The *tanèyan lanjhang* system is a residential style of an agrarian society that is arranged close to fields connected by small paths. These settlements are clustered and separated by a stretch of fields. Married family members are required to live with their wives and parents-in-laws in a house specially built for them. Kuntowijoyo, *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, (trans.) Machmoed Effendhie and Punang Atmaripuja (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa Bekerjasama dengan Yayasan Adikarya Ikapi dan The Ford Foundation, 2002), p. 61.



followed by the younger sisters in a residential complex.²² The concept of *tanèyan lanjông* is still widely applied in Bungbungan, although the layout of the settlements has changed considerably from the standard of *tanèyan lanjông*, such as the *kobhung* (prayer room) at the main entrance in the west and the stables in the south are rarely found. These two things are caused by less land and a change in the profession of the community, who initially mostly farmed and raised livestock, but now many have switched professions to become traders in Jakarta. Certain standards that must be prepared before building a new house relate to the calendar system which is a mixture of culture and religion. It is influenced by the Hindu kingdom with the Saka calendar and the Islamic kingdom with the Hijri calendar.

When Madura was in Mataram's territory, according to Sultan Agung's decree, the Saka calendar was changed to the Islamic version of the Javanese calendar. The Madura calendar is an adoption of the Mataram version of the Javanese calendar which is added with local Madurese elements such as *babukon* and *pancabara*.²³ The Madurese are very concerned about *babukon* and *pancabara* to initiate important activities, such as sowing seeds, moving to a new houses, traveling, and fixing houses. Each *buko* is believed to bring death to living things, such as livestock, plants and humans.²⁴

Variety of Offerings in the *Essér Jemmu'* Ritual

In the *essér jemmu'*, negotiations with spirits are carried out by planting *polo'* in which the chicken's blood, feathers, wings, legs, *pèna'an*, cigarettes, brown sugar and a slice of coconut are already filled. Chicken blood is believed to be the devil's food, so that by being given sufficient offerings the devil will not disturb the family who will live in the new house. *Pèna'an*, cigarettes, *komkoman* water, and incense are specified as offerings to ancestral spirits with the hope that they protect their descendants from all external threats, either visible or invisible ones.



Picture 6. *Polo'*

²² Syamsuddin, *History of Madura*, p. 91.

²³ Marsono, *Sistem Penanggalan*, p. 234.

²⁴ Jordaan, *Folk Medicine*, p. 132.



The *essér jemmu'* ritual practiced by the Bungbungan community is a form of syncretism between Islam, animism and Hinduism. The belief that ancestral spirits are in the midst of human life and must always be remembered by providing offerings and setting *dhâmar kembang* to avoid danger is a form of animism. The belief about the power of ancestral spirits that can help the living descendants is a Hindu teaching, which is called *Pitra Rna* or *Pitra Puja*. The giving of offerings is related to the concept of *tri yadnya* which is a sacrifice to three rulers, namely to the *Parahyangan* (the Transcendent), the heart, and the *Brahmana* (the ruler of the earth or nature). The three of them must be given offerings every day so as not to get angry.²⁵

The use of holy water in Hinduism can also be seen in the use of *komkoman* water. Likewise, the burning of incense which is usually done in prayer rituals at temples and death ceremonies. The placement of young coconuts in the four directions and the *tajhin bârna lèma'* has a connection with traditions that developed in Hinduism.

In *essér jemmu'* the four directions are analogous to the *tarètan sè pa'empa'* (the four brothers) and *tajhin bârna lèma'* refers to the guardian prophet while in Hindu tradition it denotes guardian deity; the east is guarded by Lord Kiswara with a white symbol which means wind; the west is guarded by Lord Makiswara who has a yellow symbol meaning virtue; the north is guarded by Lord Vishnu, which means water; and the south is inhabited by Lord Brahmana who has a blue symbol as a symbol of fire. The four gods are manifestations of god in various forms.²⁶

Since the arrival of Islam, rituals that are not in accordance with Islamic teachings gradually fixed. Readings and prayers that contain elements of *syirk* (associating partners with the God) are replaced with *tauhid* (monotheism) sentences. The majority of changes revolve around the issue of faith by improving intentions, such as changing the intentions of offerings which were originally intended for spirits then turning into alms intentions for God's creatures on earth, eliminating the wasteful habits of the ritual of burying foods into mere symbols, namely replacing them by using parts that are cannot be consumed, and fixing the intention of using incense and *beddhâ' kembang* as fragrances that are recommended in Islam.

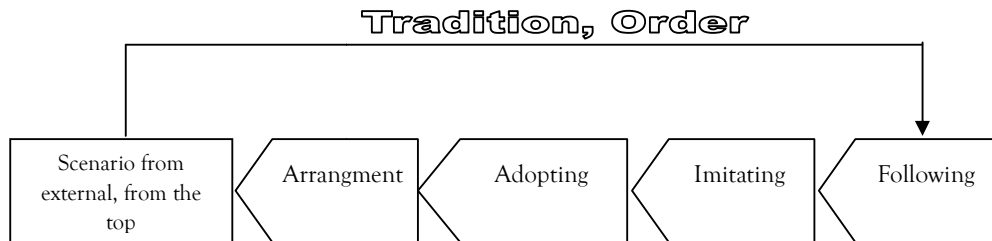
²⁵ Hefni, *Islam Madura*, p. 244.

²⁶ Ibid.



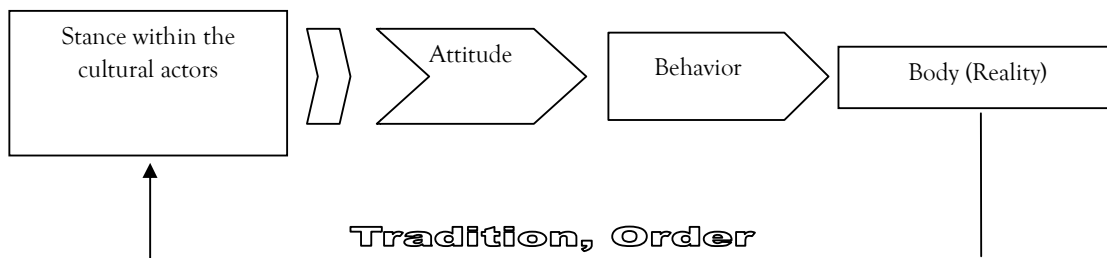
The ritual of *essér jemmu'* is a local wisdom as well as a cultural identity for the Madurese people. According to Taliziduhu Ndraha, culture can be formed through two processes, namely prescriptive and learning processes or solutions to a problem.²⁷

First, prescriptive cultural formation occurs through imitation, adoption, and arrangement of scenarios in the form of traditions or orders from influential people (village elders or *kiai*). This pattern is called execution pattern. The model is as follows:



Picture 7. Execution pattern

Second, the formation of culture through the learning process. This pattern starts from within the individual cultural actors based on beliefs that are firmly held as a stance which is then actualized through attitudes and behavior. The belief is obtained after the cultural actors experience, either personally or through other people, the negative effects of leaving the tradition. This pattern is called a demonstration pattern. The model is as follows:



Picture 8. Demonstration pattern

In the process of internalizing the culture of *essér jemmu'*, the people of Bungbungan applies both methods. The pattern of action is through the appeal of the village elders and *kiai* of village so that they do not leave the noble cultural heritage of their ancestors, while the demonstration pattern comes from the people's personal awareness of the truth of the developing myth that if the tradition is violated or not implemented, then the family could be struck by disasters.

²⁷ Taliziduhu Ndraha, *Teori Budaya Organisasi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1999), p. 24.



The Practice of the *Essér Jemmu'* Ritual as an Ecological Adaptation

A ritual is a religion in action.²⁸ It is an expression of belief as well as a form of communication between servants and the God. A ritual is also related to ecological adaptation, namely the process of adaptation of living things, especially humans to their environment. This is because of the belief that devotion to God must be balanced with love for living things and the environment. Likewise, the ritual of *essér jemmu'* is interpreted as an expression of love for fellow beings to reach love and help from God.

In terms of religiosity, the people of Bungbungan adhere to a traditionalist Islamic ideology which is divided into two ideologies, namely: first, adherents of traditionalist-orthodox Islam or Islamic boarding schools, namely groups that adhere to normative Islamic teachings, such as the Quran, hadith, and *turâts* books (classical Islamic books). This group is led by Islamic boarding school *kiai*. Second, the village traditionalist Islam adherents who are somewhat lax towards the normative teachings of Islam, especially in carrying out ecological adaptation rituals. They are led by village *kiai* or traditional elders.²⁹ This existence in the Madurese cultural aspect confirms that the dynamics of their lives cannot be kept away from Islamic culture and traditions.³⁰

The first group, traditionalist-orthodox Islam, in Sumenep is closely related to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which is a movement to maintain traditions that are practiced by pious *salaf* scholars and take something new that is more useful (*al-muhâfadzah 'alâ al-qadim al-shâlih wa al-akhdz bi al-jadid al-ashlah*). For the people of Sumenep, NU is not only seen as a socio-religious organization, but also as a religious understanding itself.³¹ The characteristic of traditionalist Islamic thought of NU is an understanding of Islam which is dialectic with local traditions and culture, which is known indigenization (inculturation).³²

The second group, the village traditionalist Islam, cannot be separated from the history of the arrival process of Islam in Madura which occurred in a way that is flexible, acculturative and

²⁸ Hefni, *Islam Madura*, p. 43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

³⁰ Siswanto, "Sufism Based Character Education: Strengthening the National Character to Traditional Muslim Community in Madura," *Addin: Media Dialektika Ilmu Islam*, vol. 14, no. 2 (August, 2020): 278, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v14i2.8322>.

³¹ Nasrullah, "Islam Nusantara: Analisis Relasi Islam dan Kearifan Lokal Budaya Madura," *Al-Irfan: Journal of Arabic Literature and Islamic Studies*, vol. 2 no. 2 (September, 2019): 152, <https://doi.org/10.36835/al-irfan.v2i2.3589>.

³² Asep S. Muhtadi, *Pribumisasi Islam: Ikhtiar untuk Menggagas Fiqh Kontekstual* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2005), p. 86.



without conflict, with an effort to direct the old culture so that it could be colored with new Islamic values.³³ The process of Islamization in Madura is based on a wise missionary strategy through cultural channels. This strategy was taken to avoid clashes between religious messages and local culture. Religion is presented not in vis-a-vis relationship with culture, but using a culture with Islamic nuances, or creating a new model in accordance with the characteristics and potential of the area which is the destination of *da'wah*, such as Shaykh Katandur who combines *da'wah* with agricultural science.³⁴

Based on Bourdieu's habitus theory, the relation pattern between Islam of the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) and Islam of the village in the *essér jemma'* tradition in Bungbungan Village is domination-subordination in nature. The domination-subordination pattern is caused by two main things, namely: first, based on cultural capital, *kiai* as a representation of Islam of the *pesantren* has a good understanding of the Quran, hadith, and the classical islamic books so that they place him in a noble position in the structure of society. In terms of social capital, the *kiai* has a wide network at the supra-village, national, and international scales. In the economic field, the *kiai* has various businesses for the development of Islamic boarding schools and the development of human resources. The accumulation of these three capitals forms a symbolic capital that the *pesantren kiai* has a higher position than the village *kiai*.³⁵

Second, the habitus of the *pesantren kiai* dominates the village *kiai* because the various knowledge and experiences of the religious rituals of the *pesantren kiai* are supported by an agreed source of Islamic law, so that he is considered correct in his religion, while the rituals carried out by the village *kiai* are considered deviant teachings. This situation has implications for the symbolic power of the *pesantren kiai* to examine the legal ground of the ecological adaptation ritual of the village *kiai* by carrying out *bahts al-masâ'il* forum.

In this situation, the party that is being dominated, namely the village *kiai*, will accept all teachings from the dominant party, namely the *pesantren kiai*, as something true, so that the village *kiai* negates some traditions considered deviant and changes some of ritual functions. In this position, the village *kiai* acts as an innovator by producing various new cultural products. In facing the domination of the symbolic power of the *pesantren kiai*, the village *kiai* gives a

³³ Ahmad, *Babad Modern Sumenep*, p. 123.

³⁴ A. Dardiri Zubairi, *Wajah Islam Madura* (Jakarta: Tare Books, 2020), pp. 37-9.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 245-7. In addition, *kiai* respond in various ways to changes in various areas of life. This situation is also an effort to preserve his central position in the community. Pradardja Dirdjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat: Kyai Pesantren-Kyai Langgar di Jawa* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009).



conflictual-negotiative response. The conflict is shown by continuing to practice rituals internalized by their predecessors, while negotiation is shown by taking Islamic teachings from the *pesantren kiai* in an ecological adaptation ritual procession.³⁶

Ecological adaptation rituals that have been adapted to Islamic teachings are developed and preserved through various strategies. According to Koentjaraningrat (1923-1999), cultural development efforts should be applied at three levels, namely the level of values adopted, daily practices, and cultural symbols.³⁷ At the level of values adopted, ritual practices and religious values are formulated and agreed upon by the *pesantren kiai*, the village *kiai*, and the community. Then, a commitment is built so that it adheres to the Islamic tradition in its implementation. To achieve this, the *pesantren kiai* and *nyai* (wife of the *kiai*) carry out various persuasive *da'wah* strategies through some Islamic *da'wah* organisations. At the level of daily practice, the agreed religious values are manifested in the form of daily attitudes and behaviors, such as giving al-Fâtiḥah recitation to ancestors and giving alms with the intention that the reward is given to parents who have passed away. At the level of cultural symbols, various ritual equipment and food dishes are still maintained, but *syirk* and redundant behavior are eliminated.

In the *essér jemma'* practice, syncretism as a process leading to 'becoming'. This process leads to an unfinished religious process and not an end result. That is, the syncretic Islamic model presented by the village *kiai* is not a final process of religiosity, but it is a process towards a religious pattern of *pesantren* Islam as a model of acculturative Islam. This is where the strategic role of the *pesantren kiai* appears in fixing traditions considered to be deviant from Islamic teachings using a humanist approach through various persuasive *da'wah* strategies. The *pesantren kiais* also realize that caring for Madura is nothing but caring for the typical traditions of the Madurese people, especially those that contain religious teachings. Therefore, the concept of maintaining good old traditions and accommodating new and better traditions (*al-muhâfadzah 'alâ al-qadim al-shâlih wa al-akhdz bi al-jadid alashlah*) needs to be encouraged, so that these traditions are not only preserved, but also relevant to the situation and conditions.

³⁶ Hefni, *Islam Madura*, p. 267-276.

³⁷ Asmaun Sahlan, *Mewujudkan Budaya Religius di Sekolah: Upaya Mengembangkan PAI dari Teori ke Aksi* (Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2010), p. 85.



Conclusion

In building a new house, the people of Bungbungan Village carry out various stages of planning using certain standards inherited from their ancestors from generation to generation. Some important things that must be prepared in the *essér jemma'* tradition are determining the layout of the house, determining the position of the yard, determining the time for building the house, and carrying out the ritual of *essér jemma'*.

The relationship between Islam of the *pesantren* and Islam of the village which is domination-subordination in nature based on cultural, social, and economic capital, gives rise to symbolic capital that the *kiai* of the *pesantren* has a higher position than the village Muslims. The implication of this symbolic capital is the formation of the symbolic power of the *pesantren kiai* in the form of *bahts al-masâ'il* by studying the legal ground of the *essér jemma'* ritual as well as correcting all forms of deviation, so that they agree that the ritual is permissible provided that it is intended to give alms and eliminate the ritual of *syirk* and redundant culture in the *essér jemma'* tradition.

Reference

- Adhim, Moh. *Islam Lokal: Studi tentang Upacara Roket Pekarangan di Desa Bragung Kabupaten Sumenep Madura*. Thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2014.
- Ahmad, Zainollah. *Babad Modern Sumenep: Sebuah Telaah Historiografi*. Yogyakarta: Araska, 2018.
- Dirdjosanjoto, Prardardja. *Memelihara Umat: Kyai Pesantren-Kyai Langgar di Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009.
- Hefni, Mohammad. *Islam Madura: Sebuah Studi Konstruktivisme Strukturalis tentang Relasi Islam Pesantren dan Islam Kampung di Sumenep Madura*. Malang: Literasi Nusantara, 2019.
- Hipni, Mohammad. "Hibah dan Nilai Keadilan pada Keluarga Pekerja Wanita Imigran Madura: Kajian terhadap Praktik Waris Adat Madura," in *Proceedings 2nd ACIEL: Annual Conference on Islamic Economic and Law Universitas Trunojoyo Madura*. Bangkalan, 20 November, 2019.
- Joko, Sujana and Rustono Farady Marta. "Etnografi Komunikasi pada Tiga Generasi Anggota Perkumpulan Marga Ang Bagansiapi-api." *Komunikatif: Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi*, 6 (1): 51-59, <https://doi.org/10.33508/jk.v6i1.1588>.
- Jonge, Huub de. *Madura dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, dan Islam Suatu Studi Antropologi Ekonomi*. Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989.
- Jordaan, Roy Edward. *Folk Medicine in Madura*. Leiden: Rijkuniversiteit, 1985.



- Kuntowijoyo. *Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940*, (trans.) Machmoed Effendhie and Punang Atmaripuja. Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa Bekerjasama dengan Yayasan Adikarya Ikapi dan The Ford Foundation, 2002.
- Marsono. *Sistem Penanggalan Sultan Agung dalam Mempertanyakan Jati Diri Bangsa*. Yogyakarta: Divisi Penerbitan Unit Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2004.
- Muhtadi, Asep S. *Pribumisasi Islam: Ikhtiar untuk Menggagas Fiqh Kontekstual*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2005.
- Mulyadi, Achmad. "Memaknai Praktik Tradisi Ritual Masyarakat Muslim Sumenep." *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi*, 1 (2): 124-135, <https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.1.2.124-135>.
- Nasrullah. "Islam Nusantara: Analisis Relasi Islam dan Kearifan Lokal Budaya Madura." *Al-Irfan: Journal of Arabic Literature and Islamic Studies*, 2 (2): 133-156, <https://doi.org/10.36835/al-irfan.v2i2.3589>.
- Ndraha, Taliziduhu. *Teori Budaya Organisasi*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1999.
- Prastowo, Andi. *Metode Penelitian: dalam Perspektif Rancangan Penelitian*. Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2014.
- Sa'dan, Masthuriyah. "Tradisi Perkawinan Matriloal Madura: Akulturasi Adat & Hukum Islam." *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, 14 (1): 136-146, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v14i1.62216>.
- Sahlan, Asmaun. *Mewujudkan Budaya Religius di Sekolah: Upaya Mengembangkan PAI dari Teori ke Aksi*. Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2010.
- Setyobudi, Imam, Ratna Umay, and Cahya. "Ritual Numbal dalam Upacara Ruwatan Bumi di Kampung Banceuy-Subang." *Jurnal Budaya Etnika*, 3 (1): 41-46.
- Setyowati. "Etnografi sebagai Metode Pilihan dalam Penelitian Kualitatif di Keperawatan." *JKI: Jurnal Keperawatan Indonesia*, 10 (1): 35-40, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v10i1.171>.
- Siswanto. "Sufism Based Character Education: Strenghtening the National Character to Traditional Muslim Community in Madura." *Addin: Media Dialektika Ilmu Islam*, 14 (2): 278, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v14i2.8322>.
- Sugono, Dendy, et. al. *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008.
- Syamsuddin. Muhammad. *History of Madura: Sejarah, Budaya dan Ajaran Luhur Masyarakat Madura*. Yogyakarta: Araska, 2019.
- Tim Penulis Sejarah Sumenep. *Sejarah Sumenep*. Sumenep: Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Sumenep, 2003.
- Windiani and Farida Nurul R. "Menggunakan Metode Etnografi dalam Penelitian." *Dimensi: Jurnal Sociology*, 9 (2): 87-92.
- Zubairi, A. Dardiri. *Rahasia Perempuan Madura: Esai-esai Remeh Seputar Kebudayaan Madura*. Surabaya: al-Afkar Press, 2013.



..... . *Wajah Islam Madura*. Jakarta: Tare Books, 2020.