

THE ROLE OF KIAI IN THE ISLAMIZATION OF 'RUWAT DESA' TRADITION IN KALANGANYAR SEDATI, SIDOARJO

Mad Sa'i*, Ainun Yatin**

Fakultas Tarbiyah, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Pamekasan, Indonesia

email: * madsai@iainmadura.ac.id, ** ainunyatini16@gmail.com

ABSTRAK

Tradisi ruwat desa adalah cara yang diyakini masyarakat Jawa dalam meminta keselamatan dari arwah leluhur dengan menyajikan sesaji dan menggelar kesenian wayang kulit. Namun, berbeda dengan kegiatan tradisi ruwat desa di Desa Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, adanya islamisasi yang dilakukan oleh kiai sehingga ritual ini lebih sesuai dengan ajaran agama Islam. Tujuan penelitian ialah menjelaskan kegiatan islamisasi tradisi ruwat desa di Desa Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, menjelaskan peran kiai dalam Islamisasi kegiatan tradisi ruwat ini, dan dampaknya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis fenomenologi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan kegiatan islamisasi tradisi ruwat desa di Desa Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo berupa gotong royong, membersihkan makam, istighosah kubro, dan melaksanakan istighosah keliling. Sedangkan peran Kiai dalam hal ini adalah sebagai pemimpin non-formal, agen perubahan dan sebagai sumber rujukan. Adapun dampak dari peran kiai dalam islamisasi kegiatan tradisi ini adalah prosesi kegiatan tradisi ruwat desa lebih islami, peningkatan emosi keagamaan masyarakat, serta mengeratkan ukhuwah islamiyah.

ABSTRACT

Ruwat Desa tradition is a way that Javanese people believe in asking for salvation from the spirits of ancestors by presenting offerings and performing the art of shadow puppetry. However, unlike the traditional activities of ruwat desa in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, there is Islamization carried out by kiai so that this ritual is more in accordance with the teachings of Islam. The purpose of this research is to explain the Islamization of ruwat desa tradition in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, explain the role of kiai in Islamization of ruwat desa tradition, and its impact. This study uses a qualitative approach to the type of phenomenology. The results showed the activities of Islamization tradition ruwat desa in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo in the form of mutual cooperation, cleaning the Tomb, istighosah kubro, and carry out istighosah around. While the role of Kiai in this case is as a non-formal leader, agent of change and as a source of reference. The impact of the role of kiai in Islamization of this tradition is the procession of traditional activities ruwat desa more Islamic, increased religious emotion of the community, and strengthen *ukhuwah islamiyah*.

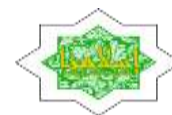
ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 19 Mei 2022

Accepted 29 October 2022

KEYWORDS

Kiai; Islamization; Ruwat Desa



Introduction

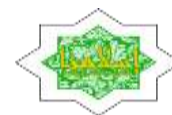
Javanese people recognize the traditional activities of ruwat desa as a form of worship to the spirits of deceased ancestors as well as a request for salvation for those who are still alive in the world. They believe that ancestral spirits can provide protection, welfare, and safety if the spirits are treated properly, it's just that the spirits of the ancestors exist in the supernatural. Javanese people are also very respectful of their ancestors, they are considered to have valuable services for their lives now. Therefore, the ancestors deserve to be in *uri-uri* and upheld his name. This opinion is reflected in the Javanese *sesanti*, *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*, whose meaning is 'to uphold the ancestors and glorify them'.¹ Therefore, through the tradition of ruwat desa people pray as an effort to clean and ask for safety from danger through the intermediary of ancestral spirits.

Ruwat desa tradition activities are held by preparing offerings consisting of raw meat, raw food, blood, and incense placed in tombs/graves, sacred trees, rivers, large stones, punden, or places that are considered sacred.² In the evening, the event closed with a puppet show that tells The Story of Batara Kala with *murko* or greedy nature who came to collect a promise to Batara Guru.

Activities ruwat desa tradition preserved by the people of the village Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo different from the conditions in general, Islamization conducted by kiai on this tradition, making the procession ruwat desa tradition more in tune with the teachings of Islam. Islamization conducted by kiai in ruwat desa tradition activities began four years ago. Before the involvement of kiai in this activity, the people of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village held ruwat desa tradition activities because of the *pagebluk* or plague circulating in the community, this tradition was carried out by presenting offerings. Before starting to present offerings, the community first visited the ancestral graves to pray and ask for permission so that the ruwat desa tradition activities to be carried out run smoothly. Offerings presented to the spirits of ancestors in the form of seven-likeness flowers and incense placed on a tree that is believed by the community as a sacred tree and also placed at each end of the village. The offerings placed at the end of the village are packed in a jug container and added a piece of paper containing the Arabic script of kejawen or in the community called *Raja'an*, then the jug containing the

¹ Ismail Yahya, *Adat-Adat Jawa Dalam Bulan-Bulan Islam: Adakah Pertentangan?* (Inti Medina, 2009).

² Yahya.



offerings is buried in the ground at each end of the village. This activity is led by someone who still has a close relationship with the ancestors and accompanied by people who are believed to be able to communicate with the spirits.

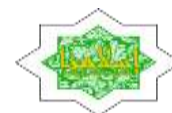
With these offerings, the community hopes that the ancestral spirits are willing to provide protection for the people of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village and ward off the dangers that will occur. In the evening, as the closing of the ruwat desa tradition activities Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village community held a leather puppet show located in the village hall until the early hours of the morning. This condition is supported by the state of the Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village community which is still thick with elements of kejawen and Hindu-Buddhist teachings that are still widely seen in the culture of the Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village community, so that in addition to worshipping God they are also still loyal to appreciate the services of ancestral spirits. The activity of visiting ancestral graves by bringing these offerings is finally preserved by the community during sacred days, such as sweet Friday night.

From the above activities, kiai believes that the tradition of ruwat desa whose process is by presenting offerings is one form of polytheism and puppet show performances are considered inappropriate when used as intermediaries to ask for protection from danger to God Almighty.³ Through the village officials, kiai left a message that the traditional activities of the ruwat desa process more in line with the teachings of Islam and this activity should be carried out every year. In the discussion with the village officials, kiai also gave a sequence of traditional activities procession ruwat desa to be more in line with the teachings of Islam, which in the end this activity is packed with istigasah akbar.

Islamization carried out by kiai still retains the meaning of traditional activities ruwat desa itself. Ruwat desa tradition of the village is no longer reserved for the spirits of ancestors but is a medium to ask for protection to God Almighty and moment to pray for the spirits of ancestors can rest in the side of God Almighty.⁴ The food that was originally in the form of raw food, raw meat, and blood was replaced with food and drink derived from community produce. The location of ruwat desa, which was originally in a sacred place, was moved and carried out en masse in the village mosque. This is done by kiai in keeping the community to

³ Umi Salamah, Guru Ngaji, *Wawancara langsung* (29 Juni 2021).

⁴ Yahya, *Adat-Adat Jawa Dalam Bulan-Bulan Islam: Adakah Pertentangan?*



be more careful in keeping themselves from the hole of polytheism as well as an effort to awareness on all acts of society that are considered irrelevant to Islamic values.⁵

Islamization carried out by kiai on ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, is a noble effort that must be implemented immediately. Because in the future, kiai has the responsibility not only as a teacher of classical books, but also improve the character and behavior, so as to create the quality of life and human civilization. Through the efforts of Islamization in the ruwat desa tradition activities, kiai has carried out the mission of prophetic education (prophetic) sent by God, namely, to improve the character and morals of humans (Ummah).⁶

The mission of prophetic education intensified by kiai on the Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, originated from the cultivation of monotheism to Allah SWT. by changing the habit of presenting offerings that are placed in sacred places into activities that overall lead to the teachings of Islam, so that people do not get into the hole of polytheism.

Then the kiai also formed a more positive community character, as a basis for forming a person who has a synergistic balance between physical and spiritual, the ability to read the verses of God written in the holy book (ayat *qauliyah*) and the verses that appear in the universe (ayat *kauniyah*),⁷ in this case the kiai decided to hold a grand istigasah activity at the village mosque and ended with istighosah around Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village.

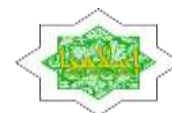
Islamization in ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village, is not a reason for propaganda, intimidation of the community to realize dreams, but as an effort to instill Islamic religious values in the line of life in order to create a religious community. This is supported by the concept that kiai is not just being '*abd Allah*' (servant of Allah) who obediently carry out orders and stay away from their prohibitions⁸, but kiai is also *warasatul 'anbiya'* who is responsible for continuing the prophetic mission. Based on the previous explanation, the

⁵ Nanang Tahqiq and Nanang Tahqiq, *Politik Islam* (Kencana, 2004).

⁶ Zainuddin Syarif and others, "Pendidikan Profetik Dalam Membentuk Bangsa Religius," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 9, no. 1 (2014): 1-16.

⁷ Ibid.,

⁸ Zainuddin Syarif, "Pengembangan Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Epistemologi Islam," *Tadris* 2, no. 2 (2007): 200.



author wishes to examine the title of the role of kiai in the islamization of 'ruwat desa' tradition in kalanganyar sedati, sidoarjo.

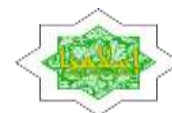
In previous research, it has been studied about the tradition of ruwat village as has been written by Fauzi Abubakar with the results of his research is the tradition of ruwat bumi is a form of gratitude as a form of gratitude Guci and Pekandangan villagers. the tradition of ruwat bumi must be carried out once a year in the month of Shura, but the day and date adjust and do not have to be the same as in previous years. Ruwat bumi tradition is a form of folklore partly oral because in addition to oral-shaped tradition there is also a real community action. Ubarampe used in the tradition of ruwat bumi namely kembang setaman, frankincense, fountain 13, goat girdle, cone, and chicken cemani. The actors in the tradition are the traditional chairman, village elders, and the Guci and Pekandangan communities. In the tradition has seven forms, namely: (1) Istighozah, (2) prayer together, (3) Ritual slaughter goat Kendit, (4) Tayuban or lenggeran, (5) Ritual bathing goat kendit, (6) seizure of crops, (7) Salvation.⁹

In addition, research with a similar theme has been written by Kastolani and Abdullah Yusof with the conclusion that the view of the Sumogawe Getasan community means that the nyadran tradition is an expression of socio-religious reflection carried out in order to visit the graves of ancestors. This rite is understood as a form of preservation of the heritage of traditions and culture of the ancestors. Nyadran in Sumogawe village is done in the month before Ramadan, namely Sha'ban or Ruwah. Nyadran with grave pilgrimage are two religious cultural expressions that have similarities in their rites and objects. The meaning of nyadran tradition for Sumogawe people is a symbol of the relationship with the ancestors, others, and the Almighty above all. In addition, the process of the nyadran rite in Sumogawe Village is three days before the nyadran implementation, Sumogawe Getasan residents hold nyekar and manganan traditions (invitation). Nyekar as a form of grave pilgrimage tradition by bringing flowers and then sprinkled.¹⁰

Of the two studies, a significant difference with this study is the process of Islamization carried out by religious leaders (Kiai) in incorporating Islamic values into the activities of the

⁹ Nur Islamiyah Devi, "Tradisi Ruwat Bumi di Kabupaten Tegal" (Semarang: Skripsi, 2020).

¹⁰ Kastolani dan Abdullah Yusof, "Relasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal Studi tentang Tradisi Nyadran di Desa Sumogawe Kecamatan Getasan Kabupaten Semarang" *Kontemplasi*; vol. 4 No. 1, Agustus 2016, 51-74.



tradition, so that the nuances of Islam are very visible and thick in these activities. Then there is the time difference. Therefore, the phenomenon shown through the activities of this tradition deserves to be appointed as one of the objects of research to explore the data and expose to the public in order to enrich the study of tradition and other activities among the community.

This study uses a qualitative approach to the type of research is phenomenology, that is, all things that in a certain way appear in human consciousness, either in the form of fictitious or real results, in the form of ideas or in the form of reality.¹¹ The location of the study in the village of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo, because all the activities of residents, especially the activities of the village Ruwat Desa tradition that has undergone Islamization can not be separated from the role of a kiai as a figure that is confirmed by the community. The source of the data used is primary data¹² and secondary data¹³. The data were obtained through three ways, namely interviews¹⁴, observation¹⁵, and documentation¹⁶. While the data analysis is by reducing data, editing data, and coding data. To ensure the data obtained, the researchers did it with the extension of participation, triangulation, and persistence of observations.

¹¹ Imam Gunawan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Teori Dan Praktik* (Bumi Aksara, 2022), 71.

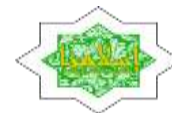
¹² Data primer adalah data utama, artinya peneliti langsung mendapatkan data secara langsung dari sumber data melalui wawancara dan observasi kepada kiai, kepala desa, tokoh-tokoh penting, dan masyarakat. Ibid., 225.

¹³ Sumber data sekunder ialah data pendukung, artinya peneliti tidak secara langsung mendapatkan data baik melalui orang lain maupun dokumen. Data sekunder didapat melalui dokumentasi kepada pihak-pihak terkait yang dipercaya semisal perangkat desa yang menyimpan data yang peneliti butuhkan dalam penelitian ini. Data sekunder biasanya sudah tersedia yang dihimpun oleh pihak terkait semisal perangkat desa sebagai data desa untuk mempermudah pendataan masyarakat, data tersebut berupa profil desa, jumlah warga, pekerjaan warga, jumlah keluarga. Peneliti membutuhkan data berupa profil Desa Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo dan data-data tentang kegiatan tradisi ruwat desa.

¹⁴ Ibid., 318.

¹⁵ Jenis observasi yang digunakan oleh peneliti adalah *Participant Observation*, dengan mengobservasi kegiatan kiai dalam rapat pra-kegiatan, kegiatan bersih-bersih makam umum, dan proses pelaksanaan ruwat desa, dengan demikian peneliti dapat mempertahankan objektivitas dalam pengamatannya. Waktu yang peneliti butuhkan dalam melaksanakan observasi yaitu 10 hari. Lihat pada Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan (Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D)* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2016), 145.

¹⁶ Metode ini digunakan untuk mengetahui hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan peran kiai dalam Islamisasi kegiatan tradisi ruwat desa di Desa Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo. Waktu yang peneliti butuhkan dalam melaksanakan observasi yaitu 10 hari. Gunawan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, 178.



Results

1. Islamization of 'Ruwat Desa' tradition in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo

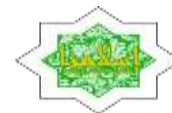
The phenomenon of Islamization cannot be separated from the history of the presence of Islam in the midst of society. There are many theories with their respective versions in telling the story of Islam entering the archipelago in what century. Without wanting to deny these theories, Islamization activities succeeded in providing a separate culture for the community, which subsequently experienced the spread of culture as humans developed into a group based on Nation, tribe, and race.

The success of culture in creating a culture for the community can not be separated from the religion of Islam itself whose purpose is to form the character, pattern, and system so that the creation of a civilization in accordance with the message of Allah SWT to his messenger who subsequently bequeathed to the perpetrators of Islamization.

Islamization that occurs in the midst of society is also thanks to the perpetrators of Islamization who are very great in arranging tactics and strategies. The Islamization present in the archipelago was brought about in a peaceful and balanced way. Peace, because it does not use military combat equipment, and balanced with the culture that developed in the community.

As we know that before islam came, the culture of the people was still thick with Hindu-Buddhist flow, therefore Walisongo who became one of the perpetrators of Islamization in the archipelago especially on the island of Java using the concept of modeling, namely the combination of Islam with Hindu-Buddhism. The hindu-Buddhist culture that has been carried out by the community is not eliminated, but preserved with modifications in accordance with Islamic values. For example, Sunan kalijaga which preserves the tradition of wayang but modifies the storyline that is presented into Islamic stories.

Until the end of the concept of modeling is passed on to the successors of the prophetic mission in Islamization, as in the traditional activities in this paper. Islamization in this tradition activities carried kiai as an effort to form a culture that is more in accordance with the teachings of Islam. This form of Islamization in ruwat desa tradition activities is in the form of rituals asking for protection from Allah SWT. Through mutual cooperation



activities to clean the Tomb, istighosah kubro, and istighosah roving. If you look at the general condition, ruwat desa traditional activities are a form of worship to the spirits of deceased ancestors as well as a request for salvation for the living. They believe that ancestral spirits can provide protection, welfare, and safety to the people who are still alive if the spirits are treated well, it's just that the spirits of the ancestors exist in the supernatural¹⁷, so it can be concluded that the traditional activities ruwat desa is a means to invoke protection which is usually accompanied by the presentation of offerings and performances of Shadow Puppets. This essence is still preserved in the traditional Shadow Puppets in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo only modified ritual process adapted to Islamic values.

The Ritual of worshiping the spirits of ancestors is Islamized with activities in the form of mutual cooperation cleaning the Tomb. The essence of appreciating ancestral spirits is realized by mutual cooperation in cleaning the Tomb. This activity is considered as a form of respect and our love for the spirits of ancestors who provide many services to us that until now his services can still be felt. To replace the shadow puppet show which is usually held at night, kiai decided to hold istighosah kubro because the shadow puppet show is considered less appropriate when used as a means to ask for protection. Istighosah kubro was held at the mosque in congregation and almost the entire community of kalanganyar village was present to follow the activity. Istighosah kubro is opened with maghrib prayer in congregation and followed by performing the Sunnah prayer of repentance, sunnah prayer intent, recitation of dhikr and prayer, and closed with Isha prayer'. And after the kubro istighosah activities in the mosque are completed, male worshipers continue to carry out istighosah activities around the village. This is so that the village that the community lives in is also given the safety and blessing of the Earth so that this ritual can really be felt as a whole. While the ritual of providing offerings for ancestral spirits has been replaced by giving the Earth in the form of *berkat* brought by the community in following istighosah kubro which then at the end of the *berkat* event is distributed again to the community.

Acculturation on Islamization activities in the ruwat desa tradition of this village gives a distinctive image to the local culture of the people of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village because in every Islamization the people will give birth, change, and utilize the things that

¹⁷ Yahya, *Adat-Adat Jawa Dalam Bulan-Bulan Islam: Adakah Pertentangan?..*68-69.



are most relevant to their needs¹⁸. The typical image of ruwat village tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village has received recognition from residents around the village because the procession ruwat village is most different from other villages. According to Suprpto this is natural because of the acculturation process will give rise to a local wisdom. This local wisdom is the cultural advantage of the people of Kalanganyar village that should be held continuously.

The existence of excellence in the culture of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village community is a civilization that was successfully formed from the process of Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities. This does not escape from the concept of *ad-Din al-islam* that Islam processes into a forming element of human civilization (*tamadun*).¹⁹

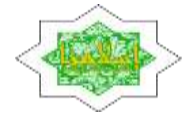
The above opinion is reinforced by Al-Attas that the success of *tamadun* can not be separated from the three important things behind it. First, the community fully accepts the values of islam which then dominates and shifts the system and local values. Second, the process of Islamization with other cultures occurs in balance. Third, contradict and negate each other.²⁰ Of the three things above are considered correct, because the civilization that occurs from the activities of Islamization of ruwat vdesa tradition activities can not be separated from the background of the village community kalanganyar Muslim majority so many perpetrators of Islamization in this case kiai highly respected. There are also many religious routines that are still preserved, one of which is routine recitation, from here the community accepts and adheres to Islamic values so that in accepting the Islamization process in ruwat desa tradition activities can run in a balanced way and there is no rejection.

This fact slightly shifts the statement put forward by Geerts about the religion of Java. It seems from outside Islam but after being seen in depth the fact is a syncretic religion in which the word "Islamic" in Islamic upacara only as an appendage but inside it still contains Hinduism, Buddhism, and animism. Islamization carried out on the activities of the ruwat desa tradition completely modify with reference to Islamic values. Islamization activities

¹⁸ M Ag Suprpto, *Dialektika Islam Dan Budaya Nusantara: Dari Negosiasi, Adaptasi Hingga Komodifikasi* (Prenada Media, 2020), 56.

¹⁹ M N Aguk Irawan, "Akar Sejarah Etika Pesantren Di Nusantara (Dari Era Sriwijaya Sampai Pesantren Tebu Ireng Dan Ploso)," *Tangerang: IIMaN*, 2018.

²⁰ Aguk Irawan, "Akar Sejarah Etika Pesantren Di Nusantara," *Tangerang: IIMAN*, 2018.



carried out only leaves the essence of the ruwat desa tradition activities, namely begging for salvation to God Almighty, but the process is in accordance with the teachings of Islam, there is no longer the worship of ancestral spirits, the presentation of sesai, and Shadow Puppets performances.

Some documentation of Ruwat desa activities are as shown below:



Enthusiastic Community
the istigasah kubra



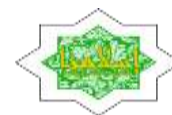
Puppet Show Before
Ruwat desa Tradition Activities In Islamization



Mutual cooperation cleaning the tomb



Presentation Of Offerings On The Tree
Sacred Before The Activity
Ruwat desa Tradition In Islamization



2. The role of Kiai in Islamization of 'Ruwat Desa' tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo

Based on the findings of the above research, it was found that the role of kiai in the Islamization of traditional activities ruwat desa as follows:

a. Kiai As A Non-Formal Leader

If examined from the root of the word, kiai is an honorary title given by the community to an Islamic religious expert who has or becomes the leader of a pesantren and teaches classical Islamic books to his students. In addition to the title of kiai, he is also often called a pious (person who is in his Islamic knowledge). Kiai is also a figure where knowledge, compassion, help, and protection can be obtained from the community.²¹

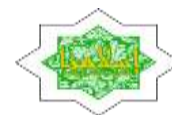
The intensified actions made the relationship between kiai and the community tied to religious emotions, so that kiai became a local elite whose position was increasingly respected and the community appreciated this with obedience. In addition, in formal leadership kiai considered more aware of what is needed by the community and the potential that can be developed. A strong inner connection between them gives rise to information that is often unknown to government officials.

Javanese society recognizes the existence of differences in social status, this is common and has become the norm that regulates social relations of Javanese society. To obtain this kind of social status, there are criteria determined by age, wealth and occupation. Therefore, older people will get respect from the younger community, the rich will get respect from the poor, as well as highly educated people will get respect from the less educated Javanese community.²²

In the village of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo kiai also became a non-formal leader. This means that in addition to being held by the village head, power is also held by the kiai, he has the authority and right to regulate and make decisions on community activities, including Islamization carried out by kiai on ruwat desa tradition activities. Through the position he held, kiai easily carried out his actions as the perpetrator of Islamization. This action is considered successful in creating a new civilization that is still preserved by the

²¹ Ibid., 21.

²² Endang Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiai Dan Kekuasaan* (PT LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2004), 94.



people of kalanganyar sedati sidoarjo village, namely Islamization in ruwat desa tradition activities.

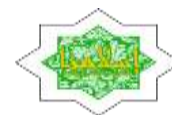
The decision to change the traditional procession of ruwat desa can be well received by the community because the community sees the kiai as the heir to the prophetic mission, and which is a plus for the kiai, namely the existence of charisma. As said by Thomson in the writings of Khoirudin that kiai is a local elite formed because of his charisma. Either charisma that arises from physical, non-physical strength, or it can be the cultural legitimacy of the community that places it in the position of the local elite.²³ With the charismatic factor, people seem to be made bowed and submissive to what has been set.

More clearly in the opinion of Geertz, in his book, which describes in depth the phenomenon of Javanese religion, using three typologies, namely abangan, santri and priayi (Geertz, 1964: 64). The abangan and santri variants refer to religious affiliation and commitment, while the priayi variant is a social categorization. Abangan is a term for those who do not obediently carry out their commitments to religious rules. Santri is a term for those who have a religious commitment that is measured by the level of obedience to run a series of religious rules. Priayi is a term for those who are socially and economically considered to have a higher degree and stratification compared to most rural communities in Java.²⁴

From the three typologies above, kiai is included in the priayi variant, someone who is tied to social status and has an influence on his surroundings. This can be seen from the process of Islamization in the activities of the ruwat desa tradition in Kalanganyar Village, kiai was able to attend and set out to change the procession of the ruwat desa tradition activities that originally still adhered to Hindu-Buddhist teachings into a series of activities that pure process leads to Islamic values. And this provision can be accepted and preserved by the community and even the village officials Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo without accompanied by rejection.

²³ Politik Kiai Khoiruddin, "Polemik Keterlibatan Kiai Dalam Politik Praktis," *Malang: Auverous*, 2009, 24.

²⁴ Umi Sumbulah, "Islam Jawa Dan Akulturasi Budaya: Karakteristik, Variasi Dan Ketaatan Ekspresif," *El-Harakah* 14, no. 1 (2012): 52.



b. Kiai As An Agent Of Change

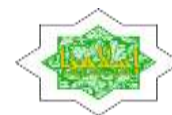
As a person who is believed to be the heir of the Prophet, it should be and it is the obligation of the kiai to maintain the purity of the holy text in order to remain a guide in living life. one of the kiai's efforts in maintaining the purity of the sacred text in the community is by Islamizing the ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village. Kiai became the agent of change in this tradition by Islamizing the process to be more in line with the teachings of islam so that the mission of maintaining the purity of the sacred text can be realized.

Changes in the procession of the ruwat desa tradition activities carried out kiai not without reason and consideration. In determining the sequence of the process, kiai uses the right way so that the changes made can be accepted by the community well and can still be preserved. Syncretism is a way taken by kiai in introducing the beginning of the procession sequence changes in the traditional activities of ruwat desa. the cultural mixing carried out by the kiai in this activity can be seen from the procession of presenting seven kinds of flowers placed at each end of the village, this syncretism is taken by the kiai as a first step in introducing procession changes in ruwat desa tradition activities, the kiai knows very well that presenting seven kinds of flowers at each end of the village is an activity that can plunge into the hole of polytheism however, the kiai takes a gradual way so that Islamization carried out by the kiai can be well accepted by the community, until finally the activity of presenting flowers at each end of the village was abolished and replaced with alms crops.

The concept of syncretism taken by this kiai was reinforced by John R Bowen in Religious Practice stating that syncretism is a mixture of two or more traditions and occurs when people adopt a new religion and try to make it not collide with old cultural ideas and practices.²⁵ Reality on the ground, Islamization carried out by kiai on ruwat desa tradition activities can be accepted and able to survive until now in the Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village Community.

The concept above is apparently the result of the inheritance that kiai can get from previous scholars, this can be seen from the concept used by The walisanga, in preaching

²⁵ Dr Sutiyono, *Poros Kebudayaan Jawa* (Graha Ilmu, 2013), 17.



Islam, The walisanga offers Islam to the Javanese people who were still thick with the understanding of kejawen. As the offering party, the Walisanga made compromises, so that what was offered could be accepted by the Javanese people as the offered Party. The compromises that occurred, then gave birth to the syncretism of islam-kejawen religion. The ways of the Walisongo in dealing with the old culture, namely maintaining, maintaining and tolerating (keeping), adding (addition), modifying (modification), devaluing (devaluation), exchanging or replacing motivation (exchange), replacing the whole (substitution), creating a new ritual (creation of new ritual) and rejection (negation).²⁶

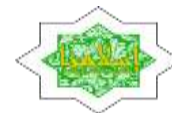
The action of kiai in Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities gives a clear meaning that kiai is able to appear as a religious power in the midst of the collective life of the people who guide the dynamics of the life of the people and the nation.²⁷ People think that kiai is a holy person. The power of the kiai in conveying the teachings of Islam and leading sacred rituals, became the benchmark for the assessment of the kiai. However, even in the holy book the position of kiai is also recognized as an effort to maintain tradition. This assessment makes the emotional relationship between the community and the kiai, so that the teachings, teachings, and requests submitted by the kiai cannot be rejected by the community as followers.

The success of kiai as an agent of change in the activities of the ruwat desa tradition is also reinforced by the theory of the Big Man (The Big Man) quoted by Mohammad Ali Aziz, that kiai is able to become a great person if he is able to understand reality intellectually and is able to take careful action.²⁸ From this theory, the success of kiai in Islamizing ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village can be searched. Kiai received full trust from the community in everything. Kiai are given social attributes and prestigious status. As his feedback, kiai behave and act in accordance with the role given by the community. From the status and potential, kiai easily carry out Islamization, especially in the traditional activities of ruwat desa in Kalanganyar village for the sake of *ummatan lil 'alamin*.

²⁶ Amalia Fitri Zahti, "Sinkretisme Antara Sistem Religi Dengan Adat Istiadat Jawa Dalam Ritual Keagamaan (Studi Etnografi Pada Pelaku Ritual Di Gunung Kawi)" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2020), 38.

²⁷ Moch Eksan, *Kiai Kelana: Biografi Kiai Muchith Muzadi* (PT LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2000), 8.

²⁸ Mohammad Ali Aziz, *Kepemimpinan Kiai Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Harakat Media, 2009), 71.



c. Kiai As A Reference Source

Kiai's efforts in Islamizing ruwat desa tradition activities, making kiai a benchmark and a source of reference in organizing ruwat desa tradition activities. Direction and input kiai is needed in preparing the activities of this ruwat desa tradition in order to keep the activities held later really in accordance with the teachings of islam and keep us from the pit of polytheism.

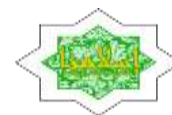
The knowledge of religion that is in the ulama (read: kiai) is supposed to make the kiai more afraid of threats and Omissions over obligations as a servant of Allah and *khalifatullah fil ardh* (representative of Allah on Earth). In other words, kiai is believed to be a religious person who has the ability in the field of religion, or kiai is a mirror figure and symbol of a devout and have a strong understanding of religion. The ability of kiai in the mastery of Islamic Knowledge also makes kiai considered as a close person and can understand the majesty of God and the secrets of nature, therefore they are considered to have an unattainable position, especially by ordinary people. It is also reinforced with symbols of kiai specificity, namely skullcaps and turbans.²⁹ It is these advantages that make the community show a self-sacrificing attitude and submit to the kiai.

People also believe that kiai is *warsatul anbiya'* or the heir of the prophets. So that with this predicate acts and orders kiai away from the word abuse and automatically kiai has the mandate to continue their struggle in *amar Ma'ruf nahi mungkar*. The community views the kiai as a wise pious figure whose every behavior and speech gives birth to peace and becomes a way of light for the community. The close relationship with the community is proven by kiai by being an important actor of social mobility in each generation change.³⁰

In this context, kiai must be able to position himself as has been done by the Prophet, that kiai is a creator of change and defender of society as a whole. Ideally, social, economic, political, legal, and cultural suffering and problems are the social responsibility of a kiai. This is a consequence and has become a natural suffering experienced by kiai. Because

²⁹ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (LP3ES, 1982), 94.

³⁰ Ibnu Hajar, Mohammad Suhaidi RB, and Zainul Arifin el-Basyier, *Kiai Di Tengah Pusaran Politik: Antara Petaka Dan Kuasa* (IRCiSoD, 2009), 38.



basically the life of kiai is used to serve the community.³¹ The fame of kiai in the community is so deeply rooted in the minds and culture of the community. His figure is used as the shedding of all the complaints of life whose door is considered like a mosque that anyone is welcome to enter at any time. There are also community problems that are usually shed to kiai, ranging from illness, magic, fortune, agriculture, trade, to dating.³²

It is important to add that kiai is trusted to be a source of reference because he is able to provide a way out of the problems experienced by the community. According to Muchith Muzadi who quoted Ain Najaf in *Qiyadatul Ulama wal Ummah*, one of the duties of a kiai is the duty of a religious guide; he becomes a place of reference (marja') in explaining halal haram law, and berfatwa about other Islamic laws.³³ This function is most dominant in the community, where the kiai as a problem solver for the problems faced by the community, which sometimes includes not only religious issues, but also issues of farming, households, and so forth.³⁴

3. The impact of Kiai's role in Islamization of 'Ruwat Desa' tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo

a. The Procession Of Ruwat Desa Tradition Is More Islamic

From the Islamization carried out by kiai in the ruwat desa tradition, the most dominant can be felt is the procession in this activity changed in accordance with the teachings of islam. If in other villages ruwat desa tradition activities that still use offerings and shadow puppets, the village Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo has its own characteristics in the ruwat desa tradition activities, namely by holding istighosah akbar followed by the villagers Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo.

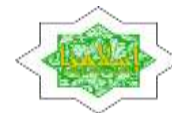
Tradition becomes important and cannot be separated from people's lives. As said Malik Fajar quoted by Mohammad Muchlis Solichin, that tradition gives a lot of meaning to people's lives, therefore anyone who wants to develop their lives must have a tradition.

³¹ *ibid.*, 50.

³² Aguk Irawan, "Akar Sejarah Etika Pesantren Di Nusantara (Dari Era Sriwijaya Sampai Pesantren Tebu Ireng Dan Ploso), 302."

³³ Eksan, *Kiai Kelana: Biografi Kiai Muchith Muzadi*, 10.

³⁴ Hajar, RB, and el-Basyier, *Kiai Di Tengah Pusaran Politik: Antara Petaka Dan Kuasa*, 40.



Thus, people will maintain and pass on a tradition if they themselves do not feel its meaning.

One of these meanings is as a container of religious expression. As a container of religious expression of society, tradition is always found in every religion because religion demands experience routinely in its adherents. Thus, the emergence of traditions can be caused by religious practices, both practiced in groups and individuals.³⁵

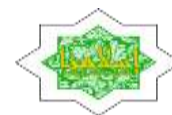
From the understanding of the meaning, kiai finally developed his preaching technique by Islamizing the ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village. Kiai realized that, to maintain the purity of the teachings that have been handed down by the prophet is not enough if it is only focused on the field of formal education, but informal education through traditions that are preserved by the community is also a focus that must be considered. Through his responsibility, kiai as a missionary patiently instilled the values of Islamic teachings in the ruwat desa tradition, so that the results of Islamization can continue to be felt through the preservation of ruwat desa tradition activities every year in the village of Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo.

In addition to meaning, kiai also strengthen the teachings of islam through the function of the ruwat desa tradition activities. As expressed by Suprpto that the tradition continues to be implemented and passed down from generation to generation if people feel the function of the tradition. One of these functions is to strengthen the outlook on life. Each individual or group has a view of life, beliefs, institutions, and other rules that are always treated, with the tradition of all these things can be maintained and strengthened in society.³⁶

Through this function, kiai islamizes the procession of ruwat desa tradition activities, such as replacing ancestral spirit worship activities by providing offerings that are placed in sacred places turned into mutual cooperation activities to clean the village tomb and hold istighosah akbar at the village mosque, the community is also encouraged to bring food that is used as a *berkat* for the congregation who follow istighosah akbar. The obligation to bring this *berkat* as a form of acculturation from the presentation of offerings for ancestral spirits.

³⁵ Solichin,....6.

³⁶ Suprpto, *Dialektika Islam Dan Budaya Nusantara: Dari Negosiasi, Adaptasi Hingga Komodifikasi*, 101-102.



Through this *berkat* too, kiai teaches that humans have two tasks that must be carried out, namely strengthening human relationships with Allah (*hablum minallah*) and human relationships with other humans. the *istighosah akbar* activity held at the village mosque is a form of human effort to strengthen its relationship with the *khaliq*, while *berkat* is a human effort to strengthen human relationships with other humans. with the Islamization of this village *ruwat* tradition, kiai tries to strengthen the view of human life to be in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

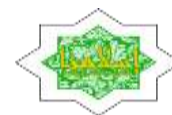
b. Increased Public Religious Emotion

From the Islamization of the *ruwat desa* tradition activities which in fact this activity is followed by all villagers, then this activity also has a positive impact on the increasing religious emotions of the community. The community is increasingly aware of its dependence on the creator, which is realized by more intensively the community in worship and also attending religious activities held in the community.

The increase in people's religious emotions is also inseparable from the figure of the reformer, the kiai. For the community, kiai is a place to learn because he is believed to be a man who has the breadth of science. His deep understanding in the field of religion makes kiai always get a lot of followers, both as an informal listener who always attends his lectures or lectures as well as students who live or have lived in his cottage.³⁷

Through his eloquence in the field of religion, a kiai makes a pattern of patronage built on ties that are basically unsystematic but the patron-client bond between the kiai and the community is fertilized by a sense of reciprocity. Despite this, this type of phenomenon does not cause any strangeness, the exchange of benefits adapted to the needs of society has become the dominating terrain in human life. It should be emphasized that kiai is also equipped with charismatic traits that make it loved by the community. The charisma that accompanies every kiai's movement makes the relationship between the two full of

³⁷ Turmudi, *Perselingkuhan Kiai Dan Kekuasaan*, 95.



emotions. Because kiai is a problem solver for the problems faced by people who are not only adrift in the field of religion alone.³⁸

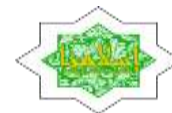
Through his eloquence in the field of religion, a kiai makes a pattern of patronage built on ties that are basically unsystematic but the patron-client bond between the kiai and the community is fertilized by a sense of reciprocity. Despite this, this type of phenomenon does not cause any strangeness, the exchange of benefits adapted to the needs of society has become the dominating terrain in human life. It should be emphasized that kiai is also equipped with charismatic traits that make it loved by the community. The charisma that accompanies every kiai's movement makes the relationship between the two full of emotions. Because kiai is a problem solver for the problems faced by people who are not only adrift in the field of religion alone

c. The Ukhuwah Islamiyah

Furthermore, kiai also succeeded in strengthening the ukhuwah islamiyah community with the Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities, this can be seen when all residents of Kalanganyar village gather together in one place, namely the village mosque to jointly carry out a series of ruwat desa tradition activities. In addition, the community is also taught to give alms to fellow Muslims which is symbolized by bringing the results of cultivation which are packaged to be distributed to residents who participate in this activity. In addition, the ukhuwah islamiyah of Kalanganyar Village community is also getting closer when the community participates in preparing for this activity, mutual tolerance and accepting opinions at meetings, and mutual cooperation in providing the preparations needed in this ruwat desa Tradition activity.

Through Islamization in the tradition of ruwat desa kiai also include Islamic education about the relationship between man and God and humans with other humans. Man's relationship with God is established by the activities of istighosah akbar which is directly led by kiai, and human relationships with other humans are strengthened from mutual cooperation cleaning the tomb. Through the direction of life values, kiai can lead the community to ukhuwah islamiyah. In response to this, kiai made the ruwat desa tradition

³⁸ Turmudi, 97.



which in fact is an annual activity of the Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo Village community in directing life values by Islamization which in turn is able to combine emotional feelings between people, so that under any circumstances can produce a mutual agreement.

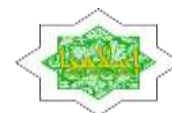
The implementation of ukhuwah islamiyah will become real if it is connected with the problem of social solidarity. Therefore, in the practice of Islamization in the traditional activities of ruwat desa, kiai still include the community and youth organizations in the ranks of the committee. From the relationship between these committees kiai great hopes arising tolerance, mutual understanding, mutual respect, and mutual respect are not only intertwined during the preparation of traditional activities ruwat desa, but intertwined also in everyday life.

The essence of ukhuwah islamiyah resulting from kiai activities in Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities is prophetic education that humanizes humans, in this case there are two important activities, namely the way of humanity and the way of humanity. The way of humanity is an effort to make people aware of human values, forming people as true human beings, having and glorifying ethical and moral values, and pocketing the spirit of spirituality. While the way humanity is an effort to elevate human dignity by way of understanding science and technology, as well as professional skills that can elevate the dignity and dignity as a human being.³⁹

With more Islamic ruwat desa tradition activities, kiai teaches the community to be wise in solving a problem without using violence in accordance with the prophetic Foundation. People are herded and invited to deliberation, chat, and think about social reality. In addition, it is expected that the community also has a sense of belonging to the social issues that arise and produce a successor who is good at understanding his identity as a human being.⁴⁰ Thus, the concept of ukhuwah islamiyah that has been instilled by kiai through the Islamization of traditional ruwat desa activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village can be maintained.

³⁹ Syarif and others, "Pendidikan Profetik Dalam Membentuk Bangsa Religius", 4.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 5.

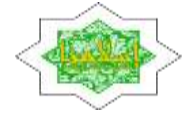


Conclusion

Based on the data exposure and previous discussions can be concluded that the activities of Islamization tradition Ruwat desa in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo in the form of mutual cooperation cleaning the Tomb, istighosahkubro, and carry out istighosah around, while the role of kiai in Islamization tradition ruwat desa in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo is kiai as a non-formal leader, kiai as an agent of change, kiai as a reference source. The impact of the role of kiai in the Islamization of ruwat desa tradition activities in Kalanganyar Sedati Sidoarjo village, namely the procession of ruwat desa tradition activities is more Islamic, increasing people's religious emotions, and strengthening ukhuwah islamiyah.

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