

THE TRADITION OF KUNDANGAN IN THE LAST TEN DAYS OF RAMADAN: A STUDY OF LIVING HADITH IN DASIN TUBAN VILLAGE THROUGH THE LENS OF KARL MANNHEIM'S SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE.

Achmad Fuaddin¹, Ahmad Nurul Hadi²

¹ Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Anwar, Sarang Rembang, Indonesia.

² Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.

achmadfuaddin@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The tradition of *Kundangan* or *Kenduri* is one of the Indonesian Muslim practices that some groups consider *Bid'ah* (innovation) because it is not directly based on the Hadith of the Prophet. Research on *Kenduri* is generally divided into two categories: studies that assess the legality of *Kenduri* based on Islamic values and studies that examine the values embedded within the practice. However, research on the community's reception and the essence of *Kundangan* in the context of Living Hadith remains limited. This study focuses on the examination of Living Hadith related to *Kundangan* during the last ten days of Ramadan as practiced by the community of Dasin Village, Tambakboyo Subdistrict, Tuban Regency, using Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge approach. This research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach to understand this phenomenon holistically. The findings indicate that the objective meaning of the *Kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan is a heritage from ancestors that involves rituals, such as reading the Qur'an, praying, and giving food parcels to guests. The expressive meanings of the *Kundangan* tradition vary, including views of it as ancestral heritage, the belief that ancestral spirits are present in the home and should be sent the rewards of charity, anticipation of the Night of Qadr, and efforts to maintain social relationships. The documentary meaning of the *Kundangan* tradition reflects an acculturation between Javanese cultural beliefs and the values of Hadith. These findings show that the *Kundangan* tradition is a method used by *Kiai* (Islamic scholars) to implement Hadith values, blending them with the local culture.

Keywords: *Kundangan, Last Ten Days of Ramadan, Dasin Village, Sociology of Knowledge, Karl Mannheim*

ABSTRAK

Tradisi *kundangan* atau *kenduri* merupakan salah satu tradisi Muslim Indonesia yang dianggap *bid'ah* oleh sebagian kalangan umat Islam karena tidak bersandar langsung pada hadis Nabi. Penelitian tentang *kenduri* umumnya terbagi menjadi dua: mengkaji hukum *kenduri* berdasarkan nilai Islam dan mengkaji nilai yang terkandung dalam *kenduri*. Namun, kajian mengenai resepsi masyarakat dan hakikat *kundangan* dalam konteks *living hadith* masih terbatas. Penelitian ini fokus pada kajian *living hadith* terkait *kundangan* pada sepuluh hari terakhir bulan Ramadhan yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Desa Dasin, Kecamatan Tambakboyo, Kabupaten Tuban, dengan menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi pengetahuan Karl Mannheim. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus untuk memahami fenomena ini secara holistik. Hasil temuan menunjukkan bahwa makna objektif tradisi *kundangan* pada sepuluh hari terakhir Ramadhan adalah warisan leluhur yang melibatkan ritual membaca al-Qur'an, berdoa, dan memberikan bingkisan makanan kepada tamu. Makna ekspresif tradisi *kundangan* beragam, termasuk sebagai warisan leluhur,

keyakinan bahwa arwah leluhur ada di rumah dan perlu dikirimkan pahala sedekah, penantian malam Lail al-Qadar, serta upaya menjaga hubungan sosial. Makna dokumenter tradisi kundangan mencerminkan adanya akulturasi antara budaya keyakinan orang Jawa dengan nilai-nilai hadis. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa tradisi kundangan merupakan metode dakwah para kiai untuk mengimplementasikan nilai-nilai hadis yang dipadukan dengan budaya lokal.

Kata Kunci: *Kundangan, Akhir Ramadhan, Desa Dasin, Sosiologi Pengetahuan, Karl Mannheim.*

A. Introduction

There is an ongoing debate among Muslims regarding the permissibility of practicing local traditions that do not have direct guidance from the Prophet. One such tradition in Indonesian Muslim communities that lacks a direct basis in the Hadith or the Qur'an is the *kundangan* or *slametan* tradition. Clifford Geertz argues that the *slametan* tradition, also known as *kundangan*, is a Javanese religious ritual. He even suggests that the *slametan* ceremonies performed by the Javanese involve a belief in the presence of deities.¹ The *slametan* tradition is deeply ingrained in Indonesian, particularly Javanese, society. People often hold *slametan* ceremonies at certain times they consider important. This tradition has been practiced since the Hindu period.² It is carried out by Muslims and incorporates elements of animism, dynamism, and totemic beliefs mixed with Hinduism and Buddhism.³ On the other hand, the Wahhabi movement views any local tradition not taught by Prophet Muhammad as *bid'ah* (innovation) and should be rejected.⁴

However, despite these differing views, many Indonesian Muslims continue to practice *kundangan*, *slametan*, or *kenduri* in various activities. A clear example of this can be seen in the Javanese *slametan* tradition for the deceased. This ritual serves several positive functions, such as providing charity, strengthening social bonds among the community, comforting the bereaved family, and commemorating the deceased.⁵ Additionally, the *slametan* ritual is seen as a means of fostering tolerance and social integration, as well as uniting Islam with local traditions. This is evident in practices like *ngalung sapi* in Rembang Regency,⁶ the *kenduri blang* performed by farmers in Lhoknga Subdistrict,⁷ Aceh Besar

¹ Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa Abangan, Santri, Priyai Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa* (Depok Komunitas Bambu, 2013), 3.

² Syntia Maharani, "The Function of the Selametan Tradition in Forming Social Cohesiveness," *Socio Politica: Jurnal Ilmiah Jurusan Sosiologi* 11, no. 2 (2021): 55–62.

³ Mukhlas Alkaf dkk., "Nyuwun Slamet; Local Wisdom of Javanese Rural People in Dealing With Covid-19 Pandemic Through Request in Slametan Rite," *Jurnal Javanologi* 4, no. 2 (2021): 834–42.

⁴ Saipul Hamdi, "De-kulturalisasi islam dan konflik sosial dalam dakwah Wahabi di Indonesia," *Jurnal Kawistara* 9, no. 2 (2019): 164–78.

⁵ Bagus Wahyu Setyawan dkk., "Selametan Day of the Dead From a Javanese Cultural Perspective among Santri and Abangan: A Case Study in Tulungagung District," *IBDA: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 20, no. 1 (2022): 25–43.

⁶ Umi Nur Sholikhah dan Hari Bakti Mardikantoro, "Satuan-Satuan Lingual dalam Tradisi Ngalungi di Desa Sekarsari Kecamatan Sumber Kabupaten Rembang," *Jurnal Sastra Indonesia* 9, no. 1 (2020): 28–37.

⁷ Siti Gomo Attas dan Novi Anoeграjekti, "Integrasi Budaya Lokal dengan Islam dalam Ritual Kenduri Blang di Kecamatan Lhoknga Aceh Besar," vol. 1, 2021, 186–89.

Regency, before and after planting rice, and the *kenduri* in Kampung Mee Adan, Aceh.⁸ Even Naafi Annisa, in her research in Sleman, Yogyakarta, identifies three types of *slametan* practiced by the community: personal *slametan*, Islamic holy day *slametan*, and *slametan* related to village traditions.⁹

The differing opinions among Muslims regarding the *kundungan* tradition indicate that understanding a tradition cannot be based solely on its outward appearance. According to Mannheim, no mode of thought can be understood without clarifying its social origins. Ideas arise from people's struggles with significant societal issues, and the meaning and source of these ideas cannot be comprehended without explaining their social foundations.¹⁰ Syaifuddin Zuhri Qudsy also states that the existence of living Hadith texts in society is not always consciously recognized; people simply know that there is a precedent or that the text has become deeply ingrained in them.¹¹

Examining the social foundations that shape the *kundungan* tradition practiced by some Indonesian Muslims is one of the best ways to understand the essence of this tradition. Understanding how the community perceives this tradition and how Hadith influences its formation is crucial. In this context, merely observing the external aspects is insufficient; a deeper exploration of the social foundations is required.

Although much research has been conducted on the *kundungan* tradition, none has yet explored the essence of its meaning as experienced by the community, particularly using the sociology of knowledge approach in the study of the living hadith. Studies on the *kundungan* or *kenduri* tradition can be categorized into two main areas: First, examine the values inherent in the *kundungan* or *kenduri* tradition. According to Nugroho, the *Kenduri* tradition is a manifestation of local wisdom that represents the embodiment of moderation values, accommodates local culture, and serves as a space for interfaith encounters.¹² The *kenduri* tradition in Kampung Mee Adan, which is an ancestral heritage, has implications for strengthening social bonds, fostering love for the Prophet, and practicing sincere charity.¹³ Second, examine the compatibility of the *kenduri* tradition with Islamic teachings. Zuria Ulfi Sumanjuntak, in her research, asserts that the *Njahat* (death *kenduri*) tradition practiced by the Pakpak ethnic community does not violate Islamic law.¹⁴ Abdun Nasir explores local values that align with the universal teachings of Islam.¹⁵ Ainur Rofiq emphasizes that the *slametan* tradition should not be seen in opposition to Islam, as *slametan*

⁸ Yuna Ulfah Maulina, "Living Hadis Pada Tradisi Kenduri di Kampung Mee Adan Aceh," *Riwayah: Jurnal Studi Hadis* 6, no. 2 (2020).

⁹ Naafi Annisa dan Amika Wardana, "Tradisi Slametan pada Masyarakat Jlatren, Jogotirto Berbah, Sleman, Yogyakarta," *Dimensia: Jurnal Kajian Sosiologi* 8, no. 1 (2019): 1–13.

¹⁰ Karl Mannheim, *Essay on The Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Brodway House, 1945), 40.

¹¹ Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, "Living Hadis: genealogi, teori, dan aplikasi," *Jurnal Living Hadis* 1, no. 1 (2016): 177–96.

¹² Fibry Jati Nugroho, "Kenduren sebagai Ruang Merawat KeIndonesiaan," *PROSIDING PELITA BANGSA* 1, no. 1 (2022): 14–25.

¹³ Maulina, "Living Hadis Pada Tradisi Kenduri di Kampung Mee Adan Aceh."

¹⁴ Zuria Ulfi Simanjuntak, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Kerjanjahat (Kenduri Kematian) Pada Masyarakat Muslim Suku Pakpak Sidikalang, Dairi," *Al-Mashlahah Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 10, no. 02 (2022): 623–48.

¹⁵ Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "Revisiting the Javanese Muslim Slametan: Islam, local tradition, honor and symbolic communication," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 57, no. 2 (2019): 329–58.

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is essentially an act of charity within Islam.¹⁶ Faqihul Muqoddam even states that *slametan* is a ritual combining Javanese traditions with Islam.¹⁷ However, he does not trace how far an Islamic religious text shapes this tradition and how the tradition's meaning is perceived within the community.

In line with this, the purpose of this article is to complement previous research. This study will focus on examining the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan in Tambakboyo Subdistrict, with a case study in Dasin Village. This research aims to enrich the understanding of the dynamics between living traditions in Indonesia and the religious values that underpin them, as well as the meaning of these traditions within the community.

This study will describe the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan and explore its meanings within the context of the Living Hadith, using Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge approach. This article will address the following research questions: First, what is the nature of the *kundangan* during the last ten days of Ramadan? Second, what Hadith foundation underlies the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan? Third, what is the meaning of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan from the perspective of Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge?

This research is based on the argument that the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan, as practiced by the people of Dasin Village, is a religious tradition imbued with both Islamic and Javanese values. To address the research questions mentioned above, this study employs a qualitative method, as it does not rely on statistical or mathematical mechanisms to process the data. Qualitative research was chosen because this study aims to understand the phenomena experienced by the research subjects, such as reception, motivation, actions, and others, in a holistic manner. According to Sugiyono, the qualitative research paradigm views social reality as something whole, complex, dynamic, and full of meaning.

This research falls under the category of a case study. The data collection techniques used include direct observation, involving participation and direct observation of the subject under study, as well as interviews with the community. Additionally, this research will gather archives and manuscripts from relevant literature sources that pertain to the issues being addressed.

The data collection process began with gathering primary data through field observations and direct interviews with the residents of Dasin Village. Respondents were grouped into two categories: first, local religious figures who hold authority in shaping culture and have deeper knowledge related to the religious foundations used in this tradition; second, the general community. The interview results were used to understand the community's interpretation of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan. In addition to primary data, relevant data for this research were also collected. Once all the data were gathered, a mapping process was conducted. Only relevant and necessary data for this research were selected. In the next stage, the mapped data was comprehensively

¹⁶ Ainur Rofiq, "Tradisi slametan Jawa dalam perpektif pendidikan Islam," *Attaqwa: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam* 15, no. 2 (2019): 93–107.

¹⁷ Faqihul Muqoddam dan Virgin Suciyantri Maghfiroh, "Syncretism of Slametan tradition as a pillar of Islam Nusantara," *KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 27, no. 1 (2019): 75–94.

reviewed. The collected data were then described and analyzed by understanding and explaining them. According to Rijali, data analysis in qualitative research involves reducing all the obtained data. Data reduction involves summarizing the gathered data, followed by categorizing it into specific themes, concepts, or categories. Once the necessary data has been reduced, the results are organized into formats such as sketches, synopses, matrices, or other forms. This data analysis process is used to facilitate presentation and clarify conclusions.¹⁸

B. Result and Discussion

1. An Introduction to Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge

The sociology of knowledge emerged from the effort to develop various striking interconnections in the crisis of modern thought, specifically the social connections between theories and forms of thought.¹⁹ On one hand, the sociology of knowledge aims to identify operational criteria for determining the interrelationship between thought and action. It views truth and human knowledge as subjective and value-laden. The sociology of knowledge seeks to understand thought within the concrete context of specific social-historical situations that give rise to diverse individual thoughts in a very gradual manner.²⁰

The sociology of knowledge itself was introduced by two figures: Karl Mannheim and Max Scheler. They differ in their sociological approaches and content. Max Scheler emphasized philosophical theories, whereas Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge is more focused on pure sociology. These distinguishing characteristics offer different perspectives on the treatment of religion as observed in a society.²¹

For Karl Mannheim, the fundamental principle of the sociology of knowledge is that no mode of thought can be understood without clarifying its social origins. Ideas arise as part of people's struggles with significant issues in their society. The meaning and source of these ideas cannot be understood without an explanation of their social foundations.²² Therefore, ideas must be understood in relation to the society that produces and articulates them in their lives.

Karl Mannheim posits that human action is shaped by two dimensions: the dimension of behavior and the dimension of meaning. Thus, when understanding social action, a researcher must examine both external behavior and the meaning of that behavior. Mannheim distinguishes three types of meaning in social behavior: objective meaning, expressive meaning, and documentary meaning. Objective meaning is determined by the social context in which the social action occurs. Expressive meaning is indicated by the actor or performer of the social action. Documentary meaning refers to implied or hidden meanings, such that the actor may not be aware that a particular aspect expressed reflects a broader culture.²³ These three meanings proposed by Karl Mannheim will be used to analyze

¹⁸ Ahmad Rijali, "Analisis data kualitatif," *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 17, no. 33 (2019): 81–95.

¹⁹ Karl Mannheim, *Ideologi dan Utopia* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1991), 287.

²⁰ Karl Mannheim, 3.

²¹ Karl Mannheim, 3.

²² Karl Mannheim, *Essay on The Sociology of Knowledge*, 40.

²³ Karl Mannheim, 40.

the living meaning within the *kundangan maleman* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan in Dasin Village.

2. The Kundangan Maleman Tradition During the Last Ten Days of Ramadan in Dasin Village

a. History of the Kundangan Maleman Tradition During the Last Ten Days of Ramadan

The *kundangan* or *slametan* tradition is quite familiar to Indonesians, especially Javanese people. *Slametan* itself varies in form from one region to another, due to factors of heterogeneity.²⁴ Even within a single village, there can be differences in the *slametan* rituals performed for the same occasion. This is evident in Tanen Village, Rejotangan Subdistrict, and Tulungagung Regency. Some community members still use offerings as cultural symbols during the ritual, while others avoid using offerings, considering them contrary to Islam.²⁵ Despite this, all *slametan* rituals are regarded as sources of social harmony and religious tolerance.²⁶ Andrew Beatty argues that *slametan* plays a crucial role in fostering social solidarity among devout Muslims, mystical Islam practitioners, Javanese, and Hindus.²⁷ This tradition has strong historical roots in Indonesia, having been practiced since the Hindu period up to the present day.²⁸

One of the intriguing *slametan* or *kundangan* traditions in Java is the *kundangan* held during the last ten nights of Ramadan by the residents of Dasin Village. Dasin Village is located in Tambakboyo Subdistrict, Tuban Regency, with a population of 3,291 and an area of 4,024 hectares.²⁹ The majority of its residents are farmers, and the entire population is Muslim. The village is known for its religiosity, as evidenced by the numerous prayer halls and religious study centers. Throughout Ramadan, the recitation of the Qur'an is heard after Taraweeh prayers in the village's prayer halls and mosques from the beginning to the end of Ramadan. Another interesting tradition in Dasin Village during Ramadan is the *kundangan* during the last ten nights of Ramadan, a practice that has been ongoing for decades, perhaps even centuries. Many religious traditions thrive in Dasin Village, Tambakboyo, and Tuban during Ramadan, and one of these is the *kundangan* in the last ten nights of Ramadan.

The *kundangan* tradition during these ten nights involves inviting close neighbors to pray together, and when the guests leave, they are given a gift package containing rice, side dishes, and snacks (the gift package for guests will henceforth be referred to as *berkat*). There are no specific regulations regarding the contents of the *berkat*. It may include chicken, beef, goat meat, eggs, or, in some cases, food items like rice, instant noodles, and eggs. The contents of the *berkat* vary according to the economic status of the host. Unlike other types of *kundangan*, no food is served at the event itself. This absence of food at the event

²⁴ Muqoddam dan Maghfiroh, "Syncretism of Slametan tradition as a pillar of Islam Nusantara."

²⁵ Setyawan dkk., "Selametan Day of the Dead From a Javanese Cultural Perspective among Santri and Abangan: A Case Study in Tulungagung District."

²⁶ Jochem Van den Boogert, "The role of slametan in the discourse on Javanese Islam," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (2017): 352–72.

²⁷ Maulana Maulana, "The SLAMETAN in a JAVANESE SOCIETY: A comparative study of Clifford Geertz's *The Religion of Java* (1960) and Andrew Beatty's *Varieties of Javanese Religion* (1999)," *Nusantara; Journal for Southeast Asian Islamic Studies* 14, no. 1 (t.t.): 57–65.

²⁸ Maharani, "The Function of the Selametan Tradition in Forming Social Cohesiveness."

²⁹ <http://www.dasin-tambakboyo.desa.id>

distinguishes the *kundangan* during the last ten nights of Ramadan from other types of *kundangan*. The reason for not providing food at the event is that the *kundangan* takes place during fasting hours. The recitation of prayers and the *berkat* are the two main elements of this tradition.

In the history of Dasin Village, the *berkat* (gift package) for the *kundangan* must be prepared with specific considerations. There were particular rules regarding the contents of the *berkat*. However, over time, there has been a shift in the contents of the *berkat* during the last ten nights of Ramadan. According to Semu, a local resident, the elders used to say that during the *kundangan*, it was not allowed to use dishes with a soup base. The recommended dish for the *kundangan* was sambal kelapa (coconut chili paste). This was based on the belief that the aroma of sambal kelapa would be sensed by the spirits of the ancestors in the afterlife. He even recounted a story where a person who was thought to be dead, after receiving prayers, later returned home—because in reality, they had not died—and said they had smelled the aroma of sambal kelapa. This aroma was believed to come from the sambal kelapa prepared for the prayers.³⁰ The specific rules described by Semu reflect animistic values strongly associated with Javanese beliefs. However, in practice today, these traditional rules regarding the *berkat* have become less common. Currently, the *berkat* may include dishes like chicken, beef, goat meat, eggs, or even food items like rice, instant noodles, and eggs. The types of dishes are also varied, including both soup-based and non-soup dishes, though sambal kelapa is almost never included. This shift indicates that the tradition has been practiced across generations.

This tradition has been practiced by the people of Dasin Village for over 70 years. However, there is no precise data on the origin of this tradition. According to Tarsini (60 years old), she continues this tradition because her parents and grandparents used to practice it. She does not know exactly when the tradition began; she simply continues what was done by previous generations.³¹ Another informant, Warsini (58 years old), mentioned the same thing. She does not know when the tradition started. This indicates that the tradition has had deep roots in the community of Dasin Village for a long time.³² Even Karsini, who is now 77 years old, stated that she does not know exactly when the tradition began. She mentioned that her parents and grandparents had already been practicing this tradition since she was a child.³³ From the accounts of these informants, it can be confirmed that this tradition has been practiced for more than 70 years.

The event is typically held after the Asr prayer and just before breaking the fast on each of the last ten nights of Ramadan. The choice of timing after the Asr prayer and before Maghrib is due to several reasons: First, at these hours, most men have returned from working in the fields. This consideration is because the ritual is only performed by men, while women stay in the kitchen. Second, it is hoped that the *berkat* (food packages) from the *kundangan* will be used for breaking the fast.³⁴ Therefore, the time after the Asr prayer

³⁰ Interview with Semu, May 1, 2022

³¹ Interview with Tarsini, May 1, 2022

³² Interview with Warsini, April 26, 2022

³³ Interview with Karsini, April 26, 2022

³⁴ Interview with Siti Halimah, April 27, 2022

and just before breaking the fast is considered the ideal time for holding the *kundangan* event.

This tradition is uniquely performed only during the last ten days of Ramadan. However, previously, this tradition was not observed throughout the entire last ten days of Ramadan but specifically on the 29th night of Ramadan.³⁵ This is because the community believes that on the 29th night, the spirits of deceased ancestors return home and will return to the afterlife in the month of Shawwal. Based on this belief, they hold the *kundangan* event to give the reward of charity to the ancestors before they return to the afterlife. However, over time, this practice has shifted. For some residents, the *kundangan* ritual can now be held on the odd nights of the last ten nights of Ramadan, such as the 21st night (*malem selikur*), the 23rd night (*malem telulikur*), and so on, as mentioned by Warsini.³⁶ According to others, the ritual does not have to be performed on odd nights but can be held anytime during the last ten nights of Ramadan.³⁷ Generally, the *kundangan* tradition is observed within the last ten nights of Ramadan, although there appears to be a shift in the timing of the ritual from one generation to the next.

The change in the practice of this ritual is due to the consideration that if it were held simultaneously on the 29th night, much of the rice would go uneaten because every neighbor would invite people. Typically, a neighbor invite at least 10 people, and some even invite up to 20. The number of people invited depends on how many neighbors are invited. There are no specific rules about who must be invited or how many people should be invited. However, traditionally, those invited are the neighbors around the house, whether related or not. If there are distant relatives or parents' homes, they will receive *berkat* (food packages), but they are not invited to the *kundangan* event. This fact shows that there has been a shift from the belief that ancestors return only on the 29th night of Ramadan to the practical benefit of the *berkat*.

The ritual is carried out in every house, mosque, and prayer hall (a place of worship other than a mosque). However, the practice in mosques or prayer halls differs from that in homes. In mosques and prayer halls, the ritual is usually performed after the Taraweeh prayers, while in homes, it is done after the Asr prayers. All members of the Dasin village community participate in this ritual, whether they are wealthy or less affluent. This is because they consider the *kundangan maleman* tradition to be an essential practice that cannot be abandoned. In fact, one of the villagers, who is economically modest, expressed that if he did not perform this ritual, he would feel uneasy. He even goes so far as to borrow money from neighbors to carry out the *kundangan* tradition.³⁸

b. The Process of the *Kundangan Maleman* Ritual During the Last Ten Days of Ramadan

The *kundangan* process begins with the host visiting each invited guest's home to deliver the invitation and specify the time of the event. This task is typically carried out by the host's sons. If the host does not have sons, they usually ask a single nephew or handle

³⁵ Interview with Semu, May 1, 2022

³⁶ Interview with Warsini, April 26, 2022

³⁷ Interview with Semu, May 1, 2022

³⁸ Interview with Warsini, April 26, 2022

the invitations themselves. Once the guests have arrived, the host will entrust someone with knowledge of religious matters or a respected individual to lead the event. At the same time, the host will discreetly hand over a mandatory donation (money given to the event leader) to the appointed leader. The respected or learned person then opens the event with formal Javanese language. First, they express gratitude on behalf of the host for the guests' attendance. Second, they state the purpose of the event, which is the *slametan* or *kundangan maleman*, and offer prayers for the ancestors who have passed away. Third, they pray for the host's family, asking for safety in this life and the hereafter, and for all their wishes to be granted by Allah. After this, the person entrusted with the event will begin the *kundangan* ceremony.

As the *kundangan* ceremony begins, the leader will start by reciting *tawasul*, followed by reciting Surah Al-Ikhlâs once, *Mu'awidzatain* (Surah Al-Falaq and Surah An-Nas) three times each, and concluding with a prayer. In the recitation of *tawasul*, there is no standardized wording; the recitations may vary from one *kundangan* leader to another. However, the essence of the *tawasul* involves dedicating Surah Al-Fatiha to the prophets, especially Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and his family, as well as to the saints, the righteous, and the ancestors, particularly the ancestors of the host. In addition to the non-standardized recitation of *tawasul*, there is also no fixed format for the prayer. However, the prayer will certainly include supplications for the ancestors. Below is an example of a recitation that is read during the *kundangan* in the last ten nights of Ramadan:

Recitation of Tawasul

The recitation of *tawasul* or *wasilah* in the *kundangan* ceremony begins with a prayer for the Prophet, his companions, his family, the saints, the righteous, Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani, and all Muslims, particularly the ancestors of the host. *Tawasul* is a way to draw closer to Allah by obeying Him and performing deeds that are pleasing to Him. Additionally, there is the concept of *tawasul* which involves asking Allah through the intercession of righteous deeds performed with sincere supplication.³⁹ One of the *tawasul* recitations during the *kundangan* in the last ten nights of Ramadan is as follows:

الْفَاتِحَةُ إِلَى رُوحِ سَيِّدِنَا وَحَبِيبِنَا وَشَفِيعِنَا رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَإِلَيْهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ
وَأَزْوَاجِهِ وَذُرِّيَّاتِهِ، بِأَنَّ يَعْطِي اللَّهُ دَرَجَاتِهِمْ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَيَنْفَعَنَا بِأَسْرَارِهِمْ وَأَنْوَارِهِمْ وَعُلُومِهِمْ
وَبَرَكَاتِهِمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ، وَيَجْعَلْنَا مِنْ جُزْبِهِمْ، وَيَرْزُقْنَا مَحَبَّتَهُمْ، وَيَتَوَقَّأَنَا عَلَى
مَلَّتِهِمْ، وَيَحْشُرْنَا فِي زُمْرَتِهِمْ فِي خَيْرٍ وَلُطْفٍ وَعَافِيَةٍ، بِسِرِّ الْفَاتِحَةِ.

الْفَاتِحَةُ إِلَى أَرْوَاحِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَالْعُلَمَاءِ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ وَالصُّلَحَاءِ أَيَّمَا كَانُوا مِنْ مَشَارِقِ
الْأَرْضِ إِلَى مَغَارِبِهَا، خُصُوصًا مَوْلَانَا الشَّيْخِ عَبْدِ الْقَادِرِ الْجِيلَانِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، ثُمَّ إِلَى
أَرْوَاحِ الدِّينِيَّةِ وَمَسَائِكِنَا وَذَوِي الْحُقُوقِ عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ، ثُمَّ إِلَى جَمِيعِ أَهْلِ الْقُبُورِ مِنْ

³⁹ Yuni Fatolah, "Konsep Tawasul dalam Al-Qur'an: Kajian Komparatif Tafsir Klasik dan Kontemporer," *Ulumul Qur'an: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 1, no. 1 (2021): 1–18.

المُسْلِمِينَ وَالمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالمُؤْمِنَاتِ، يَرْفَعُ اللهُ لَهُمُ الدَّرَجَاتِ، وَيُكَفِّرُ عَنْهُمْ السَّيِّئَاتِ، وَيُضَاعِفُ لَهُمُ الأَجْرَ وَالحَسَنَاتِ، وَخُصُوصًا إِلَى أَرْوَاحِ أَهْلِ صَاحِبِ البَيْتِ، الفَاتِحَةُ.

Reciting Surah Al-Ikhlās Three Times

قُلْ هُوَ اللهُ أَحَدٌ اللهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

The general purpose of reciting Surah Al-Ikhlās in this ritual is to send the reward of the Quranic recitation to the souls of deceased ancestors. K. Ifrazin Hasan explains that the recitation of the Quran in the kundangan ritual is intended for the ancestors' souls. This is based on K. Ifrazin Hasan's belief that the reward for reciting the Quran can be sent to the deceased.⁴⁰ Moreover, Surah Al-Ikhlās itself holds a special merit compared to other surahs. It is narrated in a hadith, quoted by Ibn Kathir in his Tafsir, that Imam Ahmad reported from Hushaim from Husain from Hilal bin Yasaf from Abdirrahman bin Abi Laili from Ubayy bin Ka'ab or a man from the Ansar, who said: The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: "Whoever recites Surah Al-Ikhlās, it is as if he has recited one-third of the Quran."⁴¹ This hadith indicates that reciting Surah Al-Ikhlās once is equivalent to reciting one-third of the Quran, and reciting it three times is equivalent to reciting the entire Quran. Based on this virtue, it is as if the people of Dasin Village have sent the full reward of the Quranic recitation to their ancestors during the kundangan event.

Recite Surah Al-Mu'awwidhatain once.

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الفَلَقِ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ وَمِنْ شَرِّ غَاسِقٍ إِذَا وَقَبَ وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَّاثَاتِ فِي العُقَدِ وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ
قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ مَلِكِ النَّاسِ إِلَهِ النَّاسِ مِنْ شَرِّ الأَوْسَاسِ الأَخْنَاسِ الَّذِي يُوسَّسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ مِنَ الجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ

If we examine more deeply, Surah Al-Mu'awwidhatain has virtues almost identical to those of Surah Al-Ikhlās. It is narrated by al-Tha'labī that the Prophet said:

مَنْ قَرَأَ المُعَوِّذَتَيْنِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَرَأَ الكُتُبَ الَّتِي أَنزَلَهَا اللهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى

Whoever recites قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الفَلَقِ and قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ is as if they have recited the entire book revealed by Allah.^{42,43,44}

This narration indicates that Surah Al-Mu'awwidhatain is a special surah in terms of reward, equivalent to reciting the entire scripture revealed by Allah to all His prophets, including the Qur'an.

Do'a

الحمدُ لله ربِّ العالمينَ حمداً يُوَافِي نِعَمَهُ وَيُكَافِي مَزِيدَهُ، يَا رَبَّنَا لَكَ الحمدُ كما يَنْبَغِي لِجَلالِ وَجْهِكَ وَلِعَظِيمِ سُلْطَانِكَ، لَكَ الحمدُ وَلَكَ الشُّنَاءُ لا نُحْصِي ثَناءً عَلَيْكَ، أَنْتَ كما أَثْبَيْتَ عَلَيَّ

⁴⁰ Interview with K. Ifrozin Hasan, May 4, 2022

⁴¹ Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Adzim*, vol. 8 (t.tp: t.tp: Dār al-Ṭaiyibah, 1999), 522.

⁴² Abū Ishāq Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Tha'labī, *Al-Kasy wa al-Bayān*, vol. 10 (Bairūt: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2002), 337.

⁴³ Abū Ishāq Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Tha'labī, 10:337.

⁴⁴ Abū Ishāq Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Tha'labī, *Al-Kasy wa al-Bayān*.vol.10, hal.337

نَفْسِكَ، فَمَنْكَ لَنَا الرَّضَا رِضَاءَكَ الرَّفِيعَ لَا سَخَطَ بَعْدَهُ، اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَاةَ عَبْدٍ قَلَّتْ حِيلَتُهُ وَرَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَسَيَّلَتْهُ، وَأَنْتَ يَا إِلَهِي وَلِكُلِّ كَرَبٍ عَظِيمٍ فَفَرِّجْ عَنَّا مَا نَحْنُ فِيهِ بِسِرِّ أَسْرَارِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ. اللَّهُمَّ تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا مَا قَرَأْنَا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ الْكَرِيمِ وَاجْعَلْ ثَوَابَهُ هَدِيَّةً وَاصِلَةً وَرَحْمَةً نَازِلَةً وَبَرَكَاتَةً شَامِلَةً إِلَى رُوحِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَإِلَى أَرْوَاحِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَالْعُلَمَاءِ وَالشُّهَدَاءِ وَالصُّلَحَاءِ، خُصُوصًا أَرْوَاحِ أَهْلِ صَاحِبِ الْبَيْتِ، وَلِجَمِيعِ أَهْلِ الْقُبُورِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ، اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْ قُبُورَهُمْ رَوْضَةً مِنْ رِيَاضِ الْجَنَانِ وَلَا تَجْعَلْ قُبُورَهُمْ حُفْرَةً مِنْ حُفَرِ النَّيِّرَانِ، اللَّهُمَّ أَنْزِلِ الرَّحْمَةَ وَالرِّضْوَانَ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُبُورِ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ، ارفَعْ لَهُمُ الدَّرَجَاتِ وَكَفِّرْ عَنْهُمْ السَّيِّئَاتِ وَضَاعِفْ لَهُمُ الْأَجُورَ وَالْحَسَنَاتِ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ، رَبَّنَا آتِنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ، الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

3. The Basis of Hadith in the *Kundangan* Tradition during the Last Ten Days of Ramadan in Dasin Village

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy emphasizes that the object of study in living hadith must originate from the hadith text; it can be a form of modification, imitation, or acculturation of practices, traditions, rituals, or behaviors between past texts and current realities. The existence of hadith texts in society is not always recognized; people may only know that there is a textual basis, or the text may be deeply embedded in their lives.⁴⁵ From this perspective, there are two main aspects that must be fulfilled in living hadith studies: first, the presence of community behavior, whether in the form of tradition or ritual; and second, the presence of the hadith text in the event, whether acknowledged or not.

Based on the above description, it can be understood that living hadith studies involve examining traditions or rituals based on hadith, regardless of whether the practitioners are aware of them. Therefore, in this research, we will trace and explain the hadith of the Prophet that serves as a reference in the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten nights of Ramadan in Dasin Village. Kiai Ifrozin Hasan states:

*masalah kundangan iku onok hadise 'تصدقوا فيه اي رمضان', perbanyaklah shaadaqah, coro bahasane wong kuno aku weki mangan mbahe, shodaqoh ini pahalanya diberikan kepada ahli kubur (The issue of kundangan is related to the hadith 'تصدقوا فيه اي رمضان' which means 'increase in charity during Ramadan.' According to the old tradition, this is akin to providing food for the deceased. The reward for this charity is given to the souls of the departed).*⁴⁶

This statement confirms that the phenomenon of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan, according to Kiai Ifrozin's understanding, is based on the Prophet's hadith that encourages increasing charity in Ramadan. However, he did not provide a

⁴⁵ Qudsy, "Living Hadis: genealogi, teori, dan aplikasi." 188.

⁴⁶ Interview with K. Ifrozin Hasan, May 4, 2022

complete narration of the hadith. Nevertheless, if we examine more closely, there are several hadiths that advocate increasing charity during the holy month of Ramadan. These hadiths are as follows:

عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا قَالَ: كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَجْوَدَ النَّاسِ، وَكَانَ أَجْوَدَ مَا يَكُونُ فِي رَمَضَانَ حِينَ يَلْقَاهُ جِبْرِيْلُ، وَكَانَ جِبْرِيْلُ يَلْقَاهُ فِي كُلِّ لَيْلَةٍ مِنْ رَمَضَانَ فَيُدَارِسُهُ الْقُرْآنَ، فَلَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ يَلْقَاهُ جِبْرِيْلُ أَجْوَدُ بِالْخَيْرِ مِنَ الرِّيحِ الْمُرْسَلَةِ.

*Rasulullah was the most generous of all people, and he became even more generous during the month of Ramadan when Gabriel visited him. The angel Gabriel would meet with Rasulullah every night during Ramadan, teaching him the Qur'an. Rasulullah, when meeting Gabriel, was the most generous in his acts of goodness, even more so than the wind blowing.*⁴⁷

عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ: سُئِلَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: أَيُّ الصِّيَامِ أَفْضَلُ بَعْدَ رَمَضَانَ؟ قَالَ: شَعْبَانَ لِتَعْظِيمِ رَمَضَانَ. قِيلَ: فَأَيُّ الصَّدَقَةِ أَفْضَلُ؟ قَالَ: صَدَقَةٌ فِي رَمَضَانَ.

*From the companion Anas: Rasulullah was asked which fast is the most virtuous after Ramadan. The Prophet replied: "The fast of Sha'ban, because it honors Ramadan." When asked which charity is the most virtuous, the Prophet replied: "Charity during the month of Ramadan."*⁴⁸

The two hadiths above highlight the general virtue of giving charity during Ramadan, without specifying which part of Ramadan is more virtuous. However, other hadiths, such as those narrated by 'Aisha, indicate that the Prophet Muhammad was especially diligent during the last ten days of Ramadan compared to the earlier days.⁴⁹ In the context of increasing charity during the last ten days of Ramadan, Sheikh Zainuddin explains in his book *Fath Al-Mu'in* that giving charity in Ramadan, especially during its last ten days, is more virtuous. Abū Bakr bin Muhammad Syaṭā further clarifies that the last ten days of Ramadan are considered more significant because they include the search for *Laylat al-Qadr*.⁵⁰ The explanations provided by Sheikh Zainuddin and Sheikh Abū Bakr bin Muhammad Syaṭā may be reasons why the *kundangan* tradition is observed during the last ten days of Ramadan, with a particular emphasis on the odd nights. This is supported by an interview with Kiai Ifrozin Hasan, who believes that *Laylat al-Qadr* falls in the last ten days of Ramadan, especially on the odd nights. Additionally, Kiai Ifrozin has studied *Fath Al-Mu'in*,⁵¹ which strengthens the argument that the practice of *kundangan* during the last ten days of Ramadan is based on the Prophet's hadith and the opinions of scholars.

⁴⁷ Muhammad bin Ismā'il, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3 (Bairut: Dār ibn al-Kathīr, 1987), 1177.

⁴⁸ Al-Ḥusain bin Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, *Syarḥ al-Sunnah li al-Imām al-Baghawī*, vol. 6 (Bairut: al-Maktab al-Islāmiyah, 1983), 329.

⁴⁹ Abū al-Husain Muslim ibn al-Ḥujāj, *Al-Jāmi' Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3 (Bairut: Dār al-Jail, t.th), 176.

⁵⁰ Abū Bakr bin Muhammad Syaṭā, *Ḥāsiyah i'ānah al-Ṭālibīn*, vol. 6 (Mesir: Dār al-Ḥādīth, 2013), 427.

⁵¹ Interview with K. Ifrozin Hasan, May 4, 2022

4. The Meaning of the *Kundangan* Tradition during the Last Ten Days of Ramadan from the Perspective of Karl Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge Objective Meaning

According to Karl Mannheim, objective meaning is the meaning determined by the social context in which an action occurs. To obtain objective meaning, a researcher must directly observe or investigate the social conditions that influence it. With objective meaning, the researcher can uncover the original significance of a social condition that affects the interpretation of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan.

The objective meaning of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan in Dasin Village, Tambakboyo District, Tuban Regency is a tradition of giving charity to nearby neighbors by inviting them to the host's home to read the Qur'an and pray for the prophets, pious individuals, and ancestors. This tradition, which has been practiced since ancient times, is a legacy from our ancestors. This was confirmed through observation and supported by the statement of Romlan, a prayer leader for the *kundangan* event during the last ten days of Ramadan in Dasin Village. He mentioned, "This tradition has existed since the time of our ancestors, sending prayers for those who have passed away." This tradition is routinely carried out by the people of Dasin Village, with both rich and poor participating in it.

The implementation of the *kundangan* tradition has undergone changes over time. Initially, this tradition was carried out simultaneously on the 29th night of the last ten days of Ramadan. However, after several years, the community realized that if the *kundangan* was held simultaneously on the 29th night, much of the food would remain uneaten and go to waste. As a result, the community shifted from focusing solely on the 29th night to allowing the practice to occur on any night during the last ten days of Ramadan. An informant said:

" *biyen acara maleman (kundangan) ngeniki bareng wayae malem songo, tapi saiki wes bebas penting wayae maleman enek seng malem selikur, selawe, malem pitu, aku wingi melu towang malem pitu, soale ake berkat seng ora kepangan nak barengan kabe* (In the past, the *kundangan* event used to be held simultaneously on the 29th night, but now it is more flexible. What matters is that it takes place during the last ten nights of Ramadan. Some people hold it on the 21st, 25th, or 27th night. I participated on the 27th night because there was a lot of food that would not be eaten if everyone gathered on the same night).⁵²

Expressive Meaning

Expressive meaning refers to the personal interpretations of individuals who are involved in the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan. Karl Mannheim also refers to this as the "actors of action" or "participants in social action." In the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan, the primary actors are the residents of Dasin Village. Each component of this community may have diverse (or varied) meanings regarding the tradition.

⁵² Interview with Semu., May 1, 2022

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Siti Halimah, a local resident, explains that she participates in the *kundangan* ritual during the last ten days of Ramadan because she feels a duty to preserve the ancestral tradition. Additionally, she believes she must reciprocate the invitations from her neighbors who have previously invited her to their *kundangan*. Another reason she participates is to provide provisions for the souls of her ancestors before they return to the afterlife. She believes that on the 29th night of Ramadan, the souls of the ancestors are present in their homes and return on the night of Eid al-Fitr. Siti Halimah directly states: “*maleman iku kanggo nyangoni ahli qubur seng wes ninggal, keronu pas malem songo poro ahli qubur iku podo mule lah nak wes wayae bodo iku balik, makane pas malem sogo disangoni dongo lan sodaqoh sedurunge balik* (The purpose of the evening event is to provide offerings for the deceased. On the 29th night of Ramadan, the souls of the deceased return home. Therefore, before they return, we give them offerings and prayers on the 29th night).⁵³”

Romlan, a prayer leader, explains that the reason he participates in the *kundangan* tradition is because it has been practiced by his ancestors, and he feels a duty to preserve this tradition as long as it does not deviate from Islamic law, following the example set by the Wali Songo. According to Romlan, the purpose of the *kundangan* tradition is to send prayers and charity to those in the afterlife. Romlan directly states: “The evening event has existed since ancient times; what is done now is in line with what was practiced by people in the past. The aim is to send prayers and charity to those who have passed away. It is important to ensure it does not deviate from Islamic law, so it should be preserved, following the practices of the Wali Songo.⁵⁴”

Warsini, a local resident, explains that she participates in the *kundangan* ritual during the last ten days of Ramadan because she feels it is a heritage from her ancestors that must be preserved. Additionally, she feels it is necessary to reciprocate the invitations from her neighbors, who have previously invited her to their *kundangan*. Furthermore, she believes she has a duty to send prayers to the souls of her deceased ancestors. Warsini directly states: “It’s not right to eat other people’s offerings without inviting them; it doesn’t feel good. Also, not sending prayers for the deceased once a year feels inappropriate. Surely those who have passed away are hoping for our prayers. My children and grandchildren should not neglect to send prayers.⁵⁵”

Siti Khomariyah, a local resident, explains that her motivation for participating in the *kundangan* tradition is to anticipate *laylat al-Qadr*. She believes that *laylat al-Qadr* falls on the odd nights during the last ten days of Ramadan. Siti Khomariyah directly states: “The evening event is one way to await *laylat al-Qadr*, so it is performed on the odd nights.⁵⁶”

Tamsri, another resident, mentions that he participates in *kundangan* as part of following ancestral traditions, with the aim of sending prayers and charity to the souls of deceased family members. He believes that the souls of ancestors return home during the day of *ketupat* in the month of *ruwah* and then return to the afterlife during the day of *ketupat* in the month of *syawal*. Based on this belief, he provides offerings of prayers and charity

⁵³ Interview with Siti Halimah, April 27, 2022

⁵⁴ Interview with Ruslan, April 26, 2022

⁵⁵ Interview with Warsini, April 26, 2022

⁵⁶ Interview with Siti Khomariyah, April 26, 2022

before the souls return to the afterlife. Tamsri directly states: "I do this to honor my ancestors, to send prayers and charity to family members in the afterlife as provisions for their return. This is because during the day of *ketupat* in the month of *ruwah*, those in the grave return home and then go back during the day of *ketupat* in the month of *syawal*. Therefore, before they return, they are given provisions."

In general, the community agrees that the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan is a practice for sending the rewards of charity to the souls of deceased ancestors. This is because they believe that during this time, the souls of their ancestors return home and are in need of or hope for the rewards of charity from their family during these ten nights of Ramadan. On the other hand, some members of the community believe that this tradition is also an effort to attain *laylat al-Qadr*.

Documentary Meaning

Documentary meaning refers to the implied or hidden significance, which means that the social actors may not be aware that one aspect they express reflects a broader cultural context. The residents of Dasin Village believe that during the last ten nights of Ramadan, the souls of their ancestors are present in their homes and will return again during the month of *syawal*. This belief motivates the villagers to perform charity and offer prayers during the last ten nights of Ramadan. The Javanese belief that the souls of ancestors can return home is used by religious leaders to encourage the community to willingly embrace Islamic values. A religious leader understands that giving charity during Ramadan, especially in the last days of Ramadan, is highly recommended in Islam. This Islamic value is implemented through the *kundangan* tradition, with the motivation of providing charity to the ancestors' souls, who are believed to return home and need provisions for their return to the afterlife. This demonstrates that the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten nights of Ramadan is an acculturation of Islamic values with Javanese beliefs.

The facts about the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan challenge Clifford Geertz's statement. He argued that "*slametan*" is the Javanese version of what might be the most universal religious ceremony in the world: a communal feast. Like in almost all places, it symbolizes the mystical social unity of those participating, bringing together friends, neighbors, colleagues, family, local spirits, deceased ancestors, and nearly forgotten deities, all sitting together.⁵⁷ Everyone is bound into a social group committed to mutual help and cooperation. However, the belief in deities is not evident in the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan in Dasin Village. Furthermore, this research shows that the *kundangan* tradition not only aligns with Islamic teachings, as stated by Sumanjatak,⁵⁸ and is not merely a reflection of Islamic values, as Maulina suggested,⁵⁹ but is also a method of *dawah* used by religious leaders to implement the teachings of Prophet Muhammad by leveraging

⁵⁷ Read: Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa Abangan, Santri, Priyai Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*.

⁵⁸ Read: Simanjuntak, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Tradisi Kerjanjihat (Kenduri Kematian) Pada Masyarakat Muslim Suku Pakpak Sidikalang, Dairi."

⁵⁹ Read: Maulina, "Living Hadis Pada Tradisi Kenduri di Kampung Mee Adan Aceh."

local traditions and beliefs. This approach to *dawah* is a hallmark of moderate Islam, which involves accommodating local culture.⁶⁰

C. Conclusion

The findings indicate that the *kundangan* tradition held during the last ten days of Ramadan in Dasin Village, Tambakboyo District, Tuban Regency, is a heritage passed down through generations. This tradition is based on the fundamental values of hadith that encourage increased charity during Ramadan.

The objective meaning of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan is that it is an ancestral practice aimed at giving charity and sending prayers to the souls of ancestors. The expressive meaning felt by the community in practicing this tradition varies, including the belief that the ancestors' souls are at home and should receive charity before returning to the afterlife, preserving ancestral heritage, anticipating *laylat al-Qadr*, and maintaining social relationships by reciprocating invitations from neighbors.

The documentary meaning of the *kundangan* tradition during the last ten days of Ramadan reflects the acculturation of animistic beliefs, such as the belief in the return of ancestors' souls, with Islamic values taught by hadith, such as the recommendation to increase charity during Ramadan and the virtues of reciting *Surah al-Ikhlās* and the *mu'awwidzatain*. This culturally accommodating *dawah* approach is characteristic of moderate Islam.

These findings highlight the importance of wisdom in *dawah*. In delivering *dawah*, it is advisable not to simply erase existing cultural practices but to integrate them with Islamic values. However, this study focuses on the community's interpretation of the *kundangan* tradition from the perspective of Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. Therefore, further research could explore additional perspectives, such as an anthropological approach, to further investigate the cultural shifts in the *kundangan* tradition.

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⁶⁰ Read: Apip Aidul Fitriyana, dkk, *Dinamika Moderasi Beragama Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Litbangdiklat Press, 2020).

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