

A RESEARCH ON ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION: UJUBAN IN TAHLILAN IN MOSLEM COMMUNITY IN TAWANG VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

This is a qualitative research with the objectives are to reveal the meanings behind *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* and factors involved in preserving *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* in Moslem community in Tawang village, Kediri Regency. This research is ethnography of communication with Hymes' SPEAKING model for analyzing the data. It was collected by observing, depth interviews, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of the data by using data triangulation. After five-month research, the result shows that *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* has deep philosophy meanings as reflections of death. It also proves that factors of beliefs and socio-cultures bond the community to preserve *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* in which nowadays, it is very rare. The research proves that religion even has contribution to preserve the local culture descended by their ancestors, by embracing it in a beautiful acculturation.

Keywords: *Ujuban, Tahlilan, Ethnography of Communication, Hymes' SPEAKING Model*

I. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

Islam in Indonesia is very rich of diversity; organizations, praying practices and beliefs. Islam came to Indonesia in peace way, without force. According to Agus Sunyoto, a history and culture observer, one of the ways of spreading Islam was acculturation by *Wali Songo*, especially Sunan Ampel and Sunan Bonang. They are well-known in embracing Javanese local cultures as the media to Islamic preaching or *Dakwah*. One of those is *Genduren*. *Genduren* is feasts after praying with certain purposes in certain occasions. There are some kinds of *Genduren*; *Genduren Kematian*, *Selapanan*, *Suroan*, *Mitoni*, *Puputan*, *Selikuran*, *Syukur*, *Riyoyo*, *Angsumdaha*, *Ruwahan*, and *Nyuren*. Among those kinds of *Genduren*, the researcher focused on *Genduren Kematian*, which is more popular called *Tahlilan*. *Tahlilan* comes from the word *tahlil* that means an utterance of *Laa Ilaaha Illallah*. *Tahlilan* is praying together with some people for ones who have died in order to Allah SWT forgives their bad deeds and accepts their good deeds.

The prayers consist of *hamdalah*, *shalawat*, *tasbih*, some verses of Quran and *tahlil* (Muhyiddin Abdusshomad, 2005: xii-xiii).

Tahlilan is commonly held by *Nahdliyin* Moslems (Harry Yuniardi, 2003: 38), and now has been a popular culture as a part of *Islam Nusantara* in Indonesia. It is heritage from generation to generation in different eras in which *Tahlilan* has changed. One of the changes is *Ujuban* which the old *Tahlilan* goes hand with it. According to Hasan, et al, *Tukang Ujubs* or leaders of doing *Ujuban* in a *Genduren* events, *Ujuban* derived from *Ujub* is an event of giving speech or utterances (*Ujub*) in Javanese traditions. It consists of praises and prayers to God using Javanese lingual symbols of some myths. It was formerly used by traditional non-Moslem Javanese in Javanese events, including in ritual of remembering died people (personal communication, 2 April 2017)

Nowadays, *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* is very rare and only in certain places it is still be conducted. One of those, which still preserve

this culture, is Moslem community in Tawang. Tawang is a village in Kediri Regency that has various ethnics and religions, dominated with Java and Islam; around 85% of population is Islamic Javanese (official document of Tawang village: 2017). Conducting *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* is a sign that Moslem community in this village is bonded of Javanese culture.

Based on the background above, the researcher conducted a research with focusing on what the meanings behind *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* and factors involved in preserving *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* are, in Moslem community in Tawang village.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative using ethnography of communication approach with Hymes' SPEAKING Model in data analysis. Ethnography is a field of study which is concerned primarily with the description and analysis of culture, and Linguistics is a field concerned named ethnography of communication (Muriel Saville , Troike, 2003 :2). The focus of the ethnography of communication is the speech community, the way communication within it is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events, and the ways in which these interact with all other systems of culture. A primary aim of this approach is to guide the collection and analysis of descriptive data about the ways in which social is conveyed (Douglas 1971: 389). The eight components of the Hymes' SPEAKING Model are setting, participant, end, act, key, instrument, norm, and genre (Farrah, 1998: 126);

- S : Setting , including time and place, physical aspects of the situation such as arrangement of furniture in the room.
- P : Participant, including personal characteristics such as age, sex, social status, and relationship with each other.
- E : End, including the purpose of the events itself as well as the individual goals of the participants.

- A : Act, sequences or how speech acts are organized within a speech event and what topic/s are addressed.
- K : Key, or the tone and manner in which something is said or written.
- I : Instrument, or the linguistic code i.e. language, dialect, variety and channel i.e. speech or writing.
- N : Norm, or the standard socio-cultural rules of interaction and interpretation.
- G : Genre, or type of event such as lecture, poem and letter.

In doing the research, the researcher did the activities as parts of the instruments; observing, depth interviews, participating in group activities, and testing the validity of the data. The researcher also recorded the hands on activities of *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* events with 5 different *Tukang Ujubs*. A *Tukang Ujub* is a person who gives *Ujub* speech.

The researcher gained comprehensive understanding by participating in group activities, so that she knew the process, sense, and all needs in the events to get the fact. It was a challenge for the researcher since all the participants were men. In participating in group activities the researcher also did observing with the activities of photographing, note-taking, and recording done in 17 *Ujubans* in *Tahlilan* events for 5 months start from March to July 2017 at the evening. Another important data collection was depth interview with 14 man members of the community; 5 *Tukang Ujubs*, 7 participants of the events, a village chief and one of well-known persons in Javanese culture in Tawang; a chief of Reog Pujonggo Anom Tawang. To obtain the validity of the data from depth interviews, the researcher raised the same questions for those at the same roles in the events.

Besides obtaining the data by observing, participating in group activities, and depth interviews, the researcher also used data triangulation to test the validity of the data by cross verifying the same information got at different times and in different places of the event.

III. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The researcher analyzed the data by using Hymes' SPEAKING Model as described below:

a. Setting (S)

This research was conducted in Tawang village, Kediri Regency, East Java, Indonesia, for five months from March to July 2017 with 17 *Ujubans* in *Tahlilan* events in different occasions and different places. From the research, it can be taken the information that *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* is conducted in some occasions:

- 3 days after the death, called *Telungdinanan*
- 7 days after the death, called *Pitungdinanan*
- 40 days after the death, called *Petangpuluhan*
- 100 days after the death, called *Satusan*
- 1000 days after the death, called *Sewunan*
- A year after *Sewunan*, called *Pendak Pisan*
- Once a year after *Pendak Pisan*, called *Pendak*

Some points related to the setting of the ritual are described below:

- Some houses in which the events held at night are after *Maghrib* prayer (around at 6 p.m.) and after *Isya'* prayer (around at 7 p.m.). Normally *Ujuban* takes 15 to 20 minutes within 45 minutes to an hour of the whole process of *Tahlilan*.
- Quite wide living rooms for gathering naturally set by the host, sometimes without chairs and tables. People who are involved in *Tahlilan* are seating on carpets or plaited mats.
- The seating participants are in circle shape with a *Tukang Ujub* in the center but *Imam Tahlil*, a person who leads *Tahlilan*, is not necessarily in the center of participants.
- *Ujuban* comes first before *Tahlilan*.
- At least a tray of *nasi gurih* is in every occasion. More participants are more trays of *nasi gurih*. *Nasi gurih* is tasty rice with a bit salty with *Ingkung* (a flavored boiled chicken), *apem* (a traditional cake) and *pisang ayu* (a banana).

b. Participant (P)

The participants of the *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* are men of Moslem community in Tawang village. According to the legal data from the village office, the total of the Moslem men is around five thousands. The researcher divides them into two parts of participants:

- General participants. These participants are all participants but not a *Tukang Ujub* and an *Imam Tahlil*. The participants who are involved in every occasion of *Tahlilan* can be different. It depends on the hosts. They prefer to only invite their family and close neighbors in teenagers and adult age with commonly amount 40 to 100 men.
- Special participants. Called special participants because of they have very significant roles in *Ujuban* and *Tahlilan* to lead praying. They are commonly called *Tukang Ujub* and *Imam Tahlil*. In an occasion is one for each, sometimes only one for both *Ujuban* and *Tahlilan*. These participants have great contribution in giving information about *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* as interviewees; Sadi (58 years old), Jaini (66 years old), Hasan Pamujo (70 years old), Doko (45 years old), and Tukijan (56 years old).

c. End (E)

The researcher breaks the purposes into two; the purposes of conducting *Tahlilan* and the purposes of conducting *Ujuban*. Because *Ujuban* is in *Tahlilan* event, a list of *Tahlilan* comes first to lead understanding on the purposes of *Ujuban*.

The purposes of *Tahlilan*:

- To pray for the dead. The main reason is the belief that it is a must. They believe that the dead need the living people's prayers, so that Allah SWT forgives the dead and accepts their good deeds.
- *Shodaqoh*. This comes from Arabic word that means giving useful things to other people. Some believe that the dead also get the reward from Allah SWT. It is a tradition to provide food and drink for

every man involving in *Tahlilan*. In certain occasions (*Telungdinanan*, *Pitungdinanan*, *Petangpuluhdinana* and *Satusan*), the hosts add amount of money or things, like sarongs or clothes and of course it depends on the capability of the hosts in finance.

There are some purposes of conducting *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan*:

- To pray the dead. In the prayers, *Tukang Ujubs* use old Javanese. The utterances indicate prayers are:
 - *Cawis sekul suci ulam sari, dipun suwunaken ngapunten, jembar kubure, padang dalane.*
This is appealing of God's forgiveness, wide tomb, and bright way.
 - *Cawis apem setangkep goreng gondo roso, lepas penasaranipun.*
It is a prayer to the dead to be straightforward to return to God.
 - *Cawis pisang ayu, kersanipun gamblang lan padhang awitanipun ugi pungkasanipun sampun pinanggih alangan setunggal punopo.*
This prayer is for the dead's way toward God in order to he has bright and easy way without any objection from the start until the end.
- To preserve the ancestral heritage. Tawang People do *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* because their parents and ancestors did that, transmitted from generation to generation.

According to *Tukang Ujubs*; Sadi (58 years old), Jaini (66 years old), Hasan Pamujo (70 years old), Doko (45 years old), and Tukijan (56 years old) that they do not use the old *Ujub* (utterances). Old *Ujub* had mentioning *Danyang* (myth spirits which have high powers placed in certain places), and a myth mystic housekeeper. This is not done because it is not suited with Islam. Sri Wanto, the chief of Reog Pujonggo Anom Tawang (39 years old) strengthened this with giving information that the purposes were not only praying for

the dead, but also the ritual for myth spirits. However, after Islam came, the utterances changed with deleting mentioning the myth spirits. The changes also can be seen in some new utterances in *Ujub* with Islamic color by mentioning the four *khalifahs*. *Khalifahs* are the close friends of Prophet Mohammad and the leaders of Moslems after the Prophet died. Then the ritual was more colored by Islam when *Walisono* invited the people to pray to Allah SWT using Islamic religious prayers (*hmdalah*, *shalawat*, *tasbih*, some verses of Quran and *tahlil*). Recently, according to Edi Budiarto (45 years old), a village chief of Tawang, *Ujuban* for commemorating the dead which stands alone is very rare and almost vanished, especially in Tawang village. Nevertheless, it is more alive in *Tahlilan* and evidenced that it is well preserved.

d. Act (A)

The act sequences in *Tahlilan* event in which *Ujuban* is conducted:

- Invited family and neighbors as participants come.
- The participants have a seat on the carpet or the plaited mat in circle shape.
- A *Tukang Ujub* takes a place in the circle to do *Ujuban*. In front of him is at least a tray of *nasi gurih*. *Ujuban* has following steps:
 - Opening by *salam* "Assalamualaikum" then expressing gratitude to Allah SWT by saying *Alhamdulillah* and *sholawat nabi*
 - Delivering the host's wish and purpose of conducting the ritual
 - Delivering prayers, wishes, and appealing for the dead
 - Closing by wishes of God accepts all the prayers and *salam* "Wassalamualaikum"
- After a *Tukang Ujub* is done, he goes back and then an *Imam Tahlil* leads reciting some verses of Quran and praises. Then the last ritual is praying together leaded by the *Imam Tahlil*.
- The tray/s of *Nasi Gurih* break into some parts as many as the participants. At the same time, the host gives plates of rice

with vinaigrettes to the participants, done hand by hand, so that the participants do not need to move from their places. The common provided food is *soto* or *rawon* with coffee or tea as drink.

- When the participants are eating, the host presents *Berkat*. That is a bowl of rice, sometimes *gurih* rice or just usual rice completed with the vinaigrettes; *sambal goreng*, fried noodle, chicken or meat, tofu and *srendeng*.
- The event is done. All participants leave with taking *Berkat* and parts of *nasi gurih*.

e. Key (K)

The tone and manner of *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan* are serious and sacred. The speech of a *Tukang Ujub* has to be same as *nasi gurih* and its vinaigrettes and other accompanying meals. That is why *nasi gurih* and the others should be in front of him when the *Ujuban* ritual is conducted so that he can check them before starting the ritual. The ethical codes of *Ujuban* is that a *Tukang Ujub* should mention the meals using Javanese lingual symbols completed with meanings and prayers related to, and does not mention meals which are not provided. In this case, the skill of a *Tukang Ujub* is required. Moslem community in Tawang village believes that *Ujuban* is a horizontal dimension between men and God, and understanding this aspect is a must for a *Tukang Ujub*.

f. Instrument (I), or the language code

The language used in *Ujuban* is old Javanese that is now rarely used in common communication among Javanese people. The Javanese language symbols used in *Ujub* are:

- *Ngawuningani*, means tell. It has a function of witnessing of the ritual. This has meaning that the participants are the witnesses of the ritual.
- *Sekul suci ulam sari*. It is derived from *sekul* (rice), *suci* (pure), *ulam* (chicken), and *sari* (core). It has an interpretation of the dead who returns to God and as prayers that his soul is accepted and forgiven by God.

- *Apem setangkep goreng gondo roso*. It is from *apem* (a traditional cake), *setangkep* (a couple), *goreng* (fried), and *gondo roso* (smell and sense). This has meaning that the dead is straightforward leaving the life to return to God.

- *Pisang ayu*. It stands for two words; *pisang* (a banana) and *ayu* (beautiful). This symbol interprets a walking stick in order to the dead's way in returning to God is bright.

g. Norm (N)

There are different norms between *Ujuban* session and *Tahlilan* session. In *Tahlilan* session, the participants follow what an *Imam Tahlil* peruses. While in *Ujuban*, the participants communicate with a *Tukang Ujub* in the ritual in a Javanese word *nggeh*. *Nggeh* means yes. It is the response for some utterances from a *Tukang Ujub*. The response *nggeh* is a witness of agreement for what a *Tukang Ujub* says, prays, appeals, and wishes within the ritual.

The seven participants, Agus (35 years old), Suprayitno (41 years old), Hadi (52 years old), Iwan (27 years old), Istadi (23 years old), Bambang (70 years old) and Sugeng (61 years old), who got interview stated that they did not fully understand of what the *Tukang Ujubs* said, especially in Javanese lingual symbols of myth. What they knew and believed in that *Ujub* was prayers using Javanese lingual symbols, and it needed to be responded as a witness of the ritual with the word “*nggeh*”.

h. Genre (G)

Genre in *Ujuban* is different with *Tahlilan*. In *Tahlilan*, the participants do prayers, praises and reciting some verses of Quran together with an *Imam Tahlil* so he leads *jama'ah* to follow what he peruses. While in *Ujuban*, the genre is arranged fixed speech with very simple response in Javanese word, “*nggeh*”, from the participants. The five sources as *Tukang Ujubs* have different arrangement of words in their speech, but there are similar contents for what they deliver. The contents are:

- Salam “Assalamualaikum”
- Expression of gratitude to Allah SWT and Sholawat Nabi
- Delivering the purpose of ritual
- Prayers for the dead and ancestors using Javanese lingual symbols of some myth
- Prayers for the host and the invited participants
- Wishes of God accepts all the prayers
- Salam “Wassalamualaikum”

Below is the speech of Ujub delivered by Hasan Pamujo (70 years old). The underlined ones are the Javanese response “nggeh”. The researcher chose Hasan’s Ujub speech because Hasan is the oldest *Tukang Ujub*, and has been the longest since his age was 27.

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Keparengo matur dumateng sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host) sak keluarga langkung rumiyin ing mriki monggo kito sami muji syukur ing ngarsane gusti kang maha kuaos kanti maos Alhamdulillahirabbil alamin, kaping kalihipun ngaturaken sholawat dumateng junjungan kito kanjeng Nabi Muhammad SAW, kaping tiganipun ing mriki kulo minangkani wakil sesulih sangking Bapak (name of the host) sekelurga. Sepindah ngaturaken sugeng rawuh, kaping kalihipun ngaturaken maturuwun sanget tanpa umpami atas kerawuhan kulo lan panjenengan sedaya wonten ing mriki panggenan pramilo panjenengan dipun aturi rawuh wonten ing salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga mboten sanes namung dipun suwunui sawab pandongo ingkang wilujeng saha kapurih nek seni anggenipun anggadahi niat saha hajat Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga dinten meniko anggadahi niat saha hajat kintun dunga dumateng sedaya ahli leluhuripun ingkang sampun wangsul wonten zaman kelanggengan leluhur ingkang tebeh, ingkang celak, ingkang krimatan lan mboten krimatan sedaya dipun kintuni dunga ingkang wilujeng saha dipun suwunaken pangapunten dateng ngarsane Gusti ingkang maha kuaos khususipun ruhipun (name of the dead) ingkang sampun wangsul dumateng zaman kelanggengan dene dalu menika jangkep setunggal ewunipun (enggeh) pramila dipun kentuni pandonga ingkang wilujeng saha dipun suwunaken pangapunten

dumateng ngarsanipun Gusti ingkang maha kuaos mbok bilih nalikane gesang rumiyin wonten alam donyo Bapak (name of the dead) anggadahi klepatan dumateng Gusti ingkang maha kuaos, anggadahi klepatan dumateng kanjeng Nabi Rasul, anggadahi klepatan dumateng sesaminipun gesang, anggadahi klepatan gesangipun piyambak mugi-mugi sarana dungo kulo lan panjenengan sedaya dalu punika tansah dipun ngapura sedaya dosanipun dipun tampi amal kesahenanipun dipun jembaraken kuburipun padanga marginipun lepsa kuluqipun dipun aku umat Rasulipun lan sageta wangsul dumateng ngarsanipun Gusti ingkang maha kuaos kantislamet wilujeng nyuwun tambahing pangestu para sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga (enggeh). Sak bab malen dingawuningani ingkang cikal bakal dusun (name of village) mriki pramilo sederek dipun kawuningani mboten sanes namung nyuwun sapandonga ingkang wilujeng wilujengo ingkang milujengi sampuno wonten alangan setunggal menapa wiwit dinten meniko hinggo selami-laminipun nyuwun tambahing pangestu para sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran wonten salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga (enggeh). Sak bab maleh ugi ngawuningani siti pemaqoman ingkang kangge nyareaken roh lan jasadipun Bapak (name of the dead) mugi-mugi sarana dungo kulo lan panjenengan sedaya dalu puniko tansah nyababi kawilujenganipun gesang ayem tentrem wonten alam kubur slamet wilujeng ngantos alam akhiratipun nyuwun tambahing pangestu para sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran wonten salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga wonten mriki sedaya (enggeh). Sak bab maleh selajengipun Bapak (name of the host) sak sekeluaraga bade ngedalaken sadaqoh daharan ingkang arupi sekul suci ulam sari dateng kulo lan sederek sedaya kangge milujengi arwahipun sedaya ahli leluhur khususipun ruhipun (name of the dead) ingkang sampun wangsul ing zaman kelanggengan mugi-mugi Gusti kang maha kuaos purun ngapuro sedaya dosa-dosanipun, Bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga bade ngedaleken sedekah daharan ingkang arupi apem goreng setangkep gondo roso dateng kulo lan sederek sedaya kangge milujengi arwahipun sedaya ahli leluhur khususipun ruhipun bapak (name of the dead) ingkang

sampun wangsul ing zaman kelanggengan mugimugi Gusti kang maha kuaos purun nglepasaken penasaranipun kanti ikhlas anggenipun wangsul ing zaman kelanggengan sowan dumateng gusti kang maha kuaos, bapak (name of the host)sak sekeluaraga bade ngedalaken sadaqoh daharan ingkang arupi pisang ayu dateng kulo lan sederek sedaya kangge milujengi arwahipun sedaya ahli leluhur khususipun ruhipun (name of the dead) ingkang sampun wangsul ing zaman kelanggengan mugimugi Gusti kang maha kuaos jembaraken kuburipun padanga marginipun lan sageta wangsul dumateng ngarsanipun Gusti ingkang maha kuaos kanti slamet wilujeng mboten wonten alangan punopa ugi nyuwun tambahing pangestu para sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran salu prantosipun Bapak (name of the host)sekeluarga wonten ing mriki sedaya (enggeh). sak bab maleh ingkang terakhir inggih puniko caos tepi dumateng kanjeng nabi rasul lan sahabat sekawan abu bakar umar utsman lan ali pramilo dipun sekseni mboten sanes namung nyuwun sawab pandongo ingkang wilujeg anggenipun milujengi sedaya ahli leluhuripun ingkang sampun wangsul wonten zaman kelanggengan khususipun ruhipun (name of the dead) ingkang sampun wangsul ing zaman kelanggengan wonten dalu puniko jangkep setunggal ewunipun mugimugi gusti ingkang maha kuaos tansah ngapura sekabehe dosanipun nampi amal kesahenanipun jembar alam quburipun padang marginipun lepaso kuluqipun dipun aku umat rasulipun sageto sowan slamet wonten ngarsane gusti kang maha kuaos nyuwun tambahing pangestu para sederek sepuh miwah anem ingkang sampun katuran wonten salu prantosipun bapak (name of the host) sak sekeluarga wonten mriki sedaya (enggeh), para bapak lan sederek meniko niat saha hajat ing dalu punika mugimugi ingkang dados niat lan hajatipun bapak (name of the host) sekeluarga tansah dipun paringi karibane gusti ingkang maha kuaos pramilo sangking meniko monggo sareng-sareng kito dungaakeng arwah kasebat kanti waosan dzikir tahlil lan sholawat sak cekapipun.

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IV. CONCLUSION

The result of the present research assigned the fact that there is close relationship between religion and culture. *Tahlilan* as a popular culture in Moslem community in which Islam prayers, praises and recite some verses of Quran contained can embrace *Ujuban* known as a heritage of local culture descended by the ancestors before Islamic era.

Ujuban for commemorating the death itself has changed in some utterances and purposes. The old *Ujuban* mentioned *Danyang* (myth spirits which have high powers placed in certain places), and the old Tawang people believed that there was one in Tawang village. Another belief was that in every house had a myth mystic housekeeper. People who had events had to mention them in *Ujuban* and provide ritual offerings. The purposes were not only praying for the dead, but also the ritual for myth spirits. However, after Islam came, the utterances changed with deleting mentioning the myth spirits, raising some new utterances with Islamic color, and inviting the people to pray to Allah SWT using Islamic religious prayers (*hamdalah, shalawat, tasbih*, some verses of Quran and *tahlil*). Accordance with the changes of the content, it changed also the purposes with the main content of the Islamic religious prayers, called *Tahlilan*. The previous purpose of providing the meals for the spirits then changed to be *Shodaqoh* or charity. Now, the newest generation believes that *Ujuban* is a complement of *Tahlilan*. This belief leads Moslem community in Tawang village to preserve *Ujuban* in *Tahlilan*. Another factor is preserving heritage of local culture, do as their parents did. In *Ujuban*, there is at least a tray of *nasi gurih* completed with *Ingkung*, this makes it different with *Tahlilan* without *Ujuban*. In this case, sharing more sustenance is another purpose. It means sociocultural factor is also coloring this ritual.

Ujuban in *Tahlilan* nowadays conducted by Moslem community in Tawang village has deep philosophy meanings as reflections of death. It can be seen from Javanese lingual

symbols used by a *Tukang Ujub* as mentioning the meals in front of him:

- *Nasi gurih* indicates an appeal of God's forgiveness.
- *Ingkung* has an interpretation of a man returns to God.
- *Apem* having meaning the dead is straightforward leaving the life to return to God.
- *Pisang ayu* interprets a walking stick in order to the dead's way in returning to God is bright.

Ujuban for commemorating the dead which stands alone is very rare and almost vanished, especially in Tawang village. Nevertheless, it is more alive in *Tahlilan* and evidenced that it is well preserved. This proves that religion even has contribution to preserve the local culture by embracing it in a beautiful acculturation.

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