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**THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN CUSTOM AND RELIGION IN
RURAL COMMUNITIES: TENGGER TRIBE WEDDING RITUALS**
**PERTEMUAN ANTARA ADAT DAN AGAMA DI MASYARAKAT
PEDESAAN: RITUAL PERNIKAHAN SUKU TENGGER**

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Abstract

Dialogue between local culture and Islam is the main feature of peripheral Indonesian Islam. In rural sociology, a clash will occur when the two go hand in hand in social interaction. The Tenggerese people in East Java, as rural residents, face the dilemma of clashing customs and religion through traditional marriages. This article seeks to answer how the traditional wedding ritual procession as a local identity also applies to the Muslim minority in Tengger, and how the two (custom and religion) negotiate both so that a balanced meeting point is reached. Using a qualitative approach and case study methods, data collection was done by interview and observation. The results that they have compromised by finding common ground, including the meeting of principles and essence between adat and religion, the transition from endogamy to exogamy, and the division of roles during the traditional wedding procession. This article provides a novelty that the meeting of the two resulted in a new color in religious moderation in

Abstrak

Dialog antara budaya lokal dan Islam merupakan ciri utama Islam Indonesia yang perifer. Dalam konteks sosiologi pedesaan, benturan akan terjadi ketika keduanya berjalan beriringan dalam interaksi sosial. Masyarakat suku Tengger di Jawa Timur sebagai penduduk pedesaan dihadapkan pada dilema benturan adat dan agama melalui pernikahan adat. Artikel ini berusaha menjawab bagaimana prosesi ritual pernikahan adat sebagai identitas lokal juga berlaku bagi minoritas Muslim di Tengger, dan bagaimana keduanya (adat dan agama) menegosiasikan keduanya agar tercapai titik temu yang seimbang. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan metode studi kasus, pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara dan observasi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa telah mengkompromikan keduanya dengan menemukan titik temu diantaranya pertemuan prinsip dan esensi antara adat dan agama, peralihan endogami ke eksogami, dan pembagian peran saat prosesi adat pernikahan. Artikel ini memberikan kontribusi bahwa pertemuan keduanya menghasilkan warna baru dalam moderasi beragama di Indonesia yang tidak ditemukan di tempat lain dan dengan

Indonesia that is not found elsewhere and with a different pattern as the distinctive identity of the Tengger rural community.

Keywords: Custom Wedding Rituals, Islam, Hindu, Rural Community, Negotiation

pola yang berbeda pula sebagai identitas khas masyarakat pedesaan Tengger.

Kata Kunci: Ritual Pernikahan Adat, Islam, Hindu, Masyarakat Pedesaan, Negosiasi

INTRODUCTION

The study of rural communities has attracted a lot of interest from scholars to study, especially those related to Islam and the local culture of Indonesian rural communities (Ibrahim, 2018; Manger, 1992; Riyadi dkk., 2016; Hefner, 1983a). Including Tengger-Islam studies have long attracted the attention of anthropologists such as Hefner, Geertz, Ricklefs, Woodward, and Peacock (Geertz, 1976; Hefner, 1985; Peacock, 2020; Ricklefs, 1998; Woodward, 1989). The ebb and flow of the study of 'Islam and Javanese Religions' carried out by these scholars is a transformation process in each era and the peculiarities of local traditions that strengthen rural identity (Jamhari, 2000). The conclusion got, Tengger Islam is a product of assimilation from 'Javanese Islam' where local culture and previous religion (Hindu-Buddhist) are very dominant in influencing the attributes of Islamic rituals performed in rural communities.

The encounter of Islam with local traditions and the religion of its predecessors is an inevitable phenomenon. Why not? Hindu-Buddhist has filled the pages of the history of religions in Java since the 5th century (Komarudin, 2019; Manguin dkk., 2011). The entry of Islam to Java originated from the acculturation process introduced by several parties. Including studies on Tengger and its local traditions, such as Walagara. In the 1980s, Hefner specifically examined the Hindu Tengger tradition and its encounter with Islam (Hefner, 1985). In this contemporary

era, a scholar from East Java studied Walagara in Islamic law (Hasyim, 2020). Meanwhile, other studies on Tengger from various perspectives are still being carried out today. Other studies were also conducted by other authors with various perspectives, such as Huda and Khasanah, Ali Maksum, Mujiburrahman, Suratri and Gunawijaya (Huda & Khasanah, 2019; Maksum, 2015; Mujiburrahman, 2001; Suratri & Gunawijaya, 2021) ethnicities, races, languages, religions, and cultures. However, with this diversity is able to cause conflict both internal and external. As with many cases going on in Indonesia. Religion is itself a foothold, beliefs, and guidelines for living, even too often scapegoats the incidence of conflict in society. However, the other by the tenggerese is located in Lumajang, Malang, Pasuruan Regency Probolinggo Regency here and there are three religions living side by side in one village i.e. Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. In the middle of plurality different communities understand and belief turns out to be able to have an attitude of tolerance and mutual respect between each other. Diversity religion is not an issue of community Agrosari to interact in everyday activities. Regarding religious tolerance have lately become a very good sticking issues among academics as well as the community. Local wisdom and culture be the solution to resolve the issue. Local wisdom on the tenggerese community of Javanese cultural values, as well as the cultural heritage of the Majapahit Empire which is still developing with mutual interlocking appreciate attitude, tolerance, and respect

in the spirit of the ancestors and there is no tribal differences are striking in addition to differences of religious belief.

From these various studies, it is still limited to the study of dialogue between Islam and local culture, but does not look at the side of the encounter between custom and religion, including the negotiation of the two religions (Hinduism and Islam) in carrying out wedding rituals. The encounter between custom and religion among the rural communities of the Tenggerese tribe in Tosari, Pasuruan, East Java is a product of assimilation which results in a new culture called 'Tengger Original Adat' or 'Tengger Original Identity' through a wedding ritual called *Walagara*. Both Hindus and Muslims alike perform this wedding ritual as a form of their identity as the Tenggerese people. This tradition has been passed down from generation to generation and is used as the norm of life for the Tengger rural community, even though they have their own religious beliefs.

METHODE

This study used a qualitative approach, and the data presented was descriptive. Because the traditional walagara wedding ritual is a unique issue and only occurs in the Tengger area, Tosari District, East Java, this research uses a case study method. As Robert K. Yin said that case studies function to reveal unique phenomena at certain location that do not occur elsewhere (Yin, 2012). Analysis of the data in this study using Miles and Huberman, where the researchers first conducted field observations and interviews, then the data was reduced based on the research objectives. Interviews were conducted with informants who had married Tengger customs. Besides that, the dialogue was also carried out with religious leaders, including the Tengger

village head and the pandhita shaman. The data are presented and concluded using a source triangulation technique to get data validity (Low *et.al*, 2021; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

According to Tania Murray Li, the Tenggerese are endemic people who are usually considered remote and vulnerable people but have a strong identity in articulating their culture and traditions (Li, 2000) or that all Indonesians are equally indigenous. Sarwono Kusumaatmadja (1993). Vulnerable, according to Utami and Cramer, in adaptation to social, political and religious climate change (Utami & Cramer, 2020). It has been proven that for hundreds of years; the Tenggerese have become the target of Muslim missionaries and da'wah. Both Christianity and Islam must display their dynamic attitude in order to be accepted by society. Until this phase, Islam must be able to adapt to local values that are believed by the Tenggerese community as customary norms. This means that the *Walagara* wedding ritual, which has been deeply rooted for hundreds and even centuries, must also be accepted by Muslims in Tengger as a symbol of the identity of the Tengger tribe. Therefore, the encounter between custom and religion in the rural community of the Tenggerese is a very interesting study, considering that marriage is a sacred event in religion and also for tradition. This article focuses on how to reconcile the marriage tradition between Tenggerese customs and religion as the subject of the negotiations and answers the question that religion has two different sides in rural communities: first, religion as a 'reason for custom' and second, religion as an assimilator with local culture. The pattern that occurs in the rural community of the Tenggerese is related to the assimilation of customs and religion, which melts into a new tradition in maintaining the distinctive identity of the Tenggerese.

DISCUSSION

Dialectic of Accepting Customs and Religion In Rural Areas

When talking about Islam in non-Islamic areas, the focus is on how the local population responds and accepts the religion of immigrants. First, *formal-substantive* acceptance of religion means that residents accept religion and leave customs or customs that are contrary to religion (Mir, 2011). Second, *selective-modification* means that residents accept religion but are adapted to their customs and traditions (Prawiro, 2015). Third, *symbolic-attributive* means that residents accept religion but still carry out traditional rituals, and religion is only a complement (Yasmeen, 2008).

With the Tenggerese rural community, the dialectic of adat and religion requires some kind of accommodation to reduce the tension between the principal differences between adat and religion, as well as the two religions (Hindu-Islam). It aims to find a new pattern that serves as a synthesis of principal equations. Like the differences in the principles of Islam and Christianity, in a synthetic religious community, what is found is respect and tolerance for other religions with the principle of similarity from the 'descendants of Abraham' (Ayoub, 1991). In the Hindu-Islamic context in Tengger, the synthesis used is the Walagara wedding procession, starting from the introduction procession, proposal, determination of the wedding day, until the wedding. There are steps that both teach the same thing. Selection-modification acceptance applies to bridge the two different customs and religions, and then produce a new culture (Waralaga) with what Giorgio and Houkamau call a 'hybrid identity' (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021).

When viewed from a sociological perspective, there is actually nothing contradictory in this context. Between

custom and religion have their respective positions as complements. Prior to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning marriage, rural communities had used customary traditions as a basic guideline in marriage. Each of them has their respective proportions in constructing indigenous rural communities. Barkey says: "... that religion and culture often change and adapt, presenting their respective identities as alternatives in the discourse they face..." (Barkey, 2005). Until now, the dynamics of the meeting between the two are still taking place in the rural community of the Tengger tribe. Both have different principles but can negotiate to establish their identity as 'Orang Asli Tengger'. This meeting raises collective awareness, where the community understands the structure and essence of customs and religion as guidelines for social and religious life.

Islam Entered to Tengger Tribe, Tosari East Java

As previously mentioned, the process of Islamization to the Tengger region involved various parties. Some of them thought Islamization came from Arabia, this assumption was later referred to as Arab theory (Alatas, 1985; Riddell, 2001). While others think Islam came from the Gujarat region, India. This assumption is developing that Islam has similar principles to Hinduism, so that it is considered the process of Islamization of Indian theory (Reid, 1984). Others think Islam came from China on a sea expedition by a Chinese Muslim admiral named Cheng Ho (Syuan-Yuan, 2014). The three theories explain Islam entered Indonesia through different mediums, such as trade, marriage, and performing arts. In Islamization in Tengger, it is necessary to examine further by what medium Islam mingles with the Tenggerese community, who incidentally are Hindus. As Hakim explained, the

Tengger people have a unique structure where they are mountainous people and have a different identity from other mountain communities. Local people are very mingling with nature and culture, which is deliberately taboo. Highland landscapes with livelihoods as farmers, nature, and cultural conservation are regulated in an integral system so that they have customary values and norms. The Tenggerese use agroforestry and terracing as a strategy to protect the lahars and the ecosystem beneath (Hakim, 2011). With an integrated agricultural and cultural system, according to Hefner, the Tenggerese people are very steadfast in maintaining their cultural principles and carrying out traditions and norms throughout the ages despite experiencing some adaptations (Hefner, 1983b; Hefner *et.al*, 1999).

One of the important characteristics of Mount Bromo, where the Tenggerese live, is as a sacred place during the Hindu Majapahit Kingdom (Mujiburrahman, 2001). According to Olsen and Trono, Joko Seger, a daughter of a Majapahit prince, and her husband, Rora Anteng, founded a small kingdom called 'Tengger'. That name is the name of their family clan from Majapahit (Olsen & Trono, 2018). During the Dutch colonial era, the Tenggerese were targeted by missionaries, but they did not expand because of Muslim farmers and traders who had entered the lowlands. Massive migration to lowland areas occurred in the early 20th century when Madurese set foot in Tengger to work as farmers on coffee plantations (Hefner, 1993; Sidel, 2001). Muslims who live in these lowlands by the Tenggerese people are called *Ngare* (Nooteboom & Kutaneegara, 2002; Sidel, 2001).

Another term for the Tenggerese people is *Budho*, which is the nickname for the Tengger Hindus. Budo in Javanese meaning are non-Muslims who worship statues and do not pray (Hadi, 2015).

Najib Burhani views the Tenggerese as more *Kejawen*, *Jawa asli*, or *Jawa tulen* because they prioritize Javanese customs as a way of life, but still embrace Islam (Burhani, 2017). During the Old Order, the Tenggerese did not recognize religion as a formal identity. This means that the Tenggerese only recognize Hinduism as a religion. The entry of Islam into the Tengger region is an immigrant religion or a *diaspora religion* whose existence does not interfere with Tengger Hindu customs. This happens because the Tenggerese people have a principle as long as they don't disturb or change or eliminate Tengger customs, so during that time anyone can join the Tengger community.

The formalization of religion in Tengger occurred during the New Order era the government issued Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 1 of 1965 concerning the Prevention of Blasphemy of Religion, which states that Indonesia formally recognizes five religions: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. With issuing this regulation, the Tengger people must choose the religion established by the New Order government. The Tenggerese people are not too bothered by these rules as long as the Tenggerese custom is still obeyed by the community as a way of life. However, this regulation opened up space for the government regime to indoctrinate by sending Hindu and Islamic religious teachers to the Tengger region in 1979 to teach religion under government regulations, as well as their control over remote areas in Indonesia.

Since then, the Islamization of Tengger to the Tosari Pasuruan area has been increasingly active. Proven KH. Ahmad Dahlan, a prominent Muhammadiyah founder who was famous for his da'wah to Tengger, founded a mosque there in 1922. As is known, Muhammadiyah is an Islamic

organization that has orthodox principles with the mission of eradicating the tradition of syncretism that has been deceiving Muslims in Indonesia. The tension between Muhammadiyah and adherents of Islamic syncretism does not apply to Tengger. Muhammadiyah takes an education and mosque approach as Islamic da'wah. Several other mass organizations after Muhammadiyah, there was NU which was involved in the Islamization of Tengger. NU is more accommodating to local culture than Muhammadiyah. In 1992, NU formally established the MWC (Branch Representative Council or *Majelis Wakil Cabang*) in Tosari Pasuruan. NU is a new chapter of Islamization in Tengger, which is peaceful and more open. After that, it attracted other figures to come to Tengger like KH. Abdul Hamid Pasuruan and a group of Hadrami clerics such as Habib Taufiq Assegaf Pasuruan and Habib Zain Hasan Baharun, both have a Sunni Salafiyah pattern.

The Hadrami community also attracted the attention of Muslim scholars, but there are no traces of research and writings on this subject. Like Muhammadiyah Habib Taufiq Assegaf, also built a mosque in Tosari, while Habib Zain Hasan Baharun sent *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN) students and teacher assignments to the Tosari area. Islamic organizations and figures of 'ulama to the Tengger region is a new era in which the Tenggerese people open themselves up to foreign cultures in their area. Currently, according to Pasuruan Statistics in 2018, there are 6,032 Muslims, 134 Protestants, and the remaining 12,320 Hindus (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2019). This number decreased slightly in 2018 when Muslims reached 6,461 people. The reason for the decline, there has been no study and publication on this matter.

Custom Wedding Rituals in The Tengger Tribe

The Tengger tribe is known as a society that loves peace, pluralism, but firmly maintains custom as its identity. The Tenggerese have a philosophy of life that shows the identity of their life, such as *Anteng Seger*, which means a calm and happy life, not hostile and not in conflict with each other. The word Anteng Seger is taken from its founders, Rara Anteng and Joko Seger (Olsen & Trono, 2018). Another motto that shows the characteristics of the Tenggerese people is that they are *sepi ing gunem, rame ing gawe* which means a little talk but a lot of action. This motto shows the Tenggerese are hard workers in agriculture. This motto is also interpreted differently as the philosophy of avoiding everything related to politics, religion, and society that can damage the harmony and peace of the Tengger people. For reasons of love for peace and harmony, the Tenggerese people set up an endogamous marriage, so they are only allowed to marry native Tenggerese and are prohibited from marrying non-Tengger people. During our research, this principle has faded, and women and men may marry non-Tengger people on the condition that they must comply with Tenggerese customs. If a person marries a non-Tengger person and lives outside a Tengger, then that person is considered having left as a Tenggerese. The Tenggerese call it *pamali* or a term that shows that this is outside the provisions and is violated by its adherents (Kerr, 2019, hlm. 265).

There is a special term for Tengger marriage customs. People call it *Walagara*, which means child marriage. This term is quite popular among the Tenggerese people. As long as they are Tenggerese, they must carry out this ritual. Without this ritual, marriage is invalid according to custom, so this ritual is sacred and legitimizes the Tengger people. Since

1965, the walagara ritual has been carried out formally by registering the bride and groom with the Civil Registry Office, so this ritual is not just a traditional tradition but also a formal requirement for marriage. We interviewed one of the non-Tengger Muslims who married a Tenggerese woman, namely Mr. Tohir. He said that the penghulu from the Ministry of Religion and the *pandhita* (Tengger traditional shamans) had known that this ritual was obligatory. They will record the wedding after the bride and groom carry out this ritual procession to completion. A kind of requirement, such as a dowry in a Muslim marriage. However, for Tengger Muslims, carrying out this ritual is not a matter of religious obligation but respect for traditions that have long and strong roots in society. Muslim brides in Tengger may use Islamic traditions in adat as long as they also carry out the traditional walagara ritual.

This was revealed in an interview with a Tengger Muslim resident, Mr. Sulhan:

“This ritual is obligatory for the Tenggerese as an expression of gratitude to God and asking for blessings from elders who are still alive and ancestors who have died. Here, people believe there is a Danyang who protects the village from all harm. Hopefully, with the blessing of this ritual, the bride and groom can live happily, harmoniously, forever, and have good offspring. The walagara ritual is a requirement as required at the Office of Religious Affairs” (Sulhan, interview, 21 Januari 2022).

Tengger Tribe Wedding Ritual Procession

Unlike other traditional rituals, walagara has a long ritual process. There are three stages of the procession that the bride and groom must go through before

finally getting married. First, finding a mate where both partners are asked to provide detailed information about the origins of themselves and their families. In addition, in this modern era, society adds a requirement for both couples who want to marry to graduate from high school first. This is intended so that the Tengger people are more educated. Second, entering the core ritual, namely the propose process and determining the date of marriage based on the Tengger calendar. Referring to Proudfoot's findings, the Tengger calendar was made in the Majapahit Kingdom. This calendar is a combination of the Majapahit system with the Balinese Hindu Parisada. It is not clear when exactly this calendar system was compiled because of the lack of original historical sources from the lost Tengger manuscripts in the 18th century (Proudfoot, 2008). However, the Tenggerese always refers to this calendar because it is considered having mystical power and events that happened according to the predictions of this calendar calculation.

During the proposal procession, the parents of the bride and groom are involved in getting to know each other. As in Islamic tradition, the application process usually starts with introducing each candidate and his family, continues with the determination of the wedding date, and ends with a prayer by the *pandhita* shaman. The calculation of the date is determined by the *pandhita* shaman who is present in the proposal procession by considering the *saptawara* or weekly cycle, and *pancawara* or week cycle. *Saptawara* is calculated from the Gregorian calendar (Monday-Sunday) and *pancawara* is calculated based on the 'five market days' in Javanese tradition, namely: *Kliwon* (which means love), *Legi* (which means sweet), *Pahing* (which means *jenar* or yellow), *Pon* (which means *palguna* or talented), and *Wage* (meaning *cemengan* or black earth).

Saptawara and Pancawara are combined to form a formation that determines the fate and married life of the two couples. The pandhita shaman also calculates luck in finding *sandang* (clothing), *pangan* (food), and *papan* (house, vehicle). To avoid bad luck and evil in the household, in the walagara there is another ritual that functions to eliminate the element of evil in the household, namely the *ngepras* ritual. This ritual is a kind of offering equipped with special mantras offered to *danyang*.

Third, the ritual ends with a marriage process comprising *pasrah manten*, in which both parents leave their children for each other; *jopo mantra*, namely special wedding prayers that are said by the pandhita shaman to invite the spirits of the ancestors of the village guards; *pemberkahan* or blessing, namely the purification of the behavior of the bride and groom through a *siraman* ceremony, *dulangan*, and chanting of mantras; *sembahan* or worship, namely kissing and hugging each other to both parents as a sense of respect and saying goodbye to build a new family; *pangkon*, namely patting the bride on the shoulder by the groom as a symbol of being ready to become a wife and serve her husband; *peturon* is a bride lying on a bed with a mantra recited to avoid evil spirits and get good offspring; and *nduliti* or touching the bride as a symbol that the woman is legal as a wife; and closed with a *banten kayoban* as a symbol of the inner bond like husband and wife.

After the wedding process, this ritual is accompanied by several performances of traditional Javanese music such as *gamelan*. Gamelan performances are accompanied by *waranggono* or the name for Javanese female dancers. The dancing dancers bend their bodies to attract the male audience to dance together. Sometimes *waranggono* may hold *sawer*,

where the male audience gives money to female dancers while dancing. However, *sawer* does not always exist because it is related to the conditions of the audience and the type of ritual. Bader said *nyawer* (*sawer* act) is a monetary transaction that involves directly between the dancer and the audience (Bader, 2011). In Javanese tradition, there is a certain satisfaction when the male audience dances with the female dancers and gives money for the *sawer*. After the *sawer* event, the ritual is usually followed by a *wayang kulit* performance. However, for the family of the bride and groom who cannot afford to hold a *wayang kulit* show, it is usually only a gamelan event or replaced with a *dangdut* music event accompanied by *waranggono*. *Wayang kulit* performances are usually done all night until the next day.

Walagara could be a ritual that glues harmony and peace in religious differences in the Tenggerese community. They all help each other in various aspects of life, regardless of religion. This harmony is evidenced by a Tengger Hindu resident donating a plot of land for the construction of a mosque that is near to his house. Likewise, with the traditional wedding ritual of Walagara, harmony is carried out with the division of roles. Hindus prepare all the equipment and ritual needs, such as incense, *kembang* or flowers, offerings, and pandhita shamans or event moderators. Meanwhile, Muslims are to slaughter livestock and poultry. This role is given because Muslims are prohibited by their religion from eating meat that is not slaughtered according to Islamic law. Hindus are well aware of this, that the role is especially given to Muslims. As for the meat slaughtered by Muslims, there are no prohibitions and taboos for Hindus eating it.

The Encounter of Custom and Religion as a Form of Religious Moderation in the Walagra Wedding Ritual

Unlike products of acculturation of culture and religion in other places, in Tengger, there is a process called negotiation. Why negotiation? because Hindus and Muslims negotiate with each other regarding the obligations of the walagara ritual, additional attributes in the ritual, and the division of roles during the traditional wedding procession. We had a dialogue with the village head of Tosari, Mr. Muafiq Imron, he said,

“In the past, when there were more and more Muslims, society faced big problems on the verge of division. The head of the Tenggerese custom, who handles the social community, then gathers the Tenggerese from both Hindus and Muslims. The meeting was to negotiate some rituals that were contrary to religious law. We finally agreed that customary rituals are not to go against the flow of religious law, but as a Tengger identity to preserve tradition and culture. For this reason, we all accept it, and Islam and Christianity are not considered a threat but as a complement to the diversity of the Tenggerese tribal community” (Muafiq Imron, personal communication, Januari 21 2020).

According to the general view of the Tenggerese, traditional religious gatherings are not a threat as long as harmony is maintained and Tengger remains a blessed area and is kept away from harm. The incoming wave of modernization is feared to erode Tengger customs. The negotiations were carried out based on wanting to save the community from division, while removing the argument that local customs

are contrary to religious values. Hefner said that Islamic rituals in Indonesia are adapted to local customs (Hefner, 1983a). For example, the slametan tradition is synonymous with Hindu-like rituals, starting from the number of days of the ritual, the count of prayers, offerings, and food, as well as the essence of the purpose of the ritual (Beatty, 1996; Boogert, 2017; Nasir, 2019; Newberry, 2007). As in the walagara procession, starting from introducing couples, proposals to determining the actual date, it is like the Islamic tradition in the marriage process. Such as introducing the identity of the two partners to get to know each other, in Islam it is called *ta'aruf* (meaning to know each other) (Nisa, 2021). Proposals are also taught in Islam where this procession is the same as the Tengger tradition, which also determines the date of marriage. The day and date of the wedding are a sensitive matter in both Javanese and Islamic traditions. For this reason, religion is not enough reason to throw away the Tenggerese traditional values. In this context, religion is always in harmony with custom so that its existence is a symbol of what is called 'customary Islam'.

The second form of meeting is about endogamy to exogamy. If observed, endogamy in the Tengger tribe aims to maintain the genius of 'original people'. As happened in Greece, familiocracy in an endogamous system is an important component in business expansion to maintain a strong family fan identity (Thanailaki, 2021). However, in Tenger, endogamy has a different meaning. Not to strengthen familiocratic identity, but to maintain and preserve Tengger customs.

Likewise, what happened in Bulgaria, endogamy between religious tribes in the local area caused the division of local customary unity with the choice of religion as a factor in endogamous marriage (Jakoubková Budilová, 2020),

because the social identity of married couples is the most sensitive and acute thing from the feelings of the social class community in the community (Leeuwen & Maas, 2005). A severe case of community feeling at a certain class level occurs in the Hadrami community, which has a diaspora in various regions of Southeast Asia. Endogamous marriage rules sparked a major crisis and strife in Indonesia. Differences in race and descent open up a very wide social disparity space that triggers internal family disputes in the surrounding environment (Slama, 2014). For this problem, Tengger differs from these cases and makes the next uniqueness of the Tengger tribe is that there is no other class or social strata. Indigenous peoples, traditional leaders, and immigrant communities are very careful about matters that smell of discord and division. Currently, endogamy in Tengger is not so required that there is a social negotiation in the rules of marriage. This was once revealed by Mr. Suparman as a pandhita shaman:

“Oh, now it’s no longer true. The Tenggerese people interact a lot with outsiders. How could that be? Yes, in the past, Tengger farmers harvested agricultural products for themselves, sold them to Tenggerese who did not have agricultural land or cross-sold agricultural products. However, because of the New Order regime, many Tenggerese outsiders entered, over time they realized the daily life of the Tenggerese. Seeing the Tengger agricultural products that are so fresh quality and abundant triggers the desire to sell their agricultural products to outsiders. The potatoes, cabbage, carrots, scallions, and others were finally brought out of the Tengger. Sales surplus increased, profits doubled, triggering the desire of Tengger farmers to expand more widely. Due to frequent interactions with outsiders of Tengger,

exogamous marriages occur. More and more Tenggerese are working in public services such as government offices, schools, religious affairs offices, and others” (Suparman, personal communication, January 19 2022).

The Tenggerese built awareness that they not only identified themselves as Tenggerese but also part of the Indonesian people. All the factors mentioned by Mr. Suparman impact the decline in the endogamy phenomenon under Tengger. They are no longer prohibited from marrying outsiders from Tengger on the condition that they must follow Tenggerese’s customs when married, and they may not look at other people because of ethnicity and religion.

The next encounter, as explained above, is the division of roles in preparing the traditional walagara wedding ritual. As elsewhere, food is an urgent matter that should not be excluded from the religious culture in Indonesia. As is the tradition of slametan, which is usually done by NU people, food is gratitude and alms for the family. The absence of food means that blessings in religious rituals are almost non-existent (Boogert, 2017; Nasir, 2019). However, for adherents of Islamic orthodoxy such as Muhammadiyah, the provision of food in religious rituals is heresy and resembles other religions (Hinduism) (Beck, 1995; Sila, 2020). In the past, during a big ritual event, the Tenggerese slaughtered a buffalo as an offering. Now, these requirements are relaxed and replaced with other livestock, such as goats, cows, and chickens. In the traditional Tengger wedding ritual, the community has negotiated by dividing roles during the event. Hindus prepare all the tools and ritual needs, and Muslims are to slaughter livestock and poultry. Hindus know well that Muslims have a set of rules regarding the slaughter of animals and the animals slaughtered. Muslims are

prohibited from eating livestock meat that is not slaughtered according to Islamic law, so if the animal is slaughtered by non-Muslims during a ritual event, Muslims are reluctant to eat the food served. This role is specifically given to Muslims. As for the meat slaughtered by Muslims, there are no prohibitions and taboos for Hindus eating it.

This meeting solves avoid tensions and disputes amidst religious differences in the Tenggerese community. Peace and harmony are the most important aspects in social life, lest the problem of serving dishes only impact tension. The ritual must be attended by all elements of society who consider Tengger. This sign causes Islam to be easily accepted in Tengger and emphasizes that Tenggerese marriage customs are culture and tradition, not religious beliefs. Thus attracting Muslims not only attending the ritual but also taking part in helping the ritual event.

However, this meeting did not cause friction in the community. Customs and religion often clash in terms of principles, and the two also influence each other to gain a place in the minds of the people. The style of Islam practiced by the minority Tengger Muslims is like that of Javanese Muslims elsewhere. Mark Woodward gave an example at the Yogyakarta Palace that Islamic tradition occurs through acculturation. Javanese culture does not eliminate the element of Islam, and Islam is a religious symbol practiced by Javanese culture (Woodward, 1989). When Islam entered the Javanese royal system, initially it was accommodating to local practices adopted by the community. A similar phenomenon also occurs in Tengger, where there is a meeting point between adat (Tengger culture) and religion (Islam). It is at this point that Islam cannot be separated from the life of the Tengger people. This encounter is what we find as cultural Islam, in contrast to syncretic Islam, which emphasizes

mysticism. Cultural Islam emphasizes the cultural diversity in religious rituals where the encounter between religion and culture undergoes a negotiation process.

In the Tenggerese community, cultural Islam experienced a dilemma when the New Order regime determined citizen corporations by formalizing religions. Everyone in society must choose one religion established by the state. The encounter of adat and religion faces a third-party challenge, namely the involvement of the state. There are two negative effects of efforts to formalize religion, namely divisions within the Tenggerese community and confrontation with the state. The Tengger people's desire to have a formal religion becomes a dilemma for them when the issues and realities of division are insight. From the Tenggerese side, they think of a solution by negotiating possible points that can be found between adat and religion. The Tenggerese traditional wedding ritual (walagara) is one success of the Tenggerese community in bringing the two together.

CONCLUSION

In rural sociology, the problem that is always faced when culture and religion meet is the clash of principles and rituals, both of which lead to divisions in society. The Tenggerese, as rural residents, face a dilemma between custom and religion through traditional marriages called walagara. This wedding tradition is one identity of the Tenggerese community that must be carried out by couples who want to get married. As one of the Tenggerese Hindu traditions that has long roots in society, it faced a kind of challenge with the Islamization of Tengger in the second half of the 19th century. In addition, the efforts of citizen corporations by the New Order regime with the policy of formalizing religions in Indonesia. These two things for the Tenggerese are

challenges that must be resolved amid the shadow of division and confrontation with the state. This effort was carried out through negotiations aimed at bringing together two different elements (custom and religion) and finding common ground between the two based on their respective principles, context, and goals. Various interpretations and thoughts have been poured out and resulted in several points of agreement, including the meeting of principles and essence between adat and religion, the transition from endogamy to exogamy, and the division of roles during the traditional wedding procession. This meeting resulted in a new color in religious moderation in Indonesia that is not found elsewhere and with a different pattern.

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