

CHAPTER II

GENERAL OVERVIEW ON *NYUMBANG* TRADITION

A. The Nature and The Definition of *Nyumbang* Tradition

1. The Definition of Tradition

Koentjaraningrat¹ argues that the antropologist put a meaning on the tradition has similarity with a customs, where it is a concept or rule and strong integrated in the system of culture from a culture that arrange a human deed in social culture. The nature of tradition is coming from *Latin trādere* it is meant hand over and to deliver.² Webster's Pocket, wrote definition the tradition as the noun "*the body of knowledge, custom, etc. transmitted down through generation*". Included in it was unsure of immaterial culture like thought, faith, style or philosophy. So the emphasizing put on transmission not on intergeneration.³ Lakhani formulated about tradition; it refers to 3 things that are; 1) Etiquette (custom, habit) or act and sees something conventionally, 2) Past view, and 3) Common ways that acceptable.⁴

2. The Definition of *Nyumbang*

In the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI)* *nyumbang* is meant a giving something to a person who held a celebration party as the aid (*sokongan*).⁵ *Nyumbang* is one of realizing from mutual in the rural society's live relieve the burden of people who hold a celebration. Besides that, the tradition was based on the *guyub* culture (collectivistic) that is

¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Sejarah Antropologi*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 1987, p.167

² <http://www.answers.com/topic/tradition>.

³ Cited on Uzair Suhaimi, *Memperkaya Arti Tradisi dan Implikasi Keberagamaan*, Wordpress.com. Accessed on 23 June 2014

⁴ M. Ali Lakhani; http://www.sacredweb.com/conference_remarks.html.

⁵ Depdiknas, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa*, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Utama, 2008), Edisi ke- 2, p.1352

owned by the Javanese people. *Guyub* is meant by them as the concern that shown by the attitude and the actions to help with tries to join themselves with the people within their community so that achieved compactness in doing everything. So that, that culture seemed in the Javanese society's relationship that is carrying a mutual assistance on the head.

The idiom of “*nandur kebajikan, mbales budi*” (do a favor to return a favor) is the one of idiom that become a code of *guyub* culture. That idiom is a warning to everyone not to be individualist or being arrogant. Therefore, the Javanese people tend to give priority for togetherness. Moreover, Javanese people are well- known as the people who have fight to maintain their ancestor's tradition, which these traditions held by the society in a ceremony either with simple performing or with festive ceremonies like feast. From the tradition surely will require the involvement of other people or the wider community. Therefore the community requires cooperation to get successful for their ceremonial with others, and to get compactness be based on the principle of *guyub*.

B. The Scope of *Nyumbang* Tradition

Ceremonies of the Javanese transition phase (rites of passage) emphasize for continuity and an identity that become a basis for all facets of life and transition that passed by the Javanese people. Ceremonial celebration will be often found in the rural society. The series of ceremonials is an ancestors' heritage that should have been maintaining by Javanese people wherever they live and they must be showing in every ceremonial of life cycle them;

1. Birth

At this phase the *slametan* is held even before the baby is born. This *slametan* called *tingkeban babaran*, *sepasaran*, and *Pitonan* and the *slametan* that can be held and cannot be held as the *slametan sepasaran*,

telonan and *taonan*.⁶ Close neighbors would come to visit with bring a contribution, when the baby is born or usually called *Jagong*. Generally the contributions for *jagong* are staples such as rice, sugar, noodles. Then other contributions forms are the need for the newborn baby and even the form of money which is already common nowadays.

2. Circumcision (*sunatan*)

This ceremony is to commemorate a boy to enter a period of being adult. The implementation of circumcision is the implementation of Islamic law and the inauguration as the Muslims.⁷ Ceremonial to celebrate a circumcision has similarity in the term of the serving of amusement and meals that are roused in the wedding ceremony. Generally the people who are invited from colleagues and relatives are known by the child's parents. Moreover relatives and neighbors also came to help in the ceremony. The forms of contribution from people are more limited in the forms of gifts and contribution of money.⁸

3. Marriage

The ceremony was held to announce to others that two different persons will form a new family who has a legitimate based on the religion, the law and customs. The purpose of the ceremony is to express a sense of happiness, gratitude and expectation of welfare and to announce that the new couple's relationship had been legitimate.⁹ The ceremony held by the Java community tends to be rousing. Even though there are particular families that held a simple ceremony. However, in every celebration,

⁶ *Tingkeban* is a ceremonial rite that is held when the the first of baby birth for parents. Then *babaran* is a ceremonial rite at the baby birth, *slametan sepasaran* is five days after the baby birth and *pitonan* is *slametan* seven month after baby birth. Meanwhile, other ceremonial rite in a birth except the ceremonials above can be held or not, such as *slametan selapanan* (the first day baby birth), *telonan* (third month after baby birth) and *taunan* (one year after baby birth). Clifford, Geertz, *op.cit.*, p. 48

⁷ Darori Amin (Ed), *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2000), p. 133

⁸ Clifford Geertz, *op.cit.*, p. 66

⁹ Muhamimin Ag, *Islam dan Bingkai Budaya Lokal*, (Jakarta: Logos, 2001), p. 216

especially wedding, the Java community will involve the people around them definitely like family, neighbors and the people who are closest to them to request their assistance.

When a wedding takes place, the people who were invited will give some sort of contribution to the host or a gift for the bride (*buwuhan*). *Buwuhan* in a marriage is defined as a typical kind of contribution of money from the guest to the host over the dish and the service which they have accepted. Generally, the guests will give *buwuhan* with palm their hand with the host's palms and they did it secretly when they shake hands with the host to take leave.¹⁰

4. Death Ceremony

Slametan was held to commemorate the death or honor of people who died. Funeral ceremony was attended by all the people that everyone is familiar with the person who died. They will come for a visit (*layat*) either these people live close to the deceased or live far away and they are familiar with the deceased or they have family connections with the deceased.¹¹ The Cycle death is the last phase in the life cycle being. So the sympathy of people in providing the help is a pure voluntary. The people who came did not just a visit only, especially for families and neighbors of the deceased, but they came to provide the help to the family of the deceased like rice, sugar and also money, because the donations is needed for *slametan* immediately.

From the four ceremonies above, the practice for contribution of goods is still maintained until now. Giving help for the ceremonies of death and birth are still contain the values of a pure voluntariness because the ceremony did not inclined to the celebration party but a simple ceremony which contains the prayers for salvation "*slametan*".

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, *op.cit.*, p. 87

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92

People who are involved in *slametan* still around the house and usually it was held in a simple ceremony. As for circumcision and wedding, both are included in the category of a festive celebration and also both are still have to be accompanied by *slametan*. For the Javanese people *slametan* is an appreciation of the values of life that they realized in the form of gratitude. In addition the Javanese people believe that by holding *slametan* it will bring their inner being tranquilly.

As Clifford Geertz has revealed that *slametan* is concentration (the prayer request for) in the form of organizing and summarizing the general idea of *abangan* about system "life style" from the Javanese society. Where is *slametan* tended to be implemented by the world view of Javanese, especially when they have to face life situations in the vulnerable points.¹² So through the *slametan* they hope to avoid distractions from the spirits. So they can live quietly and peacefully. In a *slametan*, the expected contribution by the host from the invitees is their arrival and prayers from the invitees themselves. While the contribution of non-material by near neighbors are also given besides the contribution of material or goods that are usually carried by women. Beside that in the *slametan*, the participation from the women is more visible due to women usually give the contribution either non-material or material in running for *slametan*. Women are more likely to help others neighbors than men.¹³ Meanwhile, the participation for men will be seen when they recite of "yasin and *tahlil*" at night.¹⁴

¹² Clifford, Geertz, *op.cit.*, p. 36

¹³ Hildred geertz, *The Javanese Family*, terj. Graffiti pers, Keluarga Jawa, (Jakarta; PT Graffiti Pers, 1983), p. 29

¹⁴ *Slametan* is a form of syncretism between the culture of Islam and *Hindhu-Buddha*. From the two culture has resulted in Javanese culture is characterized by Islamic values. The combination is not apart from the tolerant of the scholars in conveying of Islamic teachings to the people that have pre-Islamic beliefs. The trustees let Java tradition remain alive, then they added the Islamic values in it, such as offerings by reading spells is replaced with a *kenduri* or *slametan* with *kalimah thoyibah*. Darori Amin [ed], *op.cit.*, p. 279

The celebration of the wedding ceremony or circumcision is a social event which is a celebration and they have just held with a rousing and accompanied by amusements like gamelan music, dancers and a variety of delicious dishes.¹⁵ Both are implemented to strengthen the social ties. As Hildred Geertz explained that the two events above made a close relative brought foodstuffs and money. Men would help put the *tarub* up¹⁶ while women who have a certain relationship with the host were helping to cook for the preparation of the party for many days. Close neighbors and distant relatives will give *buwuhan* which they adjusted to amount accordance to the distance of relationship between the guests and the host and also in accordance with appropriateness. Then, *buwuhan* will be given by shake a hand or it called *salam tempel*.¹⁷

Therefore, in a ceremonial celebration giving a contribution either material or non-material is the important thing and it is a good thing, because it shows the harmonious with neighbors and other people. Besides that, in the social and religion aspect was asserted that a gifting in the important event can be a binding relationship of solidarity between communities.

C. *Nyumbang* Tradition in The Islamic Perspective

The essence of *nyumbang* interpreted as the action that is destined to ease the burden of the people who were carrying out a celebration or *slametan* like a birth, a marriage and a death. In the terms of religion *nyumbang* is a form of obedience to the command of a servant to the God by giving alms, tithe, *infaq* and *waqaf*. Due to the point of the purpose is similar; give a help to other

¹⁵ C. Geertz, *op.cit.*, p. 81

¹⁶ *Tarub* is meant as the extra roof that is made from wattle or coconut leaf "*blarak*". It is always put on the house yard of people who will hold a wedding party. In the part of the pole and the side are decorated with the arched young coconut leaf. (<http://kidemangsodron78.wordpress.com/tahap-mantu/tarub/pengertian-tarub/feed/>) quoted from the book "*Tata Upacara dan Wicara Pengantin gaya Yogyakarta*" written by Drs. Suwarna Pringgawidagda, M. Pd.

¹⁷ The invitees give envelope to the host or to the bridegroom (money) that they clutch when they were going to take leave. See...Hilderd Geertz, *opcit.*, p. 70

people who need and to ease their burden. In other words *nyumbang* is also categorized as the form of *shodaqoh* which is interpreted as giving to other people based on the sincerity or without expecting for reward and praise. A giving is aimed at people who need in order to find a pleasure from Allah SWT.

Javanese people who hold on to the principle of harmony and respect, they do not preserve this tradition as cultural heritage only. But also it is as the embodiment of the values and the religious teachings that they believe especially in Islam. Moreover, the point of the whole religion is same which is also teaching about love and affection and doing good deeds that are related to the morals and ethics besides the divinity about.¹⁸ For the people especially religious believers when they do something, that has moral and ethical values. It is one of the symbols of their faith in themselves and their desires and expectations for their ultimate destination i.e. to gain happiness in the future (hereafter). Then religious believers try to act with ethics and moral values which are based on their wishes to achieve the happiness in the hereafter.¹⁹ Their actions were principled on the sympathy, the friendliness and the consideration for others. Besides that, religious teachings indeed contain guidance for the believer to be saved from the punishment of hell and surrender themselves totally to God.

The surrendering is not manifested through the speech alone. But it is also manifested in the form of action which is not seen in religious deeds and

¹⁸ People are more generous and volunteered in helping with the existence of God in their minds. This is called a religious belief. Some people give a value of aid is to meet religious or humanitarian values that they hold and it also the form of attention to others. David G. Mayers, *Sosial Psychology*, Terj. Aliya Tusyani dkk, *Psikologi Sosial* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2012), p. 227

¹⁹ The word of moral is considered close enough to word of ethics. The moral has a plural word that derived from the *latin* language "*mores*", *mos* which is means a habit, a tradition. While the ethics comes from the Greek language "*ethos*" which is etymologically includes a habit, a tradition an attitude etc. The moral and ethics have the same meaning etymologically and in this case, Bertens give a meaning for the moral sense that is relevant to society today is as the values and norms which are become orientation for a person or a group in regulating their behavior. The moral meaning has same meaning of ethics in the Great Dictionary of Indonesia (KBBI) edition of 1998th "the good and bad value that were convinced by communities or societies". K. Bertens. *Etika*. (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Cet. X 2007), p. 6-7

religious rituals only but also in worldly deeds in the society life. As the previously explanation that realizing of the *nyumbang* tradition is an action to help each other's among fellow the human beings to be able to achieve what they want in a good way. Thus, the harmonious relationship among each other can be maintained and not to harm each other. Because in many ways, human are always different from one another in the health and skill side and surely from the difference, it can be able to influence into the wealth they got. Leveling the social strata in a level is impossible, because God has willed the difference social levels among people so they could take on the wisdom in it; materialized on the cooperation between individual based on Shari 'a fellow religion within their collectively (QS. Az- Zukhruf (43): 32).²⁰

Therefore, *nyumbang* tradition is a form of mutual assistance which has the religious motivation of an individual in it;

1. The Order for Giving.²¹

In Islam, Allah and his Messenger recommend to give each other either it's granting of giving alms and gifts. Through a giving alms, human beings are expected to bring a sense of mutual love towards each other, so they can make disappear the disease of heart for instance hating and grudging.

The Prophet Muhammad also recommends his people to give a gift although it just a bit gift, because that is better than never. A giving or a gift is the proof of the existence of love, besides the people who are given gifts expected to learn to appreciate the people who give and others through the granting. As the hadith of Bukhari narrated that Prophet Muhammad advocated a woman for giving gifts to neighbors and be

²⁰ Muhammad Fauqi, Hajjaj, *Tashawwuf Al- Islâmi wa Al- Akhlâq*, Terj. Kamran As'at Irsyady dan Fakhri Ghazali, (Jakarta: Amzah, 2011), p.271

²¹Form of the giving here is a form of giving of alms, which belongs to the *sunnah*, and not a mandatory of obligation like zakat. By the author over emphasized at the awarding of the prize or gift and *infak*. The both type contain the community's awareness of moral values by the Javanese people in doing a mutual assistance i.e. harmony and respectful attitude. The granting here is also more specialized in a giving for and giving alms *infak* or give something to others to be utilized.

generous to them, despite they are not giving much.²² Besides to make a sense of mutual love up, the giving of alms as expected may help others people who have difficulty, especially in financially. For people who have an excess of wealth is recommended much by Muhammad Prophet to give alms a portion of his wealth, as the God’s saying;

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ كُلِّكُمْ إِذْ تَخْرُجُونَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ وَمِنَ الْمَنَاطِقِ وَالْأَنْوَاعِ كُلِّهَا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ﴾
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²³ ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ كُلِّكُمْ إِذْ تَخْرُجُونَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ وَمِنَ الْمَنَاطِقِ وَالْأَنْوَاعِ كُلِّهَا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ﴾

By no means shall ye attain righteousness unless ye give (freely) of that which ye love; and whatever ye give, of a truth Allah knoweth it well.²⁴

From that verse has been known clearly that as fellow human beings, especially for fellow Muslims had a duty to help others who are in need and one of the help is meeting the economy. Moreover, The God also promised a reward for people who want to spend a portion of his wealth to others who need and especially for a person who has right to receive it.

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ كُلِّكُمْ إِذْ تَخْرُجُونَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ وَمِنَ الْمَنَاطِقِ وَالْأَنْوَاعِ كُلِّهَا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ﴾
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²⁵ ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا خُذُوا زِينَتَكُمْ كُلِّكُمْ إِذْ تَخْرُجُونَ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ وَمِنَ الْمَنَاطِقِ وَالْأَنْوَاعِ كُلِّهَا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ﴾

“Believe In Allah and His apostle, and spend (in charity) out of the (substance) where of He has made you heirs. For, those of you who believe and spend (in charity),- for them is a great reward.”²⁶

1. The Order To Help Family

²² *Ibid.*, p. 49
²³ QS. Ali- Imran (3): 92
²⁴ ‘Abdullah Yusuf ‘Ali, *The Holy Qur’an: Text and Translation*, (Kualalumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 68
²⁵ QS. Al- Hadid (57): 7
²⁶ ‘Abdullah Yusuf ‘Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 683

Family or relatives are those who have blood relations. They are the ones who should be treated well either morally or materially. The kind of giving helps such as meet the needs of living materially and teaches them about anything they don't know with give them a good understanding of ethical and moral especially.²⁷

Helping families is the duty of every Muslim. They are the ones that have interest that must be precedence than others. Even in a Hadith narrated by Anas r. a. that alms to relatives who are in need of alms must be taking precedence over others, despite their kinship are distant relatives. Through the charity they will interlace a good relationship (*silaturrahmi*). In Islam, establishing and maintaining a relationship with kinship is an obligation for fellow Muslims. Even at the Prophet era, he had ordered Abu Thalha to give alms to Ubai bin Ka'b and Hasaan bin Thabit. When he said that he would make his land (property) to Allah, while both bi Ubai Ka'b and Hasan bin Thabit had kinship with Abu Thalha from the seventh generation of his grandfather.²⁸ It showed that through the order of giving alms can keep a relationship in a good way. Even though, the family relationships have a far relationship.

2. The Order to Help Neighbors

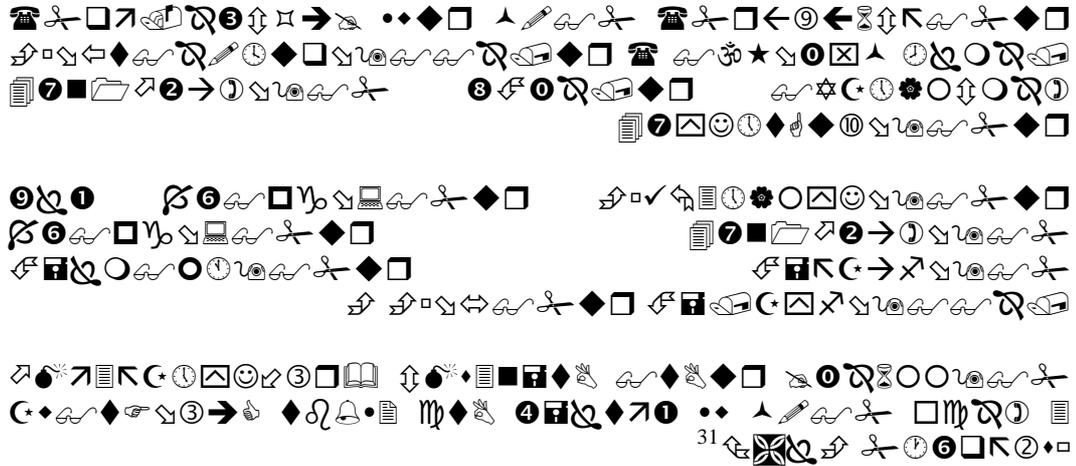
In the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, neighbor is people who had near house or adjacent house or person who live close or neighboring.²⁹ Doing good and respect to neighbors is the duty of each individual as social beings. The role of neighbors in our lives is very important because they are the people who live and reside close to us and around us. Neighbors also an important element in social life because of their existence can be achieve cooperation in realizing the wishes and

²⁷ Rachmat, Djanika, *Sistem Etika Islami (Akhlak Mulia)*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1996), p. 241

²⁸ Imam An- Nawawi, *Shahih Muslim bi Syarh An- Nawawi*, terj. Wawan Djunaedi Soffandi, *Syarah Shahih Muslim*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, Anggota IKAPI DKI, 2010), p. 263

²⁹ Depdiknas, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, op. cit.*, p. 1457.

expectations of the community together. Therefore we should always treat our neighbors well.³⁰ As the God said in the holy Qur'an



“Serve Allah, and join not any partners with him; and do good- to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, those In need, neighbors who are near, neighbors who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer (ye meet), and what your right hands possess: for Allah loveth not the arrogant, the vainglorious”.³²

From that verse, Allah ordered every believer to do good deeds to their neighbors, either near or far. And each neighbor has rights to get good treatment from other neighbors. Thus, maintain the good relation among fellow neighbors is very important. So the neighbors almost have the same position with the relative, because they are in nearby places. Sometimes, people will love their neighbor more than their relative by heredity. Therefore, in the lives of neighbors a family others; give each other of affection and kindness between them. Moreover a neighbor was the one who met and exchanged greetings in daily life. They give help or aid to neighbors who need like as helping one's own. Due to a person get a hardship and need a helps from others, then others will be giving to help the person.

³⁰ Zahrudin AR dan Hasanuddin sinaga, *Pengantar Studi Akhlak* , (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo, 2004), p. 145

³¹ QS. An- Nisaa ayat: 36

³² ‘Abdullah Yusuf ‘Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 92

The good fellow neighbors would know their ups and downs, and they are also faster to give first aid if other neighbors have difficulties than with the families who live far away. Therefore, when a person who has a near house' neighbors and they're having a celebration or a job that requires help from others, then the person as a close neighbor has a moral obligation to help. So that in a hadith narrated by Imam Bukhari about the neighbors;

حَدَّثَنِي عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ الْقَوَارِيُّ. حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ زُرَيْعٍ حَدَّثَنَا عُمَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ،
عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: مَا زَالَ جِبْرِيْلُ
يُوصِيَنِي بِالْجَارِ حَتَّى ظَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُ سَيُوَرِّثُنِي (رواه البخاري)³³

“Ubaidullah bin Umar Al Qawariri told, Yazid bin Zurai told us from Umar bin Muhammad, from his father, he said, “The Prophet sallallaahu ‘alaihi wasallam said, Gabriel always willed to me about the neighbors, till I thought that he would inherit them.” (Narrated by Bukhari)³⁴

Also mentioned in other hadith about the Prophet suggestions to help neighbors in order to avoid hardship;

حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ ﴿﴾ سَعِيدٌ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْأَحْوَسِ عَنْ أَبِي حَصِيْبٍ عَنْ أَبِي صَالِحٍ عَنْ أَبِي
هَرِيرَةَ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
فَلَا يُؤْذِجَارُهُ وَمَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ فَلَا يُكْرِهُمُ ضَيْفَهُ وَمَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ
بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ فَلْيُقْبَلْ خَيْرًا أَوْ لِيَصْمُمْ (رواه البخاري)³⁵

"Qutaibah bin Sa'id has been told us from Abu al-Ahwas from Khasin Abi Abi Salih from Abu Hurairah, he said: the Prophet Saw said: "Who believes in God and the Last Day do not be hurting his neighbor! Who believes in God and the Last Day, let venerate the guests! Who believes

³³ Al-Imam Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn al-Mugirah ibn Bardizbah al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Juz V, (Beirut Libanon: Dar al Kutub, 1412 H/1992 M), p. 103

³⁴ It was translated by writer be based on the Indonesia translation of shahih Bukhari. Took from link: <http://abinyazahid.multiply.com>

³⁵ Al-Imam Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn al-Mugirah ibn Bardizbah al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Juz IV, (Beirut Libanon: Dar al Kutub, 1412 H/1992 M), p. 63.

in God and the Last Day, let speak good things, or not say anything!" (Narrated by al-Bukhari).³⁶

From the hadiths and verses of Qur'an above can be understood that helping neighbors is an obligation in terms of social and moral. In addition, the quality of one's kindness when interacts with the neighbors also indicate the closeness of a servant to God and His good pleasure. Because, the people who are good in the sight of Allah are the people that most favorable to the neighbors.³⁷

3. The Order to Attend for Wedding Celebration or *Walimah*

Walimah is the celebration party held in a marriage occasion. In Islam itself *walimah* is a serious contract and also extremely happiness event in one's life. Therefore marriage celebration should be implemented, as a form of happiness to share it with others like with relatives, neighbors, and friends. Besides the marriage celebration party also as an act of gratitude to God for all the blessings that he has given to us. Besides, it also has other functions *walimah* ; announced to the public about the wedding itself. There is no other way but through a better wedding that can be enjoyed by many people. Therefore, when Ali proposed to Fatimah, the Prophet requires both to hold *walimah*.³⁸ While attending the invitation of *walimah*, it is also the obligation that must be met. As Abdullah bin Umar told that prophet said about the invitation of *walimah*;

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ أَخْبَرَنَا مَالِكٌ عَنْ نَافِعٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا

³⁶ Translated by writer self be based on the Indonesia translation of shahih Bukhari. Took from link: <http://abinyazahid.multiply.com>. Accessed on 03 December 2013

³⁷ Muhammad, Fauqi Hajjaj, *op.cit.*, p. 291

³⁸ Dikutip dari artikel El Manhaj, *Kewajiban Mengadakan Walimah*. (<http://almanhaj.or.id/content/1303/slash/0/kewajiban-mengadakan-walimah/>). Accessed on 06 December 2013

أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ إِذَا دُعِيَ أَحَدُكُمْ إِلَى الْوَلِيمَةِ فَلْيَأْتِهَا (رواه البخاري)³⁹

Abdullah bin Yusuf Has told us, Malik Had reported us from Nafi' from Abdullah bin Umar radiallahu 'anhuma, that the Prophet shallallahu 'alaihi wasallam said: "if one of you guys are invited to the event of wedding party “*walimahan*”, Let him come." (Narrated by Bukhari).⁴⁰

In the *Ihya' Ulumuddin* Imam Ghazali explained about ethics in meeting the invitation *walimah*. Some of them are not declined the invitation *walimah* only for reasons of distant places. Even in the Torah and other holy books are stated that to visit a sick person was instructed to walk one mile, walk two miles to go to death and 3 miles to meet the invitation *walimah* and 4 miles to visit friends in Faith. It is proved that meet the invitation *walimah* is one of the main ones.⁴¹ Meet an invitation means has shown the attention to the person who invited and make the hearts of people who invite pleased and relieved. Even for people who are in a state of fasting, and they got the invitation *walimah* then they have to keep coming. As Prophet Saw said;

حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَدَّثَنَا الْحَجَّاجُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ قَالَ قَالَ ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ

أَخْبَرَنِي مُوسَى بْنُ عُقْبَةَ عَنْ نَافِعٍ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَمَرَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا يَقُولُ

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَجِيبُوا هَذِهِ الدَّعْوَةَ إِذَا دُعِيتُمْ لَهَا قَالَ وَكَانَ عَبْدُ

اللَّهِ يَأْتِي الدَّعْوَةَ فِي الْعُرْسِ وَعَيْرِ الْعُرْسِ وَهُوَ صَائِمٌ (رواه البخاري).⁴²

³⁹ Al-Imam Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn al-Mugirah ibn Bardizbah al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Juz V, (Beirut Libanon: Dar al-kutub, 1412 H/1992 M), p. 470

⁴⁰ It was translated by writer be based on the Indonesia translation of shahih Bukhari.

Took from link: <http://abinyazahid.multiply.com>. Accessed on December 2013

⁴¹ AlGhazali, *Ihya' 'Ulumuddin*, Terj Ismail Jakub, *Ihya' - Al Ghazali* jilid- 2, (Jakarta: C.V. Fauzan, 1978), p. 334

⁴² Al-Imam Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn al-Mugirah ibn Bardizbah al-Bukhari, (juz V), *op. cit.*, p. 472

"Ali bin Abdullah bin Ibarahim Has told us. Al Hajjaj bin Muhammad Has told us, he said; Ibn Juraij has been telling me Musa bin 'Uqbah from Nafi' he said ; I heard Abdullah bin Umar radliallahu 'anhuma said; The Prophet sallallahu 'alaihi wasallam said: "Fill this wedding party (*walimahan*), when you are invited to visit it." Therefore, Abdullah always came to invitation either of wedding party "*walimahan*" or not a wedding party, while he was fasting." (Narrated By Bukhari).⁴³

Attend to an invitation *walimah* is highly recommended, even though people are invited in a State of fasting. Because of that is an action to be pleasing other people, and for those people who are invited would feel respected and appreciated. As for the people who got an invitation to visit the place, and they did not come to *walimah*, they were mentioned in a Hadith that they are the same with people who have committed immoral to Allah and His Messenger.

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ أَخْبَرَنَا مَالِكٌ عَنْ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ عَنِ الْأَعْرَجِ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَقُولُ شَرُّ الطَّعَامِ طَعَامُ الْوَلِيمَةِ يُدْعَى هَا الْأَعْيَاءُ وَيُتْرَكُ
الْفُقَرَاءُ وَمَنْ تَرَكَ الدَّعْوَةَ فَقَدْ عَصَى اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ (رواه البخاري)⁴⁴

"Abdullah bin Yusuf Has told us, Malik Had reported to us from Ibn Shihab from Al A' raj from Abu Hurairah radliallahu ' anhu, he said; as worst as meal is a meal of wedding celebration, who was invited only the rich people there, while the poor people not invited. Who does not fulfill the invitation then truly he has immoral commit to Allah and his Messenger sallallahu 'alaihi wasallam. (Narrated By Bukhari).⁴⁵

Based on the arguments above, give something that is owned either in the form of property or services to help and please other people are things that is recommended for all mankind, especially for Muslims in need.

D. Nyumbang Tradition In The Social Perspective

⁴³ It was translated by writer be based on the Indonesia translation of shahih Bukhari. Took from link: <http://abinyazahid.multiply.com>. retrieved on 03December 2013

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 471

⁴⁵ It was translated by writer be based on the Indonesia translation of shahih Bukhari. Took from link: <http://abinyazahid.multiply.com> retrieved on 03 December 2013

Basically people have two positions in life as an individual and social being. As an individual human being has some purposes, needs and goals to be achieved, which each individual has different needs and goals with other individuals. Meanwhile, as social beings, people always want to interact and live with one another dynamically. Naturally, humans do have an instinct to live together with other human beings. The basic impulse that gave rise to the instinct for live together is the human desire to have to meet most of their basic needs and those needs may not be fulfilled when the humans do not live in groups.

According to Ahmad Amin, the man take advantage from the community began from something that is edible, clothing, shelter, living, science and morality. If human beings could not obtain the anything from the public, they will have nothing. Thereby the body, mind and morals an individual is from the society. Ahmad Amin asserted that individuals in society are like the limbs, if one member of the body separated from the body then it becomes dead and is not considered a living thing. Like hand being cut off from the body and leaves fall from the trees. Then like a human, when he separated from the community will be overridden the destruction and worthless, because a human actions, norms and customs and traditions are formed by looking at its relationship with the community only. Saying about the true then it's called as a right thing and tells about lie then it's called as a bad thing. It all just happened in the society's lives. Without that, no one could say that between the two it is said to be good one and the other is bad one.⁴⁶ These things indicate that humans are unable to break away from human society factually. Even though, they want to be apart from the society life, which are full with the tying rules, they will not be able to do it, because if it happened they will expel the strength and the life that given to them by society.

The primary means to fulfill the human needs as mentioned above are through the social cooperation. The social cooperation is a means for the purpose that cannot be achieved fully. While that purposes are to maximize

⁴⁶ Ahmad Amin, *Etika (Ilmu Akhlaq)*, (Jakarta: PT Bulan Bintang , 1991), p. 130 – 145.

welfare and happiness of human's beings. Especially for the people who live in countryside of Java. Generally the forms of cooperation among people are embodied in the mutual assistance activity for instance to the activity of contribute during the organization of celebration. The mutual assistance society is applied Javanese society in the *nyumbang* tradition, which is the realization of their compliance with the social norms.⁴⁷ Those norms became a reference in regulating behavior of an individual in society life. The social norms embodied in the Javanese life stance to conserve the tradition as a characteristic of Javanese life as follows;

1. Harmony and Respect

Harmony is a situation where all the parties are in peace with each other, love each other and work together in the atmosphere of calm and accept the agreement.⁴⁸ Harmonious demanding to prevent any actions and behavior that may disturb the peace in the society's life, so there is no undesirable conflict in the social relationship of society. In other words the harmony more emphasis towards the external conditions or the social relationship that looked from the outside.

Javanese society does not create a harmony, but they are trying to keep the existing harmony. Therefore, the Javanese society has been trying to do not involve their inner feelings or their attitudes. The most important thing according to them is how to make calm and peaceful relationships within society. The interests of society could different but they are required to show their behavior is no different than the others because of the interests. Koentjaraningrat this is called as the nature conform or behave and act according with their communities who is motivated by

⁴⁷ According to PJ Bouman social norm is defined as the general rules about the behavior or actions that are based on considerations of decency and habits. Social norms are all the forms of regulation that exist within society. Social norms have a function to regulate and control the behavior of communities in order to create the social order. Norms is partly derived from the habit which gradually became a way of life and partly derived from the religious orders and prohibitions. And also there are norms that are written and unwritten. Soekandar Wiriaatmodjo, *Pokok- Pokok Sosiologi Pedesaan*, (Jakarta: W Yasaguna, 1980), p. 47

⁴⁸ Franz Magniz Suseno, *op.cit.*, p. 39

spirit of *jiwa sama tinggi dan sama rendah*.⁴⁹ C. Geertz said that Javanese people have a high art soul and positive value; a habit to be pretending “*ethok- ethok*”. It has purpose to prevent the emotion by hiding the true feeling. So it can be maintaining the harmony and can be getting solidarity up.⁵⁰

The principle of harmony will not be realized perfectly without any respectful attitude. Respect each other are the underlying attitude of harmony in the society's life, with mutual respect, Javanese society can please other people and lead to sense of familiarity with each other. The Javanese societies always try to treat their neighbors or other people in the daily life like their family self. Even towards to the people who do not have family relationship they will greet them with respectful calling such as *Bapak, Mas, Mbak, Pakdhe, Budhe, Dhik, Paklik, Bulik*.⁵¹ Those greeting are the realizing of mutual respect and it can be able to create a solidarity and familiarity to other people in the social life, so the peaceful and harmony can be achieved

The atmosphere of harmony that created in society life will become a spirit for them to love working together and care with each other. The harmonious attitude which has based on the respect attitude can be able to influence in every action of Javanese society. Especially for the people who held the ceremonial celebration and they involve many people in it. People who participate in any celebration (the important events related to the life cycle) will be seen have given an honor for people who have a celebration and also feel appreciated. Therefore, *nyumbang* tradition can be maintaining the harmony principle of Javanese society in their social interaction. Moreover, the Javanese people's attitudes and actions referred to the Javanese moral rules, which are realized to their tradition. They

⁴⁹ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Mentalitas dan Pembangunan*, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1981), p.63

⁵⁰ C. Geertz 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 331

⁵¹ Thomas Wiyasa Bratawijaya, *Mengungkap dan Mengenal Budaya Jawa*, (Jakarta: PT Pradya Parananta, 1997), p. 82

always give priority to common interests or society's interest rather than personal interest.⁵² The morals rule that became a reference to the behavior and actions of Javanese society as the follow;

a) *Tepa Selira*

Tepa selira named as the tolerance, it is the attitude of individual that can be able to understand other people's feeling. This attitude can create the harmony for society's social relationship, and also it is a point of the communal ethic of Javanese society i.e. "don't do something that you don't want for you own".⁵³ Thereby every people who apply that attitude will always treat other people with not to arbitrarily as they treat themselves.

b) *Sepi Ing Pamrih Ramé Ing Gawé*

This idiom became a basis for the Javanese people to always fight the selfishness i.e. giving priority to self-interest and ignoring the common interest. *Pamrih* is an action that only pursuit the self-interest with unmindful the society-interest, moreover *pamrih* is also led to worldly interest.⁵⁴ This character will mess the social harmonious up, because there is 3 bad desires in it i.e. always want to be the top (*nepsu menangé dhéwé*), always perceive self-right (*nepsu beneré dhéwé*) and only care about self-interest (*nepsu butuhé dhéwé*).⁵⁵ Therefore, for the Javanese people *pamrih* can be able to threat the right way of human life. In the psychology term it is identic to respect less toward fellow human interest and at the cost of other humans' interest for getting self-interest.⁵⁶ Thus, the idiom of *sepi ing pamrih* always becomes idiom for *ramé ing gawé*. *Ramé ing gawé* in Javanese living practices

⁵² Darori Amin (Ed), *op.cit.*, p. 215

⁵³ Niels Mulder, *Java – Thailand: A Comparative Prespective*, dalam terjemah *Jawa-Thailand: Beberapa Perbandingan Sosial Budaya*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Perss, 1983), p. 67

⁵⁴ Suseno, *op.cit.*, p. 140

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* h. 140. Dikutip dari Soetrisno, *Filsafah hidup Pancasila Sebagaimana Tercermin dalam Falsafah Hidup Orang Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, t.th), p. 26

⁵⁶ Henry Hazlit, *op.cit.*, p. 131

are often described as the duty to work hard that is not for self only but also for others.

Suseno clarified that the meaning of the word *gawé* is not only to work but also it means the celebration party. Because in a party preparations always brings a work together and need people either from the families or neighbors.⁵⁷ Thus the Javanese people are trying to act rightly, not be controlled by selfishness and fulfill their obligations as individual social beings; fulfilling the obligations of one's self, family, community and others.

c) *Aja Dumeh* (Not to be Arrogant)

Aja dumeh in Indonesia language could be meant as not be arrogant.⁵⁸ This character is very important to apply the respectful principle. While the character of arrogant "*dumeh*" could be the one of the obstacles for people to mingle with others, because this attitude makes people consider themselves higher than others. So that make others feel uncomfortable and feel inferiority on others. Thus *aja dumeh* was intended to someone in the life of society can control himself while following the surrounding.⁵⁹

As written by Niels Mulder in his book under the title Java-Thailand, when someone shows the attention that coincide to the events of the birth, pain, and other important events in others. Then the one self will receive the attention for other people which get what he had given to them previously.⁶⁰ Thus, *aja dumeh* can be reflected in a person that adapts itself to the environment and society in accordance with the rules and the etiquette that applied in social life.

d) *Gemi, Nastiti* and *Ngati-ati*

Gemi is frugality in spending the treasure. Someone who is frugal means that people can manage the balance between the earnings and

⁵⁷ Suseno, *op.cit.*, p. 146

⁵⁸ Thomas Wiyasa Bratawijaya, *op.cit.*, p. 86

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.86

⁶⁰ Niels Mulder, *op.cit.*, p. 67

spending the treasure (money).⁶¹ Frugal will cultivate an attitude of philanthropy a person, because that person knows for sure when he uses his money for things that are useful. Therefore, when he asked by someone in trouble to help, he will help the person gladly.

The Javanese people are known to be very calculating in using their wealth. The treasure that they get and they collect hardly, they managed to keep their expenses, so they do not exceed for income that cause the debt. They Consider and take into account all expenses and income are not meant to be stingy, but Javanese people always be precisions when they want to do something and the attitudes like this is called *nastiti*.⁶² *Nastiti* tend to how to use the wealth sparingly and carefully. It is not containing of stinginess, even it use the rationality. The treasures that were spent in vain and useless will be making miserable materially. Moreover, people who uses the treasures carelessly will make them get into difficult and misery.

Meanwhile, *Ngati-ati* is an attitude for caution to anything that will be done by people. A cautious person will always think first before do something, especially in taking a decision. Caution in decision making can be realized if the attitude is based on a careful and full of consideration. Caution can prevent any conflicts in social life, due to caution directs people to be tolerant and respect for others. In other words *Ngati-ati* is effort of self-control in response to situation and effort of person in adjusting to the customs and habits that apply in the society live. So, a person can be able to have self-control and eventually can prevent the conflict arise.

2. Social Responsibility

The Javanese life has been filling with an array of social activities and also it involves the role of societies. Especially when they held an

⁶¹ Thomas Wiyasa Bratawijaya, *op.cit.*, p. 98

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 99

ceremonial celebration “*duwe gawe*” which is showing the harmony that become an obligation of people. They are known as the societies that have been maintaining the harmony and respectful principles especially for the rural society, which direct to have a good relationship fellow the society. As the J.H Kern stated about the society structure in Indonesia is same basically. Societies have a shared responsibility for the good and harmony.⁶³ The social responsibility is also related to ethics and morals of Indonesian people (native people) where listed in their customary law and the customary law contained in some of the principles;⁶⁴

a. The Principle of Togetherness

In this principle has been determined that every individual in society is the family. And every individual among them in families has a parallel relationship, thus it raises the necessity such behavior; a right of society is one of the functions from the collective rights, each villagers must be willing to help other people based on sense of common destiny, society do their duties collectively and completion the community issues must be answered based on a shared decision. The manifestation of these things seems on the duty of every people to always provide themselves and their wealth for the community’s welfare. Mutual assistance is also based on the realization that is oneself cannot be separated from society. Then a deliberation is a solution to resolve every issue that is based on the results of the collective opinion.

- b. The principle of totality, all the behavior and actions must be carried out to create a harmonious relationship among the society.
- c. The principle of prevalence, it requires to understand that thoughts and actions must be understood by collective experience.

⁶³ Djaka , Soetapa, *Ummah;: Komunitas Religius, Sosial dan Politik dalam Al- Qur’an (Dalam Konteks Masyarakat Indonesia)*, (Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press dan Mitra Gama Widya, 1997), p. 189

⁶⁴ Djaka Soetapa, *op.cit.*, p. 194- 196

Nyumbang in a celebration or *duwe gawe* is a manifestation of the attitude of responsibility based on the above principles. Those are intended to maintain the value of harmony and respectful which both are the ethical principles of the Javanese community.

Related to social responsibility in social life either within the family environment or society environment, by Hildred Geertz in his *Javanese Family* (1983) stated that *rights and obligations among the people in the family of Java especially close relatives that blood is restricted*. the purpose of the statement is they (close blood relatives) are expected to provide their helps in the ceremonial rites that has related to the life cycle of Java society such as birth, marriage, circumcision and marriage is to contribute in the form of food, money and effort.

3. Reciprocity

For the rural society the morals principle that became a basis of social activity is reciprocal. By sociologist Alvin Gouldner (1960) he argued that *reciprocal norm is the universal moral code that is based on the simple idea i.e. when a person has been get a help, then that person must help other person who've helped him.*⁶⁵

The principle implies that receiving assistance either in the form of services or goods by the recipient make an obligation to reciprocate with the same kind of assistance or with the value that is comparable to the assistance later. In the term of Java it called as *asok lan mbalekne*. Though the Javanese society, the *nyumbang* tradition is a manifestation of mutual assistance which essentially carried out voluntarily to help others, but there is a social obligation that forces morally for someone who has got such help to return helps the people who have helped him. Because the people who helped will feel owe to the people who have helped him.

⁶⁵ James, C. Scott, *The Moral Economy Of The Peasant*, Terj. Hasan, Basari, *Moral Ekonomi Petani* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1983), h. 235 dikutip dari Gouldner, *The Norm of Reciprocity*, p. 171

Generally, a person does not want to owe to others. The cooperation will be satisfying when both parties feel the assistance provided and the return is due to not receiving charity or pity from others. A person who got help for compassion, it would be demeaning. While the cooperation or mutual assistance based on a respect will preserve the dignity of both parties. Thus mutual assistance in the *nyumbang* tradition is more likely to be able to work together for achieving the same purpose. As the individual creature that are socially, an actions and a behavior of people always be having a purposes in his life; maximize their happiness and their welfare. Thus, in the social life of an individual, either directly or indirectly seek to encourage others to act as they did in response to the actions, so they can be achieved the objectives. Moreover, in the social interaction society will imitate the actions of others that are considered as the advantageous things.⁶⁶ Thus the human's deeds in the social life have a principle of reciprocal fellow the human being, because it is the way they have to meet their interest.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ A sociologist and criminologist from France Gabriel Trade (1842-1904) stated that all social relations related to the process of imitation. In his opinion the community is a grouping of human beings which individual imitate each other. Even the new society will be a true society when actually when humans imitate other human activities. W.A. Gerungan, *Psikologi Sosial*, (Bandung: Eresco, 1988), p. 32

⁶⁷<http://fradhika-virgantara.blogspot.com/2010/11/perbedaan-kepentingan.html>.retrieved on 25 November 2013