

BUKA LUWUR AS A MEDIA OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY OF KUDUS COMMUNITY

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Abstract: *Buka Luwur is an annual ritual that has become a tradition of Kudus community. It is a moment of respecting Kanjeng Sunan Kudus by providing some meal. This tradition is not only attended by Kudus inhabitants and Muslims around it but also people from various regions in Java. Buka Luwur ritual accepts various forms of sadaqah which will be distributed to all residents who are devoted. This article aims to find out the da'wah of Javanese society through a series of Buka Luwur ritual in Kanjeng Sunan Kudus tomb, which was followed by various community groups, from santri to abangan communities, by using a sociological theory approach. The research method used was qualitative, while the respondents in this study were leaders, committees, communities around the research location, and residents who attended this ritual. Data collection techniques used were observation and in-depth interview. The data analysis used in the analysis process included reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The results of this article: First, Buka Luwur is not only a series of agenda in commemorating Kanjeng Sunan Kudus haul but also as a part of Javanese Islamic preaching both verbally (*bi al-qaul*) and social actions (*bi al-af'al*). Second, Buka Luwur is used as a medium to build social solidarity among all groups.*

Keywords: Da'wah, the Javanese community, the media of da'wah, the rituals Buka Luwur, social solidarity.

الملخص: بوكا لوور عادة وشعائرة يحتفل بها شعب مدينة قدس جاوى الوسطى سنويا، ويعقد هذا الاحتفال تعظيما وتكريما للسيد سونان قدس وهو من أعضاء أولياء التسعة يعني بوكا لوور هو إبدال الساتر (kain nisan) القديم. ويحضر هذا الاحتفال لا يقتصر من مسلمين قدس وحولها فحسب بل يحضره المسلمون من المناطق البعيدة. وجمع لجان الاحتفال الإنفاق والصدقة ووزعها لجميع الحاضرين، وغرض هذا البحث لمعرفة منهج الدعوة عند شعب جاوى بطريق سلسلة الاحتفال الذي يشارك فيه جمع من سانترى وغيره من أبانجان على نهج الاجتماعية وأما منهج هذا البحث فهو بحث نوعي وكيفي، والمستطلع في هذا البحث السادة، ولجان الاحتفال، وشعب قدس، وطريق جمع المعلومات هي الملاحظة والاستقراء، وتحليل المعلومات الانخفاض وتقديم المعلومات والاستنتاج. وأما خلاصة هذا البحث فهي كالتالية: الأولى، سلسلة احتفال بوكا لوور، و ذكرى وفاة السيد سونان قدس، وذلك، بعض من دعوة مسلم جاوى قولاً وفعلاً. الثانية، بوكا لوور كوسيلة في بناء تكافل الاجتماعي لجميع الطائفية.

Abstrak: *Buka Luwur merupakan ritual tahunan yang sudah menjadi tradisi masyarakat Kudus dan dijadikan momen penghormatan terhadap Kanjeng Sunan Kudus dengan penggantian luwur makan. Tradisi tersebut tidak hanya dihadiri dari masyarakat Kudus dan yang beragama Islam saja, namun dari berbagai daerah di pulau Jawa. Ritual Buka Luwur juga menerima berbagai bentuk shadaqah yang akan dibagikan kepada seluruh warga yang mengahdiri. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui dakwah masyarakat Jawa melalui rangkaian ritual Buka Luwur makam Kanjeng Sunan Kudus yang diikuti berbagai kelompok masyarakat, mulai kalangan santri sampai abangan dengan pendekatan teori sosiologis. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, sedangkan responden dalam penelitian ini adalah para tokoh, panitia, masyarakat sekitar lokasi penelitian, dan warga yang mengikuti ritual buka luwur. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah observasi dan indept interview, sedangkan pada analisis data akan digunakan proses analisis meliputi reduksi, penyajian data, dan penyimpulan. Hasil dari artikel ini: Pertama, rentetan acara buka luwur selain untuk memperingati haul Kanjeng Sunan Kudus, juga menjadi bagian dakwah Islam masyarakat Jawa baik secara lisan (bi al-qaul) maupun tindakan sosial (bi al-af'al). Kedua, Buka Luwur*

dijadikan sebagai media untuk membangun solidaritas sosial masyarakat dari semua golongan.

INTRODUCTION

Activities of da'wah as described in the Qur'an and Hadith are the goals of the syiar Islam which is a common obligation. The responsibility of da'wah is not only borne by the dai but every Muslim according to his capacity and ability. In the words of the Apostle, it is explained "convey from me even though one verse", which shows the obligation in delivering da'wah for every Muslim.¹

The majority of Indonesian people who are Muslim have a variety of diversity in how to understand and practice the teachings. This is due to ethnic-cultural background, social status, political orientation, and also education.² Culture is a normative system that regulates community life, contains assumptions, agreements, beliefs and rules that allow group members to interact with others.³ The normative cultural system is a "cultural order of behavior" that can be viewed from the activities of cultural actors and can be observed. Culture, religion, and tradition are three interrelated things that develop in society. These three things always exist in each region and are unique in appreciating them.

The culture that runs in the community is very diverse in reviving the rituals that have been passed down for generations in society. Often rituals carried out by society are not purely Islamic teachings, but how to integrate Islam and local culture, so that it can be accepted by all groups. Ismail Suwardi Wekke research combines adat (*adeq*) and syariat (*saraq*) which is a social law in Bugis society, here Islam can be translated into the lives of local people but still maintains the religious patterns that have been believed, thus creating a new culture for Bugis people.⁴ Basically, in carrying out the rituals, each

¹ Acep Aripuddin, *Dakwah Antarbudaya* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2012), 89.

² Aripuddin, 175.

³ Nur Syam, *Agama Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 13.

⁴ Ismail Suardi Wekke, "Islam dan Adat : Tinjauan Akulturasi Budaya dan Agama Bugis," *Analisis* XIII, no. 1 (2013): 27–56. penelitian ini akan mengkaji interaksi antara Islam dan adat di masyarakat Bugis dalam tinjauan akulturasi budaya. Pendekatan kualitatif digunakan selama proses penelitian. Observasi yang tidak berpartisipasi dan wawancara mendalam diterapkan selama pengumpulan data.

community has a goal for safety and goodness, Arum's research on the tradition of flying envelopes that occurs in the Pilangrejo community is a form of acculturation between culture and religion that produces mutual love for fellow creatures so that harmony in society.⁵ Eko Setiawan also conducted research related to the value of religiosity of the mitoni tradition, a seven-month Javanese tradition combining three religious teachings, namely Islam, Hinduism, and Kejawen. In the mitoni tradition, there is a symbol of safety for both the mother and the baby conceived.⁶ The ritual implementation is also inseparable from the motivation of someone, Ulfa Rahmawati's research saw the motivation of the Mejobo Kudus community in carrying out the order, from sociogenetic and theogenetic motives. Sociogenetics can be seen from the tradition of manakiban which has been carried out in general by the community and families in Kudus Mejobo. Whereas theogenetic motifs are seen in the *wash of* prayer or *tawashul* which are read as having the purpose of gaining blessings from Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani.⁷

In the context of cultural da'wah, as Nafis researches, da'wah is still in the position of *the sub-ordinate system* that receives more changes from its surroundings rather than providing philosophical direction.⁸ But Arifani's research shows that da'wah brought to the archipelago with its cultural acculturation dialectic shows precisely the accommodation carried by the dai very strongly in the local culture. The content of local culture is the most potential target for the development of da'wah so that the presence of Islam is not a threat to most people, but as a cultural transformation, because it

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ada sinergi antara keteguhan dalam adat dengan ketaatan beragama. Dengan menjadikan adeq (adat

⁵ Arum Kholifatul Alyyah, "Amplop Terbang: Religio-Cultural Relations among the Pilangrejo Peoples," *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan* 6, no. 2 (2018): 229–40.

⁶ Eko Setiawan, "Nilai Religius Tradisi Mitoni dalam Perspektif Budaya Bangsa Secara Islami," *al-'Adalah* 18, no. 1 (2015): 39–52.

⁷ Ulfah Rahmawati, "Motif Sosio-Teogenetis dalam Tradisi Manakiban Masyarakat Mejobo Kudus," *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan* 7, no. 1 (2019).

⁸ M. Nafis, "Transformasi Sosial dan Dakwah di Era Milenium III," *Teologia* 16, no. 2 (2005): 1–14.

can enter all classes, especially the lower class.⁹ As da'wah has been carried out by Walisongo, it uses a compromise approach by looking at the background of the people (especially Java) very close to the traditions of their ancestors. So that Islamic da'wah can be accepted among the lower classes through local culture but the material content remains religious.¹⁰ Likewise, with research Mahmud Arif the pattern of Walisongo da'wah is also used in formal education circles by using local culture through popular Javanese art, to embrace the abangan.¹¹ Zainal Muttaqin also saw the cultural preaching of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus, where Islam is present in the midst of the Kudus community, the majority of whom are Hindu-Budhist, can be easily accepted, because the method applied by Sunan Kudus is *bil hikmah* by upholding tolerance by using symbols both religions in conveying Islamic teachings, so that it will attract the sympathy of the Hindu-Buddhist community. The attitude of tolerance taught by Sunan Kudus can be seen from the respect of animals sanctified by Hindus, namely cows, by not allowing the Islamic community to slaughter them. As for the qurban, Eid al-Adha was replaced with a buffalo. Also, Sunan Kudus also respects Buddhists by making eight tornadoes which have carved objects in the shape of statues, which are connected with the noble path of 8 Buddhism.¹²

This article is not look back at the model of da'wah performed by Sunan Kudus, but rather on the series of cultural rituals that is *Buka Luwur*, Kanjeng Sunan Kudus, which is used as propaganda media, both verbally and in *terms of matters*. *Buka Luwur* itself is not only a religious ritual, as interpreted by the participants and the committee, but also there are solidarity values that are built between visitors and benefactors who give away some of their wealth in the ritual.

This article uses a qualitative approach, where the writer is actively involved in important moments of ritual openness. The

⁹ Moh. Anif Arifani, "Eksistensi Budaya Lokal sebagai Model Pengembangan Dakwah; Pendekatan Sosiologis," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 4, no. 12 (2008): 193–214.

¹⁰ Sul Khan Chakim, "Dakwah dan Dialektika Budaya Jawa dalam lintasan Sejarah," *Komunika* 2, no. 1 (2008).

¹¹ Mahmud Arif, "Islam, Kearifan Lokal dan Kontekstualisasi Pendidikan: Kelenturan, Signifikansi, dan Implikasi Edukatifnya," *Al-Tahrir* 15, no. 1 (2015): 67–90.

¹² Zaenal Muttaqin, "Sunan Kudus's Legacy on Cross-Cultural Da'wa," *Harmoni Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius* X, no. 1 (2011): 117–33.

involvements of leaders, committees, communities around the location, and residents who participate in *Buka Luwur* ritual, as primary data sources interview researchers, are also supported by the observation of a series of those activities. Moreover, the analysis model uses the flow of reduction, data presentation, and conclusion, where the stages of reduction are two important things in the ritual, namely ritual as a medium of propaganda, and social solidarity. The ritual is a medium of propaganda by involving religious leaders as a mediation of planting the value of social solidarity by involving indigenous Muslim and non-indigenous non-Muslim businessmen in terms of cultural preservation and concern for the surrounding community more in need, such as the needy, poor, and orphans.

DA'WAH AS A CALL FOR GOOD

Understanding da'wah as an activity of disseminating Islam which has various meanings as follows: *first*, encouraging people to do virtue and follow instructions, to do good deeds and leave the evil to obtain happiness in the hereafter. *Second*, it calls on all humans to return to the true teachings of God by being carried out with full wisdom and good advice. *Third*, change the people from one situation to a better situation in all aspects of life to realize Islamic teachings in the reality of everyday life, both for life individually, family and society. *Fourth*, convey the "call" of Allah and the Apostle to a more dignified life.¹³

The definition of da'wah shows that the delivery of information (Islam) is the substance of da'wah which aims to make the people understand and carry out the propaganda messages that are delivered. Thus a missionary activity is a process of socializing ideas and concepts and internalizing values as well as the rules of Islamic teachings so that they enter into one's behavior. In terms of terminology, da'wah is a social transformation based on Islamic normative values and aims to create an individual and social condition that is in harmony, harmonious and line with Islamic values. Some interpret da'wah normatively by inviting people to the path of godness, as well as for instructions to obtain world happiness and the hereafter.¹⁴

¹³ Abdul Munir Mul Khan, *Paradigma Intelektual Muslim* (Yogyakarta: Sipre, 1992), 100.

¹⁴ Abdul Basit, *Dakwah Remaja* (Purwokerto: Stain Press, 2001), 27.

Ibn Taymiyah interpreted da'wah as a process of effort to invite the community (*mad'u*) to believe in Allah and His Messenger while at the same time obeying what was commanded by Allah and His Messenger. Ali Mahfudh defines da'wah as an effort to motivate mankind to carry out better, follow instructions and order them to do good deeds and prevent evil actions so that they can gain happiness in the world and the hereafter. Based on that understanding, then da'wah is essential not only means the effort to invite to believe and worship Allah, but also to make people aware of the reality of life that they must face based on the instructions of Allah and His Messenger. So da'wah is understood as a call, invitation and call in order to build an Islamic society based on the truth of the true teachings of Islam.¹⁵ As explained in QS. al-Nahl: 125.

آدع إلى سبيل ربك بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة

“Call upon (human) to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good lessons and refute them in a good way. Lo! Your Lord is the one who knows more about who has gone astray from his ways, and he who knows more those who are guided.”

RELIGION AND CULTURE RELIGIOUS

Awareness is a religious aspect that is felt in the mind and can be tested through introspection or can be said to be a mental aspect of religious activity. While religious experience is an element of feeling in religious consciousness, a feeling that brings to the beliefs generated by the action. To measure religiosity, we recognize three dimensions in Islam, namely the aspect of faith (belief), sharia (religious practices, formal rituals) and morals (the practice of *aqidah* and *sharia*).¹⁶

As we know that diversity in Islam is not only manifested in the form of ritual worship, but also other activities. As a comprehensive system, Islam encourages its followers to be religious as a whole, both in thinking, acting and acting, must be based on the principle of surrender and total devotion to God, when, where and under

¹⁵ Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2009).

¹⁶ Jalaluddin, *Psikologi Agama: Memahami Perilaku dengan Mengaplikasikan Prinsip-prinsip Psikologi* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2015).

any circumstances. Therefore, only a concept that can provide an explanation of the whole that can understand the diversity of Muslims.

Understanding of religion can be seen from two angles, namely doctrinaire and sociological psychology. In doctrinaire religion is a teaching that comes from God that functions as a guide to human life so that they live happily in the world and the hereafter. As teaching, religion is good and right and also perfect. However, the truth, goodness, and perfection of a religion are not necessarily in the spirit of its adherents. The understanding of religion sociologically psychologically is human behavior inspired by religious values, which relate directly to God and fellow humans.¹⁷

The implementation of religion in Indonesian society, especially Java, is much associated with a culture that develops and applies in society. Every religious tradition has sacred symbols that show its form of faith in the conduct of rituals.¹⁸ Traditions in society (Javanese) are very diverse such as birth, death, and others. The implementation of the (religious) tradition is always performed using ceremonial or ceremonial. In the ceremony, it contains sacred things and uses various religious symbols in physical form.¹⁹ The ritual implementation always involves religion and magic which is established through tradition by using certain rites.²⁰

Islam is a blessing for all people, as explained in QS. al-Nahl: 125, in the delivery of da'wah one of them wisely (*bil hikmah*), adjusts to the situation and condition of the object of his da'wah. Therefore, at the time Walisongo delivered preaching in Javanese-majority Javanese society using a cultural approach to be accepted in all circles. Cultural da'wah aims to ground the teachings of Islam during society so that people can understand and study religion as an expression of the needs of cultural beings and social beings.²¹ The concept of cultural propagation itself is still in the formulation and the number

¹⁷ Achmad Mubarak, *Konseling Agama Teori dan Kasus* (Jakarta: Bina Rena Pariwara, 2002), 4.

¹⁸ Syam, *Agama Pesisir*, 17.

¹⁹ Nanang Martono, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2014), 304–5.

²⁰ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1983).

²¹ Muhammad Alim Ihsan, “Dakwah: Suatu Pendekatan Kultural,” *Jurnal Hunafa* 5, no. 1 (2008): 129–36.

of social agents that will have an impact on ceremonies, cultural arts, and social structures and transform cultural events into mere customs, entertainment or other forms of culture without a "religious" meaning.²² The success of da'wah will be seen by understanding the place, culture, habits and language of the missionary object.²³

DA'WAH THROUGH TRADITION BUKA LUWUR

Buka Luwur etymologically means to open the shroud. While in terms of Buka Luwur terminology is a series of ceremonies to commemorate the death of Sunan Kudus which was held on the 10th of Muharam with the central area of Syekh Jakfar Sadiq or better known as Sunan Kudus. The open-leaf tradition (mosquito net) of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus's tomb has also reached its peak, namely by re-installing the luwur cupola of Sunan Kudus tomb. The white cloth called luwur by the local people and luwur will be replaced with new fabric through the procession Buka luwur which is deliberately combined with the commemoration ceremony of 10 Muharram each year or known by the community as *haul*.²⁴

The installation process is not carelessly people are allowed to enter the cupola area. Only the scholars and certain people have received invitations from the foundation, and even more unique is that every program is flexible, rarely attended by government officials. The reason is, there is a myth that courageous officials through the twin gates in the area of the towering mosque will lose their authority and descend their office.

Procession of *Buka* has begun since Dzulhijjah, which begins with: *First*, the ceremony to guarantee the inheritance of Sunan Kudus in the form of a keris named Cinthaka or Ciptaka. Guarantee of keris kelok: *luk* (curves; curved; curved) nine with golden ornaments attached to *gandhik* (jewelry on the upper keris) was carried out in the month of Dzhulhijjah. This heirloom guarantee is carried out in Tajug hall and is held after the Eid al-Adha feast on the first Monday or Thursday after the tasyrik day (11-13 Dzulhijjah).²⁵

²² Timothy P. Daniels, *Performance, Popular Culture. and Piety in Muslim Southeast Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

²³ Masykurotus Syarifah, "Budaya Dan Kearifan Dakwah," *al-Balagh Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 1, no. 1 (2016).

²⁴ Interview with the chairman of the Nadjib Hasan foundation.

²⁵ Interview with the committee.

The washing staff is a special person of choice and recommendation of the clerics of the clergy. The guarantee starts at around 07.30 with a washing time of around 2 hours. According to the committee every washing heritage, the weather certainly *timbreng* (weather *timbreng* is where the weather is not hot and not raining, the sun is also obscured by clouds *overcast*). Community trust, *timbreng* weather signifies the efficacy of inheritance, others consider it accidental. In addition to the keris, two tridents usually installed on the side of the mihrab or the imitation of the al-Aqsa mosque also participated in the same way.

The closing ceremony was filled with tahlil and the attendees were given roasted opor dishes. The menu selection is based on Sunan Kudus's favorite food. The habit of washing keris (*kolo* in Javanese) is contested by people who have keris at home. The community believes that *colo* if this used to wash the keris again, it will get a blessing from Sunan Kudus.²⁶

Second, the release of luwur and the manufacture of luwur new (1 Muharram). The departure ceremony *luwur* Sunan Kudus which began around 06.00. before *luwur* is opened, it is first recited tahlil and prayer at the tomb of Sunan Kudus. The tahlil recitation and the release of *luwur* were led by elderly *kiai* inside the tomb of Sunan Kudus. The symbolic opening was carried out in the tomb of Sunan Kudus by elderly clerics, then followed by releasing *Luwur* around the tomb of Sunan Kudus by the committee and residents present. The liquid released then taken to the Tajug hall to be tidied up.

Third, Munadharah Masa'il Diniyyah. In the ceremony of *Buka*, a variety of activities are held that have relations with the aim of Islamic da'wah. One of them was *Munadharah Masa'il Diniyyah*. The moment is a forum for the pious to discuss problems that arise in the community and have not received legal provisions. *Masa'il Diniyyah Munadharah* was held between 1-10 Muharram at the Masjid al-Aqsa Menara Kudus.

The discussion of the material in the event was a collection of questions submitted by the community and had been coordinated by the previous committee. Disagreements in discussions often occur and are discussed together to obtain agreement. *Munadharah* ends by

²⁶ Interview with the ceremony participant

reading the conclusions of the answers and the laws of each question that has been discussed.

Fourth, apostle prayer and flying papat (8 Muharram). The event was held at the house of Masjid Menara and Makam Sunan Kudus Foundation, while flying papat was held on the 8th of Muharram at 08.00 WIB at the foyer of Masjid al-Aqsa Mosque by singing kasidah al-Barzanzi terbang papat is one of the special arts of Kudus that uses a composition of four flying or tambourines and one sleep. The four tambourines consist of long, telon, fault, and lajer. The lyrics of the song sung by the accompaniment of Tebang Papat came from fifteen songs of the Majmu'ah Maulud Syarafil Anam book.²⁷

Fifth, *Khatmil Qur'an bil Ghaib* (9 Muharram). A series of open-air events are also held 9 times khataman, namely reading the holy verses of the Qur'an in full 30 juz, which is held on the 9th of Muharram (9th Syuro) at 05:00 a.m. or after Fajr at the Al-Masjidil Aqsa Menara. This Khataman can only be done by the hafidh and begins tausiah from KH. Sya'roni Ahmadi (elder kiai).

Sixth, compensation for orphans. On the 9th of Syuro at 07.00 WIB a donation was held for the orphans at the Menara mosque. Actually, the event is a new event proposed by Khalimi (Interview with one of the organizers) and has been implemented for several years. As for those who are entitled to receive compensation for orphans with an age limit for 11-year-old sons and 10-year-old daughters. The program began with tausiyah about encouragement to help orphans because according to the scholars', Bulan Syuro is the month of orphans so that this month Muslims are encouraged to love orphans. Children are also invited together to pray for their parents who are gone. Compensation provided comes from the committee and community alms given directly.

Seventh, distribution of Ash-Syuro Porridge. The next series of events was the distribution of Asy-Syuro porridge in the Kudus community which had a philosophy relating to the memorial symbol of the salvation of Noah as well as his large boat from the great flood that struck the people of Noah as at that time (Interview with Lia resident of the Holy Kauman). Asyuro porridge which is placed in *takir* made from banana leaves consists of 10 mixtures of food ingredients, such as rice, cassava, corn, green beans, soybeans,

²⁷ Tim, *Data Buka Luwur* (Kudus, n.d.), 12.

bananas, until the peculiar fruit of the muria, pamelorange. Besides, there are also eggs, shrimp, and anchovy which are used as sprinkles of porridge. This Asyuro porridge will be distributed to residents living in Damaran, Kejasan and Kauman Villages around the Kudus tower complex, after the mothers read al-barzanji at the Pawestren mosque. The Asyuro porridge divider is done by young women. They traveled from one house to another, this is a symbol of caring and togetherness for the local people. This porridge is as *bancaan*.²⁸

Eighth, recitation of al-Barzanji and the general religious lecture at 10 Syuro. Before the implementation of the 10th evening recitation of Muharram Ba'da congregational prayer, the Barzanji reading, the teenagers and the characters who resided in Kauman Village (around the tower), for women in Pawastren, while the men in the Pendug Tajug. This *Luwur* ceremony is also intended as one of the symbols of Islam, namely in commemoration of the Hijri New Year. At night before the new flexible replacement was carried out public recitation by the charismatic cleric appointed by the Management of the Masjid Menara Foundation and the Tomb of Sunan Kudus, could be scholars from the local Kudus area or scholars from other places. This recitation was carried out precisely on the 10th night of Syuro after the Isya' prayer. In this general religious lecture, *tausiah* is conveyed about the struggle and personality of Sunan Kudus which is expected to be a role model by the community, so that by giving the theme of recitation the community can imitate and remember all the struggles and hard work of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus in defending Islam and applying it to daily life the day.

Ninth, distribution of rice blessings (10 Muharram). On the 10th of Syuro around 04.30 WIB or after the Morning Prayer, the distribution of this blessings had begun. This rice blessing is intended for the community by exchanging rice brought from home and then exchanging it with rice, which is flexible. Initially, it was intended for residents around the tower and the organizers who helped in the process of *Buka Luwur* by donating rice. However, more and more people who come from outside the city to join the program openly, the policy is to share the blessing of copies to anyone who donates rice and exchanged for thanks to the *sego uyah asem*, although some people know it as *jangkrak rice*.

²⁸ Interview with the committee.

Tenth, the distribution of shadaqah blessings. Thanks to the shadaqah card, it is a blessing intended for people who have given shadaqah in open-air programs. Usually giving shadaqah to get a coupon thanks to shadaqah is closed at 17.00 WIB. Thanks to the shadaqah given to the community as a thank you from the committee to the community. For those who give small donations at least shadaqoh 25,000, - for each, later they will get a card that says K and take blessings at the counter that says K too, then you will get rice wrapped in teak leaves containing rice and meat. Whereas a large shadaqah contributor for 250,000, -, will get a card that reads B and takes the blessing at the counter that reads B too and gets a basket of rice and meat. The two forms are thanks to the model *uyah Asem* (interview with one of the guardians of the blessing counter on the 10th of Muharram). As for donors of large shadaqah, for example, a buffalo, it will be given a special addition delivered by the committee. In its development, thanks to the cards were also given to participants who helped *Buka Luwur* programs such as cooks, chopper, khatimin and orphans. The distribution thanks to the shadaqah card is carried out after the distribution of the blessing of the copy at 05.00 - 08.30 a.m. According to one informant (Yati), that shadaqah was given by the community, not all of them came from Muslims. Many of the non-Muslims donated buffaloes or others in this program, for example, Djarum, Pura (the largest paper mill in Southeast Asia) and other companies. They did for the sake of obtaining blessings from the Buka luwur event.²⁹

Eleventh, distributing general blessings (*jangkrik rice*). General blessings are blessings that will be shared before the opening of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus event. The community has been queuing in the neighborhood of the Al-Aqsa Mosque since the evening of 10 Muharram. A large number of queues for the committee, arranging and preparing the queue line so that the blessing process can run orderly and orderly. The queue between men and women is distinguished. The committee has made rules to differentiate the queue so that there is no chaos. The distribution of rice starts at 5:30 a.m. until 9:00 a.m. On the morning of the 10th of Muharam the community was crammed into a narrow alley next to Tajug. The community believes

²⁹ Interview with buka luwur participants Nazaruddin.

in the existence of blessings or *barakah* in *Buka Luwur* of Kangjeng Sunan Kudus event.

This general distribution of blessings begins with the recitation of prayer by the caretaker of the Kanjeng Sunan Kudus Tomb after the morning prayer. Prayer began the distribution of general blessings carried out in the Tajug Tower of the Holy Tower. *Jangkrik rice* is very unique and unique with teak leaves wrapped in bamboo or straw matting. Besides rice, there is also buffalo or goat meat cooked with spices *tamarind*. It is said the *jangkrik rice* is one of Sunan Kudus's favorite foods besides roasted chicken *opor*. According to one resident, the philosophy of distributing *jangkrik rice* is to build a spirit of sharing with fellow humans, especially the people in need. Blessings are distributed to various groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim, except for *nadzar* meat which is devoted to Muslims only.

At the peak of the program, it is also flexible, with the distribution of a small portion of cloth (10-20 cm) along with a basket. On 12th Muharram, 3-5 meters in size will also be distributed to the clerics, residents who have helped, and donors according to the advice of the *elder kiai*. The purpose of the division *luwur* is *tabarakan* or *ngalab berkah* (get blessings) because 24 hours of pilgrimage from the tomb of Sunan Kudus came to read the Koran and prayers. Trust in society is the cloth of the *mori* which will become an intermediary in obtaining blessings in life, either in the form of health or fluency in sustenance.³⁰

CEREMONY FOR THE INSTALLATION OF LUWUR TOMB OF KANJENG SUNAN KUDUS

The highlight of the *Buka luwur* event on the 10th of Syuro/Muharram morning was held at Tajug Hall, about 100 meters from the Tomb of Sunan Kudus. The hydration atmosphere was felt throughout the event at Tajug Pendopo which was used as a recitation. The Tajug pavilion page will be full of pilgrims and residents who are a blessing. While almost all of the leaders of the old City of Kudus will attend, so are the important figures of Kudus City from government elements, community leaders, stakeholders of the Java guardian tombs, and many parties present at the invitation.

³⁰ Interview with the committee.

The opening ceremony of Buka Luwur is opened by reciting *Iftitah bi al-Fatihah* by reading the letter al-fatihah, followed by *Qira'atil Qur'an*, then dzikir along with reading *hasbunallah ni'mal wakil ni'mal maula wa ni'man nasyir* 70 times and ends by reading the prayer of Ashuro. The event was held in front of Tajug. After that, the event continued with the recitation of tahlil and prayers at the Tomb of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus. However, previously accompanied by shalawat readings from the audience. *Fields* New will be installed in the Kanjeng Sunan Kudus Tomb that is carried from the Tajug pavilion to Pesarean. Arriving at Pesarean, the newly installed luwur is luwur which covers Kanjeng Sunan Kudus's tomb inside. At the gate of the tomb, a cloth with written *al-Sayyid Ja'far Sadiq Waliyullah was* with Arabic letters. After luwur is installed, a reading of tahlil and prayer is carried out. After the ceremony of installation of luwur, the attendees have distributed thanks to the luwur and pieces of the old elegant fabric of Kanjeng Sunan Kudus.

This ritual and open tradition have become an annual tradition which is to remember the guardians who have died because they are a milestone in the spread of Islam. Ritual Buka luwur intended as one of the symbols of Islam, in which the series of open ceremonies is very flexible, many are carried out by preaching both *bi al-qaul* and *bi al-hal*. This Syiar function is then trusted by the Kudus community to continue to preserve this tradition for the continuity of the nuances of the religiosity of the people of Kudus City. This is because the foundation wants to maintain the spiritual value of Islam wrapped in local values that are still inherent in society.

BUKA LUWUR: Da'wah Media and Social Solidarity

Buka luwur are part of the history of the results of the da'wah from Sunan Kudus as a result of religious tolerance. As the opinion of Ibn Khaldun history is the causes, events, and behavior of the previous people.³¹ Whereas Buka luwur is the result of a history of sacred saints as a form of religious tolerance. The value of wisdom in the da'wah applied by Sunan Kudus is very visible, by trying to adapt to the majority of the Hindu religious community. One form of preaching wisdom is not allowed for the Kudus Muslim community at that time to slaughter cattle as sacred animals that are Hindu. James Peacock

³¹ Ibnu Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2011), 76.

states that Islamic and local cultures can unite and compete, as well as global and local cultures have a survival strategy with a synthesis of syncretic, Islamic, and³² as long as this does not conflict with the teachings Islam.

Da'wah *bil hikmah* which can be seen at the opening ceremony, starting from the shadaqah that can be donated at the event, does not limit the number and shape of the goods to be donated. Even the giving of charity also came from various groups who were not only Muslims. Large companies in the City of Kudus also had the role of donating part of their assets to the committee, to be used by the people present. Despite other motivations, namely getting blessings from the flexible program.

Da'wah *bil qaul* visible from events, *Diniyyah Masa'il Munadharah* which awaited this moment the citizens to listen to the decision of the pious to the problems that are often debated in the community. In addition, there is a public recitation on the 10th of Asyuro, where the people present can directly listen to tausiah from the clerics appointed by the committee to be resource persons. Da'wah *bil hal* in the opening ceremony, seen in the donations of orphans, distribution of Asy-Syuro porridge, distribution of *uyah asem* and *jangkrik rice*. It is one of the ways in sharing Islam, because there are many Islamic and non-Islamic communities from various circles to witness the series of events starting from the 1st to the 10th of Muharram.

As in the tradition, *Buka* although it appears to be a tradition that has no function because it is only a procession of replacing Mori cloth at the tomb, and there is a certain assumption that the tradition can lead to things that are contrary to religious norms. But the tradition *Buka* has a function, motivation, and certain values that are believed by the perpetrators.

Regarding motivation, seeing what the community does in conducting a *Luwur* ritual can be categorized as the motivation underlying the ritual is religious motivation. Religious motivation itself is a human instinct to always be close, back, and ask for help from God. Here religion offers a transcendental relationship through

³² Daniels, *Performance, Popular Culture and Piety in Muslim Southeast Asia*, 217.

worship and worship,³³ in a series of *Buka Luwur* ceremonies of Sunan Kudus, thus providing a strong emotional basis for the people present at the ceremony. The community has the presumption that there is magical power from the *mori* which is installed in the tomb of Sunan Kudus and also the rice that is distributed to the people so that they are willing to jostle just to get a packet of rice. The blessing of a packet of rice that is believed by the community indicates that the community believes in the existence of something God's power (which is sacred) that is beyond the power of man himself. It is precisely like this that it becomes something fundamental in religion that has an important role in religious beliefs and rituals in society. Sacred functions in religion are the main factors that play a role in society as a whole.³⁴

Buka luwur ceremony also has social relations between people, where the event is a gathering of holy communities to meet their needs such as cooking *jangkrik rice*, cutting animals, cleaning animals, cooking rice and cooking meat, wrapping *jangkrik rice* and then distributing it. As Durkheim saw the function of religion relating to social solidarity.³⁵ Religion has a function to unite community members, fulfill community needs, strengthen collective feelings and ideas for the people of Kudus and its surroundings who already have the same values and perspectives in *Buka* rituals.

CONCLUSION

Buka Luwur ritual ceremony is the replacement of mosquito nets or cloth from the tomb of the guardian of Sunan Kudus, namely Sheikh Ja'far Shodiq precisely in Kudus Tower complex known by the community with the term *haul* of Sunan Kudus. *Buka Luwur* ritual is held starting on the 1st of Muharram until its peak on the 10th of Muharram around the tomb area of Sunan Kudus. This program was used as a media of preaching to the Islamic community in Java through a series of religious rituals, from the preaching of *bil qaul*, *semaan* and also social preaching by giving *sadaqah* to the poor through the committee of *Buka Luwur*.

³³ Ridwan Lubis, *Sosiologi Agama* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2015), 23.

³⁴ Daniel L Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 146.

³⁵ Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*.

Buka Luwur contained sacred values that people believe can make their lives better. It also gives legitimacy to live, beliefs, institutions, and rules that have been carried out by the community. Social actions carried out by the community in open-air rituals always require legitimacy from traditions that have been running in the community of Kudus.

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