

The Transformation of Arebbe Tradition as a Form of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic Cultural Assimilation

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Abstract: The *Arebbe* tradition is the result of cultural assimilation that reflects a blend of religious beliefs and practices transmitted across generations. However, inherited traditions are not always preserved in their original form, nor are they necessarily maintained indefinitely. Only values or practices perceived as beneficial and relevant to contemporary community needs tend to survive. This study aims to explore the form of cultural assimilation embedded within the *Arebbe* tradition among the people of Dusun Tamanan, Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency, Madura. It also seeks to identify the social and religious impacts of this tradition on the local community. Employing a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach, data were obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation. The findings reveal that (1) prior to the establishment of the *Arebbe* tradition, the local community practiced *sontengan* and *sonsonan*, syncretic rituals influenced by Hindu-Buddhist elements through Javanese traditions, involving offerings locally known as *bhe'sabhe*'. These were gradually assimilated and transformed into the Islamic-influenced *Arebbe* tradition. (2) The assimilation process is partial, as the purpose of *Arebbe* has shifted from solely honoring deceased ancestors to also including prayers for the living, such as children or family members facing significant life events. The implication of this study suggests that *Arebbe* functions not only as a cultural heritage but also as a dynamic medium of spiritual expression and social solidarity, adaptable to the evolving religious consciousness of the community.

Keywords: Arebbe, Cultural Assimilation, Dusun Tamanan

Abstrak: Tradisi *Arebbe* merupakan hasil asimilasi budaya yang mencerminkan perpaduan antara kepercayaan dan praktik keagamaan yang diwariskan secara turun-temurun. Namun demikian, tidak semua tradisi yang diwariskan dipertahankan secara utuh maupun dilestarikan secara terus-menerus. Hanya nilai atau kebiasaan yang dianggap bermanfaat dan relevan dengan kebutuhan masyarakat masa kini yang cenderung bertahan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bentuk asimilasi budaya yang terkandung dalam tradisi *Arebbe* di kalangan masyarakat Dusun Tamanan, Desa Prenduan, Kecamatan Pragaan, Kabupaten Sumenep, Madura, serta menganalisis dampak sosial dan keagamaan dari tradisi tersebut terhadap kehidupan masyarakat lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis, melalui wawancara, observasi, dan dokumentasi sebagai sumber data primer dan sekunder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa (1) sebelum berkembangnya tradisi *Arebbe*, masyarakat setempat melaksanakan ritual *sontengan* dan *sonsonan*, yang merupakan bentuk sinkretisme Hindu-Buddha melalui tradisi Kejawen dengan sesaji yang dikenal sebagai *bhe'sabhe*'. Tradisi tersebut kemudian mengalami proses asimilasi dan berubah menjadi tradisi *Arebbe* yang bernuansa Islami. (2) Asimilasi yang terjadi bersifat parsial, di mana tujuan *Arebbe* tidak lagi terbatas pada mendoakan leluhur yang telah wafat, tetapi juga diperluas untuk mendoakan keluarga yang masih hidup, seperti anak yang akan menghadapi ujian atau mencari pekerjaan. Implikasi dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa *Arebbe* tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai warisan budaya, tetapi juga sebagai sarana ekspresi spiritual dan solidaritas sosial yang terus berkembang sesuai kesadaran religius masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: *Arebbe*, Asimilasi Budaya, Dusun Tamanan

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Introduction

The spread of Islam in Indonesia is inseparable from the influence of the Walisongo (nine saints), who transformed much of Hindu-Buddhist culture into Islamic values, particularly on the islands of Java and Madura. It is therefore not surprising that Madura, famous for its Medina porch, still houses relics of temples and monasteries, demonstrating the long-standing hegemony of the Hindu-Buddhist royal dynasty in the region, spanning approximately 600 years (900 AD–1500 AD) (De Jonge, 1989).

This has a big influence on the development of culture in Madura, starting from cultural traditions. *selamatan 40 areh, nyatos, nyebuh and rokat*. Likewise, tradition *would have* which developed in Madurese society. In ancient times, this culture was closely related to offerings made by Hindu-Buddhist communities, who offered various types of food to ancestral spirits in places considered mystical, but this tradition *would have* has experienced assimilation carried out by the Madurese community by giving a plate of rice to religious figures specifically to pray for parents, relatives or ancestors who have died in Islamic ways (Akhmad Khoirul Zakaria, 2021).

Tradition *Would* In general, Madurese people also call it almsgiving. Of course, this tradition is usually carried out by Madurese people, especially in remote areas, to welcome the month of Ramadan. However, with the development of the assimilation process and the formation of a new culture, then... *Would* This tradition is not only carried out during Ramadan; in fact, this tradition is also often carried out by the Madurese people for all religious purposes. Also, when approaching the holy month of Ramadan, there is another intention carried out by the Madurese people: to give merit to the deceased. Although the implementation and rituals of this tradition vary from region to region, it is commonplace because it has its own unique techniques. Typically, it is done by delivering food to neighbors, relatives, or religious figures, including various types of food, such as opor rice, various cakes, and raw foods like eggs and rice (Pratiwi, 2023).

Culture *would have* is the result of cultural assimilation, beliefs, events that are passed down from generation to generation, but something that is inherited does not mean it must be accepted in its entirety, appreciated or kept until death. The culture that is preserved is usually the values or habits that are considered good, relevant to the needs of society from time to time. So sometimes the process of assimilation occurs in the culture of society because this culture is carried out with a clear basis and argument so that it becomes a belief in spirituality based on inner experience so that the practice of this cultural tradition is carried out in a unique and distinctive way and often varies between one community group in one region and another.

This is also seen in culture *Would* or *ter-ater* namely giving something in the form of food to other people with the hope of getting approval from Allah SWT, which is better known as giving alms, but the difference is cultural *alter-ater* is the act of sending food between relatives or close neighbors, while the tradition *would have* specifically for religious figures or Koran teachers. This is also seen in the culture *Would* or *ter-ater*, namely giving something in the form of food to other people with the hope of getting approval from Allah SWT, which is better known as giving alms, but the difference is that *ter-ater* is sending food to each other between relatives or close neighbors, while the tradition of *would have* specifically for religious figures with the aim of praying for the deceased family, not only specifically for one family member, but also for all the deceased family members by mentioning the name of the deceased along with the lineage.

As for culture *would have* which was held in Tamanan hamlet, Prenduan village, Sumenep, Madura which was held in the month of *rebbe* (bulan Sya'ban), It is also obligatory to do it on the Eid al-Fitr (Eid al-Adha) and on Friday nights, or on certain days when

commemorating *haul* The day of the dead is celebrated with the aim that the kiai or religious teacher will dedicate prayers to the elders or the deceased by mentioning the names of the deceased family members. Uniquely, in this village, this tradition *Would* also specifically for living people where the sender *would have* dedicating a child's birthday to praying specifically for the child's exams or affairs to run smoothly, and the food sent can be food in general *would have*, it can also be raw materials where there is a plate tray filled with rice or corn rice on top of which there is folded money, either 2000 or 5000, depending on the sender's sincerity. *would have*, Besides the food, don't forget the clothes the child will wear when taking exams, or starting school for the first time or going out to look for work.

The people in this hamlet strongly believe that the prayers of the kiai are very effective because they are considered to be close to the Creator and are also believed to have a better understanding and expertise in religious knowledge and the science of life, so it is not surprising that in this hamlet it is not said that... *would have* if you haven't asked for prayers (by sending food) to the kiai or teacher to find *blissing* through his prayers, with the hope that what he hopes for in his life will come true or as the Madurese people call it "*teak wish*" (Romadhon, 2020).

Several studies highlighting the Arebbe tradition and other studies related to cultural acculturation have been used as initial review material by the researcher. This was done to minimize similarities with previous scientific works and ensure the originality of this research. These studies include: a study conducted by Sasmita da Widuatie (2015) revealed that the Pendhalungan culture is the result of the mixing of Madurese and Javanese ethnicities, both through physical marriage and the meeting of the two cultural systems. This process gave birth to new cultural forms that influence each other without causing conflict or harm between the cultural groups involved.

Other research conducted by Fakhira (2016) shows that the dhunhunan tradition is part of the Javanese life cycle rituals. In practice, a process of assimilation occurs between Islamic culture and Javanese traditions, as seen in the implementation of prayers with Islamic nuances, such as the recitation of the Barzanji prayer. However, over time, the symbolic values within the uborampe elements have shifted in meaning. These symbols are no longer interpreted spiritually or magically, so their symbolic power has weakened in the collective consciousness of society.

Both studies share a similar focus: cultural assimilation. However, each study focuses on a different topic. The Pendhalungan tradition specifically addresses the intersection of Madurese and Javanese cultures in the Jember region, while the Dhundhunan tradition examines the ritual practices of the Javanese community in Pekalongan, which have undergone assimilation with Islamic elements. Unlike both, this study focuses on the Arebbe tradition, a local cultural practice in Madura that represents the assimilation of Hindu-Buddhist, Javanese, and Islamic traditions within the Tamanan Hamlet community in Prenduan Village, Sumenep.

One of the studies that is relevant to the theme *Would* conducted by Nabawiyah (2018), revealed that the practice *Would* which is usually held on Friday night has a basis in religious legitimacy, namely the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. In this tradition, *Would* understood as a form *charity* whose reward is given to the deceased. In addition, the tradition of reciting the Yasin letter over the dishes (food offerings) brought during the funeral *Would* It is also interpreted as an implementation of the Prophet's recommendation to read the Yasin letter to pray for people who have died.

Tradition *would have* In Tamanan hamlet, it is interesting to study it considering, 1) the ritual *would have* which is carried out from generation to generation is closely related to Islamic culture which encourages giving alms to others and is included in the good deeds recommended by the Prophet 2) preserving Madurese culture to introduce the kinship system to the ancestral line through the habit of always praying for deceased family members 3) tradition *would have* obligatory to the kiai because of the obedience or compliance of the Madurese people to

the teacher or kiai, the term "*Dad', Bapphu', Teacher, Ratoh*" (Father, Mother, Teacher, Leader) is really applied by the Madurese people. That is, respect or reverence after parents are teachers, including kiai and scholars, then leaders, so that before delivering food to relatives or neighbors it is obligatory first *would have* to the kiai or teacher 4) The arebbe tradition which is usually aimed at praying for the spirits of deceased family members has experienced a slight shift to praying for the living family members.

The Arebbe tradition is a local cultural heritage of the Madurese people that still exists today, particularly in Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village. This research is important because the Arebbe tradition not only contains a religious dimension but also reflects a complex process of cultural assimilation between local elements and Islamic teachings. The selection of this topic is based on the phenomenon that although the tradition continues to be preserved, the community's understanding of the values behind the Arebbe practice is often passed down from generation to generation without critical examination. Furthermore, there is a research gap regarding the extent to which this tradition has undergone transformation and how it impacts the social and religious order of the local community. Previous research generally discusses Arebbe as part of an alms ritual for the deceased, but not many have revealed the dynamics of cultural assimilation that occurs, as well as its social relevance in the present. Therefore, this study aims to explore the forms of cultural assimilation in the Arebbe tradition and identify how it differs from similar practices in the past, while also offering new perspectives on the role of this tradition in building social and spiritual solidarity in the community.

Method

This study aims to reveal the form of cultural assimilation in traditions *would have* and its influence on strengthening the religious values of the Tamanan Hamlet community, Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency, Madura. To achieve this goal, this study uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological study type. The phenomenological approach was chosen because it is able to deeply explore the subjective meanings that individuals or groups have towards a particular cultural experience, particularly traditions *would have* (Moleong, 2017).

This type of research is *field research*, namely field research aimed at understanding cultural phenomena contextually. Data were collected through direct observation and in-depth interviews (Sugiyono, 2017) with key informants, such as religious figures (kiai and ustadz), as well as community members who practice traditional customs *would have* in Tamanan Hamlet. The data analysis technique used is the interactive model from Saldana, Miles, and Huberman (2014), which includes three stages: (1) *data condensation* (data condensation), (2) *data display* (data presentation), and (3) *drawing and verifying conclusions* (drawing and verifying conclusions). To ensure the validity of the data, researchers use triangulation techniques, namely comparing and confirming data from various sources, methods, and time periods.

Results and Discussion

Cultural Assimilation of Arebbe Tradition

Cultural assimilation can be understood as the process of mixing two cultural elements that causes the loss of some or all of the characteristics of the original culture, thus giving rise to a new, more integrated and unified cultural form (Hendropuspito, 1989). In the context of Madurese society, this assimilation process is reflected in the evolution of traditions *would have*, which did not happen instantly, but rather through a fairly long historical stage. Tradition *would have* itself is a transformation of local cultural practices such as *the grandson or evening*, which is part of ancient Madurese culture and is heavily influenced by elements of Javanese beliefs and offerings from pre-Islamic Kejawen teachings. With the arrival of Islam,

these traditions underwent adjustments in their values, leading to a more Islamic form of religious practice accepted by Madurese Muslims.

In traditional Javanese religious traditions, the practice of offering offerings is an integral part of daily life. Offerings are viewed as a spiritual medium for establishing a harmonious relationship between humans and the forces of nature beyond themselves. Their primary function is as a form of slametan, a ritual to ask for safety and protection from various forms of danger or disturbance. According to Endaswara (2015), for Javanese people, not performing offerings would create a sense of imbalance in life, so this tradition is maintained as much as possible as part of sacred and symbolic local wisdom.

Sesajen (offering) is a ritual practice involving offerings of food, drink, flowers, incense, frankincense, and other paraphernalia (ubarampe) symbolically as a form of respect and gratitude to ancestral spirits, spirits, or other spiritual entities. These offerings are typically placed in locations considered sacred or mystical by the community. The tradition of sesajen is believed to have originated from Hindu-Buddhist cultural heritage, or even earlier, from pre-Hindu-Buddhist times, when animism and dynamism were still dominant, and then acculturated with Javanese culture and other local cultures in the archipelago (Humaeni, 2021).

In the Madura region, particularly in Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency, there are three forms of offering traditions that have been preserved by some local communities. These three forms include *the grandson*, *evening*, and offerings *moang na'as*. These traditions generally use ritual equipment or *the medicine* which in local Madurese terms is called *brother's wife*. Each form of offering has its own symbolic meaning and function in the context of local community beliefs before the strong influence of Islam (Aminullah, 2017). In the traditions of the Madurese community, particularly in Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, *brother's wife's wife* refers to a type of offering in the form of food accompanied by the burning of incense or frankincense. This offering is *grandson*—that is, dedicated specifically—to supernatural entities such as ancestral spirits or spirits believed to inhabit sacred, haunted, or supernaturally powerful places. Local communities interpret this practice as a form of respect and devotion to their ancestors. They believe that after death, a person's soul transforms into a spirit that lingers in the surrounding area. Therefore, *brother's wife's wife* offered as a means of maintaining a spiritual connection between the living and the deceased, as well as an effort to create harmony with the supernatural realm, which is believed to influence human life (Sumarno, 2013). The use of incense or joss sticks in traditional practices is often interpreted as a medium for conveying offerings to the supernatural realm. This element is usually used in the context of spiritual rituals related to communication or respect for non-physical entities, such as ancestral spirits or spirits. In practice, the use of incense or joss sticks is also synonymous with the activities of spiritualists such as shamans or paranormal, who believe that the smoke from these substances functions as a bridge between the real world and the supernatural world.

One form of offering tradition in Tamanan Hamlet is known as *evening*, namely the practice of placing offerings at locations considered sacred and possessing strong mystical value. Local people believe that certain places such as rivers, seas, and crossroads are inhabited by supernatural beings or spirits. Crossroads, locally called *other steps* (literally meaning “crow's footprint”), believed to be a point of spiritual energy and often used as a place to place offerings *brother's wife's wife*, which is called *moang na'as*. Apart from that, people also believe that old wells are inhabited by guardian spirits called *judgment* or *they araksa*, an entity considered to be the protector or caretaker of a place. This belief is part of a local animistic belief system, in which natural elements are considered to possess spiritual powers that must be respected and maintained through regular offerings.

The primary purpose of the offering tradition in Prenduan Village is to foster harmonious relationships with all of God's creatures. Initially, offerings were understood as a

form of charity given to relatives, ancestors, and spirits, as part of a local belief system that emphasized the importance of maintaining balance and harmony among creatures. For some Prenduan residents, this practice is not only interpreted as a cultural heritage tradition, but also as an expression of gratitude and a symbol of supplication to God Almighty (MC, 2010). Thus, offerings serve as a spiritual means to strengthen the relationship between humans, nature, and the Creator within the local cosmological order.

The practice of offering offerings to spirits or supernatural entities at sacred sites has gradually been abandoned by the people of Tamanan Hamlet. This is inseparable from the influence of Islamic reformers who, through their sermons and lectures, criticized and rebuked traditions deemed contrary to the teachings of monotheism. With increasing religious understanding and access to Islamic education, people have begun to realize the importance of purifying religious practices from mystical elements inconsistent with Islamic values. As a result, traditions such as *the grandson And evening*, especially those related to giving offerings in places believed to have supernatural inhabitants—such as wells, rivers, seas, or crossroads that local people call *other steps*—experienced a significant decline in its implementation.

The decline of the *bhe' sa bhe'* tradition in Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, is due to the growing influence of the teachings of Islamic scholars (kyai), Koran teachers, and community leaders who actively provide religious guidance to the community. They emphasize the importance of the socially beneficial meaning of almsgiving, compared to the practice of giving offerings, which is seen as simply wasting food without providing any real benefit to others. Along with these changes, new terms have emerged, such as *Arebba*, Arokat, and Arasol—which are forms of transformation from old traditions to alms practices that are more in line with Islamic values.

Tradition *Arebba* is a form of cultural acculturation between the practice of offerings or sacrificial offerings rooted in Hindu-Buddhist beliefs with the values of charity in Islamic teachings. Along with the development of societal religiosity, the practice of offerings or sacrificial offerings has also increased. *brother's wife's wife* which was originally directed to the guardian spirits of nature such as rivers, seas, or sacred places (*other steps*), experienced a shift in meaning. This tradition was later modified by replacing offerings with giving food to religious figures such as kyai, Koran teachers, or other individuals deemed worthy of receiving alms, to request prayers for deceased family members.

Tradition *Arebba* is a socio-religious practice of giving a plate of rice to a Koran teacher or kyai with the intention of asking for prayers for parents or family members who have passed away. This tradition is generally carried out on Friday nights (Thursday nights) and is still preserved among the people of Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency. In Madurese culture, this tradition reaches its peak in the month of Sha'ban in the Hijri calendar, namely the eighth month which is believed to be a time full of blessings. In this month, Muslims are encouraged to increase good deeds, especially charity, because it is believed to be the time when the record of one year's good deeds is collected and a new page of good deeds is opened. Therefore, the Madurese people call the month of Sha'ban the "month of rebbe", which refers to the practice of giving food alms with rewards given specifically to the deceased from the family who carries out this tradition (Muhri, 2016).

Tradition *Arebba* The Tamanan Hamlet represents a concrete manifestation of the assimilation of local culture with Islamic religious values deeply rooted in Madurese society. This assimilation process not only preserves ancestral culture but also serves as a means of internalizing religious values through symbols and social practices. According to Yani (2020), local traditions such as *Arebba* can be an effective medium for cultural preaching because it presents a spiritual experience that is collective and contextual.

To clarify the results, the following table illustrates the historical process of transformation from offerings to practice. *Would*.

Aspect	Old Form	New Form (<i>Would</i>)	Social/Religious Function
Ritual	<i>Bhesa bhe</i> in a sacred place	Charity to kyai/ ustadz/ neighbors	Strengthening solidarity, Islamic faith
Target Party	Spirits or ancestors	Ancestors and the living	The function of intergenerational prayer
Media	Food + incense	Food, money, clothes	The practice of effective charity

with social findings, traditions *Would* Strengthening community solidarity. This practice strengthens relationships between residents through communal almsgiving and strengthens the legitimacy of local religious figures (kyai/Quran teachers) as spiritual bridges. This aligns with findings from international journals that the acculturation of religious traditions promotes social harmony and serves as a medium for propagating moderate Islamic culture (Halib & Pusvisasari, 2025) (Awiskarni et al., 2024).

Assimilation of traditional culture *Would* emphasizing the adaptation of local rituals within the framework of inclusive and moderate Nusantara Islamic values, without erasing local identity (NU's Nusantara Islam). This process aligns with global literature on the acculturation of Islam into local cultures (Awiskarni et al., 2024) and (Halib & Pusvisasari, 2025), which shows that rather than eliminating local traditions, Islam in Indonesia typically enters through a process of creative dialogue and peaceful, contextual cultural adaptation.

Implementation of Tradition *Would*

In carrying out traditions *Arebba* The people of Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, follow a series of ritual and symbolic steps. The first stage begins with preparing a meal consisting of a plate of rice complete with side dishes, cakes or fruit, and drinks. In some cases, incense or frankincense is also burned as part of a symbolic respect for ancestors. All of these dishes are intended as a form of charity, with the rewards intended for the spirits of deceased ancestors. Afterward, the food is delivered to *Come on* (kyai), religious teacher, or other individual who is considered to have the ability to read special prayers for religious purposes *arebba*. The prayers recited by the recipient of alms generally include the recitation of the Al-Faatihah letter, a short tahlil, the Yasin letter, and prayers *mutawaffa* addressed to the ancestors.

Therefore, in carrying out the tradition *Arebba* The people of Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, believe that the rewards of alms given by the living can reach the spirits of the deceased. This tradition is seen as a form of visiting or sending rewards to the deceased, which is usually carried out at certain times such as Sweet Friday night, the deceased's birthday, the day of his death, or on religious holidays (Hilmi & Sa'diyah, 2019). However, the practice of *Arebba* It is also often performed routinely on Friday nights without having to wait for special occasions. It should be noted that the implementation of this tradition can vary from region to region, given the varying processes of cultural assimilation, so each community has its own unique way of implementing the tradition *Arebba* in accordance with local values that are adhered to.

As the assimilation process occurs in the implementation of tradition *Arebba* In Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency, this tradition has expanded in meaning and function in community life. Not only is it intended for the spirits of the deceased, some Tamanan residents also specialize in this tradition *Arebba* to pray for the

living. One example is sending *Arebba*. This is done on a child's birthday, with the hope that all the child's upcoming affairs or exams will go smoothly. In this practice, the food sent is usually raw materials, such as rice or corn, placed on a tray with banknotes (for example, Rp. 2,000 or Rp. 5,000 denominations) as a form of charity according to the giver's sincerity. Furthermore, the child's clothes to be worn during exams, the first day of school, or when looking for a job are also included as a symbol of hope and prayer for blessings.

The process of blending or adapting in the implementation of traditions *Arebba*. The Tamanan Hamlet demonstrates a form of cultural assimilation that is not entirely complete. The tradition, originally intended as a means of praying for ancestors or deceased family members, has undergone a shift in meaning over time. Today, *Arebba* is also used as a medium for offering prayers for surviving family members. This shift reflects the adaptive dynamics of local culture, but also demonstrates a transformation of values that touches on the boundaries of the original meaning of the tradition.

Tradition *Arebba*. The development of Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, Sumenep Regency, demonstrates a process of fusion of ethnic identity boundaries, resulting in changes in traditional meanings and practices. This phenomenon reflects adaptive cultural dynamics, where traditions that were originally sacred and reserved for ancestors are modified to also encompass the interests of living individuals. This aligns with the concept of *ethnic fusion and fission* as put forward by Horowitz in Donald (1985), namely a process in which ethnic identity undergoes a merger (*fusion*) and separation (*fission*) as a response to social interactions, changing values, and the ever-evolving cultural needs within a community. Assimilation can be understood as a process of blending characterized by efforts to reduce social and cultural boundaries between different groups or individuals. In the context of the Tamanan Hamlet community, Prenduan Village, this process is reflected through the willingness of individuals or groups to learn, absorb, and adapt to local traditions that have developed, as a form of self-identification with the majority culture embraced by the local community. In other words, individuals in this assimilation process adjust their will to the norms and collective will of the Tamanan Hamlet community in order to be accepted as part of the community.

However, in pluralistic societies with diverse social and cultural backgrounds, the assimilation process does not always occur comprehensively across all cultural aspects. This is due to the tendency of each group to maintain its own cultural identity and distinctive values. Therefore, the assimilation that occurs in communities like Tamanan Hamlet can be categorized as imperfect assimilation, as it occurs partially and does not completely erase the original cultural identity of the group or individual in question (Umam, n.d.).

Research has found that the tradition *Would* in Tamanan Hamlet is not an instant phenomenon, but rather the result of a long evolution of local rituals such as *the grandson, evening, And brother's wife*. This ritual was initially influenced by Hindu-Buddhist and animist cultures before being assimilated with Islamic values (Humaeni, 2021) and (Aminullah, 2017). This transformation process reflects the phenomenon of partial acculturation and progressive adaptation toward more Islamic religious practices, in line with the model of *indigenization of Islam* which was developed by the Walisongo (Wahid, 2001).

In its implementation, *Arebba* cannot be separated from the role of religious figures, especially *religious teacher*, who are role models and moral guides for society. As explained by Muhammad (2024), *charisma of a ki*ainot only influences theological aspects, but also becomes a symbolic force in contextualizing Islam into local culture. This makes *Arebba* not only as a cultural tradition, but also a religious ritual that contains Sufi values such as gratitude, praying together, and praying for each other among neighbors.

The results of the analysis show that assimilation in tradition *Would*. The practice is not universal. Traditional values such as respect for ancestors remain, but the direction of practice has shifted: from offerings at mystical locations to giving food to kyai (Islamic religious

teachers), or the immediate community. Intentions have also expanded to include prayers for surviving family members—such as children facing exams—with gifts of rice, money, or clothing. This reflects a ritual adjustment in line with the theory of *ethnic fusion and fission* Horowitz on ethnic identities that merge while retaining certain original elements.

Furthermore, Yusuf et al. (2024) emphasize the importance of a cultural approach in Islamic education, especially in regions with strong traditions like Madura. The Arebba tradition serves as a form of informal education that instills Islamic values through symbolic approaches and social practices, such as giving alms, reciting tahlil (Islamic recitation), and involving the younger generation in local religious activities.

Michael et al., (2023) also added that efforts to integrate local cultural values into religious practices are part of a strategy to strengthen the identity of Nusantara Islam. Traditions such as Arebba demonstrate that local values such as *mutual cooperation*, *politeness*, and respect for ancestors can synergize with Islamic principles without any contradiction.

Thus, the tradition *Arebba* It's not just a preserved ancestral heritage, but also a platform for the formation of the Madurese people's religious identity. This process of cultural assimilation strengthens a sense of togetherness, deepens spirituality, and strengthens the relationship between culture and religion, which harmoniously coexists in the social life of the Tamanan Hamlet community.

Conclusion

The cultural assimilation that occurred in Tamanan Hamlet, Prenduan Village, Pragaan District, Sumenep Regency, Madura, is a process of meeting the Hindu-Buddhist tradition of offerings through Kejawen practices, with the influence of Islamic teachings. Initially, the tradition of offerings known as *bhe' sabhe'*, which consisted of presenting flowers and food with burning incense, was intended for ancestral spirits and spirits believed to guard certain places considered sacred and mystical. However, with the arrival of Islam, this tradition underwent a transformation into the arebba tradition, where food previously intended for ancestral spirits is now given as alms to kyai, Koran teachers, or living relatives.

This assimilation process has undergone changes that are not entirely comprehensive. The people of Tamanan Hamlet, in addition to sending arebba gifts to kyai (Islamic religious teachers) to pray for deceased ancestors, have also begun to shift their arebba intentions to the living. The difference lies in the type of gifts, which now include raw foodstuffs (such as rice and money) and clothing for their children, in the hope that the prayers offered will bring blessings and success, whether for exams, job applications, or leaving for boarding school.

For further research, it is recommended that researchers delve deeper into the social, economic, and theological impacts of the arebba tradition in Tamanan Hamlet, as well as its role in preserving the community's cultural identity. Further research could address the assimilation process within this tradition, from both cultural and religious perspectives, and how the younger generation views and practices it. Furthermore, a comparative study with similar traditions in other regions could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of change and preservation of local culture in the context of modernization.

Daftar Pustaka

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