

ROKAT PANDHABAHTRADITION AND THE DIALECTICS OF THE QUR'AN: A STUDY OF THE LIVING QUR'AN IN MADURA

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Abstract: Along with the times, the study of the Qur'an continues to experience developments in the context of the study area, from what was originally only a text study to a socio-cultural study, which made Muslim society the main object of study known as the study of the living Qur'an. One of the living Qur'an phenomena is the *rokat pandhabab* tradition of the people of Jenangger Village, Batang Batang District, Sumenep Regency. It is a tradition inherited from our ancestors, preserved and maintained until now. In addition, *rokat pandhabab* manifests the Jenangger people's endeavour to resist the coming of bad things that will happen. The purpose of this study is to photograph a tradition that is in dialogue with the Qur'an within the framework of the *rokat pandhabab* tradition in Jenangger Madura. This study uses a qualitative method of phenomenological type, a research flow that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the people observed. For the presentation of data based on the results of interviews and literature review (library research). In the end, this research resulted in a conclusion that the *rokat pandhabab* tradition is categorized as a living Qur'an phenomenon because there are several factors, namely 1) the *rokat pandhabab* tradition as a form of

endeavour for one's salvation, 2) the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a prayer to predecessors who are gone, 3) the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a form of charity to relatives and neighbours, and 4) the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a medium in cultural propaganda.

Keywords: Tradition, Rokat Pandhabah, Living Qur'an

Introduction

Rokat is a tradition that is familiar to the people of Indonesia. In Indonesia, *rokat* is known for its ritual traditions, which some groups believe of people to prevent danger or counter-offensives that haunt a house, a person, or a community; Madura is no exception (Romziana & Sholeha, 2021). Madura Island is an island that is famous for its unique temperament and has its characteristics in it. With such a distinctive character, the characteristics of Madurese art tend to have festive themes and lively nuances to the strict character of the people themselves (Rifqi, 2018). The Madurese has a life orientation with two realms, the macro most and the micro moss (Rahayu, Ch.R., et al., 2018). This shows that nature and its contents are the complexity of interrelated elements and form a universal system, so a balance between the elements is always sought.

In this *rokat* tradition, achieving goals regarding equality and welfare is reflected, among others, in the appreciation and experience of cultural values as a reference in social interaction. The *rokat* tradition has been carried out from generation to generation, continues to develop over time, and continues to move dynamically based on the cultural values of the people who own it. Even today, *rokat* is still believed in and preserved by the Madurese people, including in the place that is the object of this research, namely Jenangger Village, Batang Batang District, Sumenep Regency. There, *rokat* is also a community effort to

maintain ecological balance and order by manifesting the *rokat pandhabab* as a depiction of human thoughts and hopes.

The implementation of the *rokat pandhabab* is based on a mythical story about a *pandhabab* child who is believed to have a disaster upon his birth. *Pandhabab* child is a nickname for people who are the same as *Pandawa*, a character in the Mahabharata story. *Pandawa* is the nickname for the five sons of *Pandu*, and all are male, namely *Arjuna*, *Putadewa*, *Nakula*, *Werkudara* and *Sadewa*. The following types of children are included in the category of *Pandhabab* children, namely: 1) An only son or daughter is called *Pandhabab Macan*, 2) Three siblings with one son and two daughters are called *Pandhabab Ontang Ateng*, 3) Two siblings with one daughter and one boy is called *Pandhabab Pangantan*, 4) Five siblings of the same sex, male or female, are called *Pandhabab Lema'* (Hasanah & Wisri, 2021). In practice, *rokat pandhabab* has two types including: first, the *khatmil Qur'an* and *mamaca*; second, shadow puppet show and *mamaca*. In an era like today, many traditions show the social responsibility of a particular group or society as a form of appreciation for the existence of the Qur'an. The *rokat pandhabab* tradition, which is still preserved in Jenangger village as a cultural tradition in the form of behaviour carried out in the form of ritual ceremonies or the form of congratulations.

Responding to the above, Ika Maziyatus Sholihah said that *rokat* is a social event with traditional customs that have taken root and become an integral part of life. It also shows the richness and uniqueness between community traditions, beliefs, and religion (Musolli et al., 2021). In the *rokat pandhabab* ceremony in Jenangger village, the community must fully regard *batharakala* as the main reason for holding the *rokat* tradition. However, according to the belief of the Jenangger people, the implementation of prayer together and the implementation of the *khatmil Qur'an* together is also a tradition that plays a vital role in improving good social relations in the community. Indeed, the

existence of this belief or belief is mystical because it cannot be proven to exist. However, with the implementation of this tradition, the community and these *pandhabah* children can strive for safety in this world and the hereafter without reducing or eliminating religious values in their implementation. Evidenced by the story of the predecessors or ancestors who have carried out this tradition, a *pandhabah* child who should be raised but not raised in life will be uncomfortable, such as frequent disasters.

Many researchers, both domestically and abroad, have carried out research related to tradition. There are at least 200 studies on tradition, 61 on traditions in Madura, and 13 on *rokat* traditions in journal articles and research reports (thesis and dissertation). Research in the form of journal articles such as research conducted by, such as that conducted by N Laily, dkk. (Laily et al., 2021), EW Rahayu dan AMH Kusmayati (Rahayu, Ch.R.A., et al., 2018), Siswanto & Sukatman (Siswanto & Sukatman, 18 C.E.), A Laili (Husen & Laili, 2023), A Riadi (Riadi, 2021), dan M Misnatun dan MZ Kamal (Misnatun & Kamal, 13 C.E.). Meanwhile, in the form of a final project report as done by IA Annahdiyah (Annahdiyah, 2023), MM Akbar (Akbar, 2020), Fatnur Aini (Aini, 2022), H Fitrotul (Fitrotul, 2019), AS Fajar (Fajar, 2020), Damairi dan Wahidah (Damairi & Wahidah, 2019), dan Mabruroh (Mabruroh, 2022). Of the 13 articles and research that focus on the *rokat* tradition, only four specifically talk about *rokat pandhabah*, namely articles and research conducted by EW Rahayu and AMH Kusmayati, F Aini, A Riadi, and M Mabruroh. EW Rahayu and AMH Kusmayati and F Aini focus on the relationship between *rokat pandhabah* and performance in Madura; in other words, this research focuses on a general cultural review. Meanwhile, A Riadi and M Mabruroh's research focuses on the history of the development of Islam in Madura through the *rokat pandhabah* tradition with a general cultural perspective.

From the four previous studies above, it can be ascertained that this research has high novelty, especially research using the study of the living Qur'an. For this reason, the author is interested in studying and studying the *rokat pandhabab* tradition with the living Qur'an research model, especially the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, which is still preserved by the Jenagger community, Sumenep Regency as a ritual inheritance from their ancestors. Jenagger, who is in Sumenep Regency, was chosen as the object of this research because it has historical value that cannot be separated from the kingdom's history or the Madurese palace, which is located in Sumenep Regency.

The research conducted by the author on the study of the living Qur'an is included in the phenomenological type qualitative research method, a research flow that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from the people involved and the observed behaviour (Musolli et al., 2021; Romziana & Sholeha, 2021). The researchers used three methods to collect data: observation, interviews and documentation (Basid & Maulidah, 2023; Basid & Sholihah, 2023). Furthermore, this research aims explicitly to describe the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, which is believed to be able to prevent balak from invading the life of a *pandhabab* child in the perspective of the living Qur'an in the Jenagger village community, Batang Batang District, Sumenep Regency. Informants of this study are community shops, religious leaders, and the surrounding community.

Get to Know the Pandhabah Rokan Tradition in Jenagger Village

Tradition in the Anthropology Dictionary, as quoted by Hasanah and Wisri, is the same as customs, namely habits that are magical from the life of an indigenous population, including cultural values, norms, laws and interrelated rules. Whereas in the Sociology Dictionary, tradition is defined as customs and beliefs that can be maintained from generation to generation (Hasanah &

Wisri, 2021). Thus, tradition can be interpreted as a pattern in which behaviour or beliefs have become part of a culture that has long been known. It has become a tradition from generation to generation. Practising responding to and appreciating the Al-Qur'an both in the form of reading and understanding and practising it because they claim that interacting with the Al-Qur'an in a conducive manner will gain calm or happiness (Najiburrohman & Hasanah, 2022).

Indonesia is a country that is very rich in ethnicity and culture, so it is famous for having many different traditions. One is the *rokat pandhabah* tradition which is still carried out and believed by the Jenangger people of Sumenep Madura. In this era of modernization demands that require the community to make reforms in a more modern direction, the people in Jenangger village still have local wisdom preserved today. We can report this from the many traditions and past cultures that still exist and even continue to exist in this modern era, such as *rokat pandhabah* and so on. In Jenangger village, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a tradition of rejecting timber or an attempt to ward off things that are considered to interfere with one's life journey through ritual means (Rahayu, Ch.R., et al., 2018). This *rokat* tradition is also still considered and strongly believed to be able to change a person's life even though Allah can change someone's fate for the better than before.

According to one of the figures in Jenangger village, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a celebration or salvation that is attempted to expel *bhatarakala* (genies or demons) that disturb one's life. The *rokat pandhabah* procession is carried out with the Khotmil Qur'an or the recitation of certain surahs such as surah Yusuf, Yasin and At-Taubah. There are also many steps for the order of the *rokat pandhabah* procession, namely: 1) with *Khatmil Qur'an* or reading certain surahs, 2) with *mamaca* (reading the book of *pandhabah*), 3) the *pandhabah* child is bathed, 4)

the *pandhabab* child is brought to *tapak dengdeng* (intersection of four) to pray together, and 5) *ijab-qabul* (ritual payment).

Apart from that, there are also many conditions that must be present in the rokat *pandhabab*, such as: 1) pancakes or *apem* which must be clamped onto the bamboo and the size of the bamboo follows the child's height, 2) banana trees that bear fruit, 3) *songkok rabunan* (a cap that made of siwalan leaves), 4) 1 cm long shroud, 5) *jejen ghennak* (snacks available in the market), 6) *rasol* (offerings), 7) *mostomos* (*wajek*, lunkhead, *tettel*), 8) *topa' leppet*, rice porna (colored rice), and 9) *saropong* (a tool that used to start a fire in ancient times). In addition, implementing the *rokat pandhabab* does not have to determine the day and date. However, the Madurese, especially in the village of Jenangger, prefer to carry out the *rokat pandhabab* on the day of their birth.



Figure 1: The *rokat pandhabab* procession by inviting community leaders and neighbours (Figure source: Private Document/ Anisa)

The *rokat pandhabab* tradition has also become a ritual that is still being preserved in this modern era because, in this modernization era, many changes and developments in science have progressed. However, the *rokat pandhabab* tradition is still firmly adhered to and ongoing. The *rokat pandhabab* tradition is also a feature of the diversity of the people in Jenangger village. It is a sacred local cultural phenomenon carried out by children

included in the *pandhabab* category and only carried out once in their lifetime. The families of the *pandhabab* children are advised to carry out the *rokat pandhabab*, but if they do not do it, there is no problem with it (Hasanah & Wisri, 2021).

Even so, the activities of the *rokat pandhabab* tradition are still very much upheld by the Madurese community, especially the Jenangger village community, because implementing this tradition can provide a powerful way out and protection for the *pandhabab* children. As with the statement from the people who had carried out the *rokat pandhabab*, Alwi revealed that it was confirmed that there had been changes before and after carrying out the *rokat pandhabab*. Masyhuri expressed the same as a community leader in Jenangger village, who stated that doing *rokat pandhabab* is an attempt to ask God for one's safety.

The dynamics of the *rokat pandhabab* in Jenangger village manifest the people's defensiveness towards the culture their ancestors passed down. In its development, *rokat pandhabab* cannot be separated from the transition of Hindu teachings, where in subsequent developments, Hindu philosophy becomes verses that contain Islamic philosophical values as core values (Rifqi, 2018). This is also related to the previous preachers who made it a media art in preaching. Then the *rokat pandhabab* has also been appointed as a hereditary tradition that is believed to be today. This *rokat pandhabab* culture has a philosophy that the problem of destiny must be believed to exist so that humans do not have to run away from things that lead to polytheism. However, humans only need to try in life to avoid danger and something that can prevent peace in worshipping Allah. Namely through the prayers of both parents, as has been said by Allah in QS. Al-Anbiyā' [21]: 87-88:

وَذَا النُّونِ إِذْ ذَهَبَ مُغَاضِبًا فَظَنَّ أَنْ لَنْ نَقْدِرَ عَلَيْهِ فَنَادَى فِي الظُّلُمَاتِ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ سُبْحَانَكَ إِنِّي كُنْتُ مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ فَاسْتَجَبْنَا لَهُ وَنَجَّيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْعَمِّ وَكَذَلِكَ نُنْجِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

“And (mention) Dhu’n-Nun, when he went off in anger and deemed that We had no power over him, but he cried out in the darkness, saying: There is no Allah save Thee. Be Thou Glorified! Lo! I have been a wrong-doer. Then we heard his prayer and saved him from the anguish. Thus we save believers”. (Q.S Al-Anbiyā’ [21]:87-88).

Symbolically, parents need to ask themselves, what about the prospective child in the womb and what should be done by a mother while the child is in the womb? *Rokat pandhabab* is learning to introspect and retrospect yourself. The people of Jenangger village have their way of harmonizing them. The traditional *rokat pandhabab* ceremony is intended to ask for salvation from the original substance that created the origin of life. This is evident from several conditions in the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, for example, in the procession of bathing using seaman flower water with the hope that the child will one day become a child who smells good like flowers, there are *apem* cakes or pancakes, which are white with the meaning clean and holy, wearing a shroud with the meaning that no matter how much wealth one has when one dies, only one piece of the shroud will be taken (Adityarahman, 2021).

The people of Jenangger village feel many benefits from the *rokat pandhabab* tradition. In addition, one of the religious leaders in Jenangger village, Masyhuri, revealed that the surrounding community, especially the residents of Jenangger village, had received many benefits from implementing the *rokat pandhabab* tradition. However, the Madurese people, with a vital concern and interest in their cultural primordiality, certainly argue

against outsiders' perceptions that Madurese *mamaca* are embryos of Javanese culture (Rifqi, 2018). So basically, this study enters the socio-cultural realm with an emphasis on aspects of tradition and culture that live in society related to their response and reception of the Qur'an (Isti'anah, 2019).

The Rokat Pandhabah Tradition as a Living Qur'an Phenomenon

Muhammad Mansyur argues that the notion of The Living Qur'an stems from the phenomenon of the *Qur'an Everyday Life* (Ridho, 2019) what is meant is the function of the Qur'an, which is understood and lived amid Muslim society, especially by the people of Jenanger village. The author intends to show how far we can understand and function the Quran as a praxis outside its textual conditions. Utilization of the functions of the Qur'an has existed since the meaning of the Qur'an and its textual understanding, with the assumption that there is *fadhilah* (virtue) from certain surahs or verses in the Qur'an which can become praxis in life, daily life of the Muslim community (Hadi, 2022).

From the results of the author's observations, the discussion is limited to several phenomena that are viewed as the living Qur'an, the variables or components that determine a living Qur'an phenomenon, namely phenomena related to or sourced from the Qur'an. The *rokat pandhabah* tradition can also be seen as a phenomenon of the living Qur'an for four reasons, namely: **First**, the tradition of *rokat pandhabah* is a form of effort to save someone's life. The *rokat pandhabah* tradition is essentially carried out to ask for honour, give thanks and ask for safety from their predecessors and their god. In the tradition of *rokat pandhabah*, this is considered a ritual to ask for someone's safety. The *rokat pandhabah* tradition is an activity often carried out in the Jenanger village to eliminate repulsive reinforcements according to the

beliefs of the Jenangger villagers. As in the words of Allah in surah Al-Maidah [5]: 16:

يَهْدِي بِهِ اللَّهُ مَنِ اتَّبَعَ رِضْوَانَهُ سُبُلَ السَّلَامِ وَيُخْرِجُهُم مِّنَ
الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ بِإِذْنِهِ وَيَهْدِيهِمْ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ

“Whereby Allah guideth him who seeketh His good pleasure unto paths of peace. He bringeth them out of darkness unto light by His decree, and guideth them unto a straight path”.(Q.S Al-Maidah [5]:16).

According to the book *Tafsir Majātib al-Ghaib* written by Fakhrudin Ar-Rāzī, the meaning of the verse is that anyone who can take guidance or guidance from the Qur’an is someone who can follow the Qur’an, a person who studies religion by the guidance of Allah then that is what is said as a person who seeks the pleasure of Allah. Because people who seek the pleasure of Allah are people who are looking for religious arguments to be followed not only as reinforcement of the teachings of their predecessors. What is meant by being shown the way to salvation is the way to heaven. So in carrying out the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, it can be concluded that the survivors seek Allah’s pleasure and study religion according to Allah’s instructions (Umar, 1981).

Masyhuri, a community leader in Jenangger village, stated that *rokat pandhabab* is a social event that exists in people’s lives with highly complex implementation procedures and as a form of community endeavour to improve their lives. Alwi also expressed the same thing as a community member who had carried out the *rokat pandhabab* saying that carrying out the *rokat pandhabab* was a form of endeavour to hope for a better life than before. In Islam, the endeavour is also one of our forms to seek even better results; endeavour is also an essential aspect of the life

of a Muslim. In practice, the endeavour is often accompanied by prayer and trust; these three components have become a key measure of success in life in this world and the hereafter.

The *rokat pandhabah* tradition also has a function to strive to be even better, as the author has mentioned that *rokat pandhabah* is a ritual that is believed to be able to change a person's life for the better. However, humans can only try because God has the right to change one's destiny; even if someone prays earnestly but is not followed up with an effort, hope is just wishful thinking (Husna et al., 2022). As mentioned in the word of Allah in QS. Al-Ra'd [13]: 11:

لَهُ مُعَقَّبَاتٌ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ يَحْفَظُونَهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ
إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَإِذَا أَرَادَ
اللَّهُ بِقَوْمٍ سُوءًا فَلَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ وَمَا هُمْ مِنْ دُونِهِ مِنْ وَّالٍ

“For him are angels ranged before him and behind him, who guard him by Allah's command. Lo! Allah changeth not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts; and if Allah willeth misfortune for a folk there is none that can repel it, nor have they a defender beside Him”. (Q.S Al-Ra'd [13]:11).

The verse above is a verse that is used as a motivating verse that Allah will not change a person's destiny for the better except through his efforts and efforts. However, such an interpretation contradicts the reality in society, how many try to improve their fate by toiling, feet on head and head on feet. However, only a few of them managed to change it. Some scholars interpret the verse above quoted by Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary; the verse above explains that every human being is always accompanied by an angel day and night alternately; the angel

of the day comes at the same time the angel of the night leaves someone. In the evening, the afternoon angels leave while the night angels begin to come (Fanjah et al., 2022). According to Al-Ṭabarī, this verse means that all people are in goodness and enjoyment. Allah will not change a person's pleasures unless they change them into evil because of their own behaviour by being unjust and mutually hostile to their brothers. So we can conclude that a person's fate is dependent on his behaviour (Al-Thabari, 1988).

Imam Al-Qurṭubī, in his interpretation of the book *Al-Jami' Li Ahkam al-Qur'an*, says, "Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change the condition that is in themselves" In this verse, Allah informs that he does not change a people so that one of them has changed it. It could be from their group, observers or causal factors that still have a relationship, as the defeated troops during the Uhud battle were due to the deviations committed by archers. This means we can conclude that the defeat of the Uhud battle was purely due to someone's sinful behaviour, but sometimes those calamities were caused by other people's sins (Al-Qurthubi, 1996).

The two interpretations above, Al-Ṭabarī and Al-Qurṭubī, agree that humans receive the gift of pleasure but human behaviour can turn pleasure into evil or disaster. However, Imam Al-Qurṭubī thinks the reduced or loss of enjoyment received is not singular but caused by that factor which can originate from the fault of the servant himself; it can also be the fault of family members or the surrounding community. Like the story of the Jenangger village community, namely Alwi, who carried out the *rokat pandhabab* because his child, who was included in the category of *pandhabbah* children, worked diligently but never produced any results at all in his hard work and finally chose to carry out the *rokat pandhabab* as an effort to change

the fate of his son, and proven by the permission of Allah after the implementation of *rokat pandhabah* the child is bearing fruit from his hard work. From this, we can conclude that *rokat pandhabah* is a form of endeavour to save one's life.

Second, the rokat pandhabah tradition as a prayer for deceased predecessors. In the *rokat pandhabah* tradition, there is a food called *apem*; it is said that the philosophy of the name *apem* comes from the Arabic *al-'anf* vocabulary because the Javanese people find it difficult to pronounce the word with an Arabic accent, so what is used is *apem* (Ridho, 2019). The meaning is to apologize to the predecessors so that they get a good place in the sight of Allah by getting various favours in heaven. The *apem* cake in the *rokat pandhabah* tradition also means that forgiving each other is one of Islam's noble and noble teachings. Like the picture below, the *apem* cake is clamped in bamboo and follows the height of the person who will be smoking it.



Figure 2: Picture of pancakes or apam stapled to a bamboo the size of a child's height (Figure source: Personal Document/Anisa)

Meanwhile, according to Quraish Shihab, *al-'anf* means “to destroy or uproot something” because the one who forgives removes the remaining wounds in one's

heart. Not to forgive his name if there are still scars in someone's heart. It may be when what is done is still in the stage of holding back anger (Shihab, 2002). In the Qur'an, the command to forgive someone is contained in surah Al-A'raf [7]: 199, as follows:

خُذِ الْعَفْوَ وَأْمُرْ بِالْعُرْفِ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْجَاهِلِينَ

“Keep to forgiveness (O Muhammad), and enjoin kindness, and turn away from the ignorant”. (Q.S Al-A'raf [7]:199).

The verse instructs humans to forgive each other and illustrates that forgiving people are given a high position by Allah; forgiving someone we may hate or cannot repay is excellent and natural while forgiving someone we can repay is very Good. Because, at that time, we were in a strong position and could do anything. When someone tries to be forgiving, he has tried to practice God's nature, namely “*al-afwmu*” (Forgiving). People who always forgive will feel incredible inner peace. Forgiving someone's shortcomings is not easy, especially when that person has a character controlled by hatred, violence and revenge. You have a good chance when others harm you because of your forgiving nature, as in the story of the Prophet Muhammad after the liberation of Mecca (*fathu makkah*) and at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Inviting people to the path of Allah at that time, the Prophet was pelted with dirt and stones. The Messenger of Allah was so forgiving even to people who continually hurt him and threatened his safety. Prophet Muhammad alone can forgive someone who often hurts his heart and body, and Allah also forgives the sins of his servant (Ridho, 2019).

Prayer for the dead is not limited to the family but is also accepted by all who have died. Hairuddin, as the figure also said that in, carrying out the *rokat pandhabab* it is a form

of our prayer for the ancestors who are no longer there because, during the implementation, there is a procession of joint prayer and *khataman al-Qur'an*, which is specifically for the sons of *pandhabah* and the *bebeje* (ancestors who are no longer alive). We also pray for the ancestors or predecessors in the implementation of *rokat pandhabah*, besides that *rokat* is also a symbol of gratitude to the creator, which is manifested in the form of rituals that have religious values (Musolli et al., 2021).

Based on the narrative of the informant, *rokat* is also a ritual for praying for people who have died. This is also reinforced in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad about the hadith which explains praying for parents, grandparents and relatives who have died. Including the following:

“A corpse in its grave is like a drowning man asking for help. He looks forward to the prayers of trusted fathers, mothers, children, and friends. When the prayer reaches him, he prefers it to the world and everything in it. Moreover, Allah verily conveys the prayers of the world's inhabitants for graves as big as mountains. As for the gift of the living to the dead, it is to seek forgiveness from Allah for them and give alms on their behalf”. (HR Al-Dailami).

Based on the arguments from the Hadith above, we can conclude that people who have died can still receive rewards in the form of good prayers read by their relatives or holding events to pray for them. With the sending of this prayer, the joy obtained exceeds the wealth obtained in the world. A prayer is a form of communication for us as servants to our creator; praying is also done to ask and ask for good things for ourselves and others. In addition, praying is also a form that we as servants are close to the

creator, as Allah has explained in QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 186, as follows:

وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ ۖ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ
إِذَا دَعَا ۗ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ

“And when My servants question thee concerning Me, then surely I am nigh. I answer the prayer of the suppliant when he crieth unto Me. So let them hear My call and let them trust in Me, in order that they may be led aright”. (Q.S Al-Baqarah:186).

In *Tafsir Al-Muyasar* written by Aidh Al-Qarnī, the verse explains that some of the Companions asked: “O Messenger of Allah, is God near, so that it is enough for us to lower our voices, or is God far away so we need to call out with a high voice?” then Allah ordered His Messenger to say: Verily Allah is close to His servant, he hears all the prayers that are offered to Him, he is the answerer of prayers, the one who removes distress, and the one who knows everything. Therefore let a servant always ask Him, do not feel bored in praying, let alone despair from the abundance of His grace. Verily, His bounties are many, and His forgiveness is extensive. Therefore, let a servant always obey and follow His Messenger by doing good deeds by what is prescribed, confirming the revelations sent to him with complete confidence that all of them are from God. Fulfilling His call must be proven by good deeds, faith must be proven by true belief, and prayer must be said orally. Know that religion contains words, deeds and beliefs. Whoever believes in Allah has received guidance and is far from misguidance and the desires of his lusts. The fruit of good deeds is an increase in faith, and the fruit of obedience is an increase in guidance (Saudi, 2020).

Third, the rokat pandhabah tradition as a form of charity to relatives and neighbors. The *rokat pandhabah* tradition is an attempt by the Jenangger village community to maintain stability in social life. If a pandhabah child has not been raped, something unexpected will happen, for example mental disorders and cause divorce and others (Adityarahman, 2021). In this case, the goal is to avoid bad luck in life. In addition, in the *rokat pandhabah* tradition, all parties have their functions related to one another. When carrying out the *rokat pandhabah*, the family will need a figure to be brought in for the event, not only a figure but also an ustadz or kiai to fill the *khatmil qur'an* event in carrying out the *rokat pandhabah*, from the family concerned inviting the family or the surrounding community to carry out the *rokat pandhabah*.

Haruddin, as the leader, stated that carrying out the *rokat pandhabah* also requires a banquet for the people who are invited; this is because the implementation of the *rokat pandhabah* requires a long time in the *mamaca* procession (reading the book of *pandhabah*). From the narrative of the informant above, it has been shown that implementing *rokat pandhabah* is also a form of charity for relatives and neighbours. In general, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a ritual that requires many people to witness that the *pandhabah* child has performed the *rokat*, so the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is also a tradition as a form of practicing the Prophet Muhammad's advice to give alms to others. As mentioned in the hadith of the Prophet, which means: From Abi Dzar ra, he said: The Messenger of Allah said, "O Abu Dzar, if you cook gravy, then multiply the water and share it with your neighbours".

The hadith intends to give alms with something simple and liked by neighbours. The implementation of alms

knows no time, so you do not have to wait until you are wealthy or successful. The *rokat* tradition has a good function for *pandbabab* children, and for others; for *pandbabab* children, the event functions as a medium for eliminating lousy luck attached to them, while the function of the event for figures is as a form of business and seeking sustenance, while for guests is to get treats in the form of food (Adityarahman, 2021). From this description, we can conclude that there are many things we can take, one of which is giving charity, as mentioned in QS. Al-Taubah [9]: 103:

خُذْ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ صَدَقَةً تُطَهِّرُهُمْ وَتُزَكِّيهِمْ بِهَا وَصَلِّ عَلَيْهِمْ
إِنَّ صَلَاتَكَ سَكَنٌ لَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

“Take alms of their wealth, wherewith thou mayst purify them and mayst make them grow, and pray for them. Lo! thy prayer is an assuagement for them. Allah is Hearer, Knower” (Q.S At-Taubah:103).

In *Tafsir Lubab al-Ta'wil wa Asrar al-Tanzil* written by Imam Khāzin (Al-Khozin, 2004), it explains the story of Rasulullah and Lubabah, including Lubabah's two friends who did not pay zakat then. The story of the Messenger of Allah is that he met with Lubabah and his two friends to talk about the issue of Zakat. The Lubabah came to the Messenger of Allah with his wealth to be donated in the hope that he would give the treasure to the Messenger of Allah, and they said that they hoped that with him, this alms would be accepted by his repentance because this is included, repentant hypocrites. However, after Lubabah gave his wealth to the Messenger of Allah, who hoped that he could give it to other people then, the Messenger of Allah said, “I will not take a penny of it until there is an order from Allah” after there were such words from the

Messenger of Allah then Allah revealed the verse. Hence, this is Sa'id's opinion, bin Aslam and Sa'id ibn Juber. However, some scholars differed on the issue of alms in this verse regarding the meaning of zakat or alms; some of the scholars said the alms intended were for people who repent. From that, Allah obliged the Prophet Muhammad to take alms from Lubabah and his two friends as a ransom or *kafarah* for his sin. In this verse this verse is an order about taking alms. The Islamic religion invites its adherents to love one another; in this case, charity can be an example of these activities and teachings. Alms is a form of affection from someone to those who are entitled to receive it without hoping to get the slightest reciprocity (Tamimi et al., 2022).

Fourth, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a medium in cultural model da'wah. According to Masyhuri, a Jenanger village community leader said that the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a tradition that must be preserved in this modernization era because the *rokat pandhabah* tradition contains many religious values that exist in the implementation of this tradition. Not only that, but the *rokat pandhabah* tradition also functions as a cultural model of da'wah media or the spread of Islam through culture. H. Hefny, as a religious figure in the village of Jenanger, also expressed the same thing as the informant above that the *rokat pandhabah* tradition can also be one of the traditions that must be preserved so that it can still act as a medium of Islamic da'wah through classical traditions in the modern era like today.

Through the narrative of the informant, it has been concluded that the tradition of *rokat pandhabah* must be maintained for its authenticity and preserved so that it remains a tradition that still exists in this modern era,

besides that it can also make this tradition a medium for preaching cultural models. One media used in preaching is culturalization or a da'wah strategy with culture as an intermediary (Setyaningsih, 2020). Islam began to develop in the archipelago through a very long-term process. Before Islam came to Indonesia, culture had developed and even became a tradition for several tribes in Indonesia. One of the cultures that have become an inherent tradition of several tribes or communities is the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, which has been practised for generations and has become a tradition that cannot be eliminated in the life of the Jenanger village community. The *rokat pandhabab* tradition is heavily influenced by Islamic teachings, this tradition is not just a tradition that contains culture, but also many messages about Islamic teachings are found, both delivered verbally and through symbolization (Junita et al., 2021). Acculturation combines different cultural elements that unite to form a new culture without eliminating the original cultural elements.

Religion is synonymous with culture because both elements serve as guidelines in life. Religion is a guide from God, while culture is a clue from the human agreement (Alif et al., 2020). Acculturation of Islamic culture is carried out by fulfilling the provisions regarding culture that are permissible for humans, such as not violating halal and haram provisions, bringing goodness and not causing damage. Cultural acculturation occurs when several cultures are closely related to each other intensively for quite an extended period. Then each of these cultures will change to adapt to one another to become one culture (Alif et al., 2020) so that a new culture is formed, namely a combination of two cultures, such as *rokat* which is one of the Javanese-Madura cultures and is also a form of cultural acculturation.

Cultural da'wah is preaching that is carried out by following the cultures of the local community with the aim that the da'wah can be accepted in the local community (Zuhair Nur Rohman, 2020). Thus cultural da'wah places more emphasis on the dynamics of da'wah; dynamics means trying to appreciate the potential and inclination of humans as cultural beings towards the progress and breakdown of human life. There are many cultural acculturations in Islam in Indonesia, such as the *rokat pandhabab* tradition in Jenangger village, a community activity that involves the surrounding community by memorizing the Al-Qur'an, reading certain surahs, and reading prayers together. Specific *rokat* readings and certain prayers are believed by some Muslims, especially the people of Jenangger village, to hear the prayers. Uniquely, in the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, there is a ritual called *mamaca*, namely reading the *pandhabab* book in Javanese, but some are in Madurese.

Rokat is one of the traditions with certain symbols; even in some regions of Java, these symbols must exist so that the ritual becomes valid (Arifin, n.d.). So a religious tradition is the elements formed from the results of human interpretation in their interactions with history and other cultural elements (Librianti & Mukarom, 2019). The delivery of Islamic messages through the *rokat pandhabab* tradition, both verbally and non-verbally, is from a da'wah with a cultural approach. These messages are conveyed through symbolization, customs, and vocal delivery in implementing a tradition (Junita et al., 2021). Islamic values slowly began to be accepted and embedded in Madurese society; along with the development of the times, the teachings of Islam have mixed with local culture in Indonesia. Islamic da'wah is developing very fast with two approaches: the compromise approach and the non-compromise approach. What is

meant by a compromise approach is an approach that seeks to create an atmosphere of peace, tolerance, and being able to live side by side with followers of different religions and traditions without sacrificing their respective religions and religious traditions. The non-compromising approach is preaching Islam by maintaining religious identities and only accepting foreign cultures if the culture is in tune with Islamic teachings (Fawaid & Karimah, 2022).

If viewed from an Islamic point of view, the Qur'an as a way of life explains the position of tradition in Islam itself. Because the values contained in a tradition are believed to bring luck, success, abundance, safety and success to the Jenangger village community. In addition, the *rokat pandhabab* tradition is a true cultural acculturation which contains the *kebatmil qur'an* and the recitation of a joint prayer at the end of the ritual. The phenomenon of the *rokat pandhabab* tradition that exists amid the Madurese community, especially in the village of Jenangger, is a cultural ritual of the Muslim community cultured with local culture. *Rokat pandhabab* is also a typical religious rite on the island of Java-Madura. Apart from that, this tradition is still being preserved until now by the Madurese people, especially the people of Jenangger village.

Through local wisdom, the preaching of the spread of Islam in Indonesia has shown a vital accommodation of the local traditions of the Madurese people so that these traditions can be used as a medium for carrying out Islamic da'wah. This is in line with the vision and mission of the Islamic religion, as stated in the word of Allah as follows:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

“We sent thee not save as a mercy for the peoples” (QS. Al-Anbiya' [21]: 107).

From the verse above, it appears that Muslims, wherever they are, have a significant mandate to bless the entire universe. The transmission of Islam, which Muslim leaders from the archipelago pioneered, shows new ways and alternatives deliberately designed not to disturb or erase local traditions and customs (Musolli et al., 2021). *Rokat pandhabah* is also a system with a role as a da'wah aid and a da'wah media with the same role or position as other elements of da'wah. So, in this case, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a religious practice that makes culture or culture a medium of da'wah in spreading religious values to society.

Conclusion

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the tradition of *rokat pandhabah* is a patterned, systemic and hereditary unit that has taken root amid the Madurese community, especially the people of Jenangger Village, Batang Batang District, Sumenep Regency. The *rokat pandhabah* tradition is a product of a cultural-persuasive approach model used to emulate Islam to the earth's inhabitants. The tradition of *rokat pandhabah* is still carried out by the community as an alms of salvation by a *pandhabah* child. The *rokat* is held because it aims to ask for the safety or cleansing of humans from threats that will disrupt the life of a *pandhabah* child. The implementation of *rokat pandhabah* can be grouped into two types, namely concerning one's problems and group or social problems.

The *rokat pandhabah* tradition can be seen as a Living Qur'an phenomenon for four reasons, first, *rokat pandhabah* is a form of endeavour for one's safety; second, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a prayer to predecessors or ancestors who have passed away; third, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as alms to relatives and neighbours; and fourth, the *rokat pandhabah* tradition as a medium of da'wah in a cultural model. The *rokat*

pandhabab tradition does not only mean preserving local culture but its religious values, namely as a syi'ar medium or spreading Islam through culture.

This research has not yet touched on the types of *rokat pandhabab* with wayang rituals, as was alluded to in the introductory section about the various types of *rokat pandhabab* celebrations at Jenagger. For that, it can be further research in the future, both for yourself and other researchers.

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