

## Arwah Jama (Mass Haul) in Hadith Perspective (Study of The Phenomenology of the Living Hadith on the Mass Haul at the Al-Munawwar Mosque, Dukuh Mojo, Bawu Village, Batealit Jepara)

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Received: 2022-11-24; Accepted: 2022-11-30; Published: 2022-12-27

**Abstract**— *The meaning of the Haul Massal Arwah Jama' Tradition is a ritual carried out every year carried out together and repeated - repeated to pray for families who have died together, in which teaches humans about its importance so that we are devoted to parents even though they have died and there is mutual cooperation and establishing harmony between Muslims. By using qualitative research and a phenomenological approach, this study reveals that 1) the tradition of Arwah Jama' spirits is carried out on 15 Sha'ban (Ruwah) by forming a haul committee two weeks before the event. 2) The tradition of arwah jama' is a form of public reception of the hadith arguments which are interpreted in a community tradition so that it becomes a form of living hadith. 3) The values of Islamic Education in the Arwah Jama' tradition are the values of i'tiqodyah, khuluqiyah values, and amaliyah values. 4) From the anthropological point of view of the Javanese spirit tradition, there is a shift in cultural values that develops in society, mainly due to the influence of the busyness and activities of the increasingly advanced citizens, but the tradition is still able to maintain its existence and sustainability.*

**Keywords:** *Arwah Jama'; living hadith; shift value;*

**Abstrak**— Makna Tradisi Haul Massal Arwah Jama' adalah sebuah ritual yang dilakukan setiap tahun yang dilakukan secara bersama-sama dan berulang – ulang untuk mendoakan keluarga yang telah meninggal dunia secara bersama-sama, yang di dalamnya mengajarkan manusia tentang pentingnya agar kita berbakti kepada orang tua sekalipun meskipun mereka telah meninggal dan ada gotong royong dan menjalin kerukunan antar umat Islam. Dengan menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dan pendekatan fenomenologi, penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa 1) tradisi arwah Jama' dilakukan pada tanggal 15 Sya'ban (Ruwah) dengan membentuk panitia haul dua minggu sebelum acara. 2) Tradisi arwah jama' merupakan bentuk penerimaan masyarakat terhadap dalil-dalil hadis yang dimaknai dalam tradisi masyarakat sehingga menjadi bentuk hadis yang hidup. 3) Nilai-nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam tradisi Arwah Jama' adalah nilai i'tiqodyah, nilai khuluqiyah, dan nilai amaliyah. 4) Secara antropologis tradisi ruh Jawa terjadi pergeseran nilai-nilai budaya yang berkembang di masyarakat, terutama karena pengaruh kesibukan dan aktivitas warga yang semakin maju, namun tradisi tersebut masih mampu dipertahankan. keberadaan dan kelestariannya.

**Kata kunci:** Arwah Jama'; hadits; pergeseran nilai;

### A. INTRODUCTION

History of the Birth of the Spirit Jama'

The plural spirit tradition is the reading of prayers for parents and relatives and ancestors who have died. Prayers will be read together before the arrival of the month of Ramadan. The meaning of the Jama' Spirit Tradition is a pilgrimage to the grave or in the sense of a ritual that is carried out every year which is carried out together and repeated to pray for the family who has died together, in which it teaches humans about the importance of us to serve our parents even though they have died and there is mutual cooperation and harmony among fellow Muslims. From the point of view of the hadith itself, actually the spirit of jama' is a tradition which is an interpretation (living hadith) of various hadiths that discuss the sending of rewards and charity for the dead. The reception carried out by the community in interpreting the hadith in terms of sending rewards for the dead is manifested in a form of activity that is managed jointly so that it becomes a ritual of the spirits of the congregation'.

Javanese tradition will always be associated with rituals. However, rituals carried out in an Islamic manner will be useful as a spread of Islam, and can instill human values in society, not only in Java

but also in other parts of the archipelago.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the values of Islamic education contained in the Arwah Jama' tradition will be very useful if applied. The village community will have a peaceful life, free from threats, conflicts between fellow Muslims and avoid violence among villagers. The tradition of jama' spirits has existed since the time of Sunan Kalijaga and has been preserved from generation to generation until now.

## B. STUDY OF THEORY

### 1. Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology is one type of qualitative research method that is applied to reveal the similarity of meaning, which is the essence of a concept or phenomenon that is consciously and individually. Phenomenology as a research method is often said to have similarities with narrative and ethnographic studies.<sup>2</sup> The difference is, phenomenology seeks to reveal the universal essence of phenomena experienced personally by a group of individuals. Phenomenological studies can be described as the application of qualitative methods in order to explore and reveal the similarity of meaning of a concept or phenomenon that becomes the life experience of a group of individuals. The phenomenon experienced by a group of individuals is certainly so diverse.

One of the important points that is an advantage of phenomenological studies is that experiences hidden in the philosophical and psychological aspects of individuals can be revealed through narratives, so that researchers and readers seem to be able to understand the life experiences experienced by research subjects.<sup>3</sup> Phenomenological research always tries to reduce personal experiences into a common meaning or universal essence (essentializing) of a phenomenon that is experienced consciously by a group of individuals.

### 2. Living Hadith

#### a. Basic Concepts and Assumptions

In Indonesia, the phrase living hadith -or its sibling, living al-Qur'an- is basically a phrase popularized by the lecturers of Tafsir Hadith (now the Study Program of Al-Qur'an and Tafsir & Study Program of Hadith Sciences) UIN Sunan Kalijaga through book *Research Methodology Living al-Qur'an and Hadith* (2007). However, if you look back, the term living hadith has actually been popularized by Barbara Metcalf through her article, "Living Hadith in Tablighi Jamaah".<sup>4</sup> If explored further, this term is actually a continuation of the term living sunnah,<sup>5</sup> and furthermore is the practice of companions and tabi'in with the Medina tradition which was initiated by Imam Malik.<sup>6</sup>

So basically this is nothing new. However, the novelty is in the phrases used. In more detail and detail, the emergence of the term living hadith is divided into four parts. First, living hadith is just a terminology that appears in this era. Historically, it has actually existed, for example the Medina tradition, it became a living sunnah then when the sunnah was verbalized it became a living hadith. Of course, this assumption coincides with the assumption that the scope of the hadith here is wider than the sunnah which literally means habitual practice.<sup>7</sup>

This understanding is a consequence of the encounter of normative texts (hadith) with the realities of time and space and local. The long distance between the birth of hadith texts or the Koran causes the teachings that exist in both of them to be absorbed in various Muslim reading literatures, take

<sup>1</sup> Muhamamad Sholikin. *Ritual dan Tradisi Islam Jawa*, Narasi, Yogyakarta 2010.

<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/07/02/18080011/Arwah.Jamak.Tradisi.Warga.Demak.sejak.Masa.Sunan.Kalijaga>.

<sup>2</sup> Cresswell, *Penelitian Kualitatif, Memilih diantara 5 Pendekatan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), 143.

<sup>3</sup> Lexy J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung : Remaja Rosdakarya 2009), 14.

<sup>4</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf, "Living hadith in the Tablighi Jamaat" *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Aug., 1993)

<sup>5</sup> Kajian mengenai living sunnah diulas secara mendalam oleh Suryadi, artkelnya "Dari Living Sunnah ke Living Hadis", lihat, Sahiron Syamsuddin (Ed.), *Metodologi Penelitian Living Qur'an dan Hadis*, (Yogyakarta: TH Press bekerjasama dengan Penerbit Teras, 2007), hlm. 89- 104.

<sup>6</sup> Yasin Duton, *Asal Mula Hukum Islam*, terj. Maufur, (Yogyakarta: Islamika, 2004), hlm.82-83

<sup>7</sup> Hans Wehr, *The Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, (New York, Itacha: Spoken Language Services Inc., 1975), hlm. 433.

the yellow book as an example. Second, at first, the study of hadith relied on texts, both sanad and matan. In the future, the study of living hadith starts from practice (context), focusing on practices in society that are inspired by hadith texts. Up to this point, the study of hadith cannot be represented, either in ma'ānil adīš or fahmil ad. Third, in studies of hadith and sanad, a hadith text must have hadith quality standards, such as aḥiḥ, hasan, daīf, maudu'. Different in the study of living hadith, a practice that relies on hadith no longer has a problem with whether it comes from authentic, hasan, daf hadiths, the important thing is that it is a hadith and not a maudu' hadith. So that the rules of the validity of the sanad and matan do not become a point of pressure in the study of living hadith.

Fourth, open a new case in the study of hadith. Hadith studies have develop a lot, moreover in the early 2000s the study of hadith sanad had reached a saturation point, while the study of hadith matan still depended on the study of hadith sanad.

#### b. Element

In the study of living hadith, there are several elements, namely first, living hadith is a form of study of practices, traditions, rituals, or behaviors that live in society which has its foundation in the hadith of the prophet. Second, in conducting research with the living hadith model, it is necessary to ensure that the text of the hadith is found first, which comes from the informant. Because if the text of the hadith is not found, the research will fall into studies conducted in the field of sociology of religion or religious anthropology. Third, the study of living hadith still requires methods and approaches. Some of the methods and approaches offered are phenomenology, as anthropologists see a tradition or ritual in society; narrative studies; ethnography, and at the level of analysis is one of them by using the sociology of knowledge.

#### c. Implementation

Ancestral heritage, religious understanding, and modernity, have a very strong influence in shaping the thinking structure of Indonesians. In addition, cultural differences and geographical locations also affect the perspective of a society in absorbing texts.<sup>8</sup> According to reception analysis, if the audience is in the same cultural framework as the text producer, then the audience's reading of the text may still be the same as textual production. On the other hand, if audience members are in different social positions (in this case it can be called class, gender, age, etc.) differences from the text producers, the audience will have the possibility of alternative or different meanings of the text.

Indeed reception is a form of theory that has developed in the world of literature in analyzing texts, but this concept in practice can also be used to conduct research on non-literary texts. Reception is a stream that examines the text by starting with the reader who reacts or responds to the text. If the reception process is associated with the practice of living hadith, then there is a great distance between the current practice and the reality of the hadith texts that existed in the past. Therefore, it is very possible if a person or a society does not understand that a practice originates from or is based on a certain hadith. It can be said that when the study of practice or the practice of texts is carried out in a practice room, the text should have been found first, realized by the practitioners, or at least there is a strong suspicion on the practice of the prophet's hadith in a society.

In many cases in the field, the perpetrators actually do not know the textual arguments of a hadith. Because in general, it is the agent who has a very important role in terms of understanding the text. An agent here is understood as a person who has access to certain knowledge and conveys it to others; such as kyai, ustadz, modin, and so on. In the language of Clifford Geertz he is also called a cultural broker. Many of the agents also get an understanding of a practice not from direct hadith, but from yellow books such as fiqh, kalam, and creed, even efficacious books. In Indonesia, this is a case that is commonly found, especially because the Indonesian Muslim population is a lot of the Syaf'i school of thought. The musannif of this book mix various foundations of the arguments of the Qur'an and hadith in one legal product, rules, values, and guidelines that are mature, aka the finished product.

These books perceive the texts contained in the Qur'an and hadith and then make them into a legal product or rule that has been made. This set of regulatory products was then re-perceived by the Muslim community later, and then again - of course with various cultural backgrounds and contexts

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<sup>8</sup> Suwardi Endraswara, *Metodologi Penelitian Sastra: Epistemologi, Model, Teori dan Aplikasi*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Widyatama, 2003), hlm. 118.

prevailing at that time - by the people after it, and so on. So that the community and agents do not rely on the hadith or the Koran, but they rely on the finished product.

### C. RESEARCH METHOD

In this article, the researcher uses a phenomenological study research type with a qualitative approach, because phenomenology seeks to reveal how the perspective of each component involved in the mass haul event, namely; mosque administrators, committees and people who follow this tradition. In addition, this research will be studied from the point of view of the science of living hadith, so that a comprehensive result will be collected regarding the phenomenon of the spirits of the people in society. From this phenomenological research, researchers will also try to reduce their personal experiences, to then draw overall conclusions regarding the phenomena that occur.

### D. RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### 1. Implementation of Jama' Spirits

In the tradition of society, every Muslim who dies is not simply forgotten by the community, especially his relatives and family. The dead will continue to be remembered by sending prayers for the good and safety of the spirits in the grave. In one hadith it is stated, "If a person dies, then his deeds are cut off except for three things: charity, knowledge that is used, or the prayer of a pious child (HR. Muslim)."

The belief of people praying for spirits is not only limited to the prayers of pious children but may also be prayed for by all Muslims. The feast is held three nights in a row, and then on the seventh, twenty, forty, sixty, eighty and one hundred days. Haul jama' participants are all male villagers. There are three series of haul jama' events, namely tahlilan, prayer and eating together as a closing event. The spirit feast is done by reading tahlil and praying for the good of the spirits in the grave. The spirit feast begins on the first night after the corpse is buried. The feast is held after the Maghrib prayer led by a tahlil and prayer reader. The invited guests are served snacks and sweet water as gifts or alms and also as an expression of gratitude to the invited guests for wanting to come and pray together, the reward of which is given to the spirits. "that no human being is higher or lower in rank" Whoever the guest who comes, whatever his position, is seen as equal and has the same taste as a servant of Allah.

In addition to reading the prayer together, what is more interesting in the Prayer of the Spirit is the *jadah* or dish that has been provided by the community voluntarily. After the prayer is said, the meal becomes a feast for anyone who comes. Like a thanksgiving event, sharing and complementing one another. Malay dishes are quite typical. There is no high or low. Whoever he is, whatever his position, all are equal and have the same taste. Sit cross-legged with the available *rogue*. Usually one house provides one dish to be delivered to the mosque and *surau* in their respective neighborhoods. Complete with rice, *dekem/ingkung*, anointing, water and fruit for dessert. The dish is an expression of gratitude to guests who have come from far away and participate in praying.

Even though it is not stipulated, nor is it required, the unique sense of sharing is still inherent in people's personalities. This area belongs to women, cook dishes in each house and then take them to the *surau/mosque*. In addition to offering the Spirit Prayer in mosques and *surau*, the tradition of plural spirits welcoming Ramadan is usually also done by cleaning the graves of relatives. Usually there are also those who read *yasin*, or the prayers of the spirits at the tomb. The goal is none other than giving a prayer for the dead

The mass haul at the Al-munawwar Mosque, Mojo Bawu Batealit Jepara, began with the formation of a mass haul committee by the mosque management. The first step taken by the committee was to provide envelopes bearing the mass haul logo which would later be distributed to houses in the mosque or placed on a charity box on the mosque terrace so that later it could be picked up by the congregation of *Maktabah* and Friday prayers. Envelopes by the community are filled with some money, then write down the names of the spirits who were haunted in the column provided on the outside of the envelope. The envelope that already contains money and has the name of the soul inscribed is then returned to the committee with the aim that the names listed on the envelope are mentioned by the officer appointed by the committee and then the names that have been mentioned are read out by *Fatihah's* letter. This means that the community submits all matters relating to the prayer of the soul completely to the committee and officers of the mass haul or in Javanese terms known as "*pasrah bongkoan*". The money from the envelopes collected was partly used by the committee to hold a spirit salvation event which was held on the night of the 15th of *Sha'ban* or *Ruwah*, the rest was then put into the mosque treasury and

used as infaq and alms funds which were then managed by the mosque's ta'mir for development funds and mosque maintenance.

Religion as a value system, of course, undergoes a process of change over time either through acculturation or collaboration, and all of this is the result of human action. In this case, the jama' spirit tradition is a practice that can connect one generation to another in order to build solidarity, unity and togetherness. Jama' spirits have their own characteristics. Within this scope, haul is usually carried out at a certain time according to the day someone dies. However, some are not in accordance with the time of death depending on the agreement with the people involved in the process of carrying out the haul. The execution of the spirits of the congregation is closely related to material objects such as place, space and time, living beings and people who have died. The place is like visiting the grave of someone who is commemorated by the haul. In addition, space and time are used to determine the implementation of the congregation's spirits. Living things as subjects who carry out the haul and people who have died are the objects of the event. Haul, as a practice that must be carried out, namely Tahlil (reading the Qur'an/praying for the dead), recitation (Mauidoh Hasanah) and alms. In addition, haul has social values, such as a gathering place between the surrounding community. The tradition of the spirits of the crowd, as if it has become something that is ingrained in the community. When the haul is not implemented, the community will feel that something is up.

## 2. Living Hadith in the Spirits of Jama'

Giving the reward of reading, shadaqah and pious deeds is one of the furu' khilafiyah that should not encourage slander, quarrels, debates and antipathy to those who do it and those who oppose it. Both parties who disagree with each other should not do things that are inappropriate for their fellow Muslim brothers. Because each party certainly has its own reasons and arguments that justify its practice. Ibn Taimiyah said: "Mayit can benefit from the reward of reading other people's Qur'an verses that are given to him, just as he can also benefit from the reward of maliyah worship such as sadaqah and other thing."<sup>9</sup>

عن أنس رضي الله عنه أنه سأل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسول الله، إذا تصدق عن موتانا ونحج عنهم وندعو لهم فهل يصل ذلك إليهم؟ قال: نعم ويفرحون به كما يفرح أحدكم بالطبق إذا أهدي إليه

It means:

From Anas bin Malik ra, that the Messenger of Allah was once asked by someone: "Indeed, I give charity on their behalf, make the pilgrimage on their behalf and pray for goodness for them. Will the reward of such a deed reach them?" He replied: "Yes, the reward will certainly reach them and they will be happy with the delivery, just as one of you is happy when he receives a plate of food as a gift."<sup>10</sup>

In the book Al-Majmu' written by Imam An-Nawawi it is stated that al-Qadhi Abu ath-Tayyib was once asked about completing the Qur'an in the grave. The answer is that people who read will get a reward, while the dead (who are in the tomb) are like people who are present listening, where they hope to get grace and blessing from reading the Qur'an. On this basis, reading the Qur'an in the grave is mustahab (sunnah). In addition, prayers that are read after reading the Qur'an are easier to accept and benefit the deceased.

Understanding the text of the hadith makes acceptance in society positive and makes it a cultural ritual, which seems to have taken root in their daily lives. The clear evidence of the hadith further convinces the public to carry out the tradition of the spirits of the congregation '.

## 3. The Value of Islamic Education Contained in the Spirits of Jama'

The values of Islamic Education in the Mass Haul Arwah Jama' Tradition are the existence of

- A. I'tiqadiyyah, which is related to faith education, such as believing in Allah, angels, apostles, books, the last day, and destiny, which aims to organize individual beliefs.

<sup>9</sup> Iqtidla' as-Shirat al Mustaqim II/261. Dalam Majmu' al-Fatawa 24/164 Ibnu Taimiyah menegaskan sampainya kiriman bacaan tahlil, tasbih, takbir dan dzikir lainnya bila dihadiahkan kepada orang yang telah meninggal

<sup>10</sup> KH Ali Maksum mengutip hadis ini dari Fatawa Hasanain Makhluuf I/52. Tapi hadis ini juga dikutip oleh Syaikh Badruddin al-Aini dalam Umdat al-Qari Syarah Sahih al-Bukhari XIII/154 dengan sanad yang bersambung (muttashil), yaitu dari riwayat Ibnu Makula dari Ibrahim Ibnu Hibban dari Anas bin Malik

- B. Khuluqiyah, which is related to ethical education, aims to rid oneself of low behavior and adorn oneself with commendable behavior and a form of filial piety to parents.
- C. Amaliyyah, which is related to daily behavior education, both related to worship education and muamalah. Worship education contains the relationship between humans and their God, such as prayer, fasting, zakat, pilgrimage, and vows that aim to actualize ubudiyah values. While muamalah education contains human relations, both individually and institutionally.

The meaning of the implementation of the spirits of the congregation is a connector, a reminder of the Creator to those created, both living and dead, in order to be given salvation. The establishment of friendship ropes, a form of gratitude to those who have died and gratitude to Allah SWT. Implementation of Islamic Educational Values in the Haul Massal Arwah Jama' Tradition can be done with the values of i'tiqadiyyah, khuluqiyah and 'amaliyyah which can be shown by means of: a form of gratitude, tolerance, mutual respect and appreciation, helping anyone in need, togetherness, a good perspective, not forcing someone to practice their religion, and being devoted to both parents.

The impact of the Mass Haul Jama' Tradition is that there are 2 positive impacts, namely in terms of religion, especially in the form of increasing the faith of Zairin Zairot, social aspects, especially in closer community relationships and economic aspects, especially in the form of the emergence of entrepreneurial talents for local residents, while the negative impact is in terms of finances for the poor who actively participate in these activities, even though they are borrowing here and there.

#### Shifting Cultural Values From the Tradition of the Spirits of Jama'

The Haul was initially carried out in earnest by the families concerned. This means that the family of the spirit follows the steps taken in carrying out the haul. Today's society is busy with their respective professions and jobs, this is a strong reason for not being able to carry out the haul. Therefore, the mass haul tradition is one of the places for them to keep sending prayers or hauls without disturbing their busyness and activities. The thing that is of concern is that the spirits of the congregation are carried out by entrusting a certain amount of money to the committee formed by the mosque management. What is interesting here is that there is a shift in cultural values between the traditions of ancient society and today. The culture or tradition of the congregational spirits does still exist, but there is a kind of change and development that leads to the economic aspect, in roughly speaking it is the congregational spirits as being traded.

Traditionally, this is actually natural if we compare the development conditions of today's society, which are already very busy, such as mutual cooperation events in the community, if there is one resident who cannot take part in the mutual cooperation activity, usually the community gives some money. to other citizens as a form of citizen participation. In terms of anthropology, the spirits of the congregation are still able to maintain their existence and sustainability; and in that preservation, local nuances manifest themselves in urban and modern forms, but still within the cultural corridors according to the rules and culture in society.

As the purpose of haul in general, namely praying for someone who has died by visiting the graves of the ancestors. However, as the times progressed, the implementation of the jama' spirits underwent changes and developments. Seeing these changes and developments, there are also other influences. One of them is the purpose of the spirit of the congregation in the view of the community. Although many say that the jama' spirits aim to make pilgrimages to the tombs of their ancestors, the authors find from several sources, both from documents and interviews that with the development of the jama' spirit tradition, several purposes have also developed. The purpose of the spirits of the jama 'is essentially as a ukhrawi interest, such as hoping for an increase in reward, blessings in life and other things related to the afterlife. The purpose of the spirits of the congregation, gradually began to change and develop. Some people have thoughts or assumptions that the spirits of the congregation are something that is no longer sacred. Changes and developments that occur in the haul tradition follow changes in existing practices. Durkheim explains that the changes and developments that occur are due to social facts, both material and non-material social facts.

As material social facts are growing, non-material social facts also follow, namely growing. two, namely material and non-material social facts. Likewise in haul practices that are always changing and developing, because there are concepts that underlie both material and material social facts. It can be seen the material social facts that have been explained in the previous chapter regarding the changes and developments in the implementation of the haul. whose life is more individualistic. As Durkheim said, it is organic in all things. When one person can't do a job, other people can't do it either, except looking for

someone who is an expert in the field of work. The life of the urban community is not like that of the village community, who always communicate. City people are very minimal in communicating, besides being busy with organic work, they are also hindered by different interests. For the community, the tradition of the spirits of the congregation is a socio-religious reflection. The jama' spirit tradition is not only of religious value, but also has another meaning, namely as a social bond of society. This is similar to Durkheim who said that mechanical solidarity is based on a shared "collective consciousness" which refers to the totality of trust. The existence of a jama' spirit tradition makes the media used as a means to strengthen relations between the community. This then encourages the strengthening of social relations between them. Where the community is united from various circles, be it students, alumni, the community or others to gather with the same goal. One of the most important things in the haul, is the formation of community social solidarity. In addition, the spirits of the congregation are also used as a moment of giving infaq funds which will later be useful for the development and construction of mosques as well as supporting facilities for religious activities such as Madrasah Diniyah (Madin) Taman Pendidikan Al-Quran (TPQ).

## E. CONCLUSION

### 1. Implementation of Jama' Spirits

The spirits of jama' or mass hauls are carried out by forming a haul committee, the committee is tasked with distributing envelopes to the public to be filled with some money as alms for spirits and writing down the names to be hauled. Part of the money from the envelope was for the haul event which was held for 15 Sha'ban (Ruwah), the rest was allocated for mosque cash.

### 2. The Practice of Living Hadith in the Implementation of Jama' Spirits

The evidence of the hadith narrated by Anas is one of the naqli sources regarding the permissibility of sending rewards for the dead. This motivates the community to make it happen in activities that are in accordance with the existing culture in society, namely in the form of the jama' spirit tradition. So that the spirit of the congregation is a form of public reception of the naqli hadith arguments carried out in activities in the community so that it becomes a form of embodiment of living hadith.

#### The Value of Islamic Education Contained in the Spirits of Jama'

The values of Islamic Education in the Haul Massal Arwah Jama' Tradition are the values of i'tiqodiyah, khuluqiyah values, and amaliyah values. While the implementation of Islamic Education values in the Haul Massal Arwah Jama' Tradition is to foster harmony between residents and between Muslims in the village and educate the community so that they can always remember and be devoted to their parents who have died.

### 2. Shifting Cultural Values From the Tradition of the Spirits of Jama'

From the anthropological point of view of the jama' spirit tradition, there is a shift in cultural values that developed in society, mainly due to the influence of the busyness and activities of people who are increasingly advanced, but the tradition is still able to maintain its existence and sustainability; and in that preservation, local nuances manifest themselves in urban and modern forms, but still within the cultural corridors that are in accordance with the rules and culture in society. Haul practices that occur from year to year are growing in terms of how they are implemented. Previously, haul was considered as something sacred and ukhrawi. However, along with the times and globalization, the sacredness of haul has shifted and is ordinary and even tends to be worldly.

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