

## Revisiting Tradition-Religion Relationship in Javanese *Tayub* Dance: How Local Community Deals with Dilemmas

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### Abstract

*Tayub* is one of the traditional arts in Indonesia that is still preserved until today. This dance art, for example, is practiced by the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institute (LDII) community. *Tayub*, usually held once a year, is believed to have high values, although many people perceive it negatively. This study aims to reveal why the local religious community still maintains and practices *Tayub* dance art. The study employs a qualitative approach with a case study on *Tayub* dance art practiced by the LDII community in Sukoharjo. Data for this study were collected from observations, interviews, and documentation. The study reveals that the socio-religious traditional art practiced by the LDII community brings the community into a dilemma; they should live by either following traditions or carrying out religious tenets. The LDII community continues to maintain and practice the *Tayub* dance art as an expression of their gratitude. The local community believes that there are noble values contained in *Tayub* dance art, such as gratitude for God's grace, friendship, and harmony in society. However, many still view this art as a tradition that is not in accordance with religious tenets.

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*Tayub merupakan salah satu kesenian tradisional di Indonesia yang masih dilestarikan hingga sekarang. Seni tari ini misalnya dipraktikkan oleh komunitas Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII). Tayub, yang biasanya diadakan setahun sekali, diyakini memiliki nilai-nilai yang luhur, meskipun banyak orang memandangnya*

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*secara negatif. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap mengapa komunitas beragama setempat masih mempertahankan dan mempraktikkan seni tari Tayub. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan studi kasus tentang seni tari Tayub yang dipraktikkan oleh komunitas LDII di Sukoharjo. Data untuk penelitian ini dikumpulkan dari observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Kajian ini mendapati bahwa seni tradisi sosio-religius yang dipraktikkan oleh komunitas LDII ini membawa masyarakat pada dilema; mereka harus hidup antara mengikuti tradisi atau menjalankan ajaran agama. Komunitas LDII terus memelihara dan mengamalkan seni tari Tayub sebagai ungkapan rasa syukur mereka. Masyarakat setempat meyakini bahwa ada nilai-nilai luhur yang terkandung dalam seni tari Tayub, seperti rasa syukur atas karunia Tuhan, persahabatan, dan kerukunan dalam masyarakat. Namun demikian, masih banyak yang memandang kesenian tari ini sebagai tradisi yang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran agama.*

**Keywords:** *ledhekan*; religion; *tayub*; tradition

## Introduction

Indonesia is a nation rich in culture, with thousands of different customs/ethnics extending from Sabang to Merauke. One of the cultural products is local art tradition. Local (traditional) art is basically anonym, not limited by a territorial border. For that reason, art can be positioned to be a means of creating cultural resilience that should be treated as national resilience (Monika et al., 2011). Artwork must not be a masterpiece but it should contain creativity based on local typical peculiarity. Sukoharjo has a local art tradition in the form of folk dance called *Tayub* or *Ledhekan*. *Tayub* is a dance closely related to a region's fertility and prosperity. Fertility is always expected by people. To celebrate the fertility of a region, people often hold *sedekah bumi* or *rasulan* (a ceremony as a form of gratitude to the earth). In society, the *Tayub* tradition is often used as a bridge, accompaniment, and servant of spiritual need. A spiritual need can be related to religious activity, belief, or ritual activities.

Allah destines human beings to be social creatures who need social relations and interaction with fellow humans. As social creature, human

needs to cooperate with others in fulfilling their life needs, either material or spiritual. Alasombo village, in Sukoharjo, has about 5000 populations and the majority of which are Muslims or adhere to the Islamic religion. There, Islam is divided into some organizations: NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah, MTA, and Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII). Statistic Central Bureau's Survey reported that the distribution of populations of this village by religion in 2015 is 99.9% Islam, 0.1% Christian, 0% Konghuchu (0), 0% Hindu (0), and Buddha 0% (0) (BPS, 2015). The populations are distributed into 18 hamlets, one of which is Puthukduren, with 80 families consisting of 250 people. The proportion of populations in Puthukduren by organization affiliation shows that the majority populations join LDII by 75% and 25% are affiliated to NU.

LDII is an Islamic mass organization developing rapidly currently. LDII was established by H. Nur Hasan Ubaidilah in 1951 in Burengan, Banjarnegara, Kediri, East Java. LDII is still developing throughout Indonesia's territories until today. Islam Jama'ah is a label given to its community, but it has been renamed LDII (*Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia/Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institution*) since the 1990s. LDII community upholds religious values and obeys its organization's rules tightly (Warsono, 2017). Although it is known as a rigid tenet, guideline, and norm, most people adhering to LDII organization still maintain and practice *Tayub* tradition. *Tayub* is held by people in the local ceremony of *sedekah bumi*. It is defined by local people as an expression of gratitude to God the Almighty who has given blessing and livelihood. Besides, through this tradition, people request to be kept away from any disaster, granted health and great livelihood.

Based on the author's survey conducted from July to August 2019, something different was found in the people of Puthukduren, Alasombo Village, Sukoharjo Regency, where *sedekah bumi* is held by performing *Tayub(an)*. Local people are enthusiastic about this tradition that is held following the second harvesting season, around July or August. Also, *Tayuban* is an important performance that should be present in the program of *bersih desa* (clean the village together by its people). *Tayub*

has another function behind its implementation i.e. as socio-cultural system order.

Previous studies have discussed different viewpoints on this issue. *First*, the study of Islam existing within society, local wisdom utilized as the development of Islamic teaching value, and religious tradition used for communicating the international relation tradition (Armin, 2010); (Casram & Dadah, 2019); (Maliki, 2009). *Secondly*, the study was conducted by Cahyono (2006), Sari (2016), and Maytisa (2016). They discussed *Tayub* or *Ledhek* and defined it as dancing or dance. The word *Tayub*, according to oral tradition, is a combination of two words: *Tata* (order) and *Guyub* (mutually helpful) or *ditata ben guyub*, meaning that the dance is ordered or organized well to create harmony. *Tayub* in Java as folk dance grows and flourishes in villages. These studies have described the values contained in *Tayub* tradition, people's enthusiasm with *Tayub*, and *Tayub* meaning according to local people. Meanwhile, in this study, the authors would view why the LDII community in Sukoharjo is basically strict adherents of Islamic teachings still practice and enjoy *Tayub* tradition even though it is considered not appropriate to Islamic teachings.

The authors in this study would employ Berger's social construction theory. This theory contains a conception that reality is constructed socially. Reality and knowledge are two key terms to comprehend. Reality is a quality contained in these phenomena recognized to have its own being, thereby not dependent on human desire. Meanwhile, knowledge is a certainty that those phenomena are real and have specific characteristics (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Peter L. Berger views community to have social construction as objective and subjective realities. Berger talks about how the concept or new invention becomes the part of human reality itself sustainably.

In the further process, the reality is no longer a product of human creation through a process called internalization. Internalization occurs by involving either primary or secondary socialization. Internalization results in

a real relation between individuals and society tradition (Hasyim et al., 2020). Then, there is an agreement between communities as an objective reality. The institutionalization process in society order starts with externalization conducted repeatedly. This pattern continues until it is understood mutually and finally becomes collective habitus, in which habituation having occurred generates deposition and tradition (Andries, 2018). Members of the LDII community uphold the religious value and also obey the rule of their organization. However, in the social reality, the religious community existing in Puthukduren keeps doing the preexisting tradition.

This study was qualitative-based research with a case study approach. The data were collected through a series of observations, interviews, and documentation. The interview was conducted with the religious community, *Tayub* art performers, and society leaders. In this study, the sample was taken using Purposive Sampling, in which the sample was taken selectively with certain criteria and verification to be analyzed later. Then, for data analysis, Miles and Huberman's model is used, looking for and systematically categorizing data obtained from the result of interview and field documentation. Qualitative data analysis was inductive, an analysis based on the data obtained to be developed into a hypothesis later. Miles (2014) suggested that activity in qualitative data analysis is conducted interactively continuously. The activities of analysis are data reduction, data display, and conclusion or verification.

### **LDII Community in Puthukduren**

LDII organization was established firstly on January 3, 1972, named Islamic Employee Institution Foundation (*Yayasan Lembaga Karyawan Islam*, YAKARI). In 1981, this organization was renamed with Indonesian Employee Institution (*Lembaga Karyawan Indonesia*, LEMKARI). Then, in 1990, following General Rudini's direction as the Minister of Internal Affairs, *LEMKARI* was changed into Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institution (*Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia*, LDII). However, some people suggested that the name of LDII historically came from Darul

Hadits, then changed into *LEMKARI* and then changed again into LDII until today. LDII is an official legal mass organization complying with the provision of Law No. 8 of 1985 about Mass Organization, and its implementation includes the Government Regulation (PP) No. 18 of 1986. LDII has a Memorandum of Association/Articles of Association (AD/ART), platform and leadership from central to village (*kelurahan*) level. Previously, LDII was labeled negatively as an organization opposed to the basic Islam teachings. However, the current LDII has adhered to a new paradigm. LDII is neither the next generation/continuation of Islam Jama'ah nor teaches Islam Jamaah tenet. LDII does not use *sistem keamiran* (leadership system). LDII does not consider Muslim communities out of their group are infidel. LDII is willing to follow the religious thinking foundation and other mass organizations specified by MUI (Ulfah, 2017). The LDII Jama'at highly respects religious values and is also very obedient to the rules that exist within their organization. Meanwhile, several da'wah organizations whose members are tens, hundreds and even thousands scattered in several villages, regions or cities in the archipelago always demand to be recognized as independent organizations (Warsono, 2017).

Puthukduren Hamlet is one of the hamlets in Alasombo Village, Weru Sub District, Sukoharjo Regency. Puthukduren Hamlet, viewed from its territorial border, is located on Karangmojo Village in the North, Sidorejo Hamlet in the South, Sonorojo Hamlet in the East, and Gunung Buthak Hamlet in the West. Puthukduren Hamlet is about 20 hectares wide, consisting of population settlement and local people's farmland. Puthukduren Hamlet is located about 2 km from Alasombo Village's Government Center, 4 km from Weru Sub District office center, and 20 km from Sukoharjo government office center.

Population demography of Puthukduren Hamlet recorded 300 people with 80 households, consisting of 153 males and 147 females (data of Puthukduren Hamlet and Village Development in 2019, Demographic Division). Most of the productive-age populations in Puthukduren Hamlet are farmers and some of them go to Jakarta and cities around to seek a

job. To them, going to other cities is intended to change their fate. It is usually done after graduating from school or married. As stated by Mr. SW as the Head of RW (Community unit) in Puthukduren:

“*Ha.a (iya) sih merantau yang cowok gitu ke Jakarta, yo Bekasi, yo Semarang, nanging akeh sing nyang Jakarta [... Yes, they will go to Jakarta, Bekasi, Semarang, but most of them go to Jakarta]*” (SW, personal communication, 2020).

The majority of people of Puthukduren Hamlet joined the LDII Islam organization a long time ago. However, some of Puthukduren community are affiliated with NU and Muhammadiyah. The detail of populations by religion can be seen in Table 1. Many local inhabitants have left for other cities. So, from the table above we can see that 220 people are affiliated to LDII, 50 join NU, 15 join Muhammadiyah, and 10 join other Islamic organizations. The majority of Puthukduren people are the members of LDII community.

Table 1.  
The detail of populations by religion

| No | Islamic Organizations | Total |
|----|-----------------------|-------|
| 1  | LDII                  | 220   |
| 2  | Nahdlatul Ulama       | 50    |
| 3  | Muhammadiyah          | 15    |
| 4  | Others                | 10    |

Source: Research Data 2020

Socio-religious activities in Puthukduren are varied such as *pengajian kemisan* (Islamic learning forum) every Thursday, *karang taruna* (youth organization), *arisan* (social gathering), *posyandu* (integrated service post), and cooperatives of Neighborhood Association, and local farmer group. The livelihood of Puthukduren people is farming, trading, and wandering sectors. Its farming relies on a rain-fed rice farming system; therefore, harvest failure often occurs during the dry season. Thus, the harvest output produced is not abundant. Tradition held by Puthukduren people is still preserved, i.e *sambatan* (cooperation). It is usually done by the

people in big events or social activities like *bersih desa*, building a house, wedding event, death ceremony, constructing road, etc. *Sambatan* in this society is conducted in turn and collectively.

In this village, there is a *Sendang Duren*, a water source usually used by people and surrounding people because it is well-known for its clear water source. Its water is used for daily needs. People also buy the water for three thousand rupiahs per liter. *Sendang Duren* is part of Alasombo Village's territory. Despite being known as religious communities, Puthukduren people still maintain their cultural customs and ancestral tradition. Traditions still performed until today are among others, *bersih desa* with *Tayub* performance, birthchild ceremonies by holding *aqiqah* (slaughtering a goat) and *pengajian*, death ceremony by NU community from 7<sup>th</sup> day, 40<sup>th</sup> day, 100<sup>th</sup> day, *pendhak pisan* (1 year), *pendak pindo* (2 years), and *nyewu* (1000<sup>th</sup> day). For *khitan* (circumcision) ceremony and a series of customary wedding ceremonies, Puthukduren people usually organize *wayang* (puppet) performance, *campursari*, and *rebana*, dependent on respective individual and belief. Meanwhile, they still believe in the presence of preserved Javanese tradition. It can be seen from the *bersih desa* (cleaning the village) tradition, in which they do it as most of its people are farmers. Therefore, the culture usually performed during *bersih desa* is *Tayuban* or *Ledhekan performance*. *This tradition* is a habit that has been existing since ancient time. According to Puthukduren people, it has a distinctive meaning and function in their life.

As suggested by Mrs. P as the citizen of Puthukduren, and Mr. W as the Head of RW, Puthukduren Hamlet is the strategic area. In addition, there are some schools, from PAUD (Early Age Child Education) to SMK/SMA (Senior High School). PAUD which is closest to Puthukduren is the one located in Sidorejo, and TK (Kindergarten) school is also located in Sidorejo. The closest SD to Puthukduren is SD Negeri 2 Alasombo located in Sidorejo and SD 01 Karangmojo. But, the one favorite to Puthukduren people is SD Negeri Alasombo 2, due to its distance to the people's houses and its good quality and crowded road. Furthermore,



Puthukduren people prefer going to SMP 1 Weru, SMP 3 Weru, and SMP 1 Tawang Sari. For Senior High School, they go to SMA Muhammadiyah, SMA 1 Weru, SMA 1 Tawang Sari and SMK Tunas Bangsa Tawang Sari.

### ***Tayuban* Tradition in Puthukduren**

*Tayub* is *jarwa-dhosok* (acronym) which stands for “*Yen ditata dadi guyub*” (if it is organized, a harmony is created). *Tayub* performance involves five men as *penayub* with two or three *ledheks* as the *sripanggung*, six *penabuh gamelan* and one *sinden*. If arranged and organized, it will create harmonious or concordant circumstances replete with fraternity and kinship values. This definition of *Tayub* dance, according to R.T Kusumakesawa, is much different from what is still known today. In his explanation he said that *Tayub* existed in the palace only; the dance performed by the king when he taught leadership (*Astha Brata*) to the crown princess. This lesson was delivered to the potential king through dancing. No other one witnessed it but four eyes were involved in it. Furthermore, the word *nayub* is found in Mangkunegaran note 35, derived from the word *tayub* consisting of two words i.e., *mataya* meaning dance and *guyub* meaning mutual harmony or concordance. The ceremony is held to make the farming products abundant and to avoid the supernatural calamity that has become the local people’s distinctive belief. The belief existing and developing in rural people’s lives at that time indicated that people are believed to affect the plant’s fertility, using holding ceremonies or rituals symbolizing fertility (Sari, 2016).

This traditional art has been abandoned by youths today, for example in Puthukduren hamlet where only elders perform and watch *Tayub* performance. As suggested by Mr. SW:

“saiki kuwi, cah nom kalangan muda wis ora tertarik karo tradisi ledhekan kalah karo teknologi modern, ananging tiyang sepuh tetep nglestarekake tradisi iki mbak” [Now, the youths are not interested in this tradition, lose to modern technology but the elders still preserve this tradition] (SW, personal communication, 2020).

*Tayub* art was a method taken by *wali* (Muslim preachers) to spread Islam, and people still preserved it as entertainment or expression of gratitude for the abundant livelihood given. The form of *Tayub* performance in Puthukduren, Sukoharjo Regency, is divided into 3 (three) stages: opening, main performance, and closing.

### **Opening**

*Tayub* performance is held simply in Sendang Duren from noon to evening at 01.30 p.m. and ends at 05.00 p.m. It starts with *klenengan* inviting the people to come and to watch the performance. *Klenengan* is *gamelan* struck by *penabuh* with Javanese songs sung by *wirosuworo*, Javanese *gendhing* accompaniment is performed repeatedly to remind the people to assemble immediately in the place where the event is held. Then, after the people are gathered, the head of the hamlet (elder) will lead the prayer and sow a handful of rice around the *Tayub* performance, to prevent the unexpected thing from occurring. Thereafter, the village apparatus will give a welcome speech. Before the performance is begun, the leader of the prayer will find someone to dance along with *Tayub* dancer.

The second Javanese *gending* (song) is played after a welcome speech and prayer. *Pengiring* plays *gending* such as *bowo pangkur* and *caping gunung* sung by *wirosuworo* aiming to gather the people surrounding to enjoy and to watch the *Tayub* performance. *Klenengan* is the Javanese *gendhing* (music) accompanying the performance played by *pengrawit*. The performance starts with *joged* (dance) accompanied with one or two songs to indicate that the performance will be begun immediately and followed with *Gambyong* dance. *Gambyong* dance in *Tayub* performance in Puthukduren is performed using *Gambyong pareanom*, and only one person is allowed to dance. *Gambyong* dancers will designate someone close to the dancer or the one holding the event.

### **Main Performance**

The Main performance is held by designating a person (the one who has been usually designated annually) to dance and to sing Javanese songs.

The movement is usually spontaneous or without previous practice. In this performance, the first one to dance along with the dancer is the one who holds the event or those who have a high social status such as village apparatus and then followed with *pengibing* played by other people that the head of hamlet has designated.



Figure 1.  
*Ledhek and pengibing*

The etiquette of performing *Tayuban* is as follows: one main female dancer (*joged*) dances along with one or two female dancers (*pengibing*) who dance in front of or behind the *joged*. While dancing together, one additional *gendhing* is played and *pengibings* turn right (180 degrees). Meanwhile, *jogeds* (female dancers) just need to face back to keep facing the *pambekso* rather than facing the *pangguyub*. Following the presentation in the first and second sessions, master of ceremony (*pranatacara*) calls the prospect *pengibing* designated to dance along with *ledhek*. After *pambekso* and *pangguyub* have been ready, *pengibings* are allowed to request *gendhing* to *ledhek*, *sinden*, and *pengrawit*, and therefore the preparation of *tayuban* or *ledhekan* is begun. *Gendhing-gendhing* or *tembang* played by *joged* in *Tayub* performance start to

develop today, following the market demand, in the sense that Javanese songs or *gendhings* change into campursari creation and *dangdut*. It is done to prevent the spectators from getting bored with monotonous *Tayub* performances. In addition to *tembang*, costume use also develops following the public's demand, in which *ledheks* wear the closed dresses, in contrast to *kemben* worn in the past.

### **Closing**

The closing section in *Tayub* performance usually relates to the time when it is impossible to continue the performance. At that time, *pengarih* announces that the performance will end soon before the last *gendhing* is played, but the performance has not ended yet. *Ledheks* will ask first the people whether they have a wish or not (*hajat* or *nadzar*). If one of them has a wish, they will restart the *Gending* performance and the last presentation will be performed using *gendhing langgam pamitan*.

From the sequence of *Tayub* art performances, it can be concluded that this performance is held with opening, main performance, and closing stages. The opening section is performed with *klenengan*, prayer, *gambyongan*, followed by *penanggap ngibing joged* (Tayuban) where the one holding the event dance with the female dancers to indicate that *Tayub* has been opened to be enjoyed by the people. In the closing section, *wirosuworo* announces that *Tayub* performance has ended and the last *gendhing* is played with *langgam pamitan*.

### **Values Contained in *Tayub* Tradition**

Community culture is influenced by the culture originating from the community itself. The traditional rituals of the community have a primary use in protecting themselves and the environment. Therefore, religion and society have a close relationship. This reflects that religion is an implication of community development (Hidayat, 2017). The relationship between religion and society is reflected in rituals. In traditional society, it depends on the people's collective consciousness, and religion seems to play this role (Sumitri & Arka, 2020). Society is created because the

members are obedient to share their beliefs and opinions in the form of ritual, which manifests in gathering people in religious ceremonies (Nurwani et al., 2020). Religion looks like a tool for community integration, and continuous ritual practice emphasizes human obedience to religion. These two aspects play a role in strengthening solidarity among society in the form of togetherness (Bauto, 2016)

Puthukduren people are heterogeneous and dynamic. The existence of heterogeneous communities in various diversities such as religion, livelihood, and education level indicates that people are aware that they will need each other, and thereby have a sense of solidarity and tolerance to fellow human beings for the sake of mutual harmony. Such awareness makes people keep preserving *Tayub* tradition as an attempt of maintaining the values existing within the community. According to Puthukduren people, *Tayub* or *Ledhek* is considered to have the following values.

*Tayub* can be said as an attempt of improving harmony among community members, meaning that in the presence of *Tayub* performance, all people can assemble in the performance venue so that it can be a medium of communicating and exchanging information between local people and outsiders. In addition, the presence of *Tayub* performance can be a means of binding solidarity within the local community. Sometimes spectators do not know each other, but because of watching *Tayub* performance jointly, they can communicate with each other even with those coming from different villages. From the communication created, unconsciously they will create a new community gradually, a *Tayub* performance art lover community. It corresponds to the definition of *Tayub* derived from the phrase *ditata ben guyub* meaning that the dance is organized in such a way that creates a harmonious relationship among its lovers. The presence of *Tayub* functions as entertainment. It provides a space for community members to interact with each other. Not only Puthukduren people but also do those from other villages come to enjoy *Tayub* performance. Therefore, interaction occurs between fellow citizens that can result in a sense of harmonious life within them. The sense of

solidarity can be established because this is an event creating togetherness within a community, thereby resulting in tranquility (Yanti & Nurhayati, 2018). Except for creating harmony, the presence of *Ledhek* or *Tayub* tradition will prompt people to cooperate to make the event held smoothly, from the preparation stage to the completion. Local people share some tasks and they have assembled in the venue since the morning.

### **Social Construction of Religious Community in Puthukduren**

LDII community is an organization with many activities like constructing *masjid* (mosque) and Islamic Boarding School (*pondok pesantren*), organizing *pengajian* and participating in education and various social activities. LDII community upholds religious values and is obedient to the rule existing in the organization. However, in social reality, the religious community existing in Puthukduren Hamlet keeps implementing the preexisting tradition. This study states that the religious community holds the tradition they consider inconsistent with the preexisting tenet in the community so that in such conditions a contradictory expression duality occurs within a religious community. Considering this, the analysis in this study was conducted using a case study with Peter L Berger's social construction. From the analysis, it can be summarized that religious community is constructed by the community in which specifically the social reality of individual resulted from the interaction between individual and community occurring continuously. It is called the objectification process.

In the next process, the reality is no longer a product of human creation through a process called internalization. Internalization occurs by involving socialization, either primary or secondary. Internalization provides a real relationship between individuals and the community. Then, due to a consensus among community members, as the objective reality, the institutionalization process in society order starts with externalization done repeatedly. This pattern continues until it is understood mutually and eventually becomes a collective *habitus*. Habituation occurring generates deposition and tradition (Sulaiman,

2016). Thus, despite living within a religious community, people keep holding the *Tayub* tradition believed to bring kindness and have been held long ago.

*Tayub* or *Ledhek* art performance also develops in other regions in Java Island. Basically, the *Tayub* performance held in one region is the same as the one held in others, consisting of dance in pairs performed by a woman and a man, accompanied by certain *gendhing*. Nevertheless, *Tayub* performing art held in one region remains to be different from that in others. Another difference lies in presentation pattern and certain rites to support *Tayub* performance, and certain village rites before starting *Tayub* performance. Considering the oral tradition developing within society, *Tayub* tradition has existed in Puthukduren Hamlet for a long time and is still held hereditarily until today.

*Puthukduren* people also believe in and accept the tradition as one of the ancestral traditions that should always be routinely implemented annually. They believe that the tradition is the demand of *danyang* who always safeguard their village. If some change is made to the tradition that has been done for ten years, unexpected incidences are worried to occur in Puthukduren. Anthony V. Shay in Soedarsono (1999, p. 56) states that there are six functions of dance developing today: 1) as the reflection of social organization, 2) as a means of ritual, secular, and religious expressions, 3) as recreational or entertainment activity, 4) as the reflection of esthetic expression, 5) as psychological expression and relief, 6) as the reflection of economic activity. The function of *Tayub* art performance shifts from the ones aforementioned to the function as ritual media, as an important part of *Nyadran (bersih desa)* ceremony (Eri, personal communication).

The implementation of *Tayub* tradition in the life of Puthukduren people, Weru Sub District, Sukoharjo Regency is because Puthukduren people are the ones still upholding customs that have prevailed since a long time ago. It can be seen that the people always hold *Tayub* art performances annually in *Nyadran (sedekah bumi)* event because they still

believe that *Tayub* is identical with fertility. It is confirmed by a citizen stating:

”Enggih mba leres, niki kangge wujud syukur marang Gusti amargi sampun diparingi rejeki ingkang gangsar lan sehat bagas waras, yo mugo-mugo anggane dedungo lan usaha ngeten niki saget dadosaken sae [Yes, that is right, it is an expression of gratitude to God for giving us good livelihood and health, and hopefully such attempt will result in goodness] (S, personal communication, 2020).

It is also implemented due to the effect of social environment behavior. The community implementing *Tayub* tradition hereditarily will be blessed, so that they unconsciously will hold *Ledhek* or *Tayub* art tradition by reconstructing it corresponding to the basic principle of their tenet. Thus, the tradition is still maintained by local people with tenets and norms they believe in.



Figure 2.  
*Ledhek* Performance

## Conclusion

Tradition conducted by the LDII community in Puthukduren is a combination of belief in religion and tradition, in which people keep



implementing the tradition prohibited by their standard tenet. This tradition has been implemented annually hereditarily. Society as an objective reality is institutionalized in it. Institutionalization happens repeatedly which then produces habituation or habitualization. Habitualization that has taken place gives rise to deposition and tradition. This tradition is then passed down to the next generation through language. They fear that if the people no longer implement the culture that has been organized regularly especially *Tayub* art performance, some unexpected things may occur. It is because people have been accustomed to a culture influencing them every day. This tradition is beneficial to establish harmony and togetherness values within society. This tradition has changed following the development today, as indicated with the tradition performance is started with Islamic prayers (du'a) and *ledhek* (dancers) wearing closed dresses to respect and to apply politeness norms existing within society.[w]

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