



INTERNALIZATION OF RELIGION AND CULTURE: RELIGIOSITY OF THE TEBUWUNG SOCIETY IN THE TINGKEPAN TRADITION

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Internalization,
Religion,
Culture,
Tingkepan,
Living Qur'an

Studi ini menjelaskan fenomena living qur'an pada masyarakat desa Tebuwung, Dukun, Gresik, Jawa Timur terkait pemakaian surat Yusuf dan Maryam dalam tradisi tingkepan. Fenomena qur'ani dalam ritual kehamilan ini merupakan bentuk pemakaian atas kandungan Al-Qur'an yang melingkupi kehidupan masyarakat setempat. Berbasis penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis, di mana data diperoleh melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi dan dokumentasi, studi ini mencoba menjelaskan fenomena tradisi tingkepan, resepsi masyarakat terhadap surat Yusuf dan Maryam serta pengaruh pembacaan kedua surat tersebut dalam tradisi tingkepan. Berpijak pada perspektif sosiologi pengetahuan Karl Mannheim dan konstruksi sosial Peter L. Berger, hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa kesadaran qur'ani yang ada pada masyarakat dibangun melalui pemahaman keagamaan para tokoh sentral keagamaan setempat. Dari para tokoh itulah kemudian muncul kesadaran yang dihasilkan dari suatu pemahaman tentang ide dan pesan moral dari surat Yusuf dan Maryam, dengan harapan dapat memiliki keturunan berparas tampan atau cantik dan berkarakter sebagaimana tergambar di dalam kedua surat tersebut. Selain sebagai bentuk kearifan lokal, tradisi tingkepan ini secara konstruktif menunjukkan adanya keyakinan masyarakat, bahwa penciptaan manusia sangat terkait erat dengan ke-Esa-an Tuhan sejak di dalam kandungan.

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Abstract
Keywords:

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This study explains the phenomenon of the living Qur'an practiced by the Tebuwung Society in Dukun, Gresik, East Java, regarding the meaning of surah Yusuf and Maryam in the tingkepan tradition. The Qur'anic phenomenon in this pregnancy ritual is a form of meaning of the Qur'an's content that surrounds the local community's life. Based on qualitative research with a phenomenological approach, while data were obtained through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation, this study tries to explain the phenomenon of the tingkepan tradition, the public's reception of surah Yusuf and Maryam, and the influence of reading the two surahs in the tingkepan tradition. Based on Karl Mannheim's perspective and the social construction of Peter L. Berger, the study's results show that the awareness of the Qur'an that exists in the community is built through the religious understanding of the central figures of religion at local level. From these central figures, awareness emerged from understanding the ideas and moral messages of surah Yusuf and Maryam in the hope of having descendants that handsome or beautiful face and character as depicted in the two surahs. Apart from being local wisdom, this tingkepan tradition constructively demonstrates the community's belief that the creation of man is closely related to the Oneness of God since he/she was in the womb.

Introduction

Since the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, many religious rites have been considered *bid'ah* rites but, at the same time, become one of religious piety in Indonesia.¹ This assumption is because Indonesian society has a pluralistic frame of diversity, cultural responses, and spiritual depths. As the research results by Clifford Geertz said, there are three groups of people's beliefs in Mojokuto, East Java, namely *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi*. These groups influence the cultural and religious system in the city of Mojokuto.² When facing a polemic that occurs in society, the Muslim society should return to the basic teachings of Islam, namely the Qur'an. The Qur'an is "*salih likulli zaman wa makan*" which is compatible at any time and place.

Regardless of the various beliefs of understanding, the diversity of religious and cultural dialectical phenomena continues to develop because

¹ Tedi Al-Qurtuby, Sumanto dan Kholiludin, ed., *Agama dan Budaya Nusantara Pasca Islamisasi* (Semarang: Lembaga Studi Sosial dan Agama (eLSA) Press, 2020), 146.

² Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014).

they adjust to the prevalence of society. Like *Dulkadiran* tradition in Tuban, East Java;³ *Rajaban* Tradition in Kebumen, Central Java;⁴ and *Kupatan* tradition in Trenggalek, East Java.⁵ In the book *Sociological Writings*, Max Weber said that the change occurred because of the elements that were not suitable.⁶ This discrepancy causes cultural changes to adapt to the ongoing social context. One of the cultures that experienced acculturation with Islam was the reading of Surah Yusuf and Maryam in *tingkepan* tradition, which took place in Tebuwung Village, Dukun, Gresik. This activity is a pregnancy rate done in the fifth or seventh month of pregnancy and done together in one assembly. The society aims to make the expectations they want to achieve more manageable to be granted.⁷ However, society has the right to choose the relevance of culture that enters and develops in its midst.

A study shows that pregnant women's feelings are closely related to the child in the womb. The unstable emotions of pregnant women influence the baby's brain development.⁸ So pregnant women maintaining the womb become an essential job. The physiological development of children can be supported by living a healthy lifestyle. It affects the delivery process and the mother and fetus's health, reducing the risk of abnormal births.⁹ While the pregnancy rites done by the people of Tebuwung Village have a positive influence on the mother's psychology, this activity is one

³ Nilna Fadlillah, "Dulkadiran, Media Masyarakat Sampurnan untuk Memperoleh Keselamatan, Pahala, Syafaat, dan Surga," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 14, no. 2 (2017): 167–192.

⁴ Siti Fathonah, "Kompleksitas Simbol dan Representasi Makna dalam Tradisi *Rajaban* Masyarakat Kebumen," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 15, no. 2 (2018): 273–294.

⁵ Wildan Rijal Amin, "Kupatan, Tradisi untuk Melestarikan Ajaran Bersedekah, Memperkuat Tali Silaturahmi dan Memuliakan Tamu," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 14, no. 2 (2017): 267–282.

⁶ Baharuddin Baharuddin, "Bentuk-Bentuk Perubahan Sosial dan Kebudayaan," *Jurnal Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah* 9, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 182.

⁷ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

⁸ Eneng Nurhayati, "Psikologi Kehamilan dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an" XX, no. 1 (2021): 56.

⁹ Ana Pujiastuti, "Konsep Kehamilan Sehat: Upaya Mencetak Generasi Cerdas," *Artikel Kesehatan Nasional* (2014): 2.

of the efforts of pregnant women to maintain the psychological health of children. The *tingkepan* tradition rite in Tebuwung Village is also local wisdom that needs to be maintained as a form of social interaction and cultural preservation.

Previous studies related to this study have five categories of tendencies found; i.e., research leads to the acculturation of Islam and the culture of pregnancy rites;¹⁰ the law of implementing pregnancy rites;¹¹ the values contained in the rite of pregnancy;¹² the role of pregnancy rites in the social sphere;¹³ and the role of pregnancy rites in the scope of education.¹⁴

This study focused on the phenomenon of the *tingkepan* tradition, the public's reception of surah Yusuf and Maryam, and the influence of reading the two surahs in the *tingkepan* tradition in Tebuwung Village

¹⁰ Laila Nisfatul Tarwiyah, Rosichin Mansur, and Muhammad Sulistiono, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa Terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam (Studi Kasus Tradisi *Tingkepan* di Desa Wonorejo Kecamatan Kedunggalar Kabupaten Ngawi)," *Vicratina: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 4 (July 15, 2019): 82–93, accessed January 5, 2022, <http://riset.unisma.ac.id/index.php/fai/article/view/3147>; Laili Choirul Ummah, "Islamisasi Budaya dalam Tradisi Tujuh Bulanan (Mitoni) dengan Pembacaan Surat Yūsuf dan Maryam pada Jamaah Sima'an Al-Qur'an di Desa Jurug Kecamatan Mojosongo Kabupaten Boyolali," *Al-Itqan: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an* 4, no. 2 (August 13, 2018): 105–126.

¹¹ Buhori, "Islam dan Tradisi Lokal di Nusantara (Telaah Kritis Terhadap Tradisi Pelet Betteng pada Masyarakat Madura dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam)," *Al-Maslahah* 13, no. 2 (2017): 229–246; Nurhaizan, Sumiati, and Nurhaizan, "Hukum Tingkeban pada Adat Jawa Menurut Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Desa Suka Damai Kecamatan Sei Bamban Kabupaten Serdang Bedagai)" 10, no. 1 (2020): 19–26.

¹² Khaerani, Alfiantra, and Emil El Faisal, "Analisis Nilai-Nilai dalam Tradisi Tingkeban pada Masyarakat Jawa di Desa Cendana Kecamatan Muara Sugihan Kabupaten Banyuasin," *Jurnal Bhineka Tunggal Ika* 6, no. 1 (2019); Umi Machmudah, "Budaya Mitoni: Analisis Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Membangun Semangat Ekonomi," *el-Harakah* 18, no. 2 (2016).

¹³ Dhimas Abror D. et al., "Ritus Budaya Tingkeban sebagai Perikat Sosial pada Masyarakat Jember," *Pustaka XXI*, no. 1 (2021); Rahmawati et al., "Ritual Budaya Selama Kehamilan di Indonesia sebagai Bentuk Local Wisdom Dukungan Sosial," *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Pendidikan FKIP* 3, no. 1 (2020).

¹⁴ Anita Fitriya and Siti Maulidatul Hasanah, "Pendidikan Prenatal pada Ibu Hamil di Desa Karangsono Kecamatan Bangsalsari Kabupaten Jember Tahun 2020 (Studi Living Qur'an: Internalisasi Surat Maryam dan Surat Yusuf)," *Childhood Education: Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 2, no. 1 (2021); M. Rifa'i and Hartuti, "Kearifan Lokal *Tingkepan*: Kajian Pendidikan Anak dalam Islam," *Premiere Educandum: Jurnal Pendidikan Dasar dan Pembelajaran* (2012): 118–134.

Society, Dukun, Gresik. Although the pregnancy rites done by the people of Tebuwung Village have religious values by reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam, some of them still believe in magical things and the role of a shaman, such as massage shamans, baby shamans, and *dukun manten*. Society communicates with their ancestors at certain moments through grave visits.

This study uses various data collection techniques, such as an in-depth interview with the village officials, five elders, five society or religious leaders, and five people directly involved with *tingkepan* tradition activities and observation through participation in the *tingkepan* tradition. Meanwhile, secondary data sources were obtained from various literature related to the study to make the data more comprehensive. The theory used in the research to analyze the findings is the theory of the sociology of knowledge by Karl Mannheim combined with the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger.

Rite of Reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam

A phenomenon appears due to the interaction of society with the environment. The phenomenon of *tingkepan* tradition in the people of Tebuwung Village is one of the local wisdoms in Indonesia in the socio-cultural sphere. It is one of the social adjustment strategies to overcome social problems related to their lives.¹⁵ In line with Clifford Geertz's opinion, *tingkepan* tradition in Tebuwung Village is a pregnancy safety program held by pregnant women in the seventh month of gestation.¹⁶ This kind of phenomenon has various variations in terms and implementation time. Among them are *neloni*, done in the third month of gestation; *ngapati*, done in the fourth month of gestation; and *mitoni* or *tingkepan*, similar to *tingkepan* tradition.¹⁷

¹⁵ Lucky Zamzami, "Dinamika Pranata Sosial Terhadap Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Nelayan dalam Melestarikan Budaya Wisata Bahari," *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya* 18, no. 1 (2016): 58.

¹⁶ Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*, 41.

¹⁷ Leni Ofta Agustina, Sunardi, and Susanto, "Etnomatematika pada Penanggalan Jawa

The *tingkepan* tradition begins with the story of Niken Satingkeb and Sadiyo; they were a married couple who lived during King Jayabaya Kediri. This couple had nine children, but none lived long. Because of this, they then went to the king for advice.¹⁸ According to the folklore, Niken Satingkeb and Sadiyo were advised to perform a pregnancy ceremony by offering to God to achieve their hopes and carrying out certain rituals.¹⁹ Niken Satingkeb must bathe every Wednesday (*tumbak*), and bathe every Saturday (Buddha). What is done at 17:00 using holy water with a dipper from a coconut shell and accompanied by a mantra or prayer²⁰ in the form of "*Hong Hyang Hyanging Amarta Martini Sinartan Huma, Hananingsun Hiya Hananing Jatimasesa. Wisesaning Hyang yes Wisesaningsun. Ingsung pudya sampurna dadi manungsa*".²¹ The spell is addressed to God as He has power over everything, hoping that the child in the womb will get perfection.

After bathing, Niken Satingkeb had to wear all white clothes and attach two young ivory coconuts to his stomach, tied with a piece of black and white *tulak* cane leaves. Her husband then pots the leaves to make two coconut ivory falls.²² The coconut ivory is given a picture of Sang Hyang Vishnu and Dewi Sri or Arjuna and Subhadra as a symbol so that if the baby is born a boy, he will be as handsome as Arjuna. Moreover, if the baby is born a girl one day, she will be as beautiful as Subhadra.²³ Other

Terkait Aritmetika di Desa Yosomulyo," *Kadikma* 7, no. 1 (2016): 30.

¹⁸ M. Rifa'i, "Etnografi Komunikasi Ritual Tingkeban Neloni dan Mitoni Studi Etnografi Komunikasi bagi Etnis Jawa di Desa Sumberuko Kecamatan Gempol Kabupaten Pasuruan," *ETTISAL Journal of Communication* 2, no. 1 (2017): 2.

¹⁹ Ridhoul Wahidi, "Hidup Akrab dengan Al-Qur'an; Kajian Living Qur'an dan Living Hadits pada Masyarakat Indragiri Hilir Riau," *Turast* 01, no. 02 (2013): 106, 10.15548/turast.v1i2.477.

²⁰ M. Rifa'i and Hartuti, "Kearifan Lokal Tingkepan: Kajian Pendidikan Anak dalam Islam," 121; Ign Gatut Saksono and Djoko Dwiyanto, *Faham Keselamatan dalam Budaya Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Ampera Utama, 2012), 133.

²¹ Elvi Susanti, "Komunikasi Ritual Tradisi Tujuh Bulanan (Studi Etnografi Komunikasi bagi Etnis Jawa di Desa Pengarungan Kecamatan Torgamba Kabupaten Labuhanbatu Selatan)," *Jom FISIP* 2, no. 2 (2015): 3.

²² M. Rifa'i and Hartuti, "Kearifan Lokal Tingkepan: Kajian Pendidikan Anak dalam Islam," 121.

²³ Muhamad Mustaqim, "Pergeseran Tradisi Mitoni: Persinggungan Antara Budaya dan Agama," *Jurnal Penelitian* 11, no. 1 (2017): 124.

literature states that the two ivory coconuts were dropped through the stomach, after which the leaves of the *wulung* sugarcane, without binding two ivory coconuts wrapped around Niken Satingkeb's stomach, cut by her husband.²⁴

The procession took place before the *walisongo* spread Islam in Indonesia. Some *walisongo* use the da'wah method by incorporating Islamic values into the society's culture, resulting in cultural acculturation²⁵ —the approach was taken by the *walisongo* so that the society can easily accept Islam in two ways. First, Islamization by showing natural Islamic symbols in Javanese culture. Second, Javanese values are used but contained to teach Islamic teachings.²⁶ In this case, Islam and the local religion of the social influence are bound to each other, so it has an impact on the sustainability of the culture of the Indonesian people.

One group of social science researchers describes acculturation as a phenomenon that arises when the cultures of different social groups intersect and sustain each other.²⁷ The impact of this acculturation causes changes including language, social life, public understanding of Islamic education,²⁸ and changes in culture and arts in Indonesia.²⁹ Acculturation in English comes from the word acculturate, which means adjusting to a foreign or new culture.³⁰ Koentjaraningrat argues that acculturation is the entry of foreign culture into the culture that takes place in a particular

²⁴ Iswah Adriana, "Neloni, Mitoni Atau Tingkeban: (Perpaduan antara Tradisi Jawa dan Ritualitas Masyarakat Muslim)" (n.d.): 243.

²⁵ Muhammad Fuad Zain and Hasanudin Hasanudin, "Aktualisasi 7 Surat dalam Tradisi Mitoni," *MAGHZA: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* 3, no. 1 (2018): 57.

²⁶ Tarwiyah, Mansur, and Sulistiono, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa Terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam (Studi Kasus Tradisi Tingkepan di Desa Wonorejo Kecamatan Kedunggalur Kabupaten Ngawi)," 9.

²⁷ Khomsahrial Romli, "Akulturasi dan Asimilasi dalam Konteks Interaksi Antar Etnik," *Ijtima'iyya* 8, no. 1 (2015).

²⁸ Donny Khoirul Aziz, "Akulturasi Islam dan Budaya Jawa," *Fikerab* I, no. 2 (2015): 253–286.

²⁹ Enrike Puspita Indrianto, "Akulturasi pada Gereja Kristen Pniel," *Jurnal Intra* 1, no. 1 (2013): 1–10; Dendi Pratama, "Wayang Kreasi: Akulturasi Seni Rupa dalam Penciptaan Wayang Kreasi Berbasis Realitas Kehidupan Masyarakat," *Deiksis* 3, no. 04 (2015): 379–396.

³⁰ Limyah Al-Amri and Muhammad Haramain, "Akulturasi Islam dalam Budaya Lokal," *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial dan Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2017): 193.

social group. The foreign culture was slowly accepted and developed without losing the characteristics of the existing culture.³¹

The *walisongo* who internalize the central teachings of Islam, namely the Qur'an towards Javanese culture, is called the Tuban School, namely the school led by Sunan Kalijaga and supported by Sunan Bonang, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Gunung Djati.³² One example of the result of cultural acculturation done by the *walisongo* is the *tingkepan* tradition. It is the belief of one of the people of Tebuwung Village, who stated that the reading of Surah Yusuf and Maryam in *tingkepan* tradition has existed since the *walisongo* era.³³ When referring to history, the spread of Islam to the Javanese people through their culture was done by the *walisongo* when the Demak era and the Mataram era had power over politics in Java. Islamization using this method is allowed as long as it does not violate the teachings of Islam.³⁴

There is a difference in the timing of the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam by the Muslim society in Tebuwung Village. Some pregnant women practice the two Surahs during *tingkepan* tradition when the gestational age reaches seven months, while others do it in the fifth and seventh months of gestation. No pregnant women performed this rite only in the fifth month of gestation. The time for implementing the *tingkepan* tradition is recommended on Monday *Legi* (*legi* is a term in the Javanese calendar), Thursday *Legi*, or Friday *Legi*. Society believes this day is a good day with the aim that later, the child in the womb will become a sweet child.³⁵ However, some pregnant women do not do *tingkepan* tradition. It is due to factors from their economic background.³⁶

The society uses various existing series to practice reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam as a *tingkepan* tradition rite in Tebuwung Village. This

³¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi* (Aksara Baru, 1986), 247–248.

³² Muhammad Fuad Zain and Hasanudin Hasanudin, “Aktualisasi 7 Surat dalam Tradisi Mitoni,” 57.

³³ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

³⁴ Donny Khoirul Aziz, “Akulturasi Islam dan Budaya Jawa,” 264–266.

³⁵ Interview with the oldman of Tebuwung Village, Syariaton, in 06 Juni 2021

³⁶ Interview with the society of Tebuwung Village, Farihatin, in 03 Juni 2021

activity took place at the house of pregnant women who held *tingkepan* tradition. The attendees are guests from pregnant women; usually, these participants consist of neighbors of pregnant women and close relatives. The *tingkepan* tradition process in Tebuwung Village begins with reading *wasilah*, then reading *shalawat al-subhu bada* and *qasidah munfarijat*, after that it is continued with the first prayer. After the practice of reading the Surah Yusuf and Maryam, read the *Maulid al-Diba'i*, and close with the last prayer. The process of carrying out the reading in the *tingkepan* tradition is not done simultaneously but by the representation of several religious figures in Tebuwung Village. Based on the testimony of the leader of *tingkepan* tradition, the practice of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam will not be effective if done simultaneously.³⁷

As for its application, *tawasul* is read together and led by the leader of *tingkepan* tradition. Then continued by reciting *shalawat al-subhu bada*, *qasidah munfarijat*, and prayers performed by one of the religious figures followed by guests. The next process is the practice of reciting surahs of Yusuf and Maryam, which is done simultaneously but recited by two different people. These two people are considered religious figures by the people of Tebuwung Village. When the two religious figures recited surah Yusuf and Maryam, the present guests were encouraged to recite *surah al-Insyirah*. If they do not memorize or cannot recite *surah al-Insyirah*, guests are allowed to recite another surah or recite *sholawat* to suit their abilities.³⁸

In this *tingkepan* tradition, some pregnant women also add the recitation of *surah al-Luqman* during the procession. The last step in this activity is reciting the closing prayer by the *tingkepan* tradition leader. The provisions of the traditional leader and the reading representative in the *tingkepan* tradition do not have specific criteria. The leader or representative of the reader is determined or elected directly by the pregnant mother who conducts the *tingkepan* tradition.³⁹ In the past,

³⁷ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

³⁸ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

³⁹ Interview with the comitee of *tingkepan* tradition, Arini Rosidah, in 01 Oktober 2020

participants in the *tingkepan* tradition in Tebuwung Village were attended by a society of men. However, with time, the female society realized that the child in the womb had a close attachment to its mother, so today, the female society makes the arrest.⁴⁰

From the description above, *tingkepan* tradition started from the time of king Jayabaya Kediri, then acculturated by *walisongo* by including Islamic values in the form of recitation of the Qur'an. The transmission, of course, influences the development of culture and the role of the Qur'an in Indonesia through the awareness spread by local scholars and clerics. Therefore, there are differences in reading practices, provisions, the background of implementation, selected chapters read, and the goals or expectations achieved by individuals or social groups who practice them. In Tebuwung Village, the *tingkepan* tradition takes place because it is inherited from their ancestors and has become a social identity for them. Meanwhile, the society's Quranic awareness was obtained from the pious people they met at a meeting.⁴¹ Society's close enthusiastic attachment to this activity makes them assume that the recitation of Surah Yusuf and Maryam is a rite that every pregnant woman must perform.

Society Reception of Surah Yusuf and Maryam

In the beginning, the rite of reciting surah Yusuf and Maryam as a *tingkepan* tradition by the people of Tebuwung Village was held in the seventh month of pregnancy. Then, after people know that babies are spirit-breathed when entering the fifth month of pregnancy, they begin to do so at that age.⁴² This awareness is based on the hadith, which describes a process of human creation as narrated by Bukhari and Muslims in the book of Sahih Muslim page 44.⁴³ The hadith explains that the creation of man begins with the form of *germ* (sperm), then becomes *'alaqah* (blood

⁴⁰ Interview with the oldman of Tebuwung Village, Samian, in 06 Juni 2021

⁴¹ Interview with the society of Tebuwung Village, Sriyati, in 13 Oktober 2020

⁴² Interview with the oldman of Tebuwung Village, Rohmah, in 06 Juni 2021

⁴³ Abu Al-Husain Muslim bin Al-Hajjaj bin Muslim Al-Qusyairi Al-Naisaburi, *Sahih Muslim*, Juz 8. (Beirut: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadidah, n.d.), 44.

clot), then becomes *mudghab* (flesh clot). Each of these phases takes 40 days, then after 120 days, the spirit is blown on him, and sustenance, charity, death, and destiny are determined.

As for the germination phase, according to some commentators is, a man's sperm emitted in a woman's uterus, as has been stated in surah al-Tariq verses 5-6, which explains that man was created from the water emitted. Most scholars argue that the germ is the sperm of a man and a woman's egg mixed. Thus, what is meant by a germ (the first phase of fetal development) is the male sperm and the female ovary when united in the female uterus. The second phase is the phase of *'alaqah* (the second phase of fetal development), in which al-Qurtubi interprets the creation of man, which is stated in *surah al-Alaq* verse 2. He argues that the creation of man is formed from a blood clot. The plural of *'Alaq* is *'Alaqah*, where the male sperm and the female ovary turn into a blood clot at this phase.⁴⁴

The following development process is *mudghab* (the third phase of fetal development). In this phase, the form of a clot of blood turns into a lump of flesh. Where the curve begins to form, showing bubbles and grooves, then the formation of brain organs, supporting nerves, ears, and other organs. The fetal respiratory system has formed so that the fetal heart begins to beat and blood begins to flow. In this case, adequate oxygen and food supplies begin to occur. Waiting for the respiratory system to function independently is just a matter of waiting.⁴⁵ These three phases are by the word of God in Surah Al-Mu'minun verse 12-16, which shows that the creation of man started from the ground, then took the form of semen which was placed in the womb, then made a clot of blood, then became a lump of flesh. After that, it was made into a lump of blood. Bones, then wrapped with flesh and became a human being. Glory be to

⁴⁴ Suwito, "Penciptaan dan Pembentukan Janin Menurut Al-Qur'an, Al-Hadis, dan Ilmu Kedokteran," *Al-Hukama The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law* 02, no. 2 (2012): 198–200, http://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/1223/9/Bab_5.pdf.

⁴⁵ Bambang Sugiyanto, "Perkembangan Embriologi Perspektif Qur'an dan Sains," *Jurnal Kajian Pendidikan Sains* 07, no. 06 (2017): 136; Suwito, "Penciptaan dan Pembentukan Janin Menurut Al-Qur'an, Al-Hadis, dan Ilmu Kedokteran," 200.

Allah, the best of creators, and all humankind will rise from their graves on the Day of Resurrection (QS. Al-Mu'minun [23]:12-16). The power of God related to the stage of human creation can be a reference for every mother as a motivation to perform the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam as a means of praying to God.

The existence of reading certain surahs from the Qur'an by individuals or groups cannot be separated from the goals or expectations they want to achieve. It happens because they believe that the surah has a certain *fadhilah*. The people of Tebuwung Village read Surah Yusuf in *tingkepan* tradition with the hope that if the child conceived is a boy, the child will have a handsome face and have similar morals as Prophet Yusuf. Meanwhile, Surah Maryam is read with the hope that if the child is conceived as a woman, later the child will have a beautiful face and similar morals as Siti Maryam. In the sense that society hopes that the child in the womb will become a pious or pious child, as reflected by the Prophet Yusuf and Siti Maryam in Surah Yusuf and Maryam.⁴⁶

In Surah Yusuf, the life story shows how the character of the Prophet Yusuf is. He is strong, patient, forgiving, wise, and firmly believes. This personality is seen when he is dumped by his brother, sold at a low price, and seduced by Zulaikha. Prophet Yusuf was always able to face these trials with wise actions. He reflects the figure of a good leader and able to control himself as when he met the brothers who threw him away when they were looking for food during a famine. It also describes the personality of the Prophet Yusuf, who was patient and trustworthy (*Amanah*), following the orders of the King of Egypt at that time. When his brother admitted their mistake, Prophet Yusuf lovingly forgave them. His faith in God is unquestionable, as is his uncompromising attitude when Zulaikha teased him.

⁴⁶ Interview with the comitee of *tingkepan* tradition, Arini Rosidah, in 01 Oktober 2020

Although no evidence explains the function of this surah,⁴⁷ here is a history that tells that the Prophet ordered his companions to teach Surah Yusuf to his serf. The hadith explains that the Prophet ordered his companions to teach Surah Yusuf to his serf because Prophet Yusuf was a figure whose teachings were followed by his family and the people around him. Allah also gave him the privilege of being given relief from his death and being given the power not to envy a Muslim. Reciting Surah Yusuf is expected to get blessings or intercession from the Prophet Yusuf.⁴⁸

If we examine deeply, Surah Yusuf also mentions the character of the Prophet Jacob as the father of Prophet Yusuf and his brothers. He is a picture of an ideal father figure for his children in educating and treating them, as mentioned in Surah Yusuf verse 18, which shows how the Prophet Jacob responded in response to the incident that befell Prophet Yusuf. The Prophet Jacob knew they were lying. He could only be patient and trust Allah, hoping that Prophet Yusuf was always in good condition.⁴⁹ He is also a father who is open and nurturing to his children, like his attitude towards the Prophet Yusuf in Surah Yusuf verses 3-4. When Yusuf's brothers admitted their mistakes, the Prophet Jacob reflected that he was a forgiving person. In this case, the attitude of the Prophet Jacob can be a good example for every parent. They were performing Surah Yusuf as a means to achieve certain expectations. Society uses the practice of Surah Yusuf as a medium for learning to be parents.

While Surah Maryam came down as a rebuttal towards the Jews who are very unnatural towards Maryam, they accused her with terrible accusations due to the birth of Prophet Isa (as) without a father.⁵⁰ This incident proves Allah's power; He can make anything happen according

⁴⁷ Yazid Subakti and Deri Rizki Anggarani, *La Tabzān untuk Ibu Hamil* (Surakarta: Ziyad Visi Media, 2012), 120.

⁴⁸ Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim Atsa'labiy, *Al-Kasyaf wa Al-Bayan 'an Tafsir Al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar Ihya' At-Turats Al-'Arabiyy, 2002), 599.

⁴⁹ M Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbab: Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 6th ed. (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2002).

⁵⁰ M Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbab: Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, 147.

to His will.⁵¹ The word of God in Surah al-Mu'minin verse 50 says that God made Jesus the son of Mary and his mother as clear evidence of His power (QS. Al-Mu'minin [23]:50). As for Maryam's story, it can be seen that she was a pious woman. He is very obedient and submissive to his Lord.⁵² Maryam's obedience has been confirmed by Allah, as stated in Surah al-Tahrim verse 12, that Mary is a person who keeps her honor until God ordains her to have Isa. He belongs to the group of people who are obedient and those who justify God and His Book (QS. Al-Tahrim [23]:50).

For the writer, Maryam also has extraordinary patience and courage. Even though she knew her people would revile her because she was pregnant with Jesus, she remained patient in maintaining her womb and remained before her people after giving birth. It is because Maryam became Allah's chosen human as described in Surah Ali Imran verse 42, where Allah has purified her and chosen her among women on the earth. Based on the story of the Prophet Zakaria in Surah Maryam, this surah can be used as motivation or practice for families expecting offspring. It narrated the struggle of the Prophet Zakaria to be blessed with children. Logically, this could not have happened, considering how old he was then. However, Allah's power and mercy have manifested in the efforts of the Prophet Zakaria so that he is blessed with offspring (QS. Maryam [19]:1-11).

*Fadhilah surah Maryam is also not explained in the Qur'an, hadith, or ijma' and qiyas.*⁵³ However, a narration about the Prophet explains the reward for reciting Surah Maryam. The hadith explains that whoever reads Surah Maryam will be rewarded as much as ten goodness like those who justify and deny Zakaria, Yahya, Isa, Musa, Harun, Ibrahim, Ishaq, Ya'qub, and Ismail. Moreover, get as many rewards as people who invite and do not invite their children to Allah. The Prophet said the virtue of this surah to

⁵¹ Abdulmalik Abdulkarim Amrullah, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, ed. 6 (Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD Singapura, n.d.), 4297.

⁵² Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah: Pesan, Kesan Dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*.

⁵³ Yazid Subakti and Deri Rizki Anggarani, *La Tabzan untuk Ibu Hamil*, 120.

his companions so that they would receive blessings and intercession from Siti Maryam.⁵⁴

The *tingkepan* tradition in Tebuwung Village has characteristics in terms of food which has its meaning for the society. The various kinds of food include sticky rice, *pasung*, *procot*, and salad. The various foods are then brought home by the society as souvenirs or what the society calls blessings. In addition to these foods, some people also include *godong imbob*/neem leaves if available. When the *tingkepan* tradition takes place, other foods that are characteristic are tumpeng, red porridge, and white porridge as a treat, and some include *rijak*. The various kinds of food have their meaning for society. *Procot* has a symbolic meaning as a hope that pregnant mothers will be given smoothness and ease during childbirth. The following food is *pasung*, where the food contains a meaning or symbol in the form of hope that one day the child born will have a sharp nose.⁵⁵

While the neem leaves are included in the blessing as a symbol so that one day the child born has a good eyebrow shape like the shape of the neem leaf. Although nowadays, the gender of the child in the womb can be seen using the sophistication of medical science. People still believe in the myths contained in *rijak* food. If the salad has a spicy taste, people estimate that the child conceived is a boy. On the other hand, if the salad is not spicy, it is estimated that the child conceived is a girl. Various kinds of foods that are required to implement the *tingkepan* tradition in Tebuwung Village include sticky rice, tumpeng, red porridge, and white porridge. While reading *shalawat* in *tingkepan* tradition in the hope that the child conceived will receive the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad.⁵⁶

The Spirit of Religiosity in *Tingkepan* Tradition

In the objective context of Karl Mannheim, the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam in *tingkepan* tradition produces meaning that leads to

⁵⁴ Abu Al-Hasan 'Aliy bin Ahmad bin Muhammad Bin 'Aliy Al-Wahidiy, *Al-Wasit fi Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Majid* (Beirut: Dar Alkutub Al-'Ilmiah, 1994), 174.

⁵⁵ Interview with the oldman of Tebuwung Village, Rohmah, in 06 Juni 2021

⁵⁶ Interview with the oldman of Tebuwung Village, Rohmah, in 06 Juni 2021

the psychological state of pregnant women. Rites that are done continuously make some people consider this an obligation so that when pregnant women have performed this rite, they will feel calm and relieved. Society activities influence their harmony as well as a means of preserving culture. People are also increasingly aware of taking care of their children as well as possible. As Aslamiyah said as the leader of the *tingkepan* tradition rite as follows:

The fetus in the womb also feels what the mother is going through. As a mother, we must try to give positive energy to the baby. The *tingkepan* tradition is a positive thing, so it must continue to be developed.⁵⁷

The finding showed that many children are born and grow up in families that are not harmonious. One of the causes is the lack of sympathy from a family between father, mother, and child during global information flow so that children who are not independent and have good morals are born. An example which is often encountered is the rampant cases of sexual harassment in Indonesia, then the case of minors selling their parents' property.⁵⁸ The existence of the right culture essentially teaches the family system to educate children as well as possible with the hope of children like the figures of the Prophet Yusuf and Siti Maryam. Expressively this influences the education of children who are independent and have good character, as expressed by several sources as

⁵⁷ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

⁵⁸ Moch Ridho Abidin, "Maraknya Seks Bebas di Kalangan Remaja," *Kompasina Beyond Blogging*, <https://www.kompasiana.com/ridhoabidin/60c0d061d541df497f0635b3/maraknya-seks-bebas-di-kalangan-remaja>; Inza Maliana, "Aksi Anak Jual Perabotan Rumah Demi Pacar Berakhir Penjara, Kini Menyesal dan Beri Pesan untuk Pacar," *tribunnews.com*, <https://www.tribunnews.com/regional/2021/11/25/aksi-anak-jual-perabotan-rumah-demi-pacar-berakhir-penjara-kini-menyosal-dan-beri-pesan-untuk-pacar>; Nabila Maulidiana, "Viral Video Ibu yang Digugat Anak Kandung Demi Rumah Mewah di Aceh Menangis Pilu," *Newsceh.id*, <https://aceh.inews.id/berita/viral-video-ibu-yang-digugat-anak-kandung-demi-rumah-mewah-di-aceh-menangis-pilu>; Holy Kartika Nurwigati Sumartiningtyas, "Pelecehan Seksual Pada Anak Marak, Psikolog Ingatkan Pentingnya Pendidikan Seksual," *kompas.com*, <https://www.kompas.com/sains/read/2021/12/13/110100223/pelecehan-seksual-pada-anak-marak-psikolog-ingatkan-pentingnya-pendidikan>.

follows:

Divacakno surat Yusuf karo Maryam iki ben mene anakku koyok Nabi Yusuf utowo Siti Maryam, gak mek ganteng karo ayune tok tapi yo sifate barang. Tingkepan iki dadi tondo ono arek meteng, soale kadang uwong gak ngerti kan arek iku meteng temen opo gak. (The reading of Surah Yusuf and Maryam so that later my child will be like Prophet Yusuf or Siti Maryam, not only so that he is handsome or beautiful but also has characteristics like him. This tingkepan tradition is a sign of someone being pregnant because sometimes others do not know whether someone is pregnant or not).⁵⁹

The committee of the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam hopes that by reciting the two surahs, their children will have the face and character of Prophet Yusuf if they are male or have the face and characteristics of Siti Maryam if they are female. In addition, this activity aims to inform the public that someone is pregnant. According to the tingkepan tradition leader, this activity obtains the blessing of prayer from the society so that the goals they want to achieve and expect children in the womb to have good morals:

This tradition is done to get the blessing of prayer from the society so that later his child will be like Prophet Yusuf if it is a boy and like Siti Maryam, if it is a woman, and later he will have good morals, both to himself, his parents, and neighbors.⁶⁰

The guests said this activity was done because of going on for generations. This activity aims to pray for the baby in the womb to become a pious child or shalihah. Furthermore, pray for pregnant women usually being given in smooth delivery:

Tingkepan iki wes ono ket biyen, dilakoni manut opo jere wong tuwo. Tujuanane yo anak sing neng njero weteng sek dadi anak sing soleh-solehab makane divacakno surat Yusuf karo Maryam. Alesane teko pas acara iki yo milu ndongakno ben mene labirane lancar. (This tradition has been around for a long time because it obeys parents' words. The goal is for the child in the womb to become a pious child so that Surah Yusuf and Maryam read. The reason for attending this event is to participate in

⁵⁹ Interview with the comitee of *tingkepan* tradition, Arini Rosidah, in 01 Oktober 2020

⁶⁰ Interview with the the Tebuwung Village, Sohibatul Aslamiyah, in 26 Maret 2021

praying for pregnant women to be given a smooth delivery).⁶¹

Humans and culture become inseparable units. Excellent and wise humans are only born from cultural values and local wisdom that are maintained continuously. Currently, the Indonesian people, with their eastern customs, have a variety of local wisdom, which, precisely with this, becomes a shared value that binds one another. It means the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam lies in public awareness of the practice of these two Surahs that have contributed to the preservation of culture in Indonesia.

Peter L. Berger said that culture was born from humans to express what is in themselves. Culture has formed through the momentum of externalization, objectification, and internalization.⁶² Reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam as a product of the society ancestors of Tebuwung Village is a form of externalization that they do. Gradually the public gained awareness about the fadhilah of the two surahs through the study forums they participated in so that an understanding was born of the importance of keeping children in the womb. Because of this objectification, society goes through a process of contemplation of each individual so that they have a subjective understanding which Peter calls the momentum of internalization. That constructively, the rites done by pregnant women in Tebuwung Village are activities that aspire to direct hope to God to strengthen faith in Him.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, this study comes to several conclusions; first, the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam, practiced by the people of Tebuwung Village, is formed and much related to the social context. Second, awareness of the rite of reciting Surah Yusuf and Maryam in *tingkepan* tradition is performed by the society based on their

⁶¹ Interview with the society of Tebuwung Village, Farihatin, in 03 Juni 2021

⁶² Peter L. Berger, *Langit Suci: Agama Sebagai Realitas Sosial*, ed. Hartono (Jakarta: Unit Percetakan LP3ES, 1991), 4–6.

local knowledge/wisdom. As a result, based on the perspective of Karl Mannheim and Peter L. Berger, the rites practiced during *tingkepan* tradition objectively influence the psychology of mother and child. Expressively, this tradition believes in influencing children's education from the time they are in the womb. While documentary, this rite is a form of local wisdom that must be preserved. Then constructively, this tradition has direct hope for God.

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