



SENGKOLO AND SATU SURO:

**The Dialectics of Islamic Theology and the Kenduri
Suro Tradition in Central Java, Indonesia⁽¹⁾**

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Abstract: Among Javanese communities in Central Java, Indonesia, the month of Suro (Muharram) is widely regarded as a sacred period believed to be associated with the possibility of *sengkolo* (misfortune). This belief gives rise to Kenduri Suro, a communal ritual that embodies the interaction between Javanese cosmology and Islamic theology. This study investigates how Kenduri Suro operates as a socio-religious mechanism to negotiate tensions between these belief systems and how local Islamic interpretations shape the meaning of *sengkolo*. This qualitative descriptive study employed an anthropological approach informed by Émile Durkheim's theory of social solidarity. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and participant observations involving selected religious leaders and community members. The findings show that Kenduri Suro serves as a site of negotiation where Islamic values, such as prayer, almsgiving, and monotheism, reinterpret and transform pre-Islamic traditions without completely eliminating Javanese cosmological symbols. Kenduri Suro wards off *sengkolo*, builds social cohesion, and reduces potential theological conflict. This study highlights Kenduri Suro as an adaptive and communicative expression of local Islam, contributing to broader debates on the dynamic negotiation between religion, local culture, and religious authority.

Keywords: *Sengkolo*, *Kenduri Suro*, Islamic Theology, Local Tradition, Anthropology of Religion

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Introduction

JAVANESE SOCIETY, particularly in rural areas, often understands Suro as a period of risk and possible *sengkolo* (misfortune)¹. This belief appears in postponing major celebrations, restricting activities, and holding *Kenduri* and *Slametan* on the night of Satu Suro². Such practices show that Suro is collectively perceived as a period requiring heightened spiritual and social vigilance rather than simply being another month in the annual calendar. This differs from Islamic theology, which regards Muharram—the month corresponding to Suro in the Javanese calendar—as sacred and encouraging worship and moral reflection, not inherently bringing misfortune³. This interpretive difference creates a dialectic between Javanese tradition and Islamic theology through continuous negotiations, reinterpretations, and adaptations.

Islamic theology places Muharram among the sacred months (*al-ashhur al-hurūm*), to be filled with worship, piety, and avoidance of wrongdoing⁴. Islamic traditions associate it with prophetic events⁵, including Moses' salvation from Pharaoh, Noah's Ark reaching land, and Adam's repentance being accepted. These narratives frame Muharram as a spiritual momentum marked by trials, divine assistance, repentance, and faith rather than misfortune.

¹ Ahmad Choirul Rofiq, "Continuity and Change Process to Sanctify the Holy Month of Muharram in the Suroan Tradition," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 11, no. 1 (December 2024): 2335779, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2335779>.

² Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Tradisi Kenduri Sura Di Dukuh Brengkungan, Desa Pogung, Kecamatan Cawas, Kabupaten Klaten" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2024), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/66051/>.

³ Ayu Lusoi M. Siburian and Waston Malau, "Tradisi Ritual Bulan Suro pada Masyarakat Jawa di Desa Sambirejo Timur Percut Sei Tuan," *Gondang: Jurnal Seni dan Budaya* 2, no. 1 (June 2018): 28, <https://doi.org/10.24114/gondang.v2i1.9764>.

⁴ Siti Mahmudah, "Rekontruksi Syari'at Islam (Pemikiran Khalil Abdul Karim Tentang Hubungan Syari'at Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal)," *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum* 45, no. 2 (July 2011), <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v45i2.17>.

⁵ Partin Nurdiani, "Bulan Sura Dalam Perspektif Islam," *IBDA': Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 11, no. 1 (January 2013): 111–18, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v11i1.72>.

However, Javanese Muslim practices do not entirely follow this normative view. In many areas, especially Central Java, Suro is considered a vulnerable time that may bring danger or metaphysical disturbance to the people. This social belief produces heightened caution and repeated customs intended to avert misfortune⁶. In Klaten, oral traditions and annual rituals transmit *sengkolo* as possible disaster caused by cosmic imbalance, particularly among adults and older generations⁷.

Javanese culture therefore gives Suro an ambivalent spiritual meaning: sacred yet dangerous⁸. Its spiritual power encourages tirakat, ruwatan, and laku prihatin, while myths suggest that destructive forces and negative supernatural practices are intensified during this month. Consequently, *Sengkolo* functions not only as an irrational belief but also as a cultural mechanism for managing uncertainty, social risk, and collective anxiety. In Klaten, its potential is addressed through laku batin, selamatan, kenduri, ruwatan, communal prayers, and food offerings. *Kenduri Suro* is understood as a proactive means of preventing misfortune and maintaining individual and communal wellbeing⁹. while ensuring safety and security¹⁰.

Islam's entry into Javanese culture did not erase *sengkolo* beliefs but encouraged reinterpretation¹¹. Local elements were

⁶ Ahmad Hafidz et al., "Filsafat Positivisme Dalam Kajian Implementasi Pantangan Pernikahan Bulan Suro (Muharam) Di Lenteng Sumenep Madura," *AL-MIKRAJ Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* (E-ISSN 2745-4584) 5, no. 01 (October 2024): 833–44, <https://doi.org/10.37680/almikraj.v5i01.6183>.

⁷ Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Nilai-Nilai Tasawuf Dalam Kenduri (Studi Kasus. di Dukuh Brengkungan, Desa Pogung, Klaten)", Undergraduate thesis, (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2022), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/51657/>.

⁸ Dharojah et al., "Konstruksi Makna Jenang Sengkolo Sebagai Media Komunikasi Simbolik Dalam Ritual Malam Suro di Desa Uteran, Kabupaten Madiun," *Nusantara Hasana Journal* 5, no. 2 (2025): 703–12.

⁹ Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Tradisi Kenduri Sura di Dukuh Brengkungan, Desa Pogung, Kecamatan Cawas, Kabupaten Klaten.", Master's thesis UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta 2024

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Salman Faris, "Islam Dan Budaya Lokal (Studi Atas Tradisi Keislaman Masyarakat Jawa)," *Thaqafiyat: Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan Informasi Islam* 15, no. 1 (2014): 74–90.

negotiated with Islamic teachings¹², by emphasizing prayer, *dhikr*, almsgiving, and *tawakkul* as the primary protection. Religious life in Klaten is thus dialectical: Suro's sacredness and *sengkolo* are negotiated with Islamic monotheism (*tawhīd*)¹³. Protection is increasingly expressed through Islamic devotional language, although inherited cosmological assumptions continue to shape the timing, symbols, and communal forms of rituals.

Here, normative *Islam*¹⁴ means teachings grounded in the Qur'an, Hadith, and classical fiqh, emphasizing *tawhīd*, rejecting practices potentially leading to *shirk*¹⁵, and questioning ritual innovations (*bid'ah*) without clear textual support¹⁶. It is a theological-scriptural analytical category that stresses doctrinal orthodoxy and valid worship based on reliable *dalīl* rather than an ideological label or merely social identity. This definition distinguishes doctrinal evaluation from descriptive studies of Islam, as it is historically and socially practiced.

This encounter is clearest in *Kenduri Suro*, especially in *sesajen* and *pancenan*. Normative theology questions these practices because of their potential association with *shirk*¹⁷. However, practitioners interpret them as cultural symbols that strengthen relationships and togetherness, not as worship directed beyond Allah. Islamic prayers, *tahlil*, and almsgiving show an effort to

¹² Rina Setyaningsih, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa Sebagai Strategi Dakwah," *Ri'ayah: Jurnal Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 5, no. 01 (July 2020): 73–82.

¹³ Siti Rohwati, "Negosiasi Islam dan Tradisi Lokal dalam Praktik Sedekah Laut: Studi Kajian Antropologis," *JDK: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 10, no. 2 (2025): 514–30.

¹⁴ Rendy Saputra et al., "Islam Normatif Dan Islam Historis," *Jurnal Ilmu Agama: Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, Dan Fenomena Agama* 22, no. 2 (December 2021): 166–79, <https://doi.org/10.19109/jia.v22i2.10962>.

¹⁵ Muhammad Auffa Wirayudha, "Tradisi Penyediaan Sesajen Dalam Pembacaan Manakib Pada Masyarakat Banjar Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Jurisprudence, Economic and Legal Theory* 3, no. 1 (January 2025): 180–87, <https://doi.org/10.62976/ijjel.v3i1.904>.

¹⁶ Ahmad Mustaghfirin, "Harmoni Agama Dan Budaya Dalam Perayaan Hari-Hari Besar Islam di Indonesia (Analisis Kultural Dan Religius)," *Jurnal Edu Aksara* 3, no. 1 (August 2024): 41–51, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13337488>.

¹⁷ Wahid Firmansyah et al., "Hukum Sesajen Dalam Pesta Pernikahan Menurut Perspektif Hukum Islam," *Mamba'ul 'Ulum*, April 3, 2023, 80–91, <https://doi.org/10.54090/mu.102>.

Islamize the tradition without eliminating ancestral heritage¹⁸. Accordingly, this study examines the theological negotiation between normative Islam and Javanese cosmology concerning *sengkolo*, sacred time, and the ritual protection. *Kenduri Suro* is treated not only as a communal ceremony but as a socio-religious arena where *tawhīd*, local cosmology, prayer, and ritual practice are reproduced in everyday life. The analysis therefore emphasizes how the participants reconcile religious legitimacy, ancestral continuity, communal safety, and collective responsibility.

Previous research has addressed four themes: the sacred meaning of Suro/Muharram, *sengkolo* beliefs, symbolic Suro ceremonies, and communal prayer traditions. However, the theological confrontation between normative Islam and Javanese cosmology within *Kenduri Suro* remains unexplored.

First, research on Suro/Muharram identifies it as sacred in Javanese mythology. Rafiq¹⁹ traces this sacralization to continuity between pre-Islamic traditions and Islamization since Sultan Agung. Jamaly²⁰ describes Suro's meaning as plural and contextual, reflecting dynamic relations between Javanese symbolism and Islamic values. Khusaini et al.²¹ examine prohibitions on marriage during Suro, while Artika et al.²² show varied interpretations of Suroan in Telaga Jernih Village despite a

¹⁸ Chabaibur Rochmanir Rizqi and Nicky Estu Putu Muchtar, "Akulturasi Seni Dan Budaya Walisongo Dalam Mengislamkan Tanah Jawa," *Studia Religia: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 2 (December 2023): 193–201, <https://doi.org/10.30651/sr.v7i2.20526>.

¹⁹ Rofiq, "Continuity and Change Process to Sanctify the Holy Month of Muharram in the Suroan Tradition."

²⁰ Za'farullah Jamaly, "Bulan Suro Dalam Perspektif Islam Dan Tradisi Bulan Suro di Pulau Jawa," *Leksikon: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa, Sastra, & Budaya* 2, no. 1 (2024): 7–15.

²¹ Muhammad Khusaini et al., "Reinterpretasi Tradisi Islam: Larangan Menikah Di Bulan Muharram (Suro) Dalam Adat Jawa," *Realita: Jurnal Penelitian dan Kebudayaan Islam* 22, no. 2 (December 2024): 205–22, <https://doi.org/10.30762/realita.v22i2.480>.

²² Cindy Artika, Sakti Ritonga, and Ismail Ismail, "Tradisi Ritual Bulan Suro Dalam Perspektif Islam Didesa Telaga Jernih, Kecamatan Secanggang, Kabupaten Langkat," *Tabsyir: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial Humaniora* 5, no. 2 (April 2024): 187–97, <https://doi.org/10.59059/tabsyir.v5i2.1158>.

shared aim of collective welfare. Pratiwi and Febriana's research²³, identify Suro as a spiritual and mystical space in the film Satu Suro. Together, these studies position Suro/Muharram as sacred, spiritually significant, and a meeting space for Islam and Javanese culture to intersect.

Second, *Sengkolo* studies describe cosmic imbalances, dangers and calamities. Widya²⁴ defines it as misfortune; Firdausiyah et al.²⁵ find it in ceremonies beyond Suroan; and Bashofi²⁶ interpret ruwatan *sengkolo* as restoring balance to avert danger. Dhorojah et al.²⁷ show *jenang sengkolo* as a medium of prayer, protection, and social cohesion. Hidayatulloh and Fitroni²⁸ examine buang *sengkolo* in marriage, while Hidayat and Pangesti²⁹ distinguish *sengkolo*, calamity associated with Suro, from *sendekolo*, danger before maghrib. *Sengkolo* represents an imbalance that is believed to intensify during Suro and requires customary countermeasures to restore balance.

²³ Dewi Agustina Pratiwi and Poppy Febriana, "Mystical Kejawen in Satu Suro Film: Mistik Kejawen Dalam Film Satu Suro," *Indonesian Journal of Cultural and Community Development* 10 (September 2021): <https://doi.org/10.21070/ijccd.v10i0.745>.

²⁴ Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Nilai-Nilai Tasawuf Dalam Kenduri (Studi Kasus. di Dukuh Brengkungan, Desa Pogung, Klaten)", Undergraduate thesis, (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2022), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/51657/>.

²⁵ Vita Firdausiyah and Siti HalimatusSa'diyah, "Signification And Culture Behind The Jenang Sengkolo Tradition At The Crossroads," *Nusantara Hasana Journal* 5, no. 2 (2025): 703–12.

²⁶ Kartika Meydyah Palupi and Ferdinan Bashofi, "Tradisi Tolak Bala (Ruwatan Sengkolo) di Kelurahan Mergosono Kota Malang," *Maharsi: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah dan Sosiologi* 6, no. 2 (2024): 74–84.

²⁷ Dhorojah et al., "Konstruksi Makna Jenang Sengkolo Sebagai Media Komunikasi Simbolik Dalam Ritual Malam Suro Di Desa Uteran, Kabupaten Madiun." *Nusantara Hasana Journal* 5, no. 2 (2025): 703–12

²⁸ Haris Hidayatulloh and Mohammad Asdarul Fitroni, "Tradisi Membuang Sengkolo Dalam Perkawinan," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 6, no. 1 (2021): 78–99.

²⁹ Rahmat Hidayat and Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Sakralitas Sendekolo: Fenomena Spiritual Masyarakat Klaten Jawa Tengah," *Al-Hikmah Media Dakwah, Komunikasi, Sosial Dan Kebudayaan* 14, no. 2 (December 2023): 205–16, <https://doi.org/10.32505/hikmah.v14i2.7389>.

Third, the symbolic Suro traditions have cosmological meanings. Hapsari³⁰ studies Malam Satu Suro at the Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and Mangkunegaran palaces. Arisky and Fauzi³¹ and Madani et al.³², examine jamasan pusaka and Kidung Singgah-Singgah in Ponorogo's Bedhol Pusaka ritual. Wicaksono and Muna³³ analyze the kirab at Petilasan Sri Aji Jayabaya, while Puspasari and Lestari³⁴ interpret Kirab Suran as social solidarity, cultural identity, and intergenerational transmission. Suparti³⁵ views the Kembar Mayang Dance as a plea for safety and Islamic-Javanese acculturation. Heirloom cleansing, processions, and ritual dances prevent misfortune, provide protection, and restore the cosmological balance.

Fourth, studies on communal prayer reveal strong religious and cultural dimensions. Pangesti³⁶, interprets *Kenduri Suro* in Klaten mainly as social solidarity and ancestral preservation, but

³⁰ Galuh Kusuma Hapsari, "Makna Komunikasi Ritual Masyarakat Jawa (Studi Kasus Pada Tradisi Perayaan Malam Satu Suro Di Keraton Yogyakarta, Keraton Surakarta, Dan Pura Mangkunegaran Solo)," *Compediart (COMMunication PEdagogy & EDucation Arts, Research and Thought)* 1, no. 1 (March 2024): 44–52.

³¹ Leariska Arisky and Agus M. Fauzi, "Tradisi Jamasan Pusaka Pada Bulan Suro: Penggabungan Nilai Budaya Jawa dan Ajaran Agama Islam," *Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama Dan Masyarakat* 8, no. 1 (June 2024): 52–65, <https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.v8i1.3407>.

³² A. Madani et al., "Makna Kidung Singgah-Singgah Pada Ritual Bedhol Pusaka Satu Suro di Ponorogo," *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran Bahasa Indonesia* 12, no. 1 (2023): 57–67, https://doi.org/10.23887/jurnal_bahasa.v12i1.2086.

³³ Ammar Kukuh Wicaksono and Nailal Muna, "Rekonstruksi Makna Tradisi Suroan Bagi Umat Islam di Petilasan Sri Aji Jayabaya Kabupaten Kediri," *Realita: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 20, no. 2 (December 2022): 117–28, <https://doi.org/10.30762/realita.v20i2.127>.

³⁴ Rima Liliana Puspasari and Puji Lestari, "Partisipasi Masyarakat Pada Pelestarian Upacara Tradisi Kirab Suran Di Dusun Kembangarum Donokerto Kecamatan Turi Kabupaten Sleman Kota Yogyakarta," *E-Societas: Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi* 8, no. 3 (November 2019): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.21831/e-societas.v8i3.15698>.

³⁵ Suparti Parti, "Makna Tari Kembar Mayang Pada Tradisi Suran Di Padhepokan Tjipta Boedaja Tutup Ngisor Magelang: Makna, Tradisi Suran, Tari Kembar Mayang," *Jurnal Teknik Informatika Dan Desain Komunikasi Visual* 1, no. 2 (July 2022): 51–63, <https://doi.org/10.51792/jtd.v1i2.17>.

³⁶ Hestyana Widya Pangesti, "Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Tradisi Kenduri Sura Di Dukuh Brengkungan, Desa Pogung, Kecamatan Cawas, Kabupaten Klaten."

does not deeply examine negotiation between *tawhīd* and *sengkolo*. Siburian and Malau³⁷ study communal prayer and *slametan* for protection; Mahmud³⁸ analyzes tirakatan as folklore maintaining norms and harmony; and Al-Zahra and Alwi³⁹, supported by Huda and Purwadi⁴⁰, describe Satu Suro tahlilan as Islamic-Javanese acculturation and syncretism. Anis⁴¹ and Febriyanto et al.⁴² examine tirakatan, *slametan*, ziarah, and arts within Javanese New Year celebrations. These studies show that prayer rituals gain distinctive meaning during Suro because their ordinary religious and social functions become connected to the perceived vulnerability of sacred time.

Although *tahlilan*, *slametan*, *tirakatan*, and *kenduri* may occur in other months, during Suro, they acquire special significance through sacred time and *Sengkolo*. Unlike ordinary *kenduri* tied to personal events, *Kenduri Suro* addresses a collectively recognized period believed to be rife with calamities. It combines Islamic prayer, almsgiving, and Javanese symbols to manage cosmological fear, revealing the tension between sacred time beliefs and *tawhīd*. Therefore, it becomes a space where monotheism is reinterpreted in the Javanese culture. This does not necessarily resolve the theological tension; rather, it allows the community to manage it

³⁷ Siburian and Malau, "Tradisi Ritual Bulan Suro pada Masyarakat Jawa di Desa Sambirejo Timur Percut Sei Tuan."

³⁸ Amir Mahmud, "Kajian Folklor Dalam Tradisi Suran Di Desa Tlogo Pragoto Kecamatan Mirit Kabupaten Kebumen," *Jurnal Progam Studi Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Jawa Universitas Muhammadiyah Purworejo* 4, no. 3 (2014): 15–27.

³⁹ Fatimah al Zahrah and Alwi Hs Muhammad, "Pemaknaan simbol-simbol dalam tahlilan pada tradisi satu suro di makam raja-raja mataram Kotagede-Yogyakarta," *Al-Tadabbur* 6, no. 2 (2020): 256–77.

⁴⁰ M. Dimyati Huda and Purwadi, "Menyingkap Kearifan Spiritual: Analisis Ritual Nyadran Di Makam Raja Mataram Kotagede Dengan Pendekatan Teologis," *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 33, no. 1 (2024): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.30762/empirisma.v33i1.1275>.

⁴¹ Madhan Anis, "Suran: Upacara Tradisional dalam Masyarakat Jawa," *Seuneubok Lada: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sejarah, Sosial, Budaya Dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2014): 53–60.

⁴² Dedi Febriyanto, Muslimin Muslimin, and Latifatul Karimah, "Menilik Tradisi Suroan Pada Masyarakat Jawa Di Kelurahan Cahaya Mas," *YASIN* 3, no. 5 (September 2023): 1116–34, <https://doi.org/10.58578/yasin.v3i5.1764>.

through symbols and practices that can be understood as Islamic devotion, cultural inheritance, and collective self-protection.

The literature indicates that: (1) Suro/Muharram is sacred and a meeting space for Islam and Javanese culture; (2) *sengkolo* signifies danger believed to intensify during Suro; (3) kirab, ritual dances, and jamanan pusaka provide protection; and (4) communal prayers seek safety, reject *sengkolo*, strengthen solidarity, and express acculturation. However, previous studies have not explicitly connected the fear of *sengkolo* with *Kenduri Suro* as a collective protective strategy or examined Satu Suro and *Kenduri Suro* as mechanisms mediating between Javanese cosmology and Islamic theology. This study fills this gap by analyzing *Kenduri Suro* as an arena of encounter, tension, and compromise in Dukuh Brengkungan, Klaten, Indonesia. Its contribution lies in placing theological negotiation, rather than only solidarity or preservation, at the center of ritual analysis.

Dukuh Brengkungan is significant because its community preserves local culture while adapting it to Islamic values. This setting is particularly useful because the same ritual simultaneously preserves inherited symbols, incorporates Islamic prayers, and organizes collective responses to perceived threats. This permits the observation of how theological principles are translated, contested, and accommodated through actual community practice rather than being discussed only at the abstract doctrinal level. The continued belief in *sengkolo* and the performance of *Kenduri Suro* allow for a direct examination of this dialectic and contribute empirically and theoretically to the study of Javanese Islam. This study examines how *Kenduri Suro* on Satu Suro functions as a socio-religious mechanism to alleviate tensions between normative Islam and Javanese cosmology, and how Islamization and religious transformation unfold through its rituals and symbols. It aims to examine community understandings of *sengkolo* and *Kenduri Suro*, focusing on the interactions among local cosmology, Islamic theology, community perceptions, and Islamization. The ritual is approached neither simply as a remnant of pre-Islamic belief nor as a completely Islamized ceremony, but as a living and continually negotiated religious practice.

This qualitative study was conducted in Dukuh Brengkungan, Klaten, from June to August 2025 through in-depth interviews and observations of *Kenduri Suro*. The purposively selected participants included religious leaders, traditional leaders, and community members involved in organizing rituals. The researcher maintained a non-participatory analytical stance while closely observing the events. Data were analyzed descriptively through an anthropological approach to religion, supported by Durkheim's theory of social solidarity⁴³, to examine ritual practice, social cohesion, and theological negotiation.

Theoretical Framework

Émile Durkheim's theory of social solidarity was used to analyze the *Kenduri Suro* tradition. Durkheim argued that collective rituals play a vital role in maintaining social cohesion by reinforcing shared beliefs and values.⁴⁴ He distinguishes between mechanical solidarity, which is based on shared beliefs and collective consciousness, and organic solidarity, which arises from interdependence within more complex societies.

The *Kenduri Suro* ritual strengthens communal bonds through joint prayer, communal meals, and symbolic participation. Field data indicate that the community continues to uphold this ancestral tradition, despite differing interpretations. While some residents regard it as local cultural heritage, others criticize it as being inconsistent with normative Islam. These differences reflect religious diversity rather than social division

The Month of Suro/Muharram as a Sacred Month in Local Normative Islamic Theology

For the people of Dukuh Brengkungan, Central Java, the month of Suro or Muharram is understood as a sacred time with theological significance. This understanding is rooted not only in local cosmological beliefs but is also linked to normative Islamic teachings regarding the sanctity of the month of Muharram as one

⁴³ Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Ed. by Steven Lukes, *Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition*, Second Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1982)

⁴⁴ Ibid.

of the *al-ashhur al-hurūm* (sacred months). The Qur'an explicitly states: *"Indeed, the number of months with Allah is twelve months... of which four are sacred"* (QS At-Taubah: 36). Classical Islamic exegesis and jurisprudence identify Muharram as one of these sacred months, during which Muslims are encouraged to strengthen their piety, avoid sinful acts, and increase their worship. In Islamic jurisprudence, Muharram is considered a spiritually significant time with ethical and theological significance.

The 'Āshūrā' fast reinforces the normative significance of Suro. A Hadith narrated by Muslim,⁴⁵ states that fasting on 'Āshūrā' expiates the sins of the previous year. Thus, fasting during Muharram represents the seeking of Allah's protection and spiritual purification. Muharram is also regarded as an opportunity to draw closer to Allah through prayer, dhikr (remembrance), and other acts of worship. In addition, Surah Al-Ghafir verse 60,⁴⁶ in the Qur'an, states that protection ultimately comes from His power, not from supernatural powers, and encourages believers to pray and ask for His help.

Informant 1 (I1) stated that, *"Wulan Sura utawi wulan Muharram punika wulanipun poro Nabi... kita kedah mengeti saha nyuwun pangayoman lan pitulungan dhateng Allah SWT"*⁴⁷ [*"The month of Suro or Muharram is the month of the Prophets... we must remember it and ask Allah SWT for protection and assistance"*]. According to the informant, the local normative Islamic story justifies the holiness of time. In the context of tawhīd, spiritual ibadah is aimed only toward Allah, whereas the community's perspective on the month of Suro emphasizes Islamic principles that have been adapted to Javanese norms, albeit the opposite is also true. This argument shows that the community's understanding of sacred time is a cosmological myth associated with Islamic religious beliefs that reinforce a vertical relationship between God and humankind.

⁴⁵ Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab al-Siyam, bab "Fasting on the day of Ashura," Hadith no. 1162 (Beirut: dar Ihya al-Turath al-'Arabii, n.d.)

⁴⁶ Al Qur'an, Surah Ghafir 40:60

⁴⁷ Informant 1, interview by the author, June 28, 2024, at the informant's residence.

According to Durkheim's concept of the sacred and profane, the sanctity of Suro cannot be understood solely as a cultural construct. In addition to local customs and collective cultural memory, which play a crucial role in preserving the meaning of the *Suro* ritual, the legitimacy of this tradition is also supported by normative Islamic doctrines regarding the sanctity of the month of *Muharram*, the concept of *al-ashhur al-hurūm*, and *Sunnah* practices such as the '*Āshūrā*' fast itself.

This narrative is not merely elitist but is also reproduced in the broader community. Informant 9 (I9) stated that *Muharram* is a month revered by the Prophet and the saints (*walī* or '*ulamā*') therefore must be approached with religious caution⁴⁸. This indicates that the semantic classification structure related to the sacredness of time has been understood and practiced in the collective consciousness of society.

From Durkheim's perspective,⁴⁹ religion is founded on the distinction between sacred and profane time as a system of moral classification. Within this framework, *Suro* is understood as a sacred period set apart from everyday life, requiring distinct symbolic practices. This categorization is social rather than merely theological, separating the "extraordinary" from the "ordinary." Thus, the analysis first examines this classificatory structure of meaning and then explores how it shapes the ritual's broader social functions.

Sengkolo as a Representation of Danger in Collective Consciousness and the Basis of Mechanical Solidarity

Sengkolo is understood as a form of danger that is cosmological and social in nature. Informant 2 (I2) explained that the *Kenduri Suro* is held to seek protection from *sengkolo*, as reflected in the following statement: "*Kenduri Sura punika kalampahan kangge nyuwun pangayoman saking sengkolo*" [*Kenduri Suro is performed... to*

⁴⁸ Informant 9, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence

⁴⁹ Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Ed. by Steven Lukes, *Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition*, Second Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1982)

ask for protection from *sengkolo*]⁵⁰. He also mentioned the belief in the visitation of ancestral spirits during *Kenduri Suro*: “*Arwah para leluhur rawuh ngunjungi griya nalika kenduri Sura kalampahan*” [the spirits of the ancestors come to visit the house during *Kenduri Suro*]⁵¹, which indicates a symbolic connection between the world of the living and the unseen realm.

These data indicate that *Sengkolo* serves as a collective representation. *Sengkolo* symbolizes a shared fear of life's uncertainties rather than merely a personal metaphysical threat. It acts as a common framework for naming, shaping, and giving meaning to prospective threats that cannot be completely managed logically.

According to Durkheim's,⁵² theoretical framework, collective representations are ideas or symbols that result from upholding a common social awareness. *Sengkolo* is a social construct that illustrates how a culture can turn fear into a cosmological symbol that can be ritually addressed. Meanwhile, *sengkolo* has a widely accepted and rather uniform meaning structure. As the symbolic basis of the community's religious activities, this consistency of perception shows the power of collective consciousness.

The Relationship between Prayer, Religious Effort, and Divine Protection as a Mechanism for the Reproduction of Mechanical Solidarity

The information shows the following structured religious cause pattern: safety, prayer and religious endeavor, sacred time, and possible danger (*sengkolo*). Informant 9 (I9) stated that by avoiding taboos during the month of *Suro*, “*InsyaAllah badhe kasimpen saking sedaya marabahaya*” [God willing, one will be spared

⁵⁰ Informant 2, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence.

⁵¹ Informant 2, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence.

⁵² Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Ed. by Steven Lukes, *Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition*, Second Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1982)

from misfortune]⁵³. Based on the statement above, this reflects a moral-religious logic that links human actions to God's protection.

According to Durkheim's theory, prayers and taboos are not just individual spiritual practices but symbolic actions that uphold social norms. A cosmic system of meaning is the source of socially acceptable behavioral patterns, as demonstrated by the concept of spirituality. Meanwhile, following common taboos is viewed as a sign of moral awareness rather than just a safety precaution.

In societies characterized by mechanical solidarity, as described by Durkheim, violations of collective norms are viewed as disruptions of a shared social equilibrium. This suggests that religious activities and prayer demonstrate how societies internalize social norms through symbolic behaviors. This framework provides a moral foundation for collective ritual practices.

The Structure and Practice of *Kenduri Suro* as a Socio-Religious Mechanism

In Dukuh Brengkungan, Central Java, *Kenduri Suro* is a socio-religious ritual with organized symbolic links, regular participation patterns, and a structured chronological sequence. According to field data, this ritual functions through group procedures that represent the distribution of social duties and control of symbols in places of worship. This is evident from an analysis of the structural patterns and the sequence of the rituals.

Time, Stages, and Pattern of *Kenduri Suro* Implementation

The *Kenduri Suro* ceremony is held on the 1st and 8th of the Suro month. The 1st of Suro is considered by the community to be the Islamic New Year, while the 8th is seen as a special occasion to seek protection from sengkolo (disasters) or misfortunes. Informant 2 (I2) explained that the Suro festival usually begins after the Asr prayer. This statement indicates an integration between the timing of the ritual and the rhythm of Islamic

⁵³ Informant 9, interview by the author, July 6, 2024, at the informant's residence

worship, namely, prioritizing the Asr prayer followed by the *Kenduri Suro* festival.

Organizationally, *Kenduri* is divided into four groups, each consisting of approximately 15–20 households. Informant 2 (I2) stated that the implementation is carried out using a system of “*Dipunkelompokaken dados sekawan kelompok... saben kelompok kirang langkung wonten gangsal welas dumugi kalih dasa griya*” [dividing into four groups... each consisting of 15 to 20 houses]⁵⁴. This pattern shows that community members' social obligations are distributed quite evenly. This division promotes cooperation and ensures that no one person or family bears the entire burden of the organization.

The dimension of collective participation is also evident in the practice of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*). Faris Novandi (I3) explained that residents “*Padha gotong royong nyiapke panggonan, terus acarane dianakake neng salah siji omahe warga, gantian saben tahune*” [worked together to prepare the venue... it was held in one of the residents' houses on a rotating basis]⁵⁵. This practice demonstrates that collective contributions, such as *tenaga* and *waktu*, are valued more highly than symbolic offerings. In addition, *Kenduri Suro* accommodates those who are unable to provide charity (*sedekah*), making participation in the ritual socially inclusive. Thus, the temporal structure, group division, and food distribution reflect the inclusive participation. This analysis confirms that the ritual structure constitutes a collective *tatatan* grounded in communal involvement and shared values.

The Function of *Kenduri Suro* as the Production and Reactivation of Collective Solidarity

Through group prayer, physical engagement, and shared meals, *Kenduri Suro* creates a shared emotional experience. Durkheim describes this as *collective effervescence*, a state in which ritual participation generates communal emotional energy that reinforces social unity.

⁵⁴ Informant 2, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence

⁵⁵ Informant 3, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence

According to the data, 31 out of 38 heads of households continue to participate in *the Kenduri Suro*. This indicates sustained social cohesion within the community. The predominance of participation highlights its integrative potential through shared emotional and communal engagement experiences. Thus, *Kenduri Suro* functions as a communal space that fosters social unity through a collective emotional experience. The following section examines how this solidarity is differentiated to reveal its broader social implications for the community.

The Duality of Ritual Practices: Islamic Prayer and Ancestral Pancenan

Field data reveal two symbolic forms within the same ritual space: Islamic prayer led by Mbah Modin and the provision of *pancenan* (ritual offerings) for ancestors. Ms. Ngatini (I4) explained that “*Wonten kalih papan dhaharan, ingkang setunggal dipundongakaken dening Mbah Modin, lan ingkang satunggalipun kangge sesaji utawi pancenan*” [there are two food containers: one over which Mbah Modin recites prayers, and the other for offerings or *pancenan*]⁵⁶, usually containing betel quid (*kinang*), cigarettes, beverages, and a sum of money.

Within the same sacred context, these two ritual forms represent distinct and symbolic perspectives. *Pancenan* signifies respect for ancestors, whereas Islamic prayer reflects a normative religious perspective. Despite these symbolic differences, both practices contribute to the communal cohesion.

Several informants with a more scripturalist Islamic orientation viewed *Pancenan* as problematic because it lacks explicit textual foundations in the Qur'an and Hadith. Faris⁵⁷ explained: “*Sebagian warga nganggep pancenan kuwi nyimpang saka ajaran Islam, dadi ya ana sing milih ora melu teka*” [Some residents consider *pancenan* to deviate from Islamic teachings, so they choose not to attend]. This statement highlights two social groups: those who regard *pancenan* as an ancestral cultural tradition and those who

⁵⁶ Informant 4, interview by the author, July 2, 2024, at the informant's residence

⁵⁷ Informant 3, interview by the author, July 1, 2024, at the informant's residence

consider it *bid'ah* that contradicts Islamic principles. Despite these differing perspectives, the residents respect each other's views. Those who disagree typically request permission to abstain from the ritual, and the participants do not hold them accountable.

Despite *Kenduri Suro* being attended by most Muslim residents, field data reveal differentiated religious orientations within the community. These differences manifest as restrained, often private religious tensions rather than open conflict. This section examines these tensions to understand the broader dynamics of religious reform in the community.

Furthermore, several other informants stated that *kenduri*, a communal feast, was not required to protect against danger. Informant 11 stated that protection can be sufficiently obtained through ritual prayer (*shalat*) without conducting *Kenduri Suro*, as reflected in the statements: “Kanthi shalat kemawon sampun saged nyuwun pangayoman” (“Prayer alone is sufficient to seek protection.”), while Informant 12 explained that the younger generation generally considers prayer and personal supplication are sufficient as forms of religious practice, as reflected in the statement: “*Cah enom mboten nampik, namung nggadhahi pamanggih bilih shalat kemawon sampun cekap*” [*the younger generation does not reject it, they simply believe that ritual prayer is sufficient*]⁵⁸.

These claims reflect a normative religious perspective that recognizes official Islamic worship as the primary source of legitimacy. From this perspective, *kenduri* is regarded as a social custom rather than a religious obligation. Thus, the findings reveal a latent tension between traditional ritual practices and a scriptural Islamic perspective, although it has not developed into overt social polarization yet.

From the standpoint of Islamic law, some locals regard *Kenduri Suro* as part of local 'urf (custom), viewing it as a cultural tradition centered on group prayer, shared meals, and social cohesion rather than supernatural worship. However, stronger scriptural orientations continue to challenge symbolic elements that lack explicit Qur'anic and Hadith support.

⁵⁸ Informant 12, interview by the author, July 15, 2024, at the informant's residence

These differing views explain why some villagers defend Kenduri Suro as part of the local Islamic identity, whereas others regard it as culturally significant but not religiously obligatory. Nevertheless, communal cohesion persists despite these differing interpretations.

Social Negotiation and Harmony Strategies

Despite differing religious orientations, *Kenduri Suro* is not considered a religious obligation. Non-participants face no sanctions and still receive food as charity, reflecting social negotiations that accommodate diverse beliefs. Consequently, the ritual sustains social cohesion by allowing different forms of participation without generating conflict.

According to Durkheim's theory,⁵⁹ Despite differing religious orientations, *Kenduri Suro* is not treated as a religious obligation. Non-participants face no sanctions and still receive food as charity, reflecting social negotiations that accommodate diverse beliefs. Consequently, the ritual sustains social cohesion by allowing different forms of participation without generating conflict.

Thirty-one of the 38 heads of household continue to participate in *Kenduri Suro*, while the non-participants are predominantly members of the younger generation. This pattern indicates a generational dimension of religious heterogeneity. Younger community members tend to base their religious expression on normative worship practices, whereas the older generation maintains *Kenduri Suro* as part of the communal identity and historical tradition. Although these differences have not resulted in social segregation, they indicate an emerging shift in value orientation.

This generational gap may affect *Kenduri Suro*'s long-term sustainability. Despite the currently high participation rate, declining involvement among younger people could weaken the transmission of ritual knowledge, symbolic meaning, and associated social values. Nevertheless, the findings point to

⁵⁹ Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Ed. by Steven Lukes, *Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition*, Second Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1982)

adaptation rather than a straightforward decline. Older generations continue to transmit traditions through family practices, informal instruction, and collective participation. Some younger members also remain involved, although more selectively and often by reinterpreting the ritual in accordance with their religious beliefs or lack thereof. Therefore, continuity is maintained not only through replication but also through reinterpretation.

Theoretically, this condition may represent early differentiation within the community's solidarity system. Whereas mechanical solidarity depends on shared beliefs and practices, emerging religious differences may encourage cohesion based on functional tolerance. Future social integration may therefore rely less on uniform ritual participation and more on a community's capacity to accommodate differences peacefully.

Kenduri Suro is thus situated in a transitional phase. Mechanical solidarity remains dominant, but generational differentiation signals the potential for a long-term transformation. Religious differences in Dukuh Brengkungan, Klaten, Central Java, remain latent and are managed peacefully. Rather than indicating an imminent decline, these dynamics reflect ongoing negotiations between preservation and transformation. The sustainability of the tradition ultimately depends on the community's ability to adapt and transmit its values to future generations.

Religious Transformation: Islamization as Reinterpretation of Symbols

In the context of the *Kenduri Suro* celebration in Dukuh Brengkungan, Klaten, Central Java, Islamization is an ongoing process of reinterpreting and renegotiating cultural symbols amid shifting theological orientations, rather than a historical transition from pre-Islamic beliefs to Islam. This process occurs through shifts in meaning, theological legitimization, and collective narratives regarding the tradition's function. Therefore, Islamization must be understood as a theological and *da'wah*-oriented process that gradually integrates Islamic principles into local customs.

The da'wah strategy employed by *Walīsongo* was closely linked to a gradual and inclusive approach that contributed to the Islamization of Javanese society. Islamic teachings were incorporated into pre-existing cultural forms through prayer, Qur'anic recitation, supplication, and monotheistic principles, rather than by eradicating regional customs. This method represents the Islamic concept of *tadarruj*, or gradualism, in which religious change occurs according to social and cultural circumstances.

Within *Kenduri Suro*, this gradual Islamization can be observed in the shift from cosmological meanings to theological interpretations centered on Allah. Ritual expressions once connected to ancestral cosmology or metaphysical anxieties are increasingly being reinterpreted as expressions of gratitude, prayer, collective remembrance, and requests for divine protection. The sacredness of *Suro* is now understood through Islamic ideas of blessed time, collective devotion, and introspection, alongside the mystical cosmology.

Simultaneously, local symbolism continues to survive as a cultural medium through which Islamic teachings are communicated and embodied in communal life. *Kenduri Suro* therefore illustrates a dialectical interaction between Islam and local culture: Islam provides theological orientation, while local tradition offers culturally meaningful forms for maintaining social cohesion. Islamization is thus better understood as a gradual transformation of meaning rather than the elimination of local culture.

Genealogical Narrative as Social Memory

Some informants linked the origins of *Kenduri Suro* to local figures, such as Mbah Bringkung. Mbah Narso (I1) explained that "*Mbah Bringkung ingkang ngenalaken lan mulangaken tradisi kenduri Sura... sakderengipun dereng mangertos agama Islam, kanthi cara ngobong menyan lan dupa*" [*Mbah Bringkung introduced and taught the Kenduri Suro tradition... at that time, people did not yet know Islam and*

practiced it by burning incense and joss sticks]⁶⁰. A similar statement was conveyed by Mrs. Lastri (I6), who stated that “*Wonten jaman rumiyin ngginakaken cara ngobong menyan... awit tiyang jaman rumiyin dereng wonten ingkang mangertos agama Islam*”[*in the past, people burned incense... people in earlier times did not yet know Islam*]⁶¹.

This narrative demonstrates the construction of a collective memory regarding changes in tradition. The practice of burning incense represents a phase considered “not yet Islamic,” while the present condition is understood as more aligned with Islamic teachings. However, this study found no written historical evidence to verify the periodization.

Therefore, the story of Mbah Bringkung and the practice of burning incense are understood as forms of social memory through which the community explains the transformation of its traditions. The term “pre-Islamic” refers to emic perceptions of practices that had not yet incorporated Islamic symbols and prayers, rather than historically verified categories. Thus, genealogical narratives function as symbolic devices that assert that the tradition has undergone religious reinterpretation.

Reinterpretation of Preaching and Symbolic Legitimacy

In the collective memory of the community, changes in tradition are often associated with preaching figures such as Sunan Kalijaga. Mrs. Pardinem (I7) stated that “*Tradisi kenduri Sura punika wiwit ngandhut nilai-nilai Islam sasampunipun dipunajaraken dening Sunan Kalijaga*”[*the Kenduri Suro tradition only began to contain Islamic values after it was taught by Sunan Kalijaga*]⁶². This reference functions as a symbolic legitimacy for the integration of Islamic values into local tradition.

However, Sunan Kalijaga is not mentioned as direct historical evidence of his involvement in *Kenduri Suro* in Dukuh Brengkungan. Rather, it represents a collective imagination of

⁶⁰ Informant 1, interview by the author, July 28, 2024, at the informant’s residence

⁶¹ Informant 6, interview by the author, July 3, 2024, at the informant’s residence

⁶² Informant 7, interview by the author, July 5, 2024, at the informant’s residence

cultural Islam that is accommodating toward local culture. By linking this tradition to the symbolic authority of Javanese Islam, the community gains religious legitimacy for the continuation of kenduri.

A more empirical transformation is evident in ritual practices. Informants described a shift from non-Arabic to Arabic-language prayers, which are considered to reflect Islamic values more strongly. The use of incense and joss sticks has also declined in recent years. These modifications indicate a symbolic reinterpretation rather than the complete eradication of earlier components. The social form of kenduri is preserved, while its meaning is renegotiated within Islamic values and monotheism (*tauhid*). Islamization in this practice, therefore, involves the substitution, modification, and re-signification of ritual components to maintain their relevance amid changing religious orientations.

Religious transformation is also visible in the reinterpretation of *kenduri* as almsgiving. Mr. Tarjo (I8) explained that “*Kenduri Sura punika ugi gadhah ancas kangge bersedekah*” [*this Sura kenduri also aims to give alms*]⁶³, including distributing food and money to Mbah Modin and local residents.

The concept of almsgiving provides an Islamic normative framework that strengthens this tradition’s legitimacy. *Kenduri* is consistent with Islamic beliefs because it emphasizes sharing, social care, and community cooperation. Distributing meals to absent residents also broadens the meaning of almsgiving as an expression of inclusivity and of collective responsibility.

This reinterpretation may also be understood as a response to criticism based on Islamic norms. The values of compassion, brotherhood (*ukhuwwah Islāmiyyah*), and social solidarity support the continuation of this tradition. Consequently, Islamization in Dukuh Brengkungan functions as an adaptive process that enables the tradition to persist despite diverse religious interpretations.

The religious transformation of *Kenduri Suro* indicates that its symbols and meanings remain subject to debate within the

⁶³ Informant 8, interview by the author, July 6, 2024, at the informant’s residence

community. This debate highlights Islamization as a symbolic reinterpretation that maintains theological legitimacy while preserving communal cohesion.

Analytical Synthesis: *Kenduri Suro* as a Mechanism for the Reproduction and Transformation of Solidarity

The *Kenduri Suro* ritual in Dukuh Brengkungan, Klaten, Central Java, can be viewed as a socio-religious mechanism that both preserves and transforms social solidarity. This analysis examines the interrelated structures of meaning, ritual practices, differences in religious understanding, and symbolic re-interpretation.

First, social classification remains dominated by the collective awareness of the sacredness of *Suro* and the potential threat of *Sengkolo* (misfortune). This belief provides a symbolic foundation for viewing *Suro* as a sacred period with cosmological and ethical implications rather than merely Muharram in the Islamic calendar. *Sengkolo* is understood as a misfortune that can be controlled through collective ritual activities, indicating that social consensus remains strongly dependent on collective consciousness.

Second, the homogeneous social structure is reflected in the organization of rituals. The 38 participating heads of households were divided into four equal groups. The observance of *Kenduri Suro* on the 1st and 8th of *Suro* demonstrates that this tradition remains highly valued. Social inclusion is reinforced through *mutual cooperation* (*gotong royong*) and the distribution of food to residents who are unable to attend. Structurally, the ritual illustrates solidarity, rooted in shared ideals and collective participation.

Third, scriptural orientation and generational diversity produce such theological differences. Religious understanding varies, as shown by Informant 11's assertion that ritual prayer provides adequate protection and Informant 12's view that the younger generation considers prayer alone to be sufficient. However, this differentiation has not led to open conflict. Non-participants are still accommodated through almsgiving, and *kenduri* is not imposed as an obligation of faith. Therefore,

collective consciousness is not entirely homogeneous but remains strong enough to sustain social stability.

Fourth, Islamization functions as a mechanism of symbolic reinterpretation that maintains religious legitimacy amid these differences. Genealogical narratives of changing practices, declining incense use, shifting toward Arabic-language prayers, and emphasizing almsgiving indicate symbolic adjustment. The tradition is re-signified to align with the normative framework of Islam rather than being eliminated. Therefore, Islamization functions as an adaptive response to changing religious orientations.

Kenduri Suro can thus be understood as reproducing the still-dominant pattern of mechanical solidarity, as social cohesion rests on shared traditions, collective consciousness, and ritual experiences, as explained by Durkheim. However, its continuity is rooted in Islamic theological values. *Kenduri Suro* embodies *ukhuwwah Islāmiyyah*, or Islamic brotherhood, emphasizing unity, mutual care, and social peace. These values are expressed through collective participation, communal prayers, and food-sharing.

Simultaneously, early forms of differentiation emerged, particularly along generational and religious lines, potentially leading to more complex patterns of social cohesion. These differences do not necessarily cause the fragmentation. Instead, they reflect tolerance toward *ikhtilāf* (differences of opinion), in which diverse interpretations are managed through discussion, compromise, and a collective consensus. *Kenduri Suro* thus demonstrates how Islam adapts to local culture by allowing traditions to persist as long as they do not conflict with the fundamental Islamic principles.

Kenduri Suro therefore serves as a space for negotiating Islamic principles, religious meanings, and expressions of local culture. The ritual reflects a dynamic process between continuity and transformation, demonstrating how local Muslim communities maintain Javanese sociocultural integration through Islamic ethical principles, collective rituals, and cultural adaptation.

Conclusion

Based on the findings examined through the analytical framework developed in this study, beginning with the structure of meaning and ritual, followed by internal differentiation, and culminating in religious transformation, Kenduri Suro in Dukuh Brengkungan constitutes a socio-religious practice that operates in two dimensions: the reproduction of collective solidarity and the negotiation of religious differentiation.

At the level of the structure of meaning, belief in Sengkolo as a symbol of cosmic peril and the shared understanding of the sacredness of Suro/Muharram continue to shape the community. This symbolic framework creates a relatively uniform moral basis and reflects mechanical solidarity in Émile Durkheim's conception, in which social cohesion depends on collective consciousness and shared beliefs.

At the level of ritual structure, Kenduri Suro reflects broadly distributed collective participation in the event. Islamic prayers (*du'a*) and the Pancenan ritual function as expressions of collective celebration, as demonstrated by empirical findings. Nevertheless, internal differences remain, particularly the criticism of the Pancenan ritual based on normative Islam. The younger generation also tends to reinterpret local traditions by prioritizing Islamic teachings articulated in the Qur'an.

These tensions are managed through social negotiations that maintain communal harmony. Kenduri Suro is understood as a social ethic and an act of charitable giving rather than a religious obligation. Islamization therefore functions as symbolic reinterpretation within the community's collective consciousness, maintaining religious legitimacy amid theological differences rather than representing a linear progression from "pre-Islamic" practices to "pure Islam."

Kenduri Suro thus reflects a still-dominant pattern of mechanical solidarity while accommodating diverse interpretations that may shape its future. This tradition is best understood as an ongoing negotiation between normative Islamic theology and Javanese cosmology. The solidarity it produces is not static but dynamic, oscillating between continuity and change.

This study makes two main contributions to the literature. First, it examines Sengkolo and Kenduri Suro as an integrated symbolic and ritual framework rather than as separate phenomena. Second, it demonstrates how Durkheim's theory of solidarity, combined with an anthropological approach to religion, enables a more analytical understanding of the relationship between normative religion and local traditions, moving beyond the descriptive paradigm of syncretism.

However, this study had several limitations. The findings remain context-specific and should be interpreted cautiously because of the limited number of participants. The analysis also does not incorporate multimodal aspects, such as visual documentation, which could enrich the symbolic interpretation of rituals. Time constraints further limited the examination of Sengkolo and Kenduri Suro during the month of Suro, although related practices and beliefs appeared in other ritual contexts throughout the year.

Future research should compare different forms of kenduri in the Javanese tradition, expand the geographical scope, and employ longitudinal designs. Such studies could assess whether the observed intergenerational differentiation develops into a more complex transformation of solidarity in the future. A multimodal approach is recommended to capture the visual and performative dimensions of the ritual more comprehensively. Ultimately, Kenduri Suro demonstrates how local communities manage the tensions between cultural heritage and Islamic theological standards through symbolic mechanisms that allow solidarity to endure amid social change.

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