

Chapter 7

Islamic Educational Values in Life–Cycle Rituals: An Ethnographic Study in Kluet Timur Community, Aceh, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the series of life cycle rituals the people of Kluet Timur, South Aceh implement. The study focuses on five main rituals—the rituals of pregnancy, giving birth, circumcision, marriage, and death. Islamic educational values contained in each ritual are also described. To collect this data, this qualitative study applied observation and interview methodologies. The values of customary education, Tawheed, health, and correct decision making can be found in the rituals of pregnancy and childbirth. The values of responsibility and health appear in the ritual of circumcision. The people of Kluet Timur develop the values of deliberation, consensus, and togetherness in the ritual of marriage. The values of solidarity and cooperation are reflected in the implementation of the death ritual.

BACKGROUND

Tanoh Kluet is one of the areas in South Aceh, consisting of four sub-districts, namely, North Kluet, South Kluet, Kluet Timur, and Central Kluet. The Acehnese, Aneuk Jamee, and Kluet ethnic groups inhabit the four sub-districts. As a society

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that profoundly upholds local cultural values, Kluet people still maintain the use of Kluet language and traditional rituals. The local people perform rituals that include the life and death rituals whose aim is to retain the religious, cultural, and educational values of their ethnic group. In fact, this developing tradition strongly agrees with the teachings of religion, evident in the *hadih maja*¹ (Acehnese proverb), '*hukom ngen adat lagee zat, ngon sipheuet*' ("Law and custom is like a substance and its inseparable nature"). The differences in culture and customs in several regions of Aceh are supported by Act No. 44 of 1999, concerning the Implementation of the Privileges of the Special Province of Aceh. Regions in Aceh are permitted to implement various policies in an effort to empower, preserve, and develop customs and traditional institutions in their territories if they comply with Islamic law. In addition, Act No. 11 of 2006 concretely underlies the implementation of customs in Aceh.

This study discusses the series of traditional rituals, including those of the life cycle and death, which the people of Kluet Timur still carry out. The area is considered to represent the originality of the Kluet community culture, reflected in each stage of the birth-to-death ceremonies. This study also aims to display the Islamic educational values of life-cycle rituals of the Kluet community.

LIFE-CYCLE RITUALS OF THE KLUET TIMUR COMMUNITY

As a one of the sequences in life which happen within a community, life-cycle rituals occur in the form of either ceremonial or custom festivals. From the perspective of the religious dimension, those practices always aim to be closer to God (Muhammad, 2007, pp. 1-2). Indonesia, a country consisting of numerous tribes, has its special customs in the deployment of life-cycle rituals. The tradition of the Balinese, for instance, appears in the form of values, norms, ethics, beliefs, customs, customary laws, and other distinctive rules (Sirtha, 2013). Likewise, the customary values of the Sundanese also do the same thing, reflecting on Islam (Maulana, 2013). Meanwhile, acculturations of the local culture also contribute to the foundation of the new tradition. For example, the people of Pidie, Aceh, execute the ritual of *rah ulei* (washing the head with water) in the cemetery of *ulama* (Islamic scholar) (Arifin & Khambali, 2016). Therefore, the customary tradition to which the community commits cannot circumvent containing the theological, sociological, political, family, and educational values. The last-mentioned values, the focus of this study, attempt to discover the concepts of education contained and believed among the people of Kluet Timur, Aceh. This aligns with what Manan has conceptualized—that the life-

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cycle ritual is essential to unearthing existing information or social relationships (Manan, 2015). One could obtain ritual information based on the theory and direct practice of the subject customary activities.

METHODOLOGIES

This study uses the framework of a qualitative approach. The researchers collected data by using observation and interviews. The observation was of the activity of the people of Kluet Tmur before, during, and after rituals mentioned. Meanwhile, people in selected samples participated in the interviews, chosen using purposive sampling (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 12). The samples involved were village legal officials and other figures, and related parties in the local village of Kluet Timur. The interview, which was in the form of an open-ended interview, was applied as “prepared” and “unprepared” to match the activity of the samples (Sugiono, 2005, pp. 73-74). The data were then analyzed in appropriate applications of qualitative data analysis, including data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Moleong, 2000, pp. 103-104).

THE RITUAL OF PREGNANCY

Two rituals are performed during the pregnancy of a woman in the Kluet community, namely the ritual of ‘*bha boh kayee*’ (carrying fruits) and the ritual of ‘*mee bue*’ (delivering rice). The former ritual is prepared by ‘*mak tuan*’ (the mother of the groom) with her sisters at the three-month point of the pregnancy of *dara baro* (the new bride). The latter ritual is carried out at four to five months into the bride’s pregnancy (Rasyidah, 2012). The capacity of the ‘*mee bue*’ ritual in this case depends on the individual’s financial ability to carry it out.

In addition, abstinences are also observed by *dara baro* in order to maintain her smooth delivery process. On the one hand, the Javanese people in Deli Serdang believe that the abstinences for pregnant women only occur for a month of pregnancy or in the first period of pregnancy (Dermawan, 2013). On the other hand, in Aceh, the abstinences upon them are in force for more than one month of pregnancy. In this case, the family of the *dara baro* maintains extra-strict supervision of their child’s activities. Those abstinences include food and behavior restrictions. According to traditional midwives and one of the residents of Kluet Timur, vegetables such as jackfruit, breadfruit, spinach, kale, and pumpkin are thought to affect the presence of a fetus conceived by a pregnant woman, due to their role in producing gas in the body. Pregnant women are also prohibited from going out during *maghrib* (dusk)

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since *maghrib* time is the time when a *syaitan* (evil spirit) wanders around, sitting or standing at the door of the house, because it can complicate the labor process, or leaving the house at night to prevent her family from being slandered and disgraced.

Similar to the women, the husbands whose wives are pregnant also face some restrictions. From the Kluet community's standpoint, they are prohibited from hurting or killing animals. If these restrictions are not respected, the Kluet community believes that their wives' labor will have trouble, such as breech. They are also forbidden to denounce or demonstrate the behavior of people with disabilities both physical and mental. They believe these abstinences can keep their children from being individuals who enjoy making fun of others, as well as avoiding their children getting a *tungkik* (ear infection).

THE RITUAL OF GIVING BIRTH

Once, the Kluet community requested a *rubiah's* (traditional midwife) assistance with the process of giving birth and bathing female corpses. Even though the role has now been replaced by the village midwife, who is paid by the government program, some Kluet community members still use *rubiah* service. However, obstetricians also become an alternative, specifically for pregnant women who have problems with their uterus.

The Kluet community conducts several birth rituals. The first ritual is to cut the umbilical cord. The umbilical cord and placenta are then collected together and buried around the house, marking the site by planting coconut trees on it. Therefore, most Kluet people have coconut trees of the same age as they are.

Furthermore, after the baby is born, the *bang* and *qamat* (call to prayer and *iqamah*) are echoed by the baby's father, his guardian, or a *teungku* (religious leader), who attend the procession. Normally, the Acehnese people only voice the call to prayer to the baby boy, and the *iqamah* to the baby girl. On the contrary, the Kluet community always echoes *bang* and *qamat* to newborn babies, both male and female. This ritual is intended to make the baby become a person who always believes in Allah the Almighty and the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

The baby is then given a name (*mere gere*) by his parents or the *teungku kampong* (village religious leader). The *teungku* directs the naming process in accordance with the context of Islamic teachings. In general, the ritual is followed by reading the *surah* of Yasin and prayers recited by the *teungku* for the welfare of newborn babies.

The next birth ritual is *turun bo lawe* (introducing the newly born baby to the public). This ritual is performed on the 40th day following his/her birth. The midwife who handles the delivery process carries the baby to the mosque, followed by the baby's parents and grandparents. The baby is bathed using water from the mosque's

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well or water that has been prepared from the place of ablution of the mosque. By performing the ritual *turun bo lawe*, both the babies and their mothers can leave the house, as they are free from abstinence.

THE RITUAL OF CIRCUMCISION

In general, the people of Aceh perform the ritual of the circumcision on every adolescent boy (9 to 13 years). Two factors influence this ritual, namely, the physical condition of the child and the economic state of the child's parents. In the Kluet area, this ritual is called *peusunat*, and its implementation is quite similar to that performed by the Acehnese people. However, several processes are crucial for them.

The first implemented process is the decision-making and its notification, which takes place in one family. Usually this discussion involves *niniak mamak* (a brother or a sister of the mother of the child). If the discussion about the third debt² is agreed upon, then a celebration will be held. Later, all big families, both the distant and the close relatives, will be invited.

Then, *nendok wari* is performed in the next *peusunat* process. *Nendok wari* is a discussion to determine the *peusunat* day, which involves the family of the child, and local custom figures and legal figures. The level of seriousness of the family in carrying out this celebration is seen in the sending of a mouthpiece³ to the aforementioned figures, as well as the local youths attending the ritual. For men, families usually give cigarettes during *nendok wari*, while betel nuts, betel, tobacco, and lime are provided for women. If the day has been settled, the women will prepare *ncinar*⁴ and pick vegetables in the fields. Meanwhile, the men will look for firewood in the mountains, prepare cooking places, and place kitchen utensils. In addition, there are those who decorate the location of the party. In this case, the nuances of togetherness and cooperation are sensed in the activity.

The *peusunat* feast is generally held when the harvest season comes. The Kluet Timur community, the majority of whom are farmers, have prepared rice, the main part of the feast. For them, side dishes are complementary. Moreover, the people of Kluet Timur favor vegetables more than fish and meat. However, some types of endemic fish that are easily obtained in the Kluet River in certain seasons are also sometimes processed as a dish. Relatives and neighbors usually compete with each other to donate side dishes and their equipment to the host.

Furthermore, the child will have henna applied (*Lawasonia enermis*), known as *mekacar*,⁵ on the night of *mureh beras*, the night before the celebration. The next day, the function called *namat* and *nyolong anak senat* occurs. *Namat* is a recitation of *khatam Al-Quran* (the prayer recited after completing the whole surah in the Qur'an) for the circumcised child. Whereas *nyolong anak senat* means leading the child to

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be taken to a mosque, river, or bathing place, the process is actually a task of the *pemamoan* (guardian of the child). However, the *pemamoan* sometimes delegates it to the *perimpean* (the grandfather or grandmother of the child to be circumcised) by giving them wages.⁶ The next process is the *mpanger*. In this process, the child is cleaned and bathed using water mixed with kaffir lime by the people who have been previously appointed.

Meanwhile, other family members carry out the *nyerah* procession from the location of the celebration to the *mudim* (circumcision agent), or the doctor who will circumcise the child. This procession is also attended by *khatib*, *bileu* (bilal), and young people of the village. All the processes related to the circumcision and its accountability are then delegated to the *mudim*.

The next process is to bring the child home to be circumcised by the *mudim*. When the process takes place, the community will cheer to suppress the sound of the child's crying and his mother's anxiety. The child sleeps in the mattress that has been prepared for three days. Before recovering from the injury to his genitals, the child is guarded by his *perimpean* and young people of the village, who had been asked previously to be ready.

After the circumcision is completed, the *mido ijin* process is carried out. In this process, the guardians, *pemamoan*, *niniak mamak*, the local custom and law officials, and the local youths reunite. They discuss all the deficiencies that occurred during the event, which are their joint responsibility.

Meanwhile, the child who has been circumcised must wait two or three days for the wounds of his genitals to dry. When the bandage is taken off the wound, the family prepares special dishes called *tremandi*. This dish is made from sticky rice flour mixed with clean water. Then, the mixture is made in an oval form to the size of a thumb and squeezed in the center before it is put into boiling coconut milk. This dish is served in a plate or a bowl to the guests. This *tremandi* means that all the *sunat rasul* (circumcision) processions have been completed. The presentation also symbolizes that the child is allowed to do the *ridi* (bathing).

The Kluet community also carries out the circumcision for girls. The difference between circumcision for girls and for boys lies in the time of the implementation, duration, process, and location. The process was not carried out specifically, but was held at the same time as other festivals, such as marriage or circumcision. In addition, the duration of female circumcision is relatively shorter. The process of circumcising girls is handled by female circumcision agents. The location of the circumcision is different from that of boys. In the process, girls are given trinkets to look more beautiful.

THE RITUAL OF MARRIAGE

The Kluet Timur community also has a series of processions in performing marriage rituals. The first ritual is called *kusik di tepian*. The activity is an assessment that involves one member from the man's side, such as the grandfather (*muang*), and a member from the woman's side, such as the uncle (*mamo*). Initially, the dialogue takes place at the banks of the *Krueng Kluet* (Kluet river) while fishing. As time has gone by, *kusik di tepian* has come to be done at homes, markets, or other places.

Furthermore, the results of this *kusik di tepian*'s meeting are delivered at the *kusik di halaman*. This second phase is usually carried out at the woman's home and attended by several family members from both parties, including *niniak mamak* and the parents of the woman.

The third process of the ritual is *kusik di batang ruang/nyusuk*. This procession is attended by trustees (guardians) and *pemamoan* from the man's party who visit the woman's house. This *nyusuk* phase also involves the village officials, customs and legal officials such as the *geuchik* (village chief), village secretary, village religious leader, and the leaders of village customs and law. At this stage, the discussion is mainly to settle the amount of the *mahar* (dowry).⁷ After the agreement is obtained, the *meutunangan* (engagement) event is held, attended by trustees and *pemamoan* from both parties, including the village religious leader, village officials, and other relatives. Generally, the event is held in the morning at the bride's house. During the event, the two parties talk to each other and respond in rhymes. The host completes this *meutunangan* event with a set of traditional materials such as *cerana* (cerana), while the *niniak mamak* or *pemamoan* from the bridegroom party carries the *bate meukato*.

The presence of the bridegroom's entourage at the bride's house for the engagement is called *mobokon tando* or *kalang batang*. Before going to the bride's house, the *mobokon tando* event begins with the arrival of the *pemamoan* and the guardians to the house of the leader of village custom and law, to state the purpose of the event. As is the tradition of the Kluet Timur community, several important things are included as symbols to show their good intention. In this case, a *cerana* (metal container) is filled with betel leaves, gambier, areca nut, whiting, cloves (if any), and galangal that used to meet that purpose. Then, they go to the bride's house after agreeing to the following engagement conditions:

1. The engagement is carried out by the *niniak mamak* of both parties;
2. The parents/guardians are obliged to involve the *niniak mamak* in the meeting program, while the *geuchik* (village head) acts as the monitor and the regulator of the event;

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3. The geuchik must be involved in the meeting. If he is not included, the two parties will be penalized twice the amount of the dowry;
4. The highest amount of dowry is 8 *mayams* and the lowest is 2 *mayams*;
5. No '*uang hangus*' (preparatory money or unexpected funds used for an event) is included or allowed to be charged in this festivity.

For the people of Kluet Timur, *meutunangan* (the engagement) is not obligatory before the wedding. However, the event is sometimes carried out, depending on the decision of the bride and groom's party. After agreeing on the *mureh beras* (wedding procession), the two families gather at the venue of the feast. They decorate the house, cook rice and side dishes, wash dishes, build kitchens for cooking, and take firewood. Meanwhile, the *perimpean*⁸ performs *mekacar*⁹ rituals for the prospective bride. Once, the ritual took place four nights in a row until the night of *mureh beras*. Today, the ceremony is done on the night of *mureh beras* only.

Literally, *mureh beras* means washing/cleaning the rice. The name represents the process conducted by the *niniak mamak*, which involves carrying the sticky rice, turmeric water, *ampi* (the container for the ritual offering), and other ingredients to a river or a mosque. The purpose of the procession is to signify that the festivity had begun. The Kluet Timur community also believes that *mureh beras* aims to present the bridegroom and the bride to a wide audience on a beautifully decorated wedding dais, so guests in attendance can directly congratulate both of them.

After the *mureh beras* has been completed, the host invites the external parties (village officials, custom and legal officials, as well as young people of the village) and internal parties (*niniak mamak*, *pemamoan*, guardians, and other family members) to gather and talk in their homes. The meeting is intended to say farewell to all parties who had been involved in the series of pre-festive activities. Then, the event closes by reading the prayer of salvation.

THE RITUAL OF DEATH

Death is the unavoidable phase of every life. The people of Kluet Timur conduct all the rituals related to death, based on the teachings of Islam, which are mentioned in verse 3 of Al-Maidah, and as practiced by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The *pedirum*, *tukam*, and *fardhu kifayah* (a collective compulsory ritual in Islam) are several processions that the Kluet people do as part of death rituals.

Pedirum is a notification of death to the community. Four ways of carrying out this activity occur. First, the news of the disaster is spread from mouth to mouth, to family, friends, and neighbors when they meet. Second, the *pedirum* is done by hitting the drum in the mosque. If the drum is hit four times, the physical condition of the

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deceased person is still perfect, while if the drum is hit three times, it indicates that the physical condition of the deceased is no longer perfect, such as the babies who die prematurely. Third, the *pedirum* is carried out by utilizing electronic devices in the form of microphones and loudspeakers. In this case, the mosque management team acts as the mediator to deliver the news of death to the surrounding community after receiving a report from one of the family members of the deceased. Fourth, mobile phones or similar devices are also used to inform of the death, since they are popular as communication media. Recipients of this death message usually leave their work in order to mourn at the funeral home. This is done as a form of condolence and motivation for the families left behind. In the meantime, the local youths work together to dig the grave, the place for the dead to be buried.

The presence of the people in the community at the former house of the deceased is called *tukam*. As mentioned above, the purpose of their presence after getting the news of the death of one of the *pedirums* is to support the mourning family as a manifestation of their empathy. In fact, it is considered very noble to motivate the mourning family (homeowners and abandoned family members). Local custom and law officials also attend the funeral home in order to regulate the ritual of *fardhu kifayah*.

As a fundamental part of Islamic teachings, the ritual of *fardhu kifayah* conducted by the people of Kluet Timur involves four main processes, namely bathing, shrouding, praying, and burying the body. The local village legal officers guide the process of bathing the corpse, involving their sons or brothers if the body is a male. Conversely, the daughters or sisters are involved for a female body. The oldest son sits at the corpse's head. Then, another young family member sits next to the body and the leg. The same thing applies to female family members. The bath is usually done behind the house, in the living room or the kitchen. All preparations for bathing the corpse are previously prepared, including water and aromatic fragrances. Technically, the legal officials pour water all over the corpse and rub all the body parts clean. Family members involved in bathing the corpse follow the instructions given by the legal officials. They use soap to clean the bodies. In a hollow body part, they use gloves or cloth that has been provided. They also slowly knead the abdomen to remove the impurities. Then, the corpse is bathed by using *limau mungkur* (kaffir lime) juice. This process is called *mpanger*. Finally, the corpse is bathed in plain water and taken to the ablution by the legal officials.

The second process is shrouding the corpse. This procession is carried out and guided by the legal officials of the local village. Previously, every cavity of the corpse' body had been covered with cotton. The arms of the corpse had also been placed to the chest like people who were praying. Three-layer shroud wraps that have been given floral fragrances, leaves, or other fresh scents have been provided by the village people, by collecting money jointly. The collection of money is

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usually managed by the same officials, such as *imum chik* (a village religious leader). It is intended that if one of the residents dies, the family does not need to look for the shroud. If the mourning family happens to be rich, the layer of shroud is permitted to be added in accordance with the provisions of religious teachings and the agreement of community customs. This is usually done by villagers who bring home the shroud after returning from pilgrimage. The shroud itself has been purified with *zamzam* water.

After the shrouding is done, the corpse is then lifted and placed into a *keranda* (bier), which is headed to the nearest mosque or *meunasah* (a smaller size mosque) to be prayed for. Before doing so, the host or *keuchik*, the village chief) delivers the last words to the attendants. The words are mostly about the character of the dead and the debts left by him. Apology for the mistakes made by the deceased during his life is also conveyed. On the way to the mosque, the groups chant a *selawat* (Islamic invocation) upon the Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H. As soon as they arrive at the mosque, the dead body is placed before the pilgrims, who stand in line and have odd *saf* (praying rows). The prayer is led by the sons of the deceased as suggested by the Prophet.

The last process of *fardhu kifayah* is burying the dead. The people of Kluet Timur normally bury the dead in the cemetery provided by the local village. In that area, the dead body is elevated from *keranda* by some individuals, while three or four people are already waiting to carry the corpse. They then put it down slowly into the burial hole. The body of the dead is positioned facing the Qiblah. The shroud bonds of the dead are also removed one by one, one of which is placed at the feet of the dead. When those processes are completed, the burial hole is filled and formed into a soil mound. A *jatropha* is embedded on the mound near the head and the feet of the dead body. On the seventh day of the death, an oval rounded stone, which has *burek* (black speckle) colors, is placed near the *jatropha*.

The Acehese people usually arrange the *kenduri* (feast) of the death. Although it is not an obligation in Islam, this tradition has been passed down through generations. Consequently, in the view of Acehese people, it is a taboo when *kenduri* death is not implemented. For the people of Kluet Timur, it is carried out based on the economy of the host. Some people apply it for seven nights in a row. Some hold it on the odd nights only, which are counted from the first day of the death—for example, the first, the third, the fifth, and the seventh night. However, the *kenduri* of the death is fundamentally aimed at praying for the deceased. In addition, the ritual aims to entertain the family left by the deceased, so they can stand against the grief and mental deterioration. Therefore, the people of Kluet Timur sincerely bring contributions to the host of the ritual, like donated cakes, rice, sugar, or money. Those are given on the nights of the ritual and have been set up in discussion with the local village.

THE RITUAL OF PREGNANCY AND GIVING BIRTH

Islamic educational values are reflected in the life-cycle rituals performed by the people of Kluet Timur, in the rituals of circumcision, pregnancy, marriage, and death. In the ritual of pregnancy for instance, they relate to the introduction of basic reality in social life or the basics of religious teachings, particularly the Tawheed values. One example is the suggestion given to pregnant women to recite the verses of Quran in order to establish the aforementioned value for the newborn. Then, in the ritual of giving birth, the value of Islam is contained in the handling process after giving birth. The newborn is chanted with *azan* and *iqamah* by the midwife who is handling the process, or even by the baby's father. This is in accordance with the suggestions in Islam, which expect the children to always obey and commit to the command of Allah, the Almighty, during their lifetime. Moreover, the process of *mere gere* (giving name to the newborn, performed by the parents or the local *teungku*) also reflects the educational value from Islamic teachings. The name given to the baby is typically contained in and associated with the prayers the baby's parents request. The traditions mentioned are expected to result in Tawheed children who have good personality, politeness in communication, healthy body and spirit, and cleverness in doing anything (Samad, 2015).

Furthermore, the social relations of the local community are also strengthened with the deployment of the *bo lawe* tradition (in Southwest Aceh, called *peutron aneuk*—stepping the baby's feet to the ground) (Ervina, 2017). The relationships can be seen from the teamwork among the people involved. As a result, *silaturahmi* (friendship), the spirit of cooperation and the reciprocal relationships between each other are increased.

In Indonesia, many pregnant women still consider pregnancy as a normal, natural, and unexceptional matter. Such an assumption indirectly makes them fail to realize the importance of pregnancy examination in order to detect the high risk of giving birth (Apriliawati, 2011, pp. 116-117). In fact, nutritious foods also affect their health. Abstinences related to the pregnancy appeared within the communities in particular areas of Indonesia. The pregnant women are prohibited from consuming eggs, which may lead to difficulties in childbirth. They also are banned from eating meat, which may cause excessive bleeding. Those abstinences lead to the lack of nutritious food for the health of the pregnant women and their babies. In addition, other beliefs bring adverse effects to health—i.e., that pregnant women should decrease their food consumption in the eighth and ninth months of pregnancy. For instance, they are not allowed to eat foods served on a large plate; they are banned from sitting in front of the home's door; they are forbidden to go out of their home at dusk and in the evening. The abstinences mentioned, which become local tradition, should not

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be violated. Besides, the pregnant women must keep their baby healthy. Therefore, they are not permitted to do heavy work that can lead to disorders of the fetus.

On the process of giving birth, traditional midwives (called *ma blien* in Acehnese) are the dominant alternative to facilitate that process, particularly in rural areas. The selection is based on several factors such as the distance, cost, and ergonomics. Even though they have already undergone the labor training, they still carry out the traditional practices. However, the existence of traditional midwives in Aceh cannot be separated from the local traditions, specifically for the process of pre- and post-childbirth, which is extremely risky (Fuadi, 2018). Medically, the classic causes of maternal deaths in childbirth are bleeding, infection, and eclampsia (disorientation or seizures in pregnancy). Such conditions cannot be addressed if decision-making does not occur as soon as possible. Responding and decision-making become vital and should consider the factors mentioned above. Hence, the Islamic educational value apparent in this case is the appropriateness of the decision-making to bring the pregnant women to the right place, either the hospital or the clinic of the traditional midwives. In Riau, one of provinces in Sumatra, intervention of the husband or parents/parents-in-law contributes greatly to determining decisions, beliefs, myths, and taboos concerning pregnant women (Kartikowati & Hidir, 2015).

After labor is complete, other abstinences and items to be avoided by pregnant women and their babies reappear. For instance, pregnant women are urged to eat certain foods to increase breast milk, to have massage on their stomach in order to return it to its original position, to put certain ingredients and herbs in their vagina for cleaning the blood and fluids from childbirth, and to drink medicinal tonic to strengthen the resistance of their body. Hence, the process of pregnancy and giving birth occurring among the people of Kluet Timur contains Islamic educational values of custom, Tawheed, health, and appropriate decision-making.

THE RITUAL OF CIRCUMCISION

The people of Kluet Timur believe that the transition of children into adulthood is a crucial period. They are expected to have a sense of responsibility toward themselves, their families, and their communities. *Peusunat* (circumcision) is regarded as a statement that a boy has left his childhood to embrace his maturity.

The value of health is also reflected in the *peusunat* ritual. Circumcision can keep the genital from pubic inflammation or disease. It also provides immunity against urinary irritation, prevents occurrences of sexually transmitted infections like Herpes, Chlamydia, Gonorrhea, and uterine cancer (for women), and restrains malignant cancer occurring in the genitals (Tim Riset Penerbit Al-Qira'ah, 2010). Besides being able to recognize his genital function, a circumcised boy also has

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implemented the manifestation of Islamic sharia. *Peusunat* teaches cleanliness, beauty, and protection in the desire of a circumcised boy.

By employing *peusunat*, a boy is already considered to have entered puberty, so he must perform the obligatory prayers, Ramadan fasting, and other suggested practices taught in Islam. In addition, organizing a ritual of *peusunat* is an action to conserve and uphold the preservation of the local customs. The cultural values are not only transferred to the boy, but also directed to the boy's family and the ritual attendants. Additionally, discussing the matters of *peusunat* ritual contribute to Islamic educational values.

Therefore, regarding the *peusunat* ritual, the people of Kluet Timur who help and participate in the event have indirectly implemented the social values. The implementation of *peusunat* was first performed by the Prophet Abraham. It is the most religious practice recommended in Islam (Asy-Syarbini, 1995, p. 540). However, various procedures for its implementation have existed in each area of Aceh, including Kluet Timur. As mentioned earlier, the local people have their own respective roles in the *peusunat* ritual. Everybody involved in the ritual works for one goal. Their social values are reflected in their cooperation. They do not expect rewards and wages for their involvement. As a result, that situation strengthens the familiarity among participating individuals.

THE RITUAL OF MARRIAGE

The ritual of marriage is an essential effort for the formation of a new family. A variety of special stages are observed in carrying out the ritual, including selecting an appropriate partner for life and the consent of both parties around the bride and groom. These are done for the sake of getting blessings from Allah, the Almighty, and performing the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H. Besides, the ritual is employed to obtain legal recognition from the community. This also applies to the people of Kluet Timur. They carry out the ritual of marriage in three phases, namely, before, during, and after the ritual of marriage. However, as time has gone by, the phases are abandoned because they require substantial time for their implementation. Therefore, in order to preserve the cultural sustainability of Kluet Timur, the awareness of the social values contained in the ritual of marriage is redeveloped by the local people. They want to implant such awareness into the younger generation's perspective.

The values of cooperation and conciliatory consensus are also contained in the ritual of marriage. The people of Kluet Timur usually discuss every problem, either the minor problems happening in the family or the major ones in the village. In the ritual of marriage, its procedures are of great concern. This can be seen in the process

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of *nendok wari*, arranged in the context of family and the context of community. The result becomes a reference for the implementation of the ritual.

The sense of togetherness shown by the people of Kluet Timur also occurs right in the process of marriage, for instance, in decorating the dais, looking for the firewood, making the cooking kitchen, and preparing the food and cooking utensils. Those activities reflect the mutual values within the community (Manan, 2014). The existence of those values is supposed to be kept and maintained, in order to conserve the Kluet Timur community's identity. Consequently, a sense of empathy, sympathy, and familiarity is established among the individuals.

THE RITUAL OF DEATH

The ritual of death cannot be parted from human life, according to the ancestral values and traditions embodied in them. The gathering of residents or relatives, who attend the ritual of death, symbolizes the solidarity of values among them. Yet, current globalization erodes those values, and that has also happened among the people of Kluet Timur. It is not completely abandoned, and a sense of concern for one of the neighbors who has died remains apparent. They still have a willingness to attend the funeral home to give donations in the form of food or money. They also come to wait upon the family left by the deceased. Even the people of Kluet Timur prepare the needs of *fardhu kifayah* for the dead, including the rituals of bathing, shrouding, praying, and burying. This is no different from the ritual of death in the Southeast Aceh, which also contains religious and social values (Yun, 2017).

Social values and cooperation are also clearly seen after those parts of the death ritual are implemented. The people of Kluet Timur believe that a death is a natural process of displacement between the uterus, the world and the hereafter. Accordingly, they share mutual help for the families of the dead by participating in the implementation of the death *kenduri*, including reciting *tahlilan* or *talkin* for the deceased (Manan, 2016). A similar ritual also occurs in Gorontalo, South Sulawesi called the *hileyiya* tradition (Darwis, 2015). Both death rituals in Aceh and Gorontalo have the same purpose, i.e., to remember the dead and to beg for forgiveness from Allah, the Almighty. In each stage of the ritual, the people involved indirectly develop the value of fraternity among them. Such a sense of tolerance becomes a unique aspect of the death ritual performed.

CONCLUSION

There are Islamic educational values in the life-cycle rituals that the people in Kluet Timur observe. In the ritual of pregnancy, pregnant women are taught to inculcate the values of Tawheed and Islamic education in their baby. The value of health can also be seen in how they take care of the baby and how to determine the decisions to address a problem that may appear before and after giving birth. The values of responsibility and health in the children who get to be adults are also developed in the *peusunat* ritual. In the ritual of marriage, the people of Kluet Timur together contribute to the event. As a result, they tacitly share deliberations, consensus, and togetherness. Meanwhile, the values of solidarity and cooperation can be noticed clearly in the death rituals, based on the local people's belief that they are definitely going to need the help in advance of needing it. Therefore, the above-mentioned rituals become a unique tradition to be conserved.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Hadih maja is one of the oral poems or literary works containing messages or satire.
- ² The people of Kluet Timur acknowledge several debts that should be paid by the parents. The third debt means organizing the ritual of circumcision for their boy.
- ³ A mouthpiece is one or several people who are assigned to deliver the message related to the celebration or to invite friends to be present at the event later. Nowadays, this mouthpiece is in the form of an invitation card that has been printed neatly.
- ⁴ Rice drying is the process of grinding the rice through the rice-grinding machines, performed in order to produce rice for the use on the *peusunat* day.
- ⁵ *Mekacar* is applying the henna that has been finely ground. It is smeared on the fingers, toes, and around the soles of feet of the child to be circumcised.
- ⁶ The wages in question can be in the form of a packet of cigarettes or depend on the request of the importers. Usually they do not ask for things that are impossible to give.
- ⁷ The amount of *mahar* (dowry) in Kluet community has been stated since 1978. The highest amount of which is 8 *mayam* of pure gold (1 *mayam* = 3,3 grams). The lowest amount of it is two *mayams* of pure gold. The amount of the dowry can exceed more than 8 *mayams*, when the *ijab qabul* (wedding contract) takes place, however only 8 *mayams* of the dowry amount are mentioned. The extra amount of the dowry is considered as the present of the groom to the bride.
- ⁸ *Perimpean* is the person who decorates with henna over the arms and hands of the bride. Normally, *perimpean* is the wife of the uncle's bride. In the tradition of Kluet, *perimpean* is called *puhun*, the daughter of whom is also mentioned as *perimpean*.