Reading Tradition in Informative and Symbolic Theory: 
The Case of Robo-Robo Tradition in Nuguk Hamlet, 
Melawi District, West Kalimantan

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Abstract  
Research on the Robo-robo tradition of Nuguk hamlet has never been done by researchers. Therefore, this research is important to be conducted. This research is a type of field research with a narrative-analytic method and uses anthropo-sociological theory as a framework for analysis. The research locus is Nuguk hamlet, Melawi district, West Kalimantan. The conclusions of this article are: First, the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet, is quite different from the implementation in other places, both in the means, processions, and prayers that are read in the tradition. Second, historically-archeologically, the rising of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet was inspired by information from the texts of the Qur’an that were understood by the community. Third, in the construction of the symbolic interpretation theory, there are several meanings or receptions by the Nuguk hamlet community regarding the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition, both in the procession, the ingredients, and the prayers in it.

Keywords: Robo-robo Tradition, Nuguk hamlet, Melawi, West Kalimantan

Introduction  
Indonesia is a heterogeneous country, in terms of religion, local faith, language, customs, and rituals or traditions. (Parwanto, 2021, Translation Team of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015, War’i, 2020). Rites or traditions in Indonesian society are very diverse, such as death rites, wedding rites, and other local rites. Included among local rites or traditions that are well known in Indonesia is the tradition of the fourth week of the

In West Kalimantan, historically the Robo-Robo tradition was carried out by the Bugis Mempawah community to commemorate the arrival of the first king of the Mempawah kingdom, Opo Daeng Manambon (Suwarni, 2017). Naming Robo-Robo – taken from the Arabic diction ar-Rabi’ or ar-Rabi’ah which means ‘four’, due to the implementation of this tradition held on the fourth week of the month of Safar (Hastiani, Rustam, 2019, Sagir & Hasan, 2021). Initially, the Robo-Robo tradition was indeed identical to the local ritual practices carried out by the Mempawah community, namely with a series of traditions carried out on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays in the month of Safar – with the main event being prayer and eating together by the river, and do waste (food scraps) as a symbol of unlucky waste in the reality of life (Kusnita et al., 2017).

Over time, Robo-robo has not only been carried out by the Mempawah community but is also carried out by several communities in West Kalimantan, including people in the Melawi district, especially in the Nuguk hamlet community. Then from the historical-archeological point of view, the hierarchy of implementation and meaning of symbols in the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet is quite different from the Mempawah society. Therefore, it is this distinctive construct that stimulates researchers to study this theme further. Apart from other reasons that Robo-robo in Nuguk hamlet has never been studied by researchers. Although indeed, research RoboRoho behas en carried out by some researchers, both in West Kalimantan and other regions.

The research was done by Marsiah, et al. about the Nilai dan Makna Robo-robo Sebagai Pelestarian Budaya Lokal (Marisa, Agus Sastrawan Noor, nd); Harris, et al. on the Implementasi Nilai Robo-robo Sebagai Penguat Pendidikan Karakter (Hairs, Astrini, 2019) Saripaini, on Karakteristik Spiritual dalam Robo-robo; Rian, et al., about Makna Simbolik dalam Tradisi Rebo
Wekasan, Nurul, about Ritual Jeknek Sappara (Bath Sapa): Semiotic Analysis and many previous studies have tended to only studies at the values in the Robo-robo tradition, and Robo not gone too far into touching the archaeological aspects of the establishment of the tradition, because it could be that each region has a different reception about the establishment of the Robo-robo tradition. robo, or see the symbolization in the Robo-robo tradition with the glasses of social anthropology, so this is what will be studied further in this paper.

The focus of this research: 1) Exposing the historical-archaeological origin of the Robo-robo tradition in the Nuguk hamlet community; and 2) Explaining the values of symbolic interpretation of symbols contained in the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet. While the benefits of this research are the development of scientific treasures and literature on the Robo-robo tradition as well as to describe how the differences in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet with other regions.

Method

This research is a type of qualitative case study and field research model. Then the research method used is the narrative-analytical method by collecting, describing, and then analyzing the data with the theory or concept offered. The theories or concepts used in this study are: 1) Informative and performative conceptual studies in the study of the living al-Qur’an and hadith as an analytical construction in exposing the archeology or history of the Robo-robo tradition; and 2) The theory of symbolic interpretation introduced by several sociologists-anthropologists in constructing the values and symbols contained in the Robo-Robo tradition in the Nuguk hamlet.

The determination of primary data sources in this research using purposive sampling, which is a model of determining or selecting sources with certain considerations. So, in determining the sources in this study, the researcher will interview authoritative figures or religious elite figures and local traditional leaders – who know in detail about the Robo-Robo tradition, such as Mr. Murni (Religious and Customary Elder), Mr. Umar (Religious Elder), Mr. Minan (traditional elder), Mr. Hengki (Chairman of the Mosque),
Mr. Meli (Religious Elder) Then the secondary sources in this study are other relevant works of literature in hard and soft file.

Mapping the Study on *Robo-Robo* Tradition in Indonesia

The mapping carried out here is to see the study of the *Robo-robo tradition* in an informative and performative perspective in the study of the *living* al-Qur'an and hadith. The informative perspective in the study of the *living* al-Qur'an and hadith is a tradition born and formed because it is stimulated and inspired by the text. Texts in the sense of the Qur'an, hadith, the words of scholars (*ulama’*), or even literature written by religious elite figures. While the perspective performative is in a tradition that religious texts are read, both pieces of verses of the Qur'an, letters from the Qur'an, hadith, pieces of certain readings with certain numbers, and others and sometimes accompanied by deeds or actions. In addition to mapping the informative and performative aspects, this sub-chapter will also try to expose the symbols of locality on *Robo-robo tradition* in Indonesia based on studies that have been carried out by previous researchers. Regarding the mapping of *Robo-Robo studies* in Indonesia, consider the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>The name of tradition</th>
<th>Living Al-Qur’an and Hadith Perspective</th>
<th>Locality Symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1 The symbols of locality referred to here are things that are done by certain people or in certain areas in the *Robo-robo* tradition variable.
| Siti Nurjannah – Living Hadis : Tradisi Robo-Wekasan di Pon-Pes MQHS. Al-Kamaliyah, Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon. Diya Al-Afkar Vol. 5 No. 1 (2017). | Rebo Wekasan | Hadis : 1. La adwa wala thiyrata wala hama wala shafara (Hr. Bukhari dan Muslim). 2. Inna yaumal arba'i yaumu nahlis mustamir. | Sunnah prayer of tolak bala: reading Qs. al-Fatiyah, al-Kautsar (17x), al-Ikhlas (5x), an-Falaq dan an-Nas (1x). reading Qs. Yasin up to verse salamun qaulan mirabbirahim (amount 313x). and reading tolak bala` pray by several amounts. | Ngapem, giving charity cakes (apam), and Tawurji, giving donations to orphans – as a symbol of gratitude. |
| Wardatun Nadhiroh – Amalan di Hari Arba’ Mustamir…Matang Ginolon Pandawan (Banjar). Shayadah, Vol. 4 No. 2 (2016). | Arba’ Mustamir | Understanding the verse of Qs. Al-Anbiya : 87 by Busu (Kyai) Syarkawi. | Syahadatain (3x), Istighfar (100x), Ayat Kursi (7x), Qs. al-Fil (7x). (Qs. al-Anbiya : 87 sebanyak 2375x). | The village salvation, writing wafak on a plate then rinse and drink the water, and take a Safar bath. |
| Riyan Rahmawati, dkk – Makna Simbolik Tradisi Rebo Kesan (Kabupaten Garut). Komunikasi, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2017). | Rebo Kesan | - | Sunnah prayer of tolak bala: reading Qs. al-Fatiyah, al-Kautsar (15x), al-Ikhlas (5x), an-Falaq and an-Nas (1x). | Rebo Kesah (charity), tolak bala water (holiness symbol), Dupi (Tolak Bala symbol) dan leupeut (Strength symbol), and Bugis (Faith |
symbol), making the cakes are made from sticky rice with a certain shape.


Tabel: Mapping of Robo-robó Studies in Indonesia

Based on the table above, the articles published represent the studies of Robo-robó in Indonesia in an informative and performative perspective on the study of the living al-Qur'an and hadith. The mapping provides an overview of the various names, typologies of implementation, and meanings of the Robo-robó tradition in each region. Thus, it is important to do this mapping to see how the previous studies differ from the studies conducted in this article so that they do not only look at the novelty of the study but will be able to map out the characteristics and contributions of this study in the treasury of Robo-robó studies in Indonesia.

Result and Discussion

Overview of Geographical and Demographic Nuguk Hamlet

Based on Regional Regulation Number 32 of 2007 concerning the formation or expansion of new sub-districts in Melawi district, initially, there were only 7 sub-districts to 11 sub-districts. Including the impact of the division of the sub-district into a causative change in the structure of the village and the sub-villages under it, and among the hamlets that have changed in a semi-regional structure is the hamlet of Nuguk. Initially, the hamlet of Nuguk was a hamlet belonging to the village of Nanga Man.
However, after the division of the sub-district, the hamlet of Nuguk became a hamlet that was incorporated into the village of Tebing Karangan (Tim Desa, 2012).

Geographically, the Nuguk hamlet is a hamlet that is included under the auspices of the Nanga Pinoh sub-district, Melawi district. The distance from downtown Nanga Pinoh (Kota Juang) to the hamlet of Nuguk is about 50 km, and can be reached by two alternatives, namely land and water or river transportation. If taken by land transportation (motorbike) it will take about 1.5 – 2 hours, and if using the river route using a klotok boat, it can take about 3–4 hours of travel. Then in terms of regional boundaries, the Nuguk hamlet is bordered by several hamlets, in the east, it is bordered by the nomad hamlet (Nanga Man village), the North is bordered by the Nanga Man hamlet village (Nanga Man village), the South is bordered by the Otak Darat hamlet (Tebing Karangan village) and The west is bordered by the hamlets of Lahang and Tebing Karangan (Tebing Karangan village) (Parwanto, 2019).

Then demographically, from the latest data in 2021, the number of Family Heads (KK) in Nuguk hamlet is around 70 families, and the details of the number of men and women have not been updated by the village. Then in terms of economy and livelihoods, the majority of the people of Nuguk hamlet are rubber farmers (dragging/tapping rubber), although some work in gold mining or become laborers in plantations or oil palm companies. Then from a socio-religious perspective, the people of Nuguk hamlet are 100% Muslim and there is one mosque as a means of worship (Tim Desa, 2012).

Furthermore, in terms of local traditions or rites, several traditions are often carried out by local people incidentally, for example, traditions in death rites, such as Shalat Maghrib-Isya di rumah yang berduka selama 7 hari (Parwanto, 2015), Alms Tradition on Seventh Day (nujuh hari), Niga Day (tiga hari) Traditions, 25, 40, 100, a year, 1000. Traditions in the rite of cultivation, such as Ngumpan Umo and Mopat Padi. Traditions in medicine, such as Belian, Betopas, Behadi, and Betomung. Traditions in marriage, such as Menoit Penganten, Nyangkau Jalo, and Bekasai. Traditions at certain times, causes, and months, such as Berowah (entering the month of Sha’ban), Beselamat-Tulak Balo (when a nightmare or escape from reinforcements and dangers),
including the Robo-robo tradition which is carried out when entering the last week of the month of Safar.

**Procession of Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk Hamlet**

Robo-robo tradition is generally held on the fourth Sunday in the month of Safar. Then in its implementation, there are differences both in the aspect of the presentation, procession, and even the prayers that are read in it, and a series of others in the implementation hierarchy. Thus in the reality of the Nuguk hamlet community, the implementation of Robo-robo in the hamlet is quite interesting and unique and in its implementation, the Nuguk hamlet community divides into two groups, namely the upstream community and the downstream community, however – the implementation remains the same, namely on Wednesday, the fourth Sunday, Safar month. Several things can be photographed in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in the reality of the Nuguk hamlet community.

First, eat in the field; the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition by eating in the field is mostly done in the reality of the people in the interior of the Melawi river, including the people of Nuguk hamlet. Initially, the implementation of eating in this field – required by elite local community leaders – used natural means, for example using coconut leaf mats or using banana leaf mats, or mats made of woven bamboo or woven kajang leaves. This is done to express gratitude to Allah SWT for all the blessings that Allah has bestowed on humans in the universe (Pure Interview, 27 March 2022). However, over time, the implementation of this locality-natural facility began to fade, so it was replaced with a base such as a tarpaulin or plastic mat that was already widely sold in the market. According to Minan, the change does not mean diminishing gratitude for the blessings that have been given by God, but what he wants to emphasize is the essence of the implementation of the Robo-robo, not the means of implementation (Interview, Minan, March 28, 2022).

In line with what Minan said above, according to Meli, the shift in the use of facilities and infrastructure in the implementation of the Roborobo tradition is not the essence to be achieved, that the expression of gratitude is not only manifested by the use of natural tools, but the most
important thing is the prayers that are said in the implementation of the *Robo-robo tradition*. The prayers that are offered are also not just any prayers, but prayers that have the nuances of 'safety and rejecting reinforcements'. So, the reading of prayers, and *spirits* – as contained in *tahlil* or other similarly nuanced prayers, is not allowed to be read in the *Robo-robo tradition* that is performed. As the following interview excerpt:

“Suko bukan cumo dipantau dari alat yang kito pakai, tapi dengan do’o-do’o yang kito baco pado ari yok. Jadi yang palen penteng je do’o yang kito baco, mako am do’o yang dibaco pun harus do’o selamat tulak balo, bukan do’o yang lain ubo doa *rowah* dan yang semacam e. Jadi harus sesuai am (Terj : Rasa syukur bukan hanya dilihat dari alat atau sarana yang digunakan, tetapi dengan do-doa yang dihaturkan kepada Allah pada hari itu. Jadi yang peling penting adalah doa yang dipanjatkan, maka doa yang dibaca adalah doa yang bernuansa 'selamat dan tolak bala, bukan doa yang lain, apalagi doa *rowah* atau *arwah*, jadi harus disesuaikan) ((Meli, 28 Maret 2022))”

![Figure 1: Procession of the Implementation Robo-robo Tradition in Nuguk Hamlet](source)

Source: Researcher's Documentation

Second, the use of symbols in a series of *Robo-robo implementations*. For example, the use of andong leaves (*sabang*) is inserted into a vessel or teapot filled with water. Then after the procession is complete, the water in the teapot is used for drinking and – if there is still more water, it is used for sprinkling the body, the home environment including the cupboard, and

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Regarding the use of symbols such as andong leaves (Nuguk: *Sabang leaves*) in teapots and mats made of woven kajang leaves or tarpaulins, pay close attention to Figure 1.
several other places. To avoid reference from jinn and other evil creatures because the water is believed to have 'power and privilege' because prayers have been read during the implementation of the tradition. Furthermore, the use of symbols of banana leaves which are woven like diamonds, but not filled with rice. Then the webbing is made according to the number of family members. After that, the weave is stored in a small lanting along with the meat, bones, and all the leftover food from the *Robo-robo implementation* then washed away. This is done as a symbol of getting rid of all forms of 'bad luck and evil' that occurred in that one year. This is what Murni said:

“Macam-macam am yang dipuloh saat Robo-robo, ubo muloh anyam daon pisang, dipuloh samo dengan ikuk yang ado di laman kito, muloh rote lintang natai, ngumparan batu, tapi tuk kadang dah jarang am ado, lolu te je mala ado am. Tuk kan nak dipuloh aok nok salah, karne ke pewakel kito memuанг sial’, kadang pun moleh rote lontang natai, dan laen e (Ter) : Berbagai macam yang dibuat dalam pelaksanaan tradisi Robo-robo, misalnya membuat anyaman daun pisang sebanyak jumlah anggota keluarga, membuat kue lintang natai, ngumparan batu. Namun – yang semacam ini telah jarang dibuat, tetapi masih ada terkadang, dan tidak salah jika dibuat, karena sebagai bentuk simbol membuang keburukan yang ada pada kita. Termasuk membuat seperti kue mirip angka delapan dan lainnya’ (Interview, Murni 27 Maret 2022).

So based on the narrative from Murni above, it explains that some things are starting to fade in the implementation of the tradition. For example, as making symbols for banana leaves, and making *lintang natai cakes* – according to Meli, some things in tradition are fading because they are influenced by the inevitable culture of modernity. Even further, Meli explained that sometimes it's not just things that are in the tradition that started to fade, but – many local traditions or cultures are starting to be abandoned. In fact, according to him, the preservation of local culture is important as a reminder of the nation's ancestors and as a treasure trove of their heritage that can be passed on to future generations – because not everything in this tradition is contrary to Islamic values, but there are also good values in it, including values of togetherness and intimacy (Interview, Meli, 27 March 2022). Furthermore, in addition to the use of the andong leaf symbol (Nuguk: *Sabang leaf*) and woven banana leaves, during the reading of prayers in the *Robo-robo tradition* – the cupboard door must be
opened, it is hoped that the prayers that are read or the blessings of the prayers that are read enter all corners of the house including the cupboards in the house (Umar, 27 March 2022).

Third, sorting the prayers that are read in the tradition. Prayers that are read in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet – are not arbitrary. So, those who read prayers are people who understand the reality of the rites that are carried out or carried out. The Nuguk hamlet community recognizes two general classifications of prayer, namely the *congratulatory prayer-totak bala* and the *prayer of the spirit*, and these prayers are read on different occasions or traditions – they cannot be generalized to certain events or traditions. As Murni said that – not only focus on the prayer but also on the opening of the prayer. For example, for prayer for safe-tolak bala, is opened with "sayyidil awwalina wal akhirina wassalim ...". As for the rowah or spirit prayer, it is opened with "shadaqallul 'azhim wa sadaqa rasulun nabi habibul karim .." (Interview, Pure 27 March 2022). So, the opening of the prayer is 'less ethical' (from the perspective of the local community) if it is reversed, in the sense that the prayer for the soul is opened with the prefix of the opening prayer of *congratulation-reject reinforcements* and vice versa.

Included in the Robo-robo tradition, Hengki said that in the Robo-robo tradition, the ideal prayer to be recited is a prayer of *salvation and repulsion*, because at the Robo-robo moment it is a moment of asking for safety, and togetherness and asking God to save him from all harm, disasters, and calamities (Interview, Hengki 28 March 2022). Umar further explained that the *congratulatory prayer in question is a congratulatory prayer commonly known as the prefix Allahu mma inna nas `aluka sala matan fiddin..." while the prayer for refusing reinforcements are of various kinds, but the most frequently used in the reality of the Nuguk hamlet community is the prayer of Allahummaftah lana afwabal khair, wa afwabal barakah ....” Or Allahumma bihaqqil fa tiha wa sirril fatihah ....” (Umar interview, 27 March 2022). Thus, in the implementation of the salvation tradition and similar traditions, the prayer that is read is a prayer of *salvation and repulsion from reinforcements*, including in the Robo-robo event because it is considered a tradition that has the nuances of asking for safety and rejecting all forms of disaster and evil.
‘Text Information’ as a Stimulation of the Formation Robo-robo Tradition in Nuguk Hamlet

Not a few traditions in Indonesia that were born or in these traditions were read religious texts with certain beliefs. This stimulated Sam D. Gill to map the typology and position of religious texts in a tradition. According to Gill, there are at least two forms of text position in a tradition which he termed informative and performative. Informative tradition is a tradition that is born, develops, and continues to be inspired by texts, be it the Qur'an, hadith, or other religious texts, in the sense that traditions that are born are the fruit of information that is proclaimed by a text without being read. religious texts in the tradition. Meanwhile, performative is a tradition in which religious texts are read and sometimes accompanied by behavior or actions (in Alwi, 2019). : 34, 65, Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, 2017: 34) . So, the difference between informative and performative approaches lies in the position of the text in a tradition, whether the text is the foundation of the tradition (informative) or the text is read in the tradition (performative).

Informative and performative perspectives above, the Robo-robo tradition in the hamlet of Nuguk – can be categorized to accommodate informative terms in the position of the text as the background for the establishment of the tradition. In other words, the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet – was born because it was inspired by religious texts. As Umar said:

“Ku ningo dari sentuho dawen marik, orang yang taat agamo di kampong kito tuk, yo modoh ke Robo-robo tuk bukan semato-mato kebiaso e, tapi tuk termasok ado perintoh dari qero’an, misal nyuroh kito berkumpol di tali yang samo, tali agamo Tuhan” (Terj : Saya mendengar dari alm. Kyai Dawin, orang yang paling paham agama dan taat di kampung kita di masa lalu, beliau menurutkan bahwa tradisi Robo-robo bukan hanya sebuah tradisi biasa, namun diperintahkan di dalam al-Qur’an – misalnya ayat tentang perintah perkumpulan, bersama dalam tali yang satu, yakni tali agama Allah ((Wawancara, Umar, 27 Maret 2022)).

According to Umar’s statement above, it seems that the verse in question is Qs. Ali Imran [3] : 102. This was confirmed by Hengki, the head of the Nuguk hamlet mosque, according to him that the tradition was indeed inspired by the text of the Qur’an, Ali Imran [3]: 102. Furthermore,
Hengki added that the *Robo-robo tradition* is not just an ordinary get-together or ceremonial custom every year. But more than that, in the tradition various good values are carried out both socialist and religious values. Among the socialist values, such as forming intimacy, and togetherness – which may be in the previous days there were busy with all forms of each other's work so that they rarely met and kept in touch. So with the *Robo-robo* tradition event - where each other sits together and meets, or there may be misunderstandings in everyday life so that togetherness will soon melt away. While Islamic values, such as reading prayers in it to ask God for safety, and begging to be kept away from all forms of danger and disaster in life (Hengki, March 28, 2022).

So based on the explanations of the sources above, regarding the background of the establishment of a tradition, it can at least be concluded that: First, the text as a source; text position and function; in the *Robo-robo* tradition in the hamlet of Nuguk that the position and function of the text are as the basis for the establishment of a tradition, it is not read out in the tradition, because in the implementation of the *Robo-robo tradition* in the hamlet of Nuguk only prayers are read in the tradition, not reading certain verses or letters from the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet SAW.

Second, the text reader is; the authority of religious figures or institutions; a text will not provide meaningful implications if the text is not voiced. Thus, to make a text have 'power', the text must be voiced to be understood, translated, or interpreted. And people who are considered capable of interpreting and voicing a text in the community are people who are seen as religious elite figures, for example, the head of the mosque, *Mbah people*, and senior local religious figures. So also in the *Robo-robo tradition* in the hamlet of Nuguk, as stated by Umar that the text or text of Qs. *Ali Imran* [*3*: 102] understood as the foundation of the establishment of the tradition is not a general understanding by the public but understood and translated by Pak Dawin. Pak Dawin was not the chairman of the mosque, but he was the 'main priest' or the main reference for the community in religious matters at that time, so generally, the words that were issued by him in religious matters were considered good, would be carried out by the community, including in the implementation of the *Robo-Robo tradition*. 
Third, implementing text information; the executor of text information is the entire local community bound in a tradition. So, text information that has been translated by religious elite figures is manifested in the form of tradition. Then the forms, models, and patterns of traditions carried out by the community in the context of traditions inspired by texts - no longer refer to texts, they are purely community works and initiatives by the development of civilization and the progress of the times. Likewise, in the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet, the background of the establishment of the tradition was motivated by information in the text of the Qur'an. However, in the implementation, development, and continuity, the form and continuity of this tradition are shaped by the community according to the times and generations. In other words, each generation is represented by a certain religious figure and when that figure dies or is replaced and switches to a 'new' generation, the implementation or things in the tradition may also change.

For example, as in the description of the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet above, there are facilities or symbols in the series of Robo-robo traditions that are being abandoned by the community such as making woven banana leaves according to the number of family members, making local cakes (called lingtang natai cakes), and bait stones. Some of these traditions are starting to be abandoned due to the development of the times and generations, so additional things are starting to be abandoned, and things that are principal and considered important are maintained, such as gathering together to strengthen friendship and reading prayers. To clarify the process of forming until the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition in Nuguk hamlet, consider the following picture.

![Picture: The process of forming tradition]
**Robo-robo Tradition in Nuguk Hamlet in Symbolic Interpretation**

Clifford Geertz, George Herbert Mead, and Herbert Blumer have introduced the theory or concept of *symbolic interpretation* which is narrated by the diversity of naming and the model of the approach taken. These figures agree that the interaction between humans or humans with traditions or habits - cannot be separated from symbols. In the sense that the reality of human life cannot be separated from the symbols that surround it, and these symbols have a 'meaning' according to the normative reception that is permeated by a particular community or individual. So with this concept, the author will map the symbols in the implementation of the *Robo-robo tradition* in the Nuguk hamlet community. This mapping can also later be applied in looking at the configuration of other traditions that exist in Indonesia in general.

*First*, religious symbols, what is meant by religious symbols here is the use of religious 'elements' in tradition. In general, the *Robo-robo tradition* in Indonesia has religious symbols, both from the background of its establishment and implementation. As the author has mapped out above, in general, the *Robo-robo tradition* in Indonesia is motivated by religious texts, either the Qur'an, hadith, or literature written by religious elite figures. On the other hand, in its implementation it also accommodates many religious aspects, for example carrying out certain sunnah prayers, certain prayers and certain practices carried out in it. Likewise in the implementation of *Robo-robo* in Nuguk hamlet, historically - the formation of the *Robo-robo tradition* in Nuguk hamlet is not only the fruit of the creativity and initiative of the community but is motivated by verses from the Qur'an (Qs. Ali Imran [3]: 103). Then in its implementation, there are also religious symbols used, for example, the selection of prayers that are read, namely the prayer of repulsion and prayers of salvation, with the hope that from reading these prayers the local community will be protected from danger, and given salvation by God.

*Second*, the symbol of locality, what is meant by the symbol of locality here is the use of facilities and infrastructure in carrying out the tradition of using facilities or objects found in the area, but which has its value for the local community. Locality symbols in the *Robo-robo tradition* in Nuguk hamlet
are as follows: 1) Use of leaves or carriage leaves in vessels or teapots used for drinking or sprinkled into parts of the house. The use of this leaf is accepted by some people as a symbol of coolness in the family. Because apart from being used in the Robo-robo tradition, this leaf is also used by the local community to reduce heat during fever and headaches. As stated by Murni that the efficacy of this Andong leaf has been used for generations by local people as an alternative to traditional medicine and is still being used, with its properties that can reduce heat, then in the Robo-robo tradition, this Andong leaf is also used and included into a vessel or teapot, as a symbol and hope – can provide coolness to the family or community (Murni, 27 March 2022).

2) The use of banana leaves or woven mats from kajang leaves as a sitting mat in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition, this is done as a symbol of simplicity and togetherness so that humans will always remember and be grateful for the blessings that have been given by God. This is explained by Hengki and Meli that the use of banana leaves or woven mats from Kajang leaves – apart from being a symbol of simplicity and modesty, is also a symbol of togetherness in the distinction of status and social strata, meaning that in society there must be rich and poor, weak and strong, officials and the people, then in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition, everyone is equal, sitting and praying together on the same seat (Hengki and Meli, 28 March 2022). So, regardless of what platform they use in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition, the reception and meaning they carry out adequately represent Islamic values, namely teaching simplicity, togetherness, and strengthening relationships between people.

3) Woven banana leaves according to the number of numbers in one family and waste (throw away bones or food scraps to be washed away in the river). According to Minan, in the reality of previous ancestral traditions, it

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3 If traced further, the use of spices and leaves in the implementation of the tradition - also used by the people of Pulai Ingu (Singingi Regency) namely using cikorau leaves in the implementation of the Turun Boniah tradition, the leaves are gummy and are received by the local community as an exorcist of evil spirits or disturbing spirits. So, the use of leaves in the tradition is widely known by the public. Although there is indeed a distinction between the leaves used and the meaning understood in its implementation.
was carried out as a symbol of efforts to provide food for water watchers or the dangers that could occur in the water, so offerings needed to be given (Minan, March 28, 2022). Meanwhile, according to Umar (27 March 2022), he understands the pattern of this wasting tradition rationally that the essence of the value to be emphasized in the wasting tradition is how to behave wisely towards nature, for example - crocodiles, big fish or big snakes can cause danger or become a threat to the animals starving, therefore one of the forms of 'kindness' to animals is to give them food. So apart from being a form of compassion for animals, by giving the food – at least getting a reward from Allah if it is done properly and correctly.

So, claims of right and wrong or according to the Shari'a or not in a tradition cannot be directly justified, sometimes in a tradition there are good values in it, it's just mixed with something that needs to be fixed, both the belief, the way of implementation and others, so that must be wise in assessing it. (About Kicking Offerings, This is Abi Quraish Shihab's Word | Shihab & Shihab - YouTube, nd, Damayanti et al., 2020).

Third, the symbol of religion, what is meant by the symbol of diversity here is a symbol of harmonization between religions that are displayed in tradition. Geographically, the hamlet of Nuguk is adjacent to the hamlet of Otak, a hamlet where the majority of the population is non-Muslim. So, some traditions of the people of Nuguk hamlet and Otak hamlet help each other or at least attend each other, for example in the takbiran tradition around the night of Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, the Otak hamlet community also participates, including in the wedding tradition in Otak hamlet, the Nuguk hamlet community also come help. Included in the implementation of the Robo-robo tradition, sometimes people from the Otak hamlet come or visit, so they also participate in the implementation of the tradition. According to Minan, this is a good thing because in religion there are many commands for humans to be fair and kind to anyone, meaning that it is always to maintain a friendship, both intra-fellow and inter-communal (Minan, March 28, 2022).

Conclusion

The reality of the Robo-robo tradition in Indonesia has its uniqueness, starting from the name, the background of the birth of the tradition, to its implementation. In the naming, for example, some call this Robo-robo
tradition, Robo Kesaran, Rebo Wekasan, Je’ne Sapara, Mandi Safar, and other names. Meanwhile, from the historical aspect of the establishment of traditions, some are motivated by verses of the Qur’an, hadith, or even motivated by religious literature written by religious elite figures of their time. Likewise, in its implementation, some carry out sunnah prayers, readings, prayers, and certain practices, and carry out certain processions in them. So, substantially this Robo-robo tradition is a human effort to ask God for protection from all dangers and disasters at the end of the month of Safar, but in the process, all regions and communities have different typologies and receptions in carrying out the Robo-robo.

Furthermore, the author hopes that this paper can provide stimulation and reference for the next Indonesian activists of cultural studies and local traditions, both photographing the Robo-robo tradition or other traditions that exist in West Kalimantan and those in other areas within the scope of Indonesia. Using the various analytical tools offered, because the study of culture or local traditions is quite important to do other than as a development of knowledge treasures, as well as an exposition and introduction of Indonesian traditions to the outside world. So tradition is not only seen as an ancestral heritage that can be 'dead' crushed by the times but can also be 'revived' in written narratives, studies, and research.

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