Islam and Local Culture: The Practice of Hippun Tradition Among the Lampungnese Muslims

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Abstract: Although relation between Islam and culture has been a subject of many studies, our understanding of it is still problematic. Islam and local culture are often seen as two separated entities. In reality however, many local customs practiced by Muslim societies are loaded with values of Islamic teachings. Hippun, a tradition practiced by local Muslims in Lampung, South Sumatera, is the case in point. While Hippun is arguably rich with Islamic values, many people considered it as not Islamic. In order to enlighten the controversy, this paper is aimed at exploring the practice of Hippun tradition as well as examining its contribution to the development of Islamic moral values in Lampung societies. Based on a qualitative and descriptive research, this paper finds out that Hippun tradition consists of four processes, namely, Buwarah, Hippun Muari, Hippun Pemekonan, and Adat Hippun. During these processes a collection of rituals such as vocalizing shalawat, reciting Yasin verses from the Qur’an, prayer chanting, and incense burning was
carried out. Hippun has contributed to the spread and maintenance of Islamic and social values such as silaturahmi (sociability), brotherhood, musyawarah (deliberation), and social integration. It finally concludes that Hippun is a testament to the existence of acculturation between Islam and local culture in Lampung societies.

Keywords: Islam, Local Culture, Hippun Tradition, Pepadun, Lampung.

A. Introduction

As the biggest religion in Indonesia, Islam has developed a peaceful and tolerant character. This can be seen from its ability to adapt to local traditions and cultures existent in societies. The presence of Islam in the archipelago does not eliminate local traditions and cultures but it gives a new insight into how they are improved. This is in line with Hodgson's argument
that Islam throughout its history has never discarded local cultures but has tried to color them with universal values and teachings.\footnote{1}

It is not surprising that the relationship between Islam and culture in Indonesia has attracted the attention of many international scholars. Scholars such as Clifford Geertz, Wertheim, Robert Jay, and Howard M. Federspiel have maintained that Islam in Indonesia has a syncretic element, because it is mixed with the indigenous cultures.\footnote{2} Moreover, in his study on Muslim communities in coastal areas, Nur Syam argued that the nature of relationship between Islam and culture in Indonesia is collaborative, as a result of a joint construction between local elites and community members, processes of which are done in dialectical and continuous ways.\footnote{3}

While Muhaimin, in his study on Islam in Cirebon, has found that Islam in Indonesian has a distinctive nuance. Unlike Islam in the Middle East, it has been touched with local contexts. Islam in Cirebon is one that accommodates local traditions, such as a belief in numerology (or which is used to decide the best time perform particular ritual and non-ritual activities), a belief in spirits, and other rituals. Islam in Cirebon consists of a process of mutual acceptance (between religion and culture) which is considered appropriate.\footnote{4}

Although many studies on the relationship between Islam and culture have been carried out, there are still some serious problems. On the one hand, religious local traditions are not considered as part of the Islamic tradition. On the other hand, religious local traditions practiced by local Muslims in Indonesia reflect some values of Islam. Hippun tradition which is practiced by indigenous Muslims in Lampung is no exception.


Hippun is a tradition of deliberation carried out by Lampung native people, especially members of the Pepadun tribe. It has been performed from generation to generation. In its implementation, those who involved in the deliberation will prioritize consensus. Decision making must be aimed at achieving values of togetherness and collective benefits. However, the problem is that there are still many people who questioned whether Hippun is in conformity to Islamic values or not. A few members of the community are even indifferent toward their customs and culture, considering they are unnecessary and useless.

Although most Lampung people considered themselves true Muslims, many of them view that Hippun is contrary to Islamic teachings. However, some Lampung Muslim intellectuals, such as Himyari Yusuf, consider that many local traditions practiced by Lampung Muslims, including Hippun, are richly loaded with Islamic values. This contradiction often triggers a tension among members of native Lampung communities, causing a disharmony in society.

Because of this background, this study is aimed at examining the practice of Hippun tradition and its Islamic messages. Using a qualitative and descriptive method, this research is expected to provide a new understanding about Hippun tradition, so as to unravel the tensions that have so far existed around it in society.

B. **Hippun Tradition by the Pedadun Lampung Muslims**

1. **Definition**

Hippun tradition has been practiced over centuries, among the Lampungnese people, especially those belong to the Pepadun tribe (those mostly living in coastal areas of the province). Its name is originated from the Pepadun language, which means "to gather". The Lampungnese people also often called it by its other name, "Buhimpun" which has the same meaning. The history of its practice is not clearly recorded, because its practices are taught through oral methods, transmitted from generation to generation.

Literally, the word *hippun* means gathering. Practically, it refers to a meeting organized by all elements of society in order to carry out a plan. It is commonly referred to as a process of deliberation. The Lampungnese people initially used Hippun as a medium to discuss all problems that existed
in the community. However, with the changing of times, Hippun is now only organized for specific activities that occurred in the community. These activities include conflict resolution, cooperation planning, village infrastructure development, butyun events (wedding ceremony), and other activities.

Although there have been many transformations in society, members of the local community are still very enthusiastic to participate in Hippun. Aside from sustaining their customs, their participation in Hippun can also help them to share their burdens with other members in the community. This is because the purpose of Hippun is to form a cooperation and a working together.

Hippun tradition is said to have helped members of the community when they were in trouble. For example, when a family will host a wedding ceremony but it has a financial limitation, other members in the society will help the family through the practices of Hippun tradition. They will offer a help to the host family by presenting ‘gifts’ such as rice, vegetables, livestock, and their ‘work hours’ so that a proper wedding ceremony could be organized successfully. This spirit of ‘working together’ is done among the Lampungnese people under the virtue of their customs, namely "Beguai Jejama", which means cooperation.

Tradition is a valuable heritage bequeathed from the past and henceforth must be preserved so as to make it survive across times. Its existence cannot be removed from people’s lives, because as such will give social impacts. In addition, tradition regulates how individuals relate to other individuals, individuals with their groups, groups with groups, and even human beings with the natural surroundings.  

Tradition is also considered as part of culture because it contains living habits, and customs in society. One of the most fundamental elements of a tradition is the existence of information that is passed by the earlier generation to the next generation, both through written and oral forms. However, in most societies, tradition is passed on through oral

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methods. Tradition is bequeathed because it is considered as guidance for those who are still alive.7

The main source of tradition is habit, or "urf" in Arabic. If a habit is continuously performed in society, it will later develop into a custom and a culture. Tradition is also part of local wisdom of a local community. Its existence has a significant role in maintaining the harmony of social life.

Despite Hippun is a tradition of deliberation practiced among indigenous Pepadun Lampung Muslims in order to reach a consensus in various problems/plans occurred in society,8 this study focuses on Hippun tradition conducted to discuss a nayuh, or a wedding plan ceremony. While Hippun is done tentatively, it is mostly done when a member of the local community intends to held a wedding ceremony.

2. Procession of Hippun tradition

The Lampung Pepadun people still uphold and continue to preserve their customs. The traditional structure of their society is still maintained today. Hence the customary leadership is continued according to lineage. When a king has his first son, the boy will continue his throne to lead his customary members.

The appointment system of the throne is done through a title-giving ceremony (adok title). Usually, this is organized when the eldest son is going to have a wedding reception. The highest adok title is called the King as the main chairman in the traditional institution, then the leadership will be assisted by Batin (the head of each group). The Batin is in charge of carrying out traditional activities, supervising each customary member, and reporting on customary activities to the King.

People who are not included in the royal family will enter the Inner leadership which since ancient times has indeed been divided into four jumpu with their inner leadership. Members of the Inner will be presented the title Radin, Minak, Kemas, and Emas. They will be given tasks according to their respective degree levels.

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The practice of Hippun tradition has several stages. They are as follows:

First, *Buwarah*. It is a process of conveying the intent or desire of one party to another with a specific purpose. Buwarah is always done by Lampung people to show respect for each traditional leader, family member, and all closest neighbors. It is done before doing the Hippun stage. Buwarah is organized in a way that the party having a weeding plan must firstly submit their plan to the Batin (customary leader), family, and close neighbors. Upon their approval, a plan will be drawn up through a *Hippun Muariguna*.

Second, *Hippun Muari*. It is a gathering attended by large families of the party who want to hold events, some neighbors, and the invited Batin. This meeting aims to convey the plan to extended families, close neighbors, and traditional leaders. After the plan submission is complete, there is a handover of responsibility from the respective host to the representative of the traditional leaders. The appointed Batin is obliged to declare and invite other traditional leaders and the people of one *Pekon* (village) to participate in the next *hippun*.

Third, *Hippun Pemekonan*. This is a gathering attended by all people in the village in order to discuss the wedding ceremony. The village people are invited in two ways, first by inviting them from house to house, and second by inviting them through loudspeakers at nearby mosques. *Hippun Pemekonan* is carried out in a more formal way. Opened by a master of ceremony, activities of the gathering include a congregational chanting of *sholawat* (invocational prayers to the prophet Muhammad), recitation of some verses of the Qur’an, and a prayer chanting. The meeting is ended with big meals.

Items discussed in Hippun Pemekonan include date of the wedding, wedding procedures, tools and equipments needed for the wedding. Committee members of the wedding is also formed during the meeting. They are expected to work together in carrying out the wedding ceremony and the wedding party. The entire activities are performed in deliberation led by the selected Batin.

Fourth, *Hippun Adat*. It is an activity in which all traditional figures (the king and the four *Batin*) gather to review the results of previous stages of the Hippun tradition. This stage will determine how the traditional procession of the wedding will have to be held. Each community has a different traditional procession. This is determined by the caste level according to the father's lineage.
3. Religious rituals in Hippun tradition

Each tradition practiced by Lampung Muslims is claimed to have contained religious values, as is tradition of Muslim people in Middle Eastern countries. Likewise, Hippun tradition consists of various rituals of Islam, as will be explained below.

First, a chanting of *sholawat* (invocation prayer to the Prophet). Hippun is firstly begun by some greetings and opening speeches of the event. After that, the presenter will guide the people present in the congregation to read the *sholawat*. According to local beliefs, *sholawat* chanting is believed to bring soundness to every event and by reading the shalawat during the event, the local community expects an intercession from the Prophet both in the present life and the hereafter.

Second, recitation of the Yasin verses of the Qur’an. Recitation of Yasin is a ritual that must be performed when each event begins. Reading Yasin is intended to pray for the ancestors (elders of the village who have died). According to local beliefs, it is believed that people who have died, especially members of the family who host the marriage ceremony, will watch over from above every activity they were doing. Hence, to ask permission and wishes from them, they read the Yasin.

Third, prayer chanting (*doa*). Islam encourages its followers to start every action by supplicating a prayer first. Likewise, with the beliefs of the Lampung people, to start the *Hippun* tradition, they will start with prayers asking for safety, smoothness, and spaciousness in each subsequent activity.

Fourth, incense burning. Incense burning is a unique ritual in Hippun and it is the ritual that becomes a source of disputation among members of the community and local religious leaders. The incenses are burned to expel evil spirits and to summon good spirits for obtaining the blessings. This habit is indeed a characteristic of the community when they are about to do something, including the *hippun* to plan a wedding.

C. Islamic Values in *Hippun* Tradition

Hippun consists of both Islamic and social values. These values include the following:
First, *silaturahmi.* It means keeping brotherhood connections with other people (family members, relatives, and neighbors) by visiting each other’s houses. Gathering has an immense impact on social life because it is able to hone social sensitivity, expand brotherhood, and maintain unity. One of the positive values of Hippun tradition that has an important role in people’s life is the maintenance of silaturahmi.

Humans is a social being. In this regard, Islam recognizes the significance of mutual relationship between human beings. Good brotherhood between individuals is beautifully described by Islam as an intertwined chain. Islam even recognizes that brotherhood which is filled with love should not be limited by boundaries of ethnicity and nation. This is justified by the Qur’an, in section al-Hujarat number 13, which means: “O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes that you might get to know each other. Verily, the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowledgeable, and is All-Aware”.

Unfortunately, ties of brotherhood between members of community can dissolve over times if they are not well maintained. Humans in modern times are preoccupied with more dreams and ideals, making them running out of time for socialization. This is exacerbated by the advance of technology, which offers variously unprecedented tools and equipments for living, along with their negative and positive impacts. At first, they could interact with their surroundings, but with technology such as cellphones, they forget about their surroundings, because they are increasingly immersed in their activities in cyberspace or social media. Through Hippun tradition, however, one can get socialized (*silaturahmi*) and build

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13 Ibid., p. 132.
brotherhood ties (ukhuwah) with other members of the community. Thus, Hippun has a considerable impact on social life.

Second, Hippun can intensify the interaction between members of the community. The Lampungnese are a monoculture society, in a sense that members of the community tend to have the same culture, religion, and livelihood. Their busy activities do not have a direct impact on social cohesiveness of the community. However, as intensity of their interaction is decreasing, as such will slowly loosen the ties of solidarity and social integrity among members of the community. However, this problem can be overcome through the practice of Hippun tradition, in which all members of the community are encouraged to socialize, work, pray, eat and celebrate together. Hippun in this regard is in line with Islam’s teachings of silaturahmi, which literally means “to tie a connection with other people”.

Humans are social beings. They interact with each other and need the presence of other people to live with. Although a person can do many things on his own, many aspects of religion need to be done in groups so as to achieve greater values. Prayer is an example. Although it can be performed individually, in Islam, a prayer is said to best performed in a congregation so as to make its spirits and atmosphere feel much greater. Other examples include alms-giving and other charitable deeds. They are part of social actions since it is done for the sake of sharing with and helping other people. In this regard, it is safe to say that Islam pay greater attention to aspects of social life. The practice of Hippun, in this way, echoes particular values of Islam related to social interaction between members of the community.

Social interaction encouraged through the practice of Hippun reverberates the teaching of silaturahmi in Islam. According to Imam Nawawi, as quoted by Muhammad Rusdi, a Muslim man and woman must keep his/her silaturahmi with other people. If one is not in a speaking term with his/her fellows due to a dispute, they must start speaking to each other on the third day, no later than that. According to some scholars, the reason behind Islam’s allowance for those in a dispute to not speaking to each other for three days is because evil characters in one’s soul are difficult to control when one is in a state of anger. After three days, it is hoped that the anger between those in dispute will fade away. Because of this teaching, it is not
permissible for a Muslim men and women to have a dispute and not in a speaking term with their fellow humans more than three days.\textsuperscript{14}

According to Islamic rules, an effective way to resume a disrupted relationship is by giving a salam (a greeting). This does not mean that the person who started the salam is a loser. Instead he is the one who has a kind heart, because in Islam reconnecting a troubled social relationship is considered a noble action. In Islam it is believed that Allah will give its blessings over those who keep maintaining silaturahmi with their fellow humans, both when they are in the worldly life and in the hereafter. The practices of greeting are exchanged among members of the community who joined the Hippun tradition. In hindsight, as such is in line with a prophetic tradition, saying that, "If one of you meets your fellows, he/she should say a greeting; if a tree, a wall, or a rock is in between the two, and when they meet again, they should exchange a greeting again".\textsuperscript{15}

Third is the use of deliberation (musyawarah) methods.\textsuperscript{16} Hippun is done through a process of deliberation, and it highly prioritizes the use of consensus for every decision-making. Since the start of Hippun, all members of the village community were invited to gather in a large meeting for discussing the wedding ceremony preparations. The preparations range from the customary procedures, formation of the wedding committee, to other necessities needed be prepared for succeeding the Hippun. All of these were taking place openly (open-minded), so that all decisions that were made will not lead into misunderstandings.

Islamic teachings recognize the significance of deliberation for the social life of mankind. Deliberations in Islam are not only limited to solving


\textsuperscript{15} This Hadith has been narrated by Ahmad bin Sa’id al-Hamdani, from Ibnu Wahb, from Mu’awiyah bin Salihdari Abu Musa from Abu Maryam from AbuHurairah. Hadith narrated by Abu Daud. Abu Daud Sulaiman bin al-Asy’as bin Ishaq, Sunan Abi Daud, 4th ed. (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-’Ashriyah-Shiyadah, t.th.), 351.

\textsuperscript{16}The word musyawarah is a mashdar form of a verb that is composed of three letters, namely sy, w, r, which means starting something, revealing it, and expanding it. From the origin of the word if it is formed from \textit{f’il lafaz} with a faala pattern, then the word is formed: syawara-yuswiru-musyawratan, which means explaining, stating, offering, taking something and exchanging opinions Abu al-Husein ibn Faris Ibn Zakaria, \textit{Mujam Maqayis al-Lughat}, Vol. 3 (Mesir: Musthafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1972), 226.
state problems or social issues but also concerning personal issues, such as husband and wife relationships in rising children. Although it has a prominent position, it does not mean that all issues have to be solved by deliberation. According to the agreement of Muslim scholars, deliberation is suggested to use for solving matters that do not have their textual explanation in the Qur’an and the hadith, or problems that have texts that govern them *fat ghairu qath‘i al-dalalah* (the dalalah is not definite). In this way, Hippun is a tradition that deals with worldly affairs that can be discussed.

The use of deliberation has made those participating in Hippun to feel that their opinions were heard, and that no one was either dominating or being marginalized. Deliberation is influential in maintaining harmony and social integration of society. Therefore, deliberation in Hippun tradition is highly relevant with Islamic teachings.

Fourth, the involvement of entire members of the community regardless of their social class. Through the practices of Hippun, members of the community can play a role in society. Hippun is able to transcend social boundaries and statuses that exist in society. In all societies, the is always a variety of social classes which are established based on race, culture, and economy. The presence of these classes could trigger some life struggles that lead into social discrimination. But through Hippun tradition, people will unite regardless of social class, and in it, they will be given their rights to speak their voices.

Fifth, the principle of *gotong royong* (cooperation). Quraish Shihab, an Indonesian Muslim scholar on Qur’anic exegesis, suggests that a Muslim man and woman must have a concern about what is happening in their society, and not to become indifferent about it. He also said that there are dozens of verses in the Qur’an and hundreds of hadiths emphasizing the

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close relationship between faith and having a solidarity with other people in society.\textsuperscript{20}

Human beings were created by God into various tribes, groups, and other backgrounds, as well as given with different characteristics. They cannot live alone. Because they are social beings with a tendency to interact with each other, an ability to adapt with their surroundings, and a power to build a synergy. They will continuously need to complement each other and to live in a harmony with other people and their environments. Therefore, the principle of \textit{gotong royong} is an innate human trait, and it has been the hallmark of Muslims since the time of the Prophet.

According to Islamic historical records, there has never been such a warm welcoming ceremony like what the \textit{Ansar} people (the helpers) did towards the \textit{Muhajirun} during the Prophet time. The Ansar, adoring the Muhajirun, were ready to sacrifice and take an active role to ease the Muhajirun’s burdens. The intimacy and affection of the Ansar were extremely deep for the Muhajirun, making them inherit their property. They love their brothers, sacrifice their wealth, even more, are concerned about their brother even though they are suffering (\textit{itsar}). This is narrated directly in the Qur’an, Chapter al-

\textit{Hasyr} Number 9, which means the following:

“A share of the spoils shall also be given to those who made their abode in Madinah (the Ansar) and believed even before the arrivals of the Muhajirun and love those who migrated to them and entertain no desire in their hearts for things given to them, and prefer those Muhajirun over themselves, even though they themselves are poor. In fact, those who are saved from the greediness of hearts, are the ones who will achieve true success” (Qs. al-

\textit{Hasyr}: 9).

The lesson that can be learned from the verse above is that humans are social creatures. They need a sense of cooperation, tolerance, and tolerance. They need to help each other to achieve their goals. Because life purpose of all human beings is the same, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, group, and other primordial backgrounds: it is a true happiness in both this world and the hereafter. Therefore, through Hippun tradition, \textit{gotong royong} has a significant role in achieving common goals of the community.

In its implementation, Hippun requires mutual assistance from the community, as the purpose of Hippun tradition is to ask for help from the entire community for succeeding the wedding ceremony. Therefore, all works are conducted in cooperation and voluntary mode. This is also in accordance with Islamic teachings, that is, being helpful to other people. The host will be assisted by all members of the community, both in terms material and non-material goods and services. Through sharing and collaborating activities, Hippun is able to create moral bonds, solidarity and care among members of the community.

D. Conclusion

Hippun is a deliberation tradition practiced among the Pepadun Lampung Muslims when they planned a wedding ceremony or locally called Nayuh. This tradition has Islamic and social values. These values include silaturahim, working together, solidarity, and togetherness. Among the Lampungnese people, Hippun is not only seen as a means to deliberate a wedding plan in the community, but it also seen as a practice that has contributed to the establishment and maintenance of ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic unity) and social integration among the Lampung people. The brotherhood is formed through the intensity of interaction during the Hippun practices. The use of the deliberation methods and the establishment of mutual cooperation among members of the community preserve a sense of empathy, sympathy, and togetherness, as well as the involvement of entire community members, regardless of their social classes.

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