Executive summary

CULTURAL NEGOTIATION, AUTHORITY, AND DISCURSIVE TRADITION: THE *WAWACAN SEH* RITUAL IN BANTEN

By
Ade Fakih Kurniawan
SRN. 1530010007

DISSERTATION

The Program of Islamic Thought and Muslim Societies (ITMS)
The School of Graduate Studies
State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga
Yogyakarta
2019

The committee members:

1.   Prof. Noorhaidi, S.Ag., MA., M.Phil., Ph.D. (Promotor)
2.   Achmad Zainal Arifin, M.A., Ph.D. (Co-Promotor)
3.   Ahmad Norma Permata, M.A., Ph.D. (Examiner)
4.   Prof. Dr. Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, M.A., M.Phil. (Exmanier)
5.   Fatimah, M.A., Ph.D. (Examiner)
6.   Dr. Martin Slama (Examiner)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with cultural negotiation, authority and power identification, and the process of change in the *Wawacan Seh* ritual in Banten. Drawing on Talal Asad's theory of discursive tradition, it will answer the following research questions: Why does the *Wawacan Seh* tradition still exist in Banten? What elements in this tradition have been preserved and modified? What are the underlying factors that influence ritual change, and how are these factors involved in the discourse? In case of supporting data, I use both bibliographical and empirical investigations.

The *Wawacan Seh* (literally meaning: reading the *manāqib* of the Sheikh) is a ritual activity in which people gather to recite and listen to Sheikh ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani's *manāqib* (hagiography text). The text is written in an old form of the Banten-Javanese language, in a non-rhyming poetic form called *macapat* and is sang by a *juru maos* (reader) using a traditional chanting technique specific for these poems. The Bantenese perform this ritual to *ngalap berkah* (j/s. to seek God's blessing) and to obtain *kesakten* (j/s. supernatural powers). They also mostly perform it in pre-Islamic ways, such as by using various *sesajen* (j. offerings) and they do it during every life-cycle ritual (or rites of passage). In Banten, this ritual has become the "main ingredient" for almost all of Bantenese's performing arts and local religious traditions such as *debus, rudat, beluk, pencak silat*, and others.

In practice, the ritual often invites reactions from Universalist Muslims who deem the ritual "non-Islamic". The encounter of many traditions and cultures leads to discourse, and subsequently to new cultural negotiation. There are three outcomes in the discourse about the *Wawacan Seh* tradition: continuity, modified continuity, and discontinuity. As a continued but modified ritual, the *Wawacan Seh* undergoes changes that, to some extent, are attempts to adjust to cultural and social changes. There are three aspects of change in the ritual: *symbolic meaning, function*, and *structure*. These changes can be analysed from the new modified forms of the ritual such as *maca silsilah*, *Manakiban*, and *istigosah kubro*. The discourse involves three influential elements: *subjects* (such as religious discourse in relation to the expression of local Islam between Localists - Moderates - Universalists), *events* (such as migration, education, decrease of ritual guide successors), and *conditions* (such as modernism, rationalism, globalism, transnationalism, and political-economic conditions).

The changes in the *Wawacan Seh* ritual not only mark significant changes in an objective form of culture but also in the sense of ontological, social, and power relations inherent in it. These changes indicate that there are other, more systematic and structured changes that surround cultural agents, simultaneously at the level of social interaction, power relations, and structures of authority, as well as in terms of these agents' worldview and their religious perspective. In the sense of theoretical implication, drawing on Asad's theory of discursive tradition, it inevitably led me to decipher the power relation. Even so, although on many occasions, Asad criticized Geertz's approach to interpretation and symbolic meaning, this dissertation shows that both theories (Geertz's interpretive and symbolic meaning and Asad's power relations and practices) cannot be separated nor can they exclusively run on their own.

Cultural Negotiation, Authority, and Discursive Tradition: The *Wawacan Seh* Ritual in Banten

Ade Fakih Kurniawan, S.Th.I., M.Ud.

I. INTRODUCTION
A. Background

    This dissertation attempts not only to describe the local practices of Islamic teachings, but also to analyse the changes that occur in local Islamic traditions and rituals. It takes the *Wawacan Seh* ritual in Banten as an analytical object. This tradition and ritual are a form of cultural hybridization born out of encounters with and negotiations between local culture and Islamic teachings involving vernacularized literature, music, traditional chanting (*tembang macapat*, *pupuh*), and the concept of sanctity in a living tradition and religious rituals.

    The *Wawacan Seh* (literally meaning: reading the *manāqib* of the Sheikh) is a ritual activity in which people gather to recite and listen Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani's hagiography (*manāqib*).[1] People who perform it as a ritual believe that the magical power and piety of a *wali* (Muslim saint) can bring benefits. They also believe that a *wali* is God's friend and an intermediary between "heaven" and "earth" [2] so that their

---

[1] *Manāqib* is the plural substantive (sing. *manqaba)* featuring in the titles of a considerable number of biographical works of a laudatory nature, which eventually have become part of hagiographical literature in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. However, *manāqib,* sometimes made more precise, sometimes not, by a qualificative *(jamīl, karīm,* etc.), is always taken in a good sense; the term may be rendered approximately by "qualities, virtues, talents, praiseworthy actions", and introduces a laudatory biography in which the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned are given prominence. It will be observed that, immediately following the development of mysticism and the cult of saints, it is the marvelous aspects of the life, the miracles or at least the prodigies *(karāmat) [q.v.])* of a Sufi or of a saint believed to have been endowed with miraculous powers, which are the subjects preferred, and *manāqib* ultimately acquires the sense of "miracles" or "prodigies". See Ch. Pellat, "Manakib," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 349.

[2] Michel Chodkiewicz, "*Konsep Kesucian dan Wali dalam Islam,*" in *Ziarah dan Wali di Dunia Islam*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Guillot (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2010), 19.

supplication to God would be answered. Therefore, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is not only performed regularly (either weekly, monthly, or annually) but also organized at certain occasions.

Of course, deciding to adopt the *Wawacan Seh* ritual in Banten as the object of my discussion and analysis has several reasons. One of them is that although it is not a typical Bantenese tradition—because *Manakiban* rituals (the same ritual but in Arabic) can also be found elsewhere—but what makes it unique in Banten is that the reading performance still employs the traditional chanting technique (*macapat*) in the Banten-Javanese language and requires various offerings (*sesajen*). It has also become an added ritual for—or it could be said the main ingredient of—almost all other Islamic local traditions in Banten.

In their local living tradition, the Bantenese use the *wawacan* as an intercessionary text during religious ritual readings performed for several intentions. For them, this ritual is part of their expression to infer their concept of sanctity. It is a form of the local Muslims' expression to honor the saint (*wali*) in the form of a ritual. Sanctity is an idea that exists in every religion. Yet, it is also a difficult topic to be grasp in the interrelationship between religion and culture. This difficulty is mainly because of the inseparability of expression between religious tenets and local culture practices.[3] This kind of expression has provoked criticism by Muslims with a strong preference for uniformity in religious tenets and observances, and this preference generally insists on the strict insulation of religion from the vagaries of local cultures.

The *Wawacan Seh,* which has been existing for centuries in Banten, has been growing, changing, and has been attached to other traditions. However, some traditions and art performances in Banten are derivative

---

[3] A comprehensive explanation of the concept of sanctity in Islam can be read in Chodkiewicz's writing. He explained this concept in the perspective of *wali* itself (or who want to be a *wali*) in relation to God, in non-*wali* perspective, and he also discussed the scholarly polemic around the concept. See Chodkiewicz, "*Konsep Kesucian dan Wali dalam Islam*," 9–31.

forms and became attached to this ritual, such as *debus*,[4] *rudat*,[5] *beluk*,[6] *Rebo Wekasan*,[7] and other art performances which include the chanting of the *manāqib* of Sheikh AQJ (*Wawacan Seh*) before or during performances.[8] This condition has become a barrier for unifying one single voice of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Banten because it has been attached to the tradition of society or even has become the distinctive local identity of Banten itself.

It is interesting to discuss and study the *Wawacan Seh* in terms of its cultural negotiation and discursive tradition. This dissertation not only affirms that culture is dynamic, but also argues that the changes in the concepts behind the ritual and the ways it is practiced constitute a watershed of fundamental change in cultural, social and structural patterns in society. However, rituals are part of the material objects of a culture

---

[4] Debus is a performance the manifest function of which is to furnish proof of invulnerability (*kekebalan*). The participants are the *seh debus*, or leader of *debus* group, and a number of performers (*pemain debus*). The instruments used, the actual *debus*, are awl-like daggers consisting of a wooden hilt with an iron spike running through it, which ends in a sharp point.

[5] The term "*rudat*" has at least 3 (three) meanings. *First*, it is derived from the Arabic term "*rauḍah*", meaning garden. *Second*, also is derived from the Arabic term "*radda*", meaning fend off (one of the martial art moves). *Third*, the name of the music instrument. Rudat is one type of music art of *rebana* that has a certain size and shape, accompanied by chanting of the *salawat* and certain prayers, played with certain game patterns that differ from one group to another. Sometimes it is performed only by showing the music without dancing, particularly as art performance for welcoming guests, but sometimes it is staged completely with dance. In the rudat art performance, at least, it consists music, dance, and literary elements (chanting some texts, such as *manqabah sheikh*). See M. Rosadi, "Seni Rudat Surorul Faqir: Sejarah dan Fungsinya pada Masyarakat Desa Kilasah, Kecamatan Kasemen, Kota Serang, Banten," *Jurnal Penamas* 29, no. 3 (Oktober-Desember) (2016): 466–467.

[6] *Beluk* is a yodeling-like vocal tradition found in only a few pockets of Banten and West Java. Just like some yodeling traditions, *beluk* originated as a form of long-distance communication between Sundanese farmers working in the rice fields of highland Banten and West Java. While it developed into a narrative form connected with religious texts in many areas, in the village of Cikeusal, the regent of Serang, that original form, *beluk sawah*, wordless and intense, has been maintained until the present day.

[7] *Rebo Wekasan* is a ritual that performed annually by Bantenesse in last Wednesday of *Sapar* (*sapar* or *Safar* is an Islamic calendar between Muharram and Rabi' al-Awwal). For those who perform it, the ritual is believed as a refusing dangers ceremony (such as an epidemic diseases, catastrophe, and others).

[8] See Jacob Vredenbregt, "Dabus in West Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* Deel 129, no. 2/3de Afl. (1973): 302–320.

that change the slowest compared with others. This is due to the nature of the ritual because its transmission from one generation to the next is always sacred, efficient, strict and conservative. In addition, the ritual reveals the most basic and private "software" of the agents of culture (people), namely belief and a cosmological worldview.

Therefore, changes in the concepts and practices of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual for the Bantenese not only indicate changes in terms of cultural and social practices but also epistemologically. Toward the end of the 20th century it became clear that the world was changing, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Human society moved to a new phase in its history. Economic and technological developments encouraged even greater cultural diversity, fragmentation, and differentiation in the containers of homogeneity and standardization that were previously the hallmark of modernism and mass society.[9]

B. Research Question and Purpose

The objective of the present work is to answer the following research questions:

1. Why does the *Wawacan Seh* tradition still exist in Banten?
2. What elements in this tradition have been preserved and what has been modified.
3. What are the underlying factors that influence ritual change, and how are these factors involved in the discourse?

C. Literature Review

Many scholars who are interested in these texts and make them the object of their studies used a philological approach. The 'Abd al-Qadir narratives have been examined by G.W.J. Drewes and Poerbatjaraka,[10]

---

[9] Edward T. Hall, *Understanding Cultural Differences* (Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1990), 11–12.

[10] G.W.J. Drewes and R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *De Mirakelen van Abdoelkadir Djaelani* (Bandoeng: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1938).

Petrus Voorhoeve,[11] Ahmad,[12] Budhisantoso,[13] and Muhamad Hamidi.[14] These studies mostly focus on the contents of the texts and pay little or no attention to the ritual contexts in which they had, and continue to have, such value. The question that remains unasked in these studies is what actually happens during the recitation of these tales.

The supplication *Manakiban* ritual or the *Wawacan Seh* is a tradition that has an important role for the followers of the Tarekat Qadiriyya and Tarekat Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya (TQN). In the *tarekat* tradition, this ritual is usually held monthly (i.e. every 11th day of the month of the Hijriyya calendar) and annually (i.e. every 11th of Rabi'ul Akhir, commemorating the death of Sheikh AQJ). Therefore, scholars who conduct research on the *tarekat* (TQN) usually also discusses the *Manakiban* tradition, to mention some of them: Sri Mulyati,[15] Zulkifli,[16] Soebardi,[17] and Ajid Thohir.[18] They discuss the *Manakiban* as a regular spiritual exercise performed by the followers of TQN, particularly in Pesantren Suryalaya, besides other rituals such as *dhikr* (a. repeated remembrance of God) and *khataman* (reading a distictive prayer or remembrance of God in the *tarekat* tradition).

I should also mention Julian Millie's work, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java* which discusses the *Pangaosan Layang Seh* or Karamat reading ritual performed by Sundanese Muslims, particularly TQN followers on Bandung's northern fringe in West Java. Millie tried to answer a single question in *Splashed by the*

[11] Petrus Voorhoeve, "Het Origineel van de Hikajat Abdulkadir Djelani," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 83 (1949): 110–124.

[12] Ahmad, "Hikayat Syekh Abdul Qodir Jailani; Sebuah Kajian Filologis" (Universitas Pajajaran Bandung, 1988).

[13] S. Budhisantoso, *Wawacan Layang Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1990).

[14] Muhamad Hamidi, *Mitos-Mitos dalam Hikayat Abdulkadir Jailani* (Jakarta: Yayasan Naskah Nusantara (Yanassa) dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003).

[15] Mulyati, "The Educational Role of The Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya."

[16] Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2002).

[17] Soebakin Soebardi, "The Pesantren Tarikat of Pesantren Suryalaya in West Java," in *Spectrum Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Udin (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1973), 215–236.

[18] Thohir, *Gerakan Politik Kaum Tarekat: Telaah Historis Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah di Pulau Jawa*.

Saint, and that is "What can the ritual reading and recitation of saintly narratives [based on written texts] tell us about Islamic sanctity and the place it occupies in the wider Islamic society?"[19] In order to examine this religious observance empirically, the author looked not only at the text but also at the context of *karamat* reading, which is the recitation by TQN followers of some of the written religious texts about 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani in Bandung.

In the context of Banten, I need to mention three researchers who have carried out research related to the *Wawacan Seh* practice: Athoullah Ahmad,[20] H.M.A. Tihami,[21] and Ruby Achmad Baedhawy.[22] In his work, Ahmad explains the *Wawacan Seh* tradition and its ritual in Banten, especially in Carenang village. He discusses three main subjects, i.e. the technical details of the *wawacan* ritual, its social and religious functions, and its influence on the religiosity of the Bantenese people. In contrast, Tihami's research is actually a study of the practice of the *Rebo Wekasan* tradition, in which the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is part of the tradition. While Baedhawy's research focuses on the practice of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual as performed in two districts, Baros and Gunung Kaler in Banten. In addition to a description of the ritual, he also analysed the social context in these two districts.

In contrast to the researchers' discussions above, this dissertation focuses on the ritual change and cultural negotiation in the framework of the Islamic discursive tradition. In contrast to Millie, this study will not only focus on *tarekat* followers who usually perform the ritual but also on non-followers, i.e. common people who perform the ritual. In the case of Banten, the ritual has become part of the folk tradition and common people who have never taken the oath of allegiance (*bai'at*) of the *tarekat* also perform it. In contrast with Ahmad, Tihami, and Baedhawy, this research not only discusses the ritual practices and their social function but also analyses the cultural and social transformations, changes and modifications, and/or the discontinuity of the ritual. Furthermore, I will

---

[19] Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009), 16.

[20] M. Athoullah Ahmad, *Pengaruh Wawacan Syekh Abdul Qadir Jaelani pada Masyarakat Banten* (Serang, 1987).

[21] M. A. Tihami, *Upacara Rebo Wekasan di Serang, Jawa Barat* (Serang, 1991).

[22] Ruby Ach. Baedhawy, *Wawacan Seh: Praktek dan Fungsi dalam Kehidupan Sosial di Banten* (Serang: Lemlit IAIN SMH Banten, 2009).

extend my discussion to analyse the discursive tradition dealing with ritual change.

D. Theoretical Framework

To sharpen my analysis in the present study, I use Talal Asad's theory of "discursive tradition".[23] This theory is an important analytical tool for scholars of Islamic studies. It seeks to break free from the dichotomy between the textual approach—commonly used by orientalists—and the social, economic, and political approach, particularly used by anthropologist and sociologist.

According to Asad, a tradition is not as it is defined by orientalists, anthropologists, and Muslim scholars who view it as a "legacy of the past" as opposed to an expression of modernity, or the opposite of reason.[24] Tradition is a set of discourses that grows, dynamically develops or is eliminated in accordance with the social, political and economic forces surrounding it.

Essentially, a tradition consists of discourses that attempt to invite its practitioners to the true form and objective of a practice which, precisely because it is created, has a history. Therefore, Asad says:

"These discourses relate conceptually to *a past* (when the practice was instituted, and from which the knowledge of its point and proper performance has been transmitted) and *a future* (how the point of that practice can best be secured in the short or long term, or why it should be modified or abandoned), through *a present* (how it is linked to other practices, institutions, and social conditions). An Islamic discursive tradition is simply a tradition of Muslim discourse that addresses itself to conceptions of the Islamic past and future, with reference to a particular Islamic practice in the present."[25]

Islam as a religion that has a worldview derived from its authoritative texts (*Qur'an* and Hadith) and a history of its established intellectual struggle based on authoritative texts. Therefore, Islam as a discursive tradition must be understood as a "historically evolving set of discourses,

---

[23] Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 15.

[24] *Ibid.*, 16.

[25] *Ibid.*, 14.

embodied in the practices and institutions of Islamic societies and hence deeply imbricated in the material life of those inhabiting them."[26]

Thus, the tradition would more appropriately be understood as a collection of perpetual discourses, as a framework of thinking (understanding) not as static doctrines. Tradition does not merely refer to the past or is merely repetitive, but rather refers to the need of continuous coherence by referring to a set of texts, procedures, arguments, and practices. This set of belief and understanding—both intellectually, politically, socially and culturally—frames the practices of Islamic reasoning. It is a set of discourses with a diversity of positions, roles, and tasks that ultimately form the corpus of Islamic knowledge.

However, the *Wawacan Seh* tradition must be understood as a dimension of Bantenese social life and not as a stage in its social development. Therefore, it is important to understand that "tradition and modernity" exist due to different historical aspects and it is important to emphasize this rather than to say that they are unrelated to culture or society.[27] This means that the Islamic discursive tradition has its own distinctive features both rationality and as a way of thinking, written in its texts, history, and institutions. This does not mean that there is a certain kind of rationality, logic or philosophy that is Islamic and cannot be penetrated or influenced by outsiders, but there are certain theoretical considerations and premises that derive from the content and the form of basic Islamic discourse (i.e. the content and the context of texts, the early history of Islam, etc.). Therefore, anyone involved in the Islamic tradition should start with this.

E. Method

This study combines theoretical and empirical investigations. In terms of data collection, this study employs several research methods and techniques. The sources for these investigations were collected through bibliographical study, fieldwork as well as observation.

---

[26] Ovamir Anjum, "Islam as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and Middle East* 27, no. 3 (2007): 662.

[27] Talal Asad, "Modern Power and the Reconfiguration of Religious Traditions: An Interview with Saba Mahmood," *SEHR* 5, no. 1: Contested Polities (1996), https://web.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/asad.html.

Before conducting my field research, I first made a bibliographical study to enrich my data. During my field research, I checked these data to get a more comprehensive picture. During my fieldwork I obtained many new data regarding the ritual changes that existed in the community.

II. DISCUSSION
A. Banten and *Tarekat* in Diachronic View

Nowadays, Banten is the thirtieth province of Indonesia and located in the westernmost part of Java. It became a new province with Serang as its capital based on regulation No.23/ 2000 dated October 17th, 2000. This new province consists of four regencies (*kabupaten*): Serang, Pandeglang, Lebak and Tangerang, and four cities (*kota*): Serang, Cilegon, Tangerang, and South Tangerang. It covers an area of approximately 9,160.70 square kilometers, with 155 sub-districts (*kecamatan*), 1,238 villages (*Desa*), and 313 villages/wards (*kelurahan*). Because of its geographical position, Banten is not only a main trade route between Java and Sumatra, but also important in international trade. Moreover, since Banten, especially Tangerang, borders on Jakarta—the capital of Indonesia—it has become an influential partner in supporting the economy of Jakarta as the seat of the government, whereby Tangerang is one of the industrial centers, as are Serang and Cilegon.[28]

For a long time before it became a province, Banten was one of the influential kingdoms in Java and even in the archipelago. To discuss the Sultanate of Banten is also to discuss the process of early Islamization in Banten. The historical phases of Islamization in this region proved to be an acculturation process. Banten is known as a region that has a religious population.[29] The Islamization process in Banten, or in the archipelago in general, still evokes many speculations and disputations among scholars.[30] However, it is clear that the Islamization process did not occur in a single way. Trade and political alliances between merchants and the sultanate

---

[28] BPS-Statistics of Banten Province, *Banten Province in Figures, 2016* (Banten: BPS Provinsi Banten, 2016).

[29] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 153.

[30] In relating to the Islamization process in the Archipelago, I found at least two scholarly articles with different perspectives. They are: G.W.J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam?," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968): 433–459; Syed Farid Alatas, "Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago," *The Muslim World* 75 (1985): 162–175.

played an important role.[31] Some historical records state that Islam was disseminated through wars.[32]

Regardless of whether true or not, the name "Banten" is usually associated with Islamic militancy[33] and magic[34] and this is indeed no exaggeration when we trace the history of the development of Islam in this area. At least, it cannot be separated from the role of three institutions that influenced each other, i.e. *Sultanate-tarekat-pesantren* each with their respective main figures. Through their *tarekat* networks, Sufis were very influential figures in the Islamization process in the archipelago, including Banten.[35] A *tarekat* was—and is—a Muslim community that has the ability to adapt smoothly to other communities and cultures which made it a very effective instrument for spreading Islam in the archipelago.[36]

The meeting point between the *tarekat* and the Bantenese was at the roots of the Islamization process. It can even be said that almost all the kings and sultans of Banten were *tarekat* members and its representatives (*khalīfa*). *Sajarah Banten*, for instance, noted that the first Banten Islamic ruler, Hasanuddin, was a member of the *tarekat*. He had taken the oath (*bai'at*) of the Tarekat Naqshabandiyya with his father, Sunan Gunung Jati, in Mecca before establishing his political power in Banten[37] and this

---

[31] A. Johns, "Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the First Half of the 17th Century," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28, no. 1 (169) (1955): 70–77.

[32] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam di Hindia Belanda*, ed. S. Gunawan (Jakarta: Bharata, 1973), 13.

[33] Van Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50 (15AD): 166.

[34] M.A. Tihami, "*Kyai dan Jawara di Banten: Studi tentang Agama, Magi, dan Kepemimpinan di Desa Pasanggrahan Serang, Banten*" (Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia, 1992).

[35] A.H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 23; Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of Ṣūfī Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* I, no. 1 (April-June) (1994): 4.

[36] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, second ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 150–166; Anthony H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations" 26, no. 1 (1995): 169–183; Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August) (2016): 702–703.

[37] Hasanuddin visited some areas in Banten for several years to preach before he became the ruler of the Banten Islamic Kingdom. He also visited some sacred sites such as Gunung Pulosari, Gunung Karang, Gunung Lor and Panaitan Island in the South. I

indicates Hasanuddin's special concern for spirituality and the organizational system as his provision to be the king. It should be noted that Sunan Gunung Jati himself, who was also a student of Hamzah Fansuri while studying in Mecca,[38] was said to have been a *murshid* of some *tarekat*, such as the Naqshabandiyya, Shattariyya, and Shadhiliyya Orders.[39] The tradition of the ruler of Banten's initiation in a *tarekat* continued with his next successors.

Sajarah Banten notes that Sultan 'Abd al-Qadir (r. 1626-1651) sent a mission to Mecca in the 1630s to obtain the title "Sultan" from the Meccan ruler. It seems that he was inspired more by political than religious interests even though the delegation's mission was concerned with religious issues. After having stopped at the Maldives, Coromandel, Surat, and Mocha, the king's delegation went to Jeddah where it visited Sharif Zayd (r. 1631-1666) to ask for elucidation of three treatises on religious issue.[40] These three treatises have been identified as Sufi texts on eschatology issues. One is a compilation of Hamzah Fansuri's works and another possibly al-Raniri's refutation of Hamzah Fansuri's thoughts. The latest scholarship has proposed the possibility that the religious polemic between Kamal al-Din and al-Raniri in Aceh might have triggered the Sultan of Banten's mission to Mecca.

During the reign of the next Sultan, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651-1682), the Sultanate of Banten was in its heydays. At that time, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari was in Banten and he was very influential, especially

---

consider Hasanuddin visited these sacred sites in Banten in an attempt to look for a spiritual and cultural connection. In fact, it played an important role in his personal and spiritual introduction into the heart of Banten civilization because of which Islamization and the substitution of power could proceed smoothly and friendly. This strategy, ultimately, paved the way for Hasanuddin to convert 800 Hindu-*Rsi* (priests) at Gunung Pulosari which at that time had become a spiritual center in Banten and he managed to bring a *watu gigilang*—a large and flat stone as a symbol of his spiritual and political power—on which Bthra Guru Jampang himself had sat to perform his ascetic ways. See Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten: Sumbangan bagi Pengenalan Sifat-Sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa*, 34–36; Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, 43.

[38] Michael Francis Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 11.

[39] Gabriel Facal, "Religious Specificities in the Early Sultanate of Banten (Western Java, Indonesia)," *Indo-Islamika* 4, no. 1 (2014): 95.

[40] Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten: Sumbangan bagi Pengenalan Sifat-Sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa*.

in politics and religion. Van Bruinessen called him one of the two Great Scholars in Banten, the other being Sheikh Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Qahhar al-Bantani. Both were the most influential and prominent *ulama* in the Sultanate of Banten in their respective eras.[41] Yusuf al-Makassari was a highly respected *ulama* and was the *murshid* of five *tarekat*, i.e. the Khalwatiyya, Naqshabandiyya, Shattariyya, Qadiriyya, and Ba'alwiyya Orders.[42] Upon his arrival in Banten, after intellectual sojourns in Mecca, Medina, and Damascus, Sheikh Yusuf became a very influential and powerful person in the region, and even became the Sultan's son-in-law as well as his closest confidant.

Sheikh Yusuf was highly respected by the Bantenese not only because of his mastery of religious knowledge and politics but he was also considered to possess supernatural powers (as written in a Dutch colonial report). He also obtained the loyalty of a large number of Buginese and Makassarese immigrants who were generally devoted to the Sultanate of Banten as soldiers and sailors. In education, Sheikh Yusuf had a major role in raising the name of Banten as a center of Islamic education which attracted students from all over the archipelago.[43] In addition, Sheikh Yusuf's important role in spreading Islam through *tarekat* and his anti-colonial political stance proved that mystical piety did not hinder political militancy.

In the next period, the relationship between the Sultanate of Banten and the *tarekat* tradition remained as it was. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the *tarekat* tradition acquired a very clear form during the reign of Sultan 'Arif Zayn al-'Ashiqin (r. 1753-1777). During his reign, the Sultan was noted to have obtained the *ijaza* from several *tarekat* and that he even was a *khalīfa*[44] of the Qadiriyya, 'Alwaniyya, Naqshabandiyya, and Rifa'iyya Orders. As can be seen from the epithets attached to his name, al-Khalīfa al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan Abu al-Nasr Muhammad 'Arifin al-'Ashiqin al-Qadiri al-'Alwani al-Rifa'i al-Bantani al-Shafi'i.[45] The reason he wanted to be the *khalīfa* of the Qadiriyya and the

---

[41] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 267–270.

[42] *Ibid.*, 168; van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, 40–45.

[43] Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, 34–35.

[44] In the Sufi tradition, the *khalifah* is appointed by a sheikh to propagate the *tariqa*'s teachings, thereby continuing the lineage of the order

[45] Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*, 23.

Rifa'iyya Orders was because of his association with the *keramat* of
Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani and Sheikh Ahmad al-Rifa'i who were
recognized by traditional Islam.[46]

Moreover, Sultan Abu Nasr Muhammad 'Arif Shifa' Zayn al-'Ashiqin
was much involved with Islamic knowledge by writing and copying
Islamic texts.[47] In L.W.C. van den Berg and R. Friederich's catalog, this
Sultan's name is often mentioned: it is listed on pages 18, 24, 42, 77, 99,
105, and 123.[48] These pages indicate that he was the Sultan of Banten who
loved and was obsessed with knowledge. The Sultan often asked someone
to copy an Arabic text for him or to write a book or a treatise and to
translate it into the local language.[49] Therefore, it is not surprising that
Millie said: "For a relatively short time, Banten was an entry point through
which the influence of the ancient centers of the Islamic world arrived in
Java".[50]

B. The Emergence of *Wawacan Seh* Tradition

For Indonesian Muslims, Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (AQJ) is and has been
very famous. He was known throughout the country both in Sufi circles
and among those who were not at all interested in Sufism. His name is
mentioned in almost every traditional religious ceremony and people read
the *al-Fātiḥah*[51] in his name and his name is mentioned after that of the

[46] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, 249; van Bruinessen, "*Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia*."

[47] Muhammad, *Banten: Penunjuk Jalan dan Keterangan Bekas Kerajaan Kesultanan Banten*, 27.

[48] L.W.C. van den Berg and R. Friederich, *Codicum Arabicorum in Bibliotheca Societatis Artium et Scientatiarum Quae Bataviae Floret Asservatorum Catalogum* (Bataviae: Hage Comitis, 1873), 18, 24, 42, 77, 99, 105, 123.

[49] For example, when the Sultan wanted to deepen his knowledge about the Sufi *wujudiyyah*, which was a trend and a controversial topic at the time, he asked Sheikh 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Qahhar al-Bantanī to write a treatise on the subject. 'Abd Allah granted his wish by writing two treatises, *Mashāhid al-Nāsik fī Maqāmāt al-Sālik* and *Fatḥ al-Mulūk li Yaṣila ilā Mālik al-Mulki 'alā Qā'idat Ahl al-Sulūk*. See Kurniawan, "*Konsep Tajalli 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd al-Qahhar al-Bantani dan Posisinya dalam Diskursus Wujudiyyah di Nusantara*," 277–278.

[50] Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*, 24.

[51] *Al-Fātiḥah* is the name of the first *surah* in the *Qur'an*. Besides being a *surah* that must be read in prayer, Muslims will usually read it to pray for someone who has died. They believe that by doing so the one who prays will be blessed by God and his sins would be reduced. Therefore, the reading of *al-Fātiḥah* is also called *hadiah* (*i.* a gift).

Prophet and his companions. It seems that, even though he died hundreds of years ago and never set foot in Indonesia, his influence is still essential in the minds of the Indonesian Muslims, including the Bantenese people.

The popularity of AQJ in Indonesia cannot be seen in isolation from the distinctive characteristics of the Indonesian people, including the Bantenese. The distinctive characteristics of Indonesians can be seen from the great attention they pay to invulnerability and supernatural powers.[52] The story of the saintliness of Sheikh AQJ which is full of sacredness and magical power was handed down from generation to generation and has entered the collective memory of Muslim communities in the world, including Indonesia. These people react to AQJ's saintliness in various ways, either by wholehearted acceptance in ritual forms or by total rejection because it is considered an excessive cult of a person. His tomb, from the past until now, is still crowded with pilgrims from all over Muslim majority countries.

Sheikh AQJ, as the leader of the saints, has an enormous charisma. Therefore, narratives about his greatness and supernatural power spread widely among the people. The extraordinary stories about Sheikh AQJ's life which are often told by the public seem to be excessive. According to van Bruinessen, the first life story can be found in *Bahjat al-Asrār*, written by Ali b. Yusuf al-Shattanaufi (d. 713/1314 or one and a half century after AQJ's death). The book contains many supernatural action stories about AQJ. The next author who doubted many excessive stories of him was al-Dhahabi (d. 1348) in *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*. Shortly thereafter, 'Afifuddin al-Yafi'i (d. 1367) compiled the hagiography (*manāqib*) that established AQJ's name as the greatest miracle expert: *Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir fī Ikhtiṣār Manāqib al-Shaikh ' Abd al-Qādir*. This book has become the basic reference for many *manāqib* circulating in Indonesia. After al-Yafi'i, other scholars wrote *manāqib* which were written in more "extreme" ways, the most prominent of which is *Lujjayn al-Dānī* by Ja'far b. Hasan al-Barzanji (d. 1766), the author of the most famous *mawlid* book in Indonesia.[53] In addition, many *fiqh* scholars presented the story of his supernatural power as evidence of the *keramat* a *wali* possesses.[54]

---

[52] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 210.

[53] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 211.

[54] See for example: Ibn Hajar al-Haytami, *Al-Fatawa al-Hadithiyya* (Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa, n.d.); Taj al-Din al-Subki, *Thabaqat al-Shafi'iyyah al-Kubra* (Cairo: Dar Ihya

The discussions of AQJ's supernatural stories and authority and the existence of evidence of *keramat* in classical *fiqh* books indicates two important points. *First*, the supernatural power or *keramat* of the Sheikh is not only recognized by Sufis but also by *fiqh* scholars. *Second*, his supernatural power is considered a historical reality rather than a myth. This is not the place to discuss and prove whether AQJ's supernatural stories are based on historical facts or mystical but for Indonesians both (historical facts and myths) are mixed and very difficult to separate or it is probably more apt to say that they do not care about this and simply prefer to believe them. The excessive supernatural power of the legends offer more psychological satisfaction and supernatural power to those who believe it. According to the oral traditions of the people in Cirebon and Banten, Sheikh AQJ has once been to Java. According to van Bruinessen, in the *Serat Centhini*, one of its figures, Danadarma, claimed to have studied with "Seh Kadir Jalena" in a college (*j. padepokan/peguron*) in Gunung Karang, Banten.[55]

Now the question arises, when exactly did the *Wawacan Seh* ritual appear and spread in Banten (and in the archipelago)? Historians differ in their answers to this question. Some scholars associate the emergence of this ritual with the spread of the Qadiriyya Order in the archipelago starting in the 16th century. The reason is that at that time the Qadiriyya Order had already spread throughout the archipelago as Hamzah Fansuri wrote in his poem—as I already mentioned above—although there is no more detailed information about whether he also distributed the *tarekat* among his students.[56] In any case, the spread of the *Wawacan Seh* and *Manakiban* traditions in Indonesia seems to have reached its peak in the early 19th century, when Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas popularized the combined *tarekat* of Qadiriyya and Naqshabandiyya and popularized the reading of Sheikh AQJ's *manāqib*.[57]

---

al-Kutub al-Arabiya, 1964); Muhammad Mahfudh al-Tarmasi, *Bughyat al-Adhkiyā' fī Baḥthi 'an Karāmāt al-Awliyā"*(Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2008).

[55] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 209.

[56] Al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*, 51; Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 11; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*, 11; Drewes and Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*; van Bruinessen, "*Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia.*"

[57] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 98.

Drewes and Poerbatjaraka argued that the ritual reading of the *manāqib* appeared in Banten in the 17th century. They based their arguments on the *Wawacan Seh* texts they found in several places in Banten and Cirebon. According to them, the language of the text was an ancient 17th-century form of the Banten-Javanese language. It is assumed that when the manuscript spread over Banten at the beginning of the 17th century, the *manāqib* was known and ritualized along with the official relationship of the Sultanate of Banten with the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) and the Middle East in general.[58] The *manāqib*, which contains the hagiography of Sheikh AQJ, was adapted into Banten-Javanese and performed as a ritual during major celebrations.[59]

Van Bruinessen refutes this argument and considers it to be overly speculative. According to him, the *manāqib* reading tradition became popular in Banten since around the 1880s along with the intensity of the spread of the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya (TQN) and in his explanation he referred to the popular practice of the Sheikh of the Qadiriyya who translated and adapted various *manāqib* texts into the local dialects where his followers lived.[60] This argument leaves a number of problems. For example, when was the *manāqib* text first translated and adapted into Banten's local language? Who is the Sheikh who first took the initiative to do it?

It is difficult to find definite answers to these questions in Drewes and Poerbatjaraka's writings and in van Bruinessen's works. This may be due to the historical premise about whether the emergence of the Qadiriyya Order is directly proportional to the development of *manāqib* reading tradition which can also not be definitively established. Although not free from speculation, Millie tried to give definitive answers to these two questions.[61] According to him, the Banten Sultanate's palace was a place for translating Arabic texts into local languages, including texts that

---

[58] Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *De Mirakelen van Abdoelkadir Djaelani*, 10–13; Muhammad Sholikhin, *17 Jalan Menggapai Mahkota Sufi Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani* (Yogyakarta: Mutiara Media, 2009), 65.

[59] Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya, Kajian Sejarah Terpadu. Bagian II: Jaringan Asia* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama bekerjasama dengan Forum Jakarta-Paris dan École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 136.

[60] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 274–276.

[61] Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*, 22–24.

narrated the sacred, the glory and the struggle of the *tarekat* priests of the Banten Sultans and Sheikh AQJ. Millie explained that in the catalog of manuscripts compiled by Voorhoeve, there is a translation of the Hikayat Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani. The text is a copy of the *Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir* written by al-Yafi'i. This manuscript comes from the library of the Banten Palace which was destroyed by Daendels in 1813. It was brought to Jakarta (Batavia) and became part of the collection of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap* in 1835. According to Voorhoeve, as quoted by Millie, the text was written in the 18th century.[62]

To confirm his argument, Millie stated that the Banten Palace was very important in the transmission of the *manāqib* of Sheikh AQJ. It was also an ideal environment where Arabic religious authoritative texts were translated into and adapted to local languages for scientific and religious reasons.[63] In short, the oldest *manāqib* in Banten was written in Javanese in 1789. The oldest text of the *manāqib* in the Sundanese language was written in 1882 and is a translation of the Javanese text.

C. The Ritual Practice

In some areas in Banten, the people have slightly different names for this ritual. In southern Banten, they used to call it *Wawacan Seh* and *Mamacan*. In northern Banten, they usually call it *Wawacan Seh* and *Maca Seh* or *Memaca*. They all refer to the recitation of Sheikh AQJ's hagiography in Banten-Javanese or Sundanese in *macapat* melodies and by making offerings based on the local traditions that have been handed down from generation to generation. To be allowed to chant the text, the reader or *juru maos* does not require a license from a *tarekat murshid* or to have taken an oath (*bai'at*) into the Qadiriyya Order or the TQN. In fact, in many places, it does not require a reader of a specific gender (it can be led by a man or a woman) and they do not need to possess in-depth religious knowledge like a *kyai*. Therefore, the task of reading the prayer at the end of the ritual is often given to a *kyai* or an elder (someone who has in-depth religious knowledge) if a *kyai* or elder is present during the event. In other words, the reader of the *Wawacan Seh* is required to be

---

[62] *Ibid.*, 24.
[63] *Ibid.*

able to perform the melodic chanting in a nice voice so that the listeners can enjoy the reading. Of course, it is different from the *Manakiban* ritual.

Manakiban for the Bantenese people refers to the ritual performed by someone who already has a license (*ijaza*) from a *kyai*. In a *Manakiban*, the people read the *manakib* text written in Arabic which is not in poetic *macapat* meters and the recitation is done according to the recitation rules of Al-Quran (*tajwid*). In addition, a *Manakiban* does not require offerings as the *Wawacan Seh* ritual. A *Manakiban* still has a close connection with the tradition of the Qadiriyya Order or TQN, even though the reader who has a license does not have to be a follower of the *tarekat*.

According to Ustadh Uting Sirojudin, there are three types of readers: 1) a person who can lead the ritual reading and has the right to give a license (*ijaza*) to others. This type of reader is required to have in-depth knowledge of the shari'a and the *tarekat* (and may even be a *murshid* or *tarekat* member); 2) a person who can lead a ritual reading but does not have the right to give a license to others. This type of reader is also required to have religious knowledge; and 3) a person who can only read the *manāqib* by himself. This type usually consists of common people who are not required to have in-depth religious knowledge but are required to be able to recite in accordance with the recitation rules of Al-Quran (*tajwid*) correctly.[64]

Although the *Wawacan Seh* and the *Manakiban* are both rituals for reciting and chanting the hagiography of Sheikh AQJ, it is clear that they differ in an anthropological sense in terms of the thoughts and perspectives of their performers, both towards the sheikh in particular and in the notion of sanctity in general. However, both the *Wawacan Seh* ritual and the *Manakiban* are closely linked because of the concept of sanctity. Anthropologically, the reason the Bantenese people still perform the *Wawacan Seh* and the *Manakiban* can be seen from its three basic principles, namely maintaining tradition, *tawassul* (including *tabarruk* and *istighatha*), and *nyarcat*.

---

[64] Interview with Ustadz Uting Sirojuddin, May 6, 2018

THE WAWACAN SEH RITUAL

The objective of the ritual
1. Seeking God's blessing (*tabarruk*)
2. Prayer to God through the Sheikh (*tawassul*)
3. Getting God's help (*istighatha*)
4. Honoring the *wali*
5. Obtaining invulnerability and supernatural power
6. Proselytizing Islam (*da'wa*)
7. Driving out evil spirits

The ritual forms

Ritual routine
➢ Weekly
➢ Monthly
➢ Annually

Intended ritual

Rites of passage
➢ *Mitung wulan*
➢ Circumcision (*sunatan*)
➢ Wedding ceremony

Elmu Hikmah & Elmu Tuan Syeh
➢ Invulnerability power
➢ Supernatural power
➢ *Pencak Silat* & self-defense technique

Art Performances
➢ *Debus*
➢ *Beluk*
➢ *Rudat*
➢ *Terbang Gede*
➢ *Pencak silat*

Certain objectives
➢ *Ngaruwat Desa*
➢ *Ngaruwat Imah*
➢ *Gali sumur*
➢ Before traveling for a long time and to a far distance
➢ *Slametan*
➢ *Rebo Wekasan*
➢ Having a new vehicle
➢ Others

The Basic Conceptions:
1. Maintaining Tradition
2. *Tawassul, Tabarruk, & Istighatha*
3. *Nyareat*

The practice of ritual

Preparation
A host provides various *sesajen* and ritual instruments

Implementation
1. A brief welcoming speech
2. Reading *hadharat* or presenting *Surah al-Fatihah*
3. Dhikr and reading several verses from Qur'an
4. *Manakib* reading with *pupuh*
5. Closing prayer

Additional practices
1. Reciting *salawat* and *qasidah Quthb Rabbani*
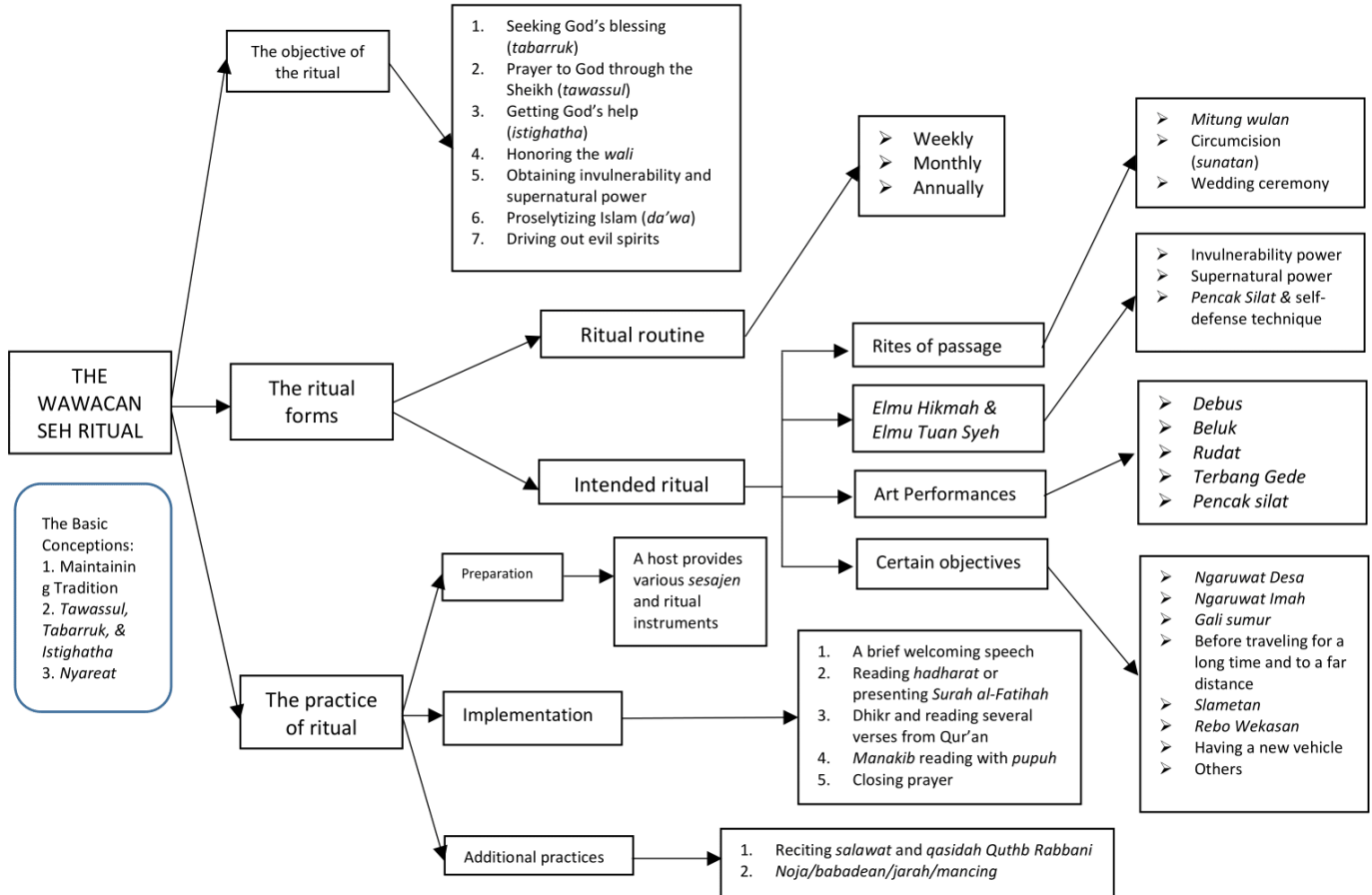2. *Noja/babadean/jarah/mancing*

Figure IV. 2. The concept and practice of the Wawacan Seh *ritual*

19

The ritual starts with preparations. In this phase, the host usually invites a *juru maos* or someone who is able and used to read or sing the Banten-Javanese *manāqib*. The host also invites local residents to gather at an appointed time. After that, the host prepares *sesajen* (offerings) which are part of the ritual requirements. This kind of offerings varies from region to region according and depending on the wishes of the *juru maos*. In general, the offerings include: milk, coffee and tea with and without sugar, *rujak haseum* (s. unripe fruit in spicy tamarind water), cooked eggs, salt, red chilis, rice, *liwet syeh* (j/s. cooked rice with the crust at the bottom of the pan), *ayam bakakak* (j/s. grilled chicken), seven kinds of flowers, seven kinds of food dishes known as *perwanten*, *perpuyan* (j. incense burning container), incense, several cigarettes, and a basin containing water and coins. In addition, the host also usually presents different food dishes, drinks in the form of coffee and tea, or milk which are placed in front of the residents to eat and to drink from during the ritual.

There are no special provisions for the types of food dishes that are served to the residents who are present and they depend entirely on the ability of the host. There are, however, special provisions for the *sesajen* that have to be met. Usually, the *juru maos* will check the offerings and everything else before the ritual begins and if all conditions are not met, he will ask the host to complete them before the ritual begins. According to the *juru maos*, if something is lacking, that there will be magical disturbances during the ritual.

After everything has been prepared, the next stage is the execution of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual. How the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is performed varies greatly depending on the event for which the ritual is performed. For the people in Banten, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual that is held regularly (weekly, monthly, or annually) will be different from the way it is done for certain occasions such as *walimatul 'ursy* (wedding ceremony) or for the sake of performing arts such as *debus*. However, there is a general pattern and, usually, it is performed in three stages. *First*, a statement is made of the intent and the reason for which the ritual is performed. This is usually stated by the host or his/her representative. *Second*, reading the *silsilah* or *tawassul* (reading Surah al-Fātiḥah as a prayer). *Third*, the chanting of Sheikh AQJ's *manāqib* using certain *pupuh* rhythms. *Fourth*, reading the *hadiah* (reading Surah al-Fātiḥah) and prayer.

These four stages are the general pattern of a *Wawacan Seh* ritual but there are minor differences in the way it is practiced and carried out in different areas in Banten. In addition, the practice can also differ between one event and another. For example, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual performed prior to start building a house will differ from that for a wedding ceremony.

Like other rituals, the way a *Wawacan Seh* ritual is done depends on certain times and conditions. Based on my observations and the interviews I had with many expert readers (*juru maos*) of the *Wawacan Seh*, I found that there are three general patterns why and in what conditions this ritual is performed by the people in Banten: rituals performed routinely, rituals performed for certain reasons, and rituals performed for art performances.

D. Ritual Change and Discourse

At the beginning of its formation in Banten, the *Wawacan Seh* tradition was a sign of a major change in the cultural pattern of the community. It became a hallmark of the active and massive change that started with the early Islamization process in Banten. The *Wawacan Seh* is a clearly observable clue because it became a bridge between the existing local tradition and Islamic teachings in the form of living tradition. The *Wawacan Seh* also became a modified cultural expression as a result of negotiations due to the meeting of two cultures—local traditions and Islamic teachings—which, because of the integration of many elements of both—such as literature, music, songs in the form of macapat verses, worldview, as well as the concept of sanctity— subsequently formed a hybrid culture.

In discussions about culture, Boyd and Richerson alluded to this view of culture as a dynamic process, holding that culture has inherited properties, including beliefs, values, and attitudes, and the transmission of culture/cultural values through social interactions much as one might inherit genetic properties but with the ability to choose behaviors and thus "divergences" and differences evolved.[65] Sztompka defines cultural processes as something designed to "embrace the soft tissue of society,

---

[65] Robert Boyd and Peter J. Richerson, "The Evolution of Ethnic Markers," *Cultural Anthropology* 2 (1987): 65–79.

the intangible assumptions, premises, understandings, rules, and values."[66] Johnson defines culture as processes, values, beliefs; as the sum of human experience within certain settings, and the intersections of production in a Marxist sense. This definition encompasses culture as the sum of the social and cultural conditions of production of especially capitalist commodities and their consumption and how their principles create power differentials in societal relations.[67]

Compared to other cultural objects, ritual—which is part of culture and of the living tradition[68]—is the most fixed, rigid, and slowest form to accept change. Its inaction in accepting change cannot be separated from its constituent elements, namely faith, worldview, efficacy, and the very strict nature of its transmission from one generation to the next. Therefore, ritual change is a great marker of cultural change in society, even in the deepest and the most personal dimensions of cultural agents (people), i.e. faith and worldview. The changes that occur in the *Wawacan Sch* tradition are not only a marker of significant changes in the objective form of culture but also in the web of meaning in the sense of ontological, social, and power relations within it. These changes indicate that there are other more systematic and structured changes surrounding the cultural agents, both at the level of social interaction, power relations, and structures of authority, as well as in terms of their worldview and their religious perspective.

The existence of culture or ritual changes can be traced by way of comparison, taking either a diachronic or a synchronic approach. Comparing culture or ritual using the diachronic approach is carried out by comparing ritual concepts and practices that exist today with the same concepts and practices that existed in the past in the same place. The synchronic approach is carried out by comparing ritual concepts and

---

[66] Piotr Sztompka, "Looking Back: The Year 1989 as a Cultural and Civilizational Break," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29 (1996): 117.

[67] Richard Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?," *Social Text* 16 (1987): 48–49.

[68] Bruce Kapferer, "Performance and the Structuring of Meaning and Experience," in *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 190–191.

practices with the same things at the same time in different places.[69] From these two approaches or methods of comparison, it is known that changes took place in the concepts and practices of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual and in the meaning of its ritual symbols, structures, and functions. However, in the case of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, the diachronic approach proved more difficult to take because of its historical nature while comprehensive historical documents regarding this ritual are remarkably rare. Even so, historical fragments in several documents and in the collective memory of the community helped me to use it.

There are three elements that are instrumental for the output of intercultural encounters, namely *subject, event*, and *conditions*. Of course, looking at these elements is a form of simplification when applied to the process of acculturation or ritual hybridization in case of the *Wawacan Seh*. Yet, the role of these three cannot be ignored in the process of acculturation and hybridization, or, at least, all three are almost always present and influence the process.

It should be mentioned here that this explanation cannot be separated from the explanation of the previous chapter regarding the encounter of Islamic teachings with the local culture. In the previous chapter I offered an explanation of the period of the formation of the *Wawacan Seh* traditions and rituals, while this chapter is part of the explanation of the culture changes that took place. As also discussed in chapter two, the process of Islamization that took place in Banten, as well as in Southeast Asia in general, is an unending process. In this case, Johns reminds us that interaction is a symptom of sustainable creative energy and a vital element in Islam in Southeast Asia which houses a variety of communities and cultures.[70]

What happens in that encounter is a process of acculturation and the re-hybridization of a culture. As an existing local tradition (please keep in mind that its existence was also the result of cultural negotiations between local culture and Islamic teachings that came in the early days of Islamization in Banten), the *Wawacan Seh*—through its cultural agent—

---

[69] Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8–10.

[70] A.H. Johns, "Perspectives of Islamic Spirituality in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Encounters," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 12, no. 1 (2001): 5.

engaged in what is called historical recycling in the encounter process. Adopting Asad's depiction of history production by local communities, the acculturation in the process of the encounter between the *Wawacan Sch* ritual and the new culture arose actively: the local community accepted the incoming external culture (including the coming of Islamic teachings), contested it, "borrowed" new meanings from it and finally reconstructed its traditions.[71]
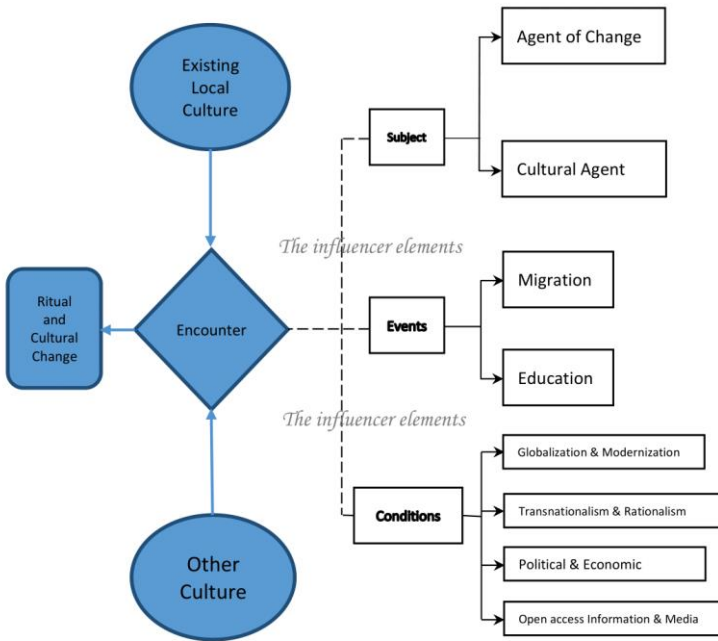
The depiction looks simple, even though what actually happens in reality is far more complex and takes a long period of time. There are many factors involved in cultural negotiations, including the three influencers I mentioned earlier each with its own supporting dimensions and aspects. To explain the changes in tradition and discourse that occur within, I will

---

[71] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 2.

begin with the forms of change that occurred in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition. Both can be observed in cultural objects and symbols and elements that are not clearly visible in the functions and power relations between the tradition and its cultural agents.

1. The Symbolic Meaning

Changes in culture or tradition can easily be seen in the symbols they use. On the one hand, changes in symbolic objects indicate a change in their meaning. This change in meaning, in this case, became a hallmark of the changes in the way people perceive realities. On the other hand, changing the meaning of society towards reality does not necessarily lead to change in the symbolic object used. A case in point is the early formation of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual. Its appearance signals that there was a change in society's perspective on reality away from its previous worldview, which was based on ancestral beliefs, to a more "Islamic" perspective.

Although there are changes in people's worldview, not all earlier ritual symbols were abandoned or replaced when rituals are enacted. *Sesajen* or *bekakak ayam* (grilled chicken), for example, are still used, but the people have given them a new meaning. *Bekakak ayam* is no longer interpreted as a symbol of tribute to the *Karuhun* (ancestor spirits) as a sign of submission so that the negotiation efforts with the spirits may run smoothly, but as an effort to mimesis of what Sheikh AQJ had done who really liked to eat this kind of food. Because its meaning has changed, the way to use it changed also. *Bekakak ayam* is no longer used as *sesajen* or offerings stored in a place that is considered sacred and inhabited by spirits, but is meant as a gift which is eaten together by the people who attend the ritual.

These changes can be easily understood when we look at the history of the early formation of these cultures and traditions. The emergence of culture in a particular community or society, according to van Gennep, begins with the interaction of people with the world around them, including the forces that are around the place where they live. Cultural expression is a reflection of the reaction of the people to these forces. In

facing that power, people try to adapt, subdue, and adopt it for the sake of their lives and this subsequently forms a culture.[72]

2. The Ritual Functions

The function of sacred symbols, according to Geertz, is to synthesize ethos (the moral and evaluative elements of culture) and worldview (the cognitive orientations about the order of self, society, and the world). Every society has important sacred symbols that embody meanings of why there is ultimate order in human existence even when we cannot experience it, and these symbols serve as vehicles to conceptualize the meaning of one's own existence, combining the experiences of diverse domains.[73]

In some historical fragments, there is at least speculation about its three initial functions. *First*, it was used as a means of introducing Islam with a local "taste" so that people easily accepted the Islamic teachings that were being introduced. This function of *da'wa* (proselytizing Islam) can also be seen in the Islamic "touches" of the ritual, for example, the shift of supernatural agents from the ancient gods and ancestral spirits to Sheikh AQJ. Even though Sheikh AQJ is a central supernatural figure in the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, the early Islamic preachers always stressed that he had strength only because of his position as the closest person to Allah, so that the real power owner is Allah and thus Sheikh AQJ seemed to be an exemplary figure for the people who performed the ritual and they emulated his piety and good character.

Second, the *Wawacan Seh* at that time was a form of entertainment. *Third*, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual was used as a means of social control and social consolidation. It became a ritual where the community gathered enabling the Sultan or the Ruler to exercise social control. In Banten during the reign of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari—who at that time was a religious adviser and warlord against the Dutch—taught *Ilmu Tuan Syeh* (i.e. the technique of invulnerability and supernatural powers that later transformed into the *debus* tradition) to the

---

[72] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[73] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Book, 1973), 127.

Bantenese soldiers.[74] *Ilmu Tuan Syeh* is actually the techniques of self-protection taken from the *tarekat* tradition and is believed to originate from Sheikh AQJ's *karomah*. The technique obtained through the *Wawacan Seh* ritual was also a driving force behind the morale and the spirit of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari's soldiers in confronting the Dutch.[75] The ritual managed to maintain the fighting spirit and solidarity among the soldiers of the Sultanate of Banten. This function of social control and mass consolidation was also present in the days of preparation for the Banten peasant uprising in 1888.[76]

The basic conception of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is maintaining tradition, prayer (*istighātha, tawassul,* and *tabarruk*), and *nyarcat*. The last two concepts are closely related to religious factors and this influences to a large extent the conception society has that the ritual is part of religious life and therefore it is almost always present in every rite de passage ritual in the community. This conditions then encourages each subject that it is assumed to be in control of the meaning of the ritual symbols and to interpret them according to religious teachings. Therefore, the meaning of religious symbols must ultimately be linked with and adapted to Islamic teachings. A meaning that is considered "deviant" will have an immense effect on its sustainability.

This condition then "forces" the subjects of ritual meaning, such as the *juru maos* and religious leaders, to actively and creatively reinterpret ritual symbols to conform them to Islamic teachings, or even rationalize them to avoid meanings contradictory to Islamic teachings. For example, incense is commonly used during rituals. In the past, it was used as a *sesajen* offered to the ancient gods and ancestral spirits and the smoke would bring the people's prayers to them. In the present, according to most sources I interviewed, incense is considered nothing more than a "room

---

[74] Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, 35; Hamid, *Shaykh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, 99; Rohman, "The Result of a Holy Alliance: Debus and Tariqah in Banten Province," *Afkaruna: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 9, no. 1 (Januari-Juni) (2013): 1–15.

[75] Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, 221; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past.*

[76] Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, Its Conditions, Course and Sequel: A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia* (Springer Science+Bussiness Media, B.V., 1966).

deodorizer" or a kind of aromatherapy which is believed able to psychologically generate ritual sacredness.

This meaning certainly has a large effect. Many people ultimately choose not to use incense anymore because it they no longer consider it a ritual tool and that it has no significant impact for them. There are also those who replaced it with *hio* (Chinese incense stick) because of its similar aroma-therapeutic effects. Some of them replace it with perfume, like *misik*. Those who no longer use it or who have replaced it with perfume, have done so because incense can be smelled to up to several meters from the house which often invites questions and suspicion from other people (this usually occurs in *Wawacan Seh* rituals performed alone or with only relatives without inviting local residents). Therefore, in order to avoid defamation, incense is replaced with non-alcoholic perfume. Some people still consider incense a means and a tool for pre-Islamic magical rituals so that smelling of incense will be considered as being engaged in black magic.

The meaning and rationalization of the symbolic objects of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual will also lead to changes in the function of the symbolic objects themselves. The more meaning it is given the more the *Wawacan Seh* ritual's function will change. The fact that the people who demand the meaning of ritual symbols are Muslims also "forces" the *juru maos* and the ritual practitioners to reinterpret them according to Islamic teachings. The more difficult it is to adjust the meaning of symbols to Islamic teachings, the more they will offer a rational understanding that can be accepted by everybody. But this effort is not without risk. The more ritual symbols are rationalized, the more they are in danger of losing their sacred position. The discourse on the meaning of symbols is the determinant factor behind changes in the functions and preconditions of the continuity or discontinuity of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual in Banten.

This condition made the Bantenese to discontinue the *Wawacan Seh* ritual and many have replaced by with the *Manakiban* ritual which is actually almost the same as the *Wawacan Seh* ritual because also here, Sheikh AQJ is still a supernatural agent. The community considers a *Manakiban* to be more Islamic in nature because it is not only done by reading Sheikh AQJ's text in Arabic but also because it does not require *sesajen* that are usually present in the pre-Islamic *Wawacan Seh* ritual.

The loss of sacredness as the main pillar of a ritual will cause a change in its social function and even its sustainability may be threatened as it will make it nothing more than a theatrical performance. This also happened in Banten, where the *Wawacan Seh* came to be used as a local art performance. Even the regional government in Pandeglang Regency, Serang Regency, Serang City, and the Banten Province Language Office once held a reading competition of the *Wawacan Seh*. Although it was not the intention to eliminate its ritual sacredness aspect, it is clear that the local government's main objectives and concerns were not the effectiveness and efficacy of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, as they were meant by most people, but to preserve the local culture and its language. This preservation of culture and tradition was later to become a local asset for the development of tourist and cultural industries managed by the local government.

However, the changes in the *Wawacan Seh*'s ritual function in Banten cannot be reduced to one generalization because it is still scattered over several regions in Banten each with its own variations in their respective implementation techniques. For those who still perform it routinely in every major event of the life-cycle ritual tradition, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is usually run in congregation rather than individually.

The function of the ritual, in this case, is very clear. In addition, to develop religious motivation and disposition, it also becomes a binder of social power. In these communities, rituals are maintained as hereditary traditions with symbolic meanings and are rarely performed openly because they assume that what they do is nothing but guarding the religious traditions that have been handed down to them from previous generations.

Other communities no longer perform the *Wawacan Seh* ritual in congregation but consider it enough to be perform it individually or only in the presence of a limited number of relatives and they invite a *juru maos* to read it at home. This is what mostly happens today in Banten. Usually, these communities perform the ritual based on effectiveness, efficacy and on maintaining the traditions that their families have performed for generations. People like this do not invite their neighbors because they are often opposed to this ritual which they see as un-Islamic.

Since the last ten years, the local government has started to pay attention to local traditions and culture, and the *Wawacan Seh* ritual

regained its place in the public domain. Almost all Banten cultural and artistic heritage sites feature this ritual in the form of a traditional theatrical art performance. In fact, many tourist villages (*desa wisata*) are now supported by the Local Government, such as the village of Cikolelet in Cinangka region which has turned the *Wawacan Seh* ritual into one of its distinctive traditional art performances. However, even though it has been considered a traditional art form, people who still believe in it and still treat it as a sacred ritual.

3. The Ritual Structure

Given that there are no standard rules for making sense of ritual symbols, the meaning used in the community becomes fluid depending on the most powerful subject in their power circle and social relations, which in Weber's terms is called Charismatic authority. In this case, the owner of the meaning is the real ruler who can control the implementation of the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, with respect to the ritual techniques and the continuity of the ritual itself. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is said that changes in the meaning of symbols affect the function of the ritual itself, and these changes also influence and are also influenced by changes in the structure of the ritual. The ritual structure referred to here not only concerns the social and power relations in the community of ritual practitioners but also the internal structure of the ritual itself including its supernatural agents.

Many scholars primarily studied religion in terms of beliefs, uncovering the psychological mechanisms that produce supernatural agents in all cultures.[77] They argue that these supernatural agents wielded

---

[77] Some works that are relevant to this study are Scott Atran, *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); J. L. Barrett, "Exploring the Natural Foundation of Religion," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 4 (2000): 29–34; Jesse M. Bering, "The Evolutionary History of an Illusion: Religious Causal Beliefs in Children and Adults," in *Origins of the Social Mind: Evolutionary Psychology and Child Development*, ed. B. Ellis and D. Bjorklund (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 411--437; Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought* (NewYork: Basic Books, 2001); Joseph Bulbulia, "Religious Costs as Adaptations That Signal Altruistic Intention," *Evolution and Cognition* 10 (n.d.): 19–42; Joseph Bulbulia, "The Cognitive and Evolutionary Psychology of Religion," *Biology and Philosophy* 19 (n.d.): 655–686; Stewart Elliott Guthrie, *Faces in the Clouds: A New Theory of Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Lee A. Kirkpatrick, "Toward an Evolutionary Psychology of Religion and Personality," *Journal of Personality* 67 (1999): 921–951; Steven Mithen, *The Prehistory*

power over the community. Tribal leaders, who usually became shamans (*dukun*) or religious authorities (*kepala suku*), became people with full authority over the course of life of the people in their territory. Society considers them as persons who understand all the reality around them. Therefore, the supernatural agent's function in local and very traditional communities is to act as central cultural agent whom the community will usually consult for whatever issue they have in their lives. He becomes the central figure and community consultant on household issues, war, health, and social institutions. He is considered the person who can communicate with the gods, ancestral spirits, and other supernatural realities so that he is able to know a reality that ordinary people cannot.

One of the reasons the *Wawacan Seh* ritual emerged was to change the structure of the supernatural agencies. In their pre-Islamic culture, by participating in rituals, the Bantenese people would depend for solving their problems on this supernatural agent who has mystical powers and was believed to be able to communicate directly with the gods or the spirits. Supernatural agents in this type of society usually have a very important position in the community and have, what Weber called, charismatic authority.

The destruction of the sultanate in Banten had a tremendous effect on the spread and the changes in the structure of the ritual's implementation. The Sultan or his religious adviser were no longer the only subjects to create ritual meaning. Its spread followed the spread of the royal members of the Sultanate and their *ulama* to the peripheral regions in Banten in the course of the 19th century. The more it spread to these remote areas, the more it faced local traditions and customs that were increasingly complex. This complexity in its turn created a variety of *sesajen* which were different from one region to the next. Although in further developments it proved not to be immune to change what is interesting about the spread is the emergence of new cultural agents and subjects that gave the ritual new meaning and the *kyai* and the *jawara* became an inseparable part in it.

There was no longer a Sultan in Banten while the *kyai* and the *jawara* remained very influential figures. It should be noted that in Banten a person will be considered a *kyai* when he has supernatural and magical

---

of the Mind (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996); Steven Mithen, "Symbol and the Supernatural," in *The Evolution of Culture*, ed. R. Dunbar, C. Knight, and C. Power (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

powers other than, of course, in-depth religious knowledge and a *jawara* is a traditional figure who has supernatural powers with which he maintains the security of the village and its territory.

Although there is a historical connection regarding the relationship between a *kyai* and a *jawara*, currently, the relationship between the two has changed slightly. When in the past, a *jawara* was a traditional figure who was very submissive to his *kyai*, and it was even said that he was his *kyai*,s right hand, in line with the changes in social relations and power, the relationship between the *jawara* and the *kyai* also changed. This especially happened during the New Order (*Orde Baru*) era in Indonesia when the *jawara* were exponents of the Golkar, i.e. *Satkar Pendekar*.[78]

Even so, both of them were, and still are, agents of culture in this region but the *kyai* became an inseparable part of the development of Islamic teachings in Banten, while the *jawara* became part of the preservation of religious traditions, including the tradition of the *Wawacan Seh*. Until now, many *jawara*—many of whom are currently village heads (*kepala desa*), community leaders, and wealthy people in the village[79]—still perform the *Wawacan Seh* ritual routinely at their houses for which they invite a *juru maos* and community members. In this case, the ritual is performed not only to preserve the tradition but also to bless and—the most important thing—to maintain their traditional charisma in the community.

The texts used in the *Wawacan Seh* rituals are deliberately arranged according to the *pupuh macapat* poetic formula so that they can be chanted for a wide audience that was entertained by the distinctive sound of the poems and it is peculiar that the ritual later became an individual affair. About this, some *juru maos* reasoned that this individual reading is done because the conditions in the community encourage this. The point is that since the social change that took place in Banten in the early 1990s with the arrival of factories and industries, the social make-up of the agrarian

---

[78] Bandiyah, "*Evolusi Jawara di Banten (Studi Evolusi dari Bandit Menjadi Pejabat)*"; Kolopaking et al., "The Shift of Power Structure in Rural Banten: A Case of Local Leadership Typology of Ulama and Jawara in Pandeglang"; Facal, *Keyakinan dan Kekuatan Seni Bela Diri Silat Banten*, 28–30; Ian Douglas Wilson, *The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia: Coersive Capital, Authority and Street Politics* (London: Routledge, 2015).

[79] Tihami, "*Kyai dan Jawara di Banten: Studi tentang Agama, Magi, dan Kepemimpinan di Desa Pasanggrahan Serang, Banten.*"

community changed, especially in Cikande, Ciruas, Carenang, Pontang, and Tirtayasa sub-districts.

Especially after television had become the main choice of public entertainment, traditions that contain entertainment felt its influence. The sacred ritual of the *Wawacan Seh* and also the dimensions of entertainment contained in it were also affected. Many residents who were invited to a *Wawacan Seh* ritual have become bored and many no longer want to accept the invitations. They usually only participate in the *hadorot* reading session, read some of the selected verses of Al-Quran and the initial prayer (like in *tahlil*), but many of them leave the room when the *Wawacan Seh* reading starts. This happens because in the reading session of the *Wawacan Seh* the main role is for the *juru maos*, while the others merely listen to the poetic fragments of the *wawacan* stories that are chanted in the *macapat* way, and they no longer understand the language of the *wawacan* (because they use old Banten-Javanese of which many words are no longer used in daily language).

Of course, there is no single reason why the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is now performed individually. Some *juru maos* gave different reasons. According to them, the ritual is performed individually mostly because the hosts want it. For some people, the ritual is based on the concept of *nyareat* or as a spiritual effort after physical efforts have been made. Like Ahmad whom I met in the Rajeg area in Tangerang who invited a *juru maos* to perform the *Wawacan Seh* ritual individually at his house. His reason was that before building a house, people usually give a *selametan* and invite many people from the neighborhood, but because he did not have enough money all he could do was "*sekedar Maca Seh*" (only perform the *Wawacan Seh*) at home. Ahmad's "*sekedar Maca Seh*" was his *nyareat* (spiritual effort) and meant as a substitute for the *slametan* (which is usually accompanied by the *Wawacan Seh* and attended by many people and thus would certainly cost a lot of money). In this case, the economic factor also provided change to the ritual performance. Ahmad wanted to get security, blessing, and follow the traditions of his community, but because he did not have enough money, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual was performed individually at his house.

Finally, I must emphasize here that the three components of change in the *Wawacan Seh* ritual—in terms of its symbols, function, and structure—are very strongly interrelated. Changing the meaning of ritual

symbols causes changes in structure; changes in ritual functions will also change the ritual symbols and the structure, and so on. This means that the three cannot be analysed partially but have to be considering as a whole.

From the explanation of the changing rituals and traditions of the *Wawacan Seh* above, I can conclude, even though it is a little simplistic, that the changes are a response to changing conditions and perceptions in reality. There are at least three responses, which are: continuation (without any changes in the rituals or tradition of *Wawacan Seh*, and this is rarely found); continuation with changes and modifications; and discontinuation (the ritual is no longer performed). Reserved rituals, or rituals that are performed since previous generations without change, occur because the community does not want to face changes in the social environment or they are resistant to new religious ideas and life patterns.

The modified ritual form is the most frequently found and changes can be found in the realms of symbols, functions, and structures. There are two fundamental changes in the realm of symbolic meaning, i.e. the existence of the ritual itself and the symbolic objects such as *sesajen*. These changes can be seen, for instance, in ritual symbols which were previously Islamic but transformed into religious symbols in the public sphere and in the meaning of these symbols, especially *sesajen,* which changed so much that they are even seldom used.

The functions and structures of rituals also change and follow the developments in the changing meanings of the ritual symbols. Not only do they change, but they also experience growing appreciation and depreciation. For example, the ritual function is no longer to enhance control and social cohesion but develops into a traditional art that can assist local governments in their development of local tourist industries. The structure of the ritual is not only changing but also experiencing expansions and reductions in the way it is implemented starting from the main change in the supernatural agent up to its reducing into a ritual that is performed individually. More dramatically, since its encounters with other religious cultures and understandings, the ritual has also been totally replaced. For example, in the District of Cipocok Jaya, Serang City, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual is no longer performed but replaced by "Maca Silsilah".

The *Maca Silsilah* ritual is actually still part of the *Wawacan Seh* but without the reading of the stories of Sheikh AQJ. Its performance consists only of *hadorot* readings (reading *Surah al-Fātiḥah*) to the Prophet and his family, Companions, Sheikh AQJ, Sheikhs in the TQN genealogy, *ulama*, both parents, and Muslims and believers in general, then proceeds with reading several Qur'anic verses, *dhikr*, and ends with a prayer. Despite all these changes, two things did not change. *First*, that the people believe that Sheikh AQJ was "present" among them when the ritual was performed, so the first session of the ritual was called *hadorot*. *Second*, they continue to "entrust" their prayers and hopes to Sheikh AQJ because people still believe that he is very close to God so that their prayers will be answered by God.

People who no longer perform the ritual, based on my observations, have two main reasons. One is because of their contact with new religious understandings and they argue that the ritual is an innovation (*bid'a*), and second the absence of future generations who can lead the reading of the ritual of the *Wawacan Seh* (for instance, because the *juru maos* who usually lead the rituals die). Ritual continuity comes about when the ritual continues to be enacted but with certain changes and modifications.

There are three dominant factors that greatly influence changes in culture in general, and rituals and traditions in particular. The dominant factors are subject, event, and condition and they do not work independently in influencing cultural change. In the explanation of the factors that determine the changes of the *Wawacan Seh* tradition, there needs to be an affirmation that the three factors do not work separately. The division of these three factors is categorical, but in reality, they work together in an arena called discourse. Therefore, the explanation of the religious discourse is actually only to affirm explanation regarding ritual change and the factors behind it. However, the factors that influence the change of tradition in society work based on religious discourse, where cultural agents play an important role as "active change actors" and are intensely influenced by events and conditions. In that discourse cultural negotiations emerge which then give birth to a response. There are three responses related to cultural discourse and in the case of *Wawacan Seh* tradition they are *continuity*, *modification*, and *discontinuity*.
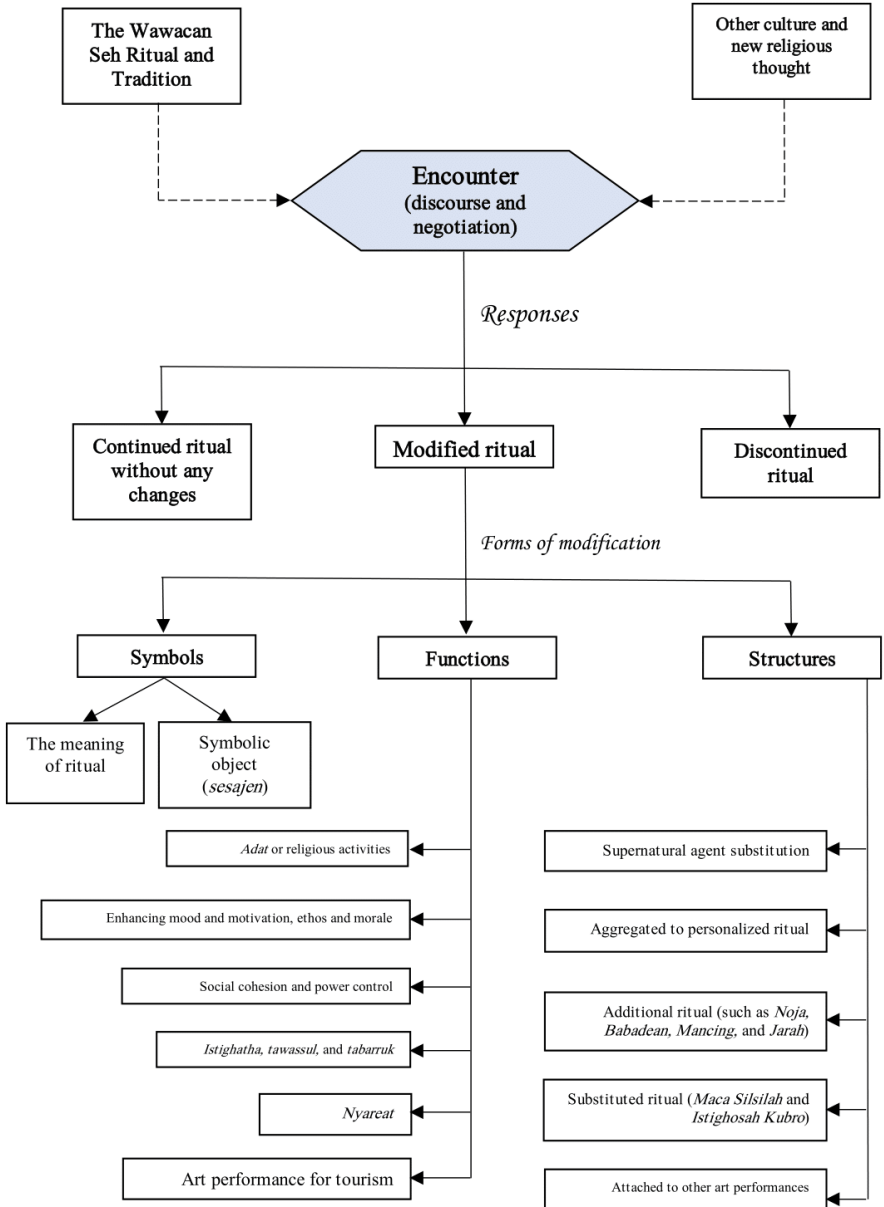
The tradition and ritual of the *Wawacan Seh* are manifestations of religious expression and the discourse about its existence has experienced ups and downs in society. In the past, scholars often classified the subjects involved in the discourse on this matter in binary opposition, Traditionalists-Modernists, or Traditionalists-Reformists. They were right because they are all part of the reality that developed at that time. However, if we use Talal Asad's approach regarding discursive tradition to analyse the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, these categories contain fundamental flaws. *First*, the categories are at an elitist level and ignore other discourse actors in society. The category only targets elites who are actually a small part of society. In fact, the discursive tradition Asad referred to is a religious discourse involving all actors including ordinary people as cultural actors who think and act based on their own reasons. *Second*, even if the categories are made based on subject grouping because of their ways of thinking, the emergence of the current wave of global Salafi-Wahabism movements will make the categories more complex.

Therefore, in analysing the discourse of the *Wawacan Seh* tradition, I use three Muslim types: *Localists, Moderates*, and *Universalists*. Localist Muslims refers to people who have a local way of thinking. They look at the *Wawacan Seh* as part of their religious tradition that had been around for generations. To maintain this local tradition, they ensure the symbolic meaning of this ritual should be in accordance with what was taught by their predecessors. Included in this criterion are people who still faithfully perform this ritual such as the *juru maos*.

Moderate Muslims are those who understand enough about Islam and are able to distinguish between Islamic teachings and the expression of Islamic culture. They share a number of distinctive attitudes which are accommodative to local culture, often give new understanding in participatory ways to correct what is considered contrary to Islamic principles, and give new meaning to ritual symbols to conform to Islamic teachings. Included in this category are *kyai*, some *juru maos*, and *ulama* from al-Khaeriyah, Mathla'ul Anwar, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah.

Whereas the last category, Universalist Muslims, is an uncompromising group that insist to universalize Islamic practices and to restore local Muslim practice to make it in accordance with Al-Quran and Hadith. They deem the rituals Muslims perform today but was never

practiced by the Prophet as *bid'a* and therefore, they must be abandoned. This group's way of thinking is textual and totally based on interpreting Al-Quran and Hadith. Included in this group are Salafi-Wahhabis and members of other transnational Islamic movements who hold the religious belief that the practice of Islam is universal and therefore they are called Universalist Muslims.

E. Theoretical Implication

Using Asad's theory of Discursive Tradition for analysing the *Wawacan Seh* tradition and ritual inevitably led me to attempt to decipher the power relations present in the ritual practice. Although Asad criticized Geertz's approach of interpretation and symbolic meaning on many occasions, this dissertation shows that both theories (both Geertz's interpretive and symbolic meaning and Asad's power relations and practices) cannot be separated or run exclusively on their own.

There are now two approaches that have currently become mainstream in anthropological research, namely the interpretation and symbolic meaning approach as represented by Clifford Geertz and the power relations and practice approach as represented by Talal Asad. Oftentimes, the proponents of either approach speak as if their approach is exclusive and unrelated to the other. This approaches probably stems from Geertz's and Asad's statements. For example, Geertz says, "Culture is not a power."[80] Asad pointedly remarks, "Searching for symbolic meanings is not the name of my game."[81] In response to Asad, Geertz accused him of being a "power-reductionist." He says, "I suspect that Asad is a Marxist who cannot be a material-reductionist anymore, so instead he is a power-reductionist."[82]

The differences in and exclusivity of both approaches are increasingly evident when Asad sharply criticizes Geertz's thought. One of the chapters in his book, *Genealogy of Religions*, Asad's now-famous criticism of Geertz, was deliberately written to seriously criticize Geertz's theory. For example, in one chapter in his book, *The Interpretation of Culture*, Geertz

---

[80] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, 14.

[81] Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, 110.

[82] Arun Micheelsen and Clifford Geertz, "'I Don't Do Systems': An Interview with Clifford Geertz," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion2* 14, no. 1 (2002): 9.

said: "The anthropological study of religion is, therefore, a two-stage operation: first, an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper, and, second, the relating of these systems to social-structural and psychological processes."[83] Asad criticized this and said that "religious symbols—whether one thinks of them in terms of communication or of cognition, of guiding action or of expressing emotion—cannot be understood independently of their historical relations with nonreligious symbols or of their articulations in and of social life, in which work and power are always crucial." Asad also argued that it is not just that religious symbols are intimately linked to social life (and so change with it), or that they usually support dominant political power (and occasionally oppose it). Rather, different kinds of practices and discourses are intrinsic to the field in which religious representations (like any representation) acquire their identity and their truthfulness.[84] In other words, for Asad, these two stages are in essence one: religious symbols acquire their meaning and efficacy in real life through social and political means and processes in which power, in the form of coercion, discipline, institutions, and knowledge, is intricately involved.

In addition to the sharp differences between the interpretation and symbolic meaning approach and the power and practice approach, my research findings show that both approaches involve each other. This dissertation, however, agrees with Stephen S. Bush[85] who says that an adequate theory of religion would have to incorporate both terms into its methodology, preferably without subordinating one to the other.

In relation to the study of ritual, the power and practice theorist usually wants to know not what the ritual *means*, but what does the ritual *does*. Yet, according to my research findings, to analyse the *Wawacan Seh* ritual it is not enough to understand "what does the ritual does" when it is also not analysed in terms of "what does the ritual *mean*". Therefore, analysing the *Wawacan Seh* ritual by only emphasizing the power and the practice approach will be difficult because the power relations that exist in the

---

[83] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, 125.

[84] *Asad, Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam, 53.*

[85] Stephen S. Bush, "Are Meanings the Name of the Game? Religion as Symbolic Meaning and Religion as Power'," *Religion Compass* 6, no. 12 (2012): 526.

practitioner's community of the ritual are built on symbols. In the *Wawacan Seh* tradition, it is very clear that those who have power over the existence of and the changes in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition are those who are the symbolic meaning makers and the interpreters of its ritual symbols.

Now it would be wrong to say that these two approaches are characterized by nothing but mutual antagonism. The combination of their occasional mutual disparagement leaves the impression that we are faced with a choice between interpreting meanings or analysing power. Therefore, it is worth stating explicitly that the situation here is not that we have symbols on the one hand, and social power on the other. Rather the disciplinary and coercive practices through which power acts to shape subjects and hierarchies are themselves thoroughly symbolic. Power cannot produce its effects without the symbolic context in which it operates. The question to ask is, Asad tells us, "How does (religious) power create (religious) truth?"[86] But equally, we have to ask the question how truth and meaning create power. As Foucault says, in his terminology, "Power and knowledge directly imply one another … there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."[87]

III. CONCLUSION

In Banten, the *Wawacan Seh* ritual has been a local living tradition for many centuries. Changes made in the ritual indicate the presence of changes on a broader scale in Banten society. We can observe this by employing two methods, the diachronic and the synchronic. The expression "*Wawacan Seh*" consists of two words, "*wawacan*" and "*seh*" and means the "reading about the Sheikh." The *Wawacan Seh* is the ritual of reading the hagiography of Sheikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani which the community holds for specific reasons. The extraordinary stories about Sheikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani are read from Banten-Javanese or Sundanese texts in Arabic-Pegon script, which were the results of adaptations from

---

[86] Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, 33.

[87] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Vintag. (New York: Vintage, 1995), 27.

Arabic ones. To read the text, the reader does not need to pay attention to the recitation rules of Al-Quran (*tajwid*), but he must read by using the melodic rules of the *pupuh*, such as *Sinom, Kinanti, Asmarandana, Dandanggula, Durma, Lambang*, and *Pangkur*.

At the beginning of its formation in Banten, the *Wawacan Seh* tradition signaled a major change in the cultural pattern of the community. It became a hallmark of active and massive change caused by the Islamization process in Banten. The *Wawacan Seh* in the form of a living tradition became a bridge between the existing local tradition and Islamic teachings. It also became a modified culture as the result of negotiation caused by the meeting of the local traditions and Islamic teachings which later started to form a hybrid culture due to the integration of elements of both as can be seen in its literature, music, *macapat* songs, worldview, as well as in the concept of sanctity.

In the case of the *Wawacan Seh* tradition, three aspects of change in ritual and tradition can be observed, namely *symbolic meaning, function*, and *structure*. From the aspect of symbolic meaning, changes in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition can occur in the meaning of the ritual itself and in the meaning of the symbolic objects of the ritual, such as the symbolic meaning of *sesajen*. Many changes also occur in its ritual function. The changes in terms of ritual function mostly related to its function as an intercessionary text, social cohesion, as well as social control and authority identification. While changes in the *Wawacan Seh*'s ritual structure mostly related to agency's structure of the ritual, the form of ritual practice (form communal to individual), as well as derived form of this ritual (such as *maca silsilah, Manakiban,* and *istigosah kubra*).

There are three dominant factors that greatly influence cultural changes in general and rituals and traditions in particular. These factors are *subject*, *event*, and *condition* and they do not work independently. The subject referred to here are the people who are involved in culture. Every person in the environment is a cultural agent. This subject is a cultural actor because he or she forms, changes, and determines the course of culture. There are three dominant subjects who are involve in the discourse about the ritual: Localist Muslims, Moderate Muslims, and Universalist Muslims.

Another factor that determines the changes in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition is the event. Events, in this case, are things that happen in a given

place and time or a special set of circumstances. An event describes human action in response to the surrounding environment. In this sense, rituals and traditions are events because they depict the human response to reality and sacredness. But what is meant by events in this dissertation are human actions that can influence the *Wawacan Seh* tradition. Based on my field research in Banten, both in areas where the community still performs the *Wawacan Seh* ritual and in others where it is no longer done I found that events have a major influence in the process of ritual change. Some of the most influential events are migration, education, and the death of the last *juru maos* in the community when he has no successor.

The last factor that has a major influence on the *Wawacan Seh* tradition in Banten is condition which can be defined as a mode of being or existence of a person or a thing, or a state in a particular moment in time. Based on my findings during my fieldwork in several areas in Banten, "conditions" that have a profound influence on the *Wawacan Seh* ritual changes include: multiculturalism, globalization, and modernization, the wave of transnationalism and rationalism, political and economic conditions, as well as open access information and social media.

These three factors also do not work in isolation of each other. The division of these three factors is categorical, but in reality, they work together in an arena called discourse. In a religious discourse, these factors operate in a situation where cultural agents play an important role as "active change actors" who are intensely influenced by events and conditions. From that discourse cultural negotiations emerge which then give rise to a response. There are three responses related to cultural discourse, including in the case of the *Wawacan Seh* tradition. They are *continuity*, *modification*, and *discontinuity*.

Finally, the changes that occur in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition are not only markers of significant changes in the objective form of culture but also in the web of meaning in the sense of ontological, social, and power relations within it. These changes indicate that there are other, more systematic and structured changes surrounding these cultural agents, both at the level of social interaction, power relations, and structures of authority, as well as in terms of worldview and their religious perspective. This, in fact, confirms Asad's contention that ritual is always intertwined with power. In other words, ritual is also a field where power is exercised.

On the other hand, this research also augments his argument about the ritual change.

In order to test its theoretical implication, using Asad's theory of discursive tradition for analysing the *Wawacan Seh* tradition and ritual, inevitably led me to an attempt to decipher the power relations present in their ritual practice. Even so, although on many occasions Asad criticized Geertz's approach of interpretation and symbolic meaning, this dissertation shows that both theories (both Geertz's interpretive and symbolic meaning and Asad's power relations and practices) cannot be separated or run exclusively on their own. To analyse the *Wawacan Seh* ritual, finding answers to the question *"*what does the ritual do?" does not lead to enough understanding if we also do not analyse "what the ritual *means".* Therefore, when analysing the *Wawacan Seh* ritual by only emphasizing the power and practice approach the researcher will face difficulties because of the power relations that exist in the community of the practitioners of the ritual are built on symbols.

In the *Wawacan Seh* tradition, it is very clear that the symbolic meaning makers and the interpreters of ritual symbols are those who have the power over the existence of and the change made in the *Wawacan Seh* tradition. This research shows that Talal Asad's anthropological approach that emphasizes how power works in religion can indeed go hand in hand with those of Durkheim (looking at the function), and Geertz (symbolic meanings). This research demonstrates that looking at power in ritual does not mean that one has to abandon these aspects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmad. "Hikayat Syekh Abdul Qodir Jailani; Sebuah Kajian Filologis." Universitas Pajajaran Bandung, 1988.

Ahmad, M. Athoullah. *Pengaruh Wawacan Syckh Abdul Qadir Jaelani Pada Masyarakat Banten*. Serang, 1987.

Al-Tarmisī, Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ. *Bughyat Al-Adhkiyā' Fī Baḥthi "an Karāmāt Al-Awliyā."* Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2008.

Alatas, Syed Farid. "Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago." *The Muslim World* 75 (1985): 162–175.

Anjum, Ovamir. "Islam as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and Middle East* 27, no. 3 (2007): 657–672.

Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

———. "Modern Power and the Reconfiguration of Religious Traditions: An Interview with Saba Mahmood." *SEHR* 5, no. 1: Contested Polities (1996). https://web.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/asad.html.

———. *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986.

Atran, Scott. *In Gods We Trust: The Evolutionary Landscape of Religion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-. *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*. Edited by Shirle Gordon. Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963.

———. *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970.

Baedhawy, Ruby Ach. *Wawacan Seh: Praktek Dan Fungsi Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Di Banten*. Serang: Lemlit IAIN SMH Banten, 2009.

Bandiyah. "Evolusi Jawara Di Banten (Studi Evolusi Dari Bandit Menjadi Pejabat)." *Jurnal Interaktif Universitas Brawijaya* 1, no. 2 (2010): 111–171.

Barnard, Alan. *History and Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Barrett, J. L. "Exploring the Natural Foundation of Religion." *Trends in Cognitive Science* 4 (2000): 29–34.

Berg, L.W.C. van den, and R. Friederich. *Codicum Arabicorum in*

Bibliotheca Societatis Artium et Scientatiarum Quae Bataviae Floret Asservatorum Catalogum. Bataviae: Hage Comitis, 1873.

Bering, Jesse M. "The Evolutionary History of an Illusion: Religious Causal Beliefs in Children and Adults." In *Origins of the Social Mind: Evolutionary Psychology and Child Development*, edited by B. Ellis and D. Bjorklund, 411--437. New York: Guilford Press, 2005.

Boyd, Robert, and Peter J. Richerson. "The Evolution of Ethnic Markers." *Cultural Anthropology* 2 (1987): 65–79.

Boyer, Pascal. *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*. NewYork: Basic Books, 2001.

BPS-Statistics of Banten Province. *Banten Province in Figures, 2016*. Banten: BPS Provinsi Banten, 2016.

Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*. Bandung: Mizan, 1999.

———. "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate." *Archipel* 50 (15AD): 165–200.

———. "Shaykh Abd Al-Qadir Al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2 (2000): 361–395.

———. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia*. Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1992.

———. "The Origins and Development of Ṣūfī Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia." *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* I, no. 1 (April-June) (1994): 1–23.

Budhisantoso, S. *Wawacan Layang Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1990.

Bulbulia, Joseph. "Religious Costs as Adaptations That Signal Altruistic Intention." *Evolution and Cognition* 10 (n.d.): 19–42.

———. "The Cognitive and Evolutionary Psychology of Religion." *Biology and Philosophy* 19 (n.d.): 655–686.

Bush, Stephen S. "Are Meanings the Name of the Game? Religion as Symbolic Meaning and Religion as Power'." *Religion Compass* 6, no. 12 (2012): 525–533.

Chodkiewicz, Michel. "Konsep Kesucian Dan Wali Dalam Islam." In *Ziarah Dan Wali Di Dunia Islam*, edited by Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Guillot, 9–31. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2010.

Djajadiningrat, Hoesein. *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten: Sumbangan Bagi Pengenalan Sifat-Sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa*. Jakarta: KITLV dan Djambatan, 1983.

Drewes, G.W.J., and L.F. Brakel. *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*. Dordrech-Holland: Foris, 1986.

Drewes, G.W.J., and R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka. *De Mirakelen van Abdoelkadir Djaelani*. Bandoeng: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1938.

Facal, Gabriel. *Keyakinan Dan Kekuatan Seni Bela Diri Silat Banten*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2016.

———. "Religious Specificities in the Early Sultanate of Banten (Western Java, Indonesia)." *Indo-Islamika* 4, no. 1 (2014): 91–112.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. 2nd Vintag. New York: Vintage, 1995.

G.W.J. Drewes. "New Light on the Coming of Islam?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968): 433–459.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Book, 1973.

Gennep, Arnold van. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Guthrie, Stewart Elliott. *Faces in the Clouds: A New Theory of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hall, Edward T. *Understanding Cultural Differences*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1990.

Hamid, Abu. *Shaykh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994.

Hamidi, Muhamad. *Mitos-Mitos Dalam Hikayat Abdulkadir Jailani*. Jakarta: Yayasan Naskah Nusantara (Yanassa) dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003.

Haytami, Ibn Hajar Al-. *Al-Fatawa Al-Hadithiyya*. Beirut: Dar al-Ma'rifa, n.d.

Howell, Julia Day. "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August) (2016): 701–729.

Hurgronje, C. Snouck. *Islam Di Hindia Belanda*. Edited by S. Gunawan. Jakarta: Bharata, 1973.

———. *The Achehnese*. Vol. II. Leiden: BRILL, 1906.

Johns, A. "Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the First Half of the 17th Century." *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28, no. 1 (169) (1955): 70–77.

Johns, A. H. "Perspectives of Islamic Spirituality in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Encounters." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 12, no. 1 (2001): 5–21.

Johns, Anthony H. "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations" 26, no. 1 (1995): 169–183.

Jones, A H. "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 10–23.

Kapferer, Bruce. "Performance and the Structuring of Meaning and Experience." In *The Anthropology of Experience*, edited by Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner, 188–203. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Kartodirdjo, Sartono. *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888, Its Conditions, Course and Sequel: A Case Study of Social Movements in Indonesia*. Springer Science+Bussiness Media, B.V., 1966.

Kirkpatrick, Lee A. "Toward an Evolutionary Psychology of Religion and Personality." *Journal of Personality* 67 (1999): 921–951.

Kolopaking, Lala M., Arya H. Dharmawan, Endriatmo Soetarto, and Asep Muslim. "The Shift of Power Structure in Rural Banten: A Case of Local Leadership Typology of Ulama and Jawara in Pandeglang." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 6, no. 7 (2016): 173–184.

Kurniawan, Ade Fakih. "Konsep Tajalli 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd Al-Qahhar Al-Bantani Dan Posisinya Dalam Diskursus Wujudiyyah Di Nusantara." *ULUMUNA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 17, no. 2 (Desember) (2013): 275–302.

Laffan, Michael Francis. *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Lombard, Denys. *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya, Kajian Sejarah Terpadu. Bagian II: Jaringan Asia*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama bekerjasama dengan Forum Jakarta-Paris dan Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 2008.

Micheelsen, Arun, and Clifford Geertz. "'I Don't Do Systems': An Interview with Clifford Geertz." *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion2* 14, no. 1 (2002): 2–20.

Millie, Julian. *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009.

Mithen, Steven. "Symbol and the Supernatural." In *The Evolution of Culture*, edited by R. Dunbar, C. Knight, and C. Power. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

———. *The Prehistory of the Mind*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1996.

Muhammad, A. Ismail. *Banten: Penunjuk Jalan Dan Keterangan Bekas Kerajaan Kesultanan Banten*. Serang: Saudara, 1980.

Mulyati, Sri. "The Educational Role of The Tariqa Qaditiyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya." McGill University, 2002.

Pellat, CH. "Manakib." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. E.J. Brill, 1991.

Piotr Sztompka. "Looking Back: The Year 1989 as a Cultural and

Civilizational Break." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29 (1996): 115–129.

Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam*. Second edi. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Richard Johnson. "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?" *Social Text* 16 (1987): 38–80.

Rohman. "The Result of a Holy Alliance: Debus and Tariqah in Banten Province." *Afkaruna: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 9, no. 1 (Januari-Juni) (2013): 1–15.

Rosadi, M. "Seni Rudat Surorul Faqir: Sejarah Dan Fungsinya Pada Masyarakat Desa Kilasah, Kecamatan Kasemen, Kota Serang, Banten." *Jurnal Penamas* 29, no. 3 (Oktober-Desember) (2016): 40–41.

Sholikhin, Muhammad. *17 Jalan Menggapai Mahkota Sufi Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani*. Yogyakarta: Mutiara Media, 2009.

Soebardi, Soebakin. "The Pesantren Tarikat of Pesantren Suryalaya in West Java." In *Spectrum Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by S. Udin, 215–236. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1973.

Subki, Taj al-Din Al-. *Thabaqat Al-Shafi'iyyah Al-Kubra*. Cairo: Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-Arabiya, 1964.

Thohir, Ajid. *Gerakan Politik Kaum Tarekat: Telaah Historis Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah Di Pulau Jawa*. Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2002.

Tihami, M. A. "Kyai Dan Jawara Di Banten: Studi Tentang Agama, Magi, Dan Kepemimpinan Di Desa Pasanggrahan Serang, Banten." Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia, 1992.

———. *Upacara Rebo Wekasan Di Serang, Jawa Barat*. Serang, 1991.

Voorhoeve, Petrus. "Het Origineel van de Hikajat Abdulkadir Djelani." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* 83 (1949): 110–124.

Vredenbregt, Jacob. "Dabus in West Java." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* Deel 129, no. 2/3de Afl. (1973): 302–320.

Wilson, Ian Douglas. *The Politics of Protection Rackets in Post-New Order Indonesia: Coercive Capital, Authority and Street Politics*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Zulkifli. *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*. Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2002.

Interviews

Interview with Sairi of Ciruas on April 27, 2018
Interview with Ustadh Uting Sirojuddin of Ciruas on May 6, 2018
Interview with Dulyani of Cinangka on May 10, 2018
Interview with Ustadh Husein of Cinangka on May 10, 2018
Interview with Rosid of Cinangka on May 11, 2018
Interview with Salkin of Anyer on May 13, 2018
Interview with K.H. Khalwati of Ciruas on June 23, 2018
Interview with Sukri of Tirtayasa on June 24, 2018
Interview with Saruri of Cikeusal on July 1, 2018
Interview with Muarif of Cikeusal on July 1, 2018
Interview with Hamid of Cikeusal on July 1, 2018
Interview with *Kang* Ajo of Cikeusal on July 7, 2018
Interview with Ki Sohra of Anyer on July 8, 2018
Interview with Taufik of Lebak on August 5, 2018
Interview with Abah Ubed of Kresek on August 12, 2018
Interview with Ki Samawi of Rajeg on September 2, 2018
Interview with Said of Serang on October 8, 2018
Interview with Supyan of Taktakan on October 18, 2018
Interview with K.H. Suhaemi of Palas on November 11, 2018
Interview with HDY of Tangerang on November 26, 2018
Interview with Asep of Kota Serang on December 16, 2018

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name : Ade Fakih Kurniawan, S.Th.I., M.Ud.
Place & date of birth : Ciruas, December 6, 1983
NIP : 19831206 200604 1 003
Rank : Penata (III/c)
Position : Lektor
Home : Jl. Raya Syekh Nawawi al-Bantani no. 30 link. Bogeg Rt/Rw. 006/002 Kel. Banjar Agung, Kec. Cipocok Jaya, Kota Serang – Banten
Office : UIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Jl. Jend. Sudirman No. 30 Serang, Banten
No. HP / Email : 081807262737 / ade.fakih@uinbanten.ac.id or fakihku@gmail.com
Name of Father : H. A. Falikh Alhaq, M.Si.
Name of Mother : Hj. Qurrotul Aini
Name of Wife : Hendrieta Ferieka, S.E., M.Si.
Name of Children : 1. Aristodhya Zyan Aqila
2. Azcha Arivya Myiesha
3. Ayesha Agiethnaya Noureen

EDUCATION

Year	Degree	Name of School	Subject
1995	SD	SDN Kepandean, Ciruas	
2008	MTs	MMI Assa'adah, Pasirmanggu, Serang	
2001	MA	MMI Assa'adah, Pasirmanggu, Serang	IPA
2005	S1	UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta	Tafsir-Hadith
2011	S2	PMIAI Universitas Paramadina, Jakarta	Islamic Studies
2019	S3	School of Graduate Studies, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta	Islamic Thought and Muslim Societies (ITMS)

COURSES

Year	Course	Place
2009	Shortcourse Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat dan PAR	Malang
2012	Pentaloka Peningkatan Kompetensi Dosen	Cikarang

2014	CBR Training: Short Course of Community Outreach (SCCO)	Canada
Nov 2016 - May 2017	Sandwich Program at Goettingen University, Germany	Germany

RESEARCH EXPERIENCES

Year	Research	Funding
2008	Tipologi dan Karakteristik Bacaan Aktivis Muslim Kampus di Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa	Balitbang Depag RI
2009	Penelitian PAR: Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Eksodan Aceh di Desa Bendung, Kasemen, Serang, Banten	Diktis, DEPAG RI
2009	Penelitian PAR: Mengurai Relasi Kuasa (Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Eks. PKI di Kec. Sukun, Malang, Jawa Timur)	Diktis, DEPAG RI
2011	Mempertahan Turats di Tengah Himpitan Kehidupan Masyarakat Urban (Pemberdayaan Mutu Madrasah Al-Jauharotunnaqiyyah, Cibeber, Cilegon)	Diktis, DEPAG RI
2012	Ajaran Wahdat al-Wujud 'Abdullah bin Abdul Qahhar al-Bantani	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten
2013	Sufi Healing: Terapi Sufistik dalam Literatur Tasawuf Klasik	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten
2013	Daya Saing Lulusan IAIN "SMH" Banten	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten
2014	Pengalaman Keagamaan Masyarakat Banten: Perspektif Eksistensialisme Sufistik	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten
2014	Etnis Cina di Banten	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten
2015	Pengalaman Spiritual "Naik Haji" dalam Perspektif Psikologi Sufistik	DIPA IAIN "SMH" Banten

BOOKS / JOURNAL ARTICLES

A. Books and Journal Articles

Year	Title	Publisher / Journal
forthcoming	*Wali* and *Karama:* A Discourse and Authority Contestation in al-Tarmasi's *Bughyat al-Adhkiya'*	Al-Jamiah: Journal of Islamic Studies
2014	Pengalaman Keagamaan Masyarakat Banten: Dalam Perspektif Eksistensialisme Sufistik	FTK Banten Pess & LP2M IAIN SMH Banten. ISBN. 978-602-340-004-1

2014	Sufi Healing: Praktik Terapi Sufistik dalam Literatur Tasawuf Klasik	FUD Press. ISBN. 978-602-8748-44-5
2013	Konsep Tajalli 'Abd al-Lāh Ibn 'Abd al-Qahhār al-Bantanī dan Posisinya dalam Diskursus Wujūdiyyah di Nusantara	Jurnal Ulumuna, IAIN Mataram. Vol. 17 nomor 2, Desember 2013
2013	Tasawuf Falsafi: Pemikiran Sufistik 'Abd Allah al-Bantani dalam Teks Mashahid	FUD Press, ISBN. 978-602-8748-45-2
2012	Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf	FUD Press
2012	Paradigma Perubahan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat	Dedikasi: Jurmal Pengabdian Masyarakat. Vol. 4 nomor 2, Juli-Desember 2012
2011	Konsep Awalim Abdullah bin Abdul Qahhar al-Bantani dalam Teks Masyahid	Jurnal Al-Qalam, IAIN SMH Banten. volume 28 nomor 2, 2011
2009	Advokasi dan penguatan Kuasa (Kelola dan Manfaat) di pondok pesantren Sabilur-Rasyad dan Masyarakat Dusun Gasek, kel Karang Besuki, Kec. Sukun, Kota Malang, Jawa Timur)	Jurnal Dedikasi, LPM IAIN "SMH" Banten. Volume 1, Nomor 2, 2009
2009	Tipologi dan Karakteristik Bacaan Aktifis Mulsim Kampus di Perguruan Tinggi Umum	Jurnal Telaah, IAIN "SMH" Banten
2009	Intoxication and Sobriety in Sufi Tradition	Jurnal Al-Fath, Fak. Ushuluddin dan Dakwah IAIN "SMH" Banten
2008	Strategi Dakwah; Sebuah permenungan atas Konstruksi-Transformatif Nilai islam	Jurnal Dedikasi, LPM IAIN "SMH" Banten
2008	Islam Progresif: Sebuah Pergeseran Paradigma Beragama	Jurnal Tsaqofah, Jurusan Adab, Fak. Tarbiyah dan Adab, IAIN "SMH" Banten

B. As an editor

Year	BOOKS	Publisher
2008	Penaklukan Muslim yang Mengubah Dunia	Alvabet, Jakarta
2009	Memahami Islam Jawa	Alvabet, Jakarta
2009	The Qiraah Code (Mengungkap Rahasia Bacaan Shalat dari Takbir hingga Salam)	Alvabet, Jakarta
2009	The Extreme Future (10 Tren Utama yang Membentuk Ulang Dunia 20 Tahun ke Depan)	Alvabet, Jakarta