

Dialectics Of Islam With Javanese And Sunda Wiwitan Culture (Phenomenological Study In The Jalawastu Traditional Community In Brebes Regency And Bonokeling In Banyumas Regency)

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Abstract

This study examines the dialectic between Islam and Kejawen and Sunda Wiwitan culture, which is reflected in the lives of the Jalawastu indigenous people in Brebes and Bonokeling in Banyumas. Using a phenomenological approach, this study seeks to understand how the interaction and integration of Islamic values with local traditions shape the cultural identity of the community. This study uses a phenomenological approach. The results of the study indicate that this dialectic process involves adaptation, acculturation, and negotiation of values that occur dynamically. In the context of Jalawastu and Bonokeling, Kejawen and Sunda Wiwitan cultures are not completely replaced by Islamic teachings, but instead form a complementary harmony. Traditional rituals, religious symbols, and social structures of society become the main spaces where Islam and local cultures interact with each other. This study emphasizes the importance of respecting cultural diversity in Islam and the role of religion as a medium of reconciliation that strengthens social cohesion in indigenous communities. This study also contributes to cross-cultural and religious understanding, which is relevant in the context of Indonesia as a multicultural country.

Keywords: Islam, Kejawen, Sundanese Wiwitan, Jalawastu, Bonokeling, dialectics, phenomenology.

Abstrak

Studi ini mengkaji dialektika antara Islam dengan budaya Kejaven dan Sunda Wivitan yang tercermin dalam kehidupan masyarakat adat Jalawastu di Brebes dan Bonokeling di Banyumas. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi, penelitian ini berupaya memahami bagaimana interaksi dan integrasi nilai-nilai Islam dengan tradisi lokal membentuk identitas budaya masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa proses dialektika ini melibatkan adaptasi, akulturasi, dan negosiasi nilai-nilai yang berlangsung secara dinamis. Dalam konteks Jalawastu dan Bonokeling, budaya Kejaven dan Sunda Wivitan tidak sepenuhnya tergantikan oleh ajaran Islam, melainkan membentuk harmoni yang saling melengkapi. Ritual tradisional, simbol-simbol keagamaan, dan struktur sosial masyarakat menjadi ruang utama tempat Islam dan budaya lokal saling berinteraksi. Studi ini menekankan pentingnya menghormati keragaman budaya dalam Islam dan peran agama sebagai medium rekonsiliasi yang memperkuat kohesi sosial di komunitas adat. Penelitian ini juga memberikan kontribusi pada pemahaman lintas budaya dan agama, yang relevan dalam konteks Indonesia sebagai negara multikultural.

Kata Kunci: Islam, Kejaven, Sunda Wivitan, Jalawastu, Bonokeling, dialektika, fenomenologi.

Introduction

The study of the dialectic of religion and local culture has received much attention in academic studies, so that it can be found in various perspectives. There are at least three tendencies of aspects that are studied in viewing the relationship between religion and local culture, namely religion and culture have an inseparable connection and then give birth to compromise, in addition to compromise, religion and culture have a confrontational relationship; the construction of religion on local culture as well as Islam and local traditions; and the contestation of the majority religion and culture facing each other so that acculturation shows harmony and interaction between the two in displaying religious practices in everyday life.¹

Dialectics is a process of discussion or debate between two different elements, two things that are opposed and then reconciled, or commonly

¹ Mustaqim Pabajjah, 'dialectics of Islam and Local Culture: Survival Strategies of The Bawakaraeng Community in South Sulawesi', *Dialektika: Journal of Islamic Thought and Social Sciences*, 13.01 (2020), 38–52.

known as thesis, antithesis and synthesis.². In the context of religion, dialectics is a dialogue process between religion and humans as its followers who were sent down by God on earth³. Islam is a religion of rahmatan lil 'alamiin which is universal in nature, meaning, its mission is to...And Islamic teachings are not only aimed at one group or country, but at all of humanity, even the universe.⁴Islam as a universal religion in its presence on the face of the earth, blends with local culture, so that Islam and local culture in a society cannot be separated, but rather the two are parts that support each other.⁵.

The dialectic between Islam, Nusantara, and culture reflects how the values of Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin (Islam as a blessing for all nature) are implemented in the lives of society. Islam is present in Nusantara with a peaceful, flexible, and adaptive approach to local culture without eliminating the essence of its teachings. This interaction gives birth to harmony between Islamic teachings and pre-existing culture. The interaction between Islam, Nusantara, and culture shows the characteristics of Islam which is adaptive, peaceful, and harmonious. Islam does not force change head-on but instead respects local culture as long as it is in line with Islamic values. This approach reflects the principle of Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin which upholds compassion, tolerance, and peace for all mankind and the universe. The interaction between the three is seen in three things.⁶First, acculturation, namely the process of uniting elements of Islam with local culture that do not conflict with Islamic law. Second, cultural transformation by Islamic teachings, in this case, Islam provides new values that change and improve cultures that conflict with religious teachings, without destroying the culture itself. Third, inclusivity and tolerance, namely the pattern of Islamic

² Pabajjah. 'dialectics of Islam and Local Culture

³ Pabajjah. 'dialectics of Islam and Local Culture

⁴ Khabibi Muhammad Luthfi, 'Islam Nusantara: The Relationship between Islam and Local Culture', SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary, 1.1 (2016), 1 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v1i1.53>>.

⁵ Deden Sumpena, 'Islam and Local Culture: A Study of the Interrelation of Islam and Sundanese Culture', Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies, 6.1 (2014), 101 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/idajhs.v6i1.329>>.

⁶ Budi Ismatulloh, 'Implementation of Gratitude In The Culture of Ngasa Jalawastu (Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency)' (UIN Walisongo, 2020).

interaction in the archipelago that shows an inclusive and tolerant attitude towards cultural and religious diversity. This reflects Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin which upholds peace.

In the early process of Islamization to the archipelago, dialectics were shown by accommodating local traditions of the community. The arrival of Islam was not a threat, but a friend who played an important role in cultural transformation. This is the reason Islam is easily accepted everywhere, because Islam tends to be able to have a dialectic with the local culture of the archipelago community. Here, Islam in the archipelago shows a very good complexity, where Islam is not just a religion, but also has intellectual dynamics, cultural acculturation, artistic expressions and philosophies of life that are relevant to the situation and conditions in which Islam is located.

The relationship between Islam and culture can be mapped into three. *First*, Islam came to the archipelago with the aim of Islamizing its people. Second, Islam and culture are in a balanced position, Islam feels equal to local culture. *Third*, local culture influences Islam. Nusantara culture is active in maintaining, providing space, and fostering Islam so that it does not clash. The three of them certainly give rise to their own characteristics that distinguish Islam Nusantara from Islam in other places. However, the face of Nusantara is not lost because of the mixture with Islam itself.

There are two local cultures that still exist today, namely Kejawen in Pekuncen Village, Banyumas Regency, and Sunda Wiwitan in Cisereuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency. The meeting between Islam and local culture in the two traditional communities gave birth to unique forms of acculturation. The meeting of Islam with the two local cultures gave birth to a new convention that was constructed in the worship patterns that exist in each traditional community.

This study attempts to compare the dialectic form between Islam when confronted with Kejawen and when confronted with Sunda Wiwitan. Both exist in two large traditional communities, namely Bonokeling and Jalawastu. The dialectic form will be presented in the symbols in the ceremonies in each traditional community. Both have two different clothes, the Bonokeling Community uses an all-black symbol as a cultural identity-philosophy of life, which is displayed during traditional ceremonies, while

the Jalawastu Community uses a white symbol as a philosophical path of life that is filled with religiosity during traditional ceremonies. For that reason, this study is very important, as a mapping of Islamic resistance when confronted with Kejawen culture and Sunda Wiwitan culture.

There has been no comprehensive research on the dialectic of religion and culture, either in Jalawastu or in Bonokeling. Several previous studies have only focused on the Ngasa tradition in Jalawastu and the Unggahan tradition in Bonokeling. Some of these studies are the *Ngasa Tradition Ceremony in Dukuh Jalawastu, Ciseureuh Village, Brebes Regency*, *Ngasa Traditional Ceremony Tradition in the Social Construction of the Jalawastu Ciseureuh Hamlet Community*, *Ngasa Traditional Ceremony in the Jalawastu Cultural Village from a Theological Perspective*⁷, *Uploading Ritual in the Bonokeling Traditional Community*, *Symbolic Meaning of the "Unggah-Unggahan" Ritual of the Bonokeling Community in Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District, Central Java*⁸. For this reason, research on the dialectic between religion and culture in Jalawastu and Bonokeling is something new and provides an academic contribution regarding the dialectical phenomenon that occurs between religion and the values of collacity in traditional communities.

Method

This qualitative research uses a phenomenological approach in which the researcher explains the motives for the occurrence of acculturation actions.⁹ Phenomenology to seek the psychological meaning of individual experiences that focus on descriptions of participants' experiences of the events they experience.¹⁰ This research was conducted in two indigenous

⁷ Siti Rubay'atul Adawiyah, 'Ngasa Traditional Ceremony in Jalawastu Cultural Village from a Theological Perspective', *Journal of Religious Research*, 2.1 (2022), 200–219 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/jra.v2i1.17124>>.

⁸ Ester Krisnawati, Samporno, and Regina Rapa Pongbangnga, 'Symbolic Meaning in the "Unggah-Unggahan" Ritual of the Bonokeling Community in Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District, Central Java', *Journal Of Social Science Research*, 3 (2023), 1–15.

⁹ Muhammad Qadarrudin, *Phenomenology of Acculturation: Coastal Communities in Culture & Religion* (Educational Information Barn).

¹⁰ Herdiansyah Rizky Ramadhan and Achmad Mujab Masykur, 'Reading Cablaka (A Phenomenological Study of the Penginyongan Culture)', *Empati*, 7.3 (2018), 100–110.

communities, namely the Bonokeling Indigenous Community of Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District, Banyumas Regency and the Jalawastu Indigenous Community of Cisereuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency. To obtain data, several steps were used, namely Participant Observation, Free and In-depth Interviews, and Documentation Studies.

Phenomenological research is an approach in qualitative research that focuses on the direct or subjective experience of individuals towards a phenomenon. For this reason, researchers focus on experiences regarding the traditions in Bonokeling and Jalawastu. The main purpose of phenomenology is to understand how someone gives meaning to their experience of a particular event, situation, or concept. For this reason, researchers follow ritual activities in Bonokeling such as the Unggahan activity which is carried out once a year before the month of Ramadan and the Ngasa Ceremony activity which is carried out on Tuesday Kliwon in March every year. Interviews were conducted with traditional elders, in Bonokeling the interview was conducted with Ki Sumitro, while in Jalawastu the interview was conducted with Ki Dastam. Both are the main sources for research on these two traditional communities. After the data was obtained, researchers interpreted the data to find the deep meaning and essence of the phenomenon regarding the dialectic of Islam with Sundanese Wiwitan Culture in the Jalawastu Community and Kejawen Culture in the Bonokeling Traditional Community.

Result And Discussion

Dialectics of Islam with Culture

The dialectic of religion and culture is a process of mutually influencing interaction between religious belief systems and cultural traditions. Through this dialectic, both develop and create forms of cultural expression or religious practices that are unique to the social and historical context of a society. The dialectic of religion and culture refers to the dynamic reciprocal relationship between religion and culture. In this relationship, religion and culture influence each other, interact, and sometimes experience tension or harmony. Dialectics shows a constant process of change due to the

interaction between religion and culture.¹¹This relationship can be harmony (balance), compromise, or even conflict. The manifestation of this dialectic is, *first*, Acculturation, namely the unification of religious elements with culture. *Second*, Assimilation, namely the adjustment of religion to local culture, and *third*, Resistance: Cultural rejection of religious influence, or vice versa.¹²

Dialectics of Islam and Culture in Richard Niebuhr's view, there are five types of responses that emerge in the dialectics of Islam and culture, namely: 1) Religion changes culture; 2) Religion merges with culture; 3) Religion overcomes culture; 4) Religion and culture are in conflict; 5) Religion transforms culture. The dialectical relationship between religion and local culture in Suryo's view can take the form (variant): indigenization, negotiation and conflict.¹³Among other forms of indigenization are religious styles initiated by Koentowidjojo: one of which is the aesthetic style. The aesthetic style is one that emphasizes the emotional aspect, religious satisfaction arises from singing together, ceremonies and personal relationships between fellow believers.¹⁴

Dialectics is a process of discussion or debate between two different elements, two things that are opposed and then reconciled, or commonly known as thesis, antithesis and synthesis.¹⁵. In the context of religion, dialectics is the process of dialogue between religion and humans as its followers who were sent down by God on earth.¹⁶

¹¹ Eko Wahyu Koeshandoyo and others, 'Language Maintenance As Identity Construction In Jalawastu Traditional Community of Brebes Central Java', *Jurnal Ethnografi Indonesia*, 7.1 (2022), 29–41 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31947/etnosia.v7i1.19610>>.

¹² Hendi Sugianto, 'DIALECTICS OF RELIGION AND CULTURE (Socio-Anthropological Study of Religion in Texts and Society)', *Al-Tadabbur*, 5.2 (2020), 409–32 <<http://journal.iain-ternate.ac.id/index.php/altadabbur/article/view/186>>.

¹³ Yunus Wahid, *Actualization of Local Wisdom Towards Responsive Environmental Law* (Makassar: Pustaka Pena, 2021).

¹⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Dynamics of the History of the Indonesian Muslim Community* (Yogyakarta: Mata Bangsa, 1985).

¹⁵ Pabajjah. 'dialectics of Islam and Local Culture

¹⁶ Pabajjah. 'dialectics of Islam and Local Culture

Sunda Wiwitan Culture in Jalawastu Traditional Community

Sunda Wiwitan as it is known is a traditional belief of the Sundanese people. Sunda Wiwitan is a belief in the worship of the power of nature and ancestral spirits. This teaching is found in the Carita Parahiyangan book called Jati Sunda. The source of this teaching comes from the Sang Hyang Siksakandang Karesian book. Theologically, Sunda Wiwitan acknowledges that the highest belief is in Sang Hyang Kersa (*Nu Ngersakeun*) or called Batara Jagad or Batara Seda Niskala¹⁷.

The Jalawastu community's belief in myths and beliefs in ancestors (*karuhun*) is still very strong. Advice, activities, and "charisma" from ancestors are still strongly believed in even though they are difficult to prove in real terms. The Jalawastu community still applies various taboos. For example, the taboo for building a house is not to use cement, ceramics, and roof tiles. Other taboos are performing wayang, playing solo orchestra, and keeping animals such as geese, sheep, and buffalo.¹⁸

The Jalawastu community is a traditional community rich in myths and traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation. One of the myths that has developed in the Jalawastu community is *Dayeuh Lemah Kaputihan*. This myth describes Jalawastu as a "holy land" or Lemah Kaputihan, where the gods and guardians live. The community believes that in this area, behavior and speech must be guarded, because what is said can become reality.¹⁹ Therefore, there are various taboos that must be obeyed, for example, planting onions is prohibited and peanuts are considered taboo and avoided by local residents.

In general, the Jalawastu community greatly respects their ancestors. They also believe that the spirits of their ancestors still maintain peace and balance in the village. Every action taken must respect the values inherited from their ancestors. Any violation of customary traditions is considered a

¹⁷ Wijanarto. 'Harmony at the Foot of Mount Kumbang', Aceh Anthropological Journal, 2.2 (2018), 37–54

¹⁸ Rachmawati. Ira, 'Preaching Methods in the Jalawastu Cultural Village Community, Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency', 2019, 1–140

¹⁹ Annisa Rahmah Gunawan, 'THE VALUES OF SUFISM IN THE NGASA TRADITION IN JALAWASTU', 2022.

form of disobedience to the ancestors, which is believed to result in bad things such as crop failure or natural disasters.²⁰ These myths are not just part of local stories that are passed down from generation to generation, but also play a role in preserving culture and nature in Jalawastu. By obeying customary rules, it means that the community has maintained the balance of life and respected the heritage of their ancestors.²¹

The Ngasa ceremony is a ritual held once a year by the Jalawastu traditional village community. The Jalawastu community carries out this ceremony as a form of gratitude for the harvest and prosperity they have obtained through mountain products. In this ceremony, there is an interesting dialectic between the values of Islam that developed in the archipelago and the local teachings of Sunda Wiwitan, a pre-Islamic belief system that still exists in several traditional communities.²²

The people of Jalawastu have been carrying out mountain almsgiving once a year on Tuesday Kliwon, for generations, in the third month. Most of the farming community of Dukuh Jalawastu believe that the mountains have an abundance of nature that can produce harvests that are a source of prosperity for the community²³. At first, the Ngasa ceremony was a ritual ceremony as a form of obedience to Batara Windu Buana who at that time was believed to be the creator of the universe. In addition, this tradition is a form of obedience to Guriang Panutus, a preacher who is also a powerful ascetic, where he only eats rice, corn, tubers, vegetables, and fruits that grow around Mount Kumbang without eating animals or other living creatures.

²⁰ Elly Hasan Sadeli and others, 'IMPLEMENTATION OF CHARACTER VALUES OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES (Case Study of the Indigenous Community of Pekuncen Village)', *Khazanah Pendidikan*, 15.2 (2021), 145 <<https://doi.org/10.30595/jkp.v15i2.10819>>.

²¹ Akrom Jangka Daosat, 'RELIGION OF THE JALAWASTU PEOPLE The Struggle to Find Meaning in Nature "Ngasa Ritual"', 2022.

²² Alda Alamul Huda, Ngasa Ceremony in Jalawastu Hamlet in Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency, *Journal of Studies in the Sciences of the Qur'an and Hadith*, 2021, v <[https://eprints.walisongo.ac.id/16874/1/1604026039_ALDA_ALAMUL_HUDA_FULL_THESIS-alda alamul huda.pdf](https://eprints.walisongo.ac.id/16874/1/1604026039_ALDA_ALAMUL_HUDA_FULL_THESIS-alda%20alamul%20huda.pdf)>.

²³ Rizza Aulia Rohman, 'NGASA TRADITIONAL CEREMONY OF THE JALAWASTU COMMUNITY (Case Study in Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency)' (DIPONEGORO UNIVERSITY, SEMARANG, 2020).

Kejawen Culture in Bonokeling Traditional Community

The beliefs of the Bonokeling people today are actually a unique combination of Islam, Hindu-Buddhism and local religions²⁴. However, the combination has not been completed until now, resulting in new variant beliefs. From the Hindu side, it can be seen from the pattern of clothing that is still used in traditional ceremonies that are held. In a community activity, people usually wear black clothes, wearing bulankon/iket, beskap, and bebet for the fathers (men), while the mothers wear kebaya clothes.²⁵. Then, the local tradition is manifested in the slametan ritual. While the Islamic values that are embedded only reach the point of belief in the oneness of Allah. This identity is especially apparent when Pekuncen Village holds ritual activities and has celebrations carried out by the community.

Kejawen culture in the Bonokeling Traditional Community in Banyumas Regency is a blend of local Javanese values with elements of spirituality rooted in ancestral traditions. Kejawen, as a cultural and belief system, in this community persists even though most of the community members have converted to Islam. The Bonokeling community highly respects their ancestors. For them, ancestors are considered spiritual intermediaries and guardians of tradition. Respect for ancestors is manifested through various traditional rituals that emphasize gratitude and attachment to origins. This can be seen from the ancestral graves of Bonokeling which are spiritual and cultural centers, often used as pilgrimage sites to pray for ancestors.

The Bonokeling community has various unique rituals that reflect Javanese values such as Unggahan. Unggahan is a tradition of cleaning ancestral graves, usually carried out before the month of Ramadan. This ritual is a symbol of harmony between the spiritual world and everyday life. This activity is carried out to cleanse oneself from bad things, often associated with the belief in cosmic harmony. All the children of Bonokeling gather to socialize and pray for safety and well-being.

²⁴ Bambang H Suta purwana, Religious System of the Bonokeling Traditional Community, in Pekuncen Village, Jatilawang District, Banyumas Regency, 2015

²⁵ Bambang H Suta purwana, Religious System of the Bonokeling Islamic Education Program
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In one year, there are more than 20 rituals performed by the Bonokeling community, both large and small scale rituals. The ritual activities of the Pekuncen Village community, which until now still maintains traditional and cultural values, generally contain Slametan prayers whose contents are adjusted to the needs or perlon²⁶. Everything is packed in a sacred and harmonious atmosphere. In every ritual, the Bonokeling community always wears all-black traditional clothing and a head covering in the form of a blangkon.

Cultural Portrait of the Jalawastu People

The Jalawastu community's belief in myths and beliefs in ancestors (karuhun) is still very strong. Advice, activities, and "charisma" from ancestors are still strongly believed in even though they are difficult to prove in real terms. The Jalawastu community still applies various taboos. For example, the taboo for building a house without using cement, ceramics, and roof tiles. Other taboos are performing wayang, playing solo orchestra, and keeping animals such as geese, sheep, and buffalo.²⁷.

The people of Jalawastu have been carrying out mountain almsgiving once a year on Tuesday Kliwon, for generations, in the third month. Most of the farming community of Dukuh Jalawastu believe that the mountains have an abundance of nature that can produce harvests that are a source of prosperity for the community.²⁸. At first, the Ngasa tradition was a ritual ceremony as a form of obedience to Batara Windu Buana who at that time was believed to be the creator of the universe. In addition, this tradition is a form of obedience to Guriang Panutus, a preacher who is also a powerful ascetic, where he only eats corn rice, tubers, vegetables, and fruits that grow around Mount Kumbang without eating animals or other living creatures.

²⁶ Bambang H Suta purwana, Religious System of the Bonokeling

²⁷ Rachmawati. Ira, 'Preaching Methods in the Jalawastu Cultural Village Community, Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency', 2019, 1-140

²⁸ Rohman. Rohman, Rizza Aulia, 'NGASA TRADITIONAL CEREMONY OF THE JALAWASTU COMMUNITY (Case Study in Ciseureuh Village, Ketanggungan District, Brebes Regency)' (DIPONEGORO UNIVERSITY, SEMARANG, 2020)

Some interesting findings related to the socio-cultural aspects of the Jalawastu community.

Aspect	Characteristic
trust	belief in myths and belief in ancestors (karuhun).
teachings	advice and cultural activities
social system	prohibitions, to the "charm" from ancestors is still believed in.

Cultural Portrait of the Bonokeling Community

The Bonokeling indigenous community has a culture full of spiritual values, local traditions, and ancestral wisdom. Lifethey reflect efforts to maintain cultural identity amidst modernization, while still integrating Islamic teachings harmoniously. The Bonokeling community views ancestors as spiritual guardians and sources of wisdom. They believe that ancestors have an important role in maintaining the balance between humans, nature, and God. Their religious practices are a blend of Javanese traditions and Islamic teachings. Islam is accepted as the majority religion, but its practices are adapted to traditional values, such as prayers in Arabic recited along with traditional mantras. During traditional ceremonies, the Bonokeling community wears traditional Javanese clothing, such as batik-style cloth, kebaya for women, and blangkon for men. There is symbolism in the ritual, namely offerings and traditional ornaments reflecting spiritual philosophy and respect for ancestral values.

The Bonokeling Traditional Community has customs or traditions that do not exist in other villages. Starting from Kyai Bonokeling, as the first person to spread the teachings of Kejawen which are nuanced by Islamic values in Pekuncen Village, the history of the spread of Islamic teachings that has not been perfect has resulted in there being pillars of Islam that have not been taught by Kyai Bonokeling²⁹. The son of Putu Terah, Kyai Bonokeling, believes in the pillars of faith, namely belief in Allah, the Prophet and Rasulullah Muhammad SAW, angels, the Koran, and the last day. However,

²⁹ Rachmadhani. achmadhani, Arnis, 'Harmony in the Rituals of the Javanese Clan', SMaRT, 01.01 (2015), 15–25
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there are only three pillars of Islam for Kyai Bonokeling's purebred children, namely the shahada, fasting and zakat. The Bonokeling Islamic community does not perform the five daily prayers. They have their own calendar calculations in determining the start of fasting, Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, but they do not perform Eid prayers like Muslims.³⁰.

Some interesting findings related to the socio-cultural aspects of the Bonokeling community.

Aspect	Characteristic
Trust	A unique blend of Islam, Hindu-Buddhism and local religions ³¹
Tradition	Taking the Hindu tradition from the pattern of clothing that is still used in traditional ceremonies that are held. In a community activity, people usually wear black clothes, wearing bulankon/iket, beskap, and bebet for the fathers (men), while the mothers wear kebaya clothes.
Social system	A very close family relationship between the children of Bonokeling

Dialectics of Islam with Culture in Bonokeling and Jalawastu

The study of the dialectic between Islam and local culture, such as in the Jalawastu and Bonokeling indigenous communities, has important implications for the study of Islam Nusantara and the understanding of Islamic diversity in Indonesia. First, it strengthens the concept of Islam Nusantara. In this case, Islam Nusantara is interpreted as a concept that emphasizes the inclusive, moderate, and local-culture-rooted face of Islam. The study of the dialectic of Islam and culture shows how Islam can coexist with local traditions without losing its essence. This strengthens the argument that Islam in the archipelago grew in a rich and diverse cultural context. Second, it encourages intercultural and interfaith dialogue. This study provides an understanding that the acculturation between Islam and

³⁰ Annisa, Nurhadi, and Liesyasari, 'Uploading Ritual in the Bonokeling Traditional Community'.

³¹ Bambang H Suta purwana, Religious System of the Bonokeling Islamic Education Program
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local traditions, such as Sunda Wiwitan and Kejawen, can create social harmony. This opens up space for dialogue between various religious and cultural groups in Indonesia to respect each other.

Third, affirming plurality in religiosity. This dialectic affirms that the diversity of Islam in the archipelago is not something that contradicts the teachings of Islam itself. On the contrary, this diversity becomes a force that enriches the treasury of religious thought and practice in the archipelago. Fourth, preservation of local wisdom. This dialectic shows the importance of maintaining local traditions and wisdom as part of the identity of the community. By harmonizing Islamic teachings and local culture, traditions such as Ngasa and Unggahan are not only preserved but also given new meanings that are in accordance with Islamic values. Fifth, the model of Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin. The dialectic between Islam and local culture in Jalawastu and Bonokeling is a real example of Islam as a blessing for all nature that can be realized in everyday life. Islam is not here to erase local traditions, but to provide universal values that enrich the culture.³²

Dialectics as a process of related relationships between Islam and culture can be mapped into three. First, Islam came to the archipelago with the aim of Islamizing its people. Second, Islam and culture are in a balanced position, Islam feels equal to local culture. Third, local culture influences Islam. So in terms of cultural procedures, both Ngasa in Sunda Wiwitan and Unggahan in Kejawen have a dialectic in a balanced form, this is because the culture that is developing is active in maintaining, providing a place, and fostering Islam so that it does not clash³³. The three of them certainly give rise to their own characteristics that distinguish Islam Nusantara from Islam in other places. However, the face of Nusantara is not lost because of the mixture with Islam itself.

The Ngasa ceremony in Jalawastu is a sacred ceremony held once a year. The Ngasa ceremony is a people's party or village celebration, where all

³² Zulfah Khumaeroh, Sulyana Dadan, and Elis Puspitasari, 'Actualization of Religious Values in The Ngasa Ceremony In Jalawastu Cultural Village, Brebes Regency., Nusantara: Journal of Social Sciences, 7.2 (2020), 408–20.

³³ Luthfi. 'Islam Nusantara: The Relationship between Islam and Local Culture
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costs are borne by all Jalawastu residents. In addition, because Ngasa is an ancestral heritage, it is impossible for its supporters to let it disappear. For this reason, one of the efforts to extend and maintain it from extinction is to always hold the Ngasa ceremony every year, regardless of the economic situation of the residents, it is carried out as a form of gratitude for the blessings that have been received by the residents, so that in its implementation it is not free from various symbols as a form of gratitude.³⁴ White clothing as the official clothing of the caretaker (kuncen) in the implementation of the Ngasa ceremony. The color white is a sign of purity, both physical and spiritual purity. The color white has a high value of purity compared to other colors. Therefore, since long ago this color has been used by the ancestors as official clothing, both in everyday life and in certain traditional events.³⁵

The beliefs of the Bonokeling people today are actually a unique combination of Islam, Hindu-Buddhism and local religions³⁶. However, the combination has not been completed until now, resulting in new variant beliefs. From the Hindu side, it can be seen from the pattern of clothing that is still used in traditional ceremonies that are held. In a community activity, people usually wear black clothes, wearing bulankon/iket, beskap, and bebet for the fathers (men), while the mothers wear kebaya clothes.³⁷. Then, the local tradition is manifested in the slametan ritual. While the Islamic values that are embedded only reach the point of belief in the oneness of Allah. This identity is especially apparent when Pekuncen Village holds ritual activities and has celebrations carried out by the community.

³⁴ Riska Dinda Permata and Muhammad Iqbal Birsyada, 'The Tradition of Ngasa Traditional Ceremony in the Social Construction of the Jalawastu Ciseuruh Hamlet Community', *Gondang: Journal of Arts and Culture*, 6.1 (2022), 12 <<https://doi.org/10.24114/gondang.v6i1.27199>>.

³⁵ Tio Anggara, 'Character Analysis of the Symbolic Value of the Ngasa Tradition', *Social Harmony: Journal of Social Studies Education*, 9.2 (2023), 9–16 <<https://doi.org/10.21831/hsjpi.v9i2.61807>>.

³⁶ Bambang H Suta purwana, *Religious System of the Bonokeling*

³⁷ Bambang H Suta purwana, *Religious System of the Bonokeling Islamic Education Program*
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Conclusion

Kejawen culture plays an important role in shaping the identity of the Bonokeling community. Islam is accepted as part of spiritual life, but is respected in the context of Kejawen values. Traditional ceremonies, such as nyadran and ancestor worship, are still carried out by combining Islamic elements. This syncretic method shows that local traditions persist without eliminating Islamic teachings, reflecting the various religious expressions of Islam in the archipelago. Sunda Wiwitan culture in Jalawastu focuses on harmony with nature and respect for ancestors. Islam is part of the culture, but does not completely replace local beliefs. Spiritual practices such as the Ngasa Ceremony and communal prayers are carried out by combining Islamic teachings and Sunda Wiwitan values. This shows that local cultures can adapt to Islamic elements while maintaining their traditional identity.

In dealing with modernity and plurality, both communities show similar patterns. Islam is understood contextually, by speaking to local traditions rather than understanding them rigidly. This method produces harmony between religion and culture. It creates space for friendly and flexible religious expression. This study successfully explores the subjective experiences of indigenous communities when practicing religion and tradition through a phenomenological approach. The dialectic between Islam and local culture is a dynamic integration process that reflects the spiritual and cultural richness of local communities rather than conflict. The result is that the dialectic of Islam with Kejawen and Sunda Wiwitan cultures in both indigenous communities shows a unique model of religiosity, namely local Islam. This shows that religion and tradition can enrich each other, producing social cohesion and cultural diversity in Indonesian society

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