



Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan
issn 2354-6174 eissn 2476-9649
Tersedia online di: journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/fikrah
Volume 12 Nomor 1 2024, (15-30)
DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v12i1.23396

Jalawastu Islamic People: The Struggle to Find Meaning in the "Ngasa Ritual" District Muslim Community Brebes

Akrom Jangka Dausat

Kementerian Agama Brebes, Indonesia
akromjdaosat@gmail.com

Agus Nurhadi

Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo, Indonesia
agusnurhadi@uinwalisongo.ac.id

Mudjahirin Thohir

Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia
mudjahirinthohir@ymail.com

Anisa Listiana

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kudus, Indonesia
anisalistiana@iainkudus.ac.id

Abstract

This article explains the controversial Ngasa ritual. The Ngasa ritual was originally an expression of gratitude to Batara Windu Buana, who is believed to be the creator of the universe who has provided abundant sustenance, so this ritual became controversial. This article aims to map the Jalawastu community and reveal the meaning behind the symbols of their life. Emic perception is the basis for exploring data and analyzing it using a semiotic paradigm. This researcher uses an ideational ethnographic approach. With this approach, it is hoped that many facts can be presented satisfactorily. The findings of this

research indicate that there is a pattern of religious and cultural relations, namely the accumulative Islamic style adopted by the Jalawastu people in the Ngasanya tradition. The Jalawastu people, through the Ngasa ritual, formulate religious traditions between Islam according to their views and local traditions. On Tuesday Kliwon Mangsa Kasanga, they were completely.

Keywords: Jalawastu, Ngasa, Religion, Negotiation, Accumulation

Abstrak

Artikel ini menjelaskan tentang ritual Ngasa yang kontroversial. Ritual Ngasa awalnya merupakan ungkapan rasa syukur kepada Batara Windu Buana yang dipercaya sebagai pencipta alam semesta yang telah memberikan rezeki berlimpah, sehingga ritual ini menjadi kontroversi. Tulisan ini bertujuan memetakan masyarakat Jalawastu dan mengungkap makna di balik simbol-simbol kehidupannya. Persepsi emik menjadi dasar untuk mengeksplorasi data dan menganalisisnya dengan paradigma semiotika. Peneliti ini menggunakan pendekatan etnografi ideasional. Dengan pendekatan ini diharapkan banyak fakta yang dapat disajikan secara memuaskan. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa suatu corak hubungan keagamaan dan budaya yaitu corak keislaman akumulatif yang dianut masyarakat Jalawastu dalam tradisi Ngasanya. Masyarakat Jalawastu melalui ritual Ngasa merumuskan tradisi keagamaan antara Islam menurut pandangan mereka dan tradisi lokalnya. Pada hari Selasa Kliwon Mangsa Kasanga, mereka sepenuhnya

Katakunci: Ittihad 'Aqil wa Ma'qul, Realisme, Sadra.

Introduction

The Ngasa ritual is debatable. Some people recognize it as ancestral heritage that must be protected because it is local wisdom, but there are groups of people who view it as a ritual practice that is contrary to religion. These two perspectives are the result of placing the Ngasa ritual in the perspective of cultural and religious positions. It sometimes gives rise to polemics and often causes tension and even conflict (Roibin 2010:1). However, these conditions make the Ngasa ritual interesting to study. This is because the Ngasa ritual has the potential to be like a coin, it has a cultural side but there are also other parts that show a religious reality.

The Ngasa ritual is held every Tuesday at Kliwon Mangsa Kasanga (Dastam 2018), and it is considered to have been done thousands of years ago. However, according to official policy, the implementation of the Ngasa ritual was established during the reign of the Regent of Brebes IX, Raden Arya Candranegara, who was in power in 1880-1885 (Dastam 2018:43). This Ngasa ritual is still ongoing today.

The Ngasa ritual contains prayers with various kinds of food and flower offerings. It is carried out by the Jalawastu people who live on Mount Kumbang (also called Mount Sagara) (Tahroni, 2019). The location of the ritual is held in Pesarean Gedong (Karsono, 2019). From the point of view of religious studies, the implementation of the Ngasa ritual needs to be carefully examined to see whether it really implies a symbol of gratitude to God Almighty in Islamic construction, (Daryono 2020) or is it a mixture of Islamic beliefs with other beliefs? This can be seen from the motivation of the perpetrators of the Ngasa ritual. It displays belief in God on the one hand, and in the existence of supernatural beings on the other.

The question regarding the condition of the Ngasa ritual above is a logical question to raise because the Ngasa ritual is understood as a form of gratitude to Batara Windu Buana (BWB) who is believed to be the creator of nature (Wijanarto 2020). Batara Windu Buana had a messenger named Guriang Panutus who during his lifetime it is said that he did not eat rice or side dishes from anything alive. In communities that perform the Ngasa ritual, both Batara Windu Buana and Guriang Panutus were role models long before Islam came. In this context, is Batara Windu Buana another name for Allah or not? If the name is Allah in the Islamic context, then what is the historical explanation? Likewise, Guriang Panutus, who is a role model for a simple life for the people of Jalawastu, is he a messenger in the sense of an angel, prophet or guardian? If it turns out that Batara Windu Buana is conceived as other than Allah, then what are the beliefs of the people of Jalawastu, where currently they are Muslims who are said to have been first brought by MKS, whose traces are in Pesarean Gedong and this place is still sacred to this day? From the perspective of being a Muslim, of course things that are thought to be outside the concept of monotheism of Allah should be avoided and abandoned. When praying, Kuncen Gedong Jimat, Ngasa Location in Gandoang uses fire and incense. In Pesarean Gedong only incense in this case there is a mixing of ideologies, between a person who claims to be a Muslim, but in his rituals worships Batara Windu Buana.

In general, not much research has been done regarding Ngasa rituals. Some of the existing writings related to the Ngasa ritual are Wijanarto's writings with the title: "Harmony at the Foot of Mount Kumbang (Ngasa of the Jalawastu Community and Sunda Traces in Brebes Regency), (Aceh Anthropological Journal, Vol. 2 No. 2 October 2018). This article focuses on cultural aspects as ancestral heritage. He focused on the main ritual activities of Ngasa, but did not mention the dynamics in Jalawastu society. At the

conclusion of this article, it is explained that there is syncretism in the Ngasa ritual, but what kind of syncretism is not explained in detail in this research. Wijanarto uses anthropological theory with philological studies to reveal the meaning of the central figures in the Ngasa ritual, but he is lulled into thinking that philology is actually the study of texts.

The next research related to Ngasa rituals is Aziz Iskandar's thesis entitled "The Meaning of Communication Symbols in Ngasa Traditional Rituals in the Jalawastu Cultural Village, Ciseureuh District. Brebes". This research examines aspects of communication through symbols in the implementation of the Ngasa ritual. A semiotic approach with the Triadic Semiotic theory, namely Sign, Object and Interpretant, is the main approach to this research. However, unfortunately this research does not touch on religious aspects and only focuses on when rituals are carried out.

From the research above, this research seeks to find novelty in terms of research results and approaches so that research on Ngasa rituals becomes more perfect.

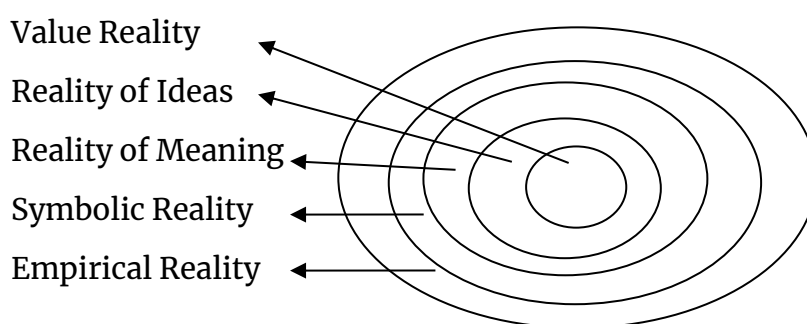
Therefore, in this research, the Ngasa ritual is studied based on a religious anthropology perspective (Fazlurrahman 1985:85), especially the ethnographic side regarding the problematic relations between religion and culture based on an emic perspective (actor's view), namely the Jalawastu community; What is their understanding of the Ngasa Ritual in relation to their current position as Muslims (ritual participants) and their ethical perspective (outsider's looking), namely the general public. For this reason, several questions were asked as follows; First, how is the historical context of the Jalawastu community related to the Ngasa ritual and Islamization that has existed so far, so that it is realized in the form of rituals that are running today? Second. How can BWB and GP on the one hand and MKS on the other become a spirit even though the three of them are in different positions? Third, what is the nature of religious and cultural relations in Ngasa rituals and their struggle to find meaning?

The aim of this research is to find answers regarding the relationship between religion and culture based on an emic perspective, namely the Jalawastu community (ritual participants) and an etic perspective (outsider's looking), namely the general public. By bringing together these two perspectives, academic answers will be found on how to view and position the Ngasa ritual in the interests of Hasanah da'wah.

The expected benefits are: 1) obtain comprehensive information about the Islamization and rituals of Ngasa and related figures so that they can understand the construction of their influence on the religious and cultural relations of the Jalawastu community. 2). understand the nature of religious and cultural relations and their struggles in finding meaning. 3). knowing the Islamic identity of the Jalawastu people with their Ngasa rituals will enable subsequent research evaluation.

This study uses ideational theory which focuses on ideas, ideas, knowledge and beliefs which are the backbone of culture. Ideational ethnography is the study of society and culture based on the assumption that every action is meaningful for its followers (Thohir 2019:199). In this theory, culture is patterns for or for acting (Pattern for behavior) and produces actions that are public in nature. The key words for understanding this theory are knowledge and symbols that have been recognized collectively by supporters of the culture in question (Thohir 2007:25–26).

The core of the ideational ethnographic thinking framework is the interpretive paradigm. This paradigm means that socio-cultural reality is complex and subjective because it is within the structure of society itself. Therefore, the complexity that has layers of reality must be studied so that it can be seen more deeply. There are five realities that must be studied in this context, namely; empirical reality, symbolic, meaning, ideas and value reality. In looking at the Ngasa ritual, of course this variant of reality must be used as a reference that there are rituals, symbols, signs, meanings, and so on (Thohir 2019:170) which can be described as follows:



In empirical reality, there are patterns that may already exist as a result of construction such as physical building patterns or ritual activities. However, this could still be in a vague or hidden form. Here, the researcher's task is to structure. For example, in every ritual building, there is a pattern that tends to

remain constant, namely there are elements of participants, officers and ritual leaders who place themselves in different positions because of the structure and roles determined. This is the first reality. The second thing is symbolic reality. The third reality is the reality of meaning. Meaning according to the perpetrator and meaning according to the observer. Because of these two possibilities, in ideational research, dialogues between the researcher and the researched are considered, to find answers that are close to accuracy based on an emic etic perspective repeatedly (Thohir 2019:199). Likewise to find the core ideas that drive or materialize as we understand them. This is where the fourth reality is, namely the reality of ideas. It is a kind of logic as well as a way of how the actions chosen are in accordance with the goals to be achieved. To find ideas (truth), it is necessary to dialogue and dialogue in depth with the object of study as subject matter to the parties (triangulation dialogue), namely the community (actors), references (relevant theories) and researchers. Variations in meaning and depth are greatly influenced by the level of quality of understanding, intensity of attention and other external forces for the actors towards the object or event. What kind of achievement is the final answer that must be found behind every human behavior. The fifth reality is called the reality of values or worldview. In the reality of values, basic assumptions are found as the core of culture, namely something that is believed to be right versus wrong and good versus bad.

Considering that the object of study is related to the relationship between religion and culture, three typologies are used as follow (Surjo 1993:5). First, Indigenization, namely adapting Islam to the local traditions where it was spread. Indigenization is an illustration of how Islam as a normative teaching from heaven is accommodated into the culture that originates from society without losing its own identity (Muhtadi 2005:6). Second, Negotiation. When religion, with its set of doctrines, is in dialectic with culture, there is a need to change each other's traditions. Here, a negotiation process takes place which sometimes, to certain limits, leads to changes in the form of each tradition (Budiyanto 2008). At this stage, religious and cultural studies produce patterns which are generally divided into three, namely syncretic, acculturative and collaborative. Third, Conflict. This pattern assumes the existence of mutually enduring attitudes between religion and culture. This will be realized from relatively deviant patterns carried out by one religion and culture.

This study uses a qualitative approach because the data is collected and presented in the form of words, not numbers (Muhajir 1996:196). The reasons

are: First, the emphasis is on the meaning of an action or what is behind the action. Second, what beliefs and awareness are behind the actions. Third, the interpretation is carried out holistically. Fourth, based on emicview or views and understanding "according to their own framework". For this reason, data sources were explored through participant observation and in-depth interviews. Objects observed include objects, events and other sources such as documents and there are artifacts related to Ngasa (Sugiyono 2005:10).

Interviews were conducted to obtain comprehensive information regarding the views of life, beliefs, norms and rules that belong to the Jalawastu community. The goal is to understand the perpetrator's point of view about his world (Spreadly, 12). Interviews were conducted with a number of selected informants who were categorized as key, namely individuals who were able to provide useful views about objects and could help researchers find information and relationships, such as Dewan Kokolot and Kuncen. Ordinary informants are individuals who actively participate in the Ngasa ritual as participants.

After the data was collected, ethnographic analysis was carried out, namely domains, taxonomies, cultural components and themes as a strategy to reveal the cultural meaning system used by society (Spreadly, 120). Apart from that, it is also possible for analysis to be based on intuitive appreciation or subjective versions obtained from participatory observations and in-depth interviews. The results of the analysis based on the perpetrator's point of view are then presented so that they can be understood by the public. The key answers to this research are references to truth, namely constitutive, cognitive, evaluative and expressive truth.

Ngasa Ritual, Efforts to Understand the Meaning

In the Ngasa ritual, there are the following structures and roles: Kokolot Council as community elders. Kuncen, the guard of Pesarean Gedong is in charge of reading prayers, the Traditional Leader is in charge of preparing the event and Jagabaya functions as a dancer. The Ngasa ritual is carried out in the following order: 1). The day before the ritual, a clean-up of the village and environment of Pesarean Gedong was held, followed by placing a white cloth. 2), The community prepares clothes ranging from trousers, shirts, white headbands to be used during the ritual. Mothers prepare food such as corn rice, taro vegetables, fruit and vegetables, no food from living creatures. Especially for the caretaker, he is required to perform penance (fasting). 3). Cau or Banana Festival where every house displays bananas and trees for visitors. 4). In the

evening, local films were screened, both documentaries about Jalawastu and other local films in Sundanese or Javanese, followed by cultural discussion and dialogue. 5). In the morning, Tuesday Kliwon at 5 am, the fathers went to the Gedong market to lay out mats and the mothers sent the dishes. 6). Once ready, the community gathered at the cultural hall to welcome the Regent of Brebes as Dahul Tumenggung with a "Splash of holy water" event by the traditional leader with the intention of always being clean and holy in all matters. 7). The community and the Regent were presented with a centhong war dance performance. 8). Once finished, the caretaker, kololot, traditional leaders followed by the community headed to the gedong pesarean to carry out the core ritual of Ngasa by parading mountains of banana offerings. 9). At Gedhong Pesarean, visitors listened to remarks from the Regent and traditional leaders who explained the history of Ngasa. After everything is finished, we come to the core of the Ngasa ritual, namely the reading of the Ngasa prayer led by Kuncen. 10). The ritual continues with a meal together and an arts event in the performance hall.(Implementation of The Ngasa ritual, Tuesday, 10 March 2020)

In the Ngasa ritual there are also symbols that contain meaning. Some of these symbols are:

- 1). White: a sign of inner and outer purity that the ancestors wore as official clothing in everyday life, as well as at certain traditional events.
- 2). Banana, a symbol of prosperity. Bananas in Sundanese are called "Cau". In Javanese, it is called "gedang" which is an ethical symbol where humans imitate the character of bananas which can live anywhere and adapt to their environment. Banana (gedang) is also interpreted as "gumreget nyuwun pepadang" meaning that humans in living their lives always ask God for guidance.
- 3). Teleng, the most sacred location in Gedong. The core of the ritual is marked by the Ngukus procession accompanied by the burning of incense, with offerings around the teleng. Previously, Teleng was a hollow land area in the Gedong area, then changed its shape to look like a plate. This location is believed to be the first place where the gods descended, opened a settlement and ascended again into the sky. Teleng is believed to be the place where all prayers will be answered.
- 4). Vegetables and Fruit, symbolic offerings of gratitude for the harvest. Another meaning is a work of God through humans; man plants, God gives life.
- 5). Ngukus, the ancestral way of praying which contains submission to Batara Windu Buana. During the Ngukus ritual, the reading of prayers is accompanied by the burning of incense which is believed

to be a medium for summoning ancestral spirits. 6). Coins, a symbol of good fortune that must be sought. money becomes a complete offering. In other words, rituals, as actions bound by custom and belief, cannot be separated from money. Because of money, all ritual needs, both spiritual and material, can be fulfilled. Money is also a symbol of social status, rank or self-esteem. 7). Corn Rice, believed to be the original food of the ancestors, besides sweet potatoes, taro or cassava. a symbol of simplicity and mutual cooperation. because the corn rice that is used as a banquet is made together and later eaten together. 8). Water, water is provided in the teleng as a ritual requirement. Presenting this water as a symbol of cleanliness and life. 9). Gedong; The sacred place of the Ngasa ritual center. There are two ways to see the meaning contained in gedong; by looking at the history of events that have occurred and also looking at the activities of the figures who have lived there. The sacred value and high respect for gedong as a place of worship and where ancestors reside has implications for community activities in gedong. 10). Frankincense, the fragrance of incense smoke is believed to be a medium for conveying messages. In this case, Kuncen invited the ancestral spirits to attend as a tribute. It is believed that the smoke will convey a message to the Creator who is also Most High. 11). The Centhong War, depicts Gandhawangi as a symbol of goodness who accepts Islam and Gandhasari as a symbol of evil who rejects Islam.

Negotiation and Compromise; Two Worlds of Jalawastu Society

From a socio-cultural perspective, the Ngasa ritual is a symbol and expression of: First, servitude to the Creator of Nature which is identified with BWB. Second, the attitude of life taken from simple GP behavior. Third, the expressions and symbols are manifested in the form of dances and prayers as well as the food served.

In the cultural realm, religious expressions must be seen from an emic perspective, namely the understanding of the perpetrator which is manifested in behavior. Ngasa is a reality that must be understood correctly, which according to Mudjahirin Tohir is a type of constitutive reality, namely a reality based on knowledge and belief in the supernatural (Batara Windu Buana) which is symbolized by myths and rituals such as mountain alms which are carried out based on the social context in ways, among others , presenting offerings (Thohir 2013:14). However, on the other hand, as a Muslim, there are demands and logical consequences that must be fulfilled, namely a commitment to the value of monotheism that the Creator is God and the living example is the

Prophet of Muhammad and nothing other than the two. Religion as a belief system is the core of the value system in culture and is the driver, driver and controller of society's actions so that they continue to run in accordance with cultural values and religious teachings. It is widely known that religious teachings have a strong influence on the value system in culture. This value system manifests itself as a sacred symbol of religious teachings which is the frame of reference (Suparlan 1993).

In empirical reality, when the Ngasa ritual is carried out, there are a number of people according to their roles and duties; preparing the place, dancing, reading prayers, and also delivering offerings to Pesarean Gedong to be delivered to certain parties, especially those who are believed to be the Creator of nature, namely BWB, and this is done in a special way. As previously explained regarding the systematics of Ngasa rituals, this series of patterned actions is meaningful, meaningful and valuable at the level of balance and continuity of life in an adaptive, reciprocal manner between itself and the intended parties, namely BWB, GP and MKS. Who is that figure? In cognitive constructive, evaluative and expressive constitutive are the mountain guards of Kumbang called BWB and GP. The relationship between the Jalawastu people to BWB and GP is seen in the form of triangulation, namely community, offerings and prayers and BWB is manifested in the form of the Ngasa ritual.

The Jalawastu people believe in spirits and good and evil ancestors. The power of these spirits is believed to influence the course of their lives. Therefore, Ngasa is intended for good spirits to help them with abundant harvests. As for evil spirits, the hope is that they will not disturb their lives. Here the offerings function as a symbol of communication as well as a means of showing their devotion to their ancestors and spirits.

In an Islamic perspective, monotheism is the main foundation; Anyone who vows to become a Muslim by reciting the shahada must be free from belief in gods other than Him. Equating or associating partners with Him is prohibited. Islam does not tolerate beliefs related to principles. This means that what happens in the Ngasa ritual is like two opposing paths, namely interpreting the unseen but the unseen things are different. The Ngasa ritual is interpreted as building relationships and obedience to the Almighty Creator who is called BWB, while Islam firmly states that the Creator is Allah. Jalawastu people perform religious rituals such as fasting prayers etc. to establish a relationship with Allah and other rituals such as tahlilan. However, on Tuesday

Kliwon Mangsa Kasanga, they established a relationship with the Creator who is not Allah but BWB. This is known in the Ngasa prayer in Sundanese:

“Pun arek ngaturaken aci kukus mayang putih, terus ka aci dewata kaluhur kamunggunng ka sang rumuhun, ka handap ka sang Batara jaya ingkanugrahan aci kukus mayang putih, kabusakanan, kabasukina panghatukeun aci kukus ka Batara Windu Sakti Buana”

(Putranda wants to offer an offering of white incense, straight from the sari of the gods upwards to the ancestors downwards to Batara Jaya who has given the gift of the white incense offering essence to Batara Windu Sakti Buana) (Dastam 2018:43)

A cultural perspective may not be a problem considering that culture does not have a structure as complete as religion, for example kalam, fiqh and morals. A religious perspective prohibits the principles of belief from being mixed up even for cultural reasons that have been rooted for thousands of years. But that doesn't mean that religion intends to destroy culture or allow culture that conflicts with religion. So what's it like? So there must be a dialogue between religion and culture which is constructed in cultural or social language. This is what Gus Dur meant by indigenization, namely that there is a place of religion and culture that complement each other.

The Ngasa ritual strengthens Koentjaraningrat's opinion about Javanese Islam which assumes there are groups that obey the Shari'a, but on the other hand there are also syncretic attitudes (Koentjaraningrat 1994). This is natural, considering that Javanese people had gods before the big religions came. By reading this plot, recognizing there are two groups; First, accept Islam without remembering old beliefs. Second, accept Islam, but cannot forget the old teachings. Therefore they mix culture and Islam with old beliefs (Amin 2002:13).

The Jalawastu people appear to be in the second group who have rituals of respect for ancestors such as Ngasa but also have religious rituals such as Muludan. They memorize the shahada, alfatihah but also believe in supernatural beings, supernatural powers that may be far from Islam. Using Djoko Widagdo's language, in fact they cannot be said to be Islamic but a variant of Javanese Islam, namely the Jawi or Kejawen religion, which is a complex of Hindu-Buddhist beliefs that tend towards mysticism mixed together and recognized as Islamic religion (Widagdo 2004:46–47). They dialogued Islam with old beliefs through mutual transformation, so that this compromise did not bother anyone.

What happened in Jalawastu in a historical context can be understood because the Islam that came and developed was Sufi (mystical) Islam brought by saints who were tolerant and accommodating to local beliefs but incorporated aspects of Islam. That is why Azra said that Islam in Indonesia, especially on the island of Java, is more about continuity, not changes in local beliefs and religion. This was confirmed by Geertz that the Islam that came to Java was heavily influenced by Persian and Indian mystical elements, and because it suited the Javanese people's traditional way of life, they accepted it with an open heart (Geertz 1960:125). In this context, negotiations have taken place not to defeat each other between the old beliefs and Islam. They believe in Allah, Prophets and Angels, but also believe in spirits and natural forces that must be respected. This is an illustration that the people of Jalawastu have not moved away from a mystical life and still feel besieged by supernatural forces around them (Peursen 1998:18). For them, the Ngasa ritual means asking Mount Kumbang not to landslide, Mount Kumbang can become Izroil the angel of death. However, they could also be the angel Michael who distributes good fortune because their lives are very dependent on the produce of the land on Mount Kumbang (Nanto 2019). An illustration of negotiations in the Ngasa ritual can be seen when the ritual ends with the reading of an Arabic prayer by the Kyai or Ustadz. Although initially, the offerings were aimed at ancestral spirits, BWB, GP and even the snake king and snake queen.

What's interesting, even though the offerings and prayers are addressed to BWB and GP, the place to view MKS is actually in Pesarean Gedong. MKS is believed to be the first spreader of Islam, the son of Prabu Siliwangi with another name, Pangeran Walalusang, who is highly respected by the people of Jalawastu. This information can explain that Islam came to Jalawastu a long time ago, although later MKS continued his journey and studied with Sheikh Nurjati on Mount Jati, Cirebon, who later gave him the name Somadullah (Amin 2014:9).

MKS is believed to be the first to introduce Islam. When his father was in power, the border of the Pajajaran kingdom in the East was the Pemali (Brebes) river. Likewise, when MKS pioneered the Cirebon sultanate, this could be a geospiritual and historical genealogy that there was a connection between Jalawastu and MKS, BWB and GP. That's where it can be understood that even though they perform the Ngasa ritual, when asked about their religion, they answer Islam (Daryono 2019).

Another interesting thing is that they still believe that Allah is one. This belief is very strong (Karsono 2019). When working in the fields and hearing the call to prayer, they would stop. This is interesting because on the other hand they also strongly believe that BWB is the Creator of Nature. They believe the Prophet Muhammad was a messenger of Allah but their way of life is simply a BWB messenger named GP. During the dry season, the Tandur ritual is held instead of the Istisqa prayer. In this case it appears that they do not mix the two beliefs, but rather stand on both.

Thus, the Ngasa Ritual animates the people of Jalawastu. It functions as a guide and life guide. Ngasa teaches gratitude to the Creator of BWB and GP's simple life. However, they also believe in Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. They negotiated by making room for Islamic rituals and maintaining the Ngasa rituals. Total clashes between religion and Ngasa are minimized. However, total fusion also did not occur, even more than that, they not only negotiated to complement and intertwine with each other, but also to accept both as a common belief. They seemed to have two Gods and two Prophets. In everyday life, they believe there is only one God, during the Ngasa ritual their belief is transferred to another creator of nature, namely BWB and another life role model, namely GP. So it is natural that in this place there is a prayer room on the side of the road leading to Pesarean Gedong, which they both sacred and sanctify.

Conclusion

From the explanation above it can be concluded that: First, the Jalawastu people are an indigenous community who have lived on Mount Kumbang for thousands of years. They have the same religion and culture as the Sundanese Wiwitan community. The religion and culture they practice is a harmonious blend of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic influences. The Ngasa ritual is an articulation of this. Therefore, the Ngasa ritual is the local wisdom of the Jalawastu people in their transcendent dialogue.

In the Ngasa Ritual, the Jalawastu people embody old belief traditions in the form of ritual displays of the Jalawastu Muslim community. However, they still use the concept of active spirit and Batara Windu Buana in their transcendence system of prayer and worship. This harmonization of religion and culture is what has enabled the Jalawastu people to survive until now

Second, in the process of implementing the rituals of the Jalawastu people, there are two concepts that they harmonize. First, the Jalawastu people use the terms Allah SWT and Batara Windu Buana as the terms of the Creator of Nature together. Although when asked about the position of the two, between Allah and Batara Windu Buana, they tend to answer that Allah is the pinnacle of transcendence. Meanwhile, Batara Windu Buana is a personification that is different from Allah in the Islamic concept. Second, the Jalawastu people believe that ancestral spirits are active and have an influence on life behavior and the good and bad fortunes of the Jalawastu people. They also believe in the existence of spirits. For the Jalawastu people, there are figures who are seen as very influential in their ritual traditions. The two figures are Guriang Panutus, a figure in the Jalawastu community before the arrival of Islam and Mbah Kuwu Sangkan Urip who is believed to be the first bearer of Islam. Both of them are placed as empirical, concrete figures and at the same time become the guide and spirit of their lives. The Prophet Muhammad is rarely discussed in the daily lives of Jalawastu people. They are more familiar with the figures of Guriang Panutus and Mbah Kuwu Sangkan. Of course, this cannot be separated from the existence of Pesarean Gedong which is believed to be a reminiscence of these two figures.

Therefore, the Ngasa ritual is a spiritual activity of the Jalawastu community in harmonizing religion and culture in the historical journey of the Jalawastu community's continuity. In the Koentjaraningrat language, the Jalawastu people with their Ngasa rituals are a community of people who embrace Islam but in their daily life their rituals still use the terms of the old beliefs before Islam came.

Third, the ritual activities of the Jawastu community are not just negotiations or compromises but rather the implementation of two beliefs simultaneously and in harmony, namely Islam and Ngasa. The Jalawastu people build a transcendent narrative that adopts contemporary concepts in rituals and they do not want to lose old spiritual concepts. This can be proven in the Ngasa ritual activities which use the term Batara Windu Buasa as the creator of nature. They put Batara Windu Buana instead of another name for Allah. However, they believed that Batara Windu Buana was the Creator before they knew Allah in the Islamic context. Even though they are outwardly called followers of Islam, in their daily practice of worship, they are not familiar with the terms of the Prophet Muhammad. Jalawastu people are more familiar with the terms Gurian Panutus and Mbah Kuwu Sangkan Urip.

Jalawastu people will get angry when they are called non-Muslims. They assert that Allah is their God and Muhammad is their prophet. However, this concept will be reversed when ritual activities are carried out on Mangsa Kasanga Tuesday Kliwon. On this occasion, the term they fully used was that Batara Windu Buana was the creator of nature. The Jalawastu Muslim style is not syncretic, acculturative or collaborative, but is Accumulative Islam. They decided to harmonize religion and culture within the historical trajectory that occurred to them.

Reference

- Amin, Darori. (2002). *Islam Dan Kebudayaan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Gama Media.
- Amin, Muhamad. (2014). *Kehidupan Pangeran Walangsungsang (Mbah Kuwu Sangkan)*. Edited by Sujai Abdulloh. Cirebon
- Baperlitbangda Pemda Brebes. (2019). *Monografi Desa Ciseureuh*.
- Budiyanto, Mangun. (2008). "Pergulatan Agama Dan Budaya." *Jurnal Penelitian Agama XVII*, no. 3
- Djoko Widagdo. (2004). *Islam Jawa Sinkretis Dan Islam Puritan, Merumuskan Kembali Interelasi Islam Jawa, Antologi*. Semarang: Pusat Kajian Islam dan Budaya Jawa IAIN Walisongo
- Geerts, C. (1960). *The Religion of Java*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1994). *Kebudayaan Jawa*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Muhajir, Noeng. (1996). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jogjakarta: Rake Sarasih
- Muhtadi, Asep Saeful. (2005). *Pribumisasi Islam, Ikhtisar Menggagas Fiqh Kontekstual*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Peursen. *Peursen*, 1998.
- Rahman, Fazlur. (1985). *Islam Dan Modernitas Terj. Ahsin Muhamad*. Bandung: Pustaka,
- Roibin. (2010). "Roibin, Agama Dan Budaya, Relasi Konfrontatif Atau Kompromistik, Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah, UIN Malang, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2010, p.1." *Jurnal Hukum Dan Syariah* 1, no. 1
- Spreadly. *The Etnografic*, n.d.
- Sugiono. (2005). *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Surjo. (1993). *Agama dan Perubahan Sosial; Studi Tentang Hubungan Islam, Masyarakat dan Struktur Sosial Politik di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: PAU UGM.
- Tahroni, and Udarno. (2016). *Misteri Gunung Kumbang*. Sleman: Grafika Indah.
- Thohir, Mudjahirin. (2019). "Etnografi Ideasional, Metodologi Penelitian

- Kebudayaan.” *Jurnal Nusa Senarang* 14, no. 2
- — —. *Memahami Kebudayaan, Teori, Metodologi Dan Aplikasi*. Semarang: Fasindo, 2007.
- Wijanarto, (2018). Dastam and Traditional Leader. “Harmoni Di Kaki Gunung Kumbang.” *Jurnal Aceh Anthropologi* 2, no. 2
- Monografi Desa Ciseureuh tahun 2019.
- SK Bupati No. 430/ 20 tahun 2019 tentang Pemanfaatan Hutan Adat.
- Wawancara, Dastam, Ketua adat Jalawastu
- Wawancara, Kananto, Anggota Jagabaya, tokoh masyarakat Jalawastu
- Wawancara, Karsono, Anggota Kokolot, Sesepeuh KampungJalawastu
- Wawancara, Daryono, Dewan Kokolot dan KUncen
- Wawancara, Damuri, Anggota Kokolot dan Kuncen
- Ayat, Kuncen makam Mbah Kuwu Sangkan, Cirebon,
- Wawancara, Nartija, Kuncen situs Cimandung Cirebon
- Wawancara, Sucipto, Guru ngaji dukuh Garogol
- Wawancara, Wijanarto, Kasi Sejarah Budaya, Dinas Pariwisata