

CONTESTATION OR ADAPTATION: MODE OF MAINTAINING *CACAH JIWA* TRADITION IN THE INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY OF KASEPUHAN CISUNGSANG LEBAK, BANTEN

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Abstract

This paper presents the research results on the Cacah Jiwa or prah-prahan tradition in Kasepuhan Cisungsang Lebak, Banten. A diversity of population backgrounds, cultures, languages, and religions makes Banten an attractive area and holds the potential for conflict. Conflicts that often occur are related to the contestation between adherents of Islam and various local beliefs, which are still held by some Banten residents, especially those who live in Kasepuhan. This paper, using interview and observation methods in data collection, aims to analyze how the tradition of prah-prahan is still maintained. This paper shows that the Cacah Jiwa ritual is maintained by mixing and matching with Islamic teachings as a recent belief. This ritual signifies that indigenous community prioritize modes of adaptation in maintaining their traditions. It dismisses the view that there is a contestation between traditional actors and religious teachings and their adherents. For the indigenous community of Kasepuhan Cisungsang, tradition must not violate religious law; traditional and religious practices must be under state law. Cacah Jiwa contains various prayers to The Almighty, which are read by the performers, conveying wasilah to the ancestors, both the propagator of the religion they profess and the traditional ancestors. These prayers describe their beliefs as followers of Islam. This tradition also teaches the indigenous community to be sensitive to the condition of their relatives, continue to build friendships and uphold brotherhood.

Keywords: *contestation, adaptation, tradition, indigenous community, Kasepuhan Cisungsang*

INTRODUCTION

This article presents research results regarding the *Cacah Jiwa* or *Prah-prahan* tradition in Kasepuhan Cisungsang Lebak, Banten. Kasepuhan Cisungsang is one of six main Kasepuhan in

Lebak Regency and was ratified in Regional Regulation (Perda) Number 8 of 2015 concerning Recognition, Protection, and Empowerment of the Kasepuhan Traditional Law Community. Kasepuhan Cisungsang, along with five main Kasepuhan in Lebak Regency, are also part of the Banten Kidul

Traditional Unit (SABAKI) group whose community members are spread across three districts in two provinces, namely Lebak in Banten province and Sukabumi and Bogor in West Java province (Malik, 2016). With its traditional character, the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang community still firmly adheres to various traditions. The strength of this tradition, which is still carried out, creates friction with religious adherents who carry out religious teachings purely.

Humaeni (2019), for example, stated that contestation between religion and tradition in the *Kasepuhan* indigenous community took place in subtle ways. Although religious traditions emerged that were acculturative and accommodating to local cultural traditions, the seeds of conflict and disintegration between and among religious adherents, according to Humaeni, were still felt. By conducting a comparative study of four *Kasepuhan* communities in the Banten Kidul region, namely *Kasepuhan* Ciptagelar, *Kasepuhan* Cicarucub, *Kasepuhan* Citorek, and *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang, Humaeni emphasized that the conflicts that arise because of this contestation usually occur in the discourse battles, struggles of thought, and struggles for influence. It is, of course, interesting to study why the contestation between religious adherents and indigenous communities occurs in Banten. In contrast, the spread of religious teachings in Banten itself uses the cultural approach of the local community.

In fact, in the past, Guillot (2008) referred to Banten as an area that was characterized by the traditions of trading cities like Malays and had traditions that were practiced in the Javanese sultanates. Banten is known as a cosmopolitan city, even since it was still part of the Sundanese Hindu Kingdom (Lubis, 2003; Tjandrasmita, 2011). Tome Pires (in Lubis, 2003) describes that at the end of the fifteenth century, when Banten was still under the Sundanese Hindu kingdom, Islam had also been embraced by some of its population. When Sunan Ampel came to Banten, he had met several people who had converted to Islam. Islam further developed when Hasanuddin, the second son of Sunan Gunung Jati, who later became the first sultan of Banten and had the title Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, was ordered by his father to settle in Banten and spread Islam. He spread Islam

using methods or traditions known to the local community, such as participating in cockfights or competing for supernatural powers (Lubis, 2003). This diversity is still inherited by Banten today.

This diversity of population, cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds not only makes Banten an attractive region but also holds the potential for conflict. Various studies found that the people of Banten, due to their long history, adhere to the Islamic teachings (see Guillot, 2008; Lubis, 2003; Tihami, 2017; Humaeni and Ulumi, 2017). However, quite a few Banten residents also still adhere to the beliefs inherited from their ancestors (see for example Tihami, 2017; Humaeni, 2017; Humaeni, 2017; Ulumi, Humaeni, and Heryatun, 2018; Humaeni, 2018; and Juhri, 2019). Therefore, the conflicts that often occur are always related to contestation between adherents of Islam and various local beliefs that are still held by some Banten residents, especially those who live in the *Kasepuhan* community.

Literature Review

Various studies regarding the *Kasepuhan* indigenous community, particularly *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang, focus more on multiple rituals to maintain local wisdom to honor Dewi Sri, a figure who is considered the guardian of rice, the primary source of food for the agrarian indigenous community (Fadillah, Baedhaway, & Sujana, 2015; Halimah & Guntara, 2017; Utami, Mulyana, & Itarisanti, 2016; Isana, 2017; Ulumi, Humaeni, & Heryatun, 2018). Other studies reveal that the various rituals that are now widely displayed are no longer just sacred rituals but have become a medium for communication between indigenous people and the outside world (Yusanto, 2011; Sihabudin, 2013; Yusanto, Sihabudin, & Hatra, 2017; Malik, 2017; Malik, 2017; Juhendi, 2018; Framanik, Winangsih, Dimyati, & Ikom, 2019). Through *Seren Taun*, indigenous peoples assert their existence and often become a bargaining tool for entering various development programs.

Another view states that various traditions in indigenous communities are maintained only by involving their community or parties outside the community. The involvement of indigenous communities aims to ensure that

these traditions can continue to be passed on through the generations (Nomay, 2019; Nisa' 2019; Suraya, Hafsa, Niampe, Heniman, 2021; Julaikha, Safri, Taufiqurrahman, & Saputra, 2019; Rakhmad & Najmuddin, 2022). Meanwhile, the involvement of external parties, especially the state, also aims to maintain the continuity of traditions by commodifying them for tourism and performance purposes (Mustamin & Macpal, 2020; Mursidi & Noviandri, 2021). In this mode of maintenance, indigenous communities are assumed to be passive communities, that they simply carry out traditions without looking at the context and situations outside their community that make them actively continue to maintain their traditions.

The author believes that the *Cacah Jiwa* tradition, as one of the rituals in the *Serentaun* procession, is a tradition actively maintained by the indigenous community in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang with various patterns of adaptation to new cultural elements. The main objective of this research is to describe how the indigenous community in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang maintains the *Cacah Jiwa* tradition amidst various oppositions to old traditions. The *Cacah Jiwa* Ritual, which in the local language is often called *prah-prahan*, is a ritual of calculating the number of people who can be obliged to hand over rice to the *Kasepuhan*. Through *Cacah Jiwa*, you will know the number of bundles of rice that can be put into the *Kasepuhan* barn during the New Year event. *Cacah Jiwa* is one of the five annual rituals that are the main traditions of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang community, apart from *Nibakeun Sri Ka Bumi*, *Ngamitkeun Sri Ti Bumi*, *Selamatan Rasul Pare De Leuit*, and *Seren Taun* (Fadillah, Baedhaw, and Sujana, 2015).

Conceptual Framework

Tradition is defined as various ideas and materials transmitted or handed down from past to present to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a particular practice that has a history precisely because it has been established. These various ideas and materials conceptually connect the past with the future through a continuous present (Shils, 1981; Graburn, 2001; Asad, 2009). Tradition is a very central or essential

entity in any social group; groups of people who have not changed from past generations to the present (cold society), especially groups of people who are aware of the need to change the social conditions of society (hot society) (Levi-Strauss, 1966).

A tradition is not what it used to be without elements of continuity, and once a canonical appears, the tradition is fundamentally changed. It immediately changes again once there is a core. This is not to say that canonical and core are not as essential to the tradition as continuity, but each of them changes the nature of the tradition in fundamental ways. Cores and canons change traditions, but the only thing necessary is continuity. If there is no continuity, then a community will only have some abstracted forms of action. There is no action without tradition, and all traditions are continuous (Alexander, 2016).

Formally, there are three forms of tradition: traditions that only have continuity; traditions that have canonical and continuity; and traditions that have a core, canonical, and continuity. In continuous traditions, such as repeated ritual traditions in oral cultures, the tradition is always only what it is in the present; there is an awareness of the past in the canonical tradition; and in the core traditions, there is an awareness of something that transcends not only the past but also the present because it has "eternal" significance – or, in other words, not only human but also divine significance. Traditions have spiritual meaning because they are more than just inherited actions (Bronner, 2000).

The *Cacah Jiwa* tradition, which is still carried out by the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community, using the perspective of Alexander (2016) above, is a spiritual tradition that is still maintained amidst the various social changes. This article attempts to explain their pattern of preserving traditions, using modes of competing or adapting to various new spiritual beliefs. Kim (2006) explains that adaptation is an inherent essence of individuals that enables them to continue to survive the different challenges they experience every day. This adaptability also ultimately impacts the culture resulting from the individual's thoughts. Culture, which is a set of systems for humans to live a more civilized life, also continues to evolve to face

various challenges to survive and last for a long time, along with the individuals who created it.

Culture is a system of shared meaning humans use to understand the world (Geertz 1973; Ross 1997; 2002). Culture is expressed in various symbolic forms, some highly formal (e.g., religious and national rituals), others less formal but widespread (e.g., language, clothing, food, games). Sometimes, culture is expressed in physical forms that symbolically define the landscape, such as monuments, murals, or banners or in sacred places; some of them are natural, like rivers or mountains; others are human constructions, such as holy places or battlefield memorials. Using groups to understand the world is key to understanding how cultures shape their lives and collective behavior.

Cultural expressions are not just surface phenomena but rather reflections of a group's worldview and ongoing conflict that can help us better understand what a group's deepest hopes and fears are, how to understand the actions and motives of opponents, and what is good enough to agree on. Cultural expressions play a causal role in the conflict, as they make the possibility of certain actions more plausible and, therefore, more likely than others because they direct collective understanding of the motives, interests, and behavior of ingroups and opponents. In addition, cultural expressions function as exacerbations or obstacles to conflict. Cultural expressions and the narratives associated with them communicate worldviews that range from highly exclusive to highly inclusive. The more mutual exclusivity and incompatibility are expressed, the more difficult it is for opponents to change their relationship; conversely, the more cultural expressions are, or become, inclusive, the more likely parties can successfully address differences.

RESEARCH METHOD

Data was collected during August-September 2020 at the indigenous community in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang using observation and interview techniques with the performers of the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual. Observations were carried out by directly observing the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual procession from the preparation stage to the completion of implementation.

Interviews were conducted with the leading ritual performers to determine their roles, their views on the rituals, and various symbolic meanings of equipment and ritual stages. Interviews were also conducted with several religious and other community leaders to determine their opinions regarding the multiple traditions in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang.

DISCUSSION

Prah-prahan as *Cacah Jiwa* Ritual

Kasepuhan Cisungsang covers an area that is difficult to explain using physical boundaries. The community members are spread across at least many villages across various sub-districts in Lebak Regency. Even though *Cacah Jiwa* rituals are often held, the number of members of the *Kasepuhan* community is unknown. Data related to the performers of this ritual can be seen from the numbers of *rendangan*. *Rendangan* is a traditional figure who represents families in each Kolotdi *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang who connect the traditional community with traditional leaders. *Rendangan* is chosen based on their lineage (ascribed status). The number of *rendangan* who attended this ritual reached 120 people, and they come from various villages and carry a different number of *Kasepuhan*. According to several field sources, the truth of which cannot yet be verified, the members of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community are more than three thousand people. As an indigenous community, they still adhere to ancient Sundanese philosophy; *tatali paranti karuhun* (Fadillah, Baedhawiy, and Sujana, 2015; Malik, 2016; Yusanto, Sihabudin, Hatra, 2017; see also Nur, 2019). One part of preserving this philosophy is still carrying out the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual.

The *Cacah Jiwa* ceremony, called by the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang community as *prah-prahan*, is a ritual usually held on the first Friday of Muharram. As stated by Abah Usep, the highest leader of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang traditional community, when leading the ritual:

“...karena kebiasaan urang patali pamali jeng tradisi, setiap Jumat kahiji dibulan Muharam sok ngayakeun sukuran dina raraga *Cacah Jiwa*”.

“... because of our habits related to pamali and traditions, every first Friday of

Muharram, we like to hold thanksgiving for the Cacah Jiwa”.

There is no adequate explanation for why the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual is carried out on the first Friday of Muharram. Aki Haya, the old-fashioned shaman of *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang, only said:

“... maybe (already done) from the previous. If the story is true, I don't (know) well (why) Muharram is held. That's handing over the soul, (every) soul (Kasepuhan resident) is handed over to Abah”.

According to the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang community, the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual is a year-opening ritual before carrying out various agricultural activities for a year, and the *Seren Taun* ritual is a year-ending ceremony for all agricultural activities. *Cacah Jiwa* is also intended as gratitude for the life and prosperity given by the Creator, as well as maintaining the traditions of the *karuhun* (ancestors) of the Cisungsang people. *Cacah Jiwa* can also be interpreted as defending the identity of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang community as a recognized, respected, and valued traditional community.

Cacah Jiwa is a tradition of recording the number of residents in the Cisungsang Traditional Kesepuhan by counting the *incu-putu* (offspring) of *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang every year and their livestock. The number of livestock illustrates the level of welfare of each area occupied by *incu-putu* in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang. The traditional apparatus responsible for collecting data is a community figure called *rendangan*. Based on information from Apih Jampana, one of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang traditional leaders, there were approximately 120 *rendangan* in 2020. The *rendangan* included representatives from the Cisungsang, Cisit, Cikarang, Cipayung, Sukarasa, Selakopi, Babakan Cisungsang, Gunung Wangun, Pasir Kadu, Ciater, Tapos, Carirang, Nyalindung, Cimapag, Gunung Tanjung, and Cisarua regions. Each region usually has two or three *rendangan*, and some regions have up to four.

The *Cacah Jiwa* ritual must be carried out appropriately and follow the *karuhun*'s rules. Before the *Cacah Jiwa* occurs, the *rendangan* in each area of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang neighborhood will record the number of *suunan* (houses), *incu-putu*, and

livestock they own. *Rendangan* will also ask for a contribution from each *suunan* (house) of IDR 10,000.00, which will be deposited to the *Kasepuhan* at the time of the *Cacah Jiwa*. These notes and fees will then be collected and given to Abah as the traditional leader. Later, the data will be combined from each *rendangan* and calculated to determine the total amount based on customary calculations. The fees collected will be used for the benefit of *Kasepuhan* or people experiencing poverty, orphans, and widows in the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang area.

The *Cacah Jiwa* ritual consists of at least preparation and core stages. The preparation stage is where the *rendangan* prepares various leaves from wild plants, which are tied into *sawen* (some call it *sawen*). *Sawen* is a roll of leaves containing seven leaves tucked inside a pinch of *lempah* (a rice porridge mixed with grated coconut). *Sawen*, which includes seven leaves, is usually placed to guard the house. There is also *sawen* used for *leuit* (rice granary), composed of eight leaves. Apih Jampana stated that the arrangement of leaves to make *sawen* must not be random; it must be sequential. As for the *lempah*, it is best to put it in a *sawen* roll. However, *lempah* smeared on *sawen* is also not a problem because the most important thing is reading the prayer. The results of direct observation when the *rendangan* made *sawen* in the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual in 2020, all the *rendangan* included *lempah* in the *sawen* roll. The function of the *sawen* is as a *jajaga* (protection) or as a ward off evil and to remove all evil from the *incu-putu* with Allah's permission swt.

The sequential arrangement of leaves made into *sawen* is as follows: Hanjuang, Tulak Tanggul, Pacing (not mandatory for *sawen* placed at home, and usually only used on *sawen* rolls for *leuit*), Sulangkar, Darangdan, Ilat, Rane, and Palias. For the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual, seven leaves are usually used. The arrangement of leaves from bottom to top is Hanjuang, Tulak Tanggul, Sulangkar, Darangdan, Ilat, Rane, and Palias. After the leaves are arranged properly, a small amount of *lempah* is placed in the middle, then rolled up and tied with ties made of bamboo. There is no specificity in choosing the bamboo used for *sawen* tying. The length of the *sawen* ties is approximately 25 cm. The thinness of the bamboo is not specified. The bamboo is

flexible enough to be used as a *sawen* string. This *sawen* binding rope cannot be replaced with a plastic rope such as a *rapia* or rubber. This is interpreted as an attachment to nature and protecting it without polluting or destroying nature.

Figure 1. *Sawen* Arrangement



Source: Researchers' Document

The seven leaves and *lempah* (see Appendix), which are used as *sawen* by the Cisungsang people, have the following functions and meanings:

1. Hanjuang leaves symbolize struggle, fighting in life to achieve goals. This means that this leaf is interpreted to accomplish all desires, as well as avoiding bad things. According to some people, these leaves are also believed to repel spirits.
2. Tulak Tanggul leaves are interpreted as a provision for anticipating danger. This leaf symbolizes that in life, you must have a handle, *tulak* (fence or strength).
3. Sulangkar leaves mean that life means you have to move (*motekar*), learn a lot to survive, and be precise in your calculations to make decisions.
4. Darangdan leaves mean that life requires dressing up (*darangdan*), so that it looks beautiful (aesthetic value) and neat in all things so that people like it in various ways.
5. Ilat leaves represent that to achieve goals, we must have careful calculations and know what we want to aim for; there must be rules, and we must not just choose something, be sharp in analysis, and use our conscience clearly.
6. Rane leaves are interpreted as a symbol of tranquility so that life becomes comfortable, peaceful, and full of prosperity.
7. Palias leaves are interpreted as a form of ward or avoiding danger (*dipaliaskeun* from distress), a symbol of safety.
8. *Lempah* is white rice cooked into white porridge (*lempah bodas*), cooked with a mixture of grated coconut with a coarse rice

texture, and placed in the middle of the *sawen* arrangement. *Lempah bodas* is interpreted as a symbol of purity. Among the various efforts symbolized in the seven leaves above, it is a clean heart that will save a human being.

Each *rendangan* produces *sawen* in different quantities, depending on the number of *suunans* that serve as shade. Each *sawen* is intended for one *suunan*. Some *rendangan* make only ten *sawen*, while others make more than fifty. This *Sawen* is then prayed for at the main event of *Cacah Jiwa*. Every *sawen* prayed for is followed by a contribution of "alms" as explained above. If a *rendangan* hands over fifty bunches of *sawen*, the amount of "alms" he collects is five hundred thousand rupiah. This "alms" contribution, together with data on the number of *incu-putu*, will be handed over to Abah Usep through his representative, Aki Edis. *Sawen* is made by *rendangan* at their house or Imah Gede. Various equipment, including needed leaves and *lempah*, are provided by *Kasepuhan*. At the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual, when this research was carried out, most of the *rendangan* were at Imah Gede at around 07.00 WIB. They had gathered and started making *sawen* together at 08.00 WIB.

While the *rendangan* is making *sawen*, the women, especially mothers, cook *lempah* together in large quantities in Imah Gede's kitchen. Those who cook *lempah* are considered capable of cooking for the needs of the *Kasepuhan* event. Among those who usually cook in the *Kasepuhan* kitchen are Mrs. Roh, Mrs. Juju, Mrs. Rum, Mrs. Ichi, Mrs. Eem, and Mrs. Hayat, or people who can volunteer to help with the continuity of the *Kasepuhan* event. In the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual, *lempah* is a mandatory menu and must be served at the event. *Lempah* is a symbol of gratitude for the blessings that Allah SWT has given and interpreted as purity. Usually, ten liters of rice are cooked to make *lempah*, containing six coconuts. *Lempah* is not cooked all at once but is divided according to the pan's capacity for cooking it. The pan used to cook *lempah* is the largest pan. There are two pans used to cook *lempah*. The *Kasepuhan* women will take turns mixing the *lempah*, grating the coconut, and making *kinca* (palm sugar that is melted by cooking to sprinkle the *lempah*).

When the *lempah* is cooked, the *rendangan* will enjoy *lempah* together in Imah

Gede's kitchen. This meal together is done before the event starts and when the *rendangan* has finished making *sawen*. Eating *lempah* together is intended to strengthen ties between *rendangan* from each region. The *lempah* is served for *rendangan* and singing *Cacah Jiwa*. The *lempah* for the *Cacah Jiwa* celebration is usually placed on a plate and basin, while for *rendangan* is served in any container, such as a bowl, plate, and other containers. Women also cook rice and side dishes for *rendangan* who haven't had breakfast or come from far away areas. Rice is traditionally cooked using a *seeng* (a rice cooking vessel made of copper or iron with a tube-like and hollow shape but with enlarged bottom and top parts and a narrow middle part).

Acculturation to Tradition and Religion as an Adaptation Process

The core stages of the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual begin on Friday before noon, around 11 a.m. All the *sawen* the *rendangan* have been preparing since Friday morning are collected in a large basket of woven bamboo called *ayakan Agung*. It is placed in front of Abah Usep, the ritual leader, and surrounded by *rendangan*. Next to the *sawen*, *lempah* is placed together with *kinca* in a different place. There were also three packs of sticky rice tape wrapped in leaves and water in a large glass, provided only for Abah. Abah Usep sat facing West, followed by Abah's family members. Abah Usep was surrounded by the central figures at this *Cacah Jiwa* ceremony, namely Apih Jakar (advisor of *Kasepuhan*), Aki Edis (as Sabah), Mr. Iwan (as Amil *Kasepuhan*), and Aki Haya (as old-fashioned Shaman). Sitting in front of Abah Usep is Aki Ujang (the *Bengkong* shaman and village amil), who faces East.

Before starting the ritual, Abah Usep gave an introduction, as written above, and asked the audience not to make a sound or move during the ritual. Then, Abah Usep asked Aki Ujang for permission to start *Cacah Jiwa* activities. After Aki Ujang declared that the event could begin, Abah Usep started chanting a mantra or prayer, which was not heard by the audience, even by those next to him. While reciting the spell, Abah Usep sprinkled incense into *parupuyan* (incense). After finishing chanting the spell, *parupuyan*, which had been chanted and was still emitting smoke, was

handed over to Aki Haya and taken around the audience three times.

Parupuyan was returned to Abah for the next ritual after being carried around the audience. In this part, Abah Usep again casts a spell to pray for the collection of *sawen* in front of him. When Abah prayed, the collection of *sawen* in this large basket was lifted about thirty to fifty centimeters high by four *rendangan*. While chanting the spell in front of *parupuyan*, Abah Usep also chewed a type of grain, which was then sprayed onto the *sawen*. After about a minute of chanting the spell, Abah put away *parupuyan*. The *sawen* was placed back in front of Abah, and the mantra recitation ritual was complete.

Abah then handed the event to Mr. Iwan to continue leading the ritual. Mr. Iwan started by reading *ta'awuz*, *basmalah*, and *Al-Fatihah* with *wasilah* first to the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and his friends. The second *Al-Fatihah* is read by reciting *wasilah* to the prophets, saints, *tabi'in*, ulama, and especially Sheikh Abdul Kadir Jailani. The third *Al-Fatihah* is read by reciting *wasilah* to parents, elders, Muslims, believers, and *mukiminat* in various corners of the world. After reading *Al-Fatihah* three times, interspersed with one sentence of tauhid, then read *Al-Ikhlâs* three times, *Al-Falaq* once, and *An-Nas* once, interspersed with reading a sentence of *tauhid* at each turn. After reading the last three letters in the Qur'an, Mr. Iwan, followed by the audience, read *Al-Fatihah* again, five verses of *Al-Baqarah*, and *Ayat Kursi*. After reading various letters in the Qur'an, Mr. Iwan sang a prayer mixture of Arabic and Sundanese prayers. Fragments of prayers read in the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual are as follows:

Allahuma tolak bala minta saking iman raja iman panyakit datang ti kidul pulangkeun ka kidul nurut ku cahyaning indung. Allahuma saking iman raja soleh man salamet, salamet Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani, salamet sakabeh umat Nabi Muhammad.

Allahuma tolak bala minta saking Raja Iman panyakit datang ti wetan pulangkeun ka wetan deui nurut ku cahyaning pangeran. Allahuma saking iman raja Soleh man salamet salamet Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani salamet sakabeh umat Nabi Muhammad

Mr. Iwan said that the prayer that was read aimed to ward off evil, physical and spiritual safety, and the blessing of good fortune. However, when asked to repeat the prayer so that it could be written down, he was not willing because he believed *pamali* that could not be violated. Some prayer verses above can be quoted and recited during the ritual. Aki Ujang, a religious figure who served as the village amil, closed the ritual by reading the prayer completely in Arabic.

This mixture of prayers in Arabic and Sundanese indicates the contact between tradition and religion in *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang. However, it is not yet known exactly when Islam entered the traditions of the Cisungsang people because this can only be known by certain people considered capable or worthy of maintaining the ties of the Cisungsang community. Apart from that, Islam has been brought to Cisungsang by the followers of the Prophet Muhammad since many years ago, without any clash of interests that caused divisions. Islam is well accepted in Cisungsang without eliminating the culture of its people, aligning it with culture and traditions that contain Islamic values without losing the Cisungsang people's identity.

Traditions in the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community essentially originate from ancestors and beliefs in the community since the past. Traditions in Cisungsang survive because of actors with roles, responsibilities and special rules that regulate the continuation of traditions among members of indigenous communities and immigrants. In its development, the traditions in the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community are inseparable from the adjustments made in adapting the indigenous community to an environment that is experiencing a change of belief. This community has transitioned from Hindu-Buddhist beliefs to Islam, developments over time or social changes.

According to Hardestry (in Mahmud, 2016), adaptation is a dynamic process of human relations with the environment that is not constant and determinant. In the Cisungsang indigenous community, adaptation is presented in the community's response to traditions and the environment, one of which is the continuation of the *Cacah Jiwa* tradition. The community's response to implementing the *Cacah Jiwa* tradition refers

to adaptive behavior in an adaptation. According to Hardestry (in Mahmud, 2016), the types of adaptive behavior are idiosyncratic, the ways individuals use to overcome environmental problems, and cultural adaptations that are patterned and shared equally among group members and traditions. Hardestry explained that adaptive behavior is a general term and refers to behavior that aligns with decisions, achieving satisfaction and goals.

A sustainable tradition cannot be separated from continuity, repetition, or even adaptation of the tradition, which is identified based on its dynamic nature. It is not stagnant in realizing certain goals and intentions or in accordance with certain wishes from the transition of the leader (actor) to the next leader according to the conditions of the times or existing social changes. Therefore, the tradition of *Cacah Jiwa* in the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community is a process of adaptation from time to time that is maintained or a form of continuity.

The *Cacah Jiwa* ritual is finished when Abah leaves the place of implementation. The *sawen* that has been prayed for is then taken by the *rendangan*. *Sawen*, which have been prayed for and will be returned to the residents of *Kasepuhan* are now called *babay*. In the eyes of the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang people, *babay* is considered a protective talisman for the following year. *Rendangan* will take *babay incu putu* to his house or *incu putu* will take him to *rendangan*'s house himself. When they arrive, the *rendangan* usually announces, "*babay si enggus* came", which means your *babay* has come. *Babay* can be given or taken at any time by the *incu putu rendangan*, but the *babay* must be put on after the evening call to prayer. One of the reasons is diseases and spirits roam around at that time. The *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang people believe that when there is a *babay* in the house, spirits cannot enter. *Babay* is installed by the head of the family, or someone considered capable of installing *babay*. When the *babay* is installed, the house's residents must all gather there. There is no special prayer when installing the *babay* because Abah has read the prayer as the traditional leader. The *Cacah Jiwa* ritual is considered very important for the people of *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang, both those who live

around *Kasepuhan* and outside. This ritual not only records the number of *Kasepuhan* members who are still alive and who have died but also acts as a guardian for them, with the prayer recited by Abah and various prayers recited by the amil.

After the complete *Cacah Jiwa* ritual procession, the *rendangan* and residents ate *lempah* dishes and *kinca*, which were placed in the middle of the ritual site. The *lempah*, which was placed in front of Abah and the *rendangan* was enjoyed by the *rendangan*. The residents followed along, enjoying the *lempah* they had brought themselves, which had been cooked and provided by the kitchen of Imah Gede. Usually, the people around the *Kasepuhan* neighborhood would bring *lempah* and *kinca* from home and join in prayed during the *Cacah Jiwa* procession. After finishing eating together, the people returned to their respective homes. At around 11.45 a.m., the *Cacah Jiwa* ended, and the *rendangan* dispersed.

CLOSING

Based on the description of the research results above, it can be concluded that the *Cacah Jiwa* ritual is maintained. One of the ways is by mixing and matching it with religious teachings that have only recently arrived. Although it is not known exactly when Islam began to enter and be embraced by this indigenous community, this ritual is a sign that indigenous communities prioritize adaptation modes in maintaining their traditions. It rejects the view that there is contestation between traditional practitioners and adherents of religious teachings. For the *Kasepuhan* Cisungsang indigenous community, traditions must not violate religious law. Traditional and religious practices must also be within the corridors of state law.

The *Cacah Jiwa* ritual, with its various attributes, although it is intended as a preparatory ritual for the start of the rice planting period, contains noble religious values. This ritual contains various prayers to God Almighty, which are read by the performers, conveying *wasilah* to the ancestors, both the propagators of the religion they follow and the traditional ancestors. These prayers describe the beliefs of those who adhere to Islamic teachings. This tradition also teaches indigenous communities to be

sensitive to the condition of their relatives, continue to build relationships and uphold brotherhood.

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