

Kiai, Religious Authority, and Dynamics of *Ngumbah Keris* Tradition in Java, Indonesia

Faline Izza Nisa'u¹, Ahmad Arif Widiyanto^{2*}

¹Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia

²Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia

*Correspondence: ahmad.arif.fis@um.ac.id

Abstract

The *ngumbah keris* tradition is recognized as a practice aimed at warding off bad luck through a series of specific rituals that incorporate mantras and offerings. This study explores the responses of *kiai langgar* to the *ngumbah keris* ritual using ethnographic methodology. Data were collected through purposive sampling, in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and documentation. The analysis adhered to Miles and Huberman's interactive model, which encompasses data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing, supplemented by triangulation to ensure both validity and reliability. Max Weber's theory of charismatic authority provided the theoretical framework for this study, which is crucial for understanding how *kiai langgar* exercise their authority to mediate between traditional practices and religious principles. This framework highlights a dualistic response: *kiai langgar* aligned with Nahdlatul Ulama view the ritual as a means of seeking divine blessings, provided it is in accordance with Islamic teachings. In contrast, *kiai langgar* associated with Muhammadiyah classify the ritual as *bid'ah* (innovation) and superstition. The findings indicate that the negotiation of religious and cultural values is significantly shaped by the charismatic authority of the *kiai langgar*, influencing community perceptions and practices. This study deepens the understanding of the complex interplay between traditional rituals and Islamic teachings within rural Javanese communities, underscoring the role of *kiai langgar* as cultural brokers and agents of social change.

Article History

Received: 06-09-2024

Revised: 27-12-2024

Accepted: 31-12-2024

Keywords:

Authority;

Kiai Langgar;

Local Tradition;

Ngumbah Keris.



© 2024 Faline Izza Nisa'u, Ahmad Arif Widiyanto

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

INTRODUCTION

One significant way individuals express their identity within society is through culture (Hernawati et al., 2022). This connection underscores the role of culture in highlighting the unique characteristics and distinct qualities of a particular region (Sato et al., 2017). On the island of Java, a rich diversity of cultures and philosophies exists. The Javanese people exhibit specific patterns of action, behavior, and perspectives related to their beliefs in the supernatural. These beliefs are often intricate and not easily grasped by everyone. In traditional society, individuals may feel a sense of vulnerability when faced with the vast complexities of their beliefs about the universe (Fibriana et al., 2021). People's beliefs in the magical world are so inherently linked to their thoughts that they cannot be easily distinguished from one another. Many individuals continue to place their faith in sacred objects, such as amulets that are believed to hold supernatural and mystical powers. These amulets often contain "*khodam*", creatures thought to assist their masters in carrying out specific tasks. It is believed that these objects can bring tranquility, safety, and peace to a person's life (Nurusholih & Ihamsyah, 2023) (Setyowati et al., 2023). Based on this statement, it is enough to show that Javanese culture is closely related to belief systems, customs, which are related to the supernatural and mystical.

One of the esteemed traditions within Javanese culture is the *ngumbah keris* ritual, which continues to be practiced today. This ceremony is conducted by specific groups of individuals regarded as possessing deep spiritual knowledge, enabling them to communicate with ancestral spirits. The *ngumbah keris* ritual occurs at the beginning of the *Suro* month, also known as *Muharram*, with the purpose of warding off calamities and disasters, as well as expressing gratitude (Zuhri, 2024). In local vernacular, this practice is often referred to as *tolak bala*. Furthermore, the *ngumbah keris* ritual is essential for preserving the authenticity and mystical attributes of the *keris*, a traditional dagger (Zulfikar & Kamalia, 2022). The embodiment of the *ngumbah keris* ritual tradition is juxtaposed with offerings and symbols related to ancestral spirits (Tubagus, 2020).

This study holds considerable importance as it delves into the emergence of various rituals stemming from the local community's belief that the failure to conduct the *ngumbah keris* ritual procession can result in misfortune and negative outcomes. Such consequences may include economic challenges and a rise in mortality rates. Additionally, this practice is viewed by some as deviating from the teachings of Islam (Tubagus, 2020). This is due to the existence of goals and intentions that jut towards beliefs that tend to associate with God, especially since there are several stages in the process of washing the kris which ultimately lead to purification. In this era, it is evident that there are still many traditional communities that are strong in the existence of ancestral spirits and ancestors, and not a few of them even believe in other than God (Siburian & Malau, 2018). In light of this, the necessity for religious purification becomes critical, as it involves distinguishing between customary beliefs and Islamic teachings. This study is significant because it bridges the gap between religious and social perspectives, illustrating that purification is not merely a theological process but also a form of social negotiation. From a religious standpoint, purification emphasizes the alignment of practices with Islamic principles while remaining respectful of the local context. From a social perspective, overly stringent interpretations by *kiai* regarding community customs could alienate their followers and diminish their authority (Dow, 2005).

This paper plays an important role in addressing the issues surrounding the *ngumbah keris* ritual and the involvement of *kiai langgar*. It investigates how these individuals function as cultural brokers, striking a balance between the preservation of local traditions and the adherence to Islamic orthodoxy. In doing so, this study offers a refined understanding of the interplay between religion, culture, and social dynamics within rural Javanese communities. Furthermore, it sheds light on the broader implications of cultural and religious coexistence.

There have been many studies related to *ngumbah keris*, but so far, no research has focused specifically on the religious purification aspect of the *ngumbah keris* ritual. A comprehensive mapping of existing literature reveals diverse academic perspectives on this topic. For instance, Ramadhan, (2019) examined the function and structure of the ritual, emphasizing its symbolic meaning and philosophical underpinnings within Javanese culture. From an economic standpoint, Musarofah, (2018) explored how the preservation of *ngumbah keris* by the elders of the Aji Wengker community in Ponorogo contributed to local economic growth through the *grebeg suro* tradition. However, these studies largely neglect the religious purification element and its socio-religious implications, leaving a significant gap in the literature.

This research is positioned primarily within the social domain, focusing on the responses of *kiai langgar* as cultural brokers who mediate between religious principles and local customs. While the *ngumbah keris* ritual carries theological dimensions, this study emphasizes its sociological impact, particularly how the authority of *kiai langgar* shapes and influences community practices. Previous studies by U. Hasanah & Putri, (2021) Loliyana & Abdurakhman, (2022), Sa'adiyyah & Kusuma, (2020) have highlighted the evolving role of *kiai* in driving social change amidst modernization. Meanwhile, Kamsi, Febriyeni, and Ngimadudin have discussed the need for religious purification as a means of eliminating polytheistic practices (Kamsi et al., 2021). Despite these contributions, the specific dynamics of *ngumbah keris* rituals within the framework of *kiai langgar*'s authority remain unexplored.

This paper builds upon existing research while also offering a new perspective by examining the negotiation that occurs between *kiai langgar* and the preservation of *ngumbah keris* rituals. It reaffirms the essential role of *kiai* in fostering social change, extending the discussion to analyze their dual identity as both religious leaders and cultural mediators. The originality of this research lies in its investigation of the *ngumbah keris* ritual as a convergence point for religious principles and Javanese cultural traditions. By exploring how *kiai langgar* navigate these tensions, this study provides valuable insights into their roles as cultural brokers and agents of social cohesion within rural Javanese communities.

This study investigates the ways in which *kiai langgar* (local religious leaders) engage with the social dynamics of the Kertonegoro village community, particularly regarding the *ngumbah keris* tradition. A significant element of this research is the contrast drawn between *kiai langgar* and *pesantren kiai*. While *pesantren kiai* often require considerable time and effort to gain recognition within the community, *kiai langgar* take a different approach. They establish their authority through direct interaction with the community by delivering lectures, leading prayers at the local mosque, and organizing recitations at the *langgar* (prayer house) situated near their homes. This type of *kiai* is also linked to earlier generations of religious leaders who played a vital role in the advancement of Islam in the region (Lambek, 2002).

This study examines how *kiai langgar* interpret and respond to the *ngumbah keris* tradition by employing Max Weber's theory of charismatic authority. Weber's framework is particularly relevant as it elucidates how a leader derives legitimacy from the recognition of extraordinary qualities and a profound belief in their spiritual or moral authority. This theory offers a compelling lens through which to understand the relationship between *kiai langgar* and their community, where their influence is grounded not only in religious knowledge but also in their capacity to bridge traditional practices and Islamic principles (Dawson, 2011).

The decision to utilize Weber's theory stems from its effectiveness in exploring the dual role of *kiai langgar* as both religious leaders and cultural brokers. In contrast to other frameworks, such as social construction theory—which highlights the co-creation of meaning within a community—Weber's concept of charismatic authority offers a more nuanced analysis of individual influence and its legitimization within specific socio-cultural contexts. By employing this theoretical framework, the study underscores how *kiai langgar* navigate the tension between tradition and religion, skillfully balancing the preservation of cultural heritage with the adherence to Islamic teachings (Ali Nasith, 2024).

In this context, the authors present this study as a valuable addition to the existing literature, which has inadequately explored the role of a *kiai*—particularly a *kiai langgar*—in relation to the belief in the *ngumbah keris* ritual. The *kiai langgar* is identified as a significant research subject, as many patterns of social change often remain stagnant and are influenced by the authority of the *kiai langgar*. The villagers of Kertonegoro hold the *kiai langgar* in high regard, considering him a leader and a guiding reference for their daily behaviors. This figure commands deep respect and obedience from the entire community, fulfilling an essential role in traditional, formal, and religious events. The *kiai langgar* frequently acts as a catalyst for meaningful change, mediating conflicts among villagers related to feuds by addressing these issues openly. Consequently, the people of Kertonegoro perceive the *kiai langgar* as their religious leader and a source of belief. The *kiai's* religious authority significantly shapes the relationship between him and the villagers, reinforcing the legitimacy of his leadership (Sinaga et al., 2024).

In certain communities that continue to uphold Javanese culture, opinions regarding the *ngumbah keris* ritual vary significantly. A crucial factor influencing these differing perspectives is the viewpoint of the *kiai*, who play a vital role in the annual preservation of this tradition. Within the Kertonegoro village community, *kiai*—especially the *langgar kiai*—are respected as elders and role models. Two primary schools of thought among these *kiai* are represented: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. The continuation of the *ngumbah keris* ritual largely depends on the viewpoints of the *langgar kiai* (T. Magalhães, 2022).

It is important to explore the perspectives of the *kiai langgar* to gain insight into the various viewpoints—both supportive and opposing—that arise from their diverse backgrounds. This analysis aims to clarify the authority of the *kiai langgar* and their function as cultural brokers, particularly in reconciling differing opinions surrounding the ritual (Tsauri et al., 2023). The article seeks to deepen our understanding of the *kiai langgar's* authority in relation to the *ngumbah keris* ritual tradition, with the goal of bridging the myths and logical reasoning present within both the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah sects.

METHODS

The study utilizes a descriptive qualitative method combined with an ethnographic approach (Creswell, 2014) to investigate the responses of *kiai langgar* to the *ngumbah keris* ritual in Kertonegoro Village, Jember. This ethnographic approach was chosen to provide an in-depth understanding of the cultural and social dynamics associated with the ritual. By immersing themselves in the community, the researcher is able to observe and document practices, beliefs, and interactions in their natural context. The research involved participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Participatory observation allowed the researcher to engage actively in the *ngumbah keris* ritual to grasp its symbolic meanings and the socio-religious interactions it entails. Key informant interviews were conducted with *kiai langgar* from both Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah backgrounds, as well as *dukun keris* (ritual leaders), and five community members who were directly involved in or knowledgeable about the *ngumbah keris* tradition. These interviews provided valuable insights into the differing interpretations and responses to the ritual. Additionally, documentation—including photographs, recordings, and written notes—captured the ritual's details and its significance to the community (Flick, 2013). In selecting research subjects, the authors utilized a purposive sampling technique, choosing participants based on specific criteria. The subjects included individuals involved in the *keris*-washing process, those knowledgeable about the *ngumbah keris* ritual, and *kiai langgar* who hold the authority to address these matters.

The ethnographic approach was chosen over phenomenology due to its focus on the collective and cultural dimensions of the ritual, rather than individual lived experiences. While phenomenology seeks to understand subjective perceptions, ethnography emphasizes the social and cultural context, making it the ideal framework for analyzing the *ngumbah keris* tradition as a communal practice shaped by historical, religious, and sociocultural factors (Fadli, 2021). This study was conducted in Kertonegoro village, Jember district. Kertonegoro village was chosen because it is located in an area where the community is still thick with commands and prohibitions in Javanese culture and still considers *kiai langgar* as someone who determines the direction of their lives in behaving and speaking in this modernization era.

The study was conducted over a 12 month period, from August 2022 to August 2023. The study was carried out in several stages. During the initial phase (August - October 2022), the authors conducted preliminary field visits to Kertonegoro village to build rapport with the community and identify potential participants. The data collection phase (November 2022 - April 2023) involved in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and documentation. During this period, the authors observed the *ngumbah keris* ritual and conducted multiple interview sessions to gather comprehensive insights. The final phase (May - August 2023) was devoted to data analysis, where field notes, interview transcripts, and observational data were systematically categorized, interpreted, and contextualized within the study's theoretical framework. This detailed timeline ensured a thorough and systematic exploration of the *ngumbah keris* ritual, providing robust findings and insights into the cultural and religious dynamics surrounding the practice.

In this study, the authors acted as a vital instrument, playing a significant role in guiding interviews conducted over several sessions. Some of these interviews were formal and scheduled for special appointments, while others were informal, fostering openness and creating a more conducive environment for discussion. The study employed Miles and Huberman's data analysis technique, which encompasses four stages: data collection, data reduction through the analysis of

interview transcripts, data presentation in the form of descriptive narratives, and ultimately, drawing conclusions (H. Hasanah, 2017). Data triangulation by combining several data and various existing data sources and member checks as an effort to check the correctness of the data obtained by researchers from the research subjects concerned, researchers also used in testing data reliability (Mekarisce, 2020). The data analysis was guided by Max Weber's theory of charismatic authority, which served as the primary theoretical framework. This theory was particularly relevant in understanding the dynamics of *kiai langgar*'s leadership and influence within the community. Weber's concept highlights how legitimacy is derived from the perception of extraordinary qualities in a leader, such as spiritual insight or moral authority, which resonates deeply with the community's beliefs and practices.

This study utilized a framework to examine how *kiai langgar* negotiate their authority concerning the *ngumbah keris* ritual. The selected theory offered valuable insights into the differing responses of *kiai langgar* affiliated with either the Nahdlatul Ulama or Muhammadiyah perspectives, revealing how their charismatic authority affected the community's acceptance of their guidance. Weber's theory was chosen over other frameworks because it effectively addresses both the cultural and religious dimensions of leadership, as well as the social mechanisms that reinforce or challenge such authority in a rural Javanese context.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Ngumbah Keris Tradition: History, Meaning, and Dynamics

The *ngumbah keris* ritual, rooted in Javanese culture, carries profound historical and cultural significance, particularly in the context of Jember. Historically, the tradition dates back to ancestral practices deeply intertwined with Javanese cosmology, where the *keris*—a traditional dagger—is revered not only as a weapon but also as a spiritual and cultural artifact (Tubagus, 2020). The *keris* symbolizes power, identity, and the connection between the visible and invisible worlds. In Javanese mythology, the *keris* is believed to possess spiritual energy '*tuah*', and its maintenance through rituals like *ngumbah keris* is considered essential to preserve its mystical power and authenticity (U. Hasanah & Putri, 2021).

In Jember, the *ngumbah keris* tradition has been preserved as a cultural heritage, particularly among communities that maintain strong ties to ancestral customs. The ritual is typically performed in the month of *Suro* (coinciding with *Muharram* in the Islamic calendar), a time regarded as sacred and imbued with spiritual energy (Wibawa et al., 2024). During this period, the *ngumbah keris* ritual serves as an act of gratitude, a way to ward off misfortune '*tolak bala*', and a means of honoring ancestral spirits (Santoso, 2024). The process involves washing the *keris* with specific elements such as coconut water, lime, and sandalwood oil, accompanied by prayers and offerings, which are believed to invoke blessings and protection.

Culturally, the *ngumbah keris* ritual holds significant relevance in Jember as it reflects the syncretism between Javanese traditions and Islamic teachings. The ritual demonstrates how local communities negotiate their cultural identity while integrating Islamic values. For example, while the prayers recited during the ritual often include Islamic verses, the accompanying offerings and symbolic acts remain deeply rooted in Javanese traditions. This synthesis illustrates the community's effort to maintain a balance between respecting their cultural heritage and adhering to religious principles (Santoso, 2024).

In the context of Jember's rural communities, the *ngumbah keris* tradition also reinforces social cohesion. It brings together various stakeholders, including ritual shamans, local leaders, and community members, fostering a sense of unity and shared identity (Fadli, 2021). Moreover, the tradition has adapted to contemporary challenges, with some elements being reinterpreted to align with modern Islamic perspectives, particularly under the guidance of *kiai langgar*. This adaptation ensures the ritual remains relevant while addressing potential criticisms related to superstition or *bid'ah* (Innovation).

By examining the *ngumbah keris* tradition in Jember, this study highlights its dual role as both a cultural preservation effort and a dynamic process of religious negotiation. Its continued practice demonstrates the resilience of local traditions in the face of modernization, while also emphasizing the critical role of community leaders like *kiai langgar* in mediating between tradition and religious orthodoxy (Milosevic & Erin Bass, 2014).

The *Suro* ritual tradition is a cultural practice that has been cherished since ancient times, particularly among Kejawen believers. It is observed on the 1st of *Suro* in the Javanese calendar, which corresponds to the month of *Muharram* in the 1 Hijri calendar (Huda, 2016). This tradition carries significant meaning within Javanese society, even though it is not directly addressed in the Qur'an. It is essential to ensure that the practice of this tradition aligns with the principles of *tawhīd* and Islamic teachings, so as to avoid any perception of associating partners with Allah.

The important meaning of the month of *Suro*, which is believed by the Javanese people, is that in this month there are many blessings and spiritual values so that it is the right moment to use to reflect on oneself with introspection to start a new sheet of life (Santoso, 2024). *Suro* month includes the Javanese New Year which has strong supernatural power and energy so it is good to use it as an important moment of cultural celebration. Javanese people believe that *Suro* month is a month favored by invisible beings. The term */Suro/* itself in Javanese mythology is the name of a legendary Javanese creature, the king of jinn, who is described as a supernatural being and is closely related to culture and belief (Fahrudi & Alfadhilah, 2022). Similarly, the beliefs of the Javanese community, especially rural areas, are related to the preservation of the tradition of the *ngumbah keris* ritual which is still exist today.

The *ngumbah keris* ritual tradition is exclusively performed by shamans, who are regarded as authorities in this area. In rural communities, shamanism typically employs Javanese calculations to determine the auspiciousness of a particular day (Fadli, 2021). This practice is commonly applied when individuals are planning to build a house, get married, or undertake long journeys. Despite the continuous advancements in science and technology, the presence of shamans remains robust. Many people maintain a belief that shamans possess specialized knowledge related to mystical and supernatural phenomena, enabling them to serve as effective problem solvers in everyday life (Huda, 2016).

In the Kertonegoro village community, a shaman is referred to as a *pujonggo tuek*, recognized for their extensive knowledge and rich experience in various ritual traditions, often associated with spirits or supernatural phenomena. Some individuals also call them *tiyang saget* which translates to someone with exceptional healing abilities, frequently sought after for assistance in fulfilling personal desires (Fadli, 2021). Geertz addresses this notion in his work "*Santri, Abangan, and Priyayi*," highlighting that shamans often lack a clear social status and may even be subject to negative stereotypes. However, this perception does not align with the reality on the ground; the role of shamans is increasingly valued, with a strong presence in both rural and urban communities. Their expertise is in high demand, placing them in a significant position within society (Eny Setyowati et al., 2022).

The shaman of *ngumbah keris* believes in Islam, which allows him to integrate his faith in the supernatural with Islamic teachings and relevant local customs. However, some of his rituals also draw on Javanese mysticism, reflecting the spiritual practices of the religious community. Within the *ngumbah keris* tradition of shamanism, rituals incorporate prayers and the guidance of the *primbon*, as taught by earlier *pujangga tuek* (spiritual leaders) (Santoso, 2024). The *primbon* serves as a compilation of rules, guidelines, and behavioral protocols. Although certain aspects of the *primbon* may no longer be applicable—particularly those commonly found in the market—it remains a respected source for the practice of *rapal* (ritual incantations) (Ul Jannah & Zurinani, 2017).

In traditional Javanese beliefs, the *keris* is regarded as a magical object capable of fulfilling a person's desires. However, accessing its power requires the completion of several ritual stages, each possessing specific functions and meanings, which means that not everyone is qualified to conduct

these rituals (Sato et al., 2017). The *keris* features intricate symbols, making it a highly esteemed heirloom that demands precise handling during its ceremonial use. This precision is vital in the transcription of the *keris* master's writings, which encompass sacred texts and mantras designed to yield powerful and flawless results. Consequently, the *keris* becomes an heirloom that is profoundly linked to spiritual understanding and religious significance (Setiyani & Orwela, 2023). The symbolic language of nature, behavior, and the order of social life become the foundation for the above statement.

The *keris* is held in high esteem, particularly within social contexts, as it plays a central role in specific rituals considered holy and sacred. These rituals are rooted in a belief system that addresses two opposing realms: the visible world and the invisible world (Fadli, 2021). The process of uniting these realms creates a harmonious relationship that is acknowledged by the surrounding community through these sacred practices. This belief underscores the reality and significance of the invisible world within a religious framework. Consequently, the *keris* serves as a symbol of archipelago culture that merits preservation (Yasa et al., 2022).

The early history of the *ngumbah keris* ritual is rooted in the lineage of the *keris* shaman's relatives. An individual chosen to inherit this sacred knowledge receives a significant dream, which serves as a guiding clue for the prospective successor. In this dream, the individual is led to a cave or a mountain, where they are instructed to retrieve a specific item. Upon awakening, the chosen one must immediately seek out the location from the dream to find the *keris* they will care for, which includes washing it every night during the month of *Suro* (Santoso, 2024). The wood used for the *warangka* (the hilt or scabbard) of the *keris* must be true *purbo* wood. When all necessary conditions for the washing ritual are met, the *keris* will stand upright and pull itself from its frame.

The *ngumbah keris* ritual requires several important and mandatory elements including time, tools, and *empu*. The time referred to here is the selection of the right day and month when performing the *ngumbah keris* ritual in order to make a certain moment that makes it different from the usual time (Sato et al., 2017). The time selection itself is carried out in the month of *Suro* or *Muharram*, precisely in the afternoon before *magrib* prayer because the Javanese people consider this month to be a sacred month which contains many myths because this month is the moment of change and the end of the old year into a new year so that its sacredness must be respected (Nasution, 2017). Therefore, it is not surprising that at this predetermined time we often find offerings consisting of various types of flowers, *jenang*, and incense burned which contain *Kejawen* meaning.

Then the next element is a tool consisting of lime, sandalwood oil, One of the key elements in the *ngumbah keris* ritual is the use of seven types of flowers, commonly referred to as "seven-form flowers." These flowers, including rose, jasmine, ylang-ylang, magnolia, champaca, frangipani, and bougainvillea, each carry symbolic meanings that enhance the spiritual and cultural essence of the ritual. For instance, roses are associated with love and devotion, symbolizing sincerity in prayer and respect for ancestors, while jasmine signifies purity and sacredness, emphasizing the spiritual cleanliness sought during the ritual (Fadli, 2021). Ylang-ylang represents harmony and tranquility, promoting peace, and magnolia is believed to foster a connection to the spiritual realm, attracting positive energy. Similarly, champaca conveys hope and protection, frangipani reflects immortality and the preservation of tradition, and bougainvillea embodies resilience and simplicity, symbolizing the strength of cultural values.

The combination of these flowers creates a harmonious and fragrant atmosphere, which is believed to please ancestral spirits and strengthen the connection between the physical and metaphysical worlds. This practice underscores the importance of both cultural symbolism and spiritual intentions in the *ngumbah keris* ritual, highlighting its layered significance as part of *Jember's* rich heritage (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023).

Bamboo wood and coconut fruit are vital components of the *ngumbah keris* ritual. Additionally, seven types of flowers are required, as those who are invisible are often drawn to fragrant offerings. These tools and materials contribute to the sacredness of the *keris*-washing

ceremony. The *ngumbah keris* ritual is not something that can be performed by just anyone; it requires individuals with profound knowledge. In Kertonegoro Village, Jember Regency, those who regularly perform this ritual are referred to as *dukun keris*, recognized for their ability to explore realms related to the invisible world. A *dukun keris* is also believed to strike a harmony between religious teachings and the sacred practice of *ngumbah keris*, fostering a sense of peace during the continuation of the ritual (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023).



Figure 1. *Keris Tilamsari*

As shown in the figure 1, the *keris* has an explanation and understanding in each part of its skeleton. First, the upstream part which houses the handle or hilt of the *keris* has a meaning as a life force in supporting human life. Second, the blade or *wilahan* is the main part of the *keris* which becomes the pamor of a *keris* in showing its magic. Third, the *warangka* is a *keris* wrapper which means the place where the *keris* lives (Resmiyanto, 2022). Historically, *keris* parts are closely related to Javanese men where a man can be said to be a perfect figure if he has the following five compositions; (1) *curigo* which means *gaman*, meaning a Javanese man who has a steady income with a job that occupies the highest or main position. (2) *wismo* means a Javanese man who has a place to live, (3) *turonggo* means a Javanese man who has a vehicle, such as a car and motorcycle. (4) *kukilo*, where a man has a hobby or pleasure to show his character. (5) then the fifth is *garwo* which means wife (Fadli, 2021).

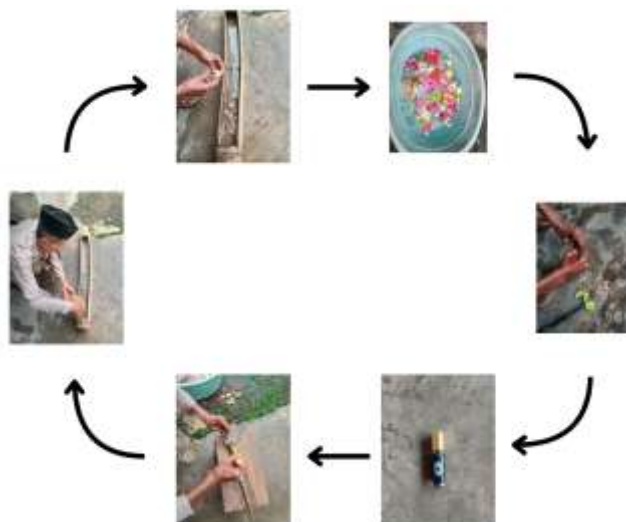


Figure 2. *Ngumbah Keris* Tools and Materials

The figure 2 outlines the steps involved in the *ngumbah keris* ritual procession. The sequence is as follows: (1) Prepare the Bamboo. Begin by hollowing out a piece of bamboo. Next, take a mature coconut, cut it open, and pour out the water inside. (2) Prepare and Slice the *Bentis* Fruit. Subsequently, obtain *bentis* fruit, slice it thinly, and add the slices to the bamboo that has been filled with coconut water. (3) Soak the Flowers. Gather seven flowers and place them in the prepared container to soak overnight. (4) Slice the Lime. After soaking, slice a lime to apply to the *keris* once it has been prepared. (5) Dry the *Keris* (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). Following the lime application, proceed with the drying process for the *keris*. (6) Apply Sandalwood Oil. Finally, apply sandalwood oil to the *keris*. This ritual is vital for the proper cleansing and preparation of the *keris* (Fadli, 2021).

The process of *ngumbah keris* begins with saying the mantra or reading /'A 'ūdū bi-llāhi mina al-shayṭāni al-rajīm, bismi-llāhi al-raḥmāni al-raḥīm. 'Ašhadu 'an lā 'ilāha 'illā Allāh, wa'ašhadu 'anna Muḥammadan rasūlu-llāh. Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Muḥammad wa'alā āli Sayyidinā Muḥammad. Lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata 'illā bi-llāhi al-'aliyyi al-'aẓīm/ while pulling the *keris* from its container or often called *warongko* then by reading /yha gowa/ 'I want to know you', then while dipping the *keris* into a bamboo wooden container that has been filled with coconut water and *bentis* slices by reading /nur cahyo nur sejatine wewenang, diwenangake ngedusi culiko wesiaji pulosani dino iki/, Waiting for the soaking of the *keris*, while putting seven kinds of flowers into the container and inserting the *keris* (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). After that, remove and smear the *keris* with lime and dry in the sun for seven days. The last step is to take the *keris* and smear it with sandalwood oil. Sandalwood oil is useful to make the ancestors and *khodam* in the *kris* happy because of its fragrant smell (Fadli, 2021).

The research subject explained that maintaining and washing the *keris* every *Suro* month is one of our efforts as humans to get help and guidance from Allah. This *keris* is just a tool to channel our prayers to God so that they are answered and immediately realized as said by the shaman interviewee S (72), namely "the existence of this *kris* is only an introduction to prayers to God in getting help".

Weber classifies into four forms of social action, including the first, *zwerk* rational, which means the achievement of the goals expected by the actor according to the expected rationality carried out by utilizing a condition and means on the behavior of external situation objects (Shofi, 2021). The second form, *wert* rational, is an absolute value orientation in which there are various religious norms with the aim of itself and overriding other external success prospects. Then the third form refers to affective orientation by involving a person's emotions and is influenced by the existence and feelings of the actor (Permatasari, 2021). Meanwhile, the fourth form is traditional action which refers to old practices that smell traditional with various customs and customs that still apply.

The four forms of social action show that the difference between norms and *kiai* authority can be recognized. Norms refer more to rules that have been made and agreed upon which are then directed by actors regarding their behavior (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). Meanwhile, authority is an actor's order in which there is a relationship between one actor and another actor that is binding. Therefore, authority is considered a legitimate order that is guided by certain applicable norms.

Reviewing the above statement, it can be seen how the relationship between norms and *kiai* authority by looking at the traditional form of authority initiated by Weber's thinking. In this case, it tends to be reversed between the operation of norms and improper authority, where tribal chiefs or traditional leaders seem to have full power over customary rules based on traditions that have been going on for generations. Weber considers that rules and obedience are recognized based on the sacredness of ancient traditional customs that govern power relations (Weber, 1978). This contrasts with rational legal power, where rules, orders, and obedience can be legitimized by applicable legal norms and can be modified easily without being noticed by traditional power.

Based on this explanation, there are several things that tend to be difficult to rationalize, especially if known by ordinary people, which tend to manifest negative thoughts about distrust of something that is beyond reason (Sato et al., 2017). Therefore, the role and views of *kiai* as cultural brokers are needed to bridge these problems while still paying attention to the prevailing norms. The phenomenon of shaman *ngumbah keris* is considered relevant to Weber's concept of traditional action where an actor does it based on a hereditary inheritance from his predecessors (Prahesti, 2021).

Kiai Langgar, Authority, and Social Role in Rural Javanese Society

This study shows that the authority of *kiai langgar* in rural Javanese society has strong relevance to Max Weber's concept of charismatic authority. The charisma of *kiai langgar* comes not only from their religious expertise, but also from the community's recognition of their social role as mediators, protectors of traditional values, and drivers of social change. This finding supports Sulhan and Lessy's (2022) argument highlighting that charismatic authority is capable of shaping significant social change in the public sphere of society. However, this study also reveals that such authority is dynamic and can be eroded in the event of social deviance, either passively or actively. This is in line with Weber's view, which emphasizes that charismatic authority is temporary and highly dependent on people's perceptions of their leaders (Swedberg & Agevall, 2005). In this context, *kiai langgar* need to maintain social and moral integrity as the main capital to maintain their authority (Breuilly, 2011).

The results of this study can be contextualized with other studies that discuss religious authority in rural communities. The study of Nasikhin, Raaharjo, and Nasikhin (2022) revealed the importance of social networks in strengthening the role of *kiai langgar*. These networks include ideological, genealogical, intellectual, institutional, and *tarekat* relationships, all of which play an important role in building relationships between *kiai langgar* and local communities. This research shows that such networks not only strengthen the position of *kiai langgar* in their communities, but also become a means for *kiai* to influence the social, cultural and religious lives of local people (Weber, 1978). Moreover, this finding is also in line with Adawiyah's study, which shows that *kiai langgar* often act as agents of social change through the character values they teach and implement in community life. This role not only strengthens *kiai's* position as spiritual leaders, but also as drivers of social change at the local level (Sun, 2024).

This study also found that the authority of *kiai langgar* has similarities with the concept of traditional authority as described by Weber, which states that traditional power is usually inherited through lineage and customs (Weber, 1978). This finding reveals that although *kiai langgar's* authority is often attributed to personal charisma, their legitimacy is also supported by traditional norms embedded in society. This can be compared to Zahid's (2021) study, which showed that traditional authority in rural communities often relies on collective recognition of the role of leaders who are perceived to understand adat and religion well. On the other hand, research by Devi et al. (n.d.) highlights how the charismatic element in leadership can encourage people to comply with social rules. This is relevant to the findings in this study, where *kiai langgar* are not only respected as religious figures, but also as guardians of social stability in their communities.

By relating the findings of this study to previous studies, it can be concluded that the authority of *kiai langgar* is not only local, but also relevant in the broader academic discourse on charismatic authority. This research makes an important contribution to understanding how traditional religious leaders can play a significant role in directing and shaping the social life of rural communities in Indonesia. This approach strengthens the argument that the authority of *kiai langgar* is not only rooted in tradition, but also evolves with social dynamics and modernization (Rofiqoh et al., 2021).

In the Indonesian dictionary, the word */kiai/* is written where in modern Javanese life, a *kiai* himself is someone who is considered to have Islamic knowledge and then teaches it at a *pesantren* or through preaching a study at a recitation. Meanwhile, */langgar/* comes from a Javanese word where the use is for a simple building for Muslim communities to carry out prayers and recite the

Quran. So that the *langgar kiai* himself is someone who is considered qualified in Islamic matters and teaches the community the Quran and also preaches in several recitations (Hannan & Abdillah, 2019). In contrast, the caregiver is sometimes the *kiai* himself or '*gus*' who is chosen to take care of an Islamic boarding school '*pesantren*' as well as the people who are doing Quranic activities and studying religion in a *langgar*.

Rural communities consider *langgar* as the smallest institution of non-formal Islamic education among madrasas as well as a place of worship for local residents which is a source of norms of rules to realize a belief system in a person in the concept of supernatural and religion. The development of people's mindset related to religious reality that establishes substantial and functional relationships is strongly influenced by the *langgar*. Some elements of the *langgar* as a Javanese Muslim cultural institution include (1) The *langgar* building, (2) The house of the *langgar* owner, (3) *Kiai langgar*, and (4) As well as residents who are worshipers in the *langgar* (Mawardi, 2014).

The *langgar* building stands firmly in a rectangular shape and is smaller than a mosque which consists of three main parts, namely the priesthood, the main room, and the porch. The main room is used by worshipers when they are praying, while the foyer contains a *bedug* complete with a *kentong* which is used for a tool that is sounded by being beaten as a sign of entering prayer time. In addition, the type of *langgar* referred to in this study is a type of *langgar gedhong*, which is a *langgar* whose building no longer uses bamboo and wood but has a stone foundation whose walls are plastered bricks (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). The use of tiled floors makes the building permanent. The next element is the house of the *langgar* owner, not everyone can build a *langgar* because the majority of *langgar* are built by local Muslim community leaders who are rich or by village clerics who can also fulfill all the logistical needs of the *langgar* (Galvin et al., 2010). The third and fourth elements are closely related to the *kiai langgar* and its congregation. This is because the popularity of a *kiai* is very influential in his relationship as someone who is considered a role model by the community as his worshipers by having good personal qualities as a patron in sacred and profane matters.

The concept of *kiai langgar* serves as a central theme in this study. In Javanese culture, a *kiai langgar* is viewed as a figure possessing profound insights into sacred and mystical matters. This role reflects a broader commitment to establishing social order and illustrates the respect that underpins Javanese society's interactions with their environment and relationships with others. Today, the Javanese community continues to evolve, particularly in terms of language and behavior, placing a strong emphasis on respect and appreciation. These practices are essential for preserving social structures that align with prevailing orders and norms (Kiarie, 2024).

This study has a close relationship with the three conceptions of authority coined by Weber including first, traditional authority means a power that is in the lineage which contains customs. In traditional authority, power is held by those who know and understand sacred traditions so that it is more based on their relationship with their previous leaders (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). Based on the belief in certain sacred practices that have been running for many years where in rural and small villages this traditional authority is owned by the oldest person who is considered qualified in permeating the rituals of local wisdom of the local area. Second, rational legal authority means power based on the enactment of the legal system in society, such as the head of community (Zahid, 2021). The power holder has the right to give orders according to mutually agreed regulations. In this rational legal authority, followers only obey their superiors within certain limits so that they do not have personal loyalty to their leaders. Third, charismatic authority means power that is inherent in a person and has abilities above humans in general that come from God's grace. The enactment of this charismatic authority is characterized by community recognition of its authenticity and acting in accordance with its obligations (Devi et al., n.d.).

Reviewing the three authorities above, this study of *kiai langgar* is relevant to Weber's theory of charismatic authority where the charismatic authority of *kiai* believed by the community is closely related to intrinsic aspects. It is from this belief that then manifests a special response from

the community as a form of appreciation for a *kiai's* charismatic authority (Nurusholih & Ilhamsyah, 2023). However, the level and value of the benefits that *kiai* provide to the community have a major influence on the authority they have built, because it can be lost at any time if there are social deviations that are either passive or active. Weber saw that the charismatic authority of *kiai* built many social changes precisely in the public sphere of society (Sulhan & Lessy, 2022).

In the realm of leadership, *kiai* has charismatic authority that makes him an elder and brings blessings so that others obey his rules. This makes the term */kiai/* often used by Javanese people in the element of naming an object such as the gong *kiai pradah* where the name is based on a gong that is considered to have a sacredness that must be respected and can bring blessings to those who believe in it (Setyawan, 2023). It is no different from the history of naming Albino buffaloes "*kiai slamet*" in Surakarta on the grounds that it can be a medium for the welfare of the community during the reign of Sunan Pakubuwono II, which is still sacred today (Widaningrum, n.d.).

The influence of *kiai* in social life is reflected in the existence of several *kiai* or religious leaders who are involved in community organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. This shows that *kiai* have an understanding of the direction of the national ideological movement (Thohir, 2020). Therefore, this kind of authority is realized by Weber in his theory of social action orientation which provides a bond between the perpetrator and a group of other people in complying with a certain rule (Safinah & Arifin, 2021). Referring to Weber's idea, in this era of modernization, the authority and authority of *kiai* still remain in existence even though many millennial teachers have been brought in from outside the region to provide and share information both about religion and the science of life and society (Erfan, 2020). Some of the knowledge that is taught by *kiai* in traditional legitimacy is inseparable from the existence of *santri*, manuscript, and mosques or *langgar*. The authority of *kiai* here is highly respected and even considered a '*pengeran*' because it is considered to be able to lead and guide the community and a group of people in behaving and carrying out existing norms.

There are several things that make a *kiai langgar* have strong authority in rural communities, including a true leader who is one of the relievers of the tension of problems in society, becoming a succession in every solution for a group of people (Muhyiddin, 2019). This is realized by *kiai* although they actually do not pay much attention to charismatic authority in a society that tends to be peaceful (Jati, n.d.). However, seeing this, *kiai langgar* also assume that it all goes according to the existing order in society by paying attention to the economic motives of the *kiai langgar*. The point of the statement is about the life of *kiai* who are more towards seeking blessings, so they tend to live in simple circumstances and do not care about the comfort of the world, which in the end some *kiai* will put aside material things (Zaki, 2022). Based on this statement, the authority and legitimacy of *kiai* is growing rapidly because many people value them as someone who hopes for '*barikah* and *karimah*' (Burhani, 2019).

In addition, in rural areas such as Kertonegoro village, Jember district, *kiai langgar* who take part in community life have several social networks that create good relations between *kiai langgar* and the local community. There are five social networks, namely (1) Ideological network, this network is formed due to similarities in terms of organizational or religious ideology (Nasikhin et al., 2022). Due to this reality, *langgar kiai* often join the Nahdlatul Ulama community as adherents of the ahlussunnah wal jama'ah and Muhammadiyah, so that the *kiai* will take part in accordance with the existing network. (2) The genealogy network is a network formed due to the emergence of good relations between one *kiai* and another *langgar kiai* with the aim of strengthening the relationship and increasing the kinship network. (3) Intellectual network is a network formed due to the learning process that takes place between the *kiai langgar* and his students, this refers to the process of teaching the next religion and will become a regeneration. (4). Institutional network, this network is formed due to meetings among *kiai* which are accommodated by MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) in organizations that are followed such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Rifa'iyah. (5). The *tarekat* network is a network formed due to the activity of getting closer to God

Almighty through religious spiritual efforts by transmitting the spiritual power possessed by the teacher to the next generation (Ali, 2019).

There are several roles of *kiai langgar* in traditional Javanese society, including; (1) Teaching religion and preaching, meaning that the *kiai langgar* has the main task of teaching religious knowledge to the local community. As a respected figure, the *kiai langgar* is also expected to imply that the things taught can also be applied to the *kiai* himself so that there is a balance between what is said and done. The teaching of religious knowledge is usually done through the da'wah method, which the *ta'lim* assembly voluntarily attends. (2) Agent of change, a *kiai langgar* becomes the mediator in overcoming problems that occur in local residents by making deliberation a middle way to avoid disputes. This is also one of the reasons why the authority of *kiai langgar* has risen, where *kiai langgar* are considered to have good wisdom knowledge so that they can help the community to find solutions to certain problems. In addition, as an agent of change, it is also a major influence in improving the quality of society in religious life and realizing a harmonious society in it (Muhamamad Iqbal & Ahmad Mifdol Muthohar, 2023, 2023). (3) The guardian of traditional values, *kiai langgar* is also in charge and contributes to the local Javanese culture which is filled with traditions and local wisdom that need to be maintained and preserved (Aini, 2020). This is the main feature of the diversity of Indonesian society where race, religion, culture, and beliefs can coexist under the auspices of plurality. (4) Drivers of social change, *kiai langgar* are often elected as leaders of a community or organization. This is manifested in the existence of *kiai langgar* who take part as a driver of change shown through the character values taught and all aspects of the practical life of the community, causing *kiai langgar* to have an important role in any changes that exist, especially in the village.

Between Rational Rules and Standard Procedures: *Kiai Langgar's* Response and Rationality Toward the Ritual of *Ngumbah Keris*

The residents of Kertonegoro village in Jember district actively uphold the *ngumbah keris* ritual, which is celebrated during the month of *Suro* or Muharram. This ritual is conducted for a variety of reasons, including preventing the corrosion of the *keris*, preserving ancestral heritage, warding off potential dangers and disasters, and honoring the spirits of those in invisible realms (Sato et al., 2017). This rich tradition has captured the attention of authors eager to explore the insights of the *kiai langgar* regarding such practices. As noted, in Kertonegoro village, the *kiai langgar* acts as an agent of change and a cultural broker, wielding a significant legitimizing authority that remains prominent today.

Examining the tradition of the *ngumbah keris* ritual reveals two contrasting perspectives from two *langgar kiai* representing different Islamic backgrounds: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Each group exhibits distinct characteristics and approaches in their interpretations. The Muhammadiyah faction tends to outright reject elements associated with myths, emphasizing a worldview grounded in knowledge and modernization (Erfan, 2020). In contrast, the Nahdlatul Ulama group maintains a supportive stance toward Javanese myths, believing in the coexistence with unseen entities, which necessitates an attitude of respect. This perspective underlines the importance of preserving traditions such as the *ngumbah keris* ritual.

Based on the statement, it can be observed that the pro-response was articulated by a *kiai langgar* with a Nahdlatul Ulama background, whereas the con-response was offered by a *kiai langgar* affiliated with Muhammadiyah. The research subject, *Kiai Langgar* informant R (58), remarked that belief in Javanese culture is fundamentally intertwined with myths regarding the other world (the invisible) (Nurish, 2019). Therefore, we cannot simply label someone's actions as wrong without considering their intentions and objectives. As long as the individual performing the *ngumbah keris* ritual has good intentions and does not associate partners with God, their actions can be regarded as acceptable. This viewpoint is reinforced by the fact that the readings or mantras recited during the ritual still incorporate verses from the Qur'an. However, he also suggested that if one strongly believes in something, it may very well come to fruition

Apart from one's beliefs and intentions, the Nahdlatul Ulama school also has additional guidelines as said by informant A (64) that the existence of *ijma'* (consensus) and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) has relevance in the regulation of Islamic law in Indonesia which requires the state and its government as a medium so that a unity between communities can be created (Ansori, 2014). This aims to realize regulations with binding properties and have been agreed upon by the fatwas of scholars in Indonesia which are sourced from the Quran and hadiths. *Ijmā'* and *qiyas* were initiated by Imam Shafi'i who eventually placed *ijmā'* before *qiyas* where these two things were collectively agreed upon by the companions (Tunai, 2016).

Ijmā' and *qiyas* themselves have a meaning, namely a mutual agreement that results in consensus by all Muslim mujtahids on the determination of shara' law is *ijmā'* while *qiyas* is an event that is equated with the source of law with an existing event. All forms of rules that become *ijmā'* and *qiyas*, the *keris* is also considered as a tool because it is the same as the prophet Moses' staff which was given by Allah as a form of miracle because not everyone has it.

However, this argument is refuted by the counter response given by informant S (60), where the belief in Javanese myths related to the preservation of the *ngumbah keris* ritual should no longer run in the era of modernization and in the midst of technological advances. This is because it is not relevant to the reality in science that is digested rationally using human logic. Reviewing the *ngumbah keris* event can be categorized as superstition and heresy (Nurish, 2019).

Muhammadiyah has three da'wah patterns that are often called "TBC" consisting of the first superstition means a belief that believes in something that is not recognized as true in the Qur'an, second *bid'ah* means making up teachings that are not clear in the Qur'an and hadith, third *khurrafat* means believing in a prophecy that contains signs related to one's fate and destiny (Ansori, 2014). The foundation used by the Muhammadiyah sect as the basis of its guidelines comes from the shahada sentence which means 'there is no god but Allah and the prophet Muhammad His messenger'. So that anything other than that is considered something that is polytheistic and partners with God. As the source revealed that it was an implementation of the purpose of the establishment of the Muhammadiyah movement, namely upholding the teachings of Islam and wanting to restore Islam in truth. So that the muhammadiyah is an Islamic movement, a da'wah movement, a *tajdid* movement whose basis is the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Ahmad Dahlan in spreading Muhammadiyah Islam with his various *tajdid* ideas to break down the established and patent thinking of the Islamic community at that time. This is because Ahmad Dahlan considered that Islamic teachings had been contaminated by the teachings and culture of Buddhism, Animism, Dynamism, Hinduism, and Kejawen. This is why he made Muhammadiyah as a forum for purification of Islam to purify and shape Islam as it should be in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah in the hadith (Masykur, 2022).

Supported again by a statement expressed by the next interviewee, namely interviewee D (48), who thinks that the *ngumbah keris* ritual carried out in this advanced era is actually just a suggestion of those who believe that if the tradition is not carried out it will cause bad things for the village of Kertonegoro, Jember Regency. That suggestion is what makes the subconscious send a signal to the universe to make it happen. When rationalized, the bad things that will happen to the village, such as earthquakes, are a form of the power and will of God Almighty, so they have nothing to do with the implementation of the *ngumbah keris* ritual tradition.

The difference in response made the *keris* shaman reveal that it is not only the Muhammadiyah *kiai langgar* who oppose the *ngumbah keris* ritual, but also the views of some of the surrounding community who consider this to be an act of polytheism that allies with other than Allah. They make this argument because they know that the *keris* used by the shaman is taken from a place in the form of a cave where the shaman must first do *tirakat* to get a dream clue where the *keris* is located (Ansori, 2014).

In exploring the diverse responses from *kiai langgar* (community leaders) associated with Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, certain similarities stand out, particularly regarding the statement: "Keeping the *keris* is a form of effort towards God Almighty". Both *kiai* firmly reject

reaffirms this assertion, contending that there are numerous ways to strive for closeness to God in order to fulfill one's wishes. They question the necessity of representing this effort through objects considered sacred, as such practices may lead to polytheism—equating God with lesser beings under the pretext of devotion. These varying viewpoints underscore the importance for researchers to seek a balance between myth and rationality. It is crucial to integrate cultural beliefs with scientific reasoning in a manner that is both harmonious and accessible to human understanding.

The Nahdlatul Ulama school tends to support the *ngumbah keris* ritual tradition, provided that the intention is not one of worship but rather to perceive the *keris* as an intermediary between humans and God (Sato et al., 2017). A representative from Nahdlatul Ulama argues that this viewpoint is grounded in established guidelines, which include not only the Qur'an and Hadith but also the principles of *ijma'* (consensus) and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning).

In contrast, the Muhammadiyah sect firmly opposes the *ngumbah keris* ritual, as they believe it deviates from Islamic teachings, particularly those found in the Qur'an and Hadith. They regard this practice as superstitious and a form of *bid'ah* (innovation) (Ansori, 2014). Consequently, the Muhammadiyah sect seeks to restore and purify Islam according to its original teachings, as prescribed in the Qur'an and Hadith, without the influence of Javanese beliefs.

This study aligns with Weber's theory on the charismatic authority of *kiai langgar*, who are regarded as having the full authority and power to provide guidance and support to those in need. *Kiai langgar* from both Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah affiliations exhibit high integrity and intellectual rigor, particularly in Islamic studies, which bolsters their authority among the residents of Kertonegoro village. Their proficiency in preaching, teaching, and practicing Islamic principles drawn from the Qur'an and hadith plays a significant role in spreading religious knowledge. Additionally, *kiai langgar* serve as vital cultural brokers and agents of change, especially during challenging times faced by the community (Umanailo, 2023).

The charisma of a *kiai langgar* in carrying out his role well motivates people to devote themselves to the teachings of Islam. The behaviors that exist in the figure of *kiai langgar* are considered to be a good leader because there is a logical mind in seeing a problem without any negative prejudice, his ability to communicate with others so that the message conveyed through his da'wah method can be well received by his audience. In addition, *kiai langgar* in using his charismatic authority must have several characteristics, including; first, visionary leadership means that the *kiai langgar* must be able to generate motivation in others towards the vision and mission he runs and be able to predict a better future through his vision and mission. Second, he is humble and has strong self-confidence. Third, a *kiai langgar* is able to boast about himself without feeling that he is a superior figure so that he feels happy with the advantages he has (Chairi, 2019).

This study identifies two primary responses to the *ngumbah keris* ritual, representing the distinct perspectives of two Islamic religious affiliations: Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. *Kiai langgar* associated with Nahdlatul Ulama express a positive view of the ritual, emphasizing a strong connection between local traditions and a more culturally inclusive interpretation of Islam. They contend that as long as the ritual does not aim to associate partners with God, it remains within acceptable parameters. In contrast, *kiai langgar* from Muhammadiyah regard the ritual as a deviation from authentic Islamic teachings (Sato et al., 2017). They argue that it embodies elements of superstition and *khurafat*, which they believe should be avoided in a modern context.

From a theoretical standpoint, these findings can be framed using Max Weber's theory of charismatic authority. *Kiai langgar* serve not only as religious leaders but also as custodians of tradition and catalysts for social change. While both groups exert their authority to shape societal norms, their methods differ significantly. Nahdlatul Ulama adopts an inclusive and adaptive approach to local traditions, whereas Muhammadiyah focuses on a normative stance aimed at purifying religious teachings.

When examined in conjunction with previous research, the role of *kiai* (charismatic authority) in upholding and interpreting local traditions is a topic that has been extensively explored in Weberian studies. However, these findings highlight more intricate dynamics, particularly

concerning the differing perspectives of religious groups on traditional rituals such as *ngumbah keris*. For instance, Umanailo's study underscores that *kiai* serve not only as religious leaders but also as cultural connectors, a point particularly pertinent in this context. Furthermore, Ansori's examination of Muhammadiyah's interpretation of TBC (superstition, heresy, and *khurafat*) reveals their systematic approach to rejecting traditions perceived as deviating from religious teachings. The response of Nahdlatul Ulama to the *ngumbah keris* ritual is also significant, particularly in relation to the principles of *ijmā'* (consensus) and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning). These principles provide a framework for integrating local traditions into Islamic practice without contravening religious tenets (Sato et al., 2017). This study supports the view that *ngumbah keris* is permissible, provided the practitioner's intention is not to associate partners with God. Conversely, Muhammadiyah regards this ritual as a deviation, asserting its incompatibility with pure Islamic law. This viewpoint is further supported by Fairussadi et al., who emphasize the importance of employing *ijmā'* and *qiyas* in the formulation of contextualized Islamic law while preserving the authenticity of doctrinal teachings.

This study makes a notable contribution to the academic discourse surrounding the interplay between religion and culture in rural Javanese society. The findings reinforce the relevance of Weber's theory in elucidating the authority of *kiai langgar*, while also illustrating how religious authority engages with local traditions amid the challenges of modernity. By integrating complementary literature, such as Chairi's exploration of the visionary leadership of *kiai langgar* and Muniri & Afiyanto's examination of Nahdlatul Ulama's adaptation to local customs, this study highlights the critical role of *kiai langgar* as both custodians of tradition and catalysts for social transformation. Additionally, the analysis enriches the academic conversation on the interaction between religion, culture, and modernity, offering fresh insights into how varying religious affiliations shape perceptions of local traditions (Dow, 2005). In doing so, this study not only strengthens the argument for the significance of charisma and authority in the context of local traditions but also contributes to a broader understanding of social dynamics within Indonesian society.

CONCLUSION

The tradition of *ngumbah keris* has elicited both support and opposition from the *langgar kiai* of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. These differing perspectives arise from fundamental contrasts between the two schools of thought. The Muhammadiyah viewpoint regards *ngumbah keris* as superstitious and heretical, arguing that it contradicts their da'wah movement aimed at restoring Islam to its true teachings. In contrast, Nahdlatul Ulama adherents believe the practice is permissible if performed without the intention of associating partners with God. Research indicates that the *ngumbah keris* ritual, conducted during the month of *Suro*, is influenced by Islamic values, allowing many community members to perceive it as part of Islamic practice. The *kiai langgar*, recognized for their strong authority, are pivotal in responding to and rationalizing this tradition. This study highlights the role of *kiai langgar* as respected figures who provide guidance and blessings due to their recognized Islamic knowledge. The community observes their authority through their favorable economic conditions and legitimacy derived from their mastery of religious texts. This research contributes to the sociology of religion by demonstrating how traditional rituals can align with Islamic values. The findings underscore the need for dialogue among religious groups to promote a more inclusive understanding in culturally diverse communities.

However, the study has limitations, including its narrow focus on Kertonegoro Village, which may not reflect broader responses to similar rituals elsewhere. Additionally, the perspectives of other community members, particularly younger generations, have not been thoroughly examined. Future research should expand the geographical scope to capture the variety of responses in different social contexts. A deeper analysis of younger generations' views is also essential, as is an interdisciplinary approach incorporating anthropology and history to explore the origins and

evolving significance of the *ngumbah keris* ritual. Ultimately, these insights can inform cultural and religious policies that support the preservation of traditions while embracing modernity.

REFERENCES

- Aini, M. Q. (2020). Peran Kepemimpinan Kyai dalam Manajemen Strategi Pendidikan Pesantren. *Leadership: Jurnal Mahasiswa Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 1(2), 184. <https://doi.org/10.32478/leadership.v1i2.445>
- Ali, M. (2019). Sufisme dalam Pandangan Muslim Modernis Awal: Telaah Pemikiran Tasawuf Kiai Moechtar Boechari (1899-1926). *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 17(1), 217–240. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v17i1.606>
- Ali Nasith. (2024). The Role of Kyai's Charismatic Leadership in Mitigating Religious Intolerance and Radicalism in Pesantren: Indonesia. *International Journal of Social Science and Religion (IJSSR)*, 203–230. <https://doi.org/10.53639/ijssr.v5i2.238>
- Ansori, I. (2014). *Perbedaan Metode Ijtihad Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah Dalam Corak Fikih di Indonesia*. 4(01). Google
- Breuilly, J. (2011). Max Weber, charisma and nationalist leadership1: Max Weber, charisma and nationalist leadership. *Nations and Nationalism*, 17(3), 477–499. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00487.x>
- Burhani, A. N. (2019). *Muhammadiyah Jawa dan Landasan Kultural Untuk Islam Berkemajuan*. 14(2). <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v14i2.63>
- Chairi, E. (2019). *Ketiadaan Otoritas Terpusat dalam Fenomena Kontemporer di Indonesia: Kritik Terhadap Teori Otoritas Max Weber*. 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.666>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE. Google
- Dawson, L. (2011). Charismatic Leadership in Millennial Movements. *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195301052.003.0006>
- Devi, I., Hanani, S., Syafitri, A., & Harahap, N. I. Y. (n.d.). *Birokrasi dan Struktur Kekuasaan dalam Organisasi Pendidikan Modern: Dengan Pendekatan Max Weber*.
- Dow, T. (2005). The Theory of Charisma*. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 10, 306–318. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1969.tb01294.x>
- Eny Setyowati, S., Dunggio, A. R. S., & Pudyastuti, R. R. (2022). *Peran Dukun dalam Budaya Melahirkan Suku Nuaulu di Pulau Seram Maluku Tengah*. 6. <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v6i1.3401>
- Erfan, M. (2020). Spirit Filantropi Islam dalam Tindakan Sosial Rasionalitas Nilai Max Weber. *Jesya (Jurnal Ekonomi & Ekonomi Syariah)*, 4(1), 54–64. <https://doi.org/10.36778/jesya.v4i1.281>
- Fadli, M. R. (2021). *Memahami desain metode penelitian kualitatif*. 21(1). <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v21i1.38075>
- Fahrudi, E., & Alfadhilah, J. (2022). *Aswalalita (Journal Of Dakwah Manajemant) Volume. 01, No 02. September, 2022, ISSN. 2963-833X. 01(02)*. Google
- Fibriana, N. I., Hasanah, R., Azizah, F. A. N., Jannah, A. F. N., & Rohmah, A. (2021). Analisis Ritual Grebeg Suro Desa Sumber Mujur dengan Pendekatan Etnosains sebagai Tradisi Masyarakat Lumajang. *Journal of Science Education*. <https://doi.org/10.18860/experiment.v1i2.12799>
- Flick, U. (2013). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446282243>
- Galvin, B. M., Balkundi, P., & Waldman, D. A. (2010). Spreading The Word: The Role of Surrogates In Charismatic Leadership Processes. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(3), 477–494. <https://doi.org/10.5465/AMR.2010.51142542>
- Hannan, A., & Abdillah, K. (2019). *Hegemoni Religio-Kekuasaan Dan Transformasi Sosial*. 16. <https://doi.org/10.24014/sb.v16i1.7037>

- Hasanah, H. (2017). Teknik-Teknik Observasi (Sebuah Alternatif Metode Pengumpulan Data Kualitatif Ilmu-ilmu Sosial). *At-Taqaddum*, 8(1), 21. <https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v8i1.1163>
- Hasanah, U., & Putri, M. (2021). Revitalisasi Peran Kiyai dalam Membina Akhlak Masyarakat pada Masa Pandemi Covid-19. *Asanka: Journal of Social Science And Education*, 2(2), 171–180. <https://doi.org/10.21154/asanka.v2i2.3143>
- Hernawati, D., Putra, R. R., & Meylani, V. (2022). Indigenous vegetables consumed as *lalapan* by a Sundanese ethnic group in West Java, Indonesia: Potential, traditions, local knowledge, and it's future. *South African Journal of Botany*, 151, 133–145. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sajb.2022.09.007>
- Huda, M. D. (2016). Peran Dukun Terhadap Perkembangan Peradaban Budaya Masyarakat Jawa. *Jurnal Ikadbudi*, 4(10). <https://doi.org/10.21831/ikadbudi.v4i10.12029>
- Jati, W. R. (n.d.). *Agama, Kiai Tradisional, dan Perubahan Sosial*. Google
- Kamsi, N., Febriyeni, M. D., & Ngimadudin, N. (2021). Analisis Pendidikan Tauhid Dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahhab Dan Relevansinya Dengan Pendidikan Islam Kontemporer. *El-Ghiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 19(2), 2. <https://doi.org/10.37092/el-ghiroh.v19i2.330>
- Kiarie, E. (2024). Cultural Heritage Preservation in the Face of Globalization. *International Journal of Humanity and Social Sciences*, 3(3), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.47941/ijhss.2081>
- Lambek, M. (2002). Language, Charisma, and Creativity: The Ritual Life of a Religious Movement. *American Anthropologist*, 104. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2002.104.1.347>
- Loliyana, N., & Abdurakhman, A. (2022). Kyai Dalam Perubahan Sosial Di Pare Tahun 1970-1990. *Sejarah dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, dan Pengajarannya*, 16(1), 129. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um020v16i12022p129-143>
- Masykur, F. (2022). *Sejarah Dan Dinamika Pemikiran Islam Di Indonesia Dari Masa Klasik Hingga Modern (Akhir Abad Ke Xix-Awal Abad Ke XX)*. 5(1). <https://doi.org/10.51476/tarbawi.v5i1.335>
- Mawardi, K. (2014). *Langgar: Institusi Kultural Muslim Pedesaan Jawa*. 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v12i1.435>
- Mekarisce, A. A. (2020). Teknik Pemeriksaan Keabsahan Data pada Penelitian Kualitatif di Bidang Kesehatan Masyarakat. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kesehatan Masyarakat: Media Komunikasi Komunitas Kesehatan Masyarakat*, 12(3), 145–151. <https://doi.org/10.52022/jikm.v12i3.102>
- Milosevic, I., & Erin Bass, A. (2014). Revisiting Weber's charismatic leadership: Learning from the past and looking to the future. *Journal of Management History*, 20(2), 224–240. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMH-11-2012-0073>
- Muhamamad Iqbal, & Ahmad Mifdol Muthohar. (2023). Kiai Langgar dan Bank Syariah: (Studi terhadap Konstruksi Bank Syariah menurut Kiai Langgar). *JIEF: Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance*, 3(1), 14–25. <https://doi.org/10.28918/jief.v3i1.7044>
- Muhyiddin, A. S. (2019). Dakwah Transformatif Kiai (Studi terhadap Gerakan Transformasi Sosial KH. Abdurrahman Wahid). *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, 39(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jid.v39.1.3934>
- Musarofah, S. (2018). *Pelestarian Tradisi Ngumbah Keris dan Peningkatan Ekonomi Masyarakat Melalui Demonstrasi Ngumbah Keris Pada Bulan Suro Di Ponorogo*. <https://doi.org/10.15642/acce.v2i.97>
- Nasikhin, N., Raaharjo, R., & Nasikhin, N. (2022). Moderasi Beragama Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah dalam Konsep Islam Nusantara dan Islam Berkemajuan. *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset dan Kajian Keislaman*, 11(1), 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.35878/islamicreview.v11i1.371>
- Nasution, R. D. (2017). Kyai Sebagai Agen Perubahan Sosial Dan Perdamaian Dalam Masyarakat Tradisional. *Sosiohumaniora*, 19(2). <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v19i2.10346>
- Nurish, A. (2019). Muhammadiyah dan Arus Radikalisme. *Maarif*, 14(2), 59–74. <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v14i2.62>

- Nurusholih, S., & Ilhamsyah, I. (2023). Study of Cultural Artifacts of the Sumedang Larang Kingdom in the Perspective of Symbol Theory Susanne K. Langer. *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference Entitled Language, Literary, And Cultural Studies, ICON LATERALS 2022, 05–06 November 2022, Malang, Indonesia..* <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.5-11-2022.2329479>
- Permatasari, M. R. (2021). Kepemimpinan Masyarakat Jawa (Analisis Pemikiran Max Weber: Masyarakat Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Di Surakarta, Indonesia). . . e, 1(4). [Google](#)
- Prahesti, V. D. (2021). Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber dalam Kebiasaan Membaca Asmaul Husna Peserta Didik MI/SD. *An Nur: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 13(2), 137–152. <https://doi.org/10.37252/annur.v13i2.123>
- Ramadhan, R. F. I. (2019). *Makna Simbolik Keris Dalam Struktur Sosial Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Tahun 1855-1877 (Berdasarkan Penelusuran Pustaka)*. 7(1). [Google](#)
- Resmiyanto, R. (2022). *Keris Jawa Sebagai Mahakarya Integrasi- Interkoneksi: Sebuah Kajian Etnosains*. 4. [Google](#)
- Rofiqoh, Y. I., Alvino, A. T., Chusae, A., & Nizar, Y. A. (2021). Islam and Syncretism in Java: Reflections on the Thought of Geertz and Woodward. *Muharrrik: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Sosial*, 4(01), 47–61. <https://doi.org/10.37680/muharrrik.v4i01.634>
- Sa'adiyyah, A. M., & Kusuma, I. W. (2020). Peran Kyai Sebagai Pemimpin Informal Dalam Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Desa Pematang Kecamatan Kragilan Kabupaten Serang. *Pro Patria: Jurnal Pendidikan, Kewarganegaraan, Hukum, Sosial, dan Politik*, 3(2), 163–169. <https://doi.org/10.47080/propatria.v3i2.988>
- Safinah, S., & Arifin, Z. (2021). Otoritas Kepemimpinan Karismatik Tuan Guru dalam Membentuk Budaya Religius. *Journal Evaluasi*, 5(2), 311. <https://doi.org/10.32478/evaluasi.v5i2.754>
- Santoso, S. (2024). Islamic Leadership: Prophet Muhammad as a Role Model of Charismatic, Transformational and Servant Leader. *Jurnal Syntax Transformation*, 5(7), 970–977. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jst.v5i7.980>
- Sato, T., Ide, J., Isa, M. A., Rahadian, F., Fujimoto, T., & Shimatani, Y. (2017). A Challenge for Sustainable Electrification, Respecting the Local Tradition in Ciptagelar Village, West Java, Indonesia: Complementary Approach with a Private Company. *Energy Procedia*, 141, 368–372. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.egypro.2017.11.044>
- Setiyani, W. S., & Orwela, C. (2023). Otoritas Keagamaan Kiai Kampung dan Peran Media Sosial di Jawa Timur: Kasus Ngawi, Magetan, dan Madiun. *Kontekstualita*, 37(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.30631/37.1.1-16>
- Setyawan, A. E. B. (2023). Nilai-Nilai Multikulturalisme Tradisi Upacara Siraman Gong Kyai Pradah Kecamatan Sutojayan (Lodoyo) Kabupaten Blitar Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Adat dan Budaya Indonesia*, 4(2), 46–51. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jabi.v4i2.42380>
- Setyowati, N., Masyhuri, Mulyo, J. H., Irham, & Yudhistira, B. (2023). The hidden treasure of *wedang uwuh*, an ethnic traditional drink from Java, Indonesia: Its benefits and innovations. *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 31, 100688. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2023.100688>
- Shofi, I. (2021). *Analisis Teori Otoritas Max Webber Dalam Kepemimpinan Multikultural Kiai Sholeh Bahrudin Ngalah*. 11. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jkpi.2021.11.1.134-156>
- Siburian, A. L. M., & Malau, W. (2018). Tradisi Ritual Bulan Suro pada Masyarakat Jawa di Desa Sambirejo Timur Percut Sei Tuan. *Gondang: Jurnal Seni dan Budaya*, 2(1), 28–35. <https://doi.org/10.24114/gondang.v2i1.9764>
- Sinaga, R. M., Pargito, & Adha, M. M. (2024). Preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Role of Documentation in Cultural Conservation in the Semaka District, Tanggamus Regency. *International Journal of Advanced Technology and Social Sciences*, 2(3), 375–388. <https://doi.org/10.59890/ijatss.v2i3.1553>

- Sulhan, M., & Lessy, Z. (2022). *Otoritas Dan Dakwah Tuan Guru Pada Massyarakat Lombok: Studi Analisis Teori Sosial 'Otoritas' Max Weber*. 04(02). <https://doi.org/10.37758/annawa.v4i2.513>
- Sun, Y. (2024). Recontextualizing Max Weber's Ideal Type. *Innovation in the Social Sciences*, 2(2), 194–234. <https://doi.org/10.1163/27730611-bja10021>
- Swedberg, R., & Agevall, O. (2005). *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts*. Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503625068>
- T. Magalhães, P. (2022). Charisma and Democracy: Max Weber on the Riddle of Political Change in Modern Societies. *Topoi*, 41, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11245-021-09761-2>
- Thohir, U. (2020). The Enthusiasm of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah Ideology in the Perspective of Post-Modern Ethics. *Proceedings of the Proceedings of the 19th Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies, AICIS 2019, 1-4 October 2019, Jakarta, Indonesia*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291681>
- Tsauri, M. S., Adiansyah, A., Widiatmaka, P., & Gafallo, M. F. Y. (2023). Refleksi Sosio-Kultural Tradisi Ruwahan di Kota Pontianak dan Korelasinya dengan Ajaran Islam. *Pusaka*, 11(2), 313–326. <https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v11i2.1235>
- Tubagus, M. R. (2020). *Fungsi Tradisi Ngumbah Pusaka Prabu Geusan Ulun Sumedang Larang*. 4(1). Google
- Tunai, S. F. (2016). Pandangan Imam Syafi'i Tentang Ijma Sebagai Sumber Penetapan Hukum Islam Dan Relevansinya Dengan Perkembangan Hukum Islam Dewasa Ini. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.30984/as.v3i2.340>
- Ul Jannah, N. I. A., & Zurinani, S. (2017). Pewarisan ilmu dukun dalam sistem penyembuhan tradisional. *Masyarakat, Kebudayaan dan Politik*, 30(1), 48. <https://doi.org/10.20473/mkp.V30I12017.48-58>
- Umanailo, M. C. B. (2023). *Rasional Dan Irasional Dalam Tindakan Sosial Max Weber*.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Max Weber: Selections in Translation*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511810831>
- Wibawa, A. P., Handayani, A. N., Rukantala, M. R. M., Ferdyan, M., Budi, L. A. P., Utama, A. B. P., & Dwiyanto, F. A. (2024). Decoding and preserving Indonesia's iconic Keris via A CNN-based classification. *Telematics and Informatics Reports*, 13, 100120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.teler.2024.100120>
- Widaningrum, I. (n.d.). *Penelusuran Sejarah Kebo Bule "Kyai Slamet" Di Keraton Surakarta Dan Kelahiran Kesenian Kebo Bule Sebagai Media Dakwah Islam Di Ponorogo*. <https://doi.org/10.46984/sebatik.v24i2.1059>
- Zahid, A. (2021). Representasi Budaya Dalam Film Sang Pencerah Dan Sang Kiai Berdasarkan Sudut Pandang Max Weber. *Mediakita*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.30762/mediakita.v4i2.2620>
- Zaki, M. Z. S. (2022). Kyai, Pesantren dan Modernitas. *Taqorrub: Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling dan Dakwah*, 2(1), 30–45. <https://doi.org/10.55380/taqorrub.v2i1.209>
- Zuhri, S. (2024) Wali Pitu and Muslim Pilgrimage in Bali, Indonesia: Inventing a Sacred Tradition. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 180(1), 129–131. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-18001009>
- Zulfikar, N., & Kamalia, L. (2022). *Makna Spiritual Tradisi Kliwonan dalam Akulturasi Budaya Islam di Jawa Tengah*. Google