



FOR GOLD AND THE BLESSING OF GOD: THE RATIONAL CHOICE FOR USING THE RABU WEKASAN AMULET IN THE EAST JAVANESE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

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Abstract

Several scholars have different opinions regarding the law of the Rabu Wekasan amulet that lives in the Javanese Muslim community. However, despite these differences, the East Javanese Muslim community still carries out and uses amulets to carry out these rituals. This research aims to determine amulet users' perspectives on life, mindset, and worldviews, especially in the Sempen, Sumbertengah, Mumbulsari, and Jember communities. Using data collection techniques such as interviews, observation, and documentation, researchers use a rational choice theory, where a person's actions are primarily determined by values or choices. The research results reveal three typologies of amulet users' mindsets: 1) *Tabarrukan*, using the Rabu Wekasan Amulet as a *wasilah* (intermediary) to ask for protection from Allah; 2) Economic aspect, using Rabu Wekasan amulets to protect their economic level from losses; and 3) Social aspect: using Rabu Wekasan amulets to maintain peace and public health.

Keywords: *Rabu Wekasan Amulets, Rationalisation, Tabarrukan, and Islamic Javanese Tradition.*



Introduction

The *Rabu Wekasan* or *Rebo Pungkasan* is the last Wednesday of Safar, the second Hijri month. For some Javanese people, this day is considered the day of disaster. Therefore, people hold religious rituals to ward off this disaster, such as praying, fasting, seeking salvation, and others. In essence, people are asking for safety from various disasters. The *Rabu Wekasan* ritual is a tradition carried out by some Muslim communities in Indonesia. Meanwhile, amulets result from human work in the form of objects or writing, becoming a cultural representation inherited from past generations.¹ Amulets are also considered sacred objects believed to have supernatural powers to solve life's problems.²

However, Muslim scholars (*ulama*) differ in opinion regarding the use of amulets because they differ in understanding and responding to the arguments. Muslim scholars who reject the use of amulets adhere to the Hadith, which textually indicates that it is forbidden to use amulets.

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ إِنَّ الرِّقَى وَالتَّمَامِمَ وَالتَّوَلَةَ
بِشْرِكٍ.³

¹ Umi Machmudah, "Budaya Mitoni: Analisis Nilai-nilai Islam dalam Membangun Semangat Ekonomi," *El-Harakah* 18, no. 2 (2016): 185–198, DOI: [10.18860/el.v18i2.3682](https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v18i2.3682).

² Ali Nurdin, *Komunikasi Magis: Fenomena Dukun di Pedesaan* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2015).

³ Abi Dawud and Sulaiman ibn al-Asy'ats,

From Abdullah, he said, "I heard the Messenger of Allah say: Indeed *hizb*, amulets, and magical charms are *shirk*."

Meanwhile, Muslim scholars who agree with the use of certain amulets understand the text above not only textually but also in connection with the *ulama's ijtima'* (agreement of the *ulama*) relating to the permissibility of using amulets. The scholars who agree interpret these actions as *shirk* if they are used for evil. The above hadith was commented on by Ibnu Hajar, a well-known Hadith expert, and other Muslim scholars said:

قَالَ ابْنُ حَجَرٍ كَعْبَرِهِ مَحَلُّ مَا ذُكِرَ فِي هَذَا
الْخَبَرِ وَمَا قَبْلَهُ تَغْلِيْقٌ مَا لَيْسَ فِيهِ قُرْآنٌ وَنَحْوُهُ
أَمَّا مَا فِيهِ ذِكْرُ اللَّهِ فَلَا نَهْيَ عَنْهُ فَإِنَّهُ إِنَّمَا
جُعِلَ لِلتَّبَرُّكِ وَالتَّعَوُّذِ بِأَسْمَائِهِ وَذِكْرِهِ.⁴

Ibn Hajar and other Muslim scholars said, "The prohibition contained in this Hadith, or any other Hadith, is if what is attached to it does not contain the Qur'an or something similar. If what is imposed is *dhikr* to Allah, then the prohibition does not apply. Because it is used to take blessings and ask for protection in the Name of Allah, or *dhikr* to Him."

Sunan Abu Dawud (Markaz al-Risalah al-Dirasat wa Tahqiq at Turats, n.d.), no. 3385.

⁴ Muhammad Abdur Rauf al-Manawi, *Faid al-Qadir* (Mesir: Maktabah Mesir, 2003), 181.

However, not all prayers and amulets can be justified. Three provisions must be taken into account, as stated by Sa'id ibn Ali ibn Wahf al-Qahthani below:

وَقَدْ أَجْمَعَ الْعُلَمَاءُ عَلَى جَوَازِ الرُّقِيِّ عِنْدَ اجْتِمَاعِ
ثَلَاثَةٍ شُرُوطٍ: (1) أَنْ تَكُونَ بِكَلَامِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
أَوْ أَسْمَائِهِ وَصِفَاتِهِ أَوْ كَلَامِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. (2) أَنْ تَكُونَ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِيِّ
أَوْ بِمَا يُعْرَفُ مَعْنَاهُ مِنْ غَيْرِهِ. (3) أَنْ يُعْتَقَدَ
أَنَّ الرُّقِيَّةَ لَا تُؤَثِّرُ بِذَاتِهَا بَلْ بِقُدْرَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
وَالرُّقِيَّةُ إِنَّمَا هِيَ سَبَبٌ مِنَ الْأَسْبَابِ. (العلاج
بالرقي من الكتاب والسنة 82-83)

The scholars agree on the permissibility of the *hizb* (amulet) with three conditions: 1) the amulet is the Word of Allah and the *Asma'* (names) and His attributes and the Word of the Messenger. 2) Amulets are words of Arabs or words of people other than Arabs whose meaning is known. 3) Believing that *rukayah* cannot influence anything by its substance except by the power of Allah and *rukayah* is only one of the causes or intermediaries of several causes of something happening.⁵

In the Javanese Muslim community tradition, especially in Sempen in 1985-1998, Rabu Wekasan is known as the

⁵ Muhyidin Abdusshomad, *Fiqh Tradisionalis Jawaban Pelbagai Persoalan Keagamaan Sehari-hari*, ed. Suparman & Imamuddin, XIV (Jember: Pustaka Bayan Malang, 2020).

happening of 320,000 *bala'* (disasters, hardships, or misfortunes) from heaven and earth. In this tradition, they carry out several rituals to face the arrival of Rabu Wekasan, such as prayers to ward off disaster, salvation, and others. One of them uses an amulet, which is usually placed in water. They believe this amulet can ward off the evil on Rabu Wekasan.

Researchers such as Chairunnisa,⁶ Maulani,⁷ Dzofir,⁸ Mutingatul,⁹ Zuraidah and Sudrajat,¹⁰ Sudirman,¹¹ and others

⁶ Chairunnisa Ahsana AS, "Agama dan Budaya: Konstruksi Imajinatif atau Faktual: Analisis Teks Azimat Aceh," *Al-Ijtima'i: International Journal of Government and Social Science* 2, no. 2 (2017): 189–202, <https://www.journal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/jai/article/view/471>.

⁷ Abdullah Maulani, "Azimat, Obat, dan Legitimasi Kuasa: Kajian Parateks Naskah Islam Sulawesi Tenggara dan Jawa Barat," *Jurnal Smart: Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi* 8, no. 1 (2022): 31–48, DOI: 10.18784/smart.v8i1.1576.

⁸ Mohammad Dzofir, "Agama dan Tradisi Lokal: Studi atas Pemaknaan Tradisi Rebo Wekasan di Desa Jepang, Mejobo, Kudus," *Ijtima'iyah* 1, no. 1 (2017): 112–128, DOI: 10.21043/ji.v1i1.3104.

⁹ Khoeroh Mutingatul, "Sejarah dan Makna Tradisi Rebo Wekasan di Desa Banjarsari, Kecamatan Nusawungu, Cilacap," *Thesis* (IAIN Purwokerto, 2019), <https://repository.uinsaizu.ac.id/6358>.

¹⁰ Ken Izzah Zuraidah and Arief Sudrajat, "Fenomena Perubahan Tradisi Rebo Wekasan: Studi Kasus Masyarakat Suci, Gresik," *Al-Mada: Jurnal Agama, Sosial dan Budaya* 5, no. 2 (2022): 254–264, DOI: 10.31538/almada.v5i2.2011.

¹¹ Muhammad Jakaria Sudirman, "Tradisi Keagamaan Rebo Wekasan: Studi Deskriptif Kampung Pasanggrahan Desa Cilawu, Kecamatan Cilawu Kabupaten Garut," *Thesis* (UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2018), <https://>

have conducted several studies on amulets. However, these studies have mainly not discussed the amulets used during the ritual. Furthermore, research on amulets that previous researchers have carried out places more emphasis on studying texts regarding the meaning and function of using amulets. Especially in research on Rabu Wekasan amulets, they have yet to conduct the meaning and function of verbal and non-verbal expressions. They have yet to go to the extent of knowing amulet users' rationalization of life, mindset, and world views.

For this reason, this research aims to reveal the amulet users' outlook on life, mindset, and worldview using rational choice theory. According to Ritzer, Rational choice theory begins with Weber's ideas, which state that a person's social actions are influenced by four factors, namely: *Zweck rational* (pure social action, based on rational considerations); *Wert rational* (action based on absolute beliefs or values); *Affectual* (actions based on emotional impulses); and traditional (social actions based on past-traditions). The core of Weber's thinking became the basis for developing rational choice theory, which emerged later.

Rabu Wekasan Tradition in Javanese Muslim Society

The Rabu Wekasan tradition is often found in Islamic communities in Java.

digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/20076.

Rabu Wekasan means last Wednesday, a tradition carried out on the last Wednesday in the month of Safar. The origins of the Rabu Wekasan tradition come from the ancient Jahiliyah society. The ancient Jahiliyah society, which included Arabs, believed that the month of Shafar was unlucky because Allah sent down calamities in that month. It is stated in *Sunan Abu Daud* number 3414, which is translated below.

Has told us Muhammad ibn Abdurrahim ibn al-Barqi that Sa'id ibn al-Hakam has told them; he said, "Has told us Yahya ibn Ayyub has told me ibn 'Ajlan has told me al-Qa'qa' ibn Hakim and 'Ubaidullah ibn Miqsam and Zaid ibn Aslam from Abu Salih from Abu Hurairah, that the Messenger of Allah said: "There is no *ghul* (which can lead anyone astray)." Abu Daud said, "It has been discussed before al-Harits ibn Miskin—while I was watching—he has reported to you, Ashhan; he said, "Malik was once asked about his words: "There is no Safar." So he answered, "Indeed, the ignorant people used to make the month of Safar permissible for one year and forbidden for one year. Then the Prophet Muhammad said: "There is no Shafar." Muhammad ibn al-Mushaffa has told us, Baqiyyah said, "I asked Muhammad ibn Rasyid, "What about the word "*haam*"? He answered, "The people of Jahiliyah used to say, "No one dies and is

buried, but poisonous insects come out of their graves." I asked again, "What about the word, "Shafar"? He answered, "I have heard that ignorant people attribute bad luck to the month of Shafar." Then the Prophet said, "There is no Shafar." Muhammad said, "I heard people say. "It is a disease located in the stomach. They used to say, "The disease is contagious." So he said, "There is no Shafar."

Rabu Wekasan Amulet

In community tradition, there is a traditional text in the form of the Rabu Wekasan amulet.



Figure 1.

The text of Rabu Wekasan Amulet

The Rabu Wekasan amulet uses Arabic script. The rectangular box of 4 numbers is written as in the Qur'an (surah al-An'am [6]: 73):

قَوْلُهُ الْحَقُّ وَلَهُ الْمُلْكُ.

In *Tafsir at-Thabari*, it is stated that the word "*qauluhu*" is related to the previous verse: وَيَوْمَ يَقُولُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ (when Allah wants something to happen, it will happen) and the last word is Allah's promise.

Meanwhile, the word وَلَهُ الْمُلْكُ means that power belongs only to Allah whenever and wherever, both in this world and in the afterlife. It is because Allah Almighty intended to give a warning that no one would dispute about it.

There are two readings in the Arabic writing surrounding the table. The first reading was written after the *basmalah* (بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ) is a prayer to ward off disaster, which reads:¹²

اللَّهُمَّ أَغْصَمْنَا مِنْ جَمْدِ الْبَلَاءِ وَدَرْكِ الشَّقَاءِ
وَسُوءِ الْفُضَاءِ وَشِمَاتَةِ الْأَعْدَاءِ وَصَوْتِ الْفُجَاءَةِ
وَمِنْ شَرِّ السَّامِ وَالْبَرَسَامِ وَالْبَرَصِ وَالْحَيِّ
وَالْجَدَامِ وَالْأَسْقَامِ وَمِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَمْرَاضِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ
يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

O Allah, we seek refuge from poverty, the arrival of bad luck, bad fate, the joy of the enemy at the disaster that befalls, surprising sounds, the worst of death, pleurisy, leprosy, pans, leprosy, nausea, and all kinds of diseases. With Your grace, O most merciful One, may peace and blessings be upon the Prophet

¹² Ali Nurdin, *Komunikasi Magis: Fenomena Dukun di Pedesaan* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2015).

Muhammad and his family and friends.

The second reading was written after the *basmalah* (بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ) is a collection of several verses of the Qur'an, as follows:

سَلَامٌ قَوْلًا مِنْ رَبِّ الرَّحِيمِ

Salvation will be given by Allah from God, the Most Merciful (Surah Yaasin [36]: 58).

سَلَامٌ عَلَى نُوحٍ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ

Peace be upon Noah among all peoples (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 79).

إِنَّا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ

Indeed, this is how We reward the good-doers (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 80).

سَلَامٌ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ

Peace be upon Prophet Abraham (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 109).

كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ

This is how We reward the good-doers (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 110).

سَلَامٌ عَلَى مُوسَى وَهَارُونَ

Peace be upon Prophet Moses and Aaron (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 120).

إِنَّا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ

Indeed, this is how We reward the good-doers (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 121).

سَلَامٌ عَلَى إِلْيَاسِينَ

Peace be upon Prophet Elias (Surah as-Saffat [37]: 130).

There are two opinions regarding the meaning of the word *Ilyasiin*; some say it means the Prophet Muhammad's family, and others say it means the Prophet Idris. So, there are two versions of the meaning of the verse above. May safety be upon the Prophet Muhammad and his family. In the second version, salvation will be bestowed on Prophet Idris.

إِنَّا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ

Indeed, this is how We reward the good-doers (Surah al-Saffat [37]: 131).

[...] سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ طِبْتُمْ فَادْخُلُوهَا خَالِدِينَ

[...] Peace be upon you! You have done well, so come in to stay forever (Surah al-Zumar [39]: 73).

سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِمَا صَبَرْتُمْ فَنِعْمَ عُقْبَى الدَّارِ

Peace be upon you for your perseverance. How excellent is the ultimate abode! (Surah al-Ra'd [13]: 24).

سَلَامٌ هِيَ حَتَّى مَطَلَعِ الْفَجْرِ

It is all peace until the break of dawn Surah al-Qadr [97]: 5.

The writing on the Rabu Wekasan amulet uses Arabic script, so to analyze the language style, it is necessary to adapt it to Arabic usage. Four language styles (*uslub*) are the Rabu Wekasan amulet: *uslub istighatsah*, *hamd*, *nida'*, and *qasam*.

Uslub istighatsah is found in the following words:

اللَّهُمَّ أَعْصِمْنَا مِنْ جَهْدِ الْبَلَاءِ وَدَرْكِ الشَّقَاءِ
وَسُوءِ الْقَضَاءِ وَشِمَاتَةِ الْأَعْدَاءِ وَصَوْتِ الْفُجَاءَةِ
وَمِنْ شَرِّ السَّامِ وَالْبَرَسَامِ وَالْبَرَصِ وَالْحُخَى
وَالْجَدَامِ وَالْأَسْقَامِ وَمِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَمْرَاضِ

The word "*a'shamna*" is a *fi'il amar* (command verb) which is intended to ask for protection from Allah from all evil and dangers ranging from poverty, bad luck, bad fate, the joy of the enemy over the disaster that befalls, surprising sounds, the badness of death, inflammatory diseases, leprosy, pans, leprosy, nausea, and all kinds of diseases.

سَلَامٌ قَوْلًا مِنْ رَبِّ الرَّحِيمِ
سَلَامٌ عَلَى نُوحٍ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ
سَلَامٌ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ
سَلَامٌ عَلَى مُوسَى وَهَارُونَ
سَلَامٌ عَلَى الْيَاسِينَ
سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ طِبْتُمْ فَادْخُلُوهَا خَالِدِينَ
سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِمَا صَبَرْتُمْ فَنِعْمَ عُقْبَى الدَّارِ
سَلَامٌ هِيَ حَتَّى مَطَلَعِ الْفَجْرِ

The eight "*salaam*" words above are a request to Allah for salvation. It begins with an expression of a request for salvation from the word of Allah, namely the Qur'an. Then it continues with a request for salvation to Prophet Noah, Prophet Ibrahim, Prophet Musa, Prophet Harun, and Prophet Idris, for people who have good deeds and are patient enough to obey Allah to get safety until dawn.

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ
وَسَلَّمَ

May blessings and greetings be upon our lord Prophet Muhammad and his family.

Although the words "*shalla*" and "*sallama*" are composed in a *fi'il madhi* form (past verb), the meaning of these words is a request to Allah so that the prayers delivered by the Prophet Muhammad can become a *wasilah* (an intermediary) for the wishes of Allah to be granted.

Meanwhile, the *uslub hamd* contained in Rabu Wekasan's amulet is in the word "*bi rahmatika*". It is a form of praise to Allah that because of Allah's Grace, all expected requests will be granted by Allah.

At the same time, *uslub nida'* contained in Rebu Wekasan's amulet is *يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ*. This arrangement is a word addressed to Allah, the Almighty Being.

Uslub qasam, an expression to strengthen a statement, is found in the sentence: *إِنَّا كَذَّالِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ*. The word "innaa" means emphasizing that Allah will reward you with goodness, as indicated by the phrase: *najzi al-muhsiniin*.

The diction of the Rabu Wekasan Amulet includes the repetition of sounds between lines, which adds to the amulet's beauty, thereby creating effects of harmony and harmony of sound. It is indicated by the repetition of the word *سَلَامٌ* and the phrase: *إِنَّا كَذَّالِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ*

Social Religious Conditions of the Mumbulsari Community

Generally, the people of Sumber-tengah are of Madurese descent. On average, people of Madurese descent are devout in carrying out religious rituals and values. This condition has colored the social life of the people of Sumber-tengah.

Religious traditions that continue to develop today include Muslimatan activities carried out by this group of women. This Muslimatan activity is routinely held every Wednesday night and Friday night. Meanwhile, the fathers also carried out routine religious activities in the form of recitation of the Qur'an. This activity is also carried out regularly every Legi Friday.

Apart from that, the culture of cooperation, characteristic of the community, is still strongly present in this

village. Whenever an activity is held by one of the residents, other residents will come to help. For example, when holding wedding receptions, circumcisions, recitations, etc., people flock to help. When there are public recitation activities, many local people donate funds and food for consumption by the people who come to the public recitation. It shows that the community's sense of solidarity and cooperation is very high, including implementing religious values.¹³

The economic situation of the people of Sumbertengah is at a middle level. The majority of them earn their living as farmers and farm laborers. Some work as entrepreneurs, traders, and so on. Sumbertengah is classified as a fertile area. Apart from many rice fields, there are also several rivers and moorlands. Types of crops widely grown and planted by residents include rice, papaya, oranges, vegetables, coconuts, chilies, tomatoes, cucumbers, watermelons, tobacco, soybeans, and corn. Brick and livestock industries also contribute to improving the local community's economy.¹⁴

Rebu Wekasan Amulet Users

Ustaz (Islamic Teachers)

The Ustaz who studied the book, the basis for the Rabu Wekasan Ritual, studied at the al-Waffa Islamic Boarding

¹³ Cipto, Interview, June 28, 2023.

¹⁴ Cipto.

School, Tempurejo, Jember. The Ustaz invites the public to participate in the Rabu Wekasan night ritual, especially using water mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet.

In the work of KH Abdul Hamid Itsbat Banyuanyar's *Tarjuman*, it is stated that people who are Ma'rifat to Allah and the eyes of their hearts are opened. They believe that every Rabu Wekasan 320,000 calamities or *bala'* fall from heaven. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out the following religious rituals: praying four *raka'ats* on the night of Rabu Wekasan; After that, reading Surah al-Fatihah, reading Surah al-Kautsar 17 times, Surah al-Ikhlâs 5 times, Surah al-Falaq once and Surah al-Nas once. Then, read the prayer written in the *Tarjuman*, and finish praying. This ritual hopes to receive protection and help from Allah to avoid the many dangers and illnesses on that day.¹⁵

Furthermore, in the *Tarjuman*, it is explained that every *mukallaf* person must believe there is no cause for all natural events unless Allah wills. For example, fire is not the cause of something burning; food is not the cause of someone being full; water is not the cause of quenching someone's thirst; the sun is not the cause of something hot or dry; medicine is not the cause of someone being cured of an illness. In essence, only Allah can burn something that is touched by fire, fill

someone who is eating, quench the thirst of someone who drinks, refresh someone who is bathing, and heal someone who is seeking treatment because all of that is only an intermediary for customary law reasons; because something that is touched by fire will not burn even if it is touched by fire if Allah does not will it to burn. For example, the miracle of the Prophet Ibrahim did not burn even though the King of Namrud burned it; the fire even turned into water. Every believer must believe with all their heart that the one who strengthens each of the intermediaries mentioned above is Allah; without the nature of Qudrat and Iradat Allah, the above customary laws will not occur.

In the *Tarjuman*, it is explained that if someone believes that the cause of the above customary law is not Allah, this will cause disbelief and deny the miracles of the prophets and messengers of Allah.¹⁶

Ustaz Romli's Student in Mumbulsari

Ustaz Romli is a student who graduated from the Al-Waffa Tempurejo Islamic Boarding School, namely one of the students from KH. Abdul Aziz Ali Wafa, son of KH. Abdul Hamid Itsbat Banyuanyar. He studied directly from KH. Abdul Aziz Ali Wafa. Ustaz Romli also has several students who study the stories of the prophets, etiquette for

¹⁵ Musripa, Interview, July 10, 2023.

¹⁶ Isbat, *Tarjuman*.

married men and women, and etiquette in everyday life. Ustaz Romli's reference sources were KH Abdul Hamid Isbat Banyuanyar's *Tarjuman, the Jalalain's Book*, and *Bukhari and Muslim Hadith*.

The students need help understanding the basics of implementing several rituals on Rabu Wekasan night. However, they believe that the ritual carried out on the night of Rabu Wekasan aims to ask for protection from Allah through amulets mixed in water and prayers read on the night of Rabu Wekasan. Because that is what their ustaz, Ustaz Romli, taught them.¹⁷

Farmers

Based on the presentation of the description of human resources in Sumbertengah Hamlet, Mumbulsari shows that 30% of the population has a profession as farmers—40% of the population works as agricultural laborers. From the data above, it can be ascertained that most residents of Sumbertengah, Mumbulsari, work as farmers.

When they heard and learned that Rabu Wekasan was coming, they immediately prepared to take water from the well mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet. The farmers' primary purpose in taking the water is to sprinkle it on the plants in the fields and around the yard on Rabu Wekasan night. They hope that with their efforts, all their plants

can be protected from various plant diseases that occur on Wednesday. Because in their imagination, when their plants are affected by disease, the quality of the plants will decrease, and this will reduce their economy.¹⁸

Animal Breeders

A small portion of the residents of Sumbertengah also work as animal breeders, namely chickens, ducks, goats, and cows. When they heard that Rabu Wekasan was coming, they immediately took water mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet on Rabu Wekasan night. They aimed to take the water to prepare drinking water for their livestock at Rabu Wekasan. They were worried that when they took water from Rabu Wekasan, which had various dangers on that day, it would cause danger to their livestock; apart from that, they believed that taking water mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet would protect their livestock from various kinds of hazards that fall on Rabu Wekasan.¹⁹

Rationalization of Amulet Users

In rational choice theory, individual actions are seen as if they are balancing costs with benefits so that actions are solely intended to maximize personal gain. There are three types of rationalization for users of the Rebu Wekasan

¹⁷ Sam, Interview, June 29, 2023.

¹⁸ Mulyadi, Interview, June 21, 2023.

¹⁹ Salha, Interview, June 15, 2023.

amulet in Sempen, Sumbertengah Mumbulsari Jember.

Tabarrukan

The community understands that the use of water that has been mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet is because, for them, it is helpful for *tabarruk* (practices for seeking blessings or being close to Allah), which is a form of *tawassul* practice that is enshrined in the Qur'an.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَابْتَغُوا إِلَيْهِ
الْوَسِيلَةَ وَجَاهِدُوا فِي سَبِيلِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

O believers! Be mindful of Allah, and seek what brings you closer to Him and struggle in His Way, so that you may be successful (Surah al-Maidah [5]: 35).

Tabaruk consists of prayers to Allah through intermediaries or introductions of external blessings in the form of traces, places, or individual people.

The educational background of several members of the Sempen, Sumbertengah Mumbulsari Jember community who come from Salaf Islamic boarding schools, believes that amulets mixed with water do not have any power to ward off the dangers that descend on Rabu Wekasan. However, the writing contained in the amulet, which originates from the prayer for repulsion and verses from the holy Qur'an, is an intermediary or introductory blessing that

can bring one closer to Allah to ask for Allah's protection from Rabu Wekasan.

Economic Factors

They use the water mixed with the amulet to water their plants, where most make their living as farmers and farm laborers. Crops, the primary source of income for farmers, determine the ups and downs of the community's economy. So farmers try as hard as possible to maintain their plants to remain of good quality.

Likewise, livestock owners use water mixed with amulets to maintain the health of their livestock. For breeders, these animals are valuable assets whose health is of great concern. When livestock can reproduce healthily, it will increase the number of animals. So that later they can sell it to meet their family's needs.

Social Factors

The majority of residents in the Sumbertengah community are of Madurese descent. On average, people of Madurese descent are devout in carrying out religious rituals and values. This condition is what colors the social life of the Sumbertengah community. To achieve peace and health, they take water mixed with the Rabu Wekasan amulet for bathing and drinking during Rabu Wekasan. During Rebu Wekasan, they do not accept and use water from wells or rivers.

The practice of carrying out rituals on Rebu Wekasan night, especially regarding the use of amulets in Sempen, Sumbertengah Mumbulsari Jember, is a local wisdom that can be preserved in Islamic culture.

Conclusion

There are three typologies of rationalization for Rabu Wekasan amulet users (*tabarrukan*, economic and social factors). These are influenced by the educational background of the actors who use the Rabu Wekasan amulet. The deeper the actors understand the arguments that are the basis for implementing the Rabu Wekasan amulet culture, the more confident they are in their intention to carry out the ritual to get closer to Allah.

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