

Traces of Cultural Osmosis In *Jangjawokan Paranti Melet*

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ABSTRACT

Studies on *jangjawokan* have generally positioned it as a magical spell or ritual expression, leaving its symbolic coherence and the cultural mechanisms operating within it insufficiently explained. This article investigates the internal logical coherence, triadic structure, and cultural osmosis reflected in three *Jangjawokan paranti melet* texts. This study adopts a qualitative-interpretative method with a hermeneutic approach. The primary data are drawn from the book *Jangjawokan: Inventarisasi Puisi Mantra Sunda* and are analyzed through the integration of Clifford Geertz's thick description, Jakob Sumardjo's Tritangtu cosmology, and Denys Lombard's concept of cultural osmosis. The findings demonstrate that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* is organized around a triadic structure comprising the invocation of cosmic forces, the personification of the object, and the affirmation of the subject. This structure reflects Tritangtu as both a model of and a model for Sundanese cosmology. The mechanisms of cultural osmosis are evident in the selective absorption of pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements, which are reinterpreted through the concepts of Aing/Awaking, esoteric practice, and the logic of harmony. Thus, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* should be understood not merely as a magical incantation but as a symbolic technology and a living system of oral knowledge.

Keywords: Jangjawokan, Tritangtu, cultural osmosis, Aing/Awaking, symbolic technology.

INTRODUCTION

Jangjawokan paranti melet is part of the Sundanese oral tradition associated with desire, attraction, affective relations, and the management of intention toward others. In everyday practice, this text is often narrowly understood as "pelet," namely, a magical device used to influence someone's will. Such a reading indeed reflects the emic perception of the community, yet it remains inadequate if the text is treated merely as an irrational expression. Within *jangjawokan*, there are linguistic arrangements, diction, repetition,

rhyme, metaphor, and symbolic references that indicate a complex cultural operation. Studies on Sundanese spells show that mantras not only have magical functions but also preserve aesthetic, social, religious, and symbolic values through diction, repetition, rhythm, sound, and utterance structure (Ilmi et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2021).

This complexity is evident in the presence of cosmic forces, sacred figures, symbolic objects, the body, the spirit, and subject affirmation in the three texts of *Jangjawokan paranti melet*. The mention of

stone, queen, Batara, Gangga, Batara Ginggi, and the Angel Gabriel shows that this text contains traces of encounters among various layers of belief and culture. Therefore, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* needs to be read not merely as an *asihan* spell, but as a cultural text that organizes the relationship between humans, nature, supernatural forces, and the value system of Sundanese society (Isnaini, 2022; Wardani et al., 2021).

As an oral tradition, *jangjawokan* can also be understood as a system of knowledge transmission. It moves through speech, memory, practice, interpretation, and social context. Oral tradition survives not because it is static, but because it adapts to social change while maintaining its basic value structure. Within this framework, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be viewed as a traditional knowledge system that continues to be negotiated through the cultural practices of its supporting community (Akhmar, 2023; Setiawan, 2024).

To read these layers of meaning, Clifford Geertz's thick description approach becomes relevant. This approach allows cultural practices to be understood not only in terms of their forms, but also through the web of meanings that animates them. Contemporary studies of Geertz's thought also reaffirm that thick description remains important in interpretative social science because it can read symbolic action in relation to context, history, and broader systems of meaning (W. Cai, 2024; Susen, 2024).

In the Sundanese context, the structure of meaning in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be

explained through Tritangtu cosmology. Tritangtu refers to a pattern of balance among three elements found in various artifacts, cultural practices, traditional systems of governance, arts, and Sundanese oral literature. This pattern not only describes the structure of the cosmos but also serves as an ethical-spiritual guideline for organizing human relations with nature and the Divine. In the texts analyzed, the triadic pattern appears through the arrangement of the invocation of cosmic forces, the personification of the object, and the affirmation of the subject. This structure shows that the text does not move randomly but operates within a specific cosmological framework (Saringendyanti, Herlina, et al., 2018; Sudaryat et al., 2025).

Jakob Sumardjo's thought further strengthens this reading, especially in relation to feeling, spiritual practice, spirituality, and harmony in Sundanese culture. In a study of the spiritual practice of Indramayu mask-puppet masters, *tirakat* is understood not merely as an ascetic practice but as part of the process of shaping the artist's quality of feeling, body, and inner self (Yulisa et al., 2023). This perspective helps explain that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* operates not only at the level of language but also at the levels of feeling, practice, and the speaker's spiritual readiness.

In addition to Tritangtu, this article reads *Jangjawokan paranti melet* through the concept of cultural osmosis. Cultural osmosis is understood as a process of absorbing, filtering, negotiating, and reinterpreting

external elements within a local system. Sundanese culture did not develop as a closed system; rather, it remained open to influences from pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic, and other historical layers. However, this openness was not passive. External elements were selected, relocated, assigned new functions, and placed within a local logic grounded in harmony, balance, and cultural propriety (Lee, 2022; Zuhri, 2022).

In this context, Sumardjo's paradoxical aesthetics helps explain why elements that appear contradictory—such as stone and spirit, Batara and the Angel Gabriel, personal desire and cosmic authority—need not be read as contradictions. Windyagiri et al. (2025) emphasize that in Jakob Sumardjo's paradoxical aesthetics, the beauty of Nusantara art emerges from the tension between two seemingly opposing elements that ultimately move toward harmony. This framework is relevant for understanding *Jangjawokan paranti melet* as a text that brings together local, Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic, bodily, spiritual, and subjective elements into a coherent symbolic structure.

Based on the discussion above, this article departs from three research gaps. First, previous studies have tended to position *jangjawokan* as a ritual text or magical expression, but few have read it as a symbolic knowledge system with internal logical coherence. Second, readings of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* are still often limited by the stigma of *pelet* as a practice of coercing another person's will, causing its ethical, cosmological, and symbolic layers to receive insufficient attention. Third, the relationship

among the triadic structure of the text, Tritangtu cosmology, paradoxical aesthetics, and the mechanism of cultural osmosis has not been elaborated in an integrated manner (Ilmi et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2021; Windyagiri et al., 2025).

Accordingly, this article limits its discussion to three texts of *Jangjawokan paranti melet*, which are analyzed as symbolic technology. The term symbolic technology is used to indicate that *jangjawokan* is not read as a means of justifying claims of magical causality, but as a cultural device that organizes intention, words, the body, affective relations, and cosmological orientation. The focus of the study is not on whether the magical effect is true, but on how the text's structure produces meaning and sustains the acceptability of the practice within Sundanese cultural systems (Della Costa, 2023; Hobson et al., 2018).

This article addresses three main questions. First, where is the internal logical coherence that enables *Jangjawokan paranti melet* to persist as a meaningful practice? Second, how does the triadic structure of the text—comprising the invocation of cosmic forces, the personification of the object, and the affirmation of the subject—reflect and reproduce Tritangtu cosmology? Third, how does the mechanism of cultural filtering and absorption operate within *Jangjawokan paranti melet*? Through these questions, this article contributes to the expansion of Sundanese oral literary studies by positioning *Jangjawokan paranti melet* as a symbolic technology and a mechanism of cultural

filtering and absorption that records the dynamics of Sundanese cosmology (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Whitehouse, 2024).

METHODS

This study draws upon a qualitative-interpretative method with a hermeneutic approach because the object of analysis is a *jangjawokan* text containing symbolic, historical, cosmological, and cultural-practical layers. The hermeneutic approach interprets the text's meaning in relation to the cultural context that produced it. Through this approach, the text is not read as an autonomous arrangement of words, but as part of the social practice and knowledge system of its supporting community. This methodological choice aligns with the orientation of thick description, namely a mode of reading that does not stop at the description of outward form but seeks to understand the web of meanings that makes an action or utterance meaningful within a particular culture (W. Cai, 2024; Susen, 2024).

The primary source of this study is the book *Jangjawokan: Inventarisasi Puisi Mantra Sunda*, published by the Department of Tourism and Culture of West Java Province. From this source, three texts of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* were purposively selected based on three considerations: thematic unity as *asihan* texts, completeness of utterance structure, and the representation of historical layers in diction. The texts were analyzed in the original Sundanese language, while Indonesian and English translations were used as aids for comprehension. Purposive selection was applied because this study does not aim to make quantitative generalizations about all *jangjawokan*, but rather to interpret

in depth the symbolic structure and cultural mechanisms visible in the three selected texts (Ilmi et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2021).

The analytical framework is built by integrating four theoretical instruments. First, thick description is used to read *jangjawokan* as a meaningful social practice bound to symbolic, ritual, and cultural contexts. Second, Tritangtu cosmology is used to understand the relationship between humans, nature, and the Divine within the triadic structure of the text. Third, paradoxical aesthetics is used to read the tension between elements that appear contradictory but are ultimately arranged toward symbolic harmony. Fourth, the concept of cultural osmosis is used to explain the process of absorbing, filtering, negotiating, and reinterpreting pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements within the Sundanese knowledge system (Saringendyanti, Herlina, et al., 2018; Sudaryat et al., 2025; Zainal et al., 2024).

The analysis was carried out in three stages. First, textual analysis was conducted on the structure of utterance segments and key diction to identify patterns of cosmic invocation, object personification, and subject affirmation. This stage was used to identify the text's internal logical coherence, namely the relationship among utterance structure, diction, and symbolic function. Second, symbolic interpretation was applied to the historical and cosmological layers of the text to explain how the triadic structure of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* reflects the framework of Tritangtu and Sundanese paradoxical aesthetics. Third, the findings were contextualized within the concept of cultural osmosis to explain the mechanism of

filtering and absorption, namely how external elements are absorbed, selected, negotiated, and given new meanings within the Sundanese knowledge system (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Della Costa, 2023; Lee, 2022).

This study also uses the author's reflective-autoethnographic notes concerning the transmission of *jangjawokan* and esoteric practice as supporting context. These notes are not positioned as primary data and are not used to prove the meaning of the text; rather, they help explain the context of practice and knowledge transmission. Thus, the main claims of this study remain grounded in textual analysis, while personal experience serves only as interpretative contextual support. This limitation is important to prevent the study from falling into subjective justification of the author's experience while maintaining academic discipline through textual analysis and accountable conceptual frameworks (Ait Kharouach, 2025; Yulisa et al., 2023).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Texts, Translations, and the Structure of Utterance Segments

This section presents the three texts of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* that serve as the primary data of the study. These texts are taken from the book *Jangjawokan: Inventarisasi Puisi Mantra Sunda* (RS et al., 2012). Presenting the original Sundanese text and its Indonesian translation is necessary to preserve the analytical proximity to the source diction and to help readers understand the direction of meaning in the utterances.

Table 1. Three Jangjawokan Paranti Melet Texts, Indonesia Translation and English Translation

No.	Jangjawokan Text	Indonesian Translation	English Translation
I	<i>asihan aing</i> <i>asihan batu</i> <i>beunang</i> <i>guguru ti ratu</i> <i>beunang nale'k tina hate'</i> <i>mangka itu</i> <i>ngalumpuruk</i> <i>saperti upih</i> <i>buruk</i> <i>nalangkarak</i> <i>saperti mayang</i> <i>ragrag</i> <i>tunggal welas</i> <i>tunggal asih</i> <i>sia ka aing</i> <i>nya aing ratu</i> <i>asihan</i>	asihanku asihan batu hasil berguru dari ratu hasil bertanya dari hati lunglailah dia seperti pelapah (pinang) busuk telentang seperti bunga (pinang) jatuh kasih yang tunggal sayang yang tunggal kamu padaku aku ini si ratu asihan	my charm, the charm of stone gained through learning from the queen gained through questioning the heart may he grow limp like a rotten areca palm sheath lying helpless like a fallen areca blossom with undivided affection and undivided love, may you love me I am the queen of charms
II	<i>ti girang</i> <i>Batara Gangga</i> <i>ti hilir Batara</i> <i>Ginggi</i> <i>diteuteup ti</i> <i>hareup sieup</i> <i>ditilik ti gigir</i> <i>lenggik</i> <i>pipi</i> <i>katumbirian</i> <i>irung kuwung-</i> <i>kuwungan</i> <i>tarang lancak</i> <i>mentrangan</i> <i>mangka welas</i> <i>mangka asih</i> <i>asih ka</i> <i>awaking</i>	dari hulu batara gangga dari hilir batara ginggi di tatap dari depan tampak indah dilihat dari samping tampak cantik pipi bagaikan warna pelangi hidung bagaikan warna bianglala kening bagaikan sinar mentari cintalah sayanglah sayang kepadaku	from the upstream, Batara Gangga from the downstream, Batara Ginggi seen from the front, beautiful seen from the side, graceful cheeks colored like a rainbow a nose gleaming like a radiant arc a forehead shining like the rays of the sun love me, cherish me cherish me

III	<i>Malaikat Jibril pangbeungkeut keun paraantang pariantung sia datang aing ngalantung roh sia aya di aing roh aing aya di sia (99 times)</i>	Malaikat Jibril tolong ikatkan dia pariantang pariantung kamu datang aku pergi ruhmu ada padaku jiwaku ada padamu (99 kali)	Angel Gabriel, please bind him <i>paraantang pariantung</i> you come, I wait / I am bound in ritual practice your spirit is within me my spirit is within you (99 times)
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Source: Adapted from RS et al. (2012).

In mantra studies, proximity to the source language is important because the symbolic power of a mantra lies not only in lexical meaning but also in sound, repetition, rhythm, and utterance structure. Wardani et al. (2021) show that the structure of Sundanese mantras can be read through diction, imagery, concrete words, figurative language, rhyme, rhythm, theme, feeling, tone, and message (Wardani et al., 2021).

The three texts analyzed reveal a relatively similar basic pattern. None of the texts moves randomly; each is arranged into three utterance segments. The first segment consists of the invocation or the mention of cosmic forces and sacred authority. The second segment consists of object personification, namely the way the subject imagines, shapes, or directs the intended object. The third segment consists of subject affirmation, namely a statement of will that binds the relationship between the subject, the object, and cosmic forces. This pattern shows that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* exhibits structural coherence, even though, on the

surface, it appears short, poetic, and repetitive (Ilmi et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2021).

In the first text, the invocation segment appears in the phrases *asihan aing asihan batu*, *beunang guguru ti ratu*, and *beunang nale'k tina hate'*. The personification segment appears in the phrases *mangka itu ngalumpuruk saperti upih buruk* and *nalangkarak saperti mayang ragrag*. The affirmation segment appears in the phrases *tunggal welas tunggal asih sia ka aing* and *nya aing ratu asihan*. This structure shows that the utterance does not move directly toward the object; rather, it first places the subject's will within a network of symbolic authority, including stone, queen, and heart as sources of inner knowledge (Isnaini, 2022; Wardani et al., 2021).

In the second text, the invocation appears through references to Batara Gangga and Batara Ginggi. Personification appears through depictions of bodily beauty, such as cheeks, nose, and forehead, which are described through metaphors of color, light, and beauty. Affirmation then appears in the phrases *mangka welas mangka asih* and *asih ka awaking*. This text shows that the power of *asihan* is not formed only through magical claims, but also through the aestheticization of the body and the activation of cosmic imagery involving water, upstream-downstream relations, and light. In ritual studies, such an arrangement can be understood as a symbolic pattern that organizes perception, emotion, and action orientation (Hobson et al., 2018; Song et al., 2022).

In the third text, invocation appears through the mention of the Angel Gabriel; personification appears in the phrase *sia datang aing ngalantung*, while affirmation appears in the repetition of *roh sia aya di aing* and *roh aing aya di sia*. The mention of Gabriel reveals an Islamic symbolic horizon, yet the structure of the utterance remains within the logic of *jangjawokan*, which emphasizes the binding relationship between subject, object, and the invoked power. Here, the Islamic element does not appear as an autonomous normative system, but rather as a symbolic element relocated within a local structure (Makin, 2016; Zuhri, 2022).

Thus, the three texts analyzed in this study are significant not only as magical texts but also as symbolic structures that regulate relations among words, the subject, the object, and the cosmos. The structure of invocation, personification, and affirmation shows that *jangjawokan* operates as a ritual utterance that gives form to intention and affective relations. Contemporary ritual studies show that rituals often operate through formal, repetitive, and meaningful patterns that help practitioners manage uncertainty, emotion, and social goals (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Whitehouse, 2024).

2. Internal Coherence: Invocation, Personification, and Subject Affirmation

The first research question in this article concerns the internal logical coherence that allows *Jangjawokan paranti melet* to persist as a meaningful practice. Based on textual

analysis, this coherence lies in the sequential relationship among the three utterance segments: invocation, personification, and subject affirmation. These three segments form a structure that is not only poetic but also ritualistic because it organizes the relationship between personal will and a larger symbolic authority (Della Costa, 2023; Hobson et al., 2018).

The reading of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* as a sequence of invocation, personification, and subject affirmation can be strengthened through the concept of discursive symbols in ritual art. Putra (2019) explains that discursive symbols in the sintren performance are built from regular symbols bound by structure, so that meaning does not stand alone but emerges from the relationships among the performance stages (Putra, 2019). By analogy, the three segments in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can also be read as a sequential symbolic structure: invocation functions as the opening of sacred space. In the first text, the subject does not immediately express desire but first mentions *asihan batu*, *ratu*, and *hate*. In the second text, the subject opens the utterance by mentioning Batara Gangga and Batara Ginggi. In the third text, the subject invokes the Angel Gabriel as an intermediary figure within an Islamic symbolic horizon. This pattern shows that the subject does not speak solely on behalf of the self, but places the utterance within an authority greater than individual will (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Xygalatas, 2022).

The personification segment serves as the space where the object is processed. In the

first text, the object is described as “limp like a rotten areca palm sheath” and “lying helpless like a fallen areca blossom.” Literally, these phrases can be read as images of domination or of the object's weakening. However, when read in the context of the overall structure, this personification does not stand alone. It is positioned between sacred invocation and subject affirmation, so its meaning cannot be reduced merely to dark desire. In the second text, personification appears through aesthetic images of the body, while in the third text, it appears through movement and the exchange of spirits. Thus, the object is not presented as a passive thing, but as a party given image, force, and position within a network of meaning (Ilmi et al., 2024; Wardani et al., 2021).

The subject affirmation segment becomes the closing point that unites the two preceding segments. The phrases *aing ratu asihan*, *asih ka awaking*, and *roh sia aya di aing*, *roh aing aya di sia* show that the subject affirms their position as the center of articulated will. However, “aing” in this text cannot be understood merely as a first-person pronoun. It functions as a marker of a subject that seeks to align itself with the symbolic power invoked in the opening segment. In this sense, subject affirmation does not merely state “I want,” but also “I am within a network of power that makes this will meaningful” (W. Cai, 2024; Susen, 2024).

Therefore, the internal logical coherence of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* does not lie in empirical causality, but in the

symbolic integration of cosmic authority, object processing, and subject affirmation. In this sense, *jangjawokan* functions as a ritual practice that structures intention, language, body, and action. The power of *jangjawokan* in this article is not read as proof of magical causality, but as a symbolic technology that organizes the inner orientation and affective relations of its practitioner (Della Costa, 2023; Song et al., 2022).

3. Triadic Structure as the Reproduction of Tritangtu

The second research question concerns how the triadic structure in the text reflects and reproduces Tritangtu cosmology. Based on the pattern identified, the three utterance segments in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be read as a textual form of Tritangtu logic. In Sundanese culture, the pattern of three or Tritangtu functions as a cosmological principle that harmonizes dualistic elements. This pattern appears in the concepts of *tekad*, *ucap*, and *lampah*—will, speech, and action—which in the manuscript *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* are described as the stabilizers of the world (Karmila et al., 2023). Tritangtu can also be understood as a mode of thought that organizes the relationship among humans, nature, and the Divine (Saringendyanti, Herlina, et al., 2018; Sudaryat et al., 2025).

The invocation segment can be read as representing the upper world or the realm of transcendent power. The mention of stone, queen, Batara Gangga, Batara Ginggi, and the Angel Gabriel shows that the text opens itself to an authority beyond the human subject.

The personification segment represents the middle space, the arena where the subject processes the relationship with the object through language. Here, the object does not appear as a passive entity but as a party given image, force, and position within a network of meaning. The subject affirmation segment marks the point of integration, where the subject unites will, object, and cosmic power in a single statement. These three segments form a relationship among transcendent power, the relational world, and the subject, affirming their position (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Whitehouse, 2024).

This reading can be strengthened through Jakob Sumardjo's paradoxical aesthetics. In their study of *Kawih Wanda Anyaran*, Windyagiri et al. (2025) explain that paradoxical aesthetics operates through the unification of two seemingly opposing poles, such as tradition and modernity, simplicity and complexity, individuality and collectivity, and rationality and emotionality. This pattern is relevant to *Jangjawokan paranti melet* because the text also brings together seemingly different elements: cosmic power and personal will, body and spirit, Sundanese locality and cross-religious symbols. This encounter does not produce semantic disorder but is organized through a triadic structure that places invocation, personification, and affirmation as a path toward symbolic harmony (Windyagiri et al., 2025). In that article, the paradox between tradition and modernity, as well as between simplicity and complexity, is understood as the basis for forming harmony in Sundanese

art, rather than as a contradiction that cancels itself out.

Through this pattern, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* does not merely depict cosmology; it also activates it through utterance. It becomes a model of because it represents the structure of the Sundanese cosmos, and at the same time a model for because it provides a pattern of action for the subject in managing affective relations. The triadic structure in *jangjawokan* cannot be regarded merely as a poetic form, but as a cosmological device operating in speech practice. From an interpretative perspective, symbolic systems do not merely reflect reality but also provide guidelines for social action (Ait Kharouach, 2025; H. Cai, 2024)

This triadic pattern also explains why *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can combine elements that appear different. On one side, there are transcendent figures such as Batara and the Angel Gabriel. On the other hand, there are the human body, images of beauty, the areca palm sheath, fallen blossom, spirit, and the statement "aing." These elements are not randomly brought together but organized through a three-segment structure. This structure gives the text its cosmological coherence. In other words, Tritangtu is not merely an external concept imposed on the text; it is visible in the way the text itself organizes the relationship among power, object, and subject (Saringendyanti, Kresno, et al., 2018; Wardani et al., 2021).

Thus, the triadic structure in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be read as a textual form of paradoxical logic in

Sundanese culture. It shows that the relationship among transcendent elements, affective objects, and the speaking subject is not linear, but dialectical: tense and unifying at the same time. Within Sumardjo's framework, harmony is formed precisely from such tension. Therefore, Tritangtu in *jangjawokan* does not operate merely as a pattern of three, but also as a mechanism of alignment among elements that historically, religiously, and symbolically derive from different layers (Saringendyanti, Herlina, et al., 2018; Windyagiri et al., 2025).

4. Cross-Traditional Diction and the Mechanism of Cultural Osmosis

The third research question concerns the mechanism of cultural filtering and absorption in *Jangjawokan paranti melet*. This mechanism appears through key diction originating from different layers of belief yet relocated within the structure of Sundanese utterance. At this point, the concept of cultural osmosis is used to explain how external elements are not passively received, but filtered, transferred, negotiated, and assigned new meanings within the local system. Thus, cultural osmosis differs from random mixing. It refers to the active role of culture in absorbing and reorganizing elements from outside (Lee, 2022; Zainal et al., 2024).

In the first text, the diction *batu* can be read as a symbolic trace of megalithic tradition and the reverence for objects believed to possess power. In Sundanese culture, stone does not merely refer to a hard

and stable object; it can also be associated with sacred sites, ancestral places, graves, or sacred spaces. When this diction appears in the phrase *asihane batu*, it does not simply refer to a physical object but to qualities of power that are firm, ancient, and symbolically authoritative. The diction *ratu* also carries an important layer of meaning because it can refer to authority, nobility, a center of legitimacy, and a source of knowledge. The phrase *beunang guguru ti ratu* indicates that *asihane* knowledge does not arise from uncontrolled individual desire but is linked to the process of learning from a legitimate source (Isnaini, 2022; Setiawan, 2024).

In the second text, the mention of Batara Gangga and Batara Gingga reveals traces of Hindu-Buddhist influence and cosmic imagery of water. In Indian tradition, the Ganges is known as a sacred river and a source of purification. However, in *Jangjawokan paranti melet*, Gangga does not appear as a complete Indian concept but is relocated into the logic of Sundanese utterance. Its pair, Gingga, functions phonetically and poetically as a sound pair that builds an upstream-downstream relationship. Thus, the Indian element is not passively received but is processed through sound play, directional structure, and the imagery of cosmic flow. This process aligns with the view that Nusantara traditions developed through layered encounters among local traditions, Hindu-Buddhist traditions, Islam, and other forms of knowledge that continue to be negotiated (Makin, 2016; Tahara et al., 2023).

In the third text, the mention of the Angel Gabriel indicates the entry of Islamic elements. In Islamic tradition, Gabriel is known as the bearer of revelation and an intermediary figure between God and humans. However, in *Jangjawokan paranti melet*, the mention of Gabriel does not automatically make the text a normative act of worship. It is more accurate to say that Gabriel's presence shows the text's attempt to place affective relations within an Islamic symbolic horizon. Thus, the Islamic element is absorbed into a local structure that already has its own logic of utterance. This is consistent with the idea of Islamic vernacularization, which explains how Islamic terms, symbols, and concepts can enter local language and discourse through processes of semantic adjustment (Kersten, 2016; Zuhri, 2022).

This process shows that cultural osmosis in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* operates through four mechanisms. First, external elements are recognized through particular diction or figures, such as Batara, Gangga, or the Angel Gabriel. Second, these elements are selected based on the text's symbolic needs. Third, they are relocated within the triadic structure of *jangjawokan*. Fourth, they are assigned new meanings within the Sundanese knowledge system. Within this framework, *jangjawokan* can be understood as a small textual space where cultural encounters operate at the level of utterance (Maimun et al., 2020; van den Boogert, 2017).

Cultural osmosis in this text is not identical to random syncretism. It is better

understood as an active process of filtering and absorption. External elements are accepted insofar as they can be placed within the framework of local harmony. Thus, *jangjawokan* demonstrates the Sundanese culture's ability to open itself to external influences without losing its internal order of meaning. This view is strengthened by studies of local Indonesian rituals, which show that the relationship between custom and religion often occurs through filtering, reinterpretation, and the formation of new meanings, rather than through the total elimination of older elements (Handoko, 2024; Zainal et al., 2024).

5. Aing/Awaking as the Mechanism of the Subject and the Ethical-Spiritual Filter

The concept of Aing/Awaking is an important part of the internal coherence of *Jangjawokan paranti melet*. In the three texts analyzed, the subject "aing" appears not only as the speaker but also as the center of symbolic integration. The phrases *aing ratu asihan*, *asih ka awaking*, and *roh sia aya di aing*, *roh aing aya di sia* show that the subject positions itself in relation to cosmic power, the affective object, and the inner world. In this context, *aing* cannot be understood merely as the individual "I." It is more accurately read as a cosmological subject, namely a subject that forms itself through relations with powers beyond itself (Saringendyanti, Kresno, et al., 2018; Sudaryat et al., 2025).

In Sundanese thought, the self does not stand alone but exists within a relational network involving nature, other humans, ancestors, and the Divine. Therefore, the affirmation of “aing” in *jangjawokan* does not merely express ownership of will but also declares the subject’s position within the cosmos. The subject does not merely speak; it orders itself so that it becomes worthy of being the center of symbolic articulation. Here, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* not only establishes a relation between the speaker and the intended object, but also between the speaker and the value system that renders the utterance valid, powerful, or meaningful (W. Cai, 2024; Della Costa, 2023).

The concept of Aing/Awaking as the center of meaning processing can also be read alongside the idea of the spiritual body in Nusantara ritual practices. Sentosa et al. (2026) explain that in *solah bawa*, the human body is connected to the elements of nature through the principle of *hasto broto*, so that movement becomes not only an aesthetic expression but also an exercise in spiritual awareness (Sentosa et al., 2026). Thus, “aing” in *jangjawokan* can be understood not merely as a personal pronoun but as a subject that organizes the body, feeling, will, and cosmological relations.

This dimension also aligns with Yulisa et al.’s (2023) study of *tirakat* in the spiritual practice of Indramayu mask-puppet masters. In that study, *tirakat* is understood not merely as an additional spiritual practice, but as a condition for shaping the quality of the mask-puppet master. Spiritual practices such as

fasting, meditation, *meuseuh diri*, and self-control are seen as processes that shape feeling, patience, inner endurance, and bodily readiness in artistic practice. By analogy, Aing/Awaking in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be understood not as a free subject merely expressing desire, but as a subject that must possess inner readiness, discipline of practice, and symbolic legitimacy for the utterance to have meaning within the Sundanese cultural system (Yulisa et al., 2023).

The author’s reflective-autoethnographic notes on the transmission of *jangjawokan* and esoteric practice can be used in a limited way to explain the context of this practice. In several traditional practices, *jangjawokan* is not always considered something that can be used freely. It is often linked to inheritance, teacher permission, spiritual discipline, self-control, and specific taboos. However, in this article, such experience is not positioned as primary data but as supporting context for understanding that *jangjawokan* utterance exists within a particular ethical and disciplinary system. This limitation is important because personal experience must not replace textual analysis, although it may help explain the context of transmission and traditional authority surrounding the text (Ait Kharouach, 2025; Whitehouse, 2024).

In the artistic tradition of Indramayu, spiritual practice is even related to the control of the body, feelings, and emotions. Yulisa et al. (2023) note that the concept of *tirakat* among mask-puppet masters is associated with emptying oneself, restraining desire,

and building inner stability before the body appears in performance. This idea parallels *Jangjawokan paranti melet*, because *jangjawokan* utterance cannot be separated from the readiness of the subject who speaks it. The subject “aing” is not only the center of will, but also the center of self-control, the ordering of feeling, and the filtering of symbolic power entering the text (Yulisa et al., 2023). In Yulisa et al.’s account, *tirakat* is placed at the center of self-control and is even linked to the idea of *pancer* and the restraint of ambition in the artist's life.

This section is important because it helps explain that cultural osmosis occurs not only at the level of diction but also at the level of the subject. External elements may enter the text, but their acceptance still requires a subject considered to have symbolic and spiritual readiness. In this sense, Aing/Awaking functions as an internal filter: it becomes the point at which cosmic, external, and human elements are brought together and ordered. Contemporary ritual studies show that ritual functions not only as a symbolic action but also as a means of forming group identity, self-discipline, social attachment, and a sense of control (Hobson et al., 2018; Whitehouse, 2024).

Thus, Aing/Awaking clarifies the answers to the first and third research questions. It explains internal coherence at the level of the subject while also showing the filtering mechanism that prevents external elements from entering in an unprocessed form. The subject is not merely the user of the text, but also the point at which meaning is

processed. Here, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* reveals itself as symbolic technology: it not only invokes power, but also forms the subject who speaks, bears, and interprets that power (Boyer & Liénard, 2020; Song et al., 2022).

6. Tritangtu as an Arena of Negotiation in the Strategy of Osmosis

The analysis of the three texts shows that Tritangtu functions not only as a cosmological framework but also as an arena of cultural negotiation. Through the three utterance segments, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* organizes the relationships among transcendent power, the affective object, and the speaking subject. In this process, pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements are not treated as layers that erase one another, but as symbolic materials that are renegotiated. Thus, Tritangtu operates not merely as a static pattern of three but as a relational logic that allows various cultural elements to be arranged coherently (Saringendyanti, Herlina, et al., 2018; Zainal et al., 2024).

In the invocation segment, the text selects figures or diction that can function as cosmic authority. In the personification segment, these elements are processed through metaphors of body, object, movement, and light. In the affirmation segment, all invoked and processed elements are united in the position of the subject. Thus, the triadic structure works as a layered mechanism of selection. External elements do not immediately become part of the local system; they must pass through processes of

selection, transformation, and integration. This pattern shows that cultural osmosis does not occur outside structure, but through structure (Lee, 2022; Makin, 2016).

In this context, Tritangtu can be understood as a principle of meaning construction. It is not merely a pattern of three inherited from Sundanese cosmology, but a cultural logic that enables Sundanese society to absorb external influences without losing its basic structure. In this way, pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements do not appear as contradictory fragments, but as symbolic layers that can be negotiated within utterance. This aligns with studies of local traditions, which show that the relationship between religion and culture is not always one of replacement but may take the form of transformation, vernacularization, and the reorganization of values (Maimun et al., 2020; Zuhri, 2022).

When read through the lens of paradoxical aesthetics, Tritangtu can be understood as a principle that enables Sundanese culture to organize tension without eliminating either element. Windyagiri et al. (2025) show that in Mang Koko's works, tradition and modernity, pedagogical values and social criticism, and simplicity and complexity can be integrated without losing Sundanese cultural roots. A similar principle appears in *Jangjawokan paranti melet*. Pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements do not stand as mutually negating layers; rather, they are processed through utterance structure to form a distinctive symbolic harmony. Thus,

cultural osmosis in *jangjawokan* operates paradoxically: it receives external elements while simultaneously submitting them to the local order of meaning (Windyagiri et al., 2025). Windyagiri et al. also emphasize that Mang Koko's works remain rooted in Sundanese idioms while opening themselves to renewal and musical innovation, making them relevant as an analogy for Sundanese cultural strategies in organizing external elements. As another comparison, the Sanghyang Grodog ritual in Lembongan, Bali, shows that Nusantara ritual expressions often contain a vision of cosmic life. Pramada et al. (2022) explain that Sanghyang Grodog is not only a ritual for neutralizing negative elements, but also a behavioral teaching that organizes human relations with God, nature, time, the universe, and fellow living beings (Pramada et al., 2022). This framework helps clarify that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can also be read as a symbolic practice that organizes harmony, not merely as a magical utterance in affective relations.

Therefore, the mechanism of filtering and absorption in *jangjawokan* can be formulated as follows. First, the text opens itself to cross-traditional symbols. Second, these symbols are selected based on their compatibility with the local cosmological structure. Third, they are processed through metaphor, sound, direction, the body, and paradoxical relations. Fourth, the processed results are united through subject affirmation. Through this process, *jangjawokan* does not merely absorb external elements but "Sundanizes" them through

utterance structure. The term “Sundanizes” here is not intended as an essentialist claim, but as a process of placing external elements within the Sundanese order of meaning (Handoko, 2024; van den Boogert, 2017).

This reading also clarifies that the strategy of cultural osmosis in *jangjawokan* is not passive. Just as renewal in Sundanese *karawitan* can preserve traditional roots while opening space for innovation, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* preserves local cosmological structure while opening itself to cross-traditional symbols. Thus, triadic structure, paradoxical aesthetics, and the mechanisms of cultural filtering and absorption work together to demonstrate the Sundanese culture's ability to negotiate difference through the principle of harmony rather than homogenization (Windyagiri et al., 2025; Yulisa et al., 2023).

This reading also shows that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* cannot be reduced to a practice of coercing desire in matters of love. The text indeed speaks of affective relations, but those relations are situated within a broader cosmological structure. The power of the text lies not merely in its magical claims but in its ability to organize intention, image, will, and relation through a coherent symbolic system. Thus, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* can be understood as a symbolic technology and a system of oral knowledge that records the ways Sundanese society manages the encounter between personal desire, cosmic authority, and the dynamics of cultural history (Della Costa, 2023; Whitehouse, 2024).

7. Synthesis of the Discussion

Based on the discussion above, the three research questions can be answered in an integrated manner. First, the internal logical coherence of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* lies in the relationship among invocation, personification, and subject affirmation. These three segments form a symbolic sequence that connects cosmic authority, affective object, and the position of the subject.

Second, the triadic structure in the text reflects and reproduces the Tritangtu cosmology. Invocation brings forth transcendent power, personification becomes the space for processing relations, while subject affirmation becomes the point of cosmological integration. Thus, Tritangtu is not only present as an abstract concept but also operates within the structure of utterance.

Third, the mechanism of cultural filtering and absorption operates through the selection, filtering, and reinterpretation of cross-traditional diction. Stone, queen, Batara Gangga, Batara Ginggi, and the Angel Gabriel show that *jangjawokan* texts absorb elements from various cultural layers while relocating them within the Sundanese system of meaning. This process demonstrates that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* is a symbolic technology that manages the relationships among language, intention, the body, the cosmos, and cultural history.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the three texts of *Jangjawokan paranti melet* shows that the text's internal logical coherence rests on a triadic structure consisting of the invocation of cosmic forces, the personification of the object, and the affirmation of the subject. These three utterance segments form a flow of meaning that connects transcendent power, affective relations, and the subject's self-awareness. Thus, *Jangjawokan paranti melet* is inadequate if understood only as a magical spell or a practice of coercing another's will. It needs to be read as a symbolic technology that organizes intention, utterance, body, and action within the cosmological framework of Sundanese society.

This triadic structure reflects and reproduces the Tritangtu cosmology. In the *paranti melet* texts, Tritangtu operates as both a model of and a model for: it reflects the relational structure of the cosmos while also providing a pattern of action for the subject in managing relations with the intended object. Invocation brings forth cosmic power, personification becomes the space for processing affective relations, while subject affirmation becomes the point of integration among human will, object, and cosmological order. Through this pattern, Tritangtu is not merely present as an abstract concept, but actively operates within the structure of the utterance.

The mechanism of cultural osmosis in *Jangjawokan paranti melet* occurs through the selective absorption, filtering, negotiation,

and reinterpretation of cross-traditional elements. Diction such as stone, queen, Batara Gangga, Batara Ginggi, and the Angel Gabriel shows the presence of pre-Hindu, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic layers within a single textual structure. However, these elements are not passively accepted. They are relocated within the Sundanese system of meaning through the triadic structure, the concept of Aing/Awaking, and the logic of harmony. Thus, *jangjawokan* reveals how Sundanese culture absorbs external influences without losing its cosmological coherence.

These findings affirm that *Jangjawokan paranti melet* is a living system of oral knowledge. It not only preserves traces of the past but also reveals the cultural strategy of Sundanese society in managing encounters among language, intention, body, cosmos, and history. A hermeneutic reading that integrates thick description, Tritangtu cosmology, and cultural osmosis opens the possibility of understanding Nusantara oral traditions as archives of knowledge, mechanisms of adaptation, and sources of reflection for contemporary cultural issues.

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