

Debus Pariaman: The Shift from Tarekat to Martial Arts

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze cultural continuity and the factors causing the shift of Debus Pariaman or Dabuih from tarekat practice to martial arts attractions. This study uses qualitative methods, and data collection techniques through field observations, interviews with 5 key informants who are closely related to dabuih and through documentation review. It was found that the history of the Pariaman debus has its origins from a popular tarekat that had developed in the archipelago, namely the Rifa'iyah order from Aceh. Debus (dabuih) during the colonial period played a role as a medium of resistance against Dutch colonialism at that time and the media introduced Islam. However, at present, there has been a shift in the Pariaman debus, which was originally a tarekat practice, especially the Rifa'iyah or Qadariyah tarekat, into martial arts attractions and even into folk entertainment arts that have economic value. The factors of the absence of cadre or inheritance, and the awareness of preserving the cultural heritage of the community, resulted in the direction of Debus' development being disconnected between the continuity of martial arts and the practice of tarekat and the media for the spread of Islam. Currently debus as a thick martial art with the influence of the tarekat, only becomes the art of entertainment for the people.

Keywords: Debus Pariaman; The order of Rifa'iyah; Shift; Martial arts.

BACKGROUND

Debus is the oldest art in Indonesia, it has accompanied the development of Islam in the archipelago and was part of the people's resistance to colonialism. Until now, debus still survives and develops through the emergence of hermitages in various places in Pariaman. This art that combines martial arts, dance, voice, and tarekat or tasawuf is unique and clothed in mysticism. Many people are curious about Debus performances, but this martial art is not just an art for entertainment, because there are special requirements for performers and sharp objects so that if neglected it can result in casualties. In one report it was stated that a debus player in Langsa Aceh was killed by being stabbed by his own rencong; in tangerangnews.com it was reported that a debus teacher in Serang was being chased by the police because he killed two of his students as a result of being splashed with mercury; other news in ngpibareng (05/05/2018) in East Kalimantan, a number of school children ended tragically because they demonstrated martial arts plus similar debus at their school farewell event; in detik.com (29/03/2022), a man received 16 stitches on his neck for imitating debus attractions.

Even though debus is an extreme art, in Banten, debus are still in demand, becoming popular and breaking Muri's record because of the most players (Republika, 19/11/2017). On the other hand, in Pariaman, as researched by Darmawati, debus or dabuih in the local dialect is a unique and rare performing art. The existence of dabuih as a cultural heritage is allegedly on the verge of twilight as reported on the official website of the South Coastal District Government (21/04/2017). The reason is partly because the community, including teenagers, is less concerned about their regional arts, which were once proud and popular in the past. The decline of the Dabuih festival in Pariaman is partly due to the decreasing number of artists and the lack of interest from the younger generation. The debus phenomenon which has undergone modification and shifted to interesting but extreme art and entertainment commodities is a socio-cultural reality that shows a shift in debus from its origins, namely tarekat.

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This study aims first, to reveal the historical side and portraits of the past until now in Pariaman and the factors causing the shift in orientation from pure tarekat practice to an attractive martial art. Second, to elaborate on ratib (recitation or reading) and self-assessment in dabuih which are part of the practice of tarekat practice until then debus becomes a martial arts performance only. This type of research uses a qualitative approach, with data collection techniques carried out through participant observation, interviews and documentation. Observations were made by directly observing Debus performances and visiting martial arts academies that teach dabuih in the Pariman area. Interviews were conducted with 5 informants in Pariaman, namely: Pendekar Magek Jabang (martial arts and immunity teacher); Mali Rajo Ageh (silek caliph Sunua); Syarifudin (dabuih player); Warih Locan (silek caliph); Jakfar Saba (lurah and caliph silek). There were 2 informants in Banten to strengthen the analysis of the phenomenon of the shift of debus from tarekat to purely martial arts, namely Bang Akay (deputy chairman of the Medal Suci martial arts) and Tubagus Khaeri (staff of the Banten Culture and Tourism Office).

Debus' shift from tarekat-related arts to martial arts has become a major issue in a number of studies. One of them is the study of Solehah et al which argues that debus art in Banten has been positioned by the local community as a culture that plays a role in the development and strengthening of local wisdom values. Among the values in debus art are religious, social, economic and artistic values which can be preserved through culture experience and culture knowledge. Debus artists are aware and concerned that the existence of debus art has shifted due to the times, so many silat martial arts hermitages have been deliberately established in the framework of preserving traditional arts including this debus. In Hakiki's research, debus as a product of culture has values and interests in various aspects such as social, political and religious. Debus history has relevance to the development of Islam through congregations that are influenced by local culture. Now, debus are experiencing shifts or changes adapting to survive with the changing times, so that modifications in debus become inevitable. At present, the debus have been separated from the practice of the tarekat from which they originated, however, the prerequisites for debus membership and the remembrance ritual that starts the debus attractions are still related to the tarekat practice. The current development of debus is more as an entertainment art, no longer as a result of culture that is full of religious values.

Debus is a clear example of the link between local traditions and Islam (Tarekat). Although in the debus tradition there are no direct tarekat teachings. Examining Debus will reveal the anthropological condition of Islam in the archipelago. Indicates that the Islamic community is more Sufistic, and the mystical parallels are related to the condition of the community.¹ Debus emerged and appeared in line with the beginning of the arrival of Islam. In fact, debus was born from Islamic culture to attract people to embrace Islam. Therefore, debus was developed by religious teachers or tarekat leaders in Indonesia who developed debus, namely the Rifaiyah tarekat and the Qodiriyah tarekat. In subsequent developments, debus functions as a community cultural system that continues to undergo changes and modifications, to remain sustainable and attractive to modern society.²

Another relevant study on debus in Pariaman, namely the results of research by Yeni Eliza et al found that the traditional art of Debus Plate Dance, which was once popular, is now on the verge of extinction. In recent years, Nagari art has never been displayed again because this art is not inherited and is no longer taught to the younger generation. Among the contributing factors is the shift in the education system which no longer makes the surau the center of education, whereas in the past, the surau was not only a place to study the Koran, but also a place to study the debus art. Meanwhile, Darmawati conducted a study on the symbolic meaning of Debus performances in Pariaman, stating that Debus martial arts attractions were part of the beliefs of the people of Sintuk, Pariaman. He concluded that the elements of performance, equipment and behavior that show immunity and the meaning of rejecting reinforcements must be carried out in debus because it is the belief of the people there.

The cultural shift that occurred in Debus as described in Hakiki's study, is a shift from the authenticity and negotiation of Islam with local culture. Yet according to him, debus is an art that is very authentically connected with the teachings of the tarekat or with the world of Sufism. Harun Nasution, who was also referred to by Hakiki, stated that in order to achieve the goal of being as close to God as possible, the tarekat, which originally meant the way of the Sufis in getting closer to God, then developed into an organization with certain ritual practices and zikrullah. The situation of the debus in the early days reflected the practice of the tarekat. Meanwhile, Musofa's study explained that there was a shift in the relationship between the tarekat and the debus in martial arts in Banten. Historically, tarekat practitioners performed rituals taught by the tarekat sheikh in order to attain a mortal state. To prove this mortal achievement, it is done by displaying attractions outside the ordinary realm. The people of Banten, who originally adhered to Islamic traditions, finally

¹ Moh. Hudaeri, *Debus di Banten Pertautan Tarekat dengan Budaya Lokal*, IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten Vol. 33, No. 1 (Januari – Juni 2016), hlm 63

² Nasution, Isman Pratama, *Fungsi Debus dalam Sistem Budaya Masyarakat Banten*, Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia, 1998

accepted the Debus tradition, which was mixed with local culture. This writing about Dabuih Pariaman strengthens the thesis about the shift from tarekat to martial arts.

1. Debus and Tarekat

a) Background of debus

Debus or Almadad from the Arabic madadun which means help is a form of martial arts combined with dance, sound and mysticism with mystical nuances. Debus is an art found in several coastal areas in the archipelago³. In Banten, debus was introduced in the 16th century by Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin (1532-1570 AD) who adhered to tarekat teachings. He uses debus in broadcasting Islam and it turns out that it is more easily accepted by the people of Banten. During the time of the sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1682 AD), debus was focused as a means of arousing the spirit of resistance against the Dutch colonialists⁴. At that time the art of debus was played alternately and was surrounded by reciters of salawat and zikrullah accompanied by drums and flying. The Dutch strict ban resulted in debus being hidden for more than a century and after the discovery of one of the debus tools, namely al madad, at the residence of a Dutch resident in old Banten, debus was again popularized through the debus Surosowan foundation⁵. Apart from the Dutch ban, the issue of shallowing the creed has also colored conflicts and disputes about debus⁶.

There is an opinion that debus originates from Aceh which was taught by Almadad syech from Aceh using saga in the Qodariah Order⁷. This congregation was brought to Aceh by Sheikh Nuruddin Arraniri (d.1658), a sheikh of the Rifa'iyyah Order or also called the Qadiriyyah Order in the 16th century AD. Nuruddin ar Raniri taught about closeness to Allah so that he would not be injured by a sharp weapon or the heat of a fire. Then the debus martial arts entered Banten with the guards of Cut Nyak Dien (1848-1908 AD) who became followers of the Rifa'iyah order who had attained karomah and supernatural powers⁸. Debus in the Sultanate of Banten was used as a war dance and a show of immunity to terrify the Dutch. Debus in Banten has many similarities with debus or deboah in Aceh. Most likely the origin of the word debus is also from the word Deboah.

Another opinion states that debus originated directly from the Middle East called Almadad, in the 13th century AD. This martial art was used to deal with animist martial arts. The debus in Pariaman, West Sumatra is known as Dabuih Piaman. Dabuih art developed along with the spread of Islam on the West Coast of the islands of Sumatra and Java.⁹

b) Connection With Tareeqat

The historical roots of debus come from the teachings of the tarekat which developed in the archipelago¹⁰. The tarekat in question is a tarekat from the organizational side that has salik or people who do mysticism through teachers. The goal is to reach a certain level or station with the guidance of a caliph or murshid. Some tarekat also practice the power of remembrance for immunity, such as the Rifa'iyyah tarekat which is developing on the coast of Sumatra, including Pariaman. According to Hamka, a student has reached the mortal stage if something extraordinary has happened to him that goes beyond the boundaries of natural law¹¹.

The influence of the Islamic religion through the tarekat within the debus can be seen from the genealogy, rituals, hizib and wirid or remembrance readings and the procedures for studying the debus art¹². Judging from the content and its implementation combined with the practice of the tarekat, debus can be classified as a performance of the shaman ceremony which is known within the tarekat. Elements of debus games have been around since the early phases of Islamic development which combined Islam and local culture as was done by the trustees¹³. There is a theory about the spread of Islam in the archipelago which was "wrapped" by the tarekat in tasawuf. This theory considers that the process of Islamization of the Archipelago through Sufism was successful due to, among other things, the similarity between the

³ Said, "Islam Dan Budaya Di Banten: Menelisik Tradisi Debus Dan Maulid."

⁴ HUDAERI, "DEBUS DI BANTEN; PERTAUTAN TAREKAT DENGAN BUDAYA LOKAL."

⁵ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

⁶ Hudaeri, "Tasbih Dan Golok: Kedudukan Dan Peran Kiyai Dan Jawara Di Banten."

⁷ Said, "Islam Dan Budaya Di Banten: Menelisik Tradisi Debus Dan Maulid."

⁸ ROHMAN, "The Result of A Holy Alliance: Debus and Tariqah in Banten Province."

⁹ Kartomi, "Dabuih in West Sumatra : A Synthesis of Muslim and Pre-Muslim Ceremony and Musical Style."

¹⁰ Van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of Sūfī Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia."

¹¹ Lestari, "KONSEP ZUHUD BUYA HAMKA DAN RELEVANSINYA TERHADAP FUNGSI BIMBINGAN KONSELING PENDIDIKAN ISLAM."

¹² Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

¹³ Noorjutsiatini *et al.*, "Tariqa-Based Education Management to Improve The Character of Students (Case Study at Pesantren Al Jauhari Garut and Pesantren At-Tadzki Majalengka)."

practice of Sufism and local culture in the Archipelago¹⁴. According to Azra, during the era of trade, the style of Islam in the archipelago was quite distinctive, inclusive, not exclusive and strict as a revealed religion, and even tended to be syncretic and accommodating to local beliefs. Debus is a form of cultural accommodation as well as showing the important role of Sufi and tarekat teachers in spreading Islam in the archipelago. Meanwhile, people are attracted to join the congregation, among other things, because they expect to gain supernatural powers or immunity or strong and mystical knowledge¹⁵.

Among the congregations in the archipelago, the Qadiriyyah or Rifa'iyyah Order, is thick with mystical nuances¹⁶. The figure of the congregation Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, is known to this day as the greatest wali and many of his magical stories are sung with "manaqib Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani. They believe that by reciting the manaqib, the reader will get the baraka side of the Shaykh himself as the debus doers believe to this day¹⁷.

Debus martial art is a combination of dance, sound, sports and mysticism with magical nuances. Debus art is usually performed in groups of 11-15 people at traditional ceremonies or folk events¹⁸. Each player has assigned tasks and roles, such as debus attraction players; remembrance expert, drummer, flight attendant, dog dog player, kecrek player and saechu. According to Magek Jabang, a martial arts and immunity teacher in Pariaman, debus comes from the word penetrating because the sharp weapons used can penetrate the human body¹⁹. Debus can also mean genebus or almadad, a sharp object made of sharpened iron, stabbed into the body of a debus player by being hammered with a large hammer. According to him, this immunity practice uses supernatural powers to demonstrate that humans are the main creatures that cannot be injured by sharp sharp objects, sharp weapons, or burned by the heat of a fire²⁰.

Still according to Magek Jabang, debus in the past was taught in suraus. While students are studying or performing, they are always accompanied or supervised by a sheikh, murshid or caliph who is responsible for the smooth running and safety of the performers. From the results of an interview with Mali Rajo Ageh, the art of debus developed due to several factors²¹, including: (1) Debus was favored because it taught the art of self-defense. Young people are generally happy with the science of superiority. (2) The community prefers martial arts such as debus, which are related to Islam and their local culture. (3) Debus is considered as folk art, from the community for the community and is a noble heritage.

Haji Nurdin said that the debus performance had many spiritual preparations to go according to Islamic law and the results were good²². Several preparations must be made by debus players: (1) Fasting for 40 days so that the spirit becomes strong as the dictum debus says, in a healthy spirit there is immune strength. (2) Make remembrance by reciting bismillah as much as possible, especially after completing the obligatory prayer, so that all difficult matters that are hindered by Allah's creatures can be defeated with bismillah. (3) Before appearing, read the wirid 11 times with the words: "Bismillahirrohmanirrohim. Inna a'toinaka kautsar fsholliliwali warbar, Tulung Sakabeh guardians, Mangka Compassionate Mangka Kasih. Atine wong sadunia madeleng maring isun blessed laailahaillah muhammadurrasulullah. Bismillahirrohmanirrohim bima bayu ongedek agu geni murud dies ring me. Repsirep atine wong sadunia madeleng maring isun blessing laailahaillah muhammadurrosulullah" Furthermore, a student must be sure as sure as he can about what the teacher is teaching, he should not hesitate in the slightest. If the teacher or the debus caliph orders to cut it with a sharp knife, or stab it with a sharpened iron, it must be done immediately without the slightest doubt. If unanimous obedience is practiced, obedient students will succeed, on the other hand, students who doubt will fail and even get hurt.

In general, debus attractions have stages of performances which are carried out systematically as follows²³. (1) Bloating, the opening stage contains remembrance and prayer accompanied by wasp musical instruments. (2) Beluk, the chanter is sung by the chanter in a loud, shrill voice and interjects with other chanters. Beluk is accompanied by drums as an encouragement that lasts until the end of the show. (3) Silat, an empty-handed martial art that starts the show, is performed by two or more people. This performance demonstrates the abilities of Debus students in the art of self-defense. The moves were demonstrated and the two fighters fought like people who were fighting directly without engineering. (4)

¹⁴ Wasino *et al.*, "A Historical Perspective of Sufism Networking in Asia: From India to Indonesian Archipelago."

¹⁵ Rossano, *Supernat. Sel. How Relig. Evolved*.

¹⁶ Hakiki, "DEBUS BANTEN: Pergeseran Otentisitas Dan Negosiasi Islam-Budaya Lokal."

¹⁷ Hidayat and Novianti, "Tasawuf Dan Penyembuhan: Studi Atas Air Manaqib Dan Tradisi Pengobatan Jamaah Aolia, Panggang, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta."

¹⁸ Komara, "Traditional Game Sports and the Conservation of Local Culture."

¹⁹ Lokal, "DEBUS BANTEN Pergeseran Otentisitas Dan Negosiasi."

²⁰ Chidester, "Haptics of the Heart: The Sense of Touch in American Religion and Culture."

²¹ Chidester.

²² Lizardo, "Daromir Rudnycky: Spiritual Economies: Islam, Globalization, and the Afterlife of Development."

²³ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

Al madad, is the initial debut performance. One of the debus players put a very large spiky iron with great courage to put it on his stomach or neck. The other players bring a big mace, then hit the spiky iron as hard as they can (5) peel the coconut, namely the debus players open the hard coconut fiber with their teeth, then the coconut that is left of the hard shell is beaten on the head. The coconut is broken and the hard shell is eaten like eating crackers. (6) immunity, namely the attraction of cutting body parts such as arms, stomach, thighs and even the tongue by slicing as hard as possible with a very sharp knife or machete. To prove the sharpness of the knife or machete, it is cut into paper or cucumber. Sometimes the machete was stabbed into the neck or arm of the pedebus. (7) Frying crackers on the head of a debus player. Hollow coconut, put a cloth that has been moistened with kerosene. Then put a cauldron filled with cooking oil. The cloth is burned until the oil becomes hot. Furthermore, the process of frying crackers is done. (8) Burning the limbs with hot and smoldering iron. Iron and fire are rubbed on the body, put in the mouth and even the attraction of combing the hair with fire without leaving a mark. (9) Go up the machete ladder, namely the debus player climbs the ladder whose steps are made up of a number of sharp machetes, the players step on the machete ladder slowly, climbing it to the last step without getting hurt. (10), Chewing glass is like eating crackers, then drinking water to swallow the glass. (11) Stepping on broken glass from syrup bottles or beer bottles spread on pandan mats. Players stomped while jumping on it without getting hurt.

(12) Take a hard shower all over your body. The water gives off foam and smoke as well as the reaction of hard water being splashed. But the players and the slightest injury. (13) Bending a two meter long iron with a size of 9 mm is placed on the neck of a debus player, then the other player presses as hard as he can so that the iron bends and joins the two ends, but the debus player's neck is not injured in the slightest. (14) Gamrung. After the show was finished, it was closed with gamrung, namely the playing of drum instruments and wasps.

Debus players wear certain clothes and accessories, namely Pangsi (wide pants made without a belt, worn by rolling up like a sarong and tied with a belt); Kampret (collarless shirt, long sleeves, pockets on the left and right below); Lomar, (headband made of batik cloth folded into a triangle). The tools used are Al Madat or gedebus (sharp iron 40 cm long with a round wooden handle 15 cm in diameter). Al madat's partner is the club that will be used to hit. Equipment to demonstrate immunity such as machetes, knives, nails, razors and electric drills. Musical instruments consist of a medium drum, kulanter or 2 small drums, gongs or flying, dogdong and kecrek.

2. DABUIH PARIAMAN

In Pariaman, West Sumatra, the term debus is thought to have come from the Arabic word dabbus (dabuih in the speech of the Pariaman people), which is a kind of sharp iron made of iron with a sharp tip and a slightly round shape. This dabuih is used by debus players to injure their bodies during attractions²⁴. Dabuih used, usually can not penetrate the player's body. From evidence and historical records that debus art developed in places where Islam was spread on the coast of Sumatra. Starting from Aceh, Pariaman, Bengkulu to Banten. However, there are differences in each place in various aspects such as the practice of dhikr, attractions, musical accompaniment and the order of the games. There is an assumption that dabuih comes from the teachings of Prophet Ibrahim a.s, is a religious attraction in the spread of Islam in the midst of society. Debus was brought by West Asian scholars, entered Pariaman via Aceh. As well as debus in Banten, the presence of dabuih in Pariaman is also related to resistance to colonialism²⁵.

Dabuih Pariaman at that time was related to the process of Islamization of local culture and congregations so that the dabuih reflected the real form of acculturation of Islamic teachings and Pariaman customs²⁶. Similar to silat, ulu ambek, indang, the development of dabuih in Pariaman coincides with the spread of Islam and the teaching of tarekat as an aspect of kebatinan in Islam, including the study of the human self or the human body. Dabuih reflects the adaptation of Islam through congregations and local culture in the past in Pariaman.

The practice of dabuih Pariaman is related to the practice of the Rifai'yyah congregation which entered Pariaman in the 16th century. This tariqa teaches remembrance which eliminates self or human ego, there is a ritual called fana, which is self disappearance and all that is there is Allah SWT²⁷. The teachings of the Rifa'iyah congregation in dabuih are only on the immune side. When followers of the Rifa-iyah order hit themselves with sharp objects, they were not injured.

His simple belief is "laa haulawala quwwata illabillahi al "aliyyul azhim". If Allah does not allow, any sharp, sharp or hot iron will not hurt.

²⁴ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

²⁵ HUDAERI, "DEBUS DI BANTEN; PERTAUTAN TAREKAT DENGAN BUDAYA LOKAL."

²⁶ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

²⁷ Kumari, Behura, and Kumar, "Ego: An Epistemological Analysis of Self-Centric Consciousness Through Cultural Perspectives and Spiritual/Theological Dimensions in Hinduism and Buddhism."

Now, the dabuih teachers in Pariaman are no longer from the tarekat murshids. Although there are still some of them who lead the wiridan tarekat community, their practices are mixed with magical elements. Most of them are silat teachers with the spiritual practice of wirid and special dhikr for immunity, not to remember Allah as the tarekat teaches. Al-Qur'an readings and incantations are filled with special fasting. Pariaman is indeed popular as a place for warriors who popularize occult sciences²⁸. Tuanku also functioned as fortune tellers, driving away evil spirits, treating consignments such as dipper, tinggam and pamayo. Some of them also practice the practice of chicken surgery for various traditional mystical treatments. In order to get success in trading business, people also consult dabuih gurus or tarekat. Dabuih Pariaman refers to certain transcendental beliefs that may not be studied in Islamic boarding schools. There are special rituals in every Pariaman dabuih performance. Magical elements are felt in the chanting of the wiridan that is recited, the drums and the songs and dances that accompany the dabuih performances.

According to Warih Locan, a silek caliph in Pariaman, dabuih is not only related to the tarekat world but also to the magical world of warriors, such as the body's immunity to fire and sharp objects²⁹. Mystical and magical readings prove syncretism in Dabuih. The belief in Dabuih Pariaman is the belief in one's union with God. According to Magek Jabang, when you are close to Allah SWT, your heart becomes happy, the players are no longer worried about stabbing sharp weapons, stabbing spears, cutting sharp knives, burning chains because they believe that Allah will protect them with a sense of unity with Allah. . A thousand swords cannot wound without Allah's permission. Magek Jabang continued his statement: "Our selves come from Allah, Adam and the prophet Muhammad came from Allah. The three are an inseparable unit. If we believe that humans, namely ourselves, are one with God, then all things, both fire, water and iron, cannot hurt us. God places His strength within us. This belief should not waver or blink. When sharp objects are stabbed, hot iron is attached to our bodies, He has protected us with Himself."

In Pariaman, the dabuih performance is inseparable from a number of rituals that are performed before, during and after as recovery. Several stages must be passed by all debus participants. This stage is sacred and should not be ignored. Physical and spiritual training must be continued because immunity does not just come but must pass through a filter in the form of sincerity, strong belief and obedience to everything taught by the teacher.

The following are the stages of the Pariaman dabuih procession³⁰: (1) Gandang and Tassa, the game is opened by beating the drum and tassa, which are small drums that are beaten with rattan in various percussion rhythms. (2) Wirid, all debus players including the caliph chant dhikr, blessings and tawassul to Allah's saints by mentioning the names Abdul Qadir Jailani, syech Burhanudin and others. (3) Ratik, is a chant in the regional language which is sung continuously and in response. the sentences are rather difficult to grasp the meaning and meaning because the pronunciation is not clear. Presumably, the author of the ratik is the same as the shalawat that was usually sung at the Prophet's birthday. (4) The performance of single silat, dabuih does not show silat as usual alek silek which takes place in the Pariaman area. Debus players play single moves, usually using a knife. (5) Slicing the body, the dabuih player slices the limbs with a sharp knife. Sometimes sliced into the arms, stomach and tongue. To prove the sharpness of the knife, first the 20 cm long knife was cut into the cucumber. (6) Dancing on hot coals, you can see that some of their trousers are burnt. Sometimes there are even players rolling around on hot coals naked. After this action, there is no charred skin. (7) Dancing on pieces of glass or glass. Debus players consisting of women and children dance on broken glass. This attraction can also be witnessed in plate dance performances or pasambahan performed by young women in West Sumatra.(8) Dabuih chain, the demonstration shows burning the iron chain until it is bright red and then it is put on the body of a player who is naked on top. According to Magek Jabang, he didn't feel hot, on the contrary he felt cold like draping a belt.

According to Abdullah Oboih, there are two forms of immunity attraction which are often regarded as debus, namely the first attraction of immunity with magic tricks and the second attraction of immunity based on practice and belief³¹. The first attraction is actually not debus because it contains deception. The second activity is the original debus because it is based on practice, riyadhah and prayers and tawassul of Allah's saints. The original Debus taught morality and monotheism to glorify Allah SWT. Dabuih is a very tough game, because to reach the intended target a Dabuih caliph must go through the practice of the tarekat, either rifai'yyah or qadhihiyyah. A person who has led a dabuih entourage is a person who has passed various practices and tests so that he gets a kind of diploma to become a dabuih leader. He has to go through long stages of remembrance, continuous fasting, wirid and prayer, even beruzlah from a crowded life³².

²⁸ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

²⁹ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

³⁰ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

³¹ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

³² Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

3. Elements of the Tarekat in the Dabuih Martial Arts

The elements of the Rafi'iyah congregation that still survive or have been lost in the dabuih include:

a. *Diekie (Zikir)*

In Pariaman, ratik (wirid) or diekie is still practiced by the caliph and dabuih students. Diekie is closer to Allah through Nur Muhammad. Because nature was created by Allah from Nur Muhammad. Everything is khorijiyah, namely the shadow that belongs to its owner, namely Allah, like a mirror or reflection by Allah³³. If there are many, there will be many shadows, but all of them are only one of Him. All movements of the universe including human movements are the movements of Him, the movements of Allah. Fa'al Qullu Huwa Al-Haqq (He does not have everything) namely Allah. Dhikie revives and unites Allah in the heart. The path to Allah is the path of breath movement. In Debus there are several stages of dhikie: First, Tawaf, which is turning the head from left to right while holding the breath. Up on the right shoulder read Ilallah by beating in the heart; Second, dhikr isbat, namely denying other than Allah and putting Allah to His names. Continuously read Ilallah 3x, which is immersed in the heart; Third, remembrance of substance, namely reading Allah 3x, immersed in the chest as a place for the soul; Fourth, the divine dhikr, namely Hu Allah 3x, Hu is inserted into the brain so that the mind is illuminated by Allah; Fifth, the remembrance of the unseen, namely Hu 3x, with the eyes and mouth closed so that the heart lives on.

Diekie must be accompanied by other attitudes, according to Oboih, in Debus one must speak the truth, speak little, eat little, fast, obey the caliph, be in Allah, be uzlah and stay away from immorality. Diekie passed by Sirrullah, Wujudullah, Alamullah, Nurullah, and then arrived at Zatullah. After arriving at Zatullah, it is believed that nothing else can injure humans, be it earth, water, wind, iron or fire.

b. Maripaik (Marifat) and Saalai (Ittihad)

Khalifah Dabuih believes that the self does not exist, the self only wants Allah, the self forgets itself, the self does not find itself except Allah. Al-Syuhud is Allah, the self forgets, only Allah is aware. Saalai is obtained through the fusion of 3 things, namely Adam, Muhammad, and ourselves³⁴. Adam is our zahiriyah origin, while Muhammad is our spiritual origin or nur. Adam is from Allah, Muhammad is from Allah, all three are from Allah. Therefore, Hu is who we are. This is the Maripaik (makrifat) path of Debus. An explanation of makrifat is called self-assessment every day, as stated by Caliph Jakfar Saba:

*Bamulo agamo mengetahui Allah.
Joapo Allah diketahui?
Jo tigo pekaro.
Manonyo tigo pakaro tu?
Awae bana adalah tubuah,
Yang kadua adalah hati,
Yang katigo adalah nyawo
Bara buah tubuah tu?
Tubuah tabagi tigo,
Dima letak nan tigo tu?
Partamo, tubuah nan kasa
Nan kaduo, tubuah nan aluih
Nan katigo, tubuah nan batin
Tubuah di adokkan kepada hati
Hati diadokkan nyawo,
Nyawo dihadokkan pado Tuhan (Allah)
Kito manyambah Allah,
bara buah jalan menuju Inyo?
Ado ampek pakaro,
Mano nan ampektu?
Awae bana syariaik
Nan kaduo, tarikaik
Nan katigo, hakikaik
Nan kaampek makripaik
Tubuah kasa memacik syariaik, ratiknyo La ilahaIlallah
Tubuh nan haluih memacik tarikaik, ratiknyo Allah, Allah, Allah
Tubuh nan batin memacik hakikaik, ratiknyo*

³³ Mayolan, "Perancangan Video Dokumenter Pelestarian Nilai-Nilai Tradisi Dikie Pano Kecamatan Bonjol Kabupaten Pasaman."

³⁴ Munaf, "MAKNA PERTUNJUKAN DABUIH PADA MASYARAKAT LUMPO PESISIR SELATAN SUMATERA BARAT."

*Hu Allah, Hu Allah, Hu Allah
Makripaik dipacik oleh Allah,
Syariaik dijalani oleh tubuah,
Tubuah adalah indak ado, yang tinggal hanyo batin.
Hati menampuah jalan tarikaik, tampek bagantuangnyo akal, bagantuangnyo pangana.
Nyawo bajalan di ateh hakikaik, mencari kepado Allah, zahianyo angin, batinnyo Muhammad.
Makripaik adalah rahasio Allah, dipacik Allah, zahia babatin, Muhammad zahianyo, Allah batinnyo.
Syariaik dikubuakan di bumi tampek bapijak,
Tarikaik dikubuakan dilangik nan tak babintang,
Hakikaik dikubuakan di angin nan tak barambuih,
Makripaik dikubuakan dilauik nan tak barombak.
Syariaik dimatikan dengan tabiaik,
Tarikaik dimatikan dengan maknawi,
Dimatisurikan hakikaik,
Dimatisurikan makripaik.
Hanya Allah dalam diri dan diri dalam Allah,
Hilang sagalo-galonyo. Hu, Hu, Hu.³⁵*

Its contents can be translated as follows. "The beginning of religion is knowing Allah. By what is God known? With three things. What are the three things? First is the body. Second is the heart. Third is life. How many bodies are there? The body is divided into three. Where are the three located? First the rough body. The two bodies are smooth. The three mental bodies. The body is faced with the heart. The heart confronts the soul. The soul is presented to Allah, this is worship. How many roads lead to Him? There are four things. Which are the four? The first is the Shari'a. Both orders. The third is essence. The four are makrifat. The rough body holds the Shari'a, the ratib is Laa ilaha illah. The subtle body holds the order, the ratib of Allah..Allah..Allah.. The inner body holds the essence, the ratib is Hu Allah.. Hu Allah. Makrifat is held by Allah, Shari'a is lived by the body. The body is not there, what remains is the mind. The heart takes the path of the tarekat where reason depends, where thinking depends. Life walks above nature, seeks Allah, the wind is zahirnya, Muhammad thought. Makrifat is God's secret, held by God. Zahir has a mind. Zahirnya Muhammad, inner Allah. Shari'a is buried on the ground where it stands. The tarekat is buried in the sky without stars. Reality is buried in the wind that doesn't blow. Makrifat is buried in the sea which has no waves. Shari'a is killed by character. The tarekat is meaningfully terminated. When the essence is revealed, it is meant for makrifat. Only God in self and self in God. Lost everything. Hu Hu Hu."

c. Kaji huruf dalam Praktik Dabuih³⁶

According to Khalifah Warih Locan, the secret of letters in debus can bring khodam³⁷. The letter alim brings khodam named Malik, the letter ba brings Jarom hiya'il, the letter jim khomus is Thoqotiya'il, the letter hijaiyah is a spiritual symbol with supernatural energy representing the names of Allah, each letter represents natural elements such as fire, water, air and land. Humans from the letters alif, ya hamzah, jim, waw, kaff animals from dal , dzai, shod, ain, dhod then alif trees, a, lam, malakut, ha, kho, ain and ghoin. The science of letters is the science of the Prophet's family confidential. It was passed down only to Sayyidina Ali and his grandson Hasan and Husain or the science of Expert Bait. Ali bequeathed to Hassan then to Husain then Imam Ali Jainal Abidin. The science of letters can go against habit because letters can relate to the human soul. We know and call the creator with letters do not know Him without a letter symbol. Letters are the door for us to know Him, understanding to Him through letters and not substances, it is different to know objects such as tables or chairs without being understood by these letters, we understand them without different concepts from our creator, Allah, none of us see them. it is the letters that lead us to understand Him.

Still according to Khalifah Locan that we know ourselves in a real way but do not know God in a real way³⁸. Knowledge of God comes from God, He sent down verses in the form of letters to explain Himself, it is impossible to know God independently without revelation in the form of letters, letters are the doors of Shari'a, tarekat, essence and meaning. All power from the sky (Allah) is sent down through letters, each letter is sent down through its khadam, if humans recite these letters then the khadam come to protect them, therefore if the dai reads ha or hu then they will surround him and protect him from misfortune and danger even growing strength within him like the power of Allah's guardians, that power belongs to him given by Allah like a knowledge expert at the time of Solomon who said "I can move Balqis palace before you blink an eye". "Says a person who has knowledge of the Bible: "I will bring the throne to you before your eyes blink" Q.S An-Naml (27:40).

³⁵Khalifah Jakfar Saba, Wawancara, 19 September 2022

³⁶ <https://riset.sadra.ac.id/diskusi-ilmu-huruf/> tanggal 09 Januari 2023, pukul 08.53.

³⁷ Ayubi, "Teks Agama Dalam Transmisi Teks Magi Di Masyarakat Banten : Studi Living Al-Hadis."

³⁸ Glaser, "Roles and Relationships: Reflections on the Khalifah and the Image of God."

4. The Shift From Tareeqa To Martial Arts

Dabuih, which was initially thick with tarekat nuances, at a later stage then acculturated with the local culture³⁹. This is because Pariaman has a strong magical tradition such as kanuragan science and is reflected in the dabuih performances which contain magical aspects. Based on the conclusions from the narrative of Magek Jabang, a martial arts and immunity teacher in Pariaman, initially dabuih was performed by followers of the tarekat in order to educate Muslims in aspects of Sufism which tend to be mystical. The emergence of various tarekat in Pariaman is proof of the relationship between dabuih and tarekat in Pariaman. Basically, Dabuih in Pariaman can be divided into two groups with different beliefs, namely Dabuih Tarekat and Debus Ilmu (kanuragan). Dabuih tarekat or original debus always rely on Allah by accepting the practice of zikrullah by reciting the kalimah thoyyibah like laailahaillah or Allah alone or hu Allah. While debus invulnerability is an immune martial art that is outside the path of the tarekat. This debus is manifested by a number of pre-Islamic practices such as shirk-smelling incantations which are often uttered in their respective regional languages. They summon jinns and spirits to become immune to sharp weapons or fire.

As an art that has cultural values, dabuih experiences complexity in shifting human interests. Sociological, human and religious values have taken a quite dominant place in the recent development of dabuih⁴⁰. Facts in the field explain that debus values experience shifts and changes are actually an effort to survive the exposure of time. Dabuih has undergone many modifications from the old debus to modern needs and art. Debus also slowly left his origins, namely the tarekat. This change can be seen in terms of ritual ceremonies, mysticism, patterns and actions of appearance, selection of members and the pragmatism of the goals to be achieved. At present, debus art has become a tourism commodity and a regional government promotion event. However, the close connection between the debus and the world of the tarekat cannot be simply erased, because every time a performance is started, we can still witness the practice of the wirid-wirid, the prayers and the tarekat's special salawat. Some of the rituals are even still thick with the color of the tarekat.

The practice of the tarekat is still maintained, although not as detailed as in the past, because this practice is believed to be effective in purifying the disciples or members of the congregation from carnal desires and surrendering their lives to Allah. Submission and submission are the main characteristics of debus players⁴¹. They believe that Allah is the protector and that only He can change cause into effect, effect without cause, or eliminate the effect of a cause that normally applies. Debus is a tarekat practice that, at the beginning of its emergence, was only carried out and occurred by syechs who already had karomah. Only people who have a station of obedience and strong belief in Allah can achieve a certain immunity. Otherwise, Allah's help and protection will be lost, and sharp weapons or fire will injure him, the informant explained⁴².

Based on the history of Debus in Pariaman, this martial art has always been colored and inspired by Islam through the tarekat⁴³. The existence of the immune power of debus players is believed to be a manifestation of the practice of zikrullah in the tarekat. The congregations teach debunkers to be qana'ah, zahid, tawakkal, asceticism, sincerity, muraqabah and other noble qualities as a process of self-cleansing. This spiritual and physical cleansing is a daily practice for debus players who make the practice of the tarekat perfect⁴⁴. If a debus player leaves the congregation, then it is the same as removing the debus from him. He will lose his immunity, he will even lose confidence in the knowledge he has learned. This order and its connection with immunity have made some people join but to gain knowledge of kanuragan, not purely to get closer to Allah SWT as the name of the original goal of Sufism⁴⁵. This happens because some orders actually teach the sciences of immunity and magic as a result of the sincerity (mujahadah) of their students. In Pariaman, Syech Abdul Kadir Jailani's manaqib is often read. They believe that if it is read seriously, the blessing side of the wiridan will emerge, namely immunity and abundant sustenance.

The preservation of the Pariaman debus art is considered very important according to the informant Syarifudin⁴⁶, because: (1) the Islamic religious values contained in the debus martial art are very relevant for the Indonesian people who are known to be religious. Debus can lead to a filtering attitude towards outside culture that is dry from belief and faith. (2)

³⁹ Said, "Islam Dan Budaya Di Banten: Menelisis Tradisi Debus Dan Maulid."

⁴⁰ Munaf, "MAKNA PERTUNJUKAN DABUIH PADA MASYARAKAT LUMPO PESISIR SELATAN SUMATERA BARAT."

⁴¹ Munaf.

⁴² Musofa, "Pergeseran Relasi Antara Tarekat dan Debus", p. 142.

⁴³ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

⁴⁴ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali.

⁴⁵ Hidayat and Novianti, "Tasawuf Dan Penyembuhan: Studi Atas Air Manaqib Dan Tradisi Pengobatan Jamaah Aolia, Panggang, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta."

⁴⁶ Solehah, Jamaludin, and Fitriyadi, "Nilai-Nilai Budaya Pada Kesenian Debus."

Literacy regarding the preservation of cultural heritage needs to be increased, because it has an impact on the development of ethnic tourism with Islamic nuances. Tourism development is also an effort in the context of post-covid-19 economic recovery. (3) the emergence of the creation of debus development which is not only a manifestation of the tarekat's results, but also an innovation in the appearance and presentation of debus at the national and even international level. (4) the formation of superior character for the younger generation who are religious, inheriting the fighting spirit of their predecessors who love the motherland as the debus actors have done against the invaders. (5) Awareness to maintain cultural arts and preserve them as forming the identity of the Indonesian nation amidst the exposure of modern cultural arts.

The most visible shifts from Debus Pariaman include⁴⁷: First, in terms of intent. In the past, debus or dabuih was intended and directed to see the results of dhikr and wirid, where the murshid could assess the stage or level of Sufism experienced by tarekat students. The higher the spiritual level of the disciple, the more extraordinary events that occur to him will be seen. Events in the form of karomah because of the sincerity of practice can be awarded to the student who has passed the mujadah stage. But in contemporary debus art, the goals and purposes of debus have changed as tourism needs and cultural commodities that have economic value, as happened in Banten. According to Bang Akay, the use of debus from a pragmatic perspective is to raise a very ethnic and unique Banten cultural icon, so that debus is no longer connected to the tarekat but is slowly leaving the order. The Regional Government of Banten only takes advantage of it to increase regional income from the side of tourism performances and the years of visits to Banten as a destination for foreign tourists.⁴⁸ This can also be seen in Pariaman as researched by Yeni *et al.*, because of the difference in orientation, various accessories, make-up and clothing, music as a dance partner such as the Debus Plate Dance, Debus singing and dance have now undergone a transformation quite far from their origins. -the suggestion of the tarekat which was originally quite simple.

Second, the shift from the practice of remembrance and wirid to the immunity aspect of the players. The original debus that emerged from the tarekat prioritized remembrance that follows the genealogy and tawasil towards God's saints. The chants of zikrullah and blessings accompany the Debus game from the beginning to the end of the show. As for the debus art, it now shows more of the individual invulnerability of the players. The chanting of drums and musical instruments is more prominent than the recitation of the incantations which are very difficult to grasp. Inner aspects such as the tawadhu of debus actors are now invisible. The shouts in the attractions are no longer the names of Allah but more the shouts of ordinary martial arts.

Third, changes in terms of debus membership, in the past debus membership was dominated by tarekat as a place to strengthen friendship among fellow members and with the surrounding community, now debus members are students of pencak silat with various memberships, men, women, teenagers, girls, and children. Debus today is shown as entertainment with the appearance of girls and children who are immune. Debus spectacle is finally similar to other entertainment spectacles. The tarekat values in the debus are fading because the debus is now accompanied by strings attached in the form of material rewards and pride for the immunity one has.

CONCLUSION

The history of the existence of dabuih in Pariaman has a close connection with tarekat practice since the 16th century. From a spatial aspect, dabuih shows a type of Islamic development that started from coastal areas, so that this martial art has similarities as well as the uniqueness of debus in general. Dabuih in Pariaman is related to the Rifa'iyah Order which came from Aceh. The important role of debus in the past was as a means of resistance against opponents and enemies of Muslim rulers and Islamic broadcasting media. Currently Dabuih Pariaman is threatened with extinction and there is a shift in both the aspect of objectives, practices from zikrullah practice to an immune orientation, as well as membership from tarekat to students of pencak silat or artists. There has been an erosion of the relationship between the dabuih and the tarekat, but there is still continuity with the past by categorizing genuine debus art which is still thick with tarekat practice and non-original debus which emphasizes the entertainment aspect.

Among the factors causing the fading of the tarekat aspect in dabuih is due to the lack of cadre efforts and inheritance to the younger generation. In addition, there is still a lack of efforts and literacy to preserve dabuih as a cultural heritage so that various religious values contained in this martial art are not socialized properly. Literacy that is still low about cultural inheritance can also only superficially capture debus as entertainment attractions, without being able to understand the values contained in debus as the formation of national character or identity. Some of the debus artists are aware of this, so they establish colleges or hermitages to maintain the integration of debus or dabuih and tarekat.

⁴⁷ Saifullah, Nur, and Maali, "ANTARA DEBUS BANTEN DAN DEBUS PARIAMAN Unsur-Unsur Tariqat Dalam Tradisi Debus."

From a tourism perspective, Debus has beauty and artistic value. The ethnic nature of the Debus period had a tourist selling value which became part of the national cultural wealth. The next researcher further developed the entertainment aspect to elevate Debus to world tourism level.⁴⁹

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