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The Meaning Interpreted: The Concept of *Barakah* in *Ziarah*

Abstraksi: Perbincangan masalah ziarah di Jawa tampaknya masih tetap menarik. Tidak saja menarik jika dilihat dari berbagai macam interpretasi dan ritual yang dipraktekkan orang ketika melakukan ziarah, tetapi juga jika dilihat dari bagaimana masyarakat memahami konsep-konsep keagamaan dalam kerangka Islam lokal. Praktek ziarah ke makam-makam orang-orang suci Islam (*wali*) sesungguhnya merupakan refleksi pemahaman keislaman. Misalnya saja, ketika mereka menjelaskan kedudukan *wali* di mata Tuhan dan Manusia sangat terkait dengan pemahaman keagamaan. Juga misalnya dalam mengartikan *barakah*, faktor yang penting dan menjadi inti dari praktek ziarah, mencerminkan realitas pemahaman keislaman. Artikel ini membahas tentang pemberian makna *barakah* berdasarkan pada praktek ziarah ke Sunan Tembayat di Bayat Klaten. Ternyata makna *barakah*, setidaknya dari apa yang ditemui di Bayat, sungguh sangat beragam.

Di Bayat orang membedakan antara "*barakah*" dan "*perolehan*". *Barakah* adalah hasil yang didapat setelah melakukan ziarah. *Barakah* berasal dari Tuhan, baik langsung atau melalui perantaraan *Wali*, yang memberikan manfaat pada ketenangan jiwa. Selain itu, *barakah*, seperti halnya pahalanya yang didapat ketika melakukan ibadah, akan bermanfaat pada hari kiamat nanti. Sementara itu, "*perolehan*" adalah hasil yang didapat dari ziarah yang bersifat duniawi. Termasuk dalam kategori perolehan ini adalah "*sesuatu*" yang dapat dimanfaatkan untuk mencari kekayaan, menarik lawan jenis, sukses dalam berbisnis maupun sekolah, dan semacamnya. Jadi, bagi peziarah di Bayat, *barakah* bersifat suci dan mungkin saja didapat tidak kasat mata, sedangkan "*perolehan*" bersifat bersifat duniawi. Tidak seperti *barakah*, *perolehan* mempunyai sifat "*panas*" yang dapat membahayakan manusia yang mencarinya.

Perbedaan makna dan karakteristik *barakah* tersebut juga mempengaruhi ritual yang dilakukan untuk mendapatkannya. *Barakah* diperoleh de-

ngan melakukan ritual sebagaimana ibadah lain, seperti membaca Qur'an, tahlil ataupun zikir. Sementara itu, perolehan juga mempunyai cara ritual sendiri, misalnya melakukan meditasi di suatu tempat secara terus menerus. Di samping itu, perbedaan barakah juga mempengaruhi peziarah dalam memberikan makna terhadap simbol-simbol yang dipakai dalam ziarah, seperti bunga, air dan kemenyan (dupa). Misalnya, dalam menginterpretasikan fungsi kemenyan, sebagian menganggapnya sebagai alat pewangi dan pengusir serangga yang pasti banyak di tempat-tempat ziarah. Namun sebagian peziarah percaya bahwa kemenyan adalah makanan kesukaan roh-roh. Sementara yang lain menganggap kemenyan hanyalah simbol ajaran bagi manusia bahwa memanjatkan do'a haruslah ke atas, seperti yang dilambangkan oleh asap kemenyan yang terbang ke udara.

Barakah dan perolehan seringkali diberikan lewat tanda-tanda (ngalamat) yang perlu diinterpretasikan. Tanda-tanda itu bisa datang lewat mimpi, atau tanda-tanda alam yang khusus. Oleh karena itu, peziarah perlu menafsirkan tanda-tanda tersebut yang seringkali memerlukan bantuan orang lain. Dalam menerjemahkan makna ngalamat tersebut, juru kunci makam sang wali mempunyai peran yang sangat penting. Karena dianggap sebagai keturunan wali—kebanyakan juru kunci adalah keturunan dari sang wali—juru kunci dapat menerjemahkan ngalamat yang diberikan oleh wali lewat mimpi atau tanda-tanda alam khusus. Di samping itu, peziarah menafsirkan tanda-tanda dengan mendiskusikannya dengan sesama peziarah yang mungkin pernah mendapat ngalamat yang sama. Cerita tentang peziarah yang sukses setelah melakukan ziarah sering terdengar dalam perbincangan antar peziarah.

Juru kunci dengan demikian memegang peran yang penting dalam proses ziarah. Tidak saja ia berperan sebagai penjaga fisik kuburan, tetapi dia merupakan wakil dan sekaligus penerjemah dari ziarah dan barakah. Terlebih dari itu, juru kunci mempunyai peran sebagai agen untuk tetap menjaga tradisi ziarah. Lewat-lewat terjemahan dan interpretasinya, juru kunci sesungguhnya melakukan transformasi tradisi ziarah. Cerita-cerita tentang kebesaran wali, diproduksi kembali untuk melegitimasi kesakralan tempat ziarah. Dalam menerjemahkan ngalamat, apakah itu sebagai barakah atau perolehan, juru kunci sesungguhnya telah berperan sebagai agent Islam lokal. Dengan posisi yang penting itu, tidak mengherankan jika pada makam-makam suci tertentu juru kunci dipilih secara ketat.

Interpretasi makna barakah dan perbedaan ritual dalam memperolehnya menggambarkan betapa beragamnya Muslim Jawa memahami Islam. Perbedaan-perbedaan itu merupakan bukti bahwa Islam lokal mempunyai multi suara (multi-voices).

The Meaning Interpreted: The Concept of *Barakah* in *Ziarah*

خلاصة: والكلام عن الزيارة في جاوه مازال مهتما به حتى اليوم، ولم تكن مهمته قاصرة على ظهور التأويلات المتنوعة والأعمال التعبدية التي يقوم بها المسلمون الذين يمارسون زيارة القبور وإنما يمكن ملاحظتها كذلك من ناحية أحوال المجتمع حينما يواجهون التعاليم الإسلامية في الإطار المحلي.

في الواقع، إن ممارسة الزيارة إلى مقابر الأولياء يمكن النظر إليها على أنها صورة تمثل مفهوم فاعليتها عن التعاليم الإسلامية. وهذا واضح، على سبيل المثال، حينما يشرحون منزلة الأولياء عند الله والناس، فالتفسير يتعلق بمفاهيمهم الدينية، وكذلك ما في تجسيد لمعنى البركة التي صارت عنصرا هاما أساسيا في ممارسة الزيارة.

تعرض هذه المقالة لدراسة حول تجسيد معنى البركة تمتد جذورها إلى ممارسة الزيارة في قبر سونان تمبيات (Sunan Tembayat). بمنطقة بيات (Bayat)، بكلاتين (Klaten). وواضح أن معنى البركة، على الأقل بناء على ما كان في بيات، كثير مختلف ومتنوع.

إن في بيات هناك اختلاف بين مصطلح "البركة" (barakah) و"الحصول" (perolehan). أما الأول يعني البركة فهي تعود إلى ما ينالها الزائرون بعد ممارسة الزيارة ويمكنهم أن يطمئن بها قلوبهم، وهي واردة من الله مباشرة كانت أو بوسيلة الأولياء. علاوة على ذلك، تعطي البركة — كما كانت الفضيلة في سائر من العبادات — صاحبها المنفعة يوم الجزاء. وأما الثاني يعني الحصول فهو موهبة دينوية ينالها الزائرون بعد ممارسة الزيارة، ما فيها مواهب يمكن استخدامها لجلب

الأموال الدنيوية وطلب الزوج أو الزوجة والنجاح في التجارة أو في طلب العلم وما إلى ذلك من سائر الحاجات الدنيوية. فالبركة لممارسي الزيارة في بيئات، إذن، شئ روحي مقدس يمكن حضوره سرّيا لا جهرا، بينما الحصول أكثر تعلقا بالصفات الدنيوية. والحصول، ليس كما كانت البركة، له صفة حارة يمكن احتمال صاحبها إلى المشقة.

والاختلاف بين معنى البركة والحصول ومميزات كل واحد منهما يستخدم إلى تنوع الأعمال التعبدية التي يقوم بها الزائرون. فالقائمون بطلب البركة يحاولون أن يجلبوها بقيام الأعمال التعبدية العادية كمثّل قراءة القرآن وقراءة سائر من الأذكار، بينما القائمون بطلب الحصول يكسبون أن يجلبوه بقيام الخلوة للتفكير (*meditation*) لمدة الأيام المتعددة. وهذا الاختلاف يستخدم كذلك إلى موقف الزائرين في تجسيد معنى كثير من الأدوات المستعملة في ممارسة الزيارة كمثّل زهرة وماء وبخور (*kemenyan*). فالبخور، على سبيل المثال، يعتبره بعض الزائرون على أنه أداة معطرة أو أداة لطرد الحشرة فحسب يمكن لقائها في أي مكان للزيارة، بينما الآخرون يعتقدون على أنه مائدة يجيها الأرواح، أو هناك رأي ثالث على أن البخور لا يكون إلا اعتبارا ليعرف الناس أنهم ينبغي أن يدعوا إلى الأعلى يعني الله كما كان الدخان للبخور يطير إلى السماء.

فمن المهم أن يقال إن كلا من البركة والحصول كثيرا ما يناله القائمون بالزيارة بوسيلة كثير من العلامات (*ngalamat*) كالحلم أي الرأي في المنام أو العلامات الطبيعية الخاصة التي لا بد لهم أن يؤولوها. فلذلك، هم يحتاجون إلى مساعد لكي يؤول تلك العلامات، وفي هذا الصدد، هناك حارس (*juru kunci*) الذي له دور هام في تأويلها، وهو مؤتمن به لاتصال نسبه عادة إلى سائر الأولياء. وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، فمن الممكن مناقشة العلامات الواقعة مع الزائرين الآخرين حيث يظن أنهم في أيما وقت مضى قد ملكوا نفس العلامات وكانوا يؤولونها على نحو صحيح.

فالحاصل، إن للحارس وظيفة هامة بل حاسمة في ممارسة الزيارة، ولم تكن وظيفته قاصرا على كونه حافظا للقبور فحسب بل في دوره نائباً وفي نفس الوقت مترجما لمعنى الزيارة وكل ما يتعلق بها من البركة والحصول وغير ذلك حتى يمكن القول إن حارس القبور هو ممثلا لمفهوم تعاليم الإسلام في الإطار المحلي، فلا عجب، حينئذ، أن في بعض المقابر المقدسة قد اختير الحارس على نحو صارم. واختتاماً، ينبغي أن يقال إن ظهور الاختلاف في تأويل معنى البركة أو الحصول وكذلك في تأويل الأعمال التعبدية المتنوعة في ممارسة الزيارة يمثل وجود المواقف المتنوعة عند المسلمين — على الأخص في منطقة جاوه — تجاه فهم الإسلام، ويشير كذلك إلى أن الإسلام المحلي له تعدد الأصوات (*multi-voices*).

This article deals with the socio-religious traditions of Javanese Muslims practicing *ziarah* rituals—visit to sacred tombs. *Ziarah* practice, especially to sacred tombs of Muslim Sufis, is regarded *ibadah* (pious acts). This article, based on *ziarah* practice to Sunan Tembayat in Klaten, examines the notion of *barakah* (god's blessing), one of the most salient aspects of *ziarah* ritual, in the frame of popular beliefs. Focusing on the presence of the diverse interpretations of *barakah*, it evaluates changes in the way in which Javanese Muslim understand religion as reflected in their interpretation of *barakah*.

It is argued by people who practice *ziarah* that *barakah* is the most important value of *ziarah*. When visitors to sacred tombs perform certain rituals, such as reciting Qur'ân, *dhikr*, *tahlil* and meditation in their *ziarah*, they ask for *barakah* from the *wali*. However, people differ in the way in which they explain what the meaning of *barakah*. Some argue that the *barakah* is god's reward (*pahala*), transmitted through the *wali*. Other argues that the *barakah* derives from the *wali*, as he/she is close to God.

In addition, in terms of religious beliefs, *barakah* is also characterized differently. In Bayat, where the fieldwork of this study was conducted, *barakah* is differentiated between, what people call as "*barakah*" (pure *barakah*) and "*perolehan*" (profane *barakah*). "Pure *Barakah*" is a reward of *ziarah* that will benefit people spiritually. This kind of *barakah* will not harm the people. On the other hand, *perolehan* is a worldly *barakah*, meaning *barakah* that will be used for worldly purposes. As the meaning of *barakah* is explained differently, the meaning of symbols involved in the *ziarah*, such as flowers, water and incense varies.

This article is a continuation of an article, "in the Center of Meaning," published in *Studia Islamika* vol 7 No. 1, 2000. The first article provided an introduction on *ziarah* practice in Java and the variation of the understanding of *Wali*. The variation of the meaning of *barakah* elaborated in this present article is a reflection of the polyphonic understanding of Islam in Java. *Barakah*, the core religious concept in *ziarah* practice, then is a window to see how people articulate their religious understandings. This article will also discuss about the importance of the *juru kunci* in assisting and interpreting *ziarah* ritual and *barakah*. The roles of *ziarah* rituals can be viewed from a functionalist stand which maintains that belief, and particularly ritual, reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals; it stresses the way in which the social structure of a group is strengthened and per-

petuated through the ritualistic or mystic symbolization of the underlying social values upon which it rests (Morris, 1987).

The role of *Juru Kunci*

The term *juru kunci* consists of the two Javanese words, *juru*, meaning a master, and *kunci* meaning a key. Thus, the term *juru kunci* signifies a person or a custodian who looks after the key of a sacred place or building, such as a palace or a graveyard. The *juru kunci* play an important role in *ziarah* sites. Not only are *juru kunci* custodians of the location, but they also play a major role in performing *ziarah*. *Juru kunci* are the central figures in the interpretation of signs (*ngalamat*) gained in dreams, which are believed to be the clue of *barakah*. The *juru kunci*'s role in the interpretation of *ngalamat* constitutes the fundamental element of the transmission of *barakah*.

The *juru kunci*, as the custodians of the graveyard, look after and maintain the graveyard complex and its various buildings. The Bayat graveyard is regarded as an important traditional complex that should be preserved. The graveyard's complex contains historical inscriptions about the Bayat region. The *Panemut* gate, for example, contains inscription about the time of the graveyard's renovation. Unfortunately, some of these inscriptions were destroyed due to human error and ignorance. *Juru kunci* also maintain the sacredness and the purity of the place, as there are a lot of people who come to perform *ziarah*. Bayat's visitors can be categorized into two groups, those who want merely to observe the place and those who wish to perform *ziarah*. *Juru kunci* provide guidance, explaining the story and describing the meanings of the place to the first group, while for the latter, the *juru kunci* give assistance in performing *ziarah*. In relation to this second function, *juru kunci* argue that their assistance in performing *ziarah* has heavy consequences, for Allah and for visitors.

Juru kunci, especially the *juru kunci jero*, assist visitors in *ziarah* rituals, including the interpretation of *ngalamat*. There are several activities that can only be done in the presence of a *juru kunci*. The first is the *jawab* ritual. In this ritual *juru kunci* play a major role. *Juru kunci* will lead the ritual, including asking permission to Sunan Tembayat, and reciting prayers. Second, the entry to the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb as it is always locked, and only *juru kunci* have access to the key. Third, at the *hajat slametan*—a *slametan* held to mark the seventh *ziarah*—the *juru kunci* are the focus of the

activity. As in the *jawab* ritual, *juru kunci* in the *hajatan slametan* will lead the reciting prayers, declaring the visitors' intention and distributing the *slametan*.

Juru kunci play a significant role in the interpretation of *ngalamat* received from the Sunan, as visitors are generally unable to elucidate the message of the *ngalamat*. Sunan Tembayat gives *ngalamat* in several forms, such as in dreams, natural signs, *greget* (feelings) and so forth. However, most *ngalamat* are transmitted through dreams. Visitors believe that *juru kunci*, because they are *abdi* (servant) and descendants of Sunan, and because they spend so much time in the graveyard, are the appropriate interpreters of the Sunan Tembayat's *ngalamat*. This is one story told by a young boy who came to Bayat to search for an amulet:

"I came to Bayat because I was urged by a pious man in my dream. I could not recognize the person clearly. The man told me that Bayat is the right place to search for an amulet. After performing *ziarah* to the Sunan, I slept in the corner of the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. A person with a nice smile and wearing white clothes approached me. He did not say anything to me, but he gave me a hoe. I did not understand the meaning of this symbol. Therefore, I asked *Juru kunci* to explain the *ngalamat*."

A *Juru kunci* tried to interpret the dream by referring to another visitor who had a similar dream. He said,

"Actually, it is difficult to know the exact meaning of a dream. However, I believe that Sunan Tembayat advises visitors through the dream. Thus, a dream, for me, is a symbol which should be interpreted to grasp the *barakah*. There are several ways to interpret symbols, such as analyzing events that occur in the dream or deciphering a dream through the Javanese technique of the calculation of days. Using the first method, we can interpret the dream based on the Sunan's actions, such as his smile, his white clothes and the hoe. The smile indicates that Sunan Tembayat was happy with the effort. White clothes signify the pureness, meaning that one has to check the intention of the pursuit. The hoe can be interpreted as a tool for work. Thus, Sunan Tembayat urged the person to pursue the purpose through the hoe, not through the amulet. The second method interprets the dream through the Javanese calculation of the day on which a dream occurs. The Javanese assign certain days certain values, such as Monday=four, Tuesday=three, Wednesday=seven, Thursday=eight, Friday=six, Saturday=nine and Sunday=five. Furthermore, the Javanese also assign certain values to Javanese days,² *Wage*=four, *Kliwon*=eight, *Legi*=five, *Paing*=nine and *Pon*=seven. Thus, if a dream has occurred on Monday *Legi*, the dream has a value, $4+5=9$. Because nine is a 'good' value, the dream has a 'good' value too. The second is so complicated, only a few people have mastered it."

To determine if someone has received *barakah* from SuTembayat is a difficult task because *barakah* is intangible and is given in a sign (*ngalamat*) in a dream. Although visitors sometimes obtain *ngalamat*

through natural phenomena, such as birds, snakes and so forth, it is difficult to judge if that natural phenomenon is the *ngalamat*. The coming of a snake or bird for example is not a strange condition in Hastina Agung, which is located on a hill. Since visitors cannot exactly determine the *barakah*, *barakah* is always a kind of mystery.

For first-time visitors there is some doubt about the possibility of gaining *barakah* in the graveyard. Although they ostensibly believe that the personage buried in the graveyard is only sleeping, waiting for the day of judgement, they often have doubt. Can *barakah* be acquired in the graveyard? A visitor explained his experience:

"Actually I did not want to come to the graveyard, because it is difficult for me to rationalize it. How can I ensure that the *ngalamat* that occurred in a dream is a sign of *barakah*? How can I get *barakah* from the personage? My puzzle is how can we communicate with the Sunan, as we cannot directly meet him?", said a visitor who, until he told me the story, did not know how to interpret *ngalamat*. I asked him, "But as a Javanese you do not believe that the dead can still communicate with the living, in a dream for example?". "Of course I believe that. However, communications occurring in dreams mostly are related to personal matters, such as the family's neglect of visiting him and so forth. My brother told me that the Sunan gives *barakah* to visitors with a wide range of problems. It seems that Sunan Tembayat knows everything happening in the real world. Anyway, the puzzle occurred on my first visit, but I feel *mantep* (faithful, assured), since the *juru kunci* and the people who have succeeded in their *ziarah* explained the process of the transmission of *barakah*."

Juru kunci refer to the value of the day, *petungan* (the Javanese numerology systems), and the meaning of natural symbols. Javanese believe that an event can be interpreted differently according to the time and day of the event.³ For example, death is a common phenomenon. However, if the death occurs on the night of Friday *Kliwon*, it has a special meaning. I witnessed a death which occurred on a night of Friday *Kliwon*, and it attracted people from areas all over Java pursuing the *kafan* (cloth used to wrap the corpse) of the dead. It is believed that the cloth can be used as an amulet, for those who possess the cloth can disappear (*menghilang*).

In addition, *juru kunci* interpret the *ngalamat* of *barakah* in reference to visitors' successes, meaning that the interpretation is based on the visitors' account of their *ziarah* success. *Juru kunci* often name people whom came and gained *barakah*. These successful people have a major influence on visitors' beliefs. Firstly, when visitors perform a ritual procedure that is similar to the successful visitor's procedure,

they hope to receive similar *ngalamat*. The *ngalamat*, then, is interpreted much as it was by the successful people. Secondly, these people provide 'an example' for other visitors. Finally, these successes have persuaded visitors to continue their *ziarah*. *Juru kunci* also use visitors' successes to help them interpret *ngalamat*.

These two fundamental features of a *juru kunci*, as the *ziarah* mediator and as the interpreter of *ngalamat*, are significant factors involved in determining the failure and success of the *ziarah*. Consequently, *juru kunci* influence the ways *ziarah* rituals are conducted. For example, one *juru kunci* has a certain procedural *ziarah* that should be performed by a visitor to gain *barakah*. The procedure, needing mental readiness, also requires physical endurance. These experiences were recounted by a visitor:

"I have followed a *juru kunci*'s procedure for performing *ziarah*. I was told by the *juru kunci* that I should visit Bayat at night, so I could stay at least a night at the graveyard. This is because most of the Sunan Tembayat's *ngalamat* were given at night. Furthermore, I should stay awake all night long to await (*ngadang*) the *ngalamat*, as no one knows when it will be given to visitors. The *juru kunci* also said that the *ngalamat* was not given in a clear way, but through symbols. The symbols might be given to visitors in a dream, during meditation or through natural signs, such as snakes and birds. Often an ordinary man has difficulty in interpreting the symbols. However, *juru kunci*, as they are descendants and the *abdi* (servants) of the Sunan Tembayat, can interpret the symbols. Moreover, *juru kunci* also know the causes of visitors' failures to obtain *barakah* from the Sunan. Therefore, I follow the *juru kunci*'s instructions and suggestions to complete the procedure of *ziarah*."

For visitors, *juru kunci* are not only the custodians of the graveyard, but are also sources for consulting on *ziarah* success. *Juru kunci* provide an analysis of the *ziarah* success by interpreting *ngalamat* and explaining how to fulfil the requirements needed to manifest it. *Juru kunci* are also important figures for consultation of what should be done after receiving the *ngalamat*.

Juru kunci interpret the *ngalamat* that are given through natural phenomena. The *ngalamat* granted in natural phenomena only occurs rarely, and it is difficult to determine whether certain natural phenomena are as *ngalamat*. However, if a natural *ngalamat* is received by visitors in a special way, it is easy to interpret it. The *juru kunci* explained:

"A man came to me asking to interpret the *ngalamat* he gained. He said that a snake came to him while he was meditating in the area close to the main

building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. As a normal person, not as a *Juru kunci*, I feel that a snake is a dangerous animal. It is a normal circumstance that in the hill area snakes appear. However, in the sacred place, everything embodies a meaning. In Javanese belief a snake is a symbol of power. I, then, interpret the snake as a *ngalamat* of the coming of power, profane or sacred, for him. Profane power could be manifest in a status position, and sacred power could be characterized by the coming of *pusaka* or *kesakten* (inner power). Two years later, the man again visited this tomb and said to me that after receiving *ngalamat* of a snake, he won election as *Lurah* (village chief). When he conducted a *hajjat slametan*, he reminded me about the snake coming during his meditation."

Juru kunci are regarded as having spiritual power which derives from Sunan Tembayat. *Juru kunci* are *kesawaban* (influenced spiritually) by the Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*. In this privileged position, the *juru kunci* become the main focus for conducting and interpreting *ziarah*.

Juru kunci and the Transmission of *Barakah*

Juru kunci are the Sunan Tembayat's *abdi*. *Abdi* is a Javanese word denoting 'a giving of total dedication and obedience'. As *abdi*, *juru kunci* are people who are supposed to be totally dedicated to their work and effort in serving (*mengabdi*) Sunan Tembayat. *juru kunci* serve Sunan Tembayat as a king, a *pundhen* (ancestor) and as a religious teacher. Therefore, *juru kunci*, as Sunan Tembayat's *abdi*, act as the mediators, servants, officers, guardians and interpreters of Sunan Tembayat. This implies that, in the hierarchy of *ziarah* ritual, *juru kunci* are the closest people to Sunan Tembayat.

As the *abdi* of Sunan Tembayat, *juru kunci* always gain *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat, although they do not physically perform *ziarah*. They obtain *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat in a different way. Unlike visitors who obtain *barakah* through performing *ziarah*, *juru kunci* acquire *barakah* through a special process, called *kesawaban*, meaning 'influenced spiritually'; for example, like the wife of a president who is *kesawaban* due to her husband's position, becoming First Lady. Through *kesawaban* *juru kunci* claim eternal *barakah*.

Kesawaban is also used by Paseban *dukuh* (hamlet) people. They argue that Paseban people receive *barakah* because they are part of Bayat's community, which is genealogically linked to Sunan Tembayat. The *sawab*, the word they usually use to denote the *barakah*'s impact, can be seen from their access to development and economic opportunities. The market that sells flowers, incense and other

ziarah equipment produces job opportunities for Bayat people and those in surrounding areas. Their special skills in pottery skill are promoted to visitors, Bayat's pottery, for example, is known by Klaten people as being of the best quality. The Indonesian government has facilitated tourism in Bayat by providing services such as good roads. These infrastructure developments also mobilize Bayat's people.

The positions of *juru kunci* as the mediators and interpreters of Sunan Tembayat's message are strengthened by the Javanese beliefs about *pasarean* and *sare*. In referring to the graveyard, Javanese people use the word *kuburan* or *pasarean* and/or *makam*. The word *kuburan* derives from *kubur* meaning 'to bury', *kuburan* as a noun thus denotes the place for burying. The term *makam* derives from Arabic, meaning a 'graveyard'. *Pasarean*, on the other hand, is a noun framed from *sare*, meaning to sleep. Thus *pasarean* signifies a place for sleeping. When *Juru kunci* and visitors allude to Sunan Tembayat, they do not say that Sunan Tembayat has passed away; rather they say that Sunan Tembayat is sleeping (*sumare* from *sare*).

This leads to the important question, on what the relationship between *juru kunci* and Sunan Tembayat is built on. There are three contributing factors to the *juru kunci*'s special position before the saint. First, some *juru kunci* base their special status on a hereditary basis. It is true in Bayat that some *juru kunci* have a direct genealogical link with the Sunan. Second, they are custodians of the Sunan Tembayat's place. Therefore, *juru kunci* are *kesawaban* by the Sunan Tembayat's spiritual power. Third, they are regarded as people who can interpret the *ngalamat* given by Sunan Tembayat through dreams. These factors enable *juru kunci* to act as special mediators between visitors and Sunan Tembayat. *Juru kunci* establish their special function as the "*tanganipun kanjeng Sunan*" (the Sunan Tembayat's hand). 'Hand' has several meanings including that of assistants, speaker, mediator and acting power for the Sunan. In addition, some *juru kunci* also claim their special position before the Sunan Tembayat was revealed in a dream. Some say that before they became *juru kunci*, they asked Sunan Tembayat's permission by performing *ziarah*. Sunan Tembayat revealed his permission through *ngalamat* in a dream. In a dream, for example, Sunan Tembayat may ask the person to accompany him to the market. The Sunan's request is seen as a *ngalamat* giving his permission.

In many cultures dreams have several important functions, as a source of inspiration or a tool for legitimacy. In Islam, for example, a

dream is one of the many ways used by God to reveal commandments. The Prophet Abraham received in a dream a revelation from God to slaughter his son. The Prophet Yosef was informed of his next duty through a dream. God also gave the Prophet Yosef knowledge to interpret dreams. He interpreted the King of Egypt's dream, which became a reality. The Javanese regard dreams as a '*kembange turu*' (the flower of sleep) or '*wangsit or ngalamat*' (a sign or revelation). A dream can be seen as *kembange turu* if it occurs before the middle of the day. This kind of dream cannot be used as *ngalamat*. However, if the dream happens in the middle of the night or during early morning, it contains a message.⁴ Mostly, the message in a dream is manifest as a symbol that should be interpreted. For example, if a person dreams that his teeth are extracted, it means that a relative will die. Furthermore, dreams are also used to ask for specific revelations. A famous *kyai* from Tegalrejo in Magelang, before building a Pesantren, slept at his teacher's tomb asking his blessing (Pranowo, 1991).

Descent is also an important factor in legitimacy in Java. It is believed that some knowledge, such as of leadership and inner knowledge (*ilmu batin*), is transmitted through genealogical lines. This well-known concept is used in the Sufi tradition.⁵ Javanese believe that power, knowledge and the potency to become a good person can be inherited as can the power to select a girl or man to marry. The concepts of *bobot* (quality, especially wealth), *bibit* (descent) and *bebet* (knowledge and good behavior) are used to select candidates. By acknowledging themselves as the descendants of Sunan Tembayat, *juru kunci* establish their identity and the legitimacy of their knowledge and quality.

For visitors, *juru kunci* sometimes have a more important significance than the Sunan himself in *ziarah*, because visitors can communicate and hold dialogue only with the *juru kunci*. They respect the *juru kunci* just as they respect Sunan Tembayat. Although in normal circumstance visitors have higher status than *juru kunci*, in the process of *ziarah* visitors treat *juru kunci* as well as they would treat Sunan Tembayat. As the interpreter of *ngalamat*, *juru kunci* are regarded by visitors as the most significant people in their *ziarah*. Without a *juru kunci*'s assistance in interpreting *ngalamat*, visitors cannot decide whether their *ziarah* was successful or not.

Juru kunci translate the *ngalamat* to decide about *barakah*. In cases when visitors fail to receive *ngalamat* in their dreams, *juru kunci* also

analyze the factors involved, and provide diagnoses to solve the problem. Therefore, one visitor said of the *Juru kunci*, “*juru kunci* are like a radio, which receives a broadcast. The interpretation of *Juru kunci*, truly, is similar to a radio broadcast that we hear” (*juru kunci niku kados radio ingkang nampi suanten sangking pemancar. Penjelasane juru kunci menika, sak jatosipun, inggih kados suanten radio ingkang saget kita merengaken*). The mediator is an agent who acts on behalf of someone and as a vessel for the Sunan.

Visitors can choose a *juru kunci* to assist them. For visitors who visit Sunan Tembayat on a regular basis, they know the *juru kunci*’s ways of assisting in *ziarah* ritual. A visitor told me that he had been assisted by all *juru kunci*, but only one *juru kunci* provides him with satisfactory assistance. He further describes the factors involved in the selection of *juru kunci*. First, the *juru kunci*’s ways of *ziarah* is coincided with the visitors’ hopes. Second, the *juru kunci* has enabled the visitor to gain *barakah*. Third the *juru kunci* interpreted the dream correctly. He said:

“While I was meditating, a bird came to me. Although the bird was not so close to me, it stared at me. I told this matter to one *juru kunci* and he said that it was an ordinary bird, which had no connection with my meditation. I was not satisfied with this explanation, and I went to another *juru kunci*. He interpreted the bird as a guest. He further said that I would have an important guest who would help me to improve my life. The second interpretation was true, because ten days later I had an important guest who established a business relation with me. Since then, I have always asked the *juru kunci* to accompany me in my *ziarah*.”

Therefore, a *juru kunci* and visitors establish a special relationship in performing *ziarah* and interpreting it. The *juru kunci*’s way of *ziarah* is affected by visitors’ wishes to obtain a certain *barakah*. Some visitors, especially those who come from outside Klaten have spent a lot of money to visit Sunan Tembayat’s tomb. It is understandable if they want to be assisted by a *juru kunci* who is familiar to them. On the *juru kunci*’s side, *juru kunci* need to maintain the relationship with visitors. The *juru kunci* will assist in accord with visitors’ wishes and in return obtain a tip from them.

To sum up, the *juru kunci* play a significant role in determining the transmission of *barakah*, since they are regarded as having authority to interpret the *ngalamat*. Through their role in interpreting *ngalamat*, *juru kunci* can ascertain visitors whether have received *barakah* or not. Sometimes the *ngalamat* of *barakah* is not clear, and

visitors do not know the meaning of the *ngalamat*. Therefore, *juru kunci*'s interpretation of *ngalamat* provides affirmation of the *ziarah* success.

The *juru kunci*'s dominant role in interpreting *ngalamat* enhances the individual relationship between *juru kunci* and visitors. In interpreting *ngalamat* the *juru kunci* interpret the meaning of *ngalamat* according to the visitors' wishes. Furthermore, *juru kunci* and visitors often create a certain *ziarah* procedure, which is believed as the appropriate method to achieve certain *ziarah*'s goals. Therefore, visitors select *juru kunci* who can accommodate their aims to ascertain the success of their *ziarah*. On the *juru kunci*'s side, the relation is maintained to sustain their popularity. Since visitors visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb with diverse intentions, *juru kunci* interpret *ziarah* in various ways.

Sacred and Profane Domain

To gain an understanding of the concept of sacredness associated with Bayat it is essential to appreciate that visitors in Bayat respect the graveyard and its surrounding area because they regard them as being in some manner emblems or representations of the existence of Sunan Tembayat's sacredness. As the sacredness of Sunan Tembayat is only known in and through objects such as the graveyard, the tomb, the *padasan*, and the cloth, the sacredness can never be wholly dissociated from these objects. Therefore, those who respect an object or a person say that it is Sunan Tembayat himself, and not the object, that they call on for aid; it is to him that they dedicate their *donga* (prayer) to. Thus, I was told by a man who venerates Sunan Tembayat's *padasan* (a jar to store water), that "the *padasan* is only a symbol of Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*" (*padasan niku lak namung perlambang berkahipun Sunan Tembayat*). This means that not the *padasan* itself is *barakah*, but the fact the *padasan* was used by Sunan Tembayat that *padasan* contains *barakah*.

The words used to indicate this special attention to the sacred objects, which I have translated as 'respect' and 'to respect', are *hormat* and *bekti*. The term *hormat* implies 'respect' due on account of a person's superiority, whereas *bekti* signifies showing respect through complete obedience. Visitors express *hormat* and *bekti* to Sunan Tembayat through formal acts such as deferential walking in front of his tomb, refraining from causing damage to the site, giving flowers, burning incense and so forth. The respect is reciprocal; visitors who

respect or help Sunan Tembayat in turn expect to be helped and respected by Sunan Tembayat. One general characteristic of the distinction between sacred and profane objects is that sacred objects contain power derived from supernatural beings. The power also can be attached to objects that have relationship with supernatural beings. For example, in the Hastina Agung graveyard, certain objects are considered to be sacred and to have power as they are connected with the personage of Sunan Tembayat who was considered to have spiritual power. The *padasan* (a water jar) is considered sacred because it is believed that the *padasan* was used by Sunan Tembayat for his ablutions. Thus, the *padasan* and its water are sacred, containing *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat.

Furthermore, visitors and *juru kunci* regard things as sacred or profane depending on the function of the object. For example, when *juru kunci* assist in *ziarah* rituals, such as the *jawab* ritual, they are regarded as sacred. Visitors give respect to *juru kunci* and obey their commands with complete dedication. Disregarding such commands, visitors believe, could cause misfortune and threaten their chances of acquiring *barakah*. However, in everyday life, *juru kunci* are treated as ordinary people. Incense is also treated differently in different contexts. As a requirement of *ziarah*, incense burned during the *jawab* ritual and meditation is described as sacred. Nevertheless, in the market, incense is only a commodity and does not command special respect.

Visitors also display respect for certain places. Hastina Agung graveyard can be divided into three areas; the outside area (*wilayah jaba*), the inside areas (*wilayah jero*) and the core area (*wilayah inti*). These places are considered sacred because they are related to Sunan Tembayat. All places used to protect and to show *hormat* and *bekti* to Sunan Tembayat are considered sacred. An interpretation of the association between the place and Sunan Tembayat is not to be sought in the nature of the objects themselves but in an association that provides meaning to them. Similarly some visitors respect Ki Ageng Pawilangan (Sunan Tembayat's secretary) and ask him numbers for the SDSB (a kind of lottery game), precisely because he was Sunan Tembayat's secretary. In this regard, visitors look to the relationship with Sunan Tembayat. It seems, thus, visitors respect various personages because they have a link with Sunan Tembayat.

The outer area of the graveyard covers the area between the *gapura panemut* and the *gapura prabayeksa*, the area of the graveyard of Sunan

Tembayat's descendants. The inner area extends from the *gapura prabayeksa* to the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The core area (*inti*) is the area inside the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The outer area is considered the profane domain, where visitors can behave normally, without special requirements. However, in the inner area and in the core area, which are considered sacred, visitors must behave respectfully. In front of the gate, there are certain requirements for visitors. These include removing their shoes and refraining from any sexual involvement. Ignoring these requirements will cause harm or misfortune. The main area of the graveyard is regarded as the most sacred place, and here people behave respectfully, avoiding improper words and improper intentions.

However, the classification of sacred and profane domains in Hastina Agung is debated. Some visitors regard the entire graveyard area, without exception, starting from the first *gapura panemut* to be sacred. According to this view, when visitors enter the big complex of Sunan Tembayat's graveyard, they have entered the sacred place. According to these visitors, the *ngalamat* of Sunan Tembayat can be gained anywhere in the large complex. For example, the number of stages or the ability to climb the stages involves *ngalamat*. It is believed that an old person with limited energy might climb easily if he/she gains *barakah*, while a young man might find it hard to climb the stages if he fails to gain *barakah*. For these visitors the preparation for the *ziarah* ritual, such as taking ablutions, changing clothes and preparing flowers and incense should begin from the first *gapura*.

The respect given to a certain place depends on whether it is regarded as sacred or profane. For those who believe the sacred place begins from the mosque area at the top steps, preparations for the *ziarah* ritual begin at that point. For these visitors, the steps are not regarded as sacred, and so they do not give them respect. There are also some people who argue that all areas of Sunan Tembayat's complex are profane, except the main area of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. These people pay respect only to Sunan Tembayat's tomb.

Another example of the different perceptions of what is sacred or profane occurred in the *pasang singep* ceremony. There was a debate about what was sacred about Sunan Tembayat's heirloom (*pusaka*), contained in an empty box. It is believed that the box, located at the right side of Sunan Tembayat's tomb, is the place for Sunan Tembayat's heirloom. In other words, the box itself is not the heirloom but what is in it. Some juru kunci, relying on traditions, put a

baby's blanket (*kemul bayi*) in the box to represent the existence of Sunan Tembayat's heirloom. These people argue that the use of the baby's blanket is to symbolize the purity and the sacredness of Sunan Tembayat's heirloom. Because the blanket and its box represent Sunan Tembayat's heirloom, visitors regard them as sacred. Therefore, these visitors give respect to the box as well as the blanket.

However, other *juru kunci* argue that the sacredness of Sunan Tembayat's heirloom is not the box, the baby's blanket or anything else, but in the belief in the heirloom's existence. All *juru kunci* agree that Sunan Tembayat's heirloom has no real physical existence. It implies also that the heirloom cannot be symbolized anything, not even a baby's blanket. The box contains nothing. The nothingness represents the power of the heirloom which cannot be symbolized by any physical existence. Nevertheless, what is in the box, which has no material existence, is regarded as sacred. People can move the box, but they cannot move the heirloom. They can break the box, but they cannot break the heirloom. If the heirloom was represented by a material object such as a blanket, then that object could be mistaken for the heirloom.

In determining the sacredness of certain objects visitors see the context of the object. Without having a detailed knowledge of the cultural background that provides the context for the concept, no explanation of sacredness can be achieved. The way in which visitors categorize the graveyard areas into sacred and profane domains is related to this cultural context. Sacredness depends on the context in which objects are perceived. Visitors believe that water stored in the *padasan* is water which does not differ from other water. Moreover, visitors also know that water in the *padasan* is ordinary water brought by *juru kunci* from the village well; it does not come from Sunan Tembayat. However, people believe that since the water is stored in Sunan Tembayat's *padasan*, which is considered as sacred, the water has a different function and power. Similarly, sleep is a normal activity of human beings. However, sleep in Sunan Tembayat's graveyard has a different meaning. It is normal for people to dream, but a dream that occurs in Bayat has a different meaning. The context and place imply different meanings for the dream.

In addition, the sacredness of an object is not necessarily permanent. In so far as an object has no relation to a sacred entity, and has not been endowed with sacred power, the object is not sacred. However, when an object is related to a sacred entity, the status of the

object changes. A *juru kunci* explained:

"A *kris* [dagger], before it is bestowed with a power by the *Empu* [literally the master of a certain skill, such as making poems or *kris*], is ordinary metal. However, when it has been given power, the *kris* has a different status. A smith can shape and forge the *kris*, but if he was asked to forge the *kris* Nagasara, he would not dare to do it. It is also the case for Sunan Tembayat's tomb. Before the tomb was used to bury Sunan Tembayat, it was carved by the stone master. However, if you ask him to carve Sunan Tembayat's tomb now, he would not want to do it. The power of the *kris* can be installed and, therefore, it also can be cleaned. When the *kris* loses its power, it returns to its original state. Therefore, the sacredness of Sunan Tembayat's tomb also can be cleaned; through the *niat* (intention). This means that when we want to clean the tomb, we ask permission of Sunan Tembayat, and we declare that the intention of our work is not aimed at disturbing Sunan Tembayat, but at cleaning the place to make it more comfortable for Sunan Tembayat's rest."

Objects that are considered as sacred in Bayat have some connection with Sunan Tembayat. The graveyard is sacred because it is Sunan Tembayat's *pasarean*; the tomb is sacred because it is his tomb; a snake in the graveyard is considered sacred, because it is in Sunan Tembayat's graveyard; the *padasan* and its water are sacred because it is Sunan Tembayat's *padasan*. There are other *padasan*, but they are not considered sacred. People in Bayat do not consider the sacredness of an object to be determined by the object itself. Furthermore, the sacred quality of an object is a kind of entity which can be installed or removed. The sacredness of an object is not inherent in the object itself, but it only resides in the object for a certain time. In this case, the tomb itself is not sacred, but the power which resides in the tomb is sacred. Whenever the sacredness is removed from the object, the sacredness of the object also disappears.

Incense, Flowers, Water and *Berkat*

Edmund Leach argued that the redundancy in ritual performance is aimed to emphasize the meaning and goals of ritual forms. Leach explained the repetitiveness of ritual behavior in terms of communication theory. Humans ensure that their message has been understood, by repeating it in the same forms, and expressing it in a visual form. Ritual, as a means of communication, he pointed out, contains condensed symbols of relevant cultural knowledge. In other words, ritual is a way of transmitting information through symbols portrayed in its performance. In Leach's view, ritual has affinities with 'com-

puter programs' (Leach, 1979:230-231). Redundancy in ritual performance is to reinforce and emphasize a message; to stress the significance of the message.

Symbols in *ziarah* rituals can be understood from such a perspective. In their *ziarah* rituals, visitors to Bayat prepare incense, flowers, and sometimes they also make *sesaji* (homage). *Juru kunci* argue that all things are symbols containing messages for people to follow. However, Leach did not explain that the meaning and significance of symbols can change or can be interpreted differently by participants. I argue that symbols used in *ziarah* rituals are interpreted in different ways and are sometimes given new meanings. The interpretation of symbols used in *ziarah* demonstrates that the meanings of symbols are interpreted differently by different participants.

Incense

Incense has had a religious significance throughout history from ancient times to the present day. Incense is used in ritual offerings to the gods or in the worship of gods. Incense has been described as 'the food of gods' and the perfume of gods (Groom, 1981:1). It is also true in Java, especially in connection with visiting tombs that incense, at least for some visitors, has something to do with God. Visitors bring incense and flowers as a requirement for completing their performance of *ziarah*. However, their explanations for using incense and their interpretations of its meanings and functions in the *ziarah* tradition, vary.

The Javanese word used to refer to incense is *menyan* (*kemenyan*, or *dupa*). Javanese use incense mainly in activities concerning supernatural powers, in rituals, in the maintenance of *pusaka* (heirlooms), in conducting *sesaji* (paying homage) to the spirits and so forth. For example, incense is burned close to the sacred *pusaka* of Yogyakarta's court. In the *Garebeg* ceremonies the sacred *pusaka* are paraded before the public.⁶ On this occasion, incense is burned to tame the wildness of the *pusaka* and to pay respect to the *pusaka* (Soelarto, 1993:78-84). Javanese people who practice meditation burn incense to sharpen their concentration.

Like the debate about the *ziarah* ritual, the debate about the use of incense is also crucial. This is because the history of the use of incense in Bayat society has many explanations. First, some visitors say that the function of incense is to invite a spirit. An informant described his experience in invoking a spirit in his childhood.

"On the night of Friday *Kliwon*, after we recited *Barzanji* (the history of the Prophet Muhammad) in the *langgar* (a small mosque), the teenage boys played a *Jaelangkungan*. They made *Jaelangkung* like a human (*orang-orangan*) made from wood. Two pieces of wood tied up like a cross-wrapped in clothes to represent the body. The coconut shell (*batok*) is painted with eyes, nose and mouth to represent the head. Then, one of us acted as *dalang* (puppeteer), to move the *Jaelangkung*, like a *wayang* (a leather puppet). We burned incense and recited *donga*, invoking the spirit. After a while, the person holding the *Jaelangkung* went into a trance, which indicates that the spirit has entered the *Jaelangkung*. We asked the *Jaelangkung* questions about our secrets, the number for *buntut* (a kind of lottery game) and so on. The *dalang*'s answers are believed to be the spirit's voice. I thought, like my friends, that incense was a means of calling a spirit. When we were satisfied we extinguished the incense and bathed the person with water."

Other visitors and *juru kunci*, however, argued that incense is only a means of making a place aromatic. Furthermore, the incense gets rid of insects, e.g. spiders and mosquitoes. Traditionally, before mosquito repellent was available, people in rural villages used smoke to get rid of mosquitoes.⁷

Other visitors suggested that incense is symbolic. The spread of the smoke and fragrance of incense and visible movement of that smoke upwards towards the heavens gives it a symbolic relationship to prayer, making the offering synonymous with the worship of God who, they believe, exists above. In Bayat this symbolism can be seen clearly in the use of *tobongan* in the *jawab* ritual. This symbolism encourages people to direct their prayers and hopes toward God, not toward the tomb itself. Furthermore, the visible upward movement of smoke reminds people where they should address their prayers.

Flowers

Flowers are also used in *ziarah* traditions. Visitors regard the use of flowers in *ziarah* rituals as a requirement and as a sign of *barakah*. While the incense is burned in the *jawab* ritual, the flowers are scattered over the tomb in *ziarah*. After completing *ziarah*, visitors repossess the flowers which have been scattered on Sunan Tembayat's tomb, because they believe that the flowers have been blessed by Sunan Tembayat, and now contain *barakah*. Women put the flowers in their hair (*gelungan* from *gulung*, meaning to fold), or at their breast, whereas men put the flowers in their pocket or in their hats (*iket* or *peci*).

According to visitors, every *ziarah* place requires different flow-

ers. For example, *kembang telon* (a combination of three kinds flowers) is suitable (*cocok*)⁸ for *ziarah* in Bayat, whereas other places may require other kinds of flowers. An informant who had visited all the Javanese *wali* said that every place of *ziarah* requires a specific kind of flower. If visitors bring the wrong flowers, it will affect the success of their *ziarah*. Therefore, he always asked visitors or the *juru kunci* to tell him what flowers should be used. For this visitor, flowers are a requirement of *ziarah*, and function to determine the success of the *ziarah*.

However, other visitors interpret the function of flowers in *ziarah* rituals differently. Some visitors argue that flowers function like incense, implying that flowers are also the food of gods. The aroma of the flowers is used to persuade gods to hear their requests. Some visitors point out that the function of flowers, like that of incense, is simply to make the area fragrant and pleasant.

Juru kunci argue that the flowers are symbols which contain messages for visitors. Flowers symbolize beauty and goodness. Therefore, the flowers suggest good deeds and good behavior, functioning to create inner beauty and goodness in visitors. However, when the aroma of flowers has gone, they will be useless. *Juru kunci* cite the analogy that if a man has nothing worth taking from him, he is useless.

Water

During *ziarah* ritual, people use water before entering the graveyard or at the beginning of the *ziarah*, and after the *ziarah*. The *padasan* in front of the mosque in Sunan Tembayat's graveyard or the *padasan* at the *langgar* at the first gate of the graveyard are prepared for visitors' ablutions. The ablutions signify the visitors' intention to cleanse away their sins; they also symbolize the purity of visitors' *ziarah* intentions. Furthermore, visitors make ablutions to protect themselves from the influence of bad spirits. It is believed that a bad spirit can enter a person's mind, and the ablutions are a means of protection from this. In short, the ablutions are conducted to show the eagerness of visitors to obtain *barakah*.

In front of the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb, there are two *padasan* storing water. Glasses and *siwur* (a ladle made from a coconut shell) are also provided. Here, water is used to symbolize Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*. Some visitors drink the water after completing *ziarah*, whereas others take the water home. It is believed that

the water stored in the *padasan* is an expression of Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*. Like the flowers that are taken home by visitors, the water is also consumed for good fortune, and as a cure for disease.

The water is also believed to symbolize coolness, harmony and cleanness. Water cools anger, as water resists fire. A person who feels thirsty, drinks water, just as plants and the earth consume rain. Thus *barakah*, like water, functions to cool and refresh people. If someone feels angry or thirsty, he/she should consume *barakah* from the saint. Moreover, just as water permeates the body, *barakah* should permeate the body.

Berkat

Berkat derives from the Arabic word *barakah*; it is Javanized as *berkat* or *berkah*.⁹ All these words are interchangeably used by Javanese. There is of course a connection between them. The word *berkah* is used to refer to a portion of rice or food obtained from something perceived as having supernatural power. For example, a *santri* (a student of a *pesantren*) regards the left overs from his *kyai* as containing *berkah*. In the Surakarta court the dung of *kyai* Slamet, a white buffalo, is considered to have *berkah*. Furthermore, in the Yogyakarta court, people compete to acquire the water used to wash the court *pusaka*, since it is believed that the water contains the *pusaka*'s power. The water is also called *berkah/t*.

The Javanese term *berkat* has yet another sense; it is used to refer to a portion of rice obtained in a *slametan* ceremonies. For example, in *slametan* to celebrate the birth of a child, participants return home with rice or food. The portion of food is called *berkat*. In the *Garebeg* ceremony in Yogyakarta court, people take some rice from the *gunungan* (rice shaped into mountain), and this is also called *berkat* because it contains *barakah* (Soelarto, 1993:57-66). Just as the rice obtained in a *garebeg* ceremony carries *barakah* from the king, the *berkat* gained in the *slametan* in Bayat contains *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat. People in Bayat also use *berkat* to refer to the payment for *modin* (religious officers) for their services of offering prayers.

Why is an object itself referred to as *berkat* or *berkah*? Different people offer different explanations. First, it may be designated *berkah* because it has a relation with a special person or object. People use the dung of *kyai* Slamet, because it is the dung of a special creature. In some traditional *pesantren*, *santri* strive to acquire their *kyai*'s left overs (*turahan*), such as his drinks, meals, and cigarette.

Second, it is believed that the power of certain powerful creatures will transfer to things they touch. The water used to wash the court *pusakas*, thus, also contains power. Therefore, people consume the water to share its power. Similarly, a portion of rice obtained from a *slametan* held in the Bayat graveyard also embodies *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat. For some visitors who have been staying at the graveyard for more than a day or even a month, the *berkat* of *slametan* is regarded to be a part of Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*. These visitors say that the rice from a *slametan* is a *berkat* from Sunan Tembayat in a material form. Others, however, do not eat the *berkat*, because they feel it too valuable (*sayang*) to eat. These visitors believe that the *berkat* is better as fertilizer for their crops or as medicine for their cattle, rather than to be consumed as food.

Visitors conduct *slametan* for two reasons, first as an expression of thankfulness to Sunan Tembayat, and second as a sign of willingness to receive *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat. The first *slametan* is performed after visitors have received *barakah*, claiming that their goals have been achieved, whereas the second *slametan* is conducted before performing *ziarah*. This *slametan* is aimed to declare the *hajat* (purpose) of the *ziarah*. Therefore, this second *slametan* is called *hajat*.

Hajat slametan are different from other *slametan*. *Hajat slametan* are larger in size and more complete in their requirements than other *slametan*. *Juru kunci* say that the *hajat slametan* should have two kinds of rice, *sego golong* (rice shaped into a ball), and *sego uduk* (rice cooked in coconut milk, so the taste is *gurih*=savory). The rice is placed on the *tampah* (a round plate made from woven bamboo) with *gudangan* (coflavored, mixed vegetables), and *ingkung* (a whole, boiled chicken). On top of the *gudangan*, there are some *jenang* (sweet rice cereal) called *jenang pura* in two colors, *abang* (red) and *putih* (white). According to the *juru kunci* these foods evoke messages. *Sego golong* symbolizes closeness to family. *Golong* means 'group', and *sego golong* means that the family members should share their wealth and riches. *Sego uduk* teaches people to enjoy the meal, although it is only with coconut flavored vegetables. The mixed vegetables signify that people should interact with other people. *Jenang abang* and *jenang putih*, which together are called *jenang pura* (forgiveness), signify respectively the dirtiness and purity of the body. Therefore, people should ask for *ngapura* (forgiveness from the community and from God). *Inkung* symbolizes *pasrah* (acceptance without complaining). Visitors should accept any *barakah* that is given to them, as the best for them.

Syukuran slametan to express thankfulness to God is conducted in a larger and more complete size than *hajat slametan*. The content of the *slametan* is the same. However, the *syukuran slametan* also involves fruit; and the portions of rice and vegetables are bigger in size than those provided in *hajat slametan*. The *slametan* convey messages that people who have gained their goals should share their wealth and pleasure with other people. The use of fruit signifies the successful result (*buah*), and a feeling of freshness and happiness after receiving *barakah* from God.

It seems that the *ziarah* ritual is a means of teaching people by using symbols. It has been argued that the importance of *ziarah* is not in visiting the tomb, but rather in how people grasp the meanings and messages of *ziarah* traditions. The use of symbols is intended to condense these messages, so that people can appreciate them. However, since the meaning of symbols used in *ziarah* is varied, people interpret the symbols differently. Interpretation of incense, flowers, water and *berkat* of *slametan* can vary.

Donga-Donga (Prayers)

Visitors recite *donga* at the *slametan*, at the *jawab* ritual and at *ziarah* performances in front of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. Visitors usually ask *juru kunci* to recite *donga* in *slametan* and in the *jawab* ritual, whereas visitors recite their own *donga* at Sunan Tembayat's tomb. *Juru kunci* recite *donga* in *slametan* using both Javanese and Arabic. The Javanese *donga* is recited to state the visitors' requests to Sunan Tembayat along with asking permission and forgiveness, while the Arabic *donga* is recited at the end. At the tomb itself, most people recite *donga* silently because these are regarded as secret. However, some people recite *donga* loudly, using *tablil donga*. Although at *jawab* rituals and *slametan* ceremonies it is usually the *juru kunci* who recite the *donga*, everyone has the right to formulate their own *donga*, to state any requests, and to use any language.

People frequently discuss the language used in reciting *donga*. Some suggest that it is better to recite *donga* in Arabic because God will pay more attention to people who recite *donga* in Arabic. Other visitors argue that the *donga* should be recited in a language that people know, so that people know exactly what is said in the *donga*. Still others do not agree with either of these two groups, which only focus on the formal language of *donga*. The third group says that the most important part of the *donga* is the content itself, not the language. People

can use any language they want, even if they just recite *donga* silently in the heart. God knows all language spoken in this universe. The *donga* can be recited in mixed languages, Javanese and Arabic.

Most visitors use both Javanese and Arabic *donga*. According to visitors and *juru kunci* the use of Arabic *donga* and Javanese *donga* in *ziarah* performances is related to the concept of *mantep* (completeness, fulfillment, satisfaction, confidence, determination). Different languages should be used depending on whom the *donga* is directed. The Javanese *donga* is better used to address Sunan Tembayat, because, people argue, Sunan Tembayat was Javanese; he communicated in Javanese language. Therefore, if people want to communicate with him, it is better to use the language recognized by him. On the other hand, Arabic *donga* are recited when they are directed to Allah. This, people argue, does not mean that God speaks in Arabic. God belongs to all humans. He can communicate in any language. Arabic is used because it is *afdol* (Arabic, meaning 'better', and 'more perfect') for *donga* recited for Allah.

The general pattern of the *donga* in the *slametan* and *jawab* rituals has three components. First, visitors state the purpose of their *ziarah* and introduce themselves giving their name, origin and so forth. Second, the *juru kunci* pass on the message to Sunan Tembayat, and the third step is reciting the *donga*. Sometimes, however, procedures of reciting *donga* in *slametan*, *hajat* and *syukuran*, differ from the procedures in *jawab* rituals. For example, in the latter people might state the purpose and intention of their *ziarah* to *juru kunci* and ask them to recite the *donga*. *Juru kunci* ask visitors what language they prefer for their *donga*. Most visitors request both, that is Arabic and Javanese *donga*. *Juru kunci* recite *donga* in accordance with visitors' requests.

Hajat slametan and *syukuran slametan*, which are held at the *bangsal juru kunci* (the hall of *juru kunci*), begin with the declaration of the intention and purpose of the *slametan* and its *ziarah*. Visitors then approach the *juru kunci* and say: "My name is Ngadimin. I come from Semarang. I conduct this *slametan* to come close to Sunan Tembayat, hoping that he might help me to enlighten and overcome my life problems. I ask the *juru kunci* to recite a *donga* that is suitable for my request" (*Smelah Hirahmanirohem* [originally Bismillâhi Arrahmâni Arrahîm]. *Nami kula Ngadimin, saking Semarang. Kula ngedamel slametan punika inggih kula maksudkaken kangge ndepe-ndepe dumateng Sunan Tembayat, mugi-mugi panjenenganipun Kanjeng Sunan*

kersa ambientu ngringanaken cobaan sarta awratipun lampah kula. Inggih matur dumateng juru kunci kula sumanggaaken dene donga menapa ingkang cocok lan pas kangge panyuwunan kula).

The *juru kunci* then recites a *donga* to Sunan Tembayat and Allah. The first *donga* is recited in Javanese, while the second is recited in Arabic. *Juru kunci* argue that reciting the two *donga* shows visitors the best way to recite *donga*. The first *donga* is addressed to Sunan Tembayat, asking for help in mediating with God, and the second *donga* is directed to God. The use of Javanese in the first *donga* signifies the influence of Javanese traditions in *ziarah*, while the use of Arabic in the second *donga* indicates the Islamic aspect of *ziarah*. Visitors, who do not understand Arabic, can learn the meaning of the *donga* through the Javanese version, even though the Javanese *donga* is not always a direct translation of the Arabic *donga*. The Arabic *donga* is a standard *donga* which is recited in most circumstances.

In summary, *ziarah* rituals contain symbols that convey meanings. To understand these meanings, people interpret them according to their everyday experience. The interpretations of symbols change, as people's experience of everyday life also alters. Symbols are interpreted according to one's background and knowledge. Although it is true that there is a popular interpretation of *ziarah* ritual symbols, visitors often expand on these, and add their own interpretations. Visitors' different interpretations of *ziarah* ritual symbols in Bayat show the richness of meanings conveyed in these symbols.

The Concept of *Barakah*

The key to understanding the ideology of the transmission of *barakah* in *ziarah* rituals is related to the visitors' cultural perceptions of the relationships between *wali* and God, and visitors' relationships with *wali* and God. One way of understanding the significance of such a concept is in its connection to social contexts. Considering the conception of *barakah* without considering the context in which the concept emerges will result in only a partial understanding. It is understandable that meanings and concepts of *barakah* may vary over time, as the understandings of *barakah* depend on social and cultural contexts that continually change. Visitors to Bayat in order to provide rationales for *ziarah* rituals conceive *barakah* in accordance with their everyday life experience.

Barakah literally means 'blessing, grace bestowed by God',¹⁰ but

in Bayat, *barakah* includes a range of 'mundane qualities': prosperity, abundance, well-being, or merely sufficiency.¹¹ Therefore, a farmer articulates Sunan Tembayat's *barakah* as a fertilizer of crops; a trader interprets Sunan Tembayat's *barakah* as a means of making business successful; a student conceives Sunan Tembayat's *barakah* as a way of achieving success in his/her studies. However, some visitors articulate *barakah* more in terms of 'transcendental qualities'. They argue that *barakah* consists of a range of sacred qualities, such as luck (*untung, beja*), reward from God (*pahala, ganjaran*) and spiritual power (*kadigdayan*). Similarly, *juru kunci* assert that *barakah* is "the same as a reward from God" (*barakah niku sami kaleh ganjaran utawi pahala saking Gusti Allah*).

A leading *kyai* of Bayat,¹² attempts to bridge these interpretations by saying that *barakah* is a reward from God, which will be given on the day of judgement as well as in this worldly life. On the day of judgment, reward of doing *ziarah* is expressed in the same value as the reward (*pahala*) for doing good deeds (*ibadah*),¹³ while *barakah* achieved during worldly life is manifest in the prosperity and success in a visitors' daily life, e.g. in farming, trading, employment and so forth. For the *kyai*, prayers recited during *ziarah* rituals should address both goals; that is, asking for *barakah* during this worldly life and on the day of judgement. Therefore, visitors should reserve some *barakah* achieved during this worldly life to use in performing good deeds (*amal ibadah*), which will earn them *pahala* for the day of judgement.

However, some visitors argue that *barakah* ought to be understood as a process of gaining peace (*ketentreman*) and wisdom (*waskita*). People perform *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb because they have problems. Performing *ziarah* is expected to produce feelings of 'sumeleh' (a feeling of acceptance). Behind the notion of *sumeleh* lies an acceptance that God has a predetermined plan that is best for everybody. The notion of *sumeleh* also implies that people should think positively about life; that people should believe that God gives a burden to a person because God knows that the person is able to overcome it. Finally, *sumeleh* suggests that God never intends to give something bad. Wisdom, in contrast, is to have a clear and full understanding of life's events. In *ziarah*, people are urged to meditate (*merenung*) so they can see clearly the symptoms and causes of their actions. Therefore, they can learn from their past (*ambil hikmah*). A visitor explained to me:

"Whenever I face a problem, I perform *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb. My first reason is that in Sunan Tembayat's graveyard I can maximize my concentration so that I can see clearly the problem that I am facing. Second, I believe that whoever meditates at Sunan Tembayat's tomb will obtain help from Sunan Tembayat. After performing *ziarah*, I feel confident in dealing with my problem. Therefore, I see the meaning of *barakah* in terms of that feeling.

The oldest *juru kunci* of Bayat said that the significance of *ziarah* is that it provides motivation and courage to support people in achieving their goals.¹⁴ By performing *ziarah* people feel that God is behind them, and that provides strong motivation and confidence, which encourages them to pursue their goals. In this respect, the *juru kunci* interpret the meaning of *barakah* as 'arousing motivations' (*ngundang semangat*). While assisting during *ziarah* he often gives visitors a prayer (*donga*), to encourage visitor motivation:

"*Bismillahi Arrahmani Arrahim*, Oh, God, if my livelihood (*rejek*i) is still in the sky, would you please drop it to me. And if the *rejek*i is still in the earth, would you please extract it for me. If my *rejek*i is far away from me, would you please bring it close to me. And if my *rejek*i is unlawful (*haram*), would you please make it lawful (*halal*) for me. Amen."¹⁵

Differing interpretations of the meaning of *barakah* affect how visitors perceive the expression of *barakah*. Those who believe that *barakah* is given for mundane situations only symbolize *barakah* in mundane signs, such as in water, flowers, incense, rice from a *slametan* and so forth. However, those who believe in *barakah* that will be received on the day of judgment, do not symbolize *barakah* in worldly objects. If *barakah* is symbolized in terms of worldly objects, it might wrongly be understood that the objects themselves constitute *barakah*. The oldest *juru kunci* bridges the gap between these two extreme groups by saying that forms of *barakah* symbolized by water, flowers, incense and so forth are intended to be understood as providing motivation for visitors, evidence for visitors that they have obtained *barakah*. The status of having *barakah* does not rely upon the thing itself, but upon the belief that the object contains *barakah*.

A crucial question concerns the source of *barakah*. Where does it originate? From God or Sunan Tembayat? Some visitors argue that *barakah* comes from Sunan Tembayat, whereas others argue that it derives from God. Visitors who identify Sunan Tembayat as the source of *barakah* address their prayers to him, while visitors who believe

that God alone possesses *barakah* address their prayers to God. Those who believe that Sunan Tembayat can give *barakah* to visitors argue that as a *wali*, Sunan Tembayat has the right to give *barakah*. According to these visitors, Sunan Tembayat transmits *barakah* in two ways. First, he transmits *barakah* as a *wali*, believed to be an agent of God on earth who has been given the ability to provide *barakah*. People argue that *wali* have the ability to give *barakah* is because God has bestowed *karamah* (favor) on them. This *karamah* can include the ability to perform miracles granted by God.¹⁶ Because of this, *wali* are regarded as 'above human criticism'. They have the status of being the hand of God, God's representative to transmit *barakah*.

Second, *barakah* is transmitted as a part of Sunan Tembayat's *barakah*. To reward his piety and obedience in performing God's commands, Sunan Tembayat received *barakah* from God throughout his life and after his death. Therefore, he was filled with *barakah* and can transmit a part of his *barakah* to other people. A *juru kunci* offered the following an analogy of this way of transmitting *barakah*:

"Like a glass, when it is filled with water, it is full. When water is continuously poured into a full glass, the water will overflow. Similarly, we believe that Sunan Tembayat is already full of *barakah* because God continues to give him *barakah* although he is already dead. As Sunan Tembayat continues to receive *barakah* from God, his *barakah* overflows. Therefore, visitors search for the *barakah* that overflows (*melimpah*) from Sunan Tembayat. In addition, Sunan Tembayat does not need *barakah* any more. The *barakah*, then, is given to visitors who need it."

However, other visitors disagree with this view, and say that God alone owns *barakah*. *Wali* are only normal people who have no rights to give *barakah*. It is true that as a *wali*, Sunan Tembayat was very close to God, but it does not mean that Sunan Tembayat's closeness to God provides him with the right to give *barakah*. The Sunan Tembayat's closeness to God means two things. First, he is among the pious people who have been guaranteed their salvation on the day of judgment. Second, he can communicate with God. Therefore, Sunan Tembayat's closeness to God might be used by visitors to mediate in their communication with God, not to ask him for *barakah*. Performing *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb is to seek his mediation to convey their messages to God asking for *barakah*.

Debates about the concept of *barakah* and the ways of transmitting *barakah* lead to discussion of different perceptions of Sunan Tembayat

as a *wali*. Serat Babad Tembayat describes him as the Javanese *wali* (*wali sanga*) replacing *Seh Siti Jenar* who was condemned as a heretical Sufi. According to some peoples' beliefs, a *wali* is chosen in virtue of his/her sincere devotion, self-mortification and firm attachment to eternal realities. *Wali* is an Arabic term that has several meanings, those who are close to, those who protect, and those who rule. In Sufis terms, *juru kunci* in Bayat figure that the term *wali* alludes to individuals who are close to God, to people whose holiness takes them close to God, and who receive from Him miraculous gifts. The *juru kunci* cited a verse from the Qur'ân that describes *wali* as God's friends, "For friends of God (*wali*) no fear shall come and they shall not grieve" (Qur'ân, 10. 62). According to Bayat tradition, Sunan Tembayat was inaugurated as a *wali* by Sunan Kalijaga after he received a revelation (*wahyu widayat*)¹⁷ on Friday *Kliwon* of 27th *Ruwah*¹⁸ (Soewignja, 1938:31).

Visitors to Bayat, regard *wali* as pious people (*ʔâliYin*, plural, from *ʔâliY*) who obey and practice religious teachings more than normal people do. Because of their piety, *wali* belong to the 'highest rank' (*derajat tinggi*). Moreover, visitors maintain that *wali* have a special relationship with God that makes them particularly well placed to serve as intermediaries to him. *Wali* are close to God. The meaning of "closeness" here is modeled upon, and to some extent constitutes a pattern for, relationships among people, such as next of kin, patron, protector and friend. These special positions of *wali* are strengthened by the fact that God gives them *barakah* expressed in terms of, following Westermarck, "a mysterious wonder-working force". On the basis of these factors people venerate *wali* not only during their life, but also after their death.

The relationship between humans and God operates similarly to the relationships between human beings. Javanese hierarchical relations also apply to their relations with supernatural beings. Visitors enlist Sunan Tembayat as a mediator because they believe that Sunan Tembayat has a higher rank than ordinary people. Therefore, he is better able to communicate with God. A question arises here: how do visitors in Bayat explain Sunan Tembayat's mediation (*wasilah*)?

Wasilah originates from an Arabic meaning 'mediation and/or mediator'. Sunan Tembayat, as a *wasilah* is a person who conveys a message to someone. In religious terms, Sunan Tembayat, as a mediator, is the one who conveys messages to God. However, visitors have different elucidation of the role of *wasilah*. *Wasilah* means medium, mediator and referee. Sunan Tembayat, as medium, functions as a vessel used

to deliver messages to God. Visitors draw an analogy between a *wasilah* and a postman who acts as a medium for communication through correspondence. The communications actually occur only between the person who writes the letter and the person who receives the letter. Sunan Tembayat's mediation is like that of the postman who delivers the message. After the line of communication is open, visitors continue their communication by themselves. Visitors argue that they delegate the message to Sunan Tembayat because they believe that they cannot convey the message themselves since they are full of sins. Furthermore, they argue that people cannot guarantee that their messages are heard by God, but if they delegate them to Sunan Tembayat they have a hope that their *donga* will be heard.

Other visitors perceive Sunan Tembayat as a mediator who acts as God's representative (*wakil*). God gave Sunan Tembayat, through *wahyu widayat*, an authority to perform as His representative on earth. Therefore, Sunan Tembayat can give *barakah* to people because God has given him authority to do so. Finally, as a referee, Sunan Tembayat makes recommendations for people so that they are able to communicate with God. His *karamah* and *barakah* enable him to make the recommendation.

Different definitions of the meaning of *barakah* and of the role of Sunan Tembayat in the transmission of *barakah* show that *ziarah* is continuously re-figured by visitors to fit with changing social situations. These meanings of *barakah* are constructed as logical explanations of their behavior during *ziarah* rituals. For example, visitors who perform their *ziarah* by rubbing Sunan Tembayat's tomb explain that rubbing is a means of bridging the gap between their tangible, material and temporal existence and the unseen, spiritual world. Visitors also know that their rationales may differ from those of others; visitors maintain that peoples' explanation of their activities is formulated through their experiences. They also believe that although visitors differ in their practices and rationales, they have the same end. I examine *ziarah* not as a set of curiosities taken out of popular context but as living, vital important elements in the day-to-day lives of visitors and Bayat people.

Semedi, Nenepi and Impen

After performing *ziarah*, most visitors spend at least one night at the graveyard, waiting for a sign of *barakah* from Sunan Tembayat. Visitors spend this waiting time in various ways, the most popular

being *semedi* (meditation), *nenepi* (meditation with special attitudes and procedures) and *impen* (dreaming). Each way is believed to be best performed in a certain place. For example, *semedi* is believed to be best conducted at the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb and in its surrounding areas, whereas *nenepi* is best performed somewhere considered to have certain spiritual powers, such as behind the mosque, at the remains (*petilasan*) of Sunan Tembayat's mosque and at the tombs of Sunan Tembayat's descendants. Dreaming, however, is best done in areas close to Sunan Tembayat's tomb.

Some visitors perform *semedi* by sitting with crossed legs (*sila*), with their arms folded across their chest (*sedekap*), and with eyes closed to maximize concentration. These visitors meditate at least all night long in a special place, such as in front of the long tomb located to the right of the main building of Sunan Tembayat, concluding when the cocks crow. These visitors select the places on the basis of reports that most visitors who meditate there receive *ngalamat*. However, not all visitors meditate at this place. The appropriate place to meditate depends on the purposes of *ziarah*. If visitors wish to gain *ngalamat* ensuring their success in business, it is suggested that they meditate in front of the tomb of the successful trader (*juragan*) Dampu Alam, Sunan Tembayat's treasurer. This tomb is located on the right side of the Sunan Tembayat's main building, side by side with the tomb of Ki Ageng Pawilangan, Sunan Tembayat's secretary. Visitors who wish to achieve career success are advised to meditate at the Ki Ageng Pawilangan, Sunan Tembayat's secretary. One visitor reported that he always received *ngalamat* relating to educational matters, career, and even to lottery numbers, every time he meditates at the Ki Ageng Pawilangan's tomb. Other people suggest meditating at the ruins (*petilasan*) of Sunan Tembayat's mosque at the top of the Jabalkat Hill in order to acquire physical power.

The second way of waiting for *barakah*, *nenepi*, is rarely performed because its requirements are very rigorous. For example, a visitor who wishes to acquire an amulet to attract a woman (*pengasih*) through *nenepi* should perform *kungkum* (immersing oneself in water) and *pasa mutih* (eating only white foods, such as rice) for three nights, and make offerings that consist of vegetables, chicken, fruits, *jenang abang* and *jenang putih*. *Kungkum* is conducted in the pool of Sunan Tembayat's wife, whereas offerings are made at her tomb. Afterward, the person meditates for at least three days at the tomb of Sunan Tembayat's wife.

It is essential that *nenepi* procedures are not changed, because alterations will affect the outcome. *Nenepi* procedures are transmitted in oral traditions. Sometimes, people just recall the procedure of people who have succeeded in their *nenepi*. For example, the procedure for attracting a *pengasih* is based on the practice of following those who have succeeded in doing it. If people fail to acquire a *pengasih* by *nenepi*, then the failure is analyzed with a view to perfecting the *nenepi*. The factors analyzed include the seriousness with which *nenepi* is performed, and the completion of required preparations, such as offerings, flowers and incense. People believe that the *nenepi* should be performed perfectly.¹⁹

Impen is the most popular and the easiest way to await *barakah*. To have a dream is considered easy. However, in terms of the results, dreams offer the least hope of success because people do not always dream in their sleep. Some people also have difficulty in recalling the events that occur in a dream. Moreover, few people know how to interpret the signs (*ngalamat*) that are given in a dream. Some visitors prolong their *ziarah* and stay at the graveyard until they have dreams.

The place where people sleep is considered by some to be an important determinant of the kind of dreams they will have. Some visitors sleep near to certain tombs because they wish to receive a certain *ngalamat*.²⁰ However, others do not believe that the place influences the *ngalamat* that will be obtained; wherever they sleep in the graveyard complex, they will have a good dream. They suggest choosing a place that is conducive to sleep. A nice sleep will encourage dreaming. Therefore, rather than sleeping at the main tomb, which is quiet, dark and scary, and which may disturb sleep, they prefer to sleep in the *juru kunci*'s hall, which is pleasant and comfortable.

Compared to the other two ways of waiting for *ngalamat*, *nenepi* is the most difficult. Most people give up midway through the *nenepi*. However, in terms of results, *nenepi* often gives a direct result. A young man who wandered around the sacred tombs of Javanese *wali* recounted his experience:

"I was a motorbike racer, but only a regional racer. In the regional championship unfortunately I always failed at the final race. This is because those who contested at the final stage had a better amulet than I had. Previously I searched for an amulet to ensure safety, to protect my body from serious injury. However, after I discovered that some racers had an amulet to support their motorbike, I went to a *kyai* to search for such an amulet. The *kyai* asked me to conduct *nenepi* for at least a week at the corner outside his house. On the seventh day of

my *nenepi* an old man approached me, and he struck my knee with his hands. I screamed because it was so painful. Afterward, the man gave me a glass of water. When I opened my eyes, there was no one beside me. Feeling scared, I ran into my *kyai*'s house and told him what had just happened. Then he explained that a power had entered my body. The old man who struck my knee actually had introduced the power into my body. The *kyai* took a big stone and threw it at my knee, but I did not feel anything. The water, my *kyai* said, is for your engine. Just take a little amount of water into your wheel, it will fasten the motorbike. My *kyai* advised me, "Do not ever show your power to people". But, I did not take my *kyai*'s advice, and I used my power to destroy my opponent's motorbike in front of a crowd of people. After that, my power disappeared, and my motorbike and legs were not protected any more. My leg was broken, and I never again contested a race."

According to some visitors, these three methods form a kind of hierarchy. If visitors obtain *ngalamat* through *impen*, they do not apply the other methods. If visitors do not get *ngalamat* while sleeping, it will be suggested that they meditate; and if they still do not obtain *ngalamat* through meditation, people will urge them to perform *nenepi*. However, other visitors argue that *nenepi* and *semedi* are improper ways of conducting *ziarah*. In these peoples' beliefs that these methods are not based on the right belief.

Barakah and Perolehan

Javanese visit not only the pious Islamic *wali*, but also other sites or objects that are believed to have spiritual power. The most popular sites are mountains, rivers, trees or special sites with a specific spiritual story, such as the *sumur tiban* ('fallen well') in the area of Ranggawarsita's graveyard. The well is called a 'fallen well' because, according to tradition, it was not made by humans, but fell from the sky. Some people perform *nenepi* at the well and bathe there in the middle of the night to obtain *rejeke* (livelihood).

In Bayat, visitors distinguish between the results obtained through *ziarah* to the pious Islamic *wali* and the results achieved through visits to other objects or places; the former are called *barakah*, the latter *perolehan* (a noun meaning 'something that is obtained from', deriving from *oleh*, meaning 'to get').²¹ While *barakah* is considered to be good, *perolehan* is seen by some people as improperly acquired and thus harmful.²² This is because, according to some visitors, *perolehan*, e.g. *pengasih* (a means of attracting people), *pesugihan* (a means of accumulating wealth), and *penglaris* (a means of trading more successfully), are not acquired in the normal way. To obtain these

perolehan one employs a devil. Even though it is true that *perolehan* can generate material wealth, it will not ensure true happiness. *Barakah*, however, helps people to achieve happiness.

People characterize *barakah* as 'good' for two reasons: its source and the means of acquiring it. *Barakah* is derived from *wali*, pious people rewarded by God for their dedication to God. *Perolehan*, however, is obtained through visiting sites that have no relation to God. The visit to these sites is associated with a visit to a supernatural power. Although it is true that *perolehan* derives from spiritual power residing in certain things, such as mountains and rivers, *perolehan* is not pure.

Barakah is considered to be good, since it is obtained in the right manner, such as by *tablil*, and by the normal way of conducting *ziarah*. *Perolehan* is obtained differently. A visitor described an example:

"Once my neighbor suggested that I search for *perolehan* at Mountain Kawi.²³ He had gone to the mountain and he became rich. He obtained a *pesugihan* called a 'green giant' (*buto ijo*) from the mountain Kawi and was told that he had to feed the giant with special food. He never told me about the food that he had to give the giant. Villagers assumed that the giant was fed with children, because all my neighbor's children died at an early age. To obtain such a *pesugihan* at Mount Kawi, people have to enter a contract with the giant. The contract specifies the duration that the *pesugihan* will be possessed, the feeding requirements of the *pesugihan* and other requirements. Furthermore, people have to conduct a special meditation that consists of making offerings in special homage to the spirit who looks after the mountain (*danyang*), by making offerings such as their children, and fasting for fourteen days in the mountain area. The wealth gained from the *pesugihan* does not last long. Those who possess it often meet with an accident or die suddenly. My neighbor, for example, had his wealth destroyed by fire."

Different interpretations of *barakah* shape the entire discourse of *ziarah*. The concept of *barakah* becomes an 'ideological basis' for the explanation of *ziarah*. Visitors base their logical explanation for performing a certain procedural *ziarah* on their particular concept of *barakah*. Peoples' explanation of *perolehan* can be seen in two ways. First, visitors in Bayat believe that *ziarah* to any place will provide results. Second, the concept of *perolehan* is provided to distinguish between good and bad *barakah* achieved through *ziarah*. Third, *perolehan* and *barakah* are used to give a distinctive value to *ziarah* to pious Islamic *wali*.

In spite of this debate concerning the differences between *barakah*

and *perolehan*, there are some people who argue that the result of *ziarah* is not expressed in terms of *baraka* or *perolehan* explained above. They believe that the *ziarah* is a journey to get peace (*ketentreman*) and wisdom (*waskita*). These people visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb to seek peace and wisdom, not *baraka* and *perolehan*.

Cocok and Ikhtiar

Visitors who perform *ziarah* at the Bayat grave complex come from all over Java, even from outside Java. Some visitors argue that their *ziarah* is a programmatic *zi*, involving visits to all the pious *wali* throughout Java. Their visit to Sunan Tembayat's tomb, therefore, is a part of that long journey. During their visits they conduct *ziarah* with *tablil*, reciting the Qur'ân, meditating and so forth. The aim of the programmatic *ziarah*, some visitors point out, is to find eternal wisdom and an heirloom.

However, some visitors argue that their *ziarah* is an effort (*ikhtiar*) to improve their lives. These visitors assert that their *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb is not part of a programmatic *ziarah*, but rather is intended to find the place most personally appropriate (*cocok*) for *ziarah* in order to achieve their goals. One visitor from Demak preferred to visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb, which is quite far from Demak, rather than to visit Sunan Kalijaga's tomb, which is closer, because he felt more *cocok* performing *ziarah* at Sunan Tembayat's tomb.

The concept of *cocok* in *ziarah* is important. Not only does this concept explain the failure of visitors' *ziarah* to certain places, but also it provides a legitimization of *ziarah* beliefs. Visitors often compare with each other methods of performing *ziarah*, including requirements for *ziarah*, *donga*, their intentions and their methods of awaiting *ngalamat*. However, in some cases, visitors may perform the *ziarah* in exactly the same manner and using the same methods, but achieve different results. In such cases, visitors may doubt the success of their *ziarah*. The concept of *cocok* plays an important role in rebuilding peoples' confidence in their *ziarah*. A *juru kunci* explained:

"Many people come to me asking for a logical explanation of their *ziarah* because they doubt that they can obtain *baraka* from their *ziarah* since many of them have obtained nothing though they may have completed the *ziarah*. Of course, I give a different explanation to different people. For people who have a strong Islamic background, I say that we humans cannot determine the success

of our efforts. Although humans have carried out their efforts, they cannot guarantee their success, but only God does. Thus, *ziarah* is a prayer addressed toward God to obtain success. However, for people who do not have a strong Islamic background, I choose rather to use the Javanese concept of *cocok*. If a visitor succeeds in his/her *ziarah* in Sunan Tembayat's tomb that means that the place is *cocok* for him/her, but if another fails to gain any *ngalamat* from Sunan Tembayat's tomb, it means that the place is not *cocok*. Therefore, if a visitor fails to obtain *baraka* from a certain *wali*'s tomb, he/she should wander to other *walis'* tombs to find the *cocok* place."

Javanese sometimes interpret *cocok* as referring to the concept of *jodo(h)* (suitable or partner). If a person becomes sick and does not recover after taking a certain medication, while another person with the same sickness and taking the same medicine does recover, it means that the medicine is not *jodo* for the first person, while it is for the second. If a person fails to marry her/his fiancée though they have been engaged for a long time, it means that they are not *jodo*. If a person is given a heirloom and suddenly becomes sick, it means that the heirloom is not *jodo* for that person. If a person makes an offer for land but fails to negotiate a good price, it is said that the land is not *jodo* for him. Therefore, when visitors do not gain *ngalamat* from Sunan Tembayat it is because the place is not *jodo* for them.

Visitors to Bayat consider many potential causes of *ziarah* failures, such as the procedures used in performing *ziarah*, the comprehensiveness of meeting *ziarah* requirements, the reciting of the *donga*, and the intention. If they do not find anything amiss in these areas, they return to the concepts of *cocok* and *jodo*. *Juru kunci* argue that the concepts of *cocok* and *jodo* play important roles in building visitors' feelings of equanimity (*ikhlas*). Referring to *cocok* and *jodo* visitors can accept any result of *ziarah* with equanimity.

To sum up, the *ziarah* ritual is sometimes portrayed as an autonomous activity distinct from particular religious ideas. The emergence of various forms of *ziarah* discourse result from peoples' diverse understandings of the meaning of *baraka*. The whole structure of discourse concerning the concept of *baraka* among *juru kunci* and visitors serves primarily to answer the questions posed by visitors and *juru kunci* to provide a cultural logic for their *ziarah*. This in turn influences the way that people rationalize the results of their *ziarah*. Visitors to Bayat explain *baraka* in terms of material and spiritual qualities. Furthermore, the concept of *baraka* is influenced by the social context in which the concepts of *baraka* are formulated.

Endnotes

1. Visitors, who have visited Bayat seven times, will hold a *hajjat slametan* to symbolise it, as it is believed that the seventh visit to Sunan Tembayat is very important. A *hajjat slametan* is performed to celebrate the reception of *baraka* from the Sunan. A visitor who feels that he has received *baraka* from Sunan Tembayat is obligated to conduct a *slametan* as a way of showing his thanks to the Sunan Tembayat. The *hajjat slametan*, as implied by the designation, *hajjat*, 'intention', is performed to declare the intention of *ziarah*.
2. This Javanese system is called *Pasaran*, deriving from *pasar*, meaning 'market'. This system is named *Pasaran* because it is used to indicate markets. For example, a market on *Pahing* day will busy with animal trade, whereas on *Kliwon* the market will sell vegetables and so forth. The *Pasaran* consists of five days, *Wage*, *Kliwon*, *Legi*, *Pahing* and *Pon*.
3. The *petungan* is also used by Javanese thieves. For example, on a Friday *Kliwon* night, the thief should enter by the rear door, on another day through the window and, on yet another, should not enter the house before 12 o'clock midnight. The chief of a small village in western Klaten was known as a thief catcher, because he knew the thieves' use of *petungan*.
4. To differentiate whether a person dreams at the middle of the night or at the meaning, people in Bayat consider the time when the person awakes from the dream. They believe that usually people awake after having a dream.
5. In Morocco, for example, where the traditions of Sufism is sustained, the Maraboutism tradition practice the herediteral concept of transforming a status. A Marabout in a certain *zawiya* (lodge) obtains his status from his father. The first Marabout, like Sheikh Lusi in Atlas, claimed his maraboutic status by linking him with the Prophet Muhammad and his families, the Sharif families.
6. *Garebeg* is a ceremony held three times a year: once to commemorate the birth of Prophet Muhammad (*Garebeg Mulud*), once to celebrate the end of the month of fasting (*Garebeg Syawal*); and once to solemnise the day of sacrifice (*Garebeg Besar*). *Garebeg Mulud* is conducted on a larger scale every eight years. In these *garebeg*, the sacred *pusaka* of Yogyakarta court are paraded and shown to the public (Soelarto, 1993).
7. The smoke of incense also can be used to repel mosquitoes. This need is evident in the places where visitors conduct their meditations. They mostly conduct their meditations, or *nenepi*, in a quiet place, such as on a mountain, at a river, or in the jungle where insects abound. In Bayat, for example, there is a special place to meditate on the top of Mount Jabalkat, which is full of mosquitoes. There are some *warung* (little shops) near the location that sell mosquito repellent. Some visitors do not buy the formula, because they use incense to repel mosquitos.
8. In Java *cocok* has more meanings than simply 'suitable'. If a woman gets married to a man and they live happily, it means that they are *cocok*. If a person takes medicine and he recovers, the medicine is *cocok*. If a person, after changing his/her name is always sick, it signifies that the name is not *cocok*. If a visitor brings a flower for his *ziarah* and he does not gain *baraka*, it could be because the flower is not *cocok*.
9. The word *baraka(h)*, derives from Arabic alphabet the ba-ra-ka-h. Arabic word which end with h (*tak marbutah*) are adopted into Javanese either with 'h' or 't', such as *berkat* or *berkah*, and *rahmat* or *rahmah*.

10. In studying Maraboutism in North Africa, anthropologists, such as Evans-Pritchard, Gellner, Gilsenan, Eickelman, Trimingham, Geertz and others, argue that *baraka* is 'God's blessing' which make the people who have it particularly well placed to serve as intermediaries with the supernatural and to communicate God's grace to the people (Evans-Pritchard, 1949; Gellner, 1969; Eickelman, 1976; Gilsenan, 1973).
11. This understand is also found in other Muslim regions, such as North Africa. There Evans-Pritchard, Gellner, Eickelman, Gilsenan and others also found the same tendency to interpret *baraka* as applying to mundane qualities.
12. He is a *kyai* respected by the *juru kunci* and the Bayat community. He always prays at official ceremonies held in Bayat, such as *pasang singep* and *sadranan*.
13. *Ibadah* derives from Arabic *ibadah* (worship to Allah). In Islamic terms the word *ibadah* signifies 'every action which is good and based on the worship to God.' The actions which are considered as *ibadah* will have a reward from Allah.
14. This view resembles Malinowski's discussion of magic and religion in which he maintained that, "those who are well acquainted with some good magic have, in virtue of that, courage and confidence".
15. "*Bismillahi Arrahman Arrahim. Duh Gusti Allah, sak menawi rejeki kula menika tasih gumantung wanten ing langit, mugi Allah kersa nurunaken, lan menawi rejeki kula tasih sumimpun wanten ing njera bumi, mugi Allah kersa angedalaken, lan mbak menawi rejeki kula menika tebih kaleh papan panggenan kula, mugi Allah kersa nyedakaken, lan mbak bilih rejeki kula menika haram, mugi Allah kersa nyucekaken.*" This prayer is always recited by the *Kyai* of Bayat whenever he recites prayers at ceremonies such as the *pasang singep* and *sadranan*.
16. There is a controversy in differentiating between miracles performed by a *wali* and miracles by the Prophet. Some Sufi argued that a *wali*'s miracles actually trickle from the Prophet's miracles, like 'a drop trickling from a full skin of honey' (Nicholson, 1989: 129).
17. *Widayat* is a Javanese term for *hidayat*, meaning a direction (*petunjuk*). This word is used by Muslims to refer to a kind of revelation given to a person who embraces Islam and becomes a serious Muslim. For example, a non-Muslim who converts to Islam is said to have received revelation (*hidayat* in Arabic and *Widayat* in Javanese). A Muslim who does not seriously obey Islamic teachings, and then becomes serious about practicing Islam, is regarded to have receiving *hidayah*.
18. *Ruwah* is the seventh Javanese month. The Javanese months are *Sura*, *Sapar*, *Mulud*, *Ba'da Mulud*, *Jumadilawal*, *Jumadilahir*, *Rejeb*, *Ruwah*, *Pasa*, *Sawal*, *Dulkangidah* and *Besar* (Except for *Ruwah*, *Pasa* and *Besar* these terms are derived from the Islamic lunar calendar. Some *juru kunci* speculate that *Pasang Singep* ceremony is conducted during *Ruwah*, in part, to commemorate the day of Sunan Tembayat's revelation.
19. This calls to mind Malinowski's discussion of the effectiveness of magic in Trobriand Islanders. People on the island analyse the failure of magic through the imperfection of the magic preparation, including the spell, requirements of performing magic and so forth.
20. Sleeping at Sunan Tembayat's main building is forbidden. Therefore, on the busiest nights some visitors take the opportunity to sleep for a while at the main building while the *juru kunci* are busy assisting other visitors.
21. People even distinguish between the results achieved through *ziarah* in Bayat areas. Some say that *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's wife and Sunan Tembayat's

- friends, *Seb Kewel* and *Seb Domba perolehan*.
22. Some people, however, do not see *perolehan* negatively. Some people seriously pursue them. In Bayat, a rich family is obligated to assure other people that their wealth is not achieved through *perolehan*. When I chat with a villager, he described his success, including his ability to educate all their children in the big cities, Jakarta and Yogyakarta. He assured me that he never employed *perolehan*. He further explained that in Bayat, if there were a successful family, there would be rumour that the family employs *perolehan*. One visitor from Magelang explained that it is a shame if a family is known to have a *perolehan*.
 23. This mountain is considered to be a place to acquire *pesugihan* (a means of gaining wealth).

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