

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 13, Number 3, 2006



THE CLASH OF MUSLIMS AND THE STATE:
WAQF AND ZAKAT IN POST INDEPENDENCE INDONESIA

Asep Saepudin Jahar

ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES
IN INDONESIAN ISLAMIC EDUCATION INSTITUTION

Jamhari and Jajat Burhanudin

MEANING REVEALED:
GREBEG BESAR IN DEMAK CENTRAL JAVA

Siti Muawanah

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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 13, no. 3, 2006

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 23a/DIKTI/2004).

Siti Muawanah

Meaning Revealed: *Grebeg Besar* in Demak Central Java

Abstraksi: Artikel ini membahas salah satu ritual penting dalam masyarakat Jawa, grebeg besar. Demak, salah satu kota santri di Jawa Tengah, diambil sebagai tempat penelitian. Seperti ritual-ritual lainnya, grebeg besar sarat dengan simbol dan makna. Grebeg sendiri artinya 'berkumpul' untuk mendapatkan makanan dan uang dari sang raja. Menurut cerita, ritual grebeg besar sudah ada sejak zaman Raden Fatah.

Suatu hari pada 1506, Raden Fatah keluar dari istana membawa makanan dan uang untuk dibagikan kepada rakyatnya. Rakyat berbondong-bondong datang untuk mendapatkan makanan dan uang tersebut. Peristiwa ini adalah awal mula terjadinya grebeg besar. Atas usul Sunan Giri, ritual ini dilaksanakan pada bulan Haji bertepatan dengan Hari Raya Kurban. Dari sini istilah 'Besar' berasal. Idul Adha dipercaya lebih besar dari Idul Fitri. Karena itu di beberapa tempat di Jawa, Idul Adha juga disebut Hari Raya Agung.

Pada 1846, penguasa Demak saat itu Adipati Condronggoro memasukkan sejumlah kegiatan budaya dalam ritual grebeg besar ini. Ritual-ritual itu adalah barong hakikat, topeng syari'at, dan ronggeng ma'rifat. Dari penyebutannya tampak sekali bagaimana pesan-pesan agama dibungkus dalam kesenian. Pada tahun yang sama, ritual penjamasan pusaka Sunan Kalijaga dilakukan untuk pertama kali. Lebih dari satu abad kemudian, tepatnya pada 1976, penguasa Demak saat itu, Drs. Winarna Surya Adisubrata, memasukkan ritual baru pada acara grebeg besar, yaitu slametan tumpeng sembilan, yang melambangkan sembilan wali yang telah berjasa mengislamkan tanah Jawa.

Meskipun ritual ini sekarang lebih merupakan helat budaya, tujuan yang sebenarnya adalah untuk menanamkan nilai-nilai agama kepada masyarakat Jawa yang menyukai kesenian. Pesan-pesan simbolik yang dikandung dalam ritual ini adalah pelajaran penting bagi masyarakat yang dari masa ke masa tetap dilestarikan. Sekarang acara ini, di samping berfungsi sebagai penanda identitas masyarakat Muslim Demak dan Jawa Tengah umumnya, memiliki aspek ekonomi karena banyak menarik wisatawan baik lokal maupun mancanegara.

Penjamasan (pencucian) pusaka Sunan Kalijaga memiliki daya tarik tersendiri. Pada tanggal 10 Dzulhijjah, prajurit Patangpuluhan (terdiri dari empat puluh orang) membersihkan pusaka. Mereka mengenakan pakaian tradisional Jawa dan mengarak pusaka keliling kota. Sebelum prosesi dimulai ada tarian Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa yang dipertunjukkan sembilan penari. Tarian ini menyimbolkan prinsip "manunggaling kawula gusti" sebuah prinsip teosofi Jawa tentang "bersatunya manusia dengan Tuhan". Untuk menunjukkan bahwa tarian ini telah diislamkan, lagu Ilir-ilir karangan Sunan Kalijaga didendangkan. Lagu ini sarat dengan ibarat. Ada yang menafsirkan lagu ini menggambarkan tanah Jawa yang sudah "ijo royo-royo" karena perkembangan Islam, bak sepasang pengantin yang cantik jelita.

Ritual lainnya yang juga penting adalah Buka Makam. Sebelum ritual dimulai, dilakukan tahlil yang dipimpin seorang kyai kharismatik. Kemudian juru kunci membuka makam dan mengeluarkan satu persatu pusaka dibantu oleh tim penjamas. Di luar hadir sejumlah orang dari pihak penguasa, ahli waris, dan masyarakat umum.

Seperti dijelaskan sebelumnya, ritual grebeg besar sarat dengan simbol dan makna. Di sinilah menariknya. Setiap orang berhak untuk menafsirkan simbol dan mengambil makna darinya. Paling tidak ada tiga bagian prosesi penting yang sarat makna, yaitu lagu Ilir-ilir, Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa, dan Hasta Bhrata (delapan kepemimpinan yang disimbolkan delapan unsur jagat raya—surya (matahari), chandra (bulan), kartika (bintang), maruta (angin), indra (awan), dahana (api), samudra (lautan), dan bhumi (bumi)).

Meskipun banyak unsur dalam ritual grebeg besar yang diambil dari kosmologi Hindu, mereka telah diberi makna-makna Islam, sehingga justru unsur-unsur Islam begitu menonjol. Sewaktu mengawalinya saja hadirin diharuskan membaca dua kalimat syahadat, diikuti tahlil. Dengan demikian, dalam ritual grebeg besar unsur Islam dan unsur Hindu-Jawa menyatu sedemikian rupa membentuk satu kesatuan yang utuh.

Meaning Revealed: *Grebeg Besar* in Demak Central Java

الخلاصة: تناول هذه المقالة طقوسا مهمة في المجتمع الجاوي هي "جريبك" الكبيرة. ويركز البحث على المدينة "ديمك" المعروف بمدينة الطلاب الدينية في جاوه الوسطى. و"جريبك" الكبيرة مثل الطقوس الأخرى مليئة بالرموز والمعاني. ولفظ "جريبك" يعني "التجمع" للحصول على المأكولات والنقود من الملك، وقيل إنها ظهرت في عصر الملك عبد الفتاح.

حدث يوم من أيام في سنة ١٥٠٦ أن الملك عبد الفتاح خرج من قصره بالمأكولات والنقود لتوزيعها إلى الناس، فجاء الناس في تجمع كبير للحصول على المأكولات والنقود المذكورة. هذا الحادث هو بداية الظهور لما يسمى بـ"جريبك" الكبيرة. ثم اقترح السونان "جيرى" على إقامتها في شهر الحج الموافق بعيد الأضحى. من هنا جاء لفظ الكبير في "جريبك" معتقدا بأن عيد الأضحى أكبر من عيد الفطر. لذلك في بعض المناطق يطلق عيد الأضحى أيضا بعيد الكبير أو العظيم.

وفي عام ١٨٤٦، قام حاكم الولاية "ديمك" (أدياتي شندرونيجورو) في ذلك العصر بإدخال بعض الأنشطة الثقافية في "جريبك" الكبيرة، منها "بارونج حقيقات" و"توينج شريعات" و"رونجينج معرفات". وهذه الأسماء من ناحية لفظية تتضمن على نصيحة دينية مغلوقة بالفنون. وفي نفس العام، ولأول مرة تمت العناية المتميزة (الغسل) بتراث "السونان كالي جاغا"، وبعد أكثر من القرن أو بالتحديد في سنة ١٩٧٦، قام حاكم الولاية "ديمك" بإدخال طقوس جديدة هي "سلاميتان تومبينج سيميلان" إلى "جريبك" الكبيرة التي تعبر عن شخصيات الأولياء التسعة المعروفة بجهودهم في نشر الإسلام بجزيرة جاوه.

بالرغم من هذه الطقوس تمثل احتفالا ثقافيا، لكن أهدافها كانت لتغريس القيم الدينية في المجتمع الجاوي المحب للفنون. والنصائح الخفية التي تكمن في الطقوس هي الدراسة المهمة التي تبقى عبر العصور. بجانب هذه الطقوس من المميزات أو الهويات للمسلمين في ديمك وجاوه الوسطى عامة، إلا أن لها جوانب اقتصادية، لأنها تستطيع جلب السياح المحليين والأجانب.

وتنظيف التراث للسونان كاليجاغاله جاذبية متميزة حيث يقوم ٤٠ جندا بتنظيف التراث في يوم ١٠ ذوالحجة بإرتداء الملابس التقليدية الجاوية، هؤلاء الجنود يحمل التراث ويطوف به حول المدينة. قبل بداية التنظيف، قدم عدد ٩ راقصين الرقص "بيدايا تونجال جيوا" الذي يعبر عن نظرية "مانونجالينج كاوولا غوستي" التي هي مبدأ ثيوصوفي جاوي عن الاتحاد بين الإنسان والإله. وتأثير إسلامي على هذا الرقص يتبين في الأغنية "إير إير" التي ألفها السونان كالي جاغا. وهي الأغنية مليئة بالعبير الدينية. ويرى البعض أن هذه الأغنية تعبر عن سعادة أرض جاوه من انتشار الإسلام "إجو رويو رويو" مثل العريس والعروسة الجميلة.

وأهم الطقوس الأخرى هي "بوكا مقام" (فتح المقبرة). وقبل بدء الطقوس، يهلل العالم الكبير، ثم يفتح صاحب المفتاح للمقبرة ويخرج منها التراث واحدا بعد الآخر بمساعدة طاقم التنظيف. وفي خارجها، تجمع عدد كبير من المسؤولين والأقارب والناس.

وقلنا من قبل إن طقوس "جريبك" الكبيرة مليئة بالرموز والمعاني التي لها جاذبية خاصة. ولكل إنسان حق في تفسير رموزها والاستفادة من معانيها. هنا ثلاثة أقسام مهمة على الأقل في الطقوس المذكورة التي لها معنى خاص، هي الأغنية "إير إير" و"بيدايا تونجال جيوا" و"هاستا بهراتا" تعني ثمانية الرؤساء المعيرة عن عناصر العالم وهي الشمس والقمر والنجم والرياح والسحاب والنار والمحيط والأرض.

بالرغم من عناصر عديدة في "جريبك" الكبيرة مأخوذة من فلسفة الكون الجاوية، إلا أنها تأثرت بالمعاني الإسلامية حتى ظهرت عناصر إسلامية بصورة ملحوظة. وفي بداية الطقوس يجب الحاضرون على قراءة الشهاداتتين، ثم التهليلات. على ذلك نلاحظ أن في طقوس "جريبك" الكبيرة اندماج قوي بين عناصر إسلامية وعناصر هندوكية جاوية.

Islamic celebrations, amongst other things, function as an identity marker. Identity can pertain to ethnicity, nationality or social group, which in turn defines their culture, status, world-view, and ways of thinking. Identity can be defined as “an unchanging feature of a person or group which is regarded as a means of asserting their contemporary solidarity and their continuity with the past.”¹ When discussing Lynch’s conception of the meaning of ‘identity’ in the context of understanding urban environment, Reynt J. Sluis writes, “Identity is the manner in which different spatial elements in the city, like streets and blocks of houses, differ from each other.”² In other words, identity is what makes us different from others.

Among those who have discussed the functions and roles of rituals as an identity marker is Muhaimin A.G. Based on his research of the people of Cirebon in West Java, he says that in the Javanese context there are at least two functions which are inherently contained in Islamic celebrations, namely maintaining cultural heritage and expressing their religious identity.³

In terms of the first function, Muhaimin explains that the Javanese, who are mostly Muslims, are bound by Islamic law to perform daily prayers, fast during the month of Ramadan each year, and for those who can afford it carry out the pilgrimage to Mecca once in a life time, amongst other ritual obligations. Such religious duties as the fast of Ramadan are carried out according to the Islamic or lunar calendar. Dutch colonization, however, hampered the use of this calendar by officially imposing the use of the solar calendar. While the calendar has not completely ceased to be used, in daily life — especially in urban areas — the lunar calendar is almost non-functional.⁴

In terms of the second function, Muhaimin notes that by commemorating holy days, local people express publicly that they belong to the Muslim community, regardless of whether or not in daily life their behaviour conforms to Islamic precepts. For them, becoming involved in religious celebrations means that they are attached to the Muslim community; they work together in groups, set up committees, raise funds, administer the proceedings and so on. Thus, a renewal of social bonds in a sacred atmosphere of Muslim brotherhood as well as a refreshed “concept of religions” is re-established.⁵

This article examines a Javanese Muslim celebration known as *Grebeg Besar*, a celebration which maintains cultural heritage, disseminates Islam and raises the regional income of the people of Demak.

Demak as a Centre for Forming Identity

Demak was established by Raden Fatah.⁶ According to *Babad Tanah Jawa*, Raden Fatah was a descendant of the last Majapahit king, Kertabhumi Brawijaya V, from a Chinese prince⁷ who was given to his favourite boy, a governor of Palembang, Arya Damar or Joko Dillah.⁸ Together with his younger brother, Raden Husen,⁹ Raden Fatah went to Java to devote his life to the King Brawijaya V,¹⁰ by joining a ship of a trader. After landing on the coast of Java,¹¹ these two brothers went their separate ways. Raden Husen continued his journey to Majapahit and became an Adipati of Terung, while Raden Fatah felt reluctant to serve a *kafir* (infidel) king and preferred to learn Islam under the tutelage of Sunan Ampel. Raden Fatah later married Sunan Ampel's granddaughter, Nyi Agung Mandaka,¹² the first daughter of Nyai Gede Maloka.¹³

Raden Fatah was then instructed by his teacher, Sunan Ampel, to go to Glagah Wangi to spread Islamic teachings. There Raden Fatah established a *padhepokan*. And as time went by more and more people came to stay in Glagah Wangi. Further to teaching them about Islam, he also gave the people physical (military) training.¹⁴ The place became so crowded that it at one stage contained 10,000 inhabitants.¹⁵

According to oral history, the first person whom Raden Fatah met in Glagah Wangi (later known as Bintoro Demak) was Nyai Lembah from Rawa Pening.¹⁶ Nyai Lembah helped Raden Fatah establish *Kadipaten* so she was regarded as *abdi kinasih* (the most beloved servant) and was honoured by being buried at *makam Sentana Ratu* complex.¹⁷

The Origins of *Grebeg Besar*

According to Wojowasito, *grebeg* means *kelompokan*, *bunyi keras*, *gumrebeg*, *bising* and *berisik*¹⁸ (i.e. 'a group of people', 'a noisy situation', 'busy', 'crowded' and 'publicly interesting', respectively). A similar meaning was also stated by Syafi'i, a *ta'mir* of the Grand Mosque of Demak, "*grebeg nggih keramean niku*" (*grebeg* is the noisy crowded event).¹⁹ There are, however, different opinions on the origins of the term *grebeg*. Muhaimin assumes that the word *grebeg* is from *anggrubyug* meaning *mengiringi* (together with).²⁰ Pudjosumedi, a *pengamat budaya Demak* (a cultural surveyor), suggests that *grebeg* means "*mengantarkan*" atau "*mengarak*"²¹ (to accompany in procession). Soelarto explains more clearly that the word *grebeg* stems from the Javanese word (h)*annigarebeg* which means "*men-*

giringi raja, pembesar dan pengantin"²² (accompanying kings, nobles and officials or brides).

For the majority of people in Demak, *Grebeg* means an event like *pasar malam* (a public bazaar held for a special occasion).²³ There people display for sale such goods as dinner sets, clothing, toys and so on. There is also a wide variety of culinary delights available, including meat balls, chicken noodles and satay. There are also different kinds of performances and shows such as *Tong Setan* and *Dangdut* (a sort of music).

While people in Demak and some surrounding areas such as Kadilangu²⁴ (a small village southeast of Demak) may refer to this public event as *Grebeg Besar*, others refer to this action of visiting the public market simply as *Besaran*.²⁵ *Grebeg Besar*, however, does not simply refer to a particular event where people from different areas meet and gather to hold various activities such as stalls, performances and the like, but is rather a set of programs organized by the government starting with the opening ceremony and ending with a closing ceremony. Activities include: visiting the graveyards of Demak rulers laid down in the Grand Mosque complex; slaughtering animals for *Qurban*; and performing *Idul Adha* prayers.

The term *Besar* itself refers to the name of the last month in the Javanese calendar, which is also equivalent to the month of *Dzulhijjah*, also the last month on the Islamic calendar. Another reason *Dzulhijjah* is called *Besar* is that it is in this month that Muslims sacrifice animals in accordance with Islamic tradition, which states that the Prophet Ibrahim was instructed by Allah to sacrifice his beloved son, Ismail. In addition, it is during this month that Muslims from around the world perform *hajj*.

Another name for this *Idul Adha* is *Idul Akbar*²⁶ (the big *Id*), in contrast to *Idul Fitri* which can be called *Idul Asghar*²⁷. Ma'ruf argues that *Idul Adha* is known as *Idul Akbar* because of the significance of the *qurban* sacrifice, as well as the fact that it is at this time that Muslims are allowed to call *takbir* (i.e. chant "Allahu akbar" or God is great). In *Idul Adha*, Muslims are allowed to perform *takbir* from the disappearance of the sun on the tenth of *Dzulhijjah* to the following three days, (*tasyriq* days), while on *Idul Fitri* once the sun moves to the West from its peak position in midday (around the *dhuhur* prayer time), Muslims are forbidden to call *takbir*.²⁸

According to Pudjosemedi, the *Grebeg Besar* has existed since 1506 in the period of Raden Fatah, the first ruler of Islamic kingdom of Demak Bintoro. At that time, the King, followed by *walis*,

ulama and officials of the kingdom, walked on foot toward *Alun-Alun* (the Public Square) to perform *udik-udik*, an action of throwing *uang receh* (pennies) while the people competed with each other to get them. After performing this ritual, the king would then come back to the palace while *walis* and *ulama* went to the Grand Mosque to give a religious speech.

Three years prior to this, in 1503, an epidemic struck Demak. There had also been a draught for a long time and many subjects of Demak suffered and died as a consequence. Sunan Kalijaga at that time got *wisik* (an inner inspiration) saying Demak would be free of such bad conditions if they performed a hunting ceremony and offered their ancestors worshipped animals in the investiture of the Sultan of Bintoro. Since such a ceremony was incompatible with Islamic teachings, Sunan Giri proposed an idea that the customary ritual be brought in line with *Idul Qurban* or *Idul Adha*. Sunan Ampel instructed the court officials and the ruler of Bintoro to slaughter animals and distribute their meat to the people.²⁹

Some say that *Grebeg Besar* was firstly aimed to celebrate *Idul Adha* and commemorate the establishment of the Grand Mosque of Demak. Its official establishment was declared by Sunan Giri at the first day of Dzulqa'dah 1428 as evident by the ancient inscription now kept at the museum of the Grand Mosque saying "*hadeg-ing masjid yasanipun para wali, nalika dinten Kamis Kliwon malem Jum'ah Legi tanggal 1 Dulkaidah tahun 1428*" (the mosque was established by *walis* on the night of *Kamis Kliwon* preceding *Jum'ah Legi* 1428).³⁰

Over time, the procession of *Grebeg Besar* has undergone some changes. In 1846 when Demak had become a regency, the regent Condronegoro IV had an idea to combine the tradition of *Grebeg Besar* with some cultural activities such as the dances of *barong hakikat*, *topeng shari'at* and *ronggeng ma'rifat*. This was meant to be a means of preaching Islam in the *pendapa* (large auditorium) of the regency. In the same year, there was also an agenda of *Penjamasan Pusaka* (washing the heirlooms) of Sunan Kalijaga held by *Kasepuhan* in Kadilangu. Pudjosemedi also notes that such a ritual was not accompanied by a procession as occurs today. One century later, in 1976, the regent of Demak, Drs. Winarna Surya Adisubrata modified the *Grebeg* procession by adding the procession of *Slametan Tumpeng*³¹ *Sembilan* (*slametan* of nine *tumpeng*), symbolizing the number of nine *walis* preaching Islam in Java, and the procession of *Prajurit Patangpuluhan* (forty soldiers) preceding the ritual of washing Sunan Kalijaga's heirlooms.³²

The Procession of *Grebeg Besar*

Different from other religious ceremonies which are often inaugurated by reciting *bismillah*, *Grebeg Besar* processions are opened by reciting the Islamic profession of faith which is "*Asyhadu an laa ilaaha illa Allah, wa asyhadu anna Muhammadan Rasulullah*" (I declare that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah).

Grebeg Besar functions to give the younger generation a greater religious spirit, although it is not purely Islamic but rather a cocktail of local culture, Javanese culture, and Islamic values. While *Grebeg Besar* can at times function to promote Islam, it has economic value as visitors must pay one thousand *rupiah* for entrance to the public bazaar as well as visiting the *makam* of Sunan Kalijaga, the regional income therefore will automatically increase. Such income is finally used for the welfare of subjects in Demak.

In 2006, the *Slametan Tumpeng Sembilan* was held on the evening of the ninth of *Dzulhijjah* 1426 H (January 9th 2006). The agenda was held in two places, *Pendapa Kabupaten* (District audience Hall) and the Grand Mosque. *Slametan Tumpeng Sembilan* was preceded by the performance of *Tari Zippin*. When the performers were echoing *shalawat Badar*, six dancers consisting of three females and three males danced in front of the regent and staff who stood up in the middle hall. After an official informed the regent that *Tumpeng Sembilan* were ready for the procession and the regent instructed him to do it, the group left the district hall towards the Grand Mosque in the following manner: leading the procession were the members of *rebana* in white dress walking in four rows. Following them were banner holders. *Ulama'* and *santri* bringing *obor* were behind the group of banner holders, followed by nine *tumpengs* symbolizing the nine *walis* in Java. Each *tumpeng* was shouldered by two men but one *tumpeng* taking the shape of a miniature of the Grand Mosque, as the leader of the other eight ones, was carried by four people. The carriers were like *abdi dalem keraton* (Javanese royal servants). They were attired in dark brown clothing with vertical lines, on their heads was a *kuluk* (Javanese headdress shaped like a fez) and long black trousers with *jarit* wound around their waist. In order to keep this procession safe from the crowds, some police stood hand in hand on the right and left sides of the street.

Slametan Tumpeng Sembilan was the core agenda in the Grand Mosque. Before *slametan*, however, the regent's group and audience listened to *pengajian*, an Islamic speech delivered by Kyai Ju-

pri from Pati. In his speech, the kyai revealed the roles of Muslims figures not only in preaching Islam but also in driving the colonialists out from Indonesia.

On the tenth of *Dzulhijjah* 1426 (January 10th 2006) which is regarded as the main ritual of *Grebeg Besar*, there was a procession of *Prajurit Patangpuluhan* (forty troops) from the hall to Kadilangu. The procession was held after *Idul Adha* prayers. As implied by its name, the number of *prajurit patangpuluhan* was forty divided into two groups, whose main purpose is to guard *lisah jamas* (washing oil) for *Penjamasan Pusaka Sunan Kalijaga* (washing the heirlooms of Sunan Kalijaga). With the exception of the commanders, the costumes of the *prajurit patangpuluhan* are red vests over a long-sleeved shirt, red knee-length trousers, and brown and white *blangkon*. In their right hands was a long lance while a round *tameng* (a shield for combat) with an eight-shining-points star taking blue as its background called *Surya Majapahit* is held in the other hand. For Javanese, *Surya Majapahit* is not simply a picture but a symbol of *Hasta Brata*, which signifies the values required to be a good leader.

Another important note is that the procession emphasizes the identity of Java. Different from the opening ceremony in which the used language is *Bahasa*, the language throughout the procession was *Krama Inggil* (high Javanese language). In addition, all key participants wore *pakaian adat Jawa* (characteristic Javanese costumes) in which men were wearing *beskap*, *jarit* and a *keris* (traditional Javanese knife) is slipped into their belt crossing to the right. With the exception of *Lurah Tamtama* who was wearing blue *beskap* and *blangkon* in the same colour and brown *jarit*, and his two assistants, wearing red *beskap*, brown *blangkon* and white *jarit* with diagonal lines, all key persons wore black *beskap*, brown *blangkon* and brown *jarit*. In addition to the regent, these men were given the chance to come in the *cungkup* of Sunan Kalijaga's makam in the ritual of washing his heirlooms.

Before *lisah jamas* was given to the *sesepuh* of Kadilangu, there was a performance of *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance practiced by nine dancers. This dance illustrates one of the five principals of Javanism (*Kejawen*) philosophy,³³ "*manunggaling kawula gusti*"³⁴ (the union of servant and lord). The dance was accompanied by *Ilir-Ilir*, a Javanese song full of meanings composed by Sunan Kalijaga.

The Washing Ceremony.

On the morning of the 10th of January, people from the Kadilangu village crowded into the main mosque which was unable to hold all of the participants for the Id prayers. Before the *Penjamasan Pusaka* was held, the *makam* of Sunan Kalijaga and the *Natabratan* building were two important sites where people gathered and made preparations for the ceremony. Each site had its officials who should prepare everything relating to the ceremony. The *makam* complex was the place where the ceremony was conducted and there have been some people who would welcome the regent and her followers who did not transit to the *Natabratan* building, while the *Natabratan* was the departure place where the *Penjamas* team, consisting of nine people, and the party leave for the *makam* complex. In addition, also in this *Natabratan* building the *sesepuh* should receive the *lisah jamas* from the regent given by a *Lurah Tamtama*.

The *Lurah Tamtama* and his forty soldiers, who were sent out earlier to arrive at *Natabratan* at 8.40 a.m. for handing over the *lisah jamas* from the regent, left the *Penjamasan Pusaka* ceremony committee worried when they failed to arrive at the designated time. At 9.08 a.m., however, the *Lurah Tamtama* and his forty soldiers arrived at *Natabratan* building. As the *sesepuh* of Kadilangu received the *lisah jamas* presented by the regent of Demak, the *Lurah Tamatama* and his group asked permission to leave *Natabratan* to go back the regency.

As the *Lurah Tamtama* and his party left *Natabratan*, the *Penjamas* team led by the *sesepuh* and the group were ready to go to the *makam* of Sunan Kalijaga. The parade was divided into six groups. Leading the parade was a group of bare-foot *sentana* which was formed by seven people; a *sentana* carrying *sawur* and the six others who carried lances flanked him. *Sawur* was regarded as a means of attain the well-being which was made from yellow rice, various flowers and pennies put within a golden *bokor*.³⁵ This *sawur* was thrown away along the road as the parade passed through. It was believed that *sawur* has the potential to drive out evil spirits from the way so that they are unable to intrude into the procession of the washing ceremony.³⁶

Behind this group were ten *Putri Domas* followed by ten *Satria Manggala*. All these people were in shining-yellow dresses. They held a tray, on which the flowers for the ceremony are put, covered by a piece of yellow fabric. The next group was the *Penjamas*

team who were dressed in black, and on their heads were *blangkon* (Javanese headdress for males) in the same colour. One of them held *lisah jamas* put on a tray protected by a yellow cover. Behind him was a *suranata* carrying a yellow *songsong* in order to protect the *lisah jamas* from the sun. There were two people flanking him on either side and these three people were regarded as the *lisah jamas* carriers. The *sesepuh* walked after the *suranata* who protected the *lisah jamas* carried by the *lisah jamas* carriers. The *sesepuh* was also protected by a *suranta* from the sun with yellow *songsong*. Following the *Penjamas* team, was a group of *terbang* strikers whose function was to control and accompany the rhythm of the parade. The last group of the parade was the group of *ahli waris* and two delegates from Surakarta Hadiningrat.

Tahlil, which was an obligatory ritual before *Buka Makam*,³⁷ was held before the *Astana Ageng* as the parade arrived. The *Penjamas* team sat down before the gate, while the other participants sat around the *cungkup*. As the *tahlil* ended, R. Prayitno, the custodian of *Astana Ageng* opened the door and all of the *Penjamas* team came in followed by some selected people; twelve local government officials, the regent, her children, the guest of *Depdagri*, two delegates of Surakarta Hadiningrat and some *ahli waris*. Since not all of the *ahli waris* were given the opportunity to enter the *cungkup*, those who were not selected were usually insulted because to some, the opportunity was regarded as a kind of honour.

In performing the ritual of washing the heirlooms of Sunan Kalijaga, there are some rules the *penjamas* team must obey; either the *sesepuh*, the two custodians of *Astana Ageng* and *Astana Gendok*, or all involved people must close their eyes. Nobody is allowed to see the heirlooms, even the *Penjamas* team, and according to R. Suhardi, the custodian of *Astana Gendok*, there was nobody who is brave enough to oppose the rule since it is strongly assumed that if a person sees the heirlooms, *wala*³⁸ will befall him or her, he or she will become blind and no medicine can cure them. It is said that there was once a person who wanted to see *Kutang Antakusuma* and *Kiyai Crubuk* so he opened his eyes and looked at the materials within the box. He did not see *Kutang Antakusuma* and *Kyai Crubuk* as he expected but rather a green snake. Almost instantly he became blind and not long after that he died.³⁹

Javanese or Islam?

Not all meanings of rituals are expressed explicitly, but some of them are implicit or “hidden” behind symbols. This section looks at the meaning of some symbols of *Grebeg Besar*. Delivering messages through symbols is quite common among the Javanese. One day, my father told me the hidden message of *kupat* (rice cake boiled in a rhombus-shaped packet of plaited young coconut leaves) and the way it should be served. This cake is a characteristic meal in the Javanese’s celebration of Idul Fitri. According to him, *kupat* stands for *ngaku lepat* (admitting mistakes) and the “right” way to serve it is by cutting the cake diagonally so that the young coconut leaves can not be used again. He then told me that serving it in this way contains the meaning that those who have admitted their wrong actions are not to repeat their mistakes.

In the *Grebeg Besar* there are at least three symbols which contain hidden messages: the *Ilir-Ilir* song, the performance of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance and the *Hasta Bhrata*. After examining the meanings of the symbols, I arrived at the conclusion that *Grebeg Besar* shows have a dual Javanese-Muslim identity. This *Grebeg Besar* also states that although they are Javanese, the Demak people are “different” from other Javanese. The “uniform” worn during this procession strengthens such an identity. Although the uniform of *Grebeg Besar* is basically characteristic of Javanese costume, there are some defining characteristics that show its Demak nature.

The Ilir-Ilir Song

*Lir-ilir, lir ilir, tandure wus sumilir
Dak ijo royo-royo, dak sengguh penganten anyar.
Cah angon, cah angon, penekna blimbing kuwi,
Lunyu-lunyu penekna kanggo masuh dodotira.
Dodotira-dodotira, kumitir bedhah ing pinggir,
Domana jlumatana kanggo seba mengko sore.
Mumpung padhang rembulane, mumpung jembar kalangane,
Yo surak-a, surak horeee.*

Wake up, wake up, the rice plants have started growing,
They are so green that I guess they are a newly wedded couple,
O, shepherds, climb up that star fruit,
Though it is slippery, keep climbing up for washing and cleaning your clothes,
Your clothes have been torn and are in tatters,
Pin and sew them for the afternoon visit,
While the moon is bright and its circle is wide,
Cheer hurray happily!

This song, which is claimed to be composed by Sunan Kalijaga⁴⁰ and categorized as *lagu dolanan* (a game song), is an “obligatory” part of *Grebeg Besar*. This song is sung to accompany the performance of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance at the Regency Hall before the regent permits *Lurah Tamtama* to leave the Hall for delivering the *lisah jamas*. Although *Ilir-Ilir* is categorized as a game song, it does not mean that the song is only sung by children, but by everyone, old or young. *Ilir-Ilir* is a deeply meaningful song which contains pedagogic and Islamic teachings. However the survival of this song has been threatened as youth turn to contemporary songs from such artists as Peterpan, Radja, Samson and so forth.

Generally speaking, this song illustrates the early period of the dissemination of Islam in Java in which local people gradually started to embrace Islam as their new religion, replacing their old religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. This song also reminds all Muslims to conduct the five daily prayers, as well as the other pillars of Islam.⁴¹ In a conversation, a respondent explained that it is rather difficult to catch the meaning of the song completely because, as far as he knows, there have been no people so far who have been able to interpret the *Ilir-Ilir* song in detail by uncovering the meaning of every word. There are, however, some key words which include: *blimbing* (star fruit, which usually has five protrusions) which is the symbol of the five pillars of Islam or the five daily prayers; and *dodot* which is the symbol of religion. *Dodot* is the *Krama Inggil* word for cloth worn people of a high status, such as kings and their family members. A Javanese idiom explains the relationship between *dodot* and religion: “*Agama agemaning para Nata*” or “*Agami agemaning para Aji*” which both literally mean “religion is the cloth of kings”.⁴²

The Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa Dance

Dances, which are referred to with various names in Javanese,⁴³ have a symbolic meaning in Javanese culture. They are primarily performed for ceremonies and festivals celebrating occasions of great importance for a particular community. They can also be used as a means of mental and physical training, and more importantly, as a medium for expressing ideas and values. They are also regarded as an important aspect of a particular culture.⁴⁴

The Javanese believe that dancing is a hereditary cultural tradition which can be traced back to their ancestors, at the time of

the king Pancadriya, the king of Pengging. In Javanese court traditions, there are some occasions which require the performance of dances by groups of court servants.⁴⁵ It is not strange, therefore, that Demak also has dance performances as part of its Islamic holy day festivals. The Javanese dance performance held during the *Grebeg Besar* festival is the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa*. *Bedhaya* is categorized as a kind of *Beksan Putri* (female dance)⁴⁶ which is considered so sacred⁴⁷ that the dancers are supposed to conduct certain rituals before executing the dance. According to an official of the local government of Demak who is also a member of the committee for *Grebeg Besar*, the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* can only be performed by pure virgin females who have to conduct certain rituals such as fasting, before. This information, however, contrasts with the opinion of Dyah Purwani Setianingsih, a dance instructor who was trusted to design *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance. According to her, there is no certain requirement for dancers for performing the dance; any dancer, whether virgin or not, is allowed to perform *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa*.

The *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* was firstly attached to the procession of the *Grebeg Besar* festival in 1988 which, at that time, was performed by four women called *srimpen*.⁴⁸ According to H. Muhammad Sukamto, who at that time was the *Kabag Humas* (the Chief of Public Relations Department) of Demak, the *srimpen* performance was unsuitable for the historical background of Demak with its nine saints. With the agreement of the regent of Demak, he therefore instructed Dyah Purwani Setianingsih, a dance instructor, to arrange a dance which is appropriate to Demak and its history and is able to show its identity. As the arrangement was completed the new *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* was performed in 1989 and along its historical journey, *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* has participated in giving Demak fame: on July 16th 1996 the dance was performed in Borobudur at the occasion of *Festival Kesenian Rakyat* (Public Art Festival), in March 12th 1997, *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* was also performed in the public square in front of the Grand Mosque of Demak for celebrating *Hari Kesetiakawanan Nasional* (National Loyalty Day) and is shown annually in *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* as the representative of Central Java.

As has been mentioned, the performance of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance in *Grebeg Besar* is performed in the Regency Hall on the 10th of *Besar* early in the morning, after performing *Idul Adha* prayer and a moment before the regent and her procession hand

over the *lisah jamas* to Kadilangu. The *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance is performed by the nine female dancers⁴⁹ accompanied by the *Illir-llir* song. The nine dancers are dressed in orange batik breast cloth, up to a bit under their knee, which is then continued by white cloth. A piece of burgundy cloth wraps their waists about one span under their breast while, in addition to being twisted by a blood-red *sampur* (a piece of cloth usually used by female dancers) with golden colour at its two borders, their bellies are tied with a belt called *slepe*. A dark-brown *tasbih* is hung on this belt on the right side. The dancers wear bracelets on their two hands while a piece of necklace hangs down their neck. A pair of ear studs also sticks on their two ears. Their front and back hair buns are adorned by seven jasmine buds, a *cunduk menthul* adorns their hair buns which are also adorned by a piece of ribbon in two colours, red and white, and feather in the same colours.

The nine dancers are the symbols of microcosmic elements in a perfect human that can be described as follows: the *Batak* dancer is the symbol of the head which also symbolizes the existence of reason and spirit (soul); the *Endel Ajeg* dancer is the symbol of desires, while the *Gulu* dancer, which is also called *jangga*, is the symbol of the neck. The *Dada* dancer is the symbol of the bosom; the *Apit Ngajeng* dancer is the symbol of the right arm while the left arm is symbolized by the *Apit Wingking* dancer. The *Endel weton* and *Apit Meneng* dancers are the symbols of right and left toes respectively, while the ninth, the *Buncit* dancer, is the symbol of the sexual organ.⁵⁰

In terms of movement, the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* dance consists of ten movements as follows:

1. The *Sembahan* movement denotes worshipping Allah, the Creator of the world.
2. The *Lembahan Separoh* movement means that people have to pursue righteousness during their life.
3. The *Sekar Suwun* movement illustrates that people have to ask for Allah's blessing for all their actions.
4. The *Laras Sawit* movement reminds people that they have to be able to differentiate and choose good deeds from bad ones in their life.
5. The *Lincak Gagak* movement symbolizes that people should unite and to conduct good actions.
6. The *Golek Iwak* movement illustrates the difficulty of people's seeking righteousness.

7. The *Rimong Sampur* movement has the meaning that after finding out about what are regarded as good actions, people have to practice them in their daily lives.
8. The *Perangan* movement reminds us how people are let down by their own selfish desires and how people fight against them with great difficulty in an effort to obey Allah's orders.
9. The *Bermain (Bersuka Ria)* movement is to remind people that they should not overly enjoy their lives or live in extravagance.
10. The *Sembahan* movement has the same meaning with the first one.⁵¹

In addition to these ten movements, *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* has some other additional movements which also have important teachings. The first action done by the dancers as they arrive at the determined arena is *nikel warti* in which the dancers perform *trapsila* (a cross-legged sitting position); the meaning behind this movement is that human beings should be polite and respect each other. The first part of *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa*, following *Nikel warti*, is *sembahan* which means that people have to thank Allah for all His blessings while the second part is *Jengkeng Sembahan*. The term *jengkeng* is derived from *jangkah aeng* that means that people should have a goal of being safe in this world and in the hereafter. The next stage is *Jumeneng Laras* (harmony standing) that symbolizes finding knowledge and learning righteousness. The last part of *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* is accompanied by the *Ilir-Ilir* song. This part, unfortunately, is not given a clear explanation as much as the other three but the movement is suited to the meaning of the song that reminds people not to excessively emphasize this worldly-life over the one in the hereafter. The people, by contrast, should prepare for both of them so that they are at their proper place at Allah's side.⁵² While each movement of *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* contains certain meanings, the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* itself generally illustrates *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti*⁵³ (the union between the Lord and servants).⁵⁴ *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti* is one aspect of the five Javanese philosophies. According to Moertono and Mudjanto, as Bizawie cites, the concept of the union of the Lord and His servants is central to Javanese thought. It is among the most common metaphors for mystical union and a model for hierarchical social relationships in the traditional state. Like many other aspects of the Javanese philosophy, it is strongly linked to Islamic textual and philosophical traditions.⁵⁵ Isutzu has shown that the

distinction between servant and lord (*'abd* and *rabb* in Arabic) is a basic concept of the Qur'an. He observes:

The establishment of the conception of Allah as the Absolute Lord of all necessarily introduced also a radical change into the conception of the relation between God and man. A new semantic field was formed around this new idea, containing a number of the most important key terms in the Koran.

Since God is now the Absolute Sovereign, the only possible attitude for man to take toward Him is that of complete submission, humbleness and humility without reserve. In short, a "servant" should act and behave as a "servant"-hence the important semantic development shown by the word *'ibadah* which from the original literal meaning of "serving Him as a servant" eventually has come to mean "worship" and "cult". This association of concept is shown very clearly in the following verse (from the Qur'an) "Lord of heavens and the earth and all that is between them. So serve Him, and be steadfast in His service."⁵⁶

According to Woodward, the use of the "servant/lord" terminology in Java dates back to at least the sixteenth century. The Arabic terms *'abd* and *rabb* are known but are used infrequently. *Rabb* does not occur in Javanese and, when used at all, is untranslated. *'Abd*, however, occurs in a number of interesting forms. *Abdi* is the *krama inggil* term for "servant". It is also used as a first person pronoun when addressing the sultan. Court officials are *abdidalem* (servants of the house). The use of these terms indicates that the relationship between the sultan and his subjects is structured in terms of Islamic understandings of the role of servant. The sultan is the servant of Allah in much the same way.⁵⁷

Woodward furthermore states that the pairing of the terms *kawula* and *gusti* is common in religious texts of the late eighteenth century. Particularly in light of the fact that the core meaning of the term *kawula* is "servant or subject of the king", it is reasonable to suggest that the use of *gusti* to refer to both "lord" in the sense of "sultan" and "lord" in the sense of "Allah" is a product of the formation of a theory of kingship based on the term "union of servant and lord"; this is an example of an intentional manipulation of the multi-vocal evocative power of symbols.

After observing the use of the pairing terms of *kawula* and *gusti* Woodward finally concludes that Javanese mystical interpretations of the servant-lord relationship is influenced by the writings of Ibn al-'Arabi whose theories have been known in Java since at

least the sixteenth century. Although some of 'Arabi's teachings are often said to be heretical because they minimize and diminish the attributes of Allah, the language of Javanese mysticism has been profoundly influenced by his work. The pairing of the terms "servant" and "lord" in mystical thought can be traced directly to Ibn 'Arabi's *Fusus al-hikam*, from which the following passage is taken;

Fa-waqtan yakuunu al'abdu rabban bi-laa shakki, fa-waqtan yakuunu al'abdu 'abdan bi-laa ifki (at one time the servant is the Lord, beyond doubt; at another time the servant is the servant, to tell the truth).⁵⁸

Hasta Bhrata

As mentioned previously, the round *tameng* (a shield for combat) with an eight-pointed star is called *Surya Majapahit* and is a symbol for the *Hasta Bhrata* philosophy. According to Masiyoto, all regions which have a historical relationship to Majapahit have adopted this symbol of *Hasta Bhrata*, although it may have been modified. This symbol can also still be found above the *mihrab* of the Grand Mosque of Demak as well as in the mosque "Sunan Kalijaga" in Kadilangu, while in Surakarta the *Panggung Sangga Buwana* is regarded as the symbol of *Hasta Bhrata*.

Hasta Bhrata is a leadership theory derived from the book *Astagina* and consists of eight principal characteristics for a good leader. The king Rama advised his younger-step-brother, Bharata, and Gunawan Wibisana, with the teachings of *Hasta Brata* so that they might rule the Ayodya and Alengka kingdoms. In addition, Arjuna in *Makutarama* was also taught this theory by the priest Kesawasidhi.

According to this theory, a leader must have eight primary natural characteristics represented by eight divine figures, namely the characteristics of the *surya* (sun), *chandra* (moon), *kartika* (star), *maruta* (wind), cloud, *dahana* (fire), *samudra* (ocean) and *bhumi* (earth). The sun is the living source of energy for all human beings; not a single creature can live without the sun. Having this characteristic means that a leader has to give spirit, life and energy to his subordinates. The sun is symbolized by the god Surya. The moon (Chandra) is symbolized by the goddess Ratih who is so beautiful, soft, calm and loyal. The characteristic of the moon itself is providing the universe with light so that people keep feel-

ing comfortable although they might be in darkness. Having the characteristic of the moon means that a leader has to be able to please his subjects and provide a way to face difficulties.

The third attribute a leader must possess is the characteristic of Kartika (star) which functions as guidance. For those who, for some reason, are lost (in the desert, for example), the stars are an invaluable guide in finding their way again. This means that a leader must be able to lead his people to the right path.

The wind (*maruta*) is the fourth primary characteristic of a good leader. The wind is everywhere. Having the nature of the wind means that a leader must know the real condition of his people, no matter where they are. He also has to have valid information about their activities, especially that of his subordinates. He therefore has to be close to his people regardless of their status. In the divine world, Bhatara Bayu is popular with this nature.

Bhatara Indra is a god with the characteristic of the clouds. Clouds generally bring rain and thus are always hoped for in the dry season. The nature of the cloud means that a leader must have authoritative bearings and his actions must be useful. Another characteristic of a good leader is fire (*dahana*) which is able to burn everything and that means that a leader must have a firm and just attitude. He or she would destroy anything that might be threatening either the people or the area and punish any wrong doer regardless of their position and status, even if they might be the members of his family. The fire is represented by the god *Agni*.

The next characteristic that has to be considered by a leader is the nature of *samudra* (ocean). What is the basic characteristic of the ocean? The ocean receives anything and everything, good or not, rubbish, even two opposing elements like water and oil. The ocean also neither rejects nor isolates good water from the bad one. In as much as water is the ocean's main element, regardless of how large the ocean is, another attribute is that the surface is always flat and smooth. Having the characteristic of the ocean means that a leader must have a vision, be able to cope with any problems and must not hate anybody. Bhatara Baruna is a model with *samudra* characteristics.

The last attribute of a good leader is the nature of the *bhumi* (earth). It is assumed that the earth has a motherly characteristic. She will embrace all creatures and the main characteristic of the earth is generosity. The earth provides people with everything they need to eat and drink properly. Those who plant seeds on a

piece of land reap the benefits. The earth implies that a leader must have a good and honest mind, give his people the best service and not betray their trusteeship. The god Vishnu is taken as a figure with this characteristic.⁵⁹

Concluding Remarks

This study confirms Muhaimin's view that the celebration of Islamic holidays — in the Javanese context — has two important functions: maintaining cultural heritage and expressing identity. It is obvious that the *Grebeg Besar* is conducted to maintain and preserve the tradition. According to local belief, the *Grebeg Besar* has existed since the period of Raden Fatah with his *Walisanga* (nine saints) who once used popular arts as a means of disseminating Islam. In the whole procession of the *Grebeg Besar* there are some symbols which represent the *Walisanga*; *Selamatan Tumpeng Sembilan* and the nine female dancers of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* are examples. For inhabitants of Demak, Sunan Kalijaga remains the most important *wali* among the *Walisanga* for two reasons: Sunan Kalijaga was regarded as "the father" and "the leader" of the *walis* and he was buried in Kadilangu, an area in the Demak regency. The ceremony of washing his heirlooms, the *Ilir-Ilir* song and the shirt "*takwa*", all have some connection to Sunan Kalijaga.

In terms of identity, *Grebeg Besar* represents both ethnic identity and religious identity. Costumes worn during the procession of the *Grebeg Besar* and the highly-refined Javanese language used as the standard language of the activity are two phenomena which illustrate the Javanese flavour of this event. Although the people of Demak are in fact Javanese, *Grebeg Besar* shows that the Demakese are different. At a glance, the costume of the *Grebeg Besar* is *pakaian adat Jawa* (traditional Javanese clothing) but a closer look will reveal that the clothing exhibits strictly Demakese characteristics. The shirt "*takwa*" with seven buttons which are never interconnected, the *ladran keris* and *truntum-motif jarit* are all exclusively Demaknese. The performances of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* and *Zippin* dances are also strictly Demakese.

The *Grebeg Besar* also exhibits that the Demakese belong to the Muslim community. The uttering of the *syahadatain* (two Islamic confessions, that is, that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his Messenger) by the regent in the opening ceremony which is then repeated by the participants⁶⁰ before the *ancakan* is conducted is clear evidence of this. Someone who has repeats the *syahadatain*

is generally considered a Muslim even if he or she does not perform the other four pillars of Islam. Moreover, the *Grebeg Besar* reminds people about the importance of performing the five pillars of Islam. This message is the main theme of the *Ilir-Ilir* song and the *ancakan*.

Additionally, an economic value also emerges from the *Grebeg Besar* activity as it was explicitly stated by the chairman of the committee in his speech at the opening ceremony. The chairman argues that in addition to disseminating Islam and maintaining cultural heritage, the *Grebeg Besar* has an economic value, whereby all visitors must pay an amount of money as the entrance fee to the public bazaar as well as to the complex of Sunan Kalijaga's graveyard; the obvious benefactor is the local economy and thus the local people of Demak.

In terms of the relationship between the ritual of *grebeg* with the kingdom, it is rather difficult to say that the *Grebeg Besar* has no relationship with kingdom at all due to the fact that the *Grebeg Besar* originates from court tradition, but if we make a comparison between the *Grebeg Besar* in Demak with the *Grebeg Maulud* in Yogyakarta as it was written by Mark. R. Woodward, we will find at least one different feature of the *Grebeg Besar*. In the *Grebeg Maulud*, the mystical nature is so apparent; the *sultan* (king) is viewed as the perfect being with magical powers who can distribute blessings to entire population of the state. In the *Grebeg Besar* in Demak, on the other hand, such Javanese mystical beliefs are eliminated. The regent is not seen as having magical powers. The regent is not perceived as a source of blessings. The main goals of the performance of the *Bedhaya Tunggal Jiwa* are to show off the identity of Demak with its nine saints and to attract people to visit the town. The performance is a means of promoting tourism in Demak.

Endnotes

1. Pamela J. Stewart, Andrew Strathern, (Eda.), "Introduction" in Pamela J. Stewart, Andrew Strathern, (Eds.), *Contesting Rituals: Islam and Practices of Identity-Making*, (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), p. xv-xvi.
2. Reint J. Sluis, "Reassessment of Leach's conception of Meaning" in Peter Nas Gerard Person, Rifke Jaffe, (Eds.), *Framing Indonesian Realities: Essays on Symbolic Anthropology in Honour of Reimar Schefold*, (Leiden: KITLV, 2003), p. 251.
3. Muhaimin AG, "The Morphology of Adat: The Celebration of Islamic Holy Day in North Coast Java", in *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1999, p. 122.
4. *Ibid*, p.122-123.
5. *Ibid*, p.123.
6. His original name was Raden Hasan and in Tionghoa chronicle his name is Jin Bun.
7. Information regarding the identity of Raden Fatah's mother is still unclear. According to R. Atmodarminto, Raden Fatah was the son of Ratu Campa while Slamet Mulyana gives contradicting information. According to him, based on the chronicle of Sam Po Kong, the princess of Campa (Dwarawati) is Raden Fatah's step mother. Because Dwarawati did not want her husband to take a Chinese princess as her co-wife, she asked him to send the Chinese princess out of Majapahit even though she was pregnant. The king granted her wish and instructed Gajah Mada to take the Chinese princess to Gresik and give her to Arya Damar who was waiting for the nautical winds which would help him cross the ocean to Palembang. Another version of why Brawijaya gave his wife to Arya Damar is because he was worried about the unborn baby carried by his wife who fortune tellers had predicted would become a great ruler of Java. See Wiryapanitra, *Babad Tanah Jawa: Kisah Kraton Blambangan-Pajang*, (Semarang: Dahara Prize, 1996), 96-97; R. Atmodarminto, *Babad Demak Dalam Tafsir Politik Keislaman dan Kebangsaan*, (Jakarta: Millenium Publisher, 2000) and Slamet Mulyana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2005), p.51, 90-91, Sugeng Haryadi, *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak dan Grebeg Besar*, (Grobogan: Mega Berlian, 2002), p. 15.
8. The relationship between Raden Fatah and Arya Damar was told by *Serat Kandha* and *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Arya Damar's mother, Ni Raseksi (in *Serat Kandha* version), or Ni Endang Sasmitapura (in *Babad Tanah Jawi* version), was a wife of Brawijaya who was transformed into a female giant after eating minced raw meat and was driven out of Majapahit palace. Ni Raseksi delivered Jaka Dilah in Tayu. Once Jaka Dillah asked his mother who his father was, Ni Raseksi said nothing. Jaka Dillah then got angry and bit his mother until she gave him an answer. After knowing who his father was Jaka Dillah went to Majapahit and met Gajah Mada who brought him to visit the king Brawijaya. The king promised that he would accept Jaka Dillah as his son if he was able to drive wild animals living in the thick forest into the public square. Jaka Dillah did this and so the king gave him Palembang and a Chinese princess as gifts. Jaka Dillah then changed his name to Arya Damar. This information is challenged by chronicles by Sam Po Kong Klenteng of Semarang. According to this chronicle, Raden Fatah has no blood relationship with Arya Damar. It is right that both had Chinese mothers but their parents are completely different people. The father of Arya Damar is Hyang Wisesa while Raden Fatah's father is Kung Ta Bu Mi. the first ruled from 1389 to 1427 while the later ruled from 1474 until 1478. See Wiryapanitra, *Loc. Cit.*, Slamet Mulyana, *Op. Cit.*, p. 50-51, 90-91.
9. His other name was Kin San or Raden Timbal.
10. One version of Raden Fatah's leaving Palembang was that he was hesitant to become the next ruler of Palembang (replacing Arya Damar) for he was quite young and felt unable to govern the district well. Hearing Faden Patah's answer, Arya Damar said nothing indicating his anger. At night, Raden Fatah left the Palembang palace secretly. Knowing this, Raden Husen also left Palembang

- running after his brother. Another version of how both Raden Hasan and Raden Husen left Palembang tells that they went to Java with his mother's permission, not secretly. See Mulyana, *Op. Cit.*, p. 42-43, 92, Sugeng Haryadi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.
11. Slamet Mulyana, *Op. Cit.*, p. 92. According to *Babad Tanah Jawi*, Raden Fatah and Raden Husen landed at Surabaya while in the chronicle of Sam Po Kong, they landed in Semarang
 12. Her other name is Siti Asyikah, see Haryadi, *Op.it.*, p. 17
 13. Mulyana, *Op. Cit.*, p. 92.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
 15. Wiryapanitra, *Op. Cit.*, p. 96.
 16. Rawa Pening is a name of a swamp in Solo with Baru Klinthing as its most popular tale. This legend tells how Baru Klinthing, a snake with a human head, tried to find his father and asked him to acknowledge Baru Klinthing as his son. Because of his physical appearance, the father ignored and did not claim him to be his son unless Baru Klinthing was able to fulfill his proposed requirements.
 17. Lembaga Research dan Survey IAIN "Walisongo" Semarang, *Laporan Hasil Penelitian Bahan-Bahan Sejarah Islam di Jawa Tengah bagian Utara*, (Semarang: Lembaga Penelitian Pengembangan dan Pengabdian Masyarakat IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 1982), p. 6.
 - 18 S. Wojowasito, *Op. Cit.*, (n.t: CV Pengarang, n.y), p. 96.
 - 19 Interview 2 October 2005. Sulkan, a security guard at Masjid Agung Demak for 15 years, shares this opinion. Before becoming a security guard, he was librarian of the Masjid and a staff member of the Museum of Demak Mosque.
 - 20 Muhaimin AG, *Islam dalam Bingkai Budaya Lokal: Potret dari Cirebon*, (Ciputat: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001), p. 186.
 - 21 Garebeg Besar Sudah Ada Sejak 1506, *Suara Merdeka*, January 20th 2005.
 - 22 Soelarto, *Op. Cit.*, p. 9.
 - 23 This was witnessed personally by the researcher. One afternoon, the researcher went to the office of the Tourism Department of Demak and interviewed Pak Djuweni, an official of this department. While the researcher was writing some data, the official asked the researcher to do it more quickly, saying "*Cepet, Mbak. Aku selak meh ning Grebeg Besar ndelok Rebananan. Mulaine jam 4. Sekalian nileki wis ana "bocah" apa durung* (Write quickly, please! I'm in a hurry. I want to go to *Grebeg Besar* to see *Rebananan* and to check whether some officials are still there or not. The performance starts at 4 p.m)." The researcher then persuaded Pak Djuweni to take her with him to visit *Grebeg Besar* in a place south of *Alun-Alun*. Interview, January 5th 2006.
 - 24 When the researcher arrived at her boarding house at this town one evening, her landlord asked whether or not she had just come back from *Grebeg Besar*. Since the researcher did not know what the landlord meant by *Grebeg Besar*, she finally answered "no". The puzzle of what she meant by *Grebeg Besar* was solved when Nur Jannah, the landlord's daughter, invited her to accompany her to visit *Grebeg Besar*; incidentally, Nur Jannah took her to the same place that she had visited with Pak Djuweni.
 - 25 One day, Win, a senior high school student in Gubug, (a sub-district in Grobogan) asked her close friend, Sis, "*Sis, kowe dijak besaran mas To, pora?*" (Sis, has Mas invited you to *Besaran*?). (Observation, Jan 16th 2006). While conducting field research, I received a short message from Tadho, a resident of Kandang – Trimulyo, Demak, saying "*Dik, aku Besaran. Kalau kamu masih di Demak, kita bisa ketemu?*" (Sister, I'm at the *Besaran*, if you are still in Demak, can we find a way to meet?" January 9th 2006.
 - 26 *Akbar* is the Arabic superlative from '*kabir*' means 'big' or in Indonesian '*besar*'.
 - 27 This information is in line with the information given by Richard C. Martin who refers to the festivals of *Idul Fitri* and *Idul Adha* as the Minor Festival and the

- Major Festival respectively. See Richard C. Martin, *Islam: A Cultural Perspective*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1982), p. 121.
- 28 This is combined information from the religious speech given on the occasion of the *Idul Adha* prayer (*khutbah*) on the tenth of *Dzulhijjah* 1426 H (January 10th 2006) held in the Grand Mosque of Demak and a religious speech on one radio station.
 - 29 "Garebek Besar Demak Sudah Ada Sejak 1506" in *Suara Merdeka* Kamis, 20 January 2005, www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0501/20/kot18.htm
 - 30 See, Haryadi, *Op.Cit.*, p. 75; "Grebeg Besar Demak 'Menjamas' Pusaka Sunan Kalijaga in *Pikiran Rakyat*, www.pikiran-rakyat.com/cetak/0203/09/0801.htm; Supratikno, Wiwin Djuwita, *Demak Sebagai Bandar Dagang di Jalur Sutra*, (Jakarta: Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, 1994), p. 44.
 - 31 Ceremonial dish of yellow rice served in cone shape.
 - 32 "Garebeg Besar Sudah ada Sejak 1506", *Op. Cit.*, Grebeg Besar Demak 'Menjamas' Pusaka Sunan Kalijaga, *Loc. Cit.*
 - 33 The other four principals are *Memayu Hayuning Bawana*, *Sepi ing Pamrih Rame ing Gawe*, *Sangkan Paraning Dumadi* and *Budi Luhur*. Puspaningrat, *Op.Cit.*, p. 33.
 - 34 Other terms for *manunggaling kawula gusti* are *jumbuhing kawula gusti*, and *warangka manjing curiga curiga manjing curiga*. *Ibid*, Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989, p. 73.
 - 35 A kind of big bowl with a wide rim.
 - 36 Interview with R. Ay. Hermin, June 1st, 2006.
 - 37 The tomb of Sunan Kalijaga cannot be accessed by the pilgrims freely. Only on certain days is it open. The days are *Jumat Pon*, *Jumat Kliwon*, *Jum'at Pahing*, the first and the second of *Syawal (Idul Fitri)* and the tenth of *Dzul Hijjah (Idul Adha)*. The opening times are from 08.00-17.00.
 - 38 It is a term to refer to a bad condition someone experiences because of doing what Durkheim calls "taboo".
 - 39 Interview with R. A. Suwarti, the wife of R. Parwoto, the custodian of *Astana Ageng* before R. Prayitno.
 - 40 Some assume that the song *Ilir Ilir* is composed by Sunan Giri who was also a member of the nine Javanese walis. Cf. Solichin Salam, *Wali Sanga Dalam Perspective Sejarah: The Nine Walis in the Perspective of History*, (bilingual book), (Jakarta: Kuning Mas, n.d), 41; Bambang Marhiyanto, *Op. Cit.*, p. 142; "Merindukan Kejayaan Demak Bintoro" in *Suara Merdeka*, Minggu, 27 March 2005; www.jawapalace.org/walisanga2.htm
 - 41 Marhiyanto, *Ibid*, pp. 142-144; Salam, *Ibid*, pp. 41-43; Sugeng Haryadi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 76
 - 42 Interview, June 1st 2006.
 - 43 Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen lists some words which refer to the activity of dancing: *joged*, *lenggotbowo* and *mataya*. The first term is used in reference to humans, while the others refer to dance forms of heavenly beings in previous times. She also mentions some other words that the Javanese language currently uses to refer to the activity which the English language describes with the one word "dance": *beksa*, *dhangsah*, *joged*, *igel* and *tandhak*. Clara furthermore explains the uses of each term. *Beksa*, which is given more attention than the others, is a classical, highly stylized choreography which is composed and performed in accordance with a complex set of rules (*pathokan*). The word *nandhak* is used with reference to improvised, more or less spontaneous dancing. The noun *tandhak* is often used as an equivalent of *taledhek* or *ronggeng*. The word *dhangsah* is used to refer to a European (ballroom) style of dancing, the word *ngigel* is for animals, while the word *joged* is used with reference to the dancing of Javanese, or of Indonesian in general. See Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen, *Javanese Classical Dance: The Surakarta Tradition and Its Terminology*, (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995), pp.1-7.

- 44 See Suharji, *Bedhaya Suryasumirat*, (Semarang: Intra Pustaka Utama, 2004), p.5-6.
- 45 Such occasions are: 1. the *Islamic Bakda Festival*, celebrated three times a year with a procession of food offerings from the Kraton to the great mosque, named *grebeg*. This procession is accompanied by court servants called *canthang balung*, who have to perform dance movements as they walk. 2. For the reception of important European guests (with the rank of General), the Kraton often stages a combat scene between a tiger and buffalo, which is followed by a spearing (*rampok*) of the tiger in the great square (*alun-alun*). The two court servants who have the task of opening the tiger's cage (*gandhek*) must execute dance movements. 3. In the past when there was an official holiday for the Dutch people, the ruler paid a visit to the Resident, accompanied by his *panyutra* soldiers, who were armed with bows and arrows and walk forward with dance steps. Moreover, the ruler was followed by the group of royal *srimpi* dancers who performed a dance in the dwelling of the Resident. 4. The court servants who groom the ruler's horses (*gamel*) must also come and go in a dancing manner. *Ibid*, p. 16.
- 46 The *Beksan Putri* (female dance) is divided into two groups: *bedhaya* and *srimpi*. *Ibid*, p. 26
- 47 *Ibid*; Y. Argo Twikromo, *Ratu Kidul*, (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 2000), p. 95
- 48 Although both *Bedhaya* and *Srimpi* are categorized as *Beksan Putri* (female dance), Brakel-Papenhuyzen differentiates the *bedhaya* from *srimpi* in that *bedhaya* is practiced by nine or seven women while *srimpi* is performed by four women. Brakel-papenhuyzen, *Loc. Cit.*
- 49 It is said that one reason why *bedhaya* executed by nine female dancers is the most sacred is that only the kings have the right to witness such a *bedhaya*. Adipati is allowed to have a *bedhaya* but it is performed by seven dancers. Suharji, *Op. Cit.*, p. 57.
- 50 Soedarsono, *Peranan Seni Budaya Dalam Sejarah Kehidupan Manusia: Kontinuitas dan Perubahannya*, (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada Press, 1985), p. 79-82.
- 51 Dyah Purwani Stianingsih, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16-19.
- 52 *Ibid*, p. 4.
- 53 *Ibid*, p. 10
- 54 P.M. Laksomo, *Tradition in Social structure: Kingdom and Countryside: Changes in the Javanese Conceptual Model*, translated by E.G. Koentjoro, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986), p. 24, Surjandjari Puspaningrat, *Op. Cit.*, 33
- 55 Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat: Pemikiran dan Paham Keagamaan Syekh Ahmad al Mutamakkin dalam Pergumulan Islam dan Tradisi (1645-1740)*, (Yogyakarta: a cooperation between SAMHA and Yayasan KERiS, 2002), p. 71.
- 56 Cited from Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 73-74.
- 57 *Ibid*, p. 74.
- 58 *Ibid*, p. 74-75.
- 59 Cf. Haryadi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 39-41; Hersapandi, "Upacara Kirab Pusaka dan Pertunjukan Wayang Orang Sriwedari Menyambut 1 Suro" in Hersapandi, et. al., (Eds.), *Suran: Antara Kuasa dan Tradisi*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2005), p. 73-74. www.jawapalace.org,
- 60 This is done to imitate what Sunan Kalijaga did when Walisanga gathered people in front of the Grand Mosque of Demak. According to local history, Sunan Kalijaga once stopped a performance and asked the people to repeat the two Islamic confessions after him.

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