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THE ROLE OF ISLAMIC STUDENT GROUPS
IN THE *REFORMASI* STRUGGLE:
KAMMI (KESATUAN AKSI MAHASISWA MUSLIM INDONESIA)
Richard G. Kraince

IN THE CENTER OF MEANING:
ZIARAH TRADITION IN JAVA
Jamhari

ISLAM AND DUTCH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION:
THE CASE OF *PANGULU* IN JAVA
Muhamad Hisyam

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In the Center of Meaning: Ziarah Tradition in Java

Abstraksi: *Ziarah, atau tepatnya mengunjungi kubur orang yang telah meninggal, merupakan salah satu ritus keagamaan yang banyak dilakukan kaum Muslim. Dalam tradisi Islam Indonesia, khususnya Jawa, praktek ziarah berkembang sedemikian kuat. Muslim Indonesia biasanya melaksanakan ziarah pada waktu-waktu tertentu yang dianggap memiliki makna penting dalam kehidupan keagamaan mereka. Untuk sekadar contoh, bisa disebut di sini saat menjelang dan sesudah bulan Ramadhan, hari raya Idul Fitri, bulan Maulid, dan bulan Muharam. Masa-masa tersebut merupakan waktu yang biasanya digunakan Muslim Indonesia untuk melakukan ziarah.*

Sebagaimana praktek ritual-keagamaan lain dalam Islam, ziarah tentu saja memiliki muatan sosiologis yang berbasis pada sistem sosial-budaya masyarakat Muslim. Dalam hal ini, tradisi ziarah memiliki makna yang beragam, dan selanjutnya menentukan bentuk-bentuk dan pola-pola pelaksanaan ritual yang juga tidak sama. Keragaman ini lagi-lagi bisa dipahami sebagai wujud pemaknaan masyarakat pelaksana ziarah yang berbeda-beda, sesuai dengan orientasi sosial-keagamaan mereka. Oleh karena itu, ziarah di sini tidak bisa dipahami semata-mata sebagai ibadah yang bersifat vertikal, tapi sekaligus —dan bahkan terpenting—sebagai fenomena sosiologis dan antropologis yang sarat dengan nilai-nilai sosial dan budaya masyarakat. Melalui tradisi ziarah inilah, interaksi Islam dengan budaya lokal Jawa bisa diamati secara komprehensif.

Artikel ini menghadirkan satu pembahasan tentang praktek ziarah oleh kalangan Muslim Indonesia. Artikel ini merupakan satu studi antropologis di satu wilayah di Jawa Tengah, Bayat, yang memang dikenal sebagai salah

satu pusat ziarah yang banyak dikunjungi Muslim Indonesia, khususnya Jawa. Sebagaimana diketahui, Bayat —sebuah desa di Klaten, Jawa Tengah— dipercaya Muslim Jawa sebagai tempat makam Sunan Bayat, salah seorang Walisanga yang telah berjasa menyebarkan Islam di tanah Jawa. Oleh karena itu, di masa-masa tertentu yang disebut musim ziarah, Bayat ramai dikunjungi Muslim dari berbagai wilayah di Jawa dan Indonesia pada umumnya.

Memahami ziarah sebagai satu fenomena sosio-antropologis, artikel ini menghadirkan sejumlah bukti keragaman pola pemahaman dan praktek ziarah Muslim Indonesia. Keragaman ini setidaknya bisa dilihat dari penggunaan istilah yang berbeda-beda. Dalam konteks ini, istilah untuk mengunjungi kubur ini di antaranya adalah “sowan”, “nyekar” dan “ziarah” itu sendiri. Berbeda dengan istilah ziarah yang berasal dari tradisi Islam, sowan dan nyekar lebih bermakna lokal yang berbasis pada tradisi masyarakat Jawa. Sowan adalah istilah Jawa yang berarti mengunjungi mereka yang berstatus sosial lebih tinggi. Sementara nyekar, juga bahasa Jawa, berarti membawa dan memberi karangan bunga bagi orang-orang tertentu yang telah meninggal, yang dianggap berpengaruh dan terhormat di kalangan masyarakat.

Perbedaan penggunaan istilah di atas selanjutnya menentukan tidak saja makna dan konsepsi praktek mengunjungi kubur, tapi juga bentuk-bentuk ritual yang dilakukannya. Demikianlah, bagi mereka yang ziarah ke Sunan Bayat, memperolah pahala dan barakah dari Allah—melalui wali Allah yang dikunjungi—merupakan tujuan utama. Sementara itu bagi mereka yang sowan dan nyekar, tujuan-tujuan yang lebih bersifat material—seperti perbaikan status sosial-ekonomi, pemecahan berbagai masalah, dan bahkan untuk kemenangan dalam berjudi—menjadi satu unsur penting yang melandasi kunjungan mereka ke makam Sunan Bayat.

Oleh karena itu, dengan perbedaan persepsi di atas, identitas Sunan Bayat selanjutnya dimaknai secara berbeda-beda. Bagi mereka yang ziarah, Sunan Bayat dianggap sebagai salah seorang Walisanga, yang telah berjasa menyebarkan Islam di Jawa. Bagi pihak lain, Sunan Bayat dianggap sebagai leluhur (phunden) dan bahkan raja Jawa —yakni putra Brawijaya V, raja Majapahit terakhir. Lebih dari itu, perbedaan ini selanjutnya bahkan mempengaruhi praktek-praktek ritual mereka. Bagi mereka yang ziarah, tahlil dan membaca al-Qur'an menjadi kegiatan utama selama berada di makam Sunan Bayat. Sebaliknya, bagi mereka yang sowan dan nyekar, meditasi dan berjaga semalam suntuk (lek-lekan) di depan kubur —disertai membakar kemenyan dan menabur bunga—mewarnai secara dominan praktek ritual mereka.

In the Center of Meaning: *Ziarah* Tradition in Java

خلاصة: تمثل الزيارة أو بمعنى أدق الذهاب إلى القبور إحدى الوسائل التعبديّة التي يقوم بها كثير من المسلمين، وفي إندونيسيا وخاصة في جاوه بالذات تنتشر ممارسة زيارة القبور بشكل ملفت للنظر، فهم عادة يقومون بها في مناسبات معينة تكون لها أهمية دينية في نظرهم، كاستقبال شهر رمضان وتوديعه، وأيام عيد الفطر، وذكرى المولد النبوي الشريف واستقبال شهر المحرم، فهذه الأيام على سبيل المثال يقوم فيها المسلمون بإندونيسيا بزيارة القبور.

وكما كان للأعمال التعبديّة الأخرى في الإسلام فإن لزيارة القبور بعدا اجتماعيا تمتد جذورها إلى النظام الاجتماعي والثقافي للمجتمع المسلم، وفي هذا الصدد كان للزيارة معانٍ مختلفة تتشكل صورها وتنوع على مستوى الممارسة، وهذا التنوع بدوره يمكن النظر إليه على أنه تجسيد للمعنى الذي يفهمه القائم بالزيارة حسب اتجاهه الاجتماعي والديني. ومن هنا فإنه لا يصح القول بأن الزيارة كانت مجرد عبادة محضة إنما هي الأهم ظاهرة اجتماعية واثروبولوجية مفعمة بالقيم الاجتماعية والثقافية، ومن خلال هذه الممارسة بالذات نستطيع ملاحظة التفاعل القائم بين الإسلام والثقافة المحليّة الجاوية بشكل شامل.

تعرض هذه المقالة لدراسة حول زيارة القبور التي يقوم بها المسلمون بإندونيسيا، وكانت دراسة اثروبولوجية أجريت في جاوه الوسطى وفي بيّات (Bayat) بالذات، وهي المنطقة المعروفة بكثرة المزارات التي يشد إليها المسلمون الرحال للزيارة وخاصة من الجاوين، وكما هو معروف فإن المسلمين بجاوه يؤمنون بأن في بيّات وهي إحدى القرى التابعة لكلاتن (Klaten) بجاوه الوسطى ضريح سونان بيّات (Sunan

(Bayat) أحد الأولياء التسعة الذين كان لهم الفضل الكبير في نشر الإسلام في ربوع جاوه، ولذلك فلا غرابة أن يستقبل هذا الضريح في الأيام المذكورة زائرين من المسلمين من مختلف المناطق بجاوه وإندونيسيا عموماً.

وبناء على اعتبار الزيارة ظاهرة من الظواهر الاجتماعية الانتروبولوجية تأتي المقالة بعدد من الدلائل على التنوع في مفهوم الزيارة، وهذا واضح على الأقل في المصطلحات المختلفة المتداولة، حيث يوجد مصطلح سوان (Sowan) ونيكار (Nyekar) وهما من المصطلحات المأخوذة من الثقافة المحلية بالمجتمع الجاوي بينما الزيارة مأخوذة من التقاليد الإسلامية، فالأول يعني القيام بالزيارة إلى الشخصيات التي تحتل مكانة رفيعة في المجتمع، بينما يشير المصطلح الثاني وهو كلمة جاوية أيضاً إلى إهداء باقة من الزهور إلى المتوفين من الأشخاص الذين يتمتعون بنفوذ واسع ويحظون بكل احترام من المجتمع.

وهذا الاختلاف في المصطلحات يؤدي بدوره إلى اختلاف المفهوم ليس فقط فيما يتعلق بممارسة الذهاب إلى القبور وإنما أيضاً في صورة الممارسة، وهكذا فإن أولئك الذين يقومون بالزيارة إلى سوانان يبيات يجعلون من هدف الزيارة الحصول على الثواب والبركات متوسلين بصاحب الضريح، بينما أولئك الذين يقومون بها احتراماً لصاحب الضريح أو إهداء باقة من الزهور لأغراض أكثر مادية كتحسين مستوى المعيشة مثلاً والتغلب على مختلف المشاكل التي يتعرضون لها بل لتحقيق كسب من القمار.

ونظراً لاختلاف المفهوم كانت شخصية سوانان يبيات مختلفة أيضاً بالنسبة لكل زائر بعينه، فالمسلم يعتبر صاحب الضريح وهو سوانان يبيات من الأولياء التسعة الذين كان لهم الفضل الكبير في نشر الإسلام في جاوه بينما يعد لدى الجاويين من أجدادهم القدامى بل من ملوكهم وهو ابن ملك براويجايا (Brawijaya) الخامس، آخر سلالة من ملوك ماجافاهيت (Majapahit)، علاوة على الاختلاف في صور الممارسة، فما يعمله القائم بالزيارة يمارس قراءة القرآن الكريم والتهليل في الضريح بينما يعمل القائم بالسوان والنيكار بالتأملات الباطنية والسهر طول الليل أمام الضريح وتقديم البخور والزهور.

The tradition of visiting the tombs of Islamic holy people (*wali*) in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia is a widespread practice that is considered a pious activity (*ibadah*). An Arabic derived-term, *ziarah*, is used to refer to these visitations. In Javanese, *sowan*, a refined-word (*krama*) for visit, and, *nyekar*, a refined-word for ‘scattering flowers’ on the tomb, are also used to refer to visits to a *wali*’s tomb. *Ziarah* to a *wali*’s tomb is a way of venerating the *wali* for his merit in spreading Islam. The most famous and most visited sites are the tombs of the Nine Javanese Islamic *wali* (*Walisanga*), which are found mainly along the north coast of Java. However, there are various traditions associated with the *Walisanga* and differing ideas about which *wali* are members of the group of Nine Saints (Fox, 1991).¹ Certain traditions maintain that the Javanese *wali* were not limited just to the *Walisanga*, but included thousands of such pious people.

Throughout the Muslim world, the tradition of *ziarah* to tombs of holy people is thought of as an important activity that bears meaning not only religiously but also socially and politically. *Ziarah* in Muslim countries is part of the tradition of Muslim travels such as *hajj* (pilgrimage), *hijrah* (emigration), and *rihlah* (travel for learning and other purposes) (Eickelman, 1990:xii). *Hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca, is an obligation that should be performed by all Muslim who can afford it. It is one of five Islamic pillars.² *Sahadat* (the declaration that there is no God but Allāh and Muhammad is His messenger), *Salat* (the Islamic daily prayers), *Poso* (fasting), *Zakat* (alms giving) and *Kaji* (pilgrimage to Mecca). *Hijrah*, an Arabic derived word signifying “to migrate”, refers to the event when the Prophet Muhammad migrated from Mecca to Madina in AD 622. Some Muslims argue that this *hijra* is an example that Muslims should also perform *hijrah* to obtain better religious conditions (Masud, 1990:29-30). In this sense, *hijra* is understood not only as a physical movement but also as a spiritual movement. Travel for the purpose of learning (*rihlah ‘ilmiyyah*) is a tradition that survives and has helped produce a religious revival in Islam.

In Indonesia, the development of *rihlah ‘ilmiyyah* to Mecca has increased alongside travel for the *hajj*. Many Indonesian ‘*ulamā*’ study in Mecca at some time during their *hajj* visit. In his study of traditional Muslim boarding schools (*pesantren*) in Java, Zamakhsyari Dhofier describes the tradition of *rihlah ‘ilmiyyah* in Java as a prominent activity among *kyai* (religious leaders) and *santri* (*pesantren* students). The tradition of *rihlah ‘ilmiyyah* developed along with the doctrine of *isnād* (intellectual chains) that should be possessed by an ‘*ulamā*’ to legiti-

mate the authenticity of his knowledge (Dhofier, 1982:79). For example, a famous *kyai* of Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta traced his competency in the *tajwid* (the rule of reciting the Qur'ân) to the first generation of the Prophet Muhammad's companions (Dhofier, 1982:79).

Ziarah in Islam, however, in part constitutes a different phenomenon than Islamic travel traditions. This is because of the fact that the existence of *ziarah* itself is a subject of controversy within Islamic thought. Some Islamic groups, like the Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia, reject the practice of *ziarah* to tombs.³ The Wahabi considers the practice to be heresy (*bid'ah*) that is categorized as one of the greatest sins in Islam. On the other hand, other *madhhab* (Islamic schools of thought), such as the Syafi'i, tolerate the *ziarah* practice, and accept it as a pious activity (*'ibâdah*). In Sufi traditions, especially in North Africa, *ziarah* to a saint's tomb is a common activity that bears several significant meanings. The practice is regarded as a way of linking one's 'intellectual chain' to the Sufi buried in the tomb. For example, if the Sufi was well known as an expert on *'ilm al-kalâm* (Islamic theology), *ziarah* to his tomb is a means of tracing oneself to the expertise. A Sufi's teaching might not be accepted by people unless he/she could provide an intellectual link (such as a trusted teacher) representing an unbroken chain with the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad.

In Java, controversy in regards to *ziarah* also exists sparked by the fact that *ziarah* in Java has been influenced by local traditions. This is evident in the way in which people perform their *ziarah*. The practice of *ziarah* has expanded not only to the *wali*'s tombs but also to other objects and places that are considered sacred. Moreover, the practice of *ziarah* now has changed so that it has digressed from the line of Islamic teachings. Therefore, some insist upon avoiding *ziarah*, and classify it as heresy. Others however do not agree with this view and argue that all practices that people perform during *ziarah* are religiously allowed. Offering incense and flowers, which is considered *haram* (religiously forbidden) by some people, can be understood by others as following the Prophet Muhammad's support in using something aromatic while praying. The change of *ziarah* practice is, in part, a result of the influence of other social changes. People attempt to reconfigure their practice to adjust to these changes.

This debate characterizes the dynamic of *ziarah* in Bayat, a district in Central Java. On the top of the hill of Karang Kembang,

where the tomb of Sunan Tembayat is situated, people discuss the issues of Islam in Java. Some maintain that the process of Islamisation in Java is still going on. They argue that the previous Javanese *wali* set the foundations for Islam on Java, and “*lelampabinipun para wali dereng cekap*” (the *wali*'s journeys is not yet finished). In this way, they assert that the Islamisation of Java entails the quest for a better understanding of Islam; the next generation should carry through the *wali*'s works. Others, however, argue that the work of the *wali* is a perfect model that should be followed since the *wali* have achieved the ideal form of Islam in Java. They maintain that through accommodating local traditions, the *wali* spread Islam in a peaceful way; if one changes the *wali*'s model in accordance with certain perceptions today, it will break the ideal form. Thus, they argue that such forms that enable people to participate in religious practices should be maintained. Since *ziarah* is a practice that enables various people to appreciate Islam, form remains a matter of debate although the issue does not tend to create tension and conflict even though visitors perform *ziarah* differently.

Nowadays, in Java people not only visit the *wali*'s tombs, but also other objects and places that are considered sacred. Thousand of such sites are the objects of visitation. This study describes the practice of *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb in Bayat. However, to distinguish it clearly from other practices of *ziarah*, the practice of *ziarah* to other objects in the Sunan Tembayat's graveyard is also explained.

This essay describes the beliefs and practices associated with the notion of *ziarah* in a single community, that of Bayat, a small district (*kecamatan*) in Klaten between Yogyakarta and Surakarta. I have incorporated a number of terms from Bayat in my text, because I feel that it is revealing to consider how key terms have been used within their culture of origin. In elucidating *ziarah* practices and its interpretations, visitors in Bayat refer to the cultural contexts with which they are familiar. The logic of *ziarah* thus reflects visitor's everyday life experiences. Applying vernacular terms used in Bayat entails taking this cultural context into consideration.

Ziarah in Bayat is a 'perfect window' for observing visitors' perceptions of the *wali*, *baraka* (blessings) and the way in which *baraka* is transmitted. This account includes the explanation of *ziarah* practices and the rituals conducted during *ziarah*. Explaining this aspect, however, would be inadequate without considering peoples' knowledge and their levels of understandings. There are many lines of

thought underlying the *ziarah* practices. Various perceptions of these practices can be seen as formulations of diverse ideas that provide a rationale for behavior. Discerning these aspects will provide a thorough picture of the process in which religious practices evolve and develop in accordance with social change.

Bayat: A *Ziarah* Site

The role of Sunan Tembayat's tomb as a center of *ziarah* has been known since the seventeenth century. De Graaf recorded that from that time, Bayat had become a *ziarah* site for Muslims throughout Java. Even Sultan Agung, the great king of Mataram, performed *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb (De Graaf, 1985:236, 270). Beside being known as a center of *ziarah*, Bayat was also known as the center of Islamization. Soewignja, in his small book, which was originally intended to be an introduction to visitors who wished to visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb, recorded that Sunan Tembayat had Islamized the regions surrounding Bayat (Soewignja, 1938), in time Bayat became a center for Islamization in south central Java. The fast growing Islamization in Bayat provided a strong feeling of Islamic sentiment in the Bayat region. De Graaf described how Islam became a rallying point for the people of Bayat. There were several Bayat rebellions under the banner of Islam against Mataram's sovereignty (De Graaf, 1985:236-7).

In the traditions that survive in Bayat, however, Sunan Tembayat is given many identities: as a *wali*, as a *pundhen* (the first ancestor of the village) and as a king. The various interpretations of Sunan Tembayat's identity bring forth diverse interpretations of the purposes of visits to his tomb. I will describe the narratives of Sunan Tembayat that are remembered, shared and transmitted from generation to generation, and are recalled not only by Bayat people but also by other people who visit Bayat. The narratives of Sunan Tembayat are important in discerning the identity of Sunan Tembayat because there are some hidden meanings in the narratives that Bayat people wish to maintain. Through this discussion I show Sunan Tembayat's link with some prominent and influential figures in a wider discourse on Javanese identities, such as Sunan Kalijaga and the last King of Majapahit, Brawijaya the last.

Bayat is a small district region (*kecamatan*) about 12 kilometers from the central Klaten, a medium-sized town between Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The region was known for its traditional batik and its

pottery crafts (*gerabah*). Visitors to Bayat still take Bayat's pottery for souvenirs. In the early morning many Bayat people bring this pottery on their bikes down from the hilly region of Bayat to the nearest market. However, the batik tradition in Bayat has not survived.

In Desa Paseban of Bayat there is a graveyard complex that is visited by people throughout Java to acquire *baraka* (God's blessing) from the personage buried there. According to traditions and inscriptions written in the graveyard, it is a graveyard of an Islamic pious person, Ki Ageng Pandanarang or Sunan Tembayat or Sunan Bayat who is regarded as a *wali*. Observed from the physical building of the graveyard, Sunan Tembayat was an honorable *wali*. It is built at the top of the hill, and it is built in the finest architecture and with expensive materials. There is a big mosque associated with the graveyard. Furthermore, in front of the graveyard there is a small mosque (*langgar*).

As a center of *ziarah*, Bayat possesses not only Sunan Tembayat's graveyard, but also some several places that have become part of the *ziarah* center. For example, there are two tombs of Sunan Tembayat's friends (*sokabat*), Seh Domba and Seh Kewel that are visited by many people. The old tomb of Sunan Tembayat, built before Sunan Tembayat's grave was moved by Sultan Agung, as well as the garden court of Sunan Tembayat's family (*taman sari*), his wife's tombs and its pool, and the remains (*petilasan*) of his old mosque at the top of the hill Jabalkat are also places for *ziarah*. These places are visited by people for different purposes. The Sunan Tembayat's old tomb and the *taman sari*, for example, are visited by those who want to gain a *tuyul* (a kind of evil spirit that can be used as a means to earn money). Others meditate at the Mount Jabalkat in order to gain a *ngalamat* (sign) of numbers for the SDSB (a kind of lottery game).

However, the most visited site is Sunan Tembayat's tomb, because people believe that the results obtained from *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb are sacred (*suci*), because it derives from God. Visitors in Bayat argue that results obtained from *ziarah* to other than Sunan Tembayat's tomb, even his friends' tombs Seh Domba and Seh Kewel, are not pure. Profane *ngalamat* can be gained in certain tombs or on certain mountains, but sacred *ngalamat* can be gained only in visit to an Islamic *wali*. The money or things that are not pure are *panas* (literally meaning 'hot', but implying that such things are easy to lose and will cause problems for the receiver). The tomb of Bayat provides visitors with a sacred *ngalamat* (sign). It is pure and

will not endanger the receiver because Sunan Tembayat, as a *wali*, provides *baraka* that originates from Allâh.

Some visitors in Bayat visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb as part of a long journey to visit all the tombs of the Nine *Wali*. According to these visitors' beliefs there is a hierarchy of the *wali*, meaning that certain *wali* are ranked higher than others. For example, Sunan Maulana Maghribi, Sunan Ampel and Sunan Bonang are considered to be the highest three of the Javanese Nine *Wali*. This is because they are the eldest and the earliest *wali* who set the foundation of Islam in Java. Sunan Kalijaga is ranked highest for Central and West Java area because he played a major role in the Islamization of these areas. Moreover, Sunan Kalijaga had a great influence in the emergence of the Islamic Demak Kingdom which played a significant role in the spread of Islam in Java. Sunan Tembayat is considered as the highest *wali* for the southern part of Central Java, because he was the first *wali* to receive a mandate from Sunan Kalijaga to spread Islam in these areas.

The rank of *wali* determines the route travelled during *ziarah*. The tomb of the highest ranking *wali* is often visited in the last stage of *ziarah*. Sunan Tembayat, for example, is visited last as he was the highest ranking *wali* of the southern part of Central Java. Before performing *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb, one should visit those *wali* who are ranked lower than Sunan Tembayat. Seh Watu Gajah, for example, is regarded as a lower *wali* who should be visited before visiting Sunan Tembayat's tomb. Ignoring the prescribed order of visits during the *ziarah* will affect its success. An informant said that the stages of *ziarah* were a preparation for visitors to receive knowledge from the *wali*. This unwritten rule is accepted and followed. A *juru kunci* said that one day a person went crazy, seemingly because he could not stand the *ngalamat* (sign) given to him. If he had followed the prescribed pattern of visits, he would not have gone mad.

Sunan Tembayat and *Walisanga*

Legends record that Java had nine famous *wali* (*Walisanga*). However, there has been debate over the determination of *wali*. According to old sources, such as *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Babad Kraton* and *Serat Babad Demak*, there are eight Javanese *wali* (Fox, 1991).⁴ The ninth *wali* is considered to be the 'concluding *wali*' (*wali panutup*). However, the question is: who is the concluding *wali*? Different traditions provide a different name for the concluding *wali*; some mention that

Seh Siti Jenar is the Ninth *wali* following the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. Other sources, however, such as *Babad Tembayat* and *Babad Demak* describe Sunan Tembayat as the ninth *wali*, replacing Seh Siti Jenar who was condemned for heresy (Sastronaryatmo, 1986). Some people in Bayat do not agree that there are only nine Javanese *wali*. They argue that there are a lot of holy people and pious people who have contributed to the spread of Islam in Java, but they are not all classified as *wali*. According to these people, some *wali* are lesser known because they did not have special links with the Javanese court.⁵ Sunan Tembayat's existence within the traditions of *wali* in Java is differently positioned. In one perception Sunan Tembayat was included as a member of the Nine *Wali*, whereas in other perceptions he was just a *wali* like other Javanese *wali* apart from the nine *wali* (Salam, 1960, Sastronaryatmo, 1986)

This debate on the recognition of the *wali* is crucial for a number of reasons. First, it relates to the legitimation of the existence of the *wali*. There are many tombs of pious people in Java, which are considered by the local people to be *wali* tombs. Second, it has become a truism in Java that the *wali* spread true Islamic teachings. Therefore, if the person is recognized as a *wali*, he brought the true teaching of Islam. Finally, the acknowledgment of a *wali* is to provide a legitimation for the tomb as an appropriate place to acquire *baraka*. This is because a *wali* is believed to be a person who is close to Allâh and who can transmit *baraka*. For example, in a village close to Bayat, Watu Gajah, there is a tomb that is believed by the villagers as the tomb of a *wali*. Villagers believe that the *wali*, named Seh Watu Gajah, is one of Sunan Tembayat's disciples. This story then becomes a legitimation for the place to be visited.

The most important *wali* for the Central Java is Sunan Kalijaga. He was considered to be the 'father' of the *wali*. *Serat Babad Tembayat* describes him as the *wali* chosen by the prophet Muhammad to lead the Javanese *wali*. Prophet Muhammad gave Sunan Kalijaga a cloth named "*Antrakusuma*" to symbolize his status. The cloth is a symbol of the Sunan Kalijaga's ascendancy as the *walis'* leader (Sastronaryatmo, 1986). Furthermore, Sunan Kalijaga was thought of as a *wali* who succeeded in formulating an Islam that is compatible with the Javanese traditions. His creations, such as Javanese *tembang* (songs) and some stories performed as *wayang* (shadows play), such as the story of *Jimat Kalimasada* (the amulet of *Kalimat Shahadat*—one of Islamic six principal beliefs) are indications of his success.⁶ These

factors made Sunan Kalijaga the most important *wali* figure. Therefore, especially in Central Java, Sunan Kalijaga has become the 'chain' for tracing the *wali*'s identity and relation to the traditions of the other *wali*.

Sunan Tembayat's conversion to Islam and his designation as a *wali* is linked with Sunan Kalijaga's tradition. Before converting to Islam, Sunan Tembayat was an Adipati of Semarang, who had the name Ki Ageng Pandanarang. He was a rich *Adipati*, but was never satisfied with his wealth. He gained the wealth by exploiting his subjects. Sunan Kalijaga showed him how to get gold using a hoe. Ki Ageng Pandanarang was astonished with Sunan Kalijaga's spiritual power and asked if he could become Sunan Kalijaga's disciple. Sunan Kalijaga agreed and asked Ki Ageng Pandanarang to study Islam at Mount Jabalkat that is situated in Bayat (Sastronaryatmo, 1986b). After Ki Ageng Pandanarang had gained Islamic knowledge, Sunan Kalijaga asked him to spread Islam in Bayat and its surroundings. Therefore Sunan Tembayat's teachings are derived from Sunan Kalijaga.

The process of Sunan Kalijaga's and Sunan Tembayat's conversions to Islam show some similarities. Before converting to Islam, both were described as bad people. Sunan Kalijaga as a robber and Sunan Tembayat as a restless *Adipati*. Both, after converting to Islam, studied Islam through meditation and in a remote place. Sunan Kalijaga meditated at the edge of rivers; Sunan Tembayat meditated at Mount Jabalkat in Tembayat. It seems that the story of their conversion to Islam was fabricated to create impression of the similarities of Sunan Tembayat's situation with Sunan Kalijaga. This is because Javanese believe that Sunan Kalijaga had a dominant role not only in the religious but also in the social and political life of Java. Furthermore, the link with Sunan Kalijaga provides support for the existence of Sunan Tembayat and his tomb as a center of *ziarah*.

The Narrative of Sunan Tembayat: Building a Javanese-Islamic Tradition

There are various traditions regarding Sunan Tembayat. These traditions are maintained by Bayat people and especially by the *juru kunci* (the custodians of the graveyard). Some traditions are transmitted orally and others are written in *Serat Babad Tembayat*, *Serat Babad Demak* and so forth. Each tradition gives an account that may differ from other accounts. The narratives about Sunan Tembayat are a kind of 'cultural reflector', which can be used as a medium to under-

stand the whole culture of the society where the narrative emerged (Lessa and Vogt, 1979). Narrative, as a whole, including how it is transformed, articulated and renewed, is a form in which people construe and construct their world.

Through these narratives Bayat people transform the history of Sunan Tembayat. The *ziarah* tradition that exists in Bayat, in its development, is shaped by various cultural forms. There is no doubt that other traditions besides Islam have influenced *ziarah* practice. The narratives of Sunan Tembayat are transmitted in polyphonic cultural identities to maintain identities involved in *ziarah* practice. Thus, in some sense, it could be said that narratives of Sunan Tembayat are a “charter of belief” of *ziarah* practice. This can be seen from the *juru kunci*’s stories about Sunan Tembayat. In part, the *juru kunci* uses the narratives to give a logical explanation for the practice of *ziarah*. For visitors the narratives are significant to provide a rationale for their *ziarah*. In this regard, narrative in Bayat has two important constructions; creating cultural identity and, in terms of the coincidence of ritual-myth, providing power and meaning.

There are various traditions describing Sunan Tembayat’s origins. Some source texts maintain that Sunan Tembayat was Brawijaya V, the last King of Majapahit. These traditions recount that Prabu Brawijaya wandered throughout Java. On his travels he met Sunan Kalijaga and had a discussion about spiritual matters over which they argued strongly. However, Sunan Kalijaga had better-developed arguments. Thus, Prabu Brawijaya decided to convert to Islam. After his conversion, Sunan Kalijaga appointed Brawijaya as a *bupati* (regional chief) in Semarang and gave him a new name, that is Kyai Ageng Pandanarang (Soewignja, 1938). On the basis of these traditions, Sunan Tembayat was the last King of Majapahit, the last Prabu Brawijaya.

In *Serat Sadjarah-dalem*, written by Ki Padmasoesastra, Sunan Tembayat was described as the ninety-fourth child of Brawijaya V, and his name was Raden Djaka Soepana (Soewignja, 1938:57). However, other sources, such as *Serat Kanda* (*handschrift Djawi Bataviaasch*) claim that Sunan Tembayat was not the son of the last King of Majapahit, but rather a son-in-law of the son of the Brawijaya V; that is, Batara Katong. Batara Katong had a daughter who married Sunan Tembayat. Because of this marriage, Sunan Tembayat was made an *Adipati* (a regional commander) in Semarang and was given a new

name, Pangeran Mangkubumi (Soewignja, 1938:40; 58-59).

People in Bayat describe Sunan Tembayat as having spiritual power. The popular narrative of the Sunan Tembayat's spiritual power recalled by Bayat people is about Sunan Tembayat's two *sokabat* (friends, disciples), Seh Kewel and Seh Domba. Both of his friends were named by Sunan Tembayat. According to the story, they were given these names to reflect their behavior as Domba (sheep) and Kewel (snake). Seh Domba and Seh Kewel were formerly street burglars who blackmailed travellers. Sunan Tembayat told them that their behavior was like that of a sheep and a snake. As Sunan Tembayat finished his sentence, the robbers' faces were transformed: one like a sheep's and the other like a snake's.

Stories such these describe Sunan Tembayat as having spiritual and physical power beyond that of normal people. To describe these powers, people refer to the story of Sunan Tembayat's success in converting Bayat's *Jawara* (Javanese heroes with a powerful knowledge of self defence who were village leaders and were sometimes employed by an *Adipati* [a regional chief] to guard a village). In this myth, Sunan Tembayat demonstrated that he could fly like a bird, sink into mud like a worm, burn a house like a fire and so forth. So the *Jawara* converted to Islam because Sunan Tembayat had a superior *ilmu kanuragan* (skill in self defence). The narrative also alludes to Sunan Tembayat's power being demonstrated by the following story. Once he passed a market and asked a rice trader, "What is in your sack?" Having thought that Sunan Tembayat was a street robber, he did not answer honestly, and said it was sand. Suddenly the rice became sand, and to this day the market is known as *wedi* (sand).

Another narrative concerning the extraordinary power of Sunan Tembayat is the story of the moving of his mosque. Sunan Bayat built a mosque on the top of Mount Jabalkat. He and his followers prayed and studied Islam in this mosque. When his followers had increased, Sunan Tembayat felt that people, especially the elders, had difficulty in coming to the mosque. Therefore, he decided to move the mosque to a lower place. So, he threw his *gala* (Javanese, a small spear), and at the place where the *gala* fell, Sunan Tembayat built the new mosque. He named the new mosque the *Gala* mosque. However, some *juru kunci* explain that the mosque was moved because of admonishments from Sunan Kalijaga. *Serat Babad Tembayat* records that Sunan Kalijaga asked Sunan Tembayat to move the mosque, on the grounds that the mosque was too high so that it competed with

other *wali*'s mosques. Furthermore, as the mosque was high, Sunan Tembayat's *adzan* (a calling prayer) was heard throughout Java, disturbing other *adzans*. Sunan Kalijaga further advised Sunan Bayat that it was not the way for a new *wali* to show his identity (Sastronaryatmo, 1986).

Sunan Tembayat had several different identities: as the last King of Majapahit, the son of the last King of Majapahit, and finally, the son-in-law of the last King of Majapahit. In all cases, though, the traditions of Sunan Tembayat are linked with the Majapahit kingdom. Furthermore, the narrative of Sunan Kalijaga's admonishment to move the mosque contains another important message. The warning was an indication of the religious affiliation between Sunan Tembayat and Sunan Kalijaga. Furthermore, the warning was an alert to spread a correct Islam, since there are several religious teachings that did not follow the *Syari'a* (Islamic law).

Sunan Tembayat linked his teachings with those of Sunan Kalijaga. Therefore, the warning from Sunan Kalijaga was a means of control over Sunan Tembayat's teaching. *Serat Tembayat* interprets the warning as a means of alerting Sunan Tembayat to the fact that, as a new religion, Islam should not flaunt itself. In other words, *Serat Tembayat* construes the building of the mosque on top of the hill as an arrogant act. As a new religion, Islam should not be expressed in an arrogant way. In other words, the narrative of the moving of the mosque can be interpreted as a kind of cultural alert for the fast-growing Muslim community in the southern area of Central Java.

The second issue is the relationship between Sunan Tembayat and the last King of Majapahit, Prabu Brawijaya. This relationship pertains to the historical identity linking Sunan Tembayat and the long tradition of Javanese culture. According to Javanese beliefs, the King of Majapahit was a symbol of Javanese cultural superiority. The decline of the Majapahit kingdom was taken as an indication of the decline of Javanese traditions. This historical background builds an image of the desire for the reemergence of the Javanese superiority. Sunan Tembayat's history was linked to this tradition to provide evidence of his position as the inherited successor of the Javanese cultures.

Finally, the involvement of Sultan Agung, the Ruler of Mataram, points to another identity of Sunan Tembayat. The renovation of the *pasarean* of Sunan Tembayat established the link between Tembayat and Mataram. Abdul Salam, the eldest *juru kunci*, reported

that all traditions performed in the Tembayat graveyard are similar to Islamic traditions practised in the Mataram court. He refers to the *tablilan* tradition, which uses Javanese songs (*tembang*). There are several styles of performing *tablik*; pesantren style, the coastal style, Mataram court style as well as other styles. The Mataram's style is used in Bayat.

The different explanations of Sunan Tembayat influence the way in which people articulate their visit to Sunan Tembayat's tomb. For people who identify Sunan Tembayat as their village *pundhen* the visit is a means of showing respect to the *pundhen*. However, for those who believe that Sunan Tembayat is the Brawijaya V, their visit is a means of *sowan* to their honorable king. Other people visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb as *ziarah* to a pious *wali*. The purpose of the visit is to obtain a reward from God through the mediation of Sunan Tembayat.

Sunan Tembayat's historical identity consists of several elements. First, he was connected to the tradition of the Nine *Wali*. This supports Sunan Tembayat's role as the *wali* who spread true Islamic teachings. Second, the story about Sunan Tembayat as the last King of Majapahit is an attempt to link him with the Majapahit tradition. Third, Sunan Tembayat was a *wali* who was honored by the Mataram king. This historical and narrative identity of Sunan Tembayat has established the graveyard's importance. This in turn affects the discourse of *ziarah* in Bayat. It seems that the various identities of Sunan Tembayat are maintained to legitimate the existence of various meanings and *ziarah* performances in Bayat. For Bayat people, the narrative not only provides a link with the great Javanese culture traditions, but also shows their concern with the polyphonic traditions of *ziarah*. Furthermore, the different identities attached to Sunan Tembayat seem to underlie different interpretations of *ziarah*.

The Tradition of *Ziarah* in Java

In the last few years, social scientists have found that the study of travel in religions is a significant topic of study for analyzing the influence of contexts affecting change in religious doctrines (Masud, 1990:30-31). The meaning of *ziarah* to the tomb of a saint, for example, is varied since the meaning of *ziarah* is shaped by many everyday life experiences. Eickelman suggests that, in its broad meaning, *ziarah* to a shrine is part of a process shaping the religious imagination. In Morocco, Eickelman shows that *ziarah* to a certain tomb is a

spiritual movement to renew and update religious understanding. This means that *ziarah*, at an abstract level, is a symbol of spiritual movement; the movement of soul from a state of corruption to one of purity (Masud, 1990:44-45). For Moroccans, the visit to the saint's tomb is a means to obtain success in this worldly life as well as for salvation on the Day of Judgment (Clancy Smith, 1990:200).

Although Javanese *ziarah* exhibits some similarities with the practice in other parts of the Muslim world, in Bayat the meaning of *ziarah* displays differences since *ziarah* in Bayat is shaped by the context of Javanese traditions. Thus, the meaning of *ziarah* that is understood by a people is connected to their cultural concepts. The existence of Sunan Tembayat himself has a localized understanding. Some people regard Sunan Tembayat as their *pundhen* (the first ancestor) of Bayat. Some other people conceive of Sunan Tembayat as a *wali*. The name of Bayat or Tembayat is said to derive from his teaching method, *Tembayatan*, meaning teaching Islam *ayat* by *ayat* (verse by verse of the Qur'ân). The different interpretations of the status of Sunan Tembayat influence the way in which people interpret motives of *ziarah*. Some people argue that *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat's tomb is a visit to their *pundhen*. Such *ziarah* means showing respect for the continuity between the living and the dead. Others see the *ziarah* is a means of acquiring *baraka* from the *wali*.

Visitors to Bayat differentiate between the way in which people perform *ziarah* in Bayat, "*ziarah cara wang Islam lan ziarah cara wang Jawa*" (*ziarah* in the Islamic manner and *ziarah* in the Javanese manner). People who perform *ziarah* in the Islamic manner conduct it by activities that are allowed by Islamic doctrines, such as reciting the Qur'ân, *tablil* (reciting the phrase of 'there is no God but Allâh, and Muhammad is His messenger) and *dzikir* (reciting selected words from the Qur'ân), whereas other people who perform *ziarah* in the Javanese manner conduct *ziarah* with meditation, or with a special procedure such as *nenepi* (a meditation with special attitude and procedure). At the level of conceptual discourse, the two ways of *ziarah* performance influence the perception of these activities. For example, some people prefer to use the word *sowan* and *nyekar* rather than *ziarah*. This, in turn, effects a different articulation of an understanding of the *wali*, and influences the explanations of the purpose of *ziarah*, including the perceptions of *baraka* and its transmission. Therefore, these variations in performing *ziarah* and their accompanying forms of discourse are a 'marker' of *ziarah* practice.

Anthropological studies of pilgrimage, including *ziarah*, focus on the analysis of its impact on social and political conditions. Victor Turner sees the pilgrimage process from the viewpoint of structure and anti-structure. By taking Van Gennep's tripartite analysis of transactional rituals, Turner explores the nature of the pilgrimage's liminality. He argues that pilgrimages are seen as social institutions that typically exemplify *communitas*. For example, the locations of pilgrimage sites are often to be found in localities away from normal settlements, on the hills, in caves, forests and so forth. Pilgrimage is also considered as a "retirement from the world" (Turner, 1974:166-167; 1978:1-39). Therefore, Turner sees pilgrimage as reinforcement of religious *communitas*. With a similar approach, Eickelman studies the travel traditions in Islam as forms of political and social action (Eickelman, 1990:3). He sees pilgrimage in Islam as a process of building religious imagination and renewing the religious consciousness. In this sense, thus a pilgrimage destination is a 'centre' that acts as a magnet to understand more about religion. He argues that pilgrimage to Mecca and *ziarah* to the saints' tombs for Moroccan people is an act of imagination to achieve a core of religious understandings. This in turn inspires change in the perception of Islam and in the community (*ummah*). However, there are variations in the motives and interests of performing *ziarah*. This is because *ziarah* does change over time and is exhibited differently in different places (Eickelman, 1990: xiv).

While both Eickelman and Turner analyze pilgrimage in terms of its social and political dimensions, they neglect the change in the liturgical aspect of pilgrimage such as the changes in the practice, prayers and the interpretations of the pilgrimage. Furthermore, they analyze pilgrimage with an assumption that the center of pilgrimage is visited by people who have the same motives and understandings. However, *ziarah* in Bayat offers a different aspect for pilgrimage study. First, from a liturgical perspective, *ziarah* in Bayat provides a polyphonic understanding of the ritual. Second, in performing *ziarah*, the tradition in Bayat illustrates how a certain ritual evolves to adapt to social conditions that are continually altering.

Using on ethnography of *ziarah* in Bayat, I attempt to trace the changing forms of *ziarah* as a ritual to discern the impact and influence of social changes on religious practices within a complex society, such as Java.

The various identities of Sunan Tembayat influence the way in

which people interpret their visit to his tomb. Visitors who regard Sunan Tembayat as a king interpret the *ziarah* as *sowan* to the king for showing respect and asking for help. On the other hand, visitors who acknowledge Sunan Tembayat as a *wali*, conceive of their *ziarah* as *ibadah* (pious activity). While one group of visitors performs *ziarah* in the manner of a visit to a king, another group visits in the manner of *ibadah* to a *wali* by reciting the Qur'ân and *tahlil*.

As a ritual form, *ziarah* is a complex activity that can be interpreted in many different ways. The tradition of *ziarah* has been established within the complex process of the interaction between many different cultural forms. The various interpretations of *ziarah* indicate its rich and diverse cultural forms. Moreover, the interpretation of *ziarah* ritual changes not only in accordance with ideological perceptions, but also over time and under different social conditions. In the period of Dutch and Japanese colonialism, people came to Bayat to ask for protection from the colonial regimes and to join with the movement connected with Islam. Furthermore, the *juru kunci* recalled that during the transition from the Old to the New Order, Bayat was crowded with people from all over the southern part of Central Java seeking to hide from the chaos. The *juru kunci* further points out that, "before the Indonesian government banned the operation of SDSB—a kind of lottery game—the tomb of the Sunan Tembayat's secretary was visited by people, asking for a number. This is because the secretary was well known to be good at accounting (*"rikala SDSB dereng dibubarke kaleh pemrentah, kuburanipun sekretarisipun Sunan Tembayat rame dipun dugeni tiang-tiang. Amargi bade nyuwun nomor, sebabe sekretarisipun Sunan niku keceluk nek piyambakipun niku pinter itang-itang"*).

The complexity of *ziarah* performance also reveals the extent of cultural interactions on Java. The formulation of prayers (*donga*) is often recited in Arabic, the feast following the reception of a *ngalamat* from the saint is mainly a Javanese-Arabic tradition, while the use of incense and flower derives from another cultural influence. Moreover, the complexity of *ziarah* is manifest in the use of many different terms to refer to it, such as, *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar*. *Ziarah* in Bayat is an example of the process of how people formulate a polyphonic understanding of a ritual practice. *Ziarah* practice has been and is established through the interaction between the cultural elements that frame peoples' behaviour. The meaning and interpretation of *ziarah* are constantly shaped by the social context in which

ritual is performed.

In its relation to the study of Islam on Java, this study of *ziarah* is to explore various perceptions. *Ziarah* to a saint's tomb is an Islamic practice that constitutes an example of how people in Bayat attempt to understand their concern with Islam. Islam interacts with other cultural elements in a distinctive way that creates particular religious forms such as *ziarah*. People's understandings of *ziarah* are reflections of their popular Islam. Geertz's study of Islam on Java has provided some insights into these religious interactions, however, his simplification of the process of the cultural interaction of Islam on Java into three variants diminishes the rich phenomena of Islam in Java. Furthermore, Geertz positioned "Java" as a certain structure, which neglects the process in which the cultures interact. This study of *ziarah* intends to provide an example of the complexity of Islam on Java and the rich cultural form that is the product of its interaction. This article will elucidate the diverse discourses of *ziarah* that influence the ways in which people interpret and understand the practice.

Ziarah, Sowan and Nyekar

To describe *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar*, I want to distinguish those activities that reflect a relation to ritual, which I call "a spiritual journey", and those that are related to what may be called a "profane jaunt." Both refer to events that are of sufficient interest to the community for them to be noted and related to each other conceptually. On one hand, the graveyard is regarded as a sacred place, meaning that it is a place for acquiring *baraka*. For those who believe in a kind of programmatic *ziarah* (a *ziarah* to all the sacred tombs of Islamic *wali* in Java, which often takes a considerable length of time: months, a year or longer), and there is a list of *ziarah* places which should be visited in order to ensue a long spiritual journey, Bayat is part of this journey. On the other hand, as the Sunan Tembayat's tomb becomes a place of interest for tourism, it is visited by many domestic and foreign tourists. They visit the tomb to observe the unique building and traditions of the Bayat graveyard.

In relation to visiting tombs, there are various forms of *ziarah*. One of them is *besik* (from Javanese *resik*, clean), a visit to a tomb, especially the tombs of families and relatives, before the coming of the Ramadan, the Moslem month for fasting. On a *besik* visit, people clean the tomb from weeds and grass. This is performed to symbolize

love, affinity and care for the dead. Furthermore, the visit is based on the perception that one hopes to cleanse mistakes in order to enter the month Ramadan divested of one's errors. Another form of *ziarah* occurs when Javanese villagers do their *bersih desa* (literally meaning 'village cleaning'). In this feast, people gather in the village shrine that represents their *pundhen* (ancestor). The purpose of the feast is to pay homage to the *pundhen* in order to avoid his anger, which can cause damage. They believe that the *pundhen* has guarded the village and has blessed the village's prosperity. Therefore, homage is also given as a way of showing respect and thankfulness to the *pundhen*.

Similar to the *bersih desa* ritual is the *kaulan* ceremony which is held at the tomb of a saint and also in traditional *pesantren*. *Kaul* is conducted to celebrate the death of a famous *kyai*. In East Java, for example, the *kaul* ceremony is usually held in the Jombang *pesantren* to commemorate Hadratus Sheikh Hashim Ash'ari, the greatest *kyai* in Java and the founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama -- the biggest Islamic traditional organization in Indonesia. It is a major event in which many people come to attend the ceremony. The only differences between the two are the activities done to celebrate these *kaulan* ceremonies. In *kaul* tradition, people recite *tahlil* (reciting "there is no God but Allâh and Muhammad is His messenger"), *dzikir* (reciting selected words from the Qur'ân) and recite the Qur'ân around the shrine, although some *pesantren* do not perform these activities in the shrine. The purpose of the *kaul*, besides commemorating the saint, is to show the continuous spiritual link between the saint and the people, as well as to ask for *baraka* from the saint.

People's visits to the tomb of Sunan Bayat are related to these *ziarah* forms, in that some regard their visit as *besik*, others as *bersih desa* and others as *kaul*.⁷ In the week preceding Ramadan, people visit the Karang Kembang hill where Sunan Tembayat's tomb is located at the top of the hill. The Karang Kembang graveyard complex is also a village graveyard. People come to the graveyard complex to clean away the grass and leaves from the complex, and then pray in front of their relatives' tombs. The activity is concluded by a large feast held in the Hastina Agung, the main graveyard of Sunan Tembayat. In this feast, people share each other's meals, and sometimes exchange meals, so that those who bring only fruit barter with those who bring rice. Some people articulate this activity as *besik* because they consider Sunan Tembayat as their relative. Bayat people claim that they are descendants of Sunan Tembayat. Other people

regard the activity as *Bersih Desa* to their *pundhen* (master, ancestor). Some people assert that Sunan Tembayat is like the King of Bayat. Finally, people who claim the activity as *kaul* regard Sunan Tembayat as a pious Islamic *wali*.

In addition, visitors, including Bayat people and outsiders, use different terms to refer to their visit. Some of them use *ziarah*, and others use *sowan* or *nyekar*. The term *ziarah* is an Arabic word, which signifies a visit to a sick person or to a tomb. The word *sowan* is a Javanese word meaning to meet someone higher in status or position in the hierarchy or bureaucracy to discuss or ask for something. A son may *sowan* to his parents to ask about his education. *Nyekar* is also a Javanese word, which is derived from the word *sekar*, which means 'flower'; *nyekar* is a verb meaning 'to offer flowers'. In terms of language, *sowan* is a translation of *ziarah*. However, in many visitors' view, the three words used to refer to the visit have their own connotation. For example, people who prefer to refer to the visit as *sowan* wish to emphasize the visit as a meeting with their *pundhen* to ask for help. *Ziarah*, in contrast, is used to stress that the visit is a meeting with a *wali* hoping to obtain reward from God. *Nyekar* emphasizes the respect and honor to be shown to Sunan Tembayat.

There is a correlation between the terms used to refer to *ziarah* and the perception underlying the term. The explanation is to be found in the way that the actors, in this case visitors, formulate the meaning of *ziarah* that is based on their own perceptions expressed in these terms. For example, some visitors compare the saint with a doctor who has the ability to provide a diagnosis of a disease. Visiting the saint's tomb is a mean of consulting someone about his or her problem, the same as a patient consults a doctor. The saint is a doctor who has knowledge about human life; visitors are patients who need advice from the doctor to solve their problems. Similar to a patient, who brings money for the doctor, visitors bring flowers as a sign of a respect to the saint. Some visitors offer flowers and incense as "the white rice with a fragrant aroma (*sekol petak ganda arum*)."

A systematic examination of these terms, in the context of Bayat, seems to display the fundamental interdependence of the cultural knowledge underpinning these religious beliefs. The word *sowan* is a Javanese refined word (*krama*), which is used by a lower status person to a higher status person. An ordinary person would say *sowan* to refer to a visit to, for example, a King, a governor or even a *camat* (a district chief). Visitors use the word *sowan* as an acknowledgment

of the saint's high status. The word *sowan* in the *ziarah* context thus constitutes an understanding of a visit to a person who is regarded as having higher status for consultation. In this case, the saint is perceived as a live person, who, with *baraka* from Allâh, is able to overcome problems materially and spiritually. People come to *sowan* the saint, then, to approach him so that he may give them *baraka*.

Ziarah, on the other hand, also exhibits a discursive interaction between Islam and local culture. The tradition of visiting a tomb exists in much of the Muslim world. The use of the term *ziarah*, which is derived from Arabic, exhibits an Islamic influence on tomb visiting activity. People conduct *ziarah* based on the doctrine of gaining *pahala* (a reward from God) by reciting the Qur'ân and *tahlil*. This activity is similar to the activity performed in a *kaulan* ceremony. The recitation takes place in front of the *wali*'s tomb in the hope that the visitors will receive help from the *wali*, as he is a mediator between men and God. Therefore, the *wali* can convey a message directly to God. For these visitors, *ziarah* is not the goal itself; rather it is a means of communicating with God through the help of the saint. *Ziarah* is not the primary goal, rather it is a process in a wider endeavor to know Allâh through the mediation of the *wali*.

Some basic beliefs and concepts characterize the different perceptions of the meaning of *ziarah*. First, the way people differ in articulating the meaning of visiting a tomb. Some visitors perform *ziarah* as an effort to overcome a problem, like a patient going to see a doctor. A patient receives a prescription from the doctor, and a visitor obtains a *baraka* from the saint. Just as the patient takes the medicine prescribed, the visitor uses the flowers and water taken from the saint's tomb. The visitor utilizes the flowers and water, as the patient utilizes medicine. A visitor said that he brought as many *kantil* flowers from the saint's tomb, as he could, for he consumed the flowers as a remedy for any problem, such as disease or misfortune, or to obtain luck in business. When the flowers were gone, it was the time to *sowan* to Bayat again. On the other hand, other visitors express a different articulation of *ziarah*. The intention of *ziarah* is to obtain a reward from Allâh through the medium of the saint.

The second main difference between the different concepts and their users stems from the perceived function of the saint. The saint, for some visitors, is regarded as the source of *baraka*. Thus, people ask for *baraka* from the saint directly, without considering him as a mediator. They believe that to communicate with saints, flowers,

incense, *semedi*, *lek-lekan* (staying awake all night long) and so forth must be used. Through these mediums, the saint transfers *baraka* to visitors. Others, however, do not necessarily pursue *baraka* in this way. They place an emphasis on the belief that the saint is only a person who is close to Allâh. This position enables him to mediate between man and Allâh. In short, the saint is only an agent to acquire *baraka* from Allâh.

The third difference in perceptions stems from the reason for visiting a tomb and manner of addressing prayers. In the *jawab* ritual (a ritual of stating requests before entering the Sunan's tomb), people declare their reasons for the visit, recite prayers and clarify the function of the offering of flowers and incense. The *sowan* group, in their own way, believe that prayers should be addressed to Sunan Tembayat. Moreover, offerings of flowers and incense are fundamental requirements needed to gain *baraka*. These people maintain that the *baraka* is in the hands of the saint. On the other hand, the second group who claim the visit as *ziarah* assert that their prayers are addressed directly to Allâh, without offering flowers to the saint. They say that flowers and incense are only a means to make their visit to the tomb convenient, as both provide a beautiful aroma. The *Nyekar* group regard the incense and flowers as symbols of their respect to Sunan Tembayat.

Although originally the practice of *ziarah* is derived from Islam, its development in Java has been influenced by other cultural forms existing in Javanese traditions. These elements constitute different discourses on the performance of *ziarah* rituals. In people's conceptual understanding, the activity of visiting tombs builds a distinct cultural form manifested in the terms *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar*. The inadequacy of any simplistic statements about the relationship between these cultural discourses can be established. It could be maintained that the most adequate generalization is that this is ultimately a syncretic process. Nevertheless, this generalization ignores and simplifies how deep and complex the cultural interaction on the *ziarah* practice has been. On the other hand, to construe that a dominant culture has triumphed over other cultures is to neglect the process in which these cultures interact. Therefore, whether one differentiates between these elements or syncretizes them, it is essential to recognize the process through which cultural forms are produced.

The three words that I have indicated serve as 'markers' that have different philosophical bases. They also indicate various ritual per-

performances in doing *ziarah*. Those who regard themselves as performing *ziarah* create certain ritual forms, whereas other visitors who consider themselves as performing *sowan* establish other performances. The construction of each performance is based on particular goals and beliefs about the *baraka*, sainthood, transmission and the sign (*ngalamat*) given by a saint.

Ritual Form

Ziarah, *sowan* and *nyekar* imply discourses relating to the visitation of a saint's tomb that characterize and identify the practices. Furthermore, the discourse on *ziarah* is also manifest in its ritual performance. It is in light of these observations that the most typical and expressive act of *ziarah* in Bayat, the "turning to the saint" during the rite, is to be viewed and understood. It is an enactment of the most fundamental religious conceptions of ritual form.

Visits to Bayat can be categorized into personal and collective *ziarah*. Personal *ziarah* is performed individually, reciting prayers for one's own purposes and according to one's own ritual. The primary purpose of personal *ziarah* is to ask *baraka* for the visitor's own interests or that of the visitor's family. Collective *ziarah* is done by a group with the same manner, prayers, attitudes and requests. People come as a group to recite prayers with a collective purpose. According to them, a request is more powerful if it is made by a group. However, not all collective *ziarah* has a collective goal. The purpose of the *ziarah* can be to ask for a reward from God, or to ask for *baraka* from the saint.

When I asked a *juru kunci* to show me how to do *ziarah*, he replied that there is no formal procedure of *ziarah*. Everyone performs his own *ziarah* with his own prayers. It is up to the people who do it. The most important factor is that people understand their *ziarah* rituals. Nevertheless, there are some rituals that come about when visitors' report on the success of their earlier visits and attribute that to a particular ritual behavior. For example, in one particular *ziarah* that consists of going to the tomb of Sunan Tembayat's clerk, one should count the bricks on the gravestones three times. If the count increases, that is, the second count is more than the first, and the third is more than the second, then the visitor will gain success in his life. But if the count decreases, it indicates that the success will decline. An old person from Bayat, who helped me to discover various explanations and interpretations of *ziarah* in Bayat showed me an example how to do

ziarah and its requirements.

Rituals performed during *ziarah* in Bayat usually have three stages, the preparation, the *ziarah*, and the follow-up to the *ziarah*. The preparation stage begins in the *bangsal jawi* (the outside hall). Visitors change their clothes and make ablutions. This is because they regard all of the Sunan Tembayat's graveyard area as sacred. Therefore, visitors should wear clean clothes and have a clean body, which is symbolized through new clothes and ablutions. Then visitors prepare their incense and flowers and other requirements for *ziarah*. They take off their shoes and begin the ritual.

As an administrative procedure, visitors report their arrival to the *juru kunci*. Then the *juru kunci* assists the visitor to perform *ziarah* since no one may enter the tomb without the presence of a *juru kunci*. In *Prabajeksa* hall, the *juru kunci* offers a *jawab* (ritualized response) for the visitor. The *jawab* is performed on a plain carpeted floor with a place for burning incense with a chimney directed to Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The *juru kunci* asks the visitor about his intention, requests and his intended offering to the saint. The *juru kunci* asks, "what is your *ziarah* purpose? Did you bring something for Sunan? Will you state your prayer in your own way?" The visitor then answers:

"My name is Redjo Prawiro. I visit Sunan Tembayat's tomb at *ngalab baraka* so my family business will increase. Furthermore, I ask the Sunan Tembayat *baraka* that is expressed in *pangestu* (blessing) for my son's job. May Sunan Tembayat's blessing always accompany my son's career. For these purposes I have brought some gifts for Sunan Tembayat, that is, flowers and incense. Therefore, if the *juru kunci* wants to help me, I will ask the *juru kunci* to recite a *jawab* for my *ziarah*."

The *juru kunci* then takes his position in front of the *tobongan* (a square metal tray with a chimney for burning incense) and begins to burn incense. After the incense smoke has gone up, the *juru kunci* recites the prayers:

"*Bismillah Arrahmani Arrahim* (In the name of Allâh the beneficial and merciful) *Assalamu'alaikum* (peace be upon you). I *sowan* to you on behalf of Redjo Prawiro to recite the *donga*. May Sunan Tembayat listen to his *donga*. Firstly, Redjo Prawiro asks forgiveness from you, if his visit is not polite. Secondly, Redjo Prawiro and his family ask forgiveness from Allâh, may Allâh forgive you and your family. Thirdly, Redjo Prawiro has come from a distant place to this tomb to *ngalab* your *baraka*. With your *baraka*, Redjo Prawiro and his family hope that their business will always succeed. Furthermore, he also asks you for his son's career. His son is struggling to get a better position in his

career. Finally, as a gift from Redjo Prawiro, he has brought flowers and incense to you. These are all his prayers and requests. May Sunan Tembayat listen and help him enrich his purposes. Amen”

After finishing the *jawab*, the visitor and the *juru kunci* go to the Sunan’s tomb. The ritual performed in front of the tomb is the main ritual of *ziarah*. The ritual begins with the *juru kunci*’s prayer and permission to enter the tomb. While putting the palm of his hands together at the nose three times, the *juru kunci* recites, “*Assalamu ‘alaikum, Ya wali Allâh, Ya, wali Allâh, Bismillah Arrahmâni Arrahîm*”. The *juru kunci* then opens the door and allows the visitor to enter the tomb. The visitor does the same things as the *juru kunci*. Then the main ritual of *ziarah* begins. He takes the position as a Javanese sits in meditation known as *sila* (sitting with feet folded with one foot on top of the other). While he is in the concentrated position, he rubs the saint’s gravestone with his hands three times, then he wipes his face three times. After this has been done, by lowering his head face down to the earth, he begins to pray silently. When he finishes his prayer, he puts the flowers on the tomb. He selects the *Kantil* (white flowers that have 5 leaves)—sometimes, in a crowded situation, visitors struggle to obtain the flowers. The flowers are believed to be Sunan Tembayat’s gift. Therefore, like other visitors, he takes the flower home as a *baraka* from the Sunan. Whenever he feels sick or suffers misfortune case, he will take the flower to help him.

Some people recite a common prayer. They have learned the prayer from other visitors who have used these prayers. These people recall and transmit the prayer to other people, mostly by oral traditions. If one cannot recall the prayer, he or she should remember the steps of the prayers, of which there are five stages. First, giving a greeting to the Sunan; second, asking forgiveness for himself from the Sunan; third, asking forgiveness from Allâh for the Sunan and his family; fourth, stating the requests, and finally saying thanks for the Sunan’s help. However, this type of prayer by no means constitutes a formal procedure that should be followed by every visitor. It is only a way of making the visit as successful as that of other visitors. One example of a prayer recited by an old man is the following:

“*Bismillah Arrahmani Arrahim. Assalamu ‘alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatub*. I came here with difficulty to meet you to say several things. Firstly, I hope and pray that the Sunan and the family will always receive guidance from Allâh. And I pray that God may always protect the Sunan and his family from sins and errors. If my visit this time bothers you, I ask for forgive-

ness. As the Sunan already knows, my coming is intended to ask his *baraka* that I can hold it for my life. This is my prayer, again I ask forgiveness if I have done something wrong before the Sunan."

The visitor then moves to visit the Sunan's family tombs. When he concludes his *ziarah*, he approaches the *juru kunci* and they walk out together. In front of the *Prabajeksa* hall, the visitor drinks the water from two *padasan* (water jars made from clay) as a symbol of receiving *baraka* into the body. By drinking the water, visitors believe that *baraka* will always remain in their body. Some visitors take the water home. As the final stage of *ziarah*, the visitor stays for the entire night at the graveyard area to sleep and meditate. This time, they say, is the 'waiting' time (*ngadang-ngadang*) for the descent of the *ngalamat* (sign) of *baraka*.

This method, however, is only one way to perform. Abdul Salam, the eldest *juru kunci*, believes that this procedure of *ziarah* is not the only structure of *ziarah* performance. For example, there are those who perform *ziarah* with *tahlil* recited near the Sunan's tomb with a leader from a *pesantren* near Bayat. Without performing *jawab*, they then go directly to the tomb. Unlike the *sowan* style, in which prayers are recited silently, this group prays together with a loud voice and recites the same prayer. Sometimes, the prayer takes hours, ignoring many visitors who want to pray individually.

Although these ritual forms are different in their performances, those who perform these rituals never question other ritual forms. For them, the performance is not the most important factor. What is important is how to convey their message to the saint. Since they regard the performance as meaningful to them, based on their own beliefs and perceptions, they perform the rituals in their own fashion. The question is how *ziarah* is developed and viewed by the actors; how can such a diversity of concepts with such different people be incorporated into a tradition such as *ziarah*? It appears that the tradition of *ziarah* is formulated from the interaction between many cultural elements. The use of the terms *sowan* and *nyekar* marks cultural identities and tendencies of understanding the tomb visiting tradition. Therefore, these terms illustrate the manner of expressing perceptions of the *ziarah* practice.

Pasang Singep and Sadranan

Before the coming of Ramadan, there are two major events which occur in Bayat's *Hastina Agung*: *pasang singep* and *sadranan*. *Pasang singep* signals the end of the time for *ziarah* each year. People, who have organized a yearly *ziarah*, visit Bayat at the *pasang singep* as the last opportunity to do *ziarah*. *Sadranan*, on the other hand, indicates the beginning of the time of *ziarah* for that year. As both events characterize the complete performance of *ziarah*, people strive to attend these events. Many visitors stay in Sunan Bayat's graveyard from the time of the *pasang singep* until the *sadranan*.

The *pasang singep* ceremony was originally aimed at changing all the white cotton cloth used to wrap the Sunan Tembayat's tomb and its area. *Pasang* means 'to build or change', like a bricklayer builds a building, or a mother changes the new table cloth. *Singep* signifies white cotton, which is wrapped around the Sunan tomb and its area. The ceremony begins at the mosque by reciting *tablil*, led by a religious leader (*kyai*). By the time the *tablil* is finished, the *kyai* and the oldest *juru kunci* walk together to the Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The *juru kunci* opens the tomb and the *kyai* recites *donga*, as the sign of the permission, to change the *singep*. When the *kyai* has finished his prayers, people begin to open the *singep*. People become involved in the *pasang singep*, because they believe that those who help the Sunan are in turn helped by him.

Nearly all visitors want to have a piece of the old *singep*. It is believed that the old *singep* contains the Sunan's *baraka*. People use it as an amulet (*jimat*) for physical power or economic purposes. In the past this created conflict among visitors, especially among those who sought the *singep* of the Sunan's head. Consequently, now the *juru kunci* organizes the distribution of the *singep*. The old *singep* is kept by the *juru kunci* and then it is cut into handkerchief size pieces. Those who want to have a *singep* should consult the *juru kunci*. The cost of the cotton is *se-iklasnya* (depends on the people's desire). Visitors use the *singep* in their trading, farming or bureaucratic jobs.

The next stage of the ceremony of *pasang singep* is to rewrap the Sunan's tomb with the new cotton cloth. Before rewrapping, the Sunan's tomb is cleaned. In doing so, visitors distribute the work among themselves. People ask permission to the Sunan before cleaning his area. Failure to do so may bring misfortune. The *juru kunci* told me that a visitor had fallen from the roof while he was cleaning it because the Sunan did not permit him to clean his roof. Therefore,

asking permission before conducting the work is an important requirement. The 'asking of permission' performance varies according to people's belief. Some of them perform it as they perform their ritual *ziarah*. Others only sit and ask permission directly to the Sunan.

The rewinding takes a full day, with hundreds of people working. The cost of the cloth wrap, the *juru kunci* said, is about 1 million rupiah. The money is donated by the visitors and by the village chief. After the rewinding is done, the tomb is closed until the *sadranan* ceremony. No one is permitted to do *ziarah* between *pasang singep* and *sadranan*. People coming from a distant area stay at the graveyard, waiting for the opening of *ziarah* time with the *sadranan* ceremony. In Bayat those who perform *ziarah* at the beginning and the end of *ziarah* times are regarded as a '*ziarah kendang*' (drum), meaning, like a drum that has a top on both sides.

The tomb is closed during Ramadan, and is opened after *Lebaran*. Unlike other Islamic sites that are visited mostly during Ramadan, Bayat's tomb is closed. The reason for closing the tomb during Ramadan is related to a belief that *ziarah* within Ramadan disturbs the Sunan who is also fasting.

In conjunction with the *besik* tradition, Javanese hold a feast called *sadranan*. It is a kind of *slametan*, which is conducted in Javanese manner, yet with a slight difference in the kind of food offered. In *sadranan*, not only rice and fruit are used, but also vegetables. One informant interpreted the use of fruit as a symbol of freshness.

Fruit is a symbol of freshness. If we eat fruit, we will feel *seger* (fresh). *Sadranan* uses fruit to inform people that we should feel *seger* before we fast. Furthermore, it also suggests that fasting makes people fresher just as fruit makes our body fresh. Therefore we should be happy to welcome Ramadan as we are already *resik* (clean) by performing *besik*, and fresh as we have already eaten fruit.

In Bayat the *sadranan* ceremony consists of three parts. The first part is the march from the village office to the Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The march consists of five parts. The first element is a symbol of Sunan Tembayat's corpse brought up the hill by *keranda* (a frame of bamboo-laths or other wood to cover a corpse carried on a wooden stretcher). The second element is a number of offerings brought by young women. These offerings consist of Bayat's staple crops, such as rice, banana, coconut and so forth. The third element is traditional dancing, such as *jaran kepang* (the horse dance) and *reog* (the lion dance). The fourth element is a procession of all the *juru kunci*

associated with the Sunan Tembayat's tomb. The fifth element is the people of Bayat and other visitors who follow the ceremony. The groups march to the Sunan Tembayat's tomb with music and dancing.

The march, including the music and dancing, ends at the *bangsal jawi* (the outside hall) in front of the mosque. However, the chief, the *juru kunci* and the *keranda* continue to the *bangsal juru kunci* where visitors are already waiting for the next ceremony. This is a formal ceremony when the Chief of Bayat village addresses his thanks to the people who have helped to make the ceremony a success. Accompanied by the oldest *juru kunci*, the village chief performs *ziarah* to open the *ziarah* period. With Javanese clothes—black suit, sarong, dagger and *blangkon* (Javanese hat)—the chief symbolises a Bayat king. As the chief finishes his *ziarah*, people rush to the building to become the first to perform *ziarah*. According to their beliefs, Sunan Tembayat will transmit great *baraka* to those who perform the first *ziarah* after *sadranan*.

Visitors express that they hold a significant place in their heart for *Pasang singep* and *sadranan*. Not only do they signal the closing and opening of the *ziarah* period, they are also times when visitors should complete their *ziarah* arrangements. Some visitors have, as a target, the performance of *ziarah* seven times a year. As a sign of completing their *ziarah*, visitors conduct a *slametan* (ceremonial meal) with the *juru kunci* and other visitors. Like other Javanese *slametan*, this *slametan* uses rice, chicken and vegetables. It also employs *jenang* (a sweet cereal made from the plain flour) *abang* (red) and *putih* (white). The two colours, symbolising the bad and good, are called *jenang puro* (from *ngapuro* meaning 'forgiveness'). Many people perform a *slametan* before the *pasang singep* ceremony. These two events are regarded as special because at these ceremonies all the Sunan's *baraka* will be *tumplek* (given) to the visitors. Furthermore, all the work of making the ceremony a success is a way of showing respect, closeness and remembrance to the saint, as he has given them *baraka*. Therefore, without any coordination from the chief or the *juru kunci*, people work enthusiastically for *pasang singep* and *sadranan*.

Nevertheless, the importance of *pasang singep* and *sadranan* depends heavily on the individuals experiencing it. For Bayat people, *pasang singep* can be understood as a test for the village chief and his generosity to Sunan Tembayat. This can be seen from the peoples' comments during the *pasang singep*. *Sadranan*, again for Bayat people,

is regarded as a bond of their spirit in Islam. In other words, they articulate their involvement in the *sadranan* as expressing their bond with Bayat as a village and as a Muslim region. For outside visitors, however, the occasion of *pasang singep* and *sadranan* are primarily for the gaining of the saint's *baraka*.

Sadranan, for Bayat's people, is now referred to as *Kaul Akbar*—like the ceremony to commemorate a saint's death held usually in a *pesantren*. Various *juru kunci* argue that these two names are used mainly to integrate visitors who want to celebrate *sadranan* as a tradition and those who want to solemnize the saint as a person who spread Islam in Bayat. In doing so, the first group ritualize their behavior according to the manner of *sadranan*. The second, on the other hand, formulate their activities in accordance with the tradition of *kaul* held at *pesantren*. As cultural symbols, therefore, *sadranan* and *pasang singep* represent diverse orientations. The interpretation of the symbols varies according to the participant's beliefs that underlie the performance.

Integration and Conflict

I have discussed the different perspectives that characterize the visiting of tombs and explored the different terms expressed for the same activity. The terms bear witness to the variety of beliefs about sainthood that are held by those holding particular theological beliefs. How people define the function of the saint before Allâh; their views on whether the saint has any authority to transmit *baraka*; how they should best address prayer and requests; and how they construe their visit to the tomb, help provide a more complete understanding of their various belief systems.

Visitors to Bayat, on the night of Friday *Legi* carry out *lek-lekan* (stay awake all night). They share the experiences of their *ziarah* and try to discuss the signs they have received from *ziarah*. A young visitor told me of his experience spending the night in the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. Before falling asleep, he asked Sunan Tembayat how he should change his life, especially with respect to handling economic matters.

"While I was half awake and asleep, Sunan Tembayat came to me with a broom. He wore a black cloth, a black turban, and all of his attributes were black. He gave me a broom, then he suddenly disappeared. I got up and made ablutions. I was curious about my dream. In Javanese belief the *wali* always

wears a white suit and turban. Why had the Sunan in my dream worn black clothes? Furthermore, he seemed unhappy with me.”

A *dalang* (puppeteer) who came from a coastal area gave his explanation of the dream. He is quite a well-known *dalang* who is a master of Javanese mysticism. He acknowledged that his *guru* (teacher) gave the knowledge to him when he studied *wayang* (shadow puppetry). In studying *wayang*, one should master not only the skill of playing the puppet, but also the *ilmu bathin* (inner knowledge). The inner knowledge, including the knowledge of meditation and *ilmu kejawen* (Javanese knowledge), is the most important. A *dalang* should be able to repel rain to attack Satan. Therefore, when a person is inaugurated as a *dalang*, he is really *ampuh* (spiritually powerful), *lahir* and *bathin* (in his inner and outer self). In explaining the dream, the *dalang* argued that the Sunan was not pleased with the young man's visit because he had neglected some requirements of *ziarah*.

A *juru kunci* interpreted the dream as a sign that his soul was dirty. The black suit worn by the Sunan was an indication, he suggested, that the young man's soul was dark. Therefore he gave the young man a broom as a symbol to clean his soul. The *juru kunci* further said that it may also be another symbol. As the *dalang* had said, perhaps his procedures of *ziarah* were not complete; the Sunan produced the black sign as a symbol of nothingness. In other words, he did not give him *baraka*.

The man asked the *juru kunci* and the *dalang*, “is there any procedure of *ziarah*?” The *juru kunci* said that there is no formal procedure for doing *ziarah*. However, there are some informal procedures from successful visitors that record certain requirements for performing *ziarah*, such as bringing incense, flowers, and sleeping in the graveyard. Furthermore, *ziarah* is better done, at least seven times a year. On the seventh *ziarah*, it is suggested one should perform a *slametan*. As serious as one makes the effort to complete *ziarah*, that much one will get *baraka* from the Sunan Tembayat.

The *dalang* told his own stories about *ziarah*. He had visited most of the *walis'* tombs. Meditation in the graveyard was part of his *dalang* training in order to avoid secular desire. He often stayed at one graveyard for a week or even a month. He followed his teacher's procedures for *ziarah*, which was characterized by the Javanese traditions of *ziarah* such as bringing incense, seven different kinds of flowers and offerings. His teacher had told him that these things were given

to the *roh halus* (spirits) so that they would be able to visit the *wali*. After finishing *ziarah*, the *dalang* drank water from the graveyard *padasan* as a symbol of the transmission of power to his body. He always stayed at one graveyard until he gained *ngalamat*.

In the Bayat graveyard, visitors often gather with other visitors to share and discuss things about their lives. The new visitors often ask the *juru kunci* or other visitors about the procedures and requirements of *ziarah*. As well as discussing ritual forms, visitors often discuss the philosophical thought underlying the ritual. The previous conversation illustrates how people try to explain their experience of *ziarah* in accordance with their backgrounds. I will give another example that occurred also in the Bayat graveyard involving a group consisting of a young couple and their parents.

“Son, what *donga* (prayers) should I recite before the Sunan Tembayat?” The mother asked her son. “Any prayers you can recite, because Sunan Tembayat will understand our prayers. However, you should not ask for riches, long life and success in our trading. You only can ask such a thing to Allâh alone. If you do ask that to Sunan Tembayat, it means that you have done *syirk*. We came here to remember him as a great *wali*, and to recall again what his teachings are so we can follow them. This is a *ziarah* without any particular intention.” The wife asked, “Should we bring flowers and incense like those who perform *ziarah* before us. Should we only open arms to visit Sunan Tembayat?” The husband said, “Flowers and incense are not important. The most important thing is that we pray correctly to Allâh.”

In terms of this conversation, *ziarah* represents visiting a tomb without any particular intentions other than asking for *baraka* from Allâh. They visit the saint’s tomb to honor the *wali* by remembering the *wali*’s works in spreading Islam. However, this point of view is rejected by others. *Ziarah* to the *wali* is used to obtain *baraka* from Allâh through the help of the *wali*.

“I and all my friends (there were approximately fifteen people from Madiun) performed *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayat in order to get his help to mediate between us and God. At the tomb we recited *tablil* (reciting melodically there is no god, but Allâh, and Muhammad is his messenger) and asked him to guide us. This is because an ordinary man cannot convey the *tablil* to Allâh without the guidance of the *wali*. We believe that Sunan Tembayat is only sleeping, and he can assist us.”

Ziarah, according to the second informant, involves a visit to the saint’s tomb, asking for help from the saint in order to reach union with God. The saint, then, represents a mediator between them and

God. Because Sunan Tembayat is a *wali* beloved of Allâh, it is believed that he has access to Allâh and can help people obtain *baraka*. By reciting prayers or the Qur'ân or *tahlil*, people believe that the saint will assist them to meet Allâh.

The different articulation of the meaning of *ziarah* and the philosophical thought underlying it sometimes sparks conflict between visitors. This occurred in the *pasang singep* ceremony. As the work to wrap the Sunan Tembayat's tomb is done by visitors, the organisation of the work is also arranged by them. Thus, there may emerge many different ideas and thoughts about the proper way of wrapping the Sunan's tomb. For example, when the tailor did not sew the cloth perfectly, some visitors protested to the *juru kunci* that the cloth was up side down. They felt that it needed to be redone or the Sunan would be angry. However, others said that it did not matter. The most important thing was that the tomb should look good. They urged the work to continue. According to them, wrapping the Sunan is profane work, which should be done in accordance with normal work. In practical terms, then, the tailor had done his job correctly, that is, to make it easy for the visitors to install it. Therefore, the visitors could install it efficiently. The debate reached a climax when the first group stopped their work, because they did not want to take the risk of a bad job. Then they prayed before the tomb asking forgiveness. When the first group stopped their work, the second group was in doubt. Some of them also stopped their work. The eldest *juru kunci* and the chief of the village came to settle the conflict. They advised that the tailor should re-sew the cloth.

Although this was a serious debate, this kind of conflict does not usually occur when people perform *ziarah*. The different manner of performing *ziarah* does not normally spark conflict. Visitors do not question other's manners or procedures of *ziarah*. What, then, produced this conflict in the *pasang singep* ceremony? The simplest answer lies in the dynamics of work organisation. *Pasang singep* is a joint task that requires consensus and work management.

Other factors, however, demonstrate that such conflicts may be more complex. *Ziarah*, as a cultural form, embodies the whole process through which the rite was produced, including its social and political conditions. From some perspectives, the cultural forms existing in Java can be said to have certain similarities that enable them to be integrated. Similarities in the conception of *ziarah* and sainthood facilitate this integration. Furthermore, the polyphonic cultural dimension of

ziarah is supported by the ‘consistent impression of cultural flexibility’ of the Javanese since the earliest times (Ricklefs, 1993:227). However, a change in cultural relations caused by political discord or other factors can bring about an alteration of the discourse. This was evident in the Bayat case, where, it turned out that the person who encouraged the first group to resew the cloth was the village chief’s political opponent. The historic integration of cultural elements in forms such as the *ziarah* practice can be damaged when one of the cultural elements grows to become a hegemonic force that dominates the interpretation of the form by emphasizing a certain perspective. Since certain groups of Muslims turned to “modernizing” and “purifying” the *ziarah* practice, and aimed to alter Islamic teachings, there has been a consequent effect on cultural integration reflected in occasional contention over the carrying out of group ritual forms.

To conclude I will quote Pak Dalang’s explanation of *ziarah*:

“Actually I am a Moslem, although I do not do what Moslems usually do. Unlike Moslems who perform *ziarah* in the Islamic manner, such as reciting Qur’ân, *tablil* and so forth, I perform my *ziarah* based on Javanese beliefs. Therefore, I wear Javanese black dress with its accessories. I am a *kabangan* (the word is the verbal form for *abangan*) Moslem.”

Pak Dalang’s explanation indicates that there are different ways of performing *ziarah*: the Islamic manner (*ziarah cara wang Islam*), and the Javanese manner (*ziarah cara wang Jawa*). Each of these two forms for performing *ziarah* involves its own practices. Visitors who perform the visit to a *wali*’s tomb in the Islamic manner conceive of the practice under the discourse of *ziarah*, while visitors who practise the visit in the Javanese manner elucidate the practice under the discourse of *sowan* and *nyekar*. Furthermore, the word *kabangan* is an expression of the process in which a certain groups attempt to distinguish themselves from other groups. *Kabangan* is a verb derived from *abangan*, meaning, becomes *abangan*. This word is a result of the tendency to direct the understanding of *ziarah* tradition toward a certain perception.

It is true that *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar* are interchangeable terms used to refer to the activity of visiting tombs. These terms however signify different concepts and certain practical activities. Although people have different ways of performing *ziarah*, they generally do not find fault with each other’s ways; rather they tolerate and acknowledge various forms. The terms *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar* are

markers indicating that the practice is conducted from various perspectives. Therefore, visiting a *wali*'s tomb involves a polyphonic understanding. The diversity in performing *ziarah* in Bayat highlights the various forms through which people express their religious understandings. Their markers function as a social identifier by communicating their understanding and practise of *ziarah*, or they can acquiesce in altogether new interpretations creating hybrid forms.

Endnotes

1. There is some controversy about the existence of the *Walisanga*. Certain traditions assert that there were only eight Javanese *Wali*, "*Wali kang wolu*", while others insist on nine. There is also debate about which *walis* are included as members of the *Walisanga* (Fox, 1991). The narratives of Sunan Tembayat relate to these traditions.
2. I use the Javanese terms for the five Islamic pillars (Rukun Islam). *Sahadat* (*Syahadat*), *Salat* (*Shalat*), *Poso* (*Shaumi*), *Zakat* (*Zakat*) and *Kaji* (*Haji*).
3. The Muhammadiyah reformist movement is influenced by the idea of Muhammad Abduh and by the Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia. *Kyai* Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, studied Islam in Saudi Arabia. Some ideas of Wahabi are used in Muhammadiyah, such as rejecting *bid'ah* (heresy) practices.
4. Although the name of the ninth of the *wali* is a subject of debate, the popular names of *Walisanga* are, 1. Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2. Sunan Ampel, 3. Sunan Bonang, 4. Sunan Giri, 5. Sunan Drajat, 6. Sunan Kalijaga, 7. Sunan Kudus, 8. Sunan Muria, and 9. Sunan Gunung Jati (Salam, 1960). However, based on the textual literature on the *wali* of Java, it seems that this may be a recent tradition. This is because older literary texts such as the *Babad Tanah Jawi* and the *Babad Kraton* record that there are only eight *wali*: '*Para wali kang wolu*' (Fox, 1991:23). For example the *Babad Tanah Jawi* lists the eight *wali* as follows: 1. Sunan (ng)Ampel-Denta, 2. Sunan Giri, 3. Sunan Bonang, 4. Sunan Kudus, 5. Sunan Gunung Jati, 6. Sunan Kalijaga, 7. Sunan Siti Jenar (Lemah Abang), 8. Sunan/Seh *wali* Lanang.
5. Solichin Salam mentions some *wali* that are considered as *wali* in their local areas, but are not included among the eight *wali* as well as the nine *wali*. These *wali* are: 'Sunan Tembayat, Sunan Prawoto, Sunan Ngundung, Sunan Geseng, Sunan Benang, Sunan Mojoagung, Syekh Siti Jenar, Syekh Syubakir, Maulana Ishak' and so forth (Salam, 1960:23).
6. It is told in the story of *Jimat Kalimasada* that those who can afford to possess the amulet will obtain a salvation from God.
7. The Juru Kunci told that the use of *kaul* in *sadranan* is a new practice. Previously the ceremony to commence the Ramadan was called *sadranan*. However, now the ceremony is called *Kaul Akbar* and/or *Sadranan Agung*.

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