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Pilgrimages and Local Islam on Java

Abstraksi: *Di Asia Tenggara, ditemui banyak makam "orang suci" yang dikenal masyarakat lewat sejarah proses Islamisasi di kawasan itu. Makam-makam itu dianggap keramat dan, melalui serangkaian cerita yang dikisahkan secara turun temurun, berkembang menjadi pusat ziarah bagi masyarakat Muslim lokal. Masyarakat Muslim di Indonesia, misalnya, mempunyai ratusan bahkan mungkin ribuan, situs ziarah yang muncul berkaitan dengan sejarah pengislaman masyarakat. Bisa jadi makam seorang pengembara yang pertama membawa ajaran Islam di wilayah itu, wali, atau pemimpin agama, atau pangeran yang menjadi Muslim, atau hanya seorang tokoh biasa yang diyakini mempunyai kekuatan supra-natural setelah memeluk Islam.*

Tulisan ini membahas dua situs ziarah yang dikenal melalui sejarah Islamisasi Jawa: pertama, situs ziarah Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, dan, kedua, situs ziarah Gunung Kawi, Malang. Yang pertama adalah makam Raden Rahmat, salah seorang wali penyebar Islam pada awal abad XV, yang lebih dikenal dengan Sunan Ampel. Terletak di tengah-tengah pusat perkampungan komunitas Arab di Surabaya, ia dikenal sebagai Bapak para wali, disebabkan perannya yang dipercayai sangat besar dalam mendidik wali-wali penyebar Islam kemudian. Sedangkan yang kedua adalah makam Eyang Djugo dan pembantu setianya, Mbah Imam Sudjono, bertempat di ruangan terbuka, di puncak gunung Kawi, Jawa Timur.

Kajian antropologis terhadap tempat-tempat ziarah itu menunjukkan, meskipun sama-sama lahir dari kultur lokal yang terbentuk pada periode penting Islamisasi Jawa, kedua tempat itu memiliki asal-usul, perkembangan, karakter dan signifikansi yang berbeda bagi masyarakat Muslim Jawa. Perbedaan yang paling utama terletak pada segmen pengunjung, tujuan ziarah, dan tatacara ritus yang dilakukan dalam ziarah tersebut.

Pengunjung makam Sunan Ampel umumnya terdiri dari komunitas

santri yang sebagian besar berasal dari pantai utara Jawa dan Madura. Tujuan ziarah pun kelihatan didasarkan pada keinginan untuk beribadah, berdoa kepada Tuhan, yang seluruh tata-caranya memiliki karakter Islam. Sedangkan pengunjung makam Gunung Kawi mayoritas berasal dari komunitas Cina, meskipun pada hari-hari tertentu—khususnya malam Jum'at Legi—masyarakat Muslim Jawa juga terlihat ramai. Di Gunung Kawi, peziarah biasanya meminta "berkah", meramal nasib, serta mengajukan permintaan keuntungan material, bagi diri dan keluarganya, kepada arwah yang dikubur.

Lebih jauh, tatacara ziarah di Gunung Kawi merupakan ritus kompleks di mana sesembahan, sesajian, kurban, musik, penganan dan minuman, ramalan nasib, serta pertunjukan seni, menjadi satu dalam pelaksanaan peribadatan ziarah. Tampaknya hal itu terjadi lantaran adanya kaitan langsung antara tujuan material ziarah dengan bentuk ritus yang dijalankan secara material pula. Semakin material dan besar permintaan itu, semakin tinggi keinginan untuk memberi sesaji. Ziarah Sunan Ampel terlihat lebih sederhana dan khidmat. Peziarah biasanya hanya berdo'a, lalu membaca wirid dan lafaz-lafaz pujian buat sang wali, yang semuanya berasal dari tradisi Islam santri. Segala bentuk sesembahan dan permintaan yang bersifat material sekeras mungkin dilarang. Meskipun, masih saja ada pengunjung yang melakukan hal itu.

Kawi barangkali dapat digambarkan sebagai tempat ziarah kuno dari suatu tradisi keagamaan. Selain mempunyai karakter yang sangat sinkretik, Kawi boleh jadi berasal dari sebuah tempat ziarah animistik pra-Islam, yang kemudian diadopsi berdasarkan legenda-legenda sang tokoh dalam proses Islamisasi. Sedangkan ziarah Sunan Ampel lebih tersusun rapi. Segala bentuk ritus yang dilakukan pengunjung di Ampel menunjukkan karakter peribadatan Islam umumnya, dengan diwarnai tradisi lokal Jawa yang ber-sumber pada legenda-legenda Sunan Ampel.

Legenda dan mitos tentu saja memainkan peran penting dalam membentuk kedua tempat itu sebagai pusat ziarah lokal. Mana tatacara yang didasarkan pada fakta, dan mana yang fantasi, sangat sulit ditentukan. Satu hal yang jelas, hingga akhir abad XIX, kedua pusat ziarah itu mempunyai ciri-ciri kejawaan pra-Islam yang mencolok, sebagaimana bisa dilihat dari bentuk arsitektur bangunan makam dan kebiasaan-kebiasaan minum air putih serta menabur kembang di atas pusara yang dikenal luas di kalangan masyarakat Jawa. Dengan memahami variasi dari segi pengunjung, fungsi dan tata-cara peribadatan di pusat-pusat ziarah lokal itu, seseorang bisa melihat gambaran unik dari suatu dinamika kehidupan keagamaan di kalangan masyarakat Muslim Jawa.

الزيارات الدينية والاتجاه الاسلامي بجاوو

خلاصة: توجد بجنوب شرقى آسيا كثره من الأضرحة للأولياء الصالحين الذين عرفهم المجتمع من خلال عملية نشر الاسلام فى المنطقة. وتعتبر هذه الأضرحة ذات كرامات وصارت، بفضل القصص المحكية عنها خلفا عن سلف، مزارا للمجتمع الاسلامي المحلي. فللمجتمع الاسلامي باندونيسيا على سبيل المثال مئات بل آلاف من المزارات ظهرت مرتبطة بتاريخ اعتناق المجتمع الاسلام. وقد يكون صاحب الضريح رحالة جاء بالاسلام لأول مرة إلى المنطقة، وقد يكون وليا من الأولياء، أو رجلا من رجال الدين، أو كان أميرا يخرج على النظام ليعتنق الاسلام، أو كان مجرد شخصية عادية يعتقد أنه يتمتع بقوى خارقة بعد اعتناقه الاسلام.

يعرض هذا البحث مزارين كان لهما الشهرة الواسعة من خلال تاريخ انتشار الاسلام بجاوو، أولهما مزار سونان أمبل (Sunan Ampel). بمدينة سورابايا (Surabaya)؛ والثانى مزار جبل كاوى (Gunung Kawi). بمنطقة مالانج (Malang). والأول هو ضريح رادين رحمد (Raden Rahmad)، أحد الأولياء من الدعاة فى أوائل القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي المعروف بسونان أمبل، ويعد أب الأولياء لدوره الكبير فى تعليم الأولياء وإعدادهم للقيام بالدعوة الاسلامية فى جاووه. وأما المزار الثانى فهو عبارة عن ضريح إيسانج جوغو (Eyang Djugo) وضريح خدامه المخلص امباه امام سوجونو (Mbah

(Imam Sudjono)، ويقع على ساحة مفتوحة فى قمة جبل كاوى، جاوه الشرقية.

وأثبتت الدراسة الانثروبولوجية للمزارين أنه وإن كان ظهورهما من الثقافة المحلية التى تكونت ابان اهم الفترات التى انتشر فيها الاسلام بجاوه، فإنهما مختلفان من حيث النشأة والتطور والطبيعة وأهميتهما لدى المجتمع الاسلامي بجاوه. ويكمن أهم هذه الاختلافات فى نوعية الزوار وغاياتهم والطقوس التى يقومون بها عند الزيارة.

فالذين يزورون ضريح سونان آميل كانوا من أوساط المعاهد التراثية الذين يأتى معظمهم من السواحل الشمالية لجاوه ومادورا (Madura)، ويظهر من الأعمال التى كانوا يقومون بها أنهم يأتون إلى الضريح من أجل القيام فيه بالعبادة والتضرع إلى الله تعالى بالدعوات ملتزمين فى ذلك بالتعاليم الاسلامية الصحيحة؛ وأما الذين يزورون جبل كاوى فمعظمهم يأتون من اوساط المجتمع الصيني، وإن كان هناك فى أيام معينة - خاصة فى ليالى الجمعة- زوار كثير من أوساط المجتمع الاسلامي الجاوي. والذى دفعهم إلى الزيارة عادة رغبتهم فى الحصول على البركات من صاحب الضريح أو الرجاء فى مستقبل أفضل أو الرغبة فى مزيد من الكسب المادي لأنفسهم ولأسرهم.

أضف إلى ذلك ما تميزت به الزيارة إلى جبل كاوى من تليفيق بين عدد من أنواع العبادات حيث اجتمع فيها تقديم القرابين والأضحية والمائدة والشراب والطرب والعرافة والاستعراضات للفنون، ويحدث ذلك فيما يبدو نتيجة لوجود علاقة مباشرة بين الغرض المادي من الزيارة وبين العبادات التى أجريت بشكل مادي أيضا، فكلما كان الطلب ماديا وأكثر عددا كلما

ازدادت الرغبة في تقديم القرابين. وأما الزيارة إلى سونان أمبل فيظهر عادة أنها أكثر بساطة وخشوعا، إذ لم يقم الزوار إلا بالتضرع إلى الله بالدعوات ثم قراءة الأوراد أو مناقب صاحب الضريح، وكلها ممارسات تأتي من تقاليد المعهد التراثي، ويكون القيام بتقديم القرابين أو الرغبة في الحصول على أغراض مادية ممتنعا بقدر الامكان، وإن كان هناك من الزوار من ظل يعمل به.

ولرما يجوز أن يقال عن مزار كاوي بأنه من بقايا الأديان القديمة؛ فجانبا ما تعكسه الزيارة إليه من اتجاه تلفيقي فإنه كان يمثل مزارا للأديان الوثنية قبل الاسلام، ثم تبناه المسلمون بناء على الحكايات والأساطير التي دارت حول الشخصيات التي ظهرت من خلال ازدهار الدعوة الاسلامية؛ وأما مزار سونان أمبل فيبدو أكثر بساطة وخشوعا، والطقوس التي يقوم بها الزوار تعكس في طبيعتها العبادات الاسلامية عموما، مع صبغتها الجاوية المحلية المفهومة بأسطورة سونان أمبل.

لقد كان للحكايات والأساطير بالطبع دورها الهام في تكوين هذين المزارين حتى صار من الصعوبة بمكان التفرقة الدقيقة بين الممارسات التي وجد لها أساس من الحقيقة وبين ما لم يكن لها أساس إلا الخيال، ولكن الحقيقة الواضحة هي بروز ما فيهما من الخصائص الجاوية الممتدة إلى ثقافة ما قبل الاسلام، كما هي ظاهرة في الفن المعماري الذي يتميز به بناء الضريحين واستمرار التقاليد التي كان يمارسها المجتمع الجاوي عند زيارتهم للقبور من القيام بشرب الماء ونشر الزهور فوقها. وبملاحظة هذا التنوع من حيث الزوار والأغراض التي يهدفون إليها من وراء الزيارة يستطيع المرء أن يتبين صورة متميزة لديناميكية الحياة الدينية لدى المجتمع الجاوي.

For Muslims with sufficient means at their disposal, the *hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca, is one of the ritual obligations of their faith.¹ It is, however, not the only pilgrimage that is made by Muslims. In almost all Islamic countries one finds sacred places that are visited by pilgrims. Indonesia, for example, has thousands of Islamic pilgrim sites scattered over the many islands. Most of them are only of local or regional importance, but some are national or even internationally renowned religious centres. The largest pilgrim sites attract hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. For a great number of sanctuaries, it is not possible to establish when the site became a pilgrim site. Some date from pre-Islamic times and at a later date were incorporated into the Islamic tradition.

The pilgrim sites differ greatly from each other. Roughly, they can be divided into, not mutually exclusive, categories: places which are considered sacred because of a natural peculiarity, and places where holy persons are buried (cf. Driessen 1985: 15-17; Rinkes 1910; Wessing 1988). The first category includes caves, mountain-tops, minuscule islands, rocks, springs, and old trees. In former days, such places attracted hermits and ascetics. Sometimes one finds a grave at such spots, which does not necessary mean that somebody is buried there. In such a case, the sacredness of the place obscures the animistic tendencies. The second category pertains to the graves of saints: propagators of Islam, religious leaders, miracle-workers or secular leaders to whom sacral qualities have been attributed.² Royal cemeteries are much frequented pilgrim sites in Indonesia. In one of his pieces of advice to the Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Snouck Hurgronje wrote: "The Javanese still visit the graves of the most cruel tyrants, who resided in Mataram, as if they were the final resting-places of saints, and approach these creeping and stooping, full of fear and awe" (Gobée and Adriaanse 1957, I: 247). In the eyes of the inhabitants, rulers have the same power of attraction as ascetics and scribes. Also the grave of former president Sukarno has become an important place of devotion.

Not all Muslims approve of pilgrimages outside the *hajj*. The modernists who have united themselves in Muhammadiyah are pronounced opponents of pilgrimages to so-called holy places. They are of the opinion that mosques and smaller prayer houses, such as the *langgar* and *mushalla*, are the designated places to pray to God. They admit that in the past saints existed, but they consider pilgrimages to be a kind of idolatry. The conservatives, who adhere to Nahdlatul

Ulama, see no harm in pilgrimages providing that at the holy places the pilgrims address themselves to God in order to honor Him, to ask for the remission of sins, or to commend the deceased to His attention.

Not all believers are familiar with these interpretations. They visit a sanctuary to pray directly to the saint or to ask him or her for intercession with God. In the last case, people regard the saint as an intermediary who looks after their interests with the Creator. Many pilgrims ask for something which benefits themselves, such as a suitable suitor, a child, a long life, health, a job or a diploma. At the grave they make a vow to revere the saint again upon receiving the desired favor. The population also ascribes a certain specialization to the holy persons. Thus, there are saints whose help is sought in case of illness, and others whose aid is sought if one strives for material ends.

Most pilgrims only pay a short visit to the tomb of their choice, although they usually still hang around the vicinity for a long time. In the well-known pilgrim centres, visitors can amuse themselves all day long. There are market-stalls, shops, eating-houses, pitchmen, street-artists, and sometimes prostitutes. Only a few visitors stay for a longer period near the holy grave: a day, a night or several days. Through meditation, by constantly reciting certain phrases and by fasting, they try to purify themselves or to communicate with the deceased saint.

In this article I want to compare two pilgrim sites which greatly differ from each other with regard to origin, development, character and significance. A comparison of two strongly divergent sanctuaries contributes to a better understanding of the place, variation and dynamics of pilgrimages in the religious life of the Indonesian Muslims. At the same time, it makes clear how local and formal Islam can relate to each other within one society. Followers of one and the same creed appear to have different, even contradictory, 'practical ideologies' at their disposal (Jansen 1985: 7). The first pilgrim site is the grave of Sunan Ampel. It lies in the centre of the densely inhabited ancient Arab quarter of the city of Surabaya. Visitors can only reach it through a maze of streets and alleys. The grave dates back to the 15th century. The second pilgrim centre lies in the open country and is called Gunung Kawi. It lies in the interior, almost forty kilometers west of the city of Malang, on top of a hill at the foot of the Kawi, an approximately 3,000 m dead volcano. The place is seldom

designated by the name of the two saints who have been buried there since the end of the 19th century. More surprising is the fact that many visitors do not even know their names. The questions I would like to answer about these two sanctuaries are the following: why and under which circumstances did these places become pilgrim centres? How can the visitors to these two sites be classified as to social status and religious orientation? What do pilgrimages to these places entail and what do such pilgrimages mean to those involved?

Sunan Ampel

According to Javanese legends, Sunan Ampel was one of the first propagators of Islam in Java. He was born Raden Rahmat around 1400 in Champa, a coastal principality in Further India. His mother was a daughter of the ruler of that time, his father an Arab who, as an Islamic scribe, had obtained a prominent position at court. A sister of his mother, Dharawati, was married to Brawijaya I, the sovereign of the East-Javanese Hindu empire Majapahit (Veth 1896, I: 233). In those days Majapahit was an important maritime-oriented power. The influence of the realm extended in the west as far as the coastal areas of mainland Southeast Asia and in the east up to the Moluccas and Irian Jaya (Stapel 1943: 21-22). Champa also belonged to the sphere of influence of the empire. Dharawati was given to the supreme ruler of Majapahit by the prince of Champa as a sign of submissiveness (Djajadiningrat 1913: 22).

In the legends it is said that Raden Rahmat had a thorough Islamic education. He was trained by his father to become a propagandist of Islam. On reaching manhood, he sailed with some countrymen to his uncle and aunt in eastern Java. Besides paying homage and handing over gifts to his grandfather, he hoped to introduce Islam into the central court of Majapahit. Brawijaya received his nephew and entourage with every consideration and allowed himself to be fully informed about the new religion. According to the *Babad Diponegoro*, the monarch had no desire to become a convert, although he did not object to Islam itself.

After they had thoroughly informed the king, he seemed pleased with it, but he was actually afraid to abandon his long established religion and to adopt another. For that reason he told them in a friendly way: "the purport of the Mohammedan and the Buddha-religion are entirely similar, but the regulations with regard to ceremonies are not the same. But that does not matter. However, I say

to you: all the inhabitants of Majapahit who are inclined to embrace the Mohammedan religion are allowed to do so, but it has to be done out of their own will! You shall not force them." (Palmer van de Broek 1873: 252n)

Raden Rahmat was thus entirely free to practise and propagate Islam. To show his good will, the monarch gave his nephew authority over 3,000 households in Ngampel Delta, the present-day Ampel (Veth 1896, I: 234).

Raden Rahmat married a daughter of the governor of the coastal district of Tuban. Later he also took a niece of this ruler to be his wife. Through these marriages, he became related to the leading families in the coastal areas of Majapahit, which enabled him to strengthen his position. In Ampel he built a mosque and founded a religious school where future religious leaders were trained for missionary activities (Nawawi 1980: 14; Van Hoëvell 1847, I: 207). When Susuhunan or Sunan ('His Holiness') Ampel, as Rahmat was called even during his lifetime, died in 1476, the quarter of Ampel in Surabaya had become the principal seat of Islam in Java.

In addition to his sons Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Drajat, his pupils included Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Gunung Jati (Salam 1960; Veth 1896, I: 234-247). Together with Sunan Ampel and Maulana Malik Ibrahim all these *sunans* are classed as the *wali sanga*, the 'nine holy apostles', who spread Islam on Java. All of them exerted great spiritual and secular influence. They contributed to the rise and development of the Islamic coastal states along the north coast of Java. In fact, every coastal state had its own *wali* (Ar. *wali*): Cirebon was the seat of Sunan Gunung Jati; Sunan Kalijaga resided in Demak, Sunan Kudus, in Kudus, Sunan Bonang, in Tuban, Sunan Giri, in Gresik, and Sunan Ampel, in Surabaya (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974).³ In the first half of the 16th century, the states along the coast overthrew the 'pagan' Majapahit. When the court nobility of this last Javanese Hindu empire fled to neighboring Bali, the advance of Islam in Java's interior started. To spread Islam, the *walis*, who all resided in the northern coastal region, sent their disciples to the hinterland.

It is unknown to what extent the data on Sunan Ampel and the other apostles is based on facts. It is certain that in the course of time, as the legend and myth grew, the historical facts were distorted. Presumably, Ampel and the other sunans were leading figures in the ethnically strongly mixed trade communities along Java's northeast

coast (Pigeaud 1967, I: 134). Initially these communities were ruled by governors from Majapahit's coastal districts. In the course of the 14th century, however, the trade enclaves succeeded in obtaining a high degree of autonomy from the central authority. More and more positions of leadership were captured by coastal inhabitants of foreign origin who adhered to Islam. It is generally known that the spread of Islam accompanied that of trade. As trade and Islam grew in importance, the opposition against the supremacy of Majapahit increased. In fact, the aspiration for spreading Islam and for political independence were inseparable. The greatest support for the new creed was found among the inhabitants of the trade quarters around the mosque, the so-called *kauman* (Pigeaud 1967, I: 77). It is no coincidence that the mosque, the school, and the tomb of Sunan Ampel lie in the midst of the ancient commercial quarter of Surabaya. According to Pigeaud (*Ibid.*: 150), the *wali-sanga*-cult, the veneration of the nine apostles, symbolizes the emancipation and florescence of the coastal states (districts), which dominated the political and religious scene from the 15th to the 17th century.⁴

The veneration of the graves of these saints continues to the present day, although not every saint has enjoyed the same attention through the ages. Some *walis* are holier than others. Of the younger *walis*, Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Giri are held in higher esteem as preachers of Islam than the others (cf. Geertz 1968: 25-29). Sunan Ampel is especially praised as father, patron and teacher of the younger apostles. The number of pilgrims varies from grave to grave and is strongly dependent on the local situation, for example, accessibility, density of population, and degree of Islamization. In recent years, pilgrimages to the graves of the nine saints along Java's north coast are reviving. Religious associations even organize bus trips which call at all tombs in one week.⁵

Not much is known about pilgrimages to Ampel in former days. The Portugese merchant Tomé Pires who visited Surabaya in 1513 paid no attention whatsoever in his *Suma Oriental* to the mosque and the grave. This is not surprising according to De Graaf and Pigeaud (1974: 160) as Pires did not like Islam. Valentijn, who called at Surabaya in 1706, was the first visitor who gave a description of the pilgrim site (Keijzer 1858, III: 301 and 427-428). He reached the tomb via a small road, several gateways and open spaces; this lay-out corresponds roughly with the present situation. He considered this "Moorish temple" among the three most famous mosques in Java. It was: "very

big and in their opinion very magnificent; but no unbeliever, even if he washed his feet in the stone water-trough, was allowed to enter." The simple grave of the "great Saint" that lay amidst other graves was, in his eyes, poorly kept. He wrote that nevertheless the visitors showed great respect and added: "to bring here something unclean, or to urinate there, is to play with one's life." On the way to the burial-place he met a bridal pair that had asked for the wali's blessing on their marriage. From his companion, a scion of a distinguished noble family, he heard that the dead saint still performed miracles. Also Van Hoëvell (1851, II: 205) who visited Ampel in 1847, mentioned that the grave was not well maintained. But that detracted nothing from the fame of the apostle: "the odour of the holiness of this place has spread far and wide in the surroundings, and from all directions believers come on pilgrimage."

Since its foundation five centuries ago, the mosque has been repeatedly rebuilt, four times in the last hundred years. The rebuilding in 1870 was an initiative of the Regent of Surabaya and was supported by the European authorities (Von Faber 1931: 290). It was carried out by volunteers, including men, women and children, and was financed by gifts in natura and in cash. Since Indonesian independence, the building has been extended twice. At present it is among the biggest mosques in Java and accommodates 17,000 persons (Nawawi 1980: 38). Ten years ago, under the patronage of national authorities, a committee was formed to prepare a further expansion. Besides the restoration and enlargement of the mosque, plans include a park, a shopping-centre, a parking-lot, a hotel, a library and a university, as well as the construction of new approach roads. Both the national and regional press give these plans a lot of attention. To realize the project, a number of surrounding houses, "which were built by the colonial government to hide the sanctuaries", will need to be demolished (*Suara Indonesia* 21/1/1989).

The main entrance to the sanctuary lies at the end of Ampel Suci, a small shopping street, where beggars jostle each other and Arab traders sell prayer-mats, skull-caps (*kopiah*), perfumes, prayer-cords, flowers, dates, clothes, Qur'an and other religious goods. On crowded days, a long row of lame, blind and deaf beggars forms in the middle of the alley. To obtain 'charitable gifts' they pull at the trousers or skirts of the pilgrims. At the beginning as well as at the end of the street stands a Hindu gate which is decorated with lotus motifs. Also the mosque, which lies on the square behind the second gate, exhib-

its Hindu influences. As everywhere along the north coast, early Islamic architecture was strongly influenced by the pre-Islamic styles of building.

The grave of Sunan Ampel lies in the cemetery to the west of the mosque. Today it can only be reached via the square in front of the mosque. Not so long ago the burial-place had its own approaches, but these are now closed to prevent idolatry. Local religious leaders believe that when pilgrims are led to the grave along the mosque, they will be reminded of the exact relationship between the saint and Allâh. The grave of the holy man lies amidst twelve other graves, those of his first wife and other relatives.⁶ The family-grave is surrounded by a cast iron fence. The graves themselves do not differ from other graves in the cemetery, although the stones at the head and foot of the grave of the wali are covered with white cotton, the color which is a pre-Islamic symbol of holiness (cf. Bayly 1986: 288-293). In the course of time, more and more graves around the family-grave have been removed to give pilgrims the opportunity to come nearer. Nowadays, men are directed to the western side of the grave and women to the eastern side, where a cloth almost totally hides them from the view of the men.

Pilgrims who always visit the grave barefoot, usually stand some minutes in silence near the grave. Thereafter they sit alongside the grave to read a chapter of the Qur'ân, normally Fatihah or Yasin, and to praise God by constantly repeating eulogies (*zikir*). Many visitors speak their texts aloud in Arabic and move their body rhythmically in time to their recitation. During the *salât*, the obligatory daily prayers, the entrance to the burial-place is temporarily closed. God triumphs again over the saint; the ritual prayers have to be performed in the mosque.

These days, not many pilgrims put flowers on the grave, and the burning of incense never occurs anymore. However, a great number of visitors still buy flowers wrapped in banana leaves, which in quiet hours have been dried on the grave by the grave-guards. At home, these flowers are put in the drinking-water of an ill person or a child that refuses to follow recitation-lessons. Many pilgrims also swallow water out of a centuries-old spring, that now lies under the floor of the mosque. Some fill little bottles with it. Healing effects are attributed to both the holy water and the flowers. These practices constitute the last remnants of traditions which are disapproved of by the

greater part of the callers, although they are tacitly allowed.

Although pilgrims come and go everyday, it is particularly crowded on the Islamic Thursday night (*malam jumat*). The whole graveyard is full of people. On *jumat legi*, when the first day of the seven-day Arabic week coincides with the first day of the five-day Javanese week, Ampel is overrun with thousands of believers. Also on Sunday more and more pilgrims visit the grave, particularly civil servants who on week-days have no opportunity to come. The sanctuary attracts the greatest throngs of pilgrims during *Ramadân*, the fasting month. Every night, both the mosque and the cemetery are crammed with believers who say the voluntary nocturnal prayers. Busy-days are also the days around *haul*, the commemoration of the day of Sunan Ampel's death, which is quite arbitrarily fixed at 1450. During the festive week all kinds of religious activities are organized. The whole Qur'ân is read aloud in public, mass recitation meetings are held, and large crowds sing hymns together. Boys, mainly from poor families, are circumcised collectively. On the day itself spiritual leaders and notables march at the head of a procession through the streets of the Arab quarter, where '*ulamâ*' from all over the country preach.

The pilgrims come to Ampel from all parts of Indonesia. I met Muslims who lived in places as far as 1000 km from Surabaya. They come alone, with their family, or in groups headed by village heads or religious leaders (*kyai*). During the day, female pilgrims are most prevalent, but at night the men predominate. On the special days, however, believers from both sexes are present in great numbers through the night. The verandah of the mosque is then reserved for praying women, and the old religious school serves as the women's abode. In the rush to visit the grave, the spatial division between men and women often becomes blurred. Families and groups try to stay together for fear of getting lost.

The greater part of the pilgrims come from East Java. The Madurese, more of whom live on Java than on Madura itself, predominate. The pilgrims include many small peasants, fishermen, rural women, artisans as well as hawkers and small traders. Some make the pilgrimage once a week; on their way back home from the market or at set times after work. Also many Muslims from Surabaya itself go to Ampel. In particular on Friday many believers pray in the Ampel mosque after which they spend some time at the grave. It has become a spiritual point of reference in their lives.

Gunung Kawi

The sanctuary Gunung Kawi lies at a height of several hundred meters on a hill against the southern slope of the Kawi mountain. In former times, one could only reach it on foot or on horseback. Nowadays, a 20 km long paved road connects Kepanjen with Gunung Kawi. By public transport, it is possible to reach the pilgrim site in two hours from Malang and in three hours from Blitar. The last mile is so steep that it can only be covered walking.

In Gunung Kawi, not far from some springs and a water-fall, two saints are buried. The most prominent one is Mbah Djugo or Eyang Djugo, the other one is his most loyal follower and adopted son Mbah Imam Sudjono. Mbah and Eyang are Javanese terms of address for grandfather. Sometimes Djugo is addressed with the high noble title Kanjeng Pamembahan, and Imam Sudjono with the lower title Raden Mas. Chinese pilgrims call the saints sporadically Thay Lo Su, Eminent Teacher, and Djo Lo Su, Second Teacher. However, most pilgrims do not know these names and titles. Some of them only notice after arrival that the sanctuary consists of two graves. They refer to the holy men, without respect to them individually, as Panembahan Gunung Kawi or just Gunung Kawi.

There is no decisive answer about the identity of Mbah Djugo and Mbah Imam Sudjono. It may be that they have never existed and that their lives and holiness is only based on legends. According to an inscription dated 1907 at the entrance to the burial-place, Panembahan Djugo was in reality Kiai Zakaria II. He is, however, seldom called by that name, although the old form of address *kiai* has become a synonym for religious teacher. Zakaria II could have been a great-grandchild of Pakubuwono I, who ruled as sovereign of Kartasura over a great part of Java, as well as a grandson of Prince Diponegoro, who waged a war against the Dutch colonizers from 1825 to 1830. He apparently passed away on the 22nd of January 1871. Imam Sudjono died on the 8th of February 1876 and could have been a descendant of Hamengkubuwono I, the first sultan of Yogyakarta, who reigned from 1755 until 1792. Definite proof of such noble descent for both saints has not been established at this moment (*Liberty* 1/5/1985).

In other stories, it is said that both Mbahs were spiritual advisors or holy officers of Diponegoro's general Sentot Prawirodirdjo. After having lost a battle they could have retreated to the Kawi to continue the struggle in a more peaceful way. Suryowidagdo, one of the care-

takers of the graves and a descendant of Imam Sudjono, has claimed in several interviews that the saints were among the first to be aware of the necessity of national unity and for solidarity between different creeds, races, and population groups in order to resist the colonizing power (*Liberty* 1/5/1985, 1/2/1989). For this reason, pilgrims from different faiths would visit the graves.

Mbah Djugo is often equated with a hermit who under different names—among others Ki Pelet, Ki Badjul, Ki Gemplo, Ki Djenggot and Ki Brewok—figures in all sorts of eastern Javanese folktales. In all these stories, he appears as an adviser, aid, healer, benefactor, miracle-worker and magician. He averts, for example, a cholera epidemic as well as an eruption of the volcano Kelud, changes barren soil into fertile fields, finds springs and cures the ill, whether persons or animals. Almost all tales are moralistic in nature. They are concerned with the way youngsters should behave towards adults, the living towards the deceased, why violence is wrong, and why hygiene is important. Even during his life Mbah Djugo had numerous followers including Imam Sudjono whom he later adopted. He did not want pupils because he thought that he had nothing to offer. A few years before his death, he apparently settled on the Kawi which at that time was almost inaccessible. He spent his time meditating and giving advice.⁷ Among the regular visitors was a certain Mrs. Schiller, a European, who is presumed to have sought recovery from her diseases. Later on, she became the second wife of Imam Sudjono (Im Yang Tju 1953).

Also in Chinese circles in Indonesia, Mbah Djugo is considered a saint. According to Salmon and Lombard (1980: lv), he even belongs to the local deities who are worshipped in addition to Buddhist and Taoist gods. A tablet with his name is present in five temples in Jakarta and its surroundings. One of these *klenteng*, founded in 1956, is called Gunung Kawi and has a separate room where Mbah Djugo and Mbah Imam Sudjono are revered. In the Chinese version, Mbah Djugo, who was earlier known as Quan-gang and who served as a lieutenant under Hong Xiu-quan (1813-1864), fled to Java after the fall of the government of Taiping. Over time he withdrew from society to the Kawi to practice ascetism. There, according to this version, he attracted many pupils from Chinese and Javanese origin. He died in 1879 (Salmon and Lombard 1980: lv, 50 and 202).

At the beginning of the century the *pusara*, the burial-place, and the *padepokan*, the hermitage, were separated by trees and shrubs. At

present, both places are connected by a steep road with buildings on both sides. Along the road one finds, besides private houses, a mosque, a Chinese temple, about ten Chinese and Indonesian restaurants, hotels and shops. Almost the whole population of the village in which Gunung Kawi is located, depends for its livelihood upon the pilgrim site. On crowded days hundreds of people, adults and children, are active as hawkers. The most important articles that they sell are flowers and incense for the graves. In addition sweets, food and souvenirs are widely sold. The keepsakes include Islamic and Christian rosaries as well as images of the Virgin Mary and Dewi Kwam Im, the Chinese goddess of mercy. Buskers and musicians amuse visitors with Arab songs. Some women specialize in curative or sensual massages. A separate category are the fortune-tellers who predict the future on the grounds of a birth-date, the reading of facial lines or a palm. Several of them specialize in *tjian sie*, the translation and interpretation of poems which correspond with numbers on sticks that are drawn in the Chinese temple.⁸

At strategic points along the route upwards, gateways have been built; one at the foot of the road, one near the hermitage and one near the entrance to the burial place. They symbolize the transition from the mundane to the sacred. The present hermitage has no resemblance at all to the actual hermit's abode of Mbah Djugo. It is a huge building where pilgrims can meditate, eat and rest. One of the halls is specially equipped for *wayang kulit*, a shadow play with leather puppets. In gratitude for an answered prayer, pilgrims arrange for puppet plays to be performed there, and these continue far into the night. The content of these votive performances are usually derived from the Javanese versions of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Along the road there are two other puppet theatres. In the traditionally oriented areas of Java, shadow plays and the concomitant *gamelan* (Javanese orchestra) constitute an important part of *rites de passage*. For that reason, they are also staged in pilgrim sites. They contribute to appeasing the saints. Furthermore, watching the play and listening to the puppeteer as well as to the music is a kind of 'spiritual discipline' (Geertz 1960: 280). It helps the audience to know and to control themselves better.

Between the second and third gate, at a short distance from each other, are a mosque and a Chinese temple where pilgrims can prepare themselves in accordance with their own religion for the climax of their pilgrimage. The architectural style of the mosque betrays the

influence of the sultan's palace in Yogyakarta. The mosque and temple are, just like the hermitage, donations of rich Indonesians of Chinese origin. They have all been built since independence.

The last gateway gives entrance into a small yard where the holy graves and the old mosque are situated. The burial place consists of a small hall that, again, has three levels. The two graves lie side by side on the highest and smallest plateau. Each grave is covered with white tiles and two small, gracefully carved, wooden sepulchral columns. Above the tombs, cloths of brocade are draped. Every day, the graves are covered with gifts brought by visitors; bags of rice or corn-cobs, or bottles with *kecap* (soy sauce); once I even saw a putty knife and a towel. In front of the graves stand two enormous bowls with flowers, and there is a fire into which pieces of incense are continuously added. Depending on the number of visitors, the grave is guarded by one or more keepers. The hall of the graves is filled with lamps, chandeliers, cabinets with copperware and a large assortment of clocks; all presents from pilgrims. On some objects the name of the benefactor is mentioned. Lamps and timepieces are pre-eminent symbols of the progress that is pursued by the many pilgrims to Gunung Kawi.

Many visitors walk several times around the 'mausoleum' before entering it in a bent position. After entering, the pilgrims go straight to the graves, the last part mostly crawling on their knees. They hand flowers, incense and money to the grave-keepers and pray to the holy men for a few minutes. The money, together with the name of the giver, is hidden in the flowers. The keepers nonchalant remove the money and throw it into a heap beside the graves. Some pilgrims seek the advice of the keepers or ask for their support during their prayers. In particular, the grave-keepers who claim to be descendants from Mbah Sudjono are seen as carriers of supernatural qualities. Their co-operation is felt to be beneficial in the realization of a certain goal. After pilgrims have received a parcel with flowers dried on the graves as a kind of countergift, they usually sit down somewhere else in the hall to say extra prayers or to observe other pilgrims. To placate the saints, three times a day a *selamatan*, a communal meal, is held at the burial place. The food, which can be ordered beforehand, is delivered by restaurants at the burial-place in small baskets at fixed times. After a communal prayer service conducted by the mosque leader, the food is eaten outside or inside the hermitage. The *selamatan* is seen as one of the highlights of the pilgrimage. It gives the participants, both Muslims and Chinese, a feeling of happiness and prosperity (Geertz 1960: 14).

Just as in Ampel, people ascribe healing qualities to the water of the springs near the sanctuary. Almost all pilgrims drink the holy water, while Muslims purify themselves with it before fulfilling the ritual prayers in the mosque. Also special power is attributed to the leaves of the *dewadaru*-trees which grow near the burial-place. One is not allowed to pluck them from the tree, but only to pick them up from the ground. Just like the dried flowers, Muslims put the leaves in both drinking and bath water. The Chinese mix the leaves and flowers often in vividly colored bags on which a lotus flower or a tiger with a knife between its teeth is printed. In this way, details from different religious traditions are combined into charms that are hung over the front door to prevent evil.

Gunung Kawi is visited by pilgrims from different population groups and different religions. The greater part of the visitors, however, consists of Javanese Muslims and Chinese Buddhists. The Javanese come mainly from the surroundings of Blitar and Kediri, where Islam is less orthodox in character than in the northern coastal region. In their religious convictions and practices one notices strong pre-Islamic influences, which find expression in, among other things, the preoccupation with rituals, the belief in magic, and the old-Javanese mystical orientation. The Chinese pilgrims come from all over the country, but chiefly from the big cities. Also in Buddhism, ritual, magic and mysticism occupy an important place. It is, therefore, not astonishing that both groups travel to the Kawi.

Nevertheless, they hardly communicate with each other. The Javanese prefer to pilgrimage on Friday, while the Chinese have a preference for Sunday. The Muslims like to come in the afternoon or at night, while the Chinese prefer to visit the sanctuary during the day. On special days, such as *jumat legi* and the day of the week on which the holy men died, as well as on festive occasions, like Idul Fitri and *haul* (commemoration of the anniversary of the saints), both groups are represented in great numbers at the same time. Many pilgrims stay one or more nights in Gunung Kawi. The hotels are filled to the nook and hundreds of visitors sleep in the open air. Even on those days, there is no rapprochement between the two parties. They encounter each other in the street and near the graves, but retire with co-religionists to their own prayer houses and restaurants. Between the Javanese and the (Indo-) Chinese pilgrims, there is a great social distance. The Chinese, despite substantial individual differences, belong to an economically powerful trade minority, while the Javanese

pilgrims are predominantly small peasants and peddlars.

With regard to the goal of the pilgrimage, no difference is found between the two groups. Almost all pilgrims call upon the sanctuary with concrete questions, among which obtaining material gain and finding a suitable marriage partner are the most prevalent. Gunung Kawi is known as a *pusat rezeki*, a centre for subsistence, profit and fortune. Peasants pray to the saints for a good harvest, the unemployed implore for a job, girls and boys ask humbly for a good match, mothers make an offering to assure the career of their children, and traders, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs and leaders of industry plead for expansion of their business. And if people do not come to ask for something, they come to give thanks for a good year, for passing an exam, for higher profits or for a successful marriage.

Many stories are told about the beneficence of the holy men of Gunung Kawi. The owners of the cigarette concern P.T. Bentoel, for example, assert that the growth of their enterprise is completely due to the saints. The sales only increased after their grandfather started to visit the graves regularly and during a dream Mbah Djugo suggested another brand name. The concern, which now employs 18,000 workers, is an important sponsor of the pilgrim site. Not all stories are that positive. Sometimes pilgrims have to give up something in return for the granting of the favor. One pilgrim told me that the prosperity of his business was realized at the expense of the happiness of his brother who had gone mad. The grave-keeper had told him that he would have to make heavy sacrifices. Whatever it may be, a pilgrimage to Gunung Kawi is, if one accepts the pilgrims' accounts, never without consequences.

A comparison of the pilgrim sites

In the history of the Ampel and Gunung Kawi sanctuaries legends and myths play an important part. What is based on fact and what is fantasy, is difficult to establish. Presumably, the grave of Sunan Ampel has been an Islamic pilgrim site of significance since his death. Until the end of the last century, both the sanctuary and the pilgrimage must have had strong prevailing pre-Islamic characteristics, as can be seen in the architecture and from adopted customs such as drinking holy water or taking home flowers dried on the grave. Well into this century, the grave was a place where mystical brotherhoods met. Only within the last decades has one repressed these 'obscure' practices emphatically.

Gunung Kawi can best be typified as an archaic pilgrim site (Turner and Turner 1978: 18). The pilgrimage has an ambiguous and syncretic character. Originally Gunung Kawi was most probably an animistic cult place at the dividing point between nature and culture, commonness and holiness, the world of man and the superhuman world (cf. Driessen 1985: 17). After Mbah Djugo and Mbah Sudjono were buried there, it grew into a saints' cult which, witness the old mosque, initially had an Islamic overtone. Later on, it also developed into a pilgrim site for Chinese who adhered to Buddhism and Taoism. At present, Gunung Kawi is both a Javanese-Islamic and Chinese-Buddhist sanctuary. The pilgrim rituals of the Javanese and Chinese, themselves the product of various interacting religious traditions, have influenced each other through the years, despite the great social distance between both ethnic groups. Nowadays, the Chinese primarily have puppet-shows performed, while the Javanese have their future told.

Although the presence of Chinese pilgrims in Gunung Kawi to some extent distorts the Islamic character of the sanctuary, it is not improbable that pilgrimages to Sunan Ampel in former times had the same features as those to Gunung Kawi have today. The degree of Islamization defines to a large extent which customs and practices are maintained or abolished.

In general, Ampel is visited by pilgrims to pray to God at a sacred, chosen place. Gunung Kawi is generally visited to ask for something concrete from the saints who are buried there. The pilgrimage to Ampel is of a sober nature. One mainly prays and hardly makes offerings. Matters that are contested within Islam are banned or avoided as much as possible. The pilgrimage to Gunung Kawi is a complex ritual in which both praying, offerings, sacrifices as well as theatre, music, eating, drinking, fortune-telling, magic and mysticism have their place. It seems as if there exists a direct relationship between the material ends of the pilgrimage and the disposition to offer. The more worldly, banal and selfish the goal, the greater the inclination to sacrifice.

Pilgrims to Ampel come almost without exception from the north coast of Java and from the neighboring island of Madura. Islam was first introduced in the 15th century and increasingly purified from extraneous matters in the following ages in these areas which were readily accessible to outsiders. In particular in the second half of the 19th century, when the contacts with the Arab world increased, or-

thodoxy became more important here. Visitors to the grave of Sunan Ampel see themselves as *santri*, that is as zealous and scrupulous followers of Islam.⁹ Nevertheless, they are not the most orthodox Muslims in the country, who object to pilgrimages on principle. Such orthodox Muslims consider all pilgrimages, with the exception of the *hajj*, as contrary to the Qur'ân and *hadîth*. The pilgrims to Ampel, on the other hand, regard their pilgrimage as an essential part of religious life as long as they do not pray to other than Allâh. This vision, which in the political field is advocated by Nahdlatul Ulama, is especially popular among believers from the lower strata of society. Generally, they have a low or irregular income and little or no schooling. In the religious as well as social fields, they are guided in a large measure by village-*kiai* who are very hesitant about following religious renewals among cosmopolitan oriented Muslims in urban areas.

The Muslims who visit Gunung Kawi are predominantly nominal Muslims, for whom the belief in saints, magic, mysticism, or animism is by no means incompatible with their faith in God. Their religious conviction has a strong syncretic character. The orthodox classify them as *abangan*, as Muslims who have "little or no knowledge and concern with their religion" (Ricklefs 1979: 118). They come mainly from the interior and southern area of eastern Java, which was introduced to Islam relatively late. Although the pilgrims originate from all layers of society, peasants and peddlars predominate.

The pilgrim centres are not only centres of devotion. They are also centres of economic and political activity. It is important to draw a distinction between the pilgrim site as a centre for economic pursuits and the economic function of the pilgrimage. The pilgrim sites provide direct and indirect work for several thousands of people. The inhabitants of the centre of Ample and the village Gunung Kawi make their living from pilgrims and tourists. The products that are sold near the sanctuaries are made locally or bought up in the region. For example, in recent years more and more peasants at the foot of the Kawi mountain cultivate cassava and fruit for sale to the pilgrims. It is customary for visitors to buy gifts, such as food for relatives and friends who stayed at home.

Not only pilgrim sites, pilgrimages are also of economic interest. In Gunung Kawi the economic importance of the pilgrimage even exceeds the religious significance. The primary goal of pilgrims to Gunung Kawi is to ask the Kawi saints to improve their economic situation or to provide material prosperity for a relative. For that

reason, Gunung Kawi may be typified as a spiritual business centre rather than as a place for religious reflection. The economic importance appears also from the way traders and entrepreneurs take care of the place. Javanese and Chinese entrepreneurs compete with each other to sponsor projects in the village. In that way they underline in public the influence the saints have, which in turn reflects positively on the sale of their products. A concern that prospers through the efforts of the saints, is seen as less vulnerable to economic fluctuations, political interference and ethnic troubles than one that is completely built up with one's own resources.

While Mbah Djugo's grave has always had economic meaning, from the beginning that of Ampel has had political significance. The Sunan was a 'priestly sovereign' both as an apostle and a ruler. His grave symbolizes the struggle of the Islamic coastal states against the 'heathen' Majapahit. In colonial times, nationalistically oriented leaders were inspired in their opposition to Dutch rule by a visit to the grave. All in Surabaya relate that nowhere else were the resistance fighters against the English and Dutch forces during the independence struggle as safe as in the mosque of Ampel. Also today prominent politicians of different signatures visit the grave of Sunan Ampel regularly. They not only ask for the support of Allâh and present themselves as pious Muslims, but particularly express their solidarity with believers who have close affinity with Sunan Ampel. In that way political leaders hope to enlarge their influence and win more votes for their party in elections. The importance of the sanctuary from a political point of view, is emphasized by the involvement of the government in the latest enlargement-schemes. The president himself has even promised to provide funds for the renovation of the grave and the graveyard. The concern of the authorities can be seen as a means of appeasing the Muslim community and legitimizing the existing policy.

The differences between pilgrimages to Sunan Ampel and the Kawi saints are closely related to the divergent interpretations of the same religion. Pilgrims to Ampel adhere to a different local variant of Islam than pilgrims to Gunung Kawi. The interpretations in themselves, however, are not sufficient explanation of the existing differences in nature and meaning of pilgrimages. The difference between both types of pilgrimages is a result of the prolonged interaction between religious, economical, political and cultural developments which differed between the two places.

Notes

1. In addition to a literary study, this article is based on data collected during several stays in Indonesia.
2. For similarities and differences between Islamic and Christian saints and sanctuaries see Driessen 1985.
3. The term *wali* in this context means both saint and apostle. There is no agreement on the composition of the group of *wali*'s. It varies from region to region. The membership of Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri and Sunan Kalijaga, however, is beyond dispute (cf. Salam 1960: 23). *Wali* and other words of Arabic origin are spelled here in Indonesian.
4. In this period the nine *wali*'s were first considered to be each other's contemporaries, relatives or colleagues. Together they seemed to have formed a college or synod. The number nine is not accidental. Even before the coming of Islam, this was a holy number. According to Hindu-Javanese ideas the world was guarded by nine deities (cf. Pigeaud 1967, I: 150-151).
5. The distance between the most western and the most eastern grave is 500 km.
6. It is unknown where the grave of his second wife lies. The graves of the four parents-in-law are also in Surabaya, in the quarters of Bungkul and Kembang Kuning. They are 'satellite-graves' of the grave of the *wali*: they are often visited by pilgrims on their way to Ampel.
7. As a matter of fact, he was not the first hermit who retreated to this mountain. From ancient Javanese-Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts, we know that centuries ago a *wiku*, a holy man, had his hermitage on the Kawi. Sometimes, he is called Raga Runtin, at other times Durma (Pigeaud 1964, II: 555 and 611). However, there is no relationship at all between him and Mbah Djugo.
8. In traditional Javanese society, ascetism and sexual debaucheries were seen as means of purification (cf. Anderson 1972: 8-13). It is not surprising that these practices are continued on a small scale in pilgrim sites. The inhabitants of Gunung Kawi deny that there are prostitutes in their village. They say that these only operate at the sanctuary Sukung on the Lawu mountain in Central-Java. Staal (1988: 41) heard the opposite on Lawu: "in the vicinity of Malang is a sanctuary (...) where for those in the know female dancers and prostitutes are available."
9. The term *santri* in a narrower sense is also used for pupils of a *pesantren* or religious school. For a discussion on the *santri*-variant of Islam see o.a. Geertz (1960: 121-224), Bachtiar (1973), De Jonge (1993) and Ricklefs (1979: 112-127).

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