TO VISIT A SACRED TOMB:
The Practice of Ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's Resting Place
in Klaten, Java

by
J A M H A R I

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I declare that this thesis is my own composition, and that all sources have been acknowledged

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ideas and social practices associated with visits to the tombs of Javanese Islamic holy people, focusing mainly on the tomb of Sunan Tembayad, an Islamic holy man, in Bayat southern Klaten. The study describes the practices and beliefs involved in the notion of *ziarah*, and the ways in which people themselves define the meaning and interpretations of such practices.

The study shows that the *ziarah* practice in Bayat is no doubt influenced by Javanese traditions. The influence of these traditions on *ziarah* practice can be seen at the level of praxis as well as at the level of conceptual interpretation. At the level of praxis, people perform various rituals for their *ziarah*. For example, some people perform *ziarah* in the Javanese manner and other people conduct *ziarah* in the Islamic manner. Those who perform *ziarah* in the Islamic manner conduct *ziarah* in accord with Islamic teachings such as reciting the Quran, *tahlil* and *dzikr*. However, those who perform *ziarah* in the Javanese manner conduct *ziarah* in accord with Javanese ways such as meditation and *nenepi*. At the conceptual level, people in Bayat provide diverse understandings of the meaning of *wali*, the manifestation of *baraka* and the explanation of its transmission. For example, people in Bayat variously describe the manifestation of *baraka* not only in terms of sacred qualities but also in terms of practical qualities. Therefore the study suggests that *ziarah* in Bayat offers a polyphonic understanding of religious practice.

When compared to *ziarah* in the Islamic world, the *ziarah* tradition in Bayat shows that the practice is culturally constructed. Although it is true that some general features of *ziarah* and its understandings follow common explanations based on Islamic teachings, there are other explanations that are particular to Bayat. For example, beside referring to Islamic teachings, people interpret the meaning of *wali*, in
terms of their local traditions which understand the wali not only as a pious person, but also as a pundhen. It has been argued in this thesis that this particular local understanding of some Islamic concepts involved in ziarah is an expression of peoples' intention to understand Islam in their own way. Therefore, how people practise and understand ziarah expresses the degree and manner of their perceptions. In other words, ziarah is an expression of popular Islam in Klaten.

The significance of the study of ziarah can thus be seen from three perspectives. Firstly, it is a study of pilgrimage focusing on liturgical aspects, such as rituals, prayers and practices, to provide a view of changes in religious practice. Secondly, it is a study of ziarah within a particular context and thus considers the involvement of social practice. Thirdly, the study of ziarah is an attempt to understand the constructions of practiced Islam, which are influenced by local understandings that are defined and sanctioned by the religious and political environment. Therefore, this study argues that ziarah provides a 'window' to view the forms of popular Islam in the region and how they are constructed and established.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

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 Java 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. Most famous and most visited sites are the tombs of Nine Javanese Islamic wali (walisanga), which are found mainly along the north coast of Java. However, there are various traditions about the walisanga and about which wali are members of this group of nine saints (Fox, 1991). Furthermore, some traditions argue that the Javanese wali were not limited just to these walisanga, but there were 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), hijra (emigration), rihla (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: Sahadat (the declaration that there is no God but Allah and

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1 There are some controversies about the existence of the Walisongo. From one perspective, some traditions mention that there were only eight Javanese Wali "Wali kang wolu" not nine. In another perspective, there is a debate about the members of the Walisongo; who were the nine Wali considered as the nine Wali (Fox, 1991). The narratives of Sunan Tembayad are also related to these traditions. I elaborate on these matters in the Chapter I.

2 I use the Javanese terms for the five Islamic pillars (Rukun Islam). Sahadat (Syahadat), Salat (Shalat), Poso (Shaum), Zakat (Zakat) and Kaji (Hajj).
Muhammad is His messenger), Salat (the Islamic daily prayers), Poso (fasting), Zakat (alms giving) and Kaji (pilgrimage to Mecca). Hijra, 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 hijra 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, rihla ilmiya, is a tradition that survives and has produced a religious revival in Islam. In Indonesia, the development of rihla ilmiya to Mecca has increased with the increased travel for hajj. Many ulama of Indonesia studied at Mecca while performing hajj. In the study of traditional pesantren in Java, Zamakhayari Dhofer describes the tradition of rihla ilmiya in Java as a prominent activity among kyai (religious leaders) and santri (students of Pesantren). The tradition of rihla ilmiya developed along with the doctrine of isnad (intellectual chains) that should be possessed by an ulama to legitimate the authenticity of his knowledge (Dhofer, 1982:79). For example, a famous kyai of Pesantren Krapyak in Yogyakarta traced his competency in the Tajwid (the rule of reciting the Quran) to the first generation of the Prophet Muhammad's companions (Dhofer, 1982:79).

Ziarah, however, in Islam, in part, constitutes a different phenomenon than Islamic travel traditions. This is because the existence of ziarah is a subject of controversy within Islamic thought. Some Islamic groups, like Wahabi, a big movement in Saudi Arabia, reject the practice of ziarah to tombs. Wahabi considers the practice as heresy (bid'ah) that is categorised as one of the biggest

3 Muhammadiyah reformism movement is influenced by the idea of Muhammad Abduh and 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.
sins in Islam. On the other hand, other *mazhab* (Islamic school of thought), like Syafi’i, tolerate the *ziarah* practice, and accept it as a pious activity (*ibadah*). In Sufi traditions, especially in North Africa, *ziarah* to the 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 *Ilmu Kalam* (Islamic theology), *ziarah* to his tomb is a means of tracing oneself to the expertise. A Sufi’s teaching would not be accepted by people unless he/she could provide the intellectual links (from a trusty teacher that has) in unbroken chain with the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad.

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

This debate is one of several dynamics of *ziarah* in Bayat in Central Java. On the top of the hill of Karang Kembang, where the tomb of Sunan Tembayad is situated, people discuss the issues of Islam in Java. Some people believe that the process of Islamisation in Java is still going on. The previous Javanese *wali* set the
foundations for Islam on Java, and "lelampahinipun para wali dereng cekap" (the wali's journeys have not yet finished). The Islamisation process in Java continues to find a better understanding of Islam. The next generation should carry through the wali's works. Other people, however, argue that the work of the wali is a perfect model that should be followed. The works of the wali have reached the ideal forms of Islam in Java. Through accommodating local traditions, wali spread Islam in a peaceful way. If one changes the wali's model into a certain perception, it will break the form. Therefore, some would argue that the forms that enable people to participate in religious practices should be maintained. Similarly, ziarah is a model that enables various people to appreciate it without any intention to change the practice. This is one of many reasons why ziarah does not create tension and conflict, although visitors perform ziarah differently.

Ziarah in Bayat is a 'perfect window' for observing visitors' perceptions of the wali, baraka 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 behaviour. Discerning these aspects will provide a thorough picture of the process in which religious practices evolve and develop in accordance with social changes.

1.1 Ziarah to the wali's tombs in Java

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 Tembayad's tomb in Bayat. However, to distinguish it clearly from other practices
of *ziarah*, the practice of *ziarah* to other objects in the Sunan Tembayad's graveyard is also explained.

This thesis 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 Surakatra. I have incorporated a number of terms from Bayat in my text, because I feel that readers should consider how key terms have been used in their cultural origins. In elucidating *ziarah* practices and its interpretations, visitors in Bayat refer to the cultural contexts that they are familiar with. Visitors to Bayat provide the logic of *ziarah* also in the reference to their everyday life experiences. Therefore, applying vernacular terms used in Bayat means putting this context into consideration.

In the last few years, social scientists have found that the study of travel in religions is a significant subject for study to analyze the influence of contexts that may affect change in religious doctrines (Masud, 1990:30-31). The meaning of *ziarah* to the tomb of a saint is varied since the meaning of *ziarah* is shaped by the everyday life experiences. Eickelman suggests that, in its broad meaning, *ziarah* to a shrine is part of a process to shape 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 to obtain success in this worldly life and for salvation on the day of judgment (Clancy Smith, 1990:200).

Although Javanese *ziarah* exhibits some similarities with the practice in Muslim societies in Bayat the meaning of *ziarah* also shows some differences. It seems that *ziarah* in Bayat is shaped by the context of Javanese traditions. Therefore, the meaning of *ziarah* that people understand is connected to their
cultural concepts. The existence of Sunan Tembayad himself is understood locally. Some people regard Sunan Tembayad as their *pundhen* (the first ancestor) of Bayat. Some other people conceive of Sunan Tembayad as a *wali*. The name of Bayat or Tembayad is said to derive from his teaching method, *Tembayatan*, meaning teaching Islam *ayat* by *ayat* (verse by verse of the Quran). The different interpretation of the status of Sunan Tembayad influences the way in which people interpret motives of *ziarah*. Some people argue that *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayad’s tomb is a visit to their *pundhen*. Such *ziarah* means showing respect for the continuity between the living and the dead, whereas others see the *ziarah* is a means of acquiring *baraka* (God’s blessing) 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 Jawi*" (*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 Quran, *tahlil* (reciting the phrase of 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger') and *dzikr* (reciting selected words from the Quran), 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 also 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. Turner argues that pilgrimages are seen as social institutions that typically exemplify communitas. Turner notes that some characteristics of pilgrimage exhibit this liminality. 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). Eickelman 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 in different places (Eickelman, 1990:xiv).

Both Eickelman and Turner analyse pilgrimage more in terms of its social and political dimensions. It seems that Eickelman and Turner 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 analyse pilgrimage with an assumption that the centre 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 offers a polyphonic understanding of the ritual. Second, in performing *ziarah*, the tradition of *ziarah* in Bayat illustrates how a certain ritual evolves to adopt 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. In doing so, in Chapter II, I examine the ideas about the identities of Sunan Tembayad who has become the object of veneration and visitation through narratives that are remembered and generated by Bayat people. There are various traditions about the identity of Sunan Bayat. In one tradition he is described as the last ruler of Majapahit, Brawijaya V, whereas another tradition identifies Sunan Tembayad as the descendant of Brawijaya V but not Brawijaya himself. In Serat Babad Tembayad, Sunan Tembayad is described as a Adipati (a regional chief) in Semarang. After converting to Islam, he moved to Bayat, where he obtained his legitimacy as a wali after he received 'wahyu widayat' and an initiation from Sunan Kalijaga. From these several narratives, Sunan Tembayad has a multi-identity, as a king, as a descendant of king, and as a wali.

I argue that these various identities of Sunan Tembayad influence the way in which people interpret their visit to him. Visitors who regard Sunan Tembayad as a king interpret the *ziarah* to his tomb as *sowan* to the king for showing respect and asking a help. On the other hand, visitors who acknowledge Sunan Tembayad as a wali, conceive 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 Quran and *tahlil*.

In Chapter III, I outline the various ritual forms of *ziarah* performed by visitors to Bayat. The terms *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar* that are used to refer to a
visitation to saint's tomb engender diverse performances of ziarah. The emergence of these terms is a recognition of the differences between ziarah in the "Islamic" manner and ziarah in the "Javanese" manner (ziarah cara wang Islam lan ziarah cara wang Jawa). This distinction is well expressed in the procedure, prayers and even in the understanding of ceremonies. I argue that these different perceptions of ziarah determine how people see and consider a certain activity. For example pasang singep (a ceremony to change and rewrap the drape cloth that is used to wrap Sunan Tembayad's tomb) and sadranan (a slametan performed before the coming of Ramadan), two important ceremonies conducted in Bayat, are seen differently by visitors to Bayat. Some people conceive the sadranan as a ceremony to honour Sunan Tembayad as the Bayat's pundhen, whereas other people understand sadranan as a slametan to welcome the coming of the Fasting Month, as it is believed to be a month that is full of baraka.

Chapter IV provides a description of juru kunci who play a major role in the ziarah tradition. Juru kunci not only assist visitors in performing ziarah but also help visitors in interpreting ngalamat gained during the ziarah. Juru kunci also provide a service for assisting in ziarah in accordance with visitors' wishes. For visitors who wish to perform ziarah by reciting the Quran and tahlil, there are some juru kunci who are ready to help it. Similarly, for visitors who wish to conduct ziarah in the Javanese manner, there are also some juru kunci who know about this. In the process of the continuation of ziarah, juru kunci are key players. They are not only directed by visitors, but they can also direct people to a certain activity. In this sense, juru kunci are not only the custodians of the physical aspect of the graveyard but also the guardians of the spiritual message of ziarah practice.

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4 I also use the term Juru kunci for both singular and plural.
As a result of these various perceptions and performances of ziarah, people interpret the meaning of ziarah symbols variously. It is believed that symbols used in ziarah rituals contain messages that should be understood by visitors. Visitors interpret the meaning of ziarah symbols in accordance with their ideological background and their everyday life experiences. Therefore, visitors performing ziarah in the Javanese manner interpret the symbol in accordance with their experience, while visitors who perform ziarah in the Islamic manner grasp the meanings of the symbols according to their experience. I outline these various lines of thoughts and various visitors' perceptions of the meaning of baraka in Chapter VI.

1.2 Ziarah in Bayat

In the Muslim worlds the tradition of visits to shrines can be understood in many different ways. In Morocco the visit to the tomb of a saint is related to religious as well as social and political considerations. This is because the shrines function as a place for religious, social and political affairs (Evans-Pritchard, 1973; Gellner, 1969:81-98). On the social and political side, the shrines become the place for settling feuds between peoples and between tribes. Moreover, the tribes and people involved in the conflict perform an oath before their shrines to give a religious value to the oath. Furthermore, the shrine is also used for conducting an election of a chief. On the religious side, the shrine is a complex for religious gathering and services. Julia Clancy-Smith claims that ziarah to the tomb of a saint is travel driven by a desire to obtain knowledge and fulfil religious duties (Clancy-Smith, 1990:200).

In Sufi traditions, the practice of visiting a saint's tomb has certain meanings. On the basis of the travel tradition in Hijaz, Robert Launay claims that ziarah is understood as a way of tracing a line of intellectual descent (isnad). The intellectual descent chain is important in Sufi traditions to legitimate the truth of
the teachings and the competency to transmit them (Launay, 1990:194-198).

Trimingham points out that the purposes of visiting a saint's tomb in the Sufi tradition is different from the practice among other groups. The meaning of a visit to a saint's tomb in Sufi teachings is for the purpose of 'muraqaba' (spiritual communion), whereas the popular belief is that the ziarah is aimed to seek a consultation with the saint's soul that remains in his tomb (Trimingham, 1971:26).

Evans-Pritchard in his study of the Sanusi of Cyrenica describes the visits to the saint's tomb and the reciting of prayers during the ziarah as a means of showing respect to the saint's memory (Evans-Pritchard, 1973:8-9). The leaders of the Sanusi order, unlike the iconoclastic Wahabi, who have destroyed even the tombs of those nearest to the Prophet himself, have been tolerant toward to the practice of the saint's cult. Evans-Pritchard observed that ziarah to the saint's tomb is not merely a way of showing respect but goes beyond that. Bedouin people in Cyrenica accept a saint as their leader since they believe that the saint has baraka. On the same level as their acceptance of his leadership, the visit to the saint's tombs is to obtain the saint's baraka. Therefore, not only during his life, but also at his tomb, the saint is regarded as a source of baraka (Evans-Pritchard, 1973:8-9).

Eickelman's study of popular Islam in a pilgrimage centre of western Morocco shows that the meanings and interpretations of religious symbols are shaped by social contexts. The meanings of baraka, the possession of baraka and the meaning of closeness examined in his study exhibit the relation between context and changes in the interpretation of religious symbols. Moroccan people refer to a saint as a marabout, which signifies a person who 'ties up', meaning that the marabout ties up the relation between human beings and God as well as relations between peoples. In other words, the function of a marabout is a medium in communicating between individuals and God, and a medium in the communication between individuals, such as in settling a feud. Marabouts have such a position
because they have *baraka*. Marabouts obtain *baraka* because of their piety and because of their descent from the Prophet. Moroccan people believe that *baraka* can be transmitted through hereditary and through piety (*taqwa*).

In Bayat, however, *baraka* is transmitted in several ways. Some people still believe that *baraka* is transmitted through *kesawaban* (influenced spiritually). This notion is applied to three categories of people, the descendants of Sunan Tembayad, the people who dedicate their works to serve Sunan Tembayad, such as *juru kunci*, and Bayat people. For other people, excluded from those who are *kesawaban*, *baraka* is transmitted through *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayad. The question is how does Sunan Tembayad transmit *baraka*? Some believe that Sunan Tembayad gives it directly, while other people maintain that people only obtain a part of Sunan Tembayad's *baraka* that was given by God. As a result of these different ways of transmitting *baraka*, people in Bayat also variously articulate the notion of *baraka*.

Evans-Pritchard and Gellner found in Morocco that *baraka* was mostly understood by Moroccan people as God's blessing, a spiritual blessing from God that provides those who possess it with a status beyond ordinary folk (Evans-Pritchard, 1973:65). However, in its development, *baraka* in the maraboutic tradition becomes a power that legitimates one's status. For example, Eickelman shows that people in Morocco define *baraka* as a sign of God's will that gives the one who bestows it a political status (Eickelman, 1976:158-159). Therefore, people in Morocco conceive *baraka*, in relation to their social structure, more in terms of status and power. In Bayat, however, people conceive *baraka* as medicine that is prescribed by a doctor. In visitors' perception the *wali* is a doctor who can overcome a disease as a doctor solves one's disease problem. Every individual may have an access to obtain *baraka* as medication.
Many have been written about the religion on Java, but most studies have focused on the social and political aspect of religion. However, accounts of religion on Java are generally meagre and superficial and in some way trapped a certain structural line. The distinctive phenomena of religious forms, especially in Islam on Java, have been understood only partially by scholars. Some scholars claim that there is a marker between various religious traditions in Java. Geertz is one of these scholars. Geertz argued that these different religious traditions can be traced through three main social structures in Java, that is, village, market and government bureaucracy, which produce three variants *Abangan*, *Santri* and *Priyayi* (Geertz, 1976). Another line of thought on religion in Java is based on the assumption that certain religious traditions that survive on Java mainly originated from old Javanese beliefs. Koji Miyazaki, for example, showed that the origin of Javanese tradition in the Yogyakarta kingdom, such as *sekaten*, can be traced its origins to the old traditions that existed before the coming of Islam (Miyazaki, 1986). Mark Woodward, representing another line of thought, but using a similar approach to Miyazaki, argued that the traditions of the Yogyakarta Kraton are Islamic. He followed Marshall Hodgson in saying that Islam has triumphed on Java. In other words, Islam has become the Javanese tradition (Hodgson, 1974; Woodward, 1989). However, these orientations to Islam on Java have some weaknesses. Geertz's orientation seems to neglect the historical process in which religion and cultures interact and shape variants. Miyazaki's analysis neglects the fact that Islam has enriched the Javanese traditions. Woodward's orientation seems to purify Javanese traditions from older existing Javanese traditions. On the one hand Miyazaki relies heavily upon the old beliefs of Javanese, whereas Woodward, on the other, relies on the triumph of Islam on Java. My study of *ziarah* proposes another way of seeing the interaction between Islam and culture in Java by observing the liturgical aspect of religion. Moreover, I observe this interaction not
just through a structural perspective but from the practices of the people and their perceptions of their practice. In this case I use ziarah tradition in Bayat as an example.

By studying ziarah, the process of interaction between religion and culture in Java can be clearly seen. I argue that the emergence of such categorisation as Abangan, Santri, Priyayi or what ever classification, is a process of the continuation of Islamisation on Java. Therefore, the Abangan are not a group that exists within a different world from Islam; rather it is a group of Javanese people who understand Islam to some degree. In this case, Geertz’s explanation is inadequate, since he neglects the fact that Santri also perform practices that are observed by Abangan people. The slametan for example, which is claimed by Geertz as the Abangan activity, is also performed by Santri. Similarly, looking to the language of discourse, it seems that the tradition of ziarah derives from Islam. Throughout the Muslim world, ranging from Morocco to Indonesia, ziarah is a common practice among Muslims. However, in Java, in its development, there is little doubt that ziarah has been influenced greatly by the older religious traditions such as Hindu and Budda, and by Javanese social traditions, which in turn influence the way people understand ziarah. The various interpretations of ziarah show the influence of these traditions. The existence of ziarah cara wang Islam and ziarah cara wang Jawa suggest that it is a marker that has more meaning in terms of identity rather than in terms of ideology.
CHAPTER II
HISTORY AND IDENTITY

Introduction

The study of Islam in Java cannot be separated from the discussion of the Javanese wali who had a major role in spreading Islam throughout Java. There are many written and oral traditions describing wali of Java. According to the Javanese beliefs there were thousands of such pious people who have contributed to the spread of Islam in Java. However, some of them were known and other were forgotten and only remembered as local wali. The most popular traditions of these wali are the traditions of wali sanga who were considered as the founders of Islam in Java. The history of the wali in a particular region is related to the history of the Islamisation in the region (Fox, 1991:22-23). For example, the history of Sunan Kalijaga is mainly connected to the process of Islamisation in Central Java, and the history of Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri is related to Islamisation in East Java. Therefore, the perception of the wali is based on the local tradition of how the wali spread Islam in particular regions. The traditions of Sunan Tembayad, which are the core object of this study, are related to the history of Islamisation in the Klaten region.

The role of Sunan Tembayad'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 king of Mataram, performed ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's tomb (De Graaf, 1985:236, 270). Beside being known as a center of ziarah, Bayat was also known as the center of Islamisation. Soewignja, in his small book, which was originally an introduction to visitors who wished to visit Sunan Tembayad's tomb, recorded that Sunan Tembayad had Islamised
the regions surrounding Bayat (Soewignja, 1938). In time Bayat became a centre for Islamisation in south central Java. The fast growing Islamisation in Bayat provided a strong feeling of Islam 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 Tembayad is given many identities: as a wali, as a pundhen (the first ancestor of the village) and as king. The various interpretations of Sunan Tembayad's identity bring forth diverse interpretations of the purposes of visits to his tomb. This chapter describes the narratives of Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad are important in discerning the identity of Sunan Tembayad because there are some hidden meanings in the narratives that Bayat people wish to maintain. Through this discussion I show Sunan Tembayad'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 V.

2.1 Bayat: A Ziarah Region

Bayat is a small district region (kecamatan) about 12 kilometres 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 Paseban, a small village in 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 Tembayad or Sunan Bayat who is regarded as a wali. Observed from the physical building of the graveyard, Sunan Tembayad was an honourable 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 centre of ziarah, Bayat possesses not only Sunan Tembayad's graveyard, but also some several places that have become part of the ziarah centre. For example,
there are two tombs of Sunan Tembayad's friends (sokabat), Seh Domba and Seh Kewel that are visited by many people. The old tomb of Sunan Tembayad, built before Sunan Tembayad's grave was moved by Sultan Agung, as well as the garden court of Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad'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 Tembayad's tomb, because people believe that the results obtained from ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's tomb are sacred (suci), because it derives from God. Visitors in Bayat argue that results obtained from ziarah to other than Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad, as a wali, provides baraka that originates from Allah.

Some visitors in Bayat visit Sunan Tembayad'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 Islamisation 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad, for
example, is visited last as he was the highest ranking wali of the southern part of Central Java. Before performing ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's tomb, one should visit those wali who are ranked lower than Sunan Tembayad. Seh Watu Gajah, for example, is regarded as a lower wali who should be visited before visiting Sunan Tembayad'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.

2.2 Sunan Tembayad and Wali Sanga

Legends record that Java had nine famous wali (wali sanga). 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).\(^1\) 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 as the nine wali following the Babad Tanah Jawi that includes him among the eight wali. Other sources such as Babad Tembayad and Babad Demak describe Sunan

\(^1\) Although the name of the nine of is a subject of debate, the popular names of wali sanga 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 tradition may be a recent tradition. This is because older literary texts such as the Babad Tanah Jawi and the Babad Kraton record there are only eight wali: 'Para wali kang woli' (Fox, 1991:23). For example in the Babad Tanah Jawi list 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.
Tembayad 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.² Sunan Tembayad's existence within the traditions of wali in Java is differently positioned. In one perception Sunan Tembayad 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 recognised 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 Allah 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 believed that the wali, named as Seh Watu Gajah, is one of Sunan Tembayad's disciples. This story then becomes a legitimation for the place to be visited.

² 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).
The most important wali for the Central Java is Sunan Kalijaga. He was considered to be the 'father' of the wali. Serat Babad Tembayad 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 symbolise 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 Javanese traditions. His creations, such as Javanese tembang (songs) and some stories performed as wayang (shadows play), such as the story of Jimat Kalimosodo (the amulet of Kalimat Shahadat— one of Islamic six principal beliefs) are indications of his success.3 These

3 It is told in the story of Jimat Kalimosodo that those who can afford to possess the amulet will obtain a salvation from God.
factors made Sunan Kalijaga a 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 Tembayad's conversion to Islam and his designation as a wali is linked with Sunan Kalijaga's tradition. Before converting to Islam, Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad's teachings are derived from Sunan Kalijaga.

The process of Sunan Kalijaga's and Sunan Tembayad's conversion to Islam shows some similarities. Before converting to Islam, both were described as bad people, Sunan Kalijaga as a robber and Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad meditated at Mount Jabalkat in Tembayad. It seems that the story of their conversion to Islam was created to give impression of the similarities of Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad and his tomb as a centre of ziarah.
2.3 The Narrative of Sunan Tembayad: Sunan Tembayad's origin

There are various traditions regarding Sunan Tembayad. 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 Tembayad, Serat Babad Demak and so forth. Each tradition gives an account that may differ from other accounts. The narratives about Sunan Tembayad are a kind of 'cultural reflector', which can be used as a medium to understand 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 Tembayad. 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad are a "charter of belief" of *ziarah* practice. This can be seen from the *juru kunci's* stories about Sunan Tembayad. In part, the *juru kunci* use 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 Tembayad's origin. Some source texts maintain that Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad was the last King of Majapahit, the last Prabu Brawijaya.

In Serat Sadjarah-dalem written by Ki Padmasoesastra Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad. Because of this marriage, Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad as having spiritual power. The popular narrative of the Sunan Tembayad's spiritual power recalled by Bayat people is about Sunan Tembayad's two sokabat (friends, disciples), Seh Kewel and Seh Domba. Both his friends were named by Sunan Tembayad. According to the story, they were given these names to reflect their behaviour as Domba (sheep) and Kewel (snake). Seh Domba and Seh Kewel were formerly street burglars who blackmailed travellers. Sunan Tembayad told them that their behaviour was like that of a sheep and a snake. As Sunan Tembayad finished his sentence, the robbers' faces were transformed: one like a sheep's and the other like a snake's.
Stories such as these describe Sunan Tembayad as having spiritual and physical power beyond that of normal people. To describe these powers, people refer to the story of Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad had a superior ilmu kanuragan (skill in self defence). The narrative also alludes to Sunan Tembayad's power being demonstrated as he passed a market and asked a rice trader, "What is in your sack?" Because the trader thought Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad is the story of the moving of his mosque. Sunan Bayat built a mosque on the top of Mount Jabalkat (Arabic, literally meaning a mountain of angels). He and his followers prayed and studied Islam in this mosque. When his followers had increased, Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad records that Sunan Kalijaga asked Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad'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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad 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 Tembayad linked his teachings with those of Sunan Kalijaga. Therefore, the warning from Sunan Kalijaga was a means of control over Sunan Tembayad's teaching. Serat Tembayad interprets the warning as a means of alerting Sunan Tembayad to the fact that as a new religion Islam should not flaunt itself. In other words, Serat Tembayad 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 Moslem community in the southern area of Central Java.

The second issue is the relationship between Sunan Tembayad and the last King of Majapahit, Prabu Brawijaya. This relationship pertains to the historical identity linking Sunan Tembayad 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 re-emergence of the Javanese superiority. Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad. The renovation of the pasarean of Sunan Tembayad established the link between Tembayad and Mataram. Abdul Salam, the eldest juru kunci, reported that all traditions performed in the Tembayad graveyard are similar to Islamic traditions practised in the Mataram court. He refers to the tahlilan tradition, which uses Javanese songs (tembang). There are several styles of performing tahlil; 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 Tembayad influence the way in which people articulate their visit to Sunan Tembayad's tomb. For people who identify Sunan Tembayad as their village pundhen the visit is a means of showing respect to the pundhen. However, for those who believe that Sunan Tembayad is the Brawijaya V, their visit is a means of sowan to their honourable king. Other people visit Sunan Tembayad'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 Tembayad.

The history of Sunan Tembayad cannot be separated from the history of Bayat. Bayat is about 12 kilometres from Klaten, a medium-size town between Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The two cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are important to the existence of Bayat. Previously Yogyakarta and Surakarta were united as part of the Mataram kingdom with Kartasura as the state capital. The state of Mataram covered
the entire area of Central and East Java. However, after several rebellions and Dutch interference, the Mataram kingdom was divided into Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Surakarta (Ricklefs, 1974). As Bayat is situated between these important cities, it bears a distinctive tradition.

In summary, Sunan Tembayad's historical identity consists of several elements. First, he was connected to the tradition of the nine wali. This supports Sunan Tembayad's role as the wali who spread true Islamic teachings. Second, the story about Sunan Tembayad as the last King of Majapahit is an attempt to link him with the Majapahit tradition. Third, Sunan Tembayad was a wali who was honoured by the Mataram king. This historical and narrative identity of Sunan Tembayad has established the graveyard's importance. This in turn affects the discourse of ziarah in Bayat. It seems that the various identities of Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad seem to underlie different interpretations of ziarah.
CHAPTER III
ZIARAH: A RITUAL DISCOURSE

Introduction

As a ritual form, ziarah is a complex activity which can be interpreted in many different ways. In Javanese tradition, it is a means of showing respect to the dead. Furthermore, ziarah is a way to articulate the continuity of the relationship, emotional and spiritual, between the dead and the living. In Bayat, for example, some Bayat people who migrated to other areas visit Sunan Tembayad's tomb to retain a continuous link with the Sunan. The tomb of Ranggawarsito, a court poet of Surakarta, in Palar, is visited by the noble princes of the Surakarta court to maintain an emotional as well as a genealogical link with him.

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 of 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 in 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 Tembayad'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 kahal pemrentah, kuburanipun sekretarisipun Sunan Tembayat rame dipun
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 the ritual is performed. Considering social context in the study of ziarah is significant in two ways: to analyse the impact of changing historical and political context on ritual practice; and Secondly, to examine ziarah in terms of local perception. This can be seen in the diverse way in which people construe the meaning and functions of ziarah. Any explanation ignoring the context and cultural logic of the practice will fail to comprehend the reality of ziarah.

In its relation to the study of Islam on Java, this study of ziarah will provide some different 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 about Islam. Islam interacts with other cultural elements in a distinctive way that creates a particular religious form such as ziarah. People's understandings about ziarah are reflections of their popular Islam. Geertz's study of Islam on Java has provided some insights into the interesting phenomena of these religious interactions.
However, Geertz's 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" at 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 which is the product of its interaction. This chapter will elucidate the diverse discourses of ziarah that influence the ways in which people later on interpret and understand the practice.

3.1. 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 which 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 Tembayad'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. Besik (from resik, clean), is 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 symbolise 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* is when Javanese villagers do their *bersih desa* (literally meaning 'to clean a village'). In this feast, people gather in the village shrine which is considered to be their *pundhen* (master and 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. This ceremony is also held in traditional pesantren. *Kaul* is conducted to celebrate the death of a famous *kyai*. In East Java, for example, the *kaul* ceremony held in Jombang pesantren to commemorate Hadratus Sheikh Hashim Ash'ari 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 Allah and Muhammad is His messenger"), *dzikr* (reciting a selected words from the Quran) and recite the Quran 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*.¹ In the week proceeding *Ramadan*, people visit the Karang Kembang hill where Sunan

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¹The 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*.
Tembayad'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. After that people pray in front of their relatives' tombs that have been cleaned. The activity is concluded by a large feast held in the Hastina Agung, the main graveyard of Sunan Tembayad. In this feast, people share each others' meals, and sometimes people 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 Tembayad as their relative. Bayat people claim that they are descendants of Sunan Tembayad. Other people regard the activity as Bersih Desa to their pundhen (master, ancestor). Some people assert that Sunan Tembayad is like the King of Bayat. Finally, people who claim the activity as kaul regard Sunan Tembayad 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 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 emphasise 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 emphasises the respect and honour to be shown to Sunan Tembayad.
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 their 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 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, will help to discern 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, 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 ziarah context, thus constitutes an understanding of a visit to a person who is regarded having higher status for consultation. In this case, the saint is perceived as a live person, who, with *baraka* from Allah, 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 Moslem 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 Quran 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 endeavour to know about Allah through the mediation of the wali.

There are some of the basic beliefs and concepts which characterise the different perceptions of the meaning of ziarah. First, the way they 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 utilises the flowers and water, as the patient utilises 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 Allah 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 medium, 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 Allah. This position enables him to mediate between man and Allah. In short, the saint is only an *agent* to acquire *baraka* from Allah.

The third difference in perceptions stems from the reason for visiting a tomb and manner of addressing prayers. In the *jawab* ritual (a ritual that states 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 Tembayad. 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 Allah, 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 flower as symbols of their respect to Sunan Tembayad.

Although originally the practice of *ziarah* derived from Islam, in its development the practice of *ziarah* in Java has been influenced by other cultural forms existing in Javanese traditions. These elements constitute different discourses about 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 statement about the relationship
between these cultural discourses can be established. It could be maintained that the most adequate generalisation is that this is ultimately a syncretic process. Nevertheless, this generalisation 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 syncretises them, it is essential to recognise the process through which cultural forms are produced.

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

3.2 Ritual Form

Ziarah, sowan and nyekar are discourses of visiting a saint's tomb that mark the identity of the practice. Furthermore, these discourses on ziarah are also manifest in the ritual performance. It is in the light of these observations that the most typical and expressive act of ziarah in Bayat, the turning to the saint in the rite of ziarah, is to be viewed and understood. It is an enactment of the most fundamental religious conceptions of ritual form.

Visits to Bayat can be differentiated 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 purposes or that of the visitor's family. Collective ziarah is a ziarah done by a group with the same manner, prayers, attitude 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' reports on the success of their earlier visits and attribute that to particular ritual behaviour. For example, in a ziarah which consists of going to a tomb of Sunan Tembayad'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 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 Tembayad's graveyard area as sacred. Therefore, visitors should wear clean clothes and have a clean body, which is symbolised through new clothes and ablutions. Then visitors prepare their incense
and flowers and other requirements for ziarah. They take off the shoes and begin the ritual.

As an administrative procedure, visitors report their arrival to the juru kunci. Then the juru kunci assist the visitor to perform ziarah, because no one may enter the tomb without the presence of a juru kunci. In Prabajeksa hall, the juru kunci offers a jawab to the visitor. The jawab is performed on a plain carpeted floor with a place for burning incense with a chimney directed to Sunan Tembayad'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? Do 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 Tembayad's tomb to ngalab baraka, so my family business will increase. Furthermore, I ask the Sunan Tembayad baraka that is expressed in pangestu (blessing) for my son's job, may Sunan Tembayad's blessing always accompany my son's career. For these purposes I have brought some gifts for Sunan Tembayad, 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 Allah 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 Tembayad 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 Allah, may Allah 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 Tembayad 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. By putting the palm of his hands together at the nose three times, the juru kunci recites permission, "Assalamu'alaikum, Ya wali Allah, Ya, wali Allah, Bismillah Arrahman Arrahim". 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 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 Tembayad'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 learnt 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 Allah 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 Wabaraka'tuh. 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 Allah. 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 forgiveness. 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*.

However, this 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* (reciting the phrase of 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger), 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 such a diversity of concepts with such different people can be incorporated into a tradition such as *ziarah*? It seems that the tradition of *ziarah* is formulated from the interaction between many cultural elements. The use of *sowan* and *nyekar* terms marks cultural identities and tendencies of understanding the tomb visiting tradition. Therefore, these terms show the manner of expressing perceptions of the *ziarah* practice.
3.3 *Pasang Singep* and *Sadranan*

Before the coming of Ramadan month, there are two major events which occur in *Hastina Agung Bayat*, *pasang singep* and *sadranan*. *Pasang singep* signals the end of the time for *ziarah* each year. People, who have organised 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 characterise 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 Tembayad's tomb and its area. *Pasang* means 'to build or change', like a brick-layer 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 *tahlil*, led by a religious leader (*kyai*). By the time the *tahlil* is finished, the *kyai* and the oldest *juru kunci* walk together to the Sunan Tembayad'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.

All visitors want to have a part 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. As a result, now the *juru kunci* organise the distribution of the *singep*. The old *singep* is kept by the
*juru kunci* and then cut it 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 re-wrap 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 a 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 rewrapping takes a 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 rewrapping 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 with the only small difference being 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 Tembayad's Tomb. The march consists of five parts. The first element is a symbol of Sunan Tembayad'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* (lion dance). The fourth element is a procession of all the *juru kunci* associated with the Sunan Tembayad's tomb. The fifth element is the people of Bayat and other visitors who follow the ceremony. The groups march to the Sunan Tembayad'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 King, 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 Tembayad will transmit great baraka to those who perform the first ziarah after sadranan.

Pasang singep and sadranan have a significant place in the heart of visitors. Not only do they signal the closing and opening of ziarah time, 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 with the juru kunci and visitors. Like other Javanese slametan, this slametan also uses rice, chicken and vegetables. It also employs jenang (a sweat 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 a special ceremony 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 Tembayad. 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 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 solemnise the saint as a person who spread Islam in Bayat. In doing so, the first group ritualises their behaviour according to the manner of sadranan. The second, on the other hand, formulates 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.

3.4 Integration and Conflict

I have discussed the different perspectives that articulate the visiting of tombs expressed in different terms for the same activity. The terms bear witness to the variety of beliefs about the sainthood within particular theological perspectives: how people define the function of the saint before Allah; whether the saint has any authority to transmit baraka; how people should address prayer and requests; and how they construe the visit to the tomb.

Visitors to Bayat, on the night of Friday Legi/do 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 while he was sleeping in the main building of the Sunan Tembayad's tomb. Before falling asleep he
asked Sunan Tembayad about the way to change his life, especially in economic matters.

"While I was half awake and asleep, Sunan Tembayad 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 the knowledge was given to him by his guru (teacher) when he studied wayang. 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 (spiritual 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 Tembayad.

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*, characterised 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 *jurukunci* 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 which occurred also in the Bayat graveyard involving a group consisted of a young couple and their parents.

"Son, what *donga* (prayers) should I recite before the Sunan Tembayad?" the mother asked her son. "Any prayers you can recite, because Sunan Tembayad 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 Allah alone. If you do ask that to Sunan Tembayad, 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 Tembayad?" The husband said, "Flowers and incense are not important. The most important thing is that we pray correctly to Allah."

In terms of this conversation, ziarah represents visiting a tomb without any particular intentions other than asking for baraka from Allah. They visit the saint's tomb to honour 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 Allah through the help of the wali.

"I and all my friends (there were approximately fifteen people from Madiun) performed ziarah to Sunan Tembayad in order to get his help to mediate between us and God. At the tomb we recited tahlil (reciting melodically there is no god, but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger) and asked him to guide us. This is because an ordinary man cannot convey the tahlil to Allah without the guidance of the wali. We believe that Sunan Tembayad 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 Tembayad is a wali beloved of Allah, it is believed that he has access to Allah and can help people obtain baraka. By reciting prayers or the Quran or tahlil, people believe that the saint will assist them to meet Allah.

The different articulation of the meaning of ziarah and the philosophical thought underlying it sometimes sparks a conflict between visitors. This occurred in the pasang singep ceremony. As the work to wrap the Sunan Tembayad's tomb is done by the visitors, the organisation of the work is also arranged by them, and there
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 occur when people perform _ziarah_. The different manner of performing _ziarah_ does not spark a conflict. Visitors do not question other manners or procedures of _ziarah_. What, then, produced this conflict in the _pasang singep_ ceremony? The simplest answer lies in the method of work organisation. _Pasang singep_ is a joint task that requires a consensus and work management.

But the answer is not that simple. _Ziarah_ as a cultural form embodies the process in which the _ziarah_ was produced, including its social and political conditions. In some perspectives, the cultural forms existing in Java can be said to have certain similarities which enable them to integrate. These similarities in the conception of _ziarah_ and the sainthood brings about this integration. Furthermore, the polyphonic
cultural dimension of *ziarah* is supported by the 'consistent impression of cultural flexibility' of Javanese since the earliest times (Ricklefs, 1993:227). However, the change in these cultural relations, which is caused by political involvement, brings about the alteration of the discourse. This can be shown from the Bayat case. A person who supported the first group to resew the cloth is the village chief's political opponent. The integration of these cultural elements in the *ziarah* practice will be broken, when one of the cultural element grows to become a dominant form which direct the understanding of *ziarah* into a certain perspective. When Islam turned to modernising and purifying the *ziarah* practice from other traditions, or when some people will purify the practice from Islamic teachings, this will have an effect on the cultural integration.

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 Quran, *tahlil* 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*, in the Islamic manner (*ziarah cara wang Islam*) and in the Javanese manner (*ziarah cara wang Jawa*). Each of these two forms for performing *ziarah* has 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 element attempts to separate from other elements. *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. However, these terms signify different concepts and certain practical activities. Although people have different ways of performing *ziarah*, they do not find fault with each other's ways, rather they tolerate and acknowledge each other's forms. The terms *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar* are markers indicating that the practice is understood in various perceptions. Therefore, visiting to a *wali*'s tombs involves a polyphonic understanding. Furthermore, the diversity in performing *ziarah* in Bayat indicates the manner in which people use to express their understandings. These can acquiesce in other interpretations. These markers function as a social identifier in understanding and practising *ziarah*. 
CHAPTER IV
JURU KUNCI (CARE-TAKER) AND VISITOR

Introduction

The juru kunci play an important role in ziarah sites. Not only are juru kunci custodians of the location, but they also play a major role in performing ziarah. Juru kunci are the central figures in the interpretation of signs (ngalamat) gained in dreams, which are believed to be the clue of baraka. The juru kunci's role in the interpretation of ngalamat constitutes the fundamental element of the transmission of baraka. This chapter deals with the process of selection of juru kunci, which contributes to the quality of their performance in assisting ziarah. This chapter also elucidates the relation between the juru kunci and visitors; how they build the relationship and how they maintain it. Through this discussion I analyse the factors involved in the changing interpretations of ziarah in Bayat.

4.1 The Selection of Juru Kunci (Care-Taker)

The term juru kunci consists of the two Javanese words, juru, meaning a master, and kunci meaning a key. Thus, the term juru kunci signifies a person or a custodian who looks after the key of a sacred place or building, such as a palace or a graveyard. In the Hastina Agung graveyard, there are about twelve juru kunci. These juru kunci are divided into two groups: the inside juru kunci (juru kunci jero) and the outside juru kunci (juru kunci jaba). The juru kunci jero assist visitors in performing ziarah, whereas the juru kunci jaba look after the 'outside affairs', such as security, cleaning services and the secretary. The juru kunci jero are regarded as having more prestige than juru kunci jaba, as the juru kunci jero can act as the visitors' mediators.
in ziarah. Furthermore, in terms of economics, juru kunci jero have a better opportunity to earn money from visitors. This is because most visitors give money tips to juru kunci as thanks for their assistance.

Previously, all juru kunci were considered to be juru kunci jero, and all were allowed to assist ziarah. However, after some juru kunci were accused of having behaved badly during ziarah, a division was made between the inside and outside juru kunci. Abdul Salam, the oldest juru kunci, pointed out that four juru kunci had been discharged because they had misdirected visitors. One of them was discharged because he had used his position to persuade a married woman to marry him. Another juru kunci was discharged because he tricked visitors by promising them an aji-aji (amulet) from Sunan Tembayad if they could provide some money. However, after the money was given, the visitors never received an amulet. The other juru kunci were retired because they were regarded as mad, because they did not assist visitors in the normal way of performing ziarah. For example, they proposed a programmatic ziarah, which included performing meditation (semedi) all night long on a graveyard, climbing up to the hill's top, and kungkum (immersing oneself in water).¹

These juru kunci were discharged by a council, called the BPH (Badan Pengawas Hastina Agung, the office of the supervision of Hastina Agung) led by the village chief. This organisation, and especially the village chief, has a dominant role in promoting and discharging juru kunci. The BPH is under the supervision of the archaeological services (Dinas Kepurbakalaan) of Central Java and Yogyakarta. The village chief of Bayat automatically acts as the executive chairman (Ketua Harian). The BPH deals with the physical renovation and maintenance of the location and its

¹Unfortunately, I could not confirm the account of this ziarah with these Juru Kunci, because they are now ndleming (Javanese word for referring a madness, characterised by talking to oneself).
buildings, including the control of electricity, the water supply and the distribution of money. However, the chief's role increases when problems arise in the distribution of money and the control of *juru kunci*. The mausoleum of Bayat is visited by many visitors, with each visitor giving a donation for building renovations, resulting in a substantial accumulation of money. At a busy time like Friday *Legi* night, more than one hundred people might visit the mausoleum. I observed that each visitor donates not less than Rp. 500. The money is divided into two parts, 40% for the *juru kunci* and the rest for the BPH. For *juru kunci*, the BPH helps minimise conflict among the *juru kunci*. Before the council was established, there was conflict concerning the balanced distribution of the money. Some *juru kunci* have a good place (called *tempat basah*, literally meaning 'a wet place') where significant money is collected. Others call themselves *juru kunci kering* (literally, meaning 'dry custodians'), since there is not much money to be earned from their positions.

Under the BPH, there is an organisation of *juru kunci*, called *Paguyuban Juru Kunci*. The organisation is led by a senior *juru kunci* who is a twelfth-generation descendant of Sunan Tembayad. Before the chief of Bayat asked him to become a *juru kunci*, he was an ordinary farmer. Abdul Salam, as he was introduced to me, is a good Muslim. The prayers (*donga*) he chants are always in Arabic. Whenever he is asked about the interpretation of ritual performances in Bayat, his answers always refer to Islamic traditions as written in the Quran or in the *Hadits* (Muhammadan traditions). He argues that the original and purest explanation of *ziarah* is in accord with Islamic teachings. The function of *Paguyuban Juru Kunci* is to provide better service for visitors by controlling the *juru kunci*'s activities. Visitors can complain about the *juru kunci*'s poor service to this organisation.
Every Friday night, except Friday Legi night, as it is the busiest night, the Paguyuban Juru Kunci provides religious services. On Friday Kliwon night they conduct a tahlil (gathering to recite the phrase of 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger) led by a kyai (a religious leader), which is attended by some juru kunci, visitors and Bayat people. However on the other Friday nights the tahlil is performed in Javanese tembang,\(^2\) such as Dandang Gula, Kinanti and so forth,\(^3\) singing Arabic verses of the Quran and poems. The oldest juru kunci usually leads this tahlilan. Moreover, to entertain visitors and juru kunci, every Tuesday night (except Tuesday Kliwon night) the Juru kunci and villagers perform traditional Javanese music, Laras Madya (music based on five terbang (hand drums) and an instrument made from brass (kuningan which makes a "ting" sound). This traditional music is similar to Samrohan or Terbangan in the northern part of Java. Nevertheless, Laras Madya's music is less dynamic than Terbangan, because Laras Madya emphasises harmony and slowness rather than progressiveness. Laras Madya songs, in Javanese, expound Islamic teachings, the history of the Prophet Muhammad and the Javanese wali. These two activities change the graveyard atmosphere from a dark, frightening and horrible place to a peaceful and harmonious site.

The Paguyuban Juru Kunci, however, has no authority to promote or discharge the juru kunci. This prerogative belongs to the village chief. The Paguyuban Juru Kunci has the right only to propose a potential person to be the juru kunci. Moreover,

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\(^2\) Literally, meaning 'songs'. However, it is more than songs. Tembang are tunes that are intrinsically connected with metrical patterns. In making poems and songs, Javanese have patterns, which govern aspects of the phonological and syntactic shape of texts and at the same time comprise melodies with which the texts are recited (Hardjowirogo, 1980, Arps, 1992).

\(^3\) There are several patterns of Javanese tembangs. The pattern is a structure to recite a poem or a song. Dandang Gula and Kinanti are parts of many tembangs (Hardjowirogo, 1980:16-33).
the *Paguyuban Juru Kunci* can only warn the *juru kunci* who is breaking the rules, while the village chief has authority to discharge and install a *juru kunci*. This leads to a crucial topic, that is, the election and promotion of *juru kunci*.

Abdul Salam is disappointed with the procedure for electing *juru kunci*, since there is no standard requirement for becoming a *juru kunci*. Nowadays, *juru kunci* are promoted on hereditary bases. The son of a retired *juru kunci* can inherit the job, without any consideration of his knowledge about the place. For Abdul Salam, this knowledge should be a fundamental requirement for the election of a *juru kunci*. Without this knowledge, he believes, *juru kunci* will assist visitors poorly. Thus, the study of the history of the place should be an important element in these elections. Abdul Salam was promoted as a *juru kunci* through an interview conducted by the village chief. He told me:

"Although I am a descendant of the Sunan Tembayad, I was interviewed by the village chief about *ziarah* ritual, including prayers and the history of Sunan Tembayad. The chief asked me to perform *salat* (Islamic daily prayers) and to recite a short verse of the *Quran*. Then he tested me to recite prayers in Arabic. I did it perfectly. Next, pak Lurah (the village chief) pretended to be a visitor, and I had to explain the historical stories about Sunan Tembayad. Only after passing this interview could I join the other *Juru kunci*. However, these procedures for selecting *Juru kunci* are not applied any more, maybe because the *jaman* (period) has changed."

Abdul Salam believes that these interviews are important tools with which to control and preserve the correct *ziarah* tradition, as the interview exposes the extent of the person's knowledge of the story of Sunan Tembayad, and more importantly, about the *ziarah* ritual. Abdul Salam further points out that the emergence of a new interpretation of *ziarah* is partly caused by the lack of *juru kunci* knowledge of the authentic *ziarah*, although he also acknowledges that the changing of *ziarah* and its interpretation is caused by changes in the social conditions.
Other *Juru kunci* point out that the village chief does not always use the interview in the selection process, because the candidates of *juru kunci* are not as numerous as before. The people's perceptions of the *Juru kunci*'s profession has changed. Previously, the *juru kunci*'s profession was regarded as an honourable job, as a part of dedicated service (*pengabdian*) to Sunan Tembayad. Now, people simply regard the *juru kunci*'s job as a way to earn money. In comparison to other workers, however, *juru kunci* earn little money. These *juru kunci* argue that the interview is unnecessary for the election of *juru kunci* because candidates have come from *juru kunci*'s families. The old *juru kunci*, before transferring the profession to their descendants, have already transmitted their knowledge of *ziarah*. Therefore, they maintain that changes in *ziarah* rituals and its interpretation are not caused by a lack of *juru kunci* knowledge, but rather by visitors' demands.

Visitors come to Bayat with different purposes, and most visit Bayat regularly every week, month or year. These visitors retain a certain *juru kunci* for their *ziarah*. Although Bayat does not allow people to select a *juru kunci*, visitors choose the *juru kunci* by waiting for the shift of their preferred *juru kunci*. Thus, they perform *ziarah* in the preferred *juru kunci*'s shift. According to these visitors, the *juru kunci* influence the performance of *ziarah*, particularly in the prayers and their assistance in *jawab* ritual. With their preferred *juru kunci*, visitors can ask them for *ziarah* performance in accord with their purposes.

The election of *juru kunci* in Bayat, therefore, does not depend only upon the village chief. In Bayat, at least, there are three methods for the selection of *juru kunci*; first, through an interview with the village chief, as in Abdul Salam's experience; second, through heredity; and third, through becoming a trainee (*magang*). A *juru kunci* told me that he became a *juru kunci* through a long period of examination. After
retiring from being a farmer, almost every day he came to Hastina Agung to do ziarah and help juru kunci to accompany visitors in their ziarah, particularly on the night of Friday Legi. In this way, he came to the attention of Abdul Salam, the leader of the juru kunci, and Abdul Salam inquired about his intentions. He answered that he would like to become a juru kunci in order to dedicate (mengabdi) himself to Sunan Tembayad. As he was not a Bayat person and had no hereditary relation with a juru kunci, Abdul Salam allowed him to assist people, but not as a juru kunci.

However, after showing serious dedication to assisting visitors, Abdul Salam put his name up to the village chief, who agreed he was suitable. However, he wanted to examine him first. The examination was done in three stages; as trainee (ngenger or magang), as an experimental job holder (percobaan) and as a quasi-juru kunci (bayangan). He did these examinations for eight years, three years as a magang, three years as a percobaan and two years as a juru kunci's assistance. As a result, he has been helping visitors at the graveyard for almost 17 years.

4.2 The Role of Juru kunci

In his essay entitled "Ziarah visits to the tombs of the wali, the Founders of Islam on Java" James Fox argues that the function of juru kunci is to look after the graveyard (Fox, 1991). Furthermore, the juru kunci acts as a guide for visitors by explaining the historical background of the place. The most important function of juru kunci in wali's tombs is to help visitors in conducting ziarah and to interpret the ngalamat gained in their ziarah.

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

Juru kunci, especially the juru kunci jero, assist visitors in ziarah rituals, including the interpretation of ngalamat. There are several activities that can only be done in the presence of a juru kunci. The first is the jawab ritual. In this ritual juru kunci play a major role. Juru kunci will lead the ritual, including asking permission to Sunan Tembayad, and reciting prayers. Second, the entry to the main building of Sunan Tembayad's tomb as it is always locked, and only Juru kunci have access to the key. Third, at the hajat slametan—slametan held to mark the seventh ziarah—4 the juru kunci are the focus of the activity. As in the jawab ritual, juru kunci in the hajat slametan will lead the reciting prayers, declaring the visitors' intention and distributing the slametan.

4Visitors, who have visited Bayat seven times, will hold a hajat slametan to symbolise it, as it is believed that the seventh visit to Sunan Tembayad is very important. A hajat slametan is performed to celebrate the reception of baraka from the Sunan. A visitor who feels that he has received baraka from Sunan Tembayad is obligated to conduct a slametan as a way of showing his thanks to the Sunan Tembayad. The hajat slametan, as implied by the designation, hajat, 'intention', is performed to declare the intention of ziarah.
Juru kunci play a significant role in the interpretation of ngalamat received from the Sunan, as visitors are generally unable to elucidate the message of the ngalamat. Sunan Tembayad gives ngalamat in several forms, such as in dreams, natural signs, greget (feelings) and so forth. However, most ngalamat are transmitted through dreams. Visitors believe that juru kunci, because they are abdi (servant) and descendants of Sunan, and because they spend so much time in the graveyard, are the appropriate interpreters of the Sunan Tembayad's ngalamat. This is one story told by a young boy who came to Bayat to search for an amulet:

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

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

To determine if someone has received *baraka* from Sunan Tembayad is a difficult task because *baraka* is intangible and is given in a sign (*ngalamat*) in a dream. Although visitors sometimes obtain *ngalamat* through natural phenomena, such as birds, snakes and so forth, it is difficult to judge if that natural phenomenon is the *ngalamat*. The coming of a snake or bird for example is not a strange condition in Hastina Agung, which is located on a hill. Since visitors cannot exactly determine the *baraka*, *baraka* is always a kind of mystery.

For first-time visitors there is some doubt about the possibility of gaining *baraka* in the graveyard. Although they ostensibly believe that the personage buried in the

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5 This Javanese system is called *Pasaran*, deriving from *pasar*, meaning 'market'. This system is named *Pasaran* because it is used to indicate markets. For example, a market on *Pahing* day will busy with animal trade, whereas on *Kliwon* the market will sell vegetables and so forth. The *Pasaran* consists of five days, *Wage*, *Kliwon*, *Legi*, *Pahing* and *Pon*.
graveyard is only sleeping, waiting for the day of judgement, they often have doubt. Can baraka be acquired in the graveyard? A visitor explained his experience:

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

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

In addition, juru kunci interpret the ngalamat of baraka in reference to visitors' successes, meaning that the interpretation is based on the visitors' account of their

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6 The petungan is also used by Javanese thieves. For example, on a Friday Kliwon night, the thief should enter by the rear door, on another day through the window and, on yet another, should not enter the house before 12 o'clock midnight. The chief of a small village in western Klaten was known as a thief catcher, because he knew the thieves' use of petungan.
ziarah success. Juru kunci often name people who came and gained baraka. These successful people have a major influence on visitors' beliefs. Firstly, when visitors perform a ritual procedure that is similar to the successful visitor's procedure, they hope to receive similar ngalamat. The ngalamat, then, is interpreted much as it was by the successful people. Secondly, these people provide 'an example' for other visitors. Finally, these successes have persuaded visitors to continue their ziarah. Juru kunci also use visitors' successes to help them interpret ngalamat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 Juru kunci and the Transmission of Baraka

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

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

Kesawaban is also used by Paseban dukuh (hamlet) people. They argue that Paseban people receive baraka because they are part of Bayat's community, which is genealogically linked to Sunan Tembayad. The sawab, the word they usually use to denote the baraka's impact, can be seen from their access to development and economic opportunities. The market that sells flowers, incense and other ziarah equipment produces job opportunities for Bayat people and those in surrounding areas. Their special skills in pottery skill are promoted to visitors. Bayat's pottery, for example, is known by Klaten people as being of the best quality. The Indonesian government has facilitated tourism in Bayat by providing services such as good roads. These infrastructural developments also mobilise Bayat's people.

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

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

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

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

7 To differentiate whether a person dreams at the middle of the night or at the morning, people
in Bayat consider the time when the person awakes from the dream. They believe that usually people
awake after having a dream.

8 In Morocco, for example, where the traditions of Sufism is sustained, the Maraboutism
tradition practice the herediterical concept of transforming a status. A Marabout in a certain zawiya
(lodge) obtain his status from his father. The first Marabout, like Sheikh Lusi in Atlas, claimed his
maraboutic status by linking him with the Prophet Muhammad and his families, the Sharif families.
Sunan Tembayad, *juru kunci* establish their identity and the legitimacy of their knowledge and quality.

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

*Juru kunci* translate the *ngalamat* to decide about *baraka*. In cases when visitors fail to receive *ngalamat* in their dreams, *juru kunci* also analyse the factors involved, and provide diagnoses to solve the problem. Therefore, one visitor said of the *Juru kunci*, "*juru kunci* are like a radio, which receives a broadcast. The interpretation of *Juru kunci*, truly, is similar to a radio broadcast that we hear" *(juru kunci niku kados radio ingkang nampi suanten sangking pemancar. Penjelasane juru kunci menika, sak jatosipun, inggih kados suanten radio ingkang saget kita merengaken)*. The mediator is an agent who acts on behalf of someone and as a vessel for the Sunan.

Visitors can choose a *juru kunci* to assist them. For visitors who visit Sunan Tembayad on a regular basis, they know the *juru kunci*'s ways of assisting in *ziarah* ritual. A visitor told me that he had been assisted by all *juru kunci*, but only one *juru kunci* provides him with satisfactory assistance. He further describes the factors involved in the selection of *juru kunci*. First, the *juru kunci*'s ways of *ziarah* is coincided with the visitors' hopes. Second, the *juru kunci* has enabled the visitor to gain *baraka*. Third the *juru kunci* interpreted the dream correctly. He said:
"While I was meditating, a bird came to me. Although the bird was not so close to me, it stared at me. I told this matter to one juru kunci and he said that it was an ordinary bird which had no connection with my meditation. I was not satisfied with this explanation, and I went to another juru kunci. He interpreted the bird as a guest. He further said that I would have an important guest who would help me to improve my life. The second interpretation was true, because ten days later I had an important guest who established a business relation with me. Since then, I have always asked the juru kunci to accompany me in my ziarah."

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

To sum up, the juru kunci play a significant role in determining the transmission of baraka, since they are regarded as having authority to interpret the ngalamat. Through their role in interpreting ngalamat, juru kunci can ascertain visitors whether have received baraka or not. Sometimes the ngalamat of baraka is not clear, and visitors do not know the meaning of the ngalamat. Therefore, juru kunci's interpretation of ngalamat provides affirmation of the ziarah success.

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

Introduction

In Chapter I, I described how Bayat people established the legitimacy of Bayat as an appropriate place to perform *ziarah*. In Chapter III, I outlined various ritual forms of *ziarah* performed by visitors, and the rationales for these. The different ritual forms performed in Bayat result from differing perceptions underlying *ziarah*, which were formulated from various cultural forms. The terms *ziarah*, *sowan* and *nyekar* represent these various cultural discourses on the tradition of visiting a *wali*’s tomb in Java.

In Chapter IV, I demonstrated the importance of the *juru kunci* in assisting and interpreting *ziarah* ritual. The roles of *ziarah* rituals can be viewed from a functionalist stand which maintains that belief, and particularly ritual, reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals; it stresses the way in which the social structure of a group is strengthened and perpetuated through the ritualistic or mystic symbolisation of the underlying social values upon which it rests (Morris, 1987, Vogt, 1979). Although visitors have different ideological backgrounds and perform rituals differently, they can perform together in the ritual without creating a tension. The *ziarah* ritual is understood by visitors to be an open 'form' that can be perceived in many different ways.

The *ziarah* ritual consists of symbols which convey messages. The meaning of messages is generated and transmitted to people, mostly through oral traditions. This is particularly true in Bayat; the *ziarah* ritual in Bayat, like any other religious form, of course, has a history, but it can only be traced in so far as it survives in the memories
of the Bayat people themselves and in some reports from travellers or Dutch colonial reports which record Bayat's traditions. Visitors' accounts of their ziarah experiences are also important sources of ziarah interpretations. However, Bayat people, juru kunci attached to Bayat and visitors sometimes interpret differently the meanings of ritual symbols. This chapter deals with the question of how people variously interpret the meaning of ziarah ritual and its symbols. Exploring these areas helps to trace the development of ziarah ritual discourses.

5.1 Sacred and Profane Domain

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

The words used to indicate this special attention to the sacred objects, which I have translated as 'respect' and 'to respect', are hormat and bekti. The term hormat implies 'respect' due on account of a person's superiority, whereas bekti signifies
showing respect through complete obedience. Visitors express *hormat* and *bekti* to Sunan Tembayad through formal acts such as deferential walking in front of his tomb, refraining from causing damage to the site, giving flowers, burning incense and so forth. The respect is reciprocal; visitors who respect or help Sunan Tembayad in turn expect to be helped and respected by Sunan Tembayad. One general characteristic of the distinction between sacred and profane objects is that sacred objects contain power derived from supernatural beings. The power also can be attached to objects that have relationship with supernatural beings. For example, in the Hastina Agung graveyard, certain objects are considered to be sacred and to have power as they are connected with the personage of Sunan Tembayad who was considered to have spiritual power. The *padasan* (a water jar) is considered sacred because it is believed that the *padasan* was used by Sunan Tembayad for his ablutions. Thus, the *padasan* and its water are sacred, containing *baraka* from Sunan Tembayad.

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

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

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

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

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

Another example of the different perceptions of what is sacred or profane occurred in the *pasang singep* ceremony. There was a debate about what was sacred about Sunan Tembayad's heirloom (*pusaka*), contained in an empty box. It is believed that the box, located at the right side of Sunan Tembayad's tomb, is the place for Sunan Tembayad's heirloom. In other words, the box itself is not the heirloom but what is in it. Some *juru kunci*, relying on traditions, put a baby's blanket (*kemul bayi*) in the box to represent the existence of Sunan Tembayad's heirloom. These people argue that the use of the baby's blanket is to symbolise the purity and the sacredness of Sunan Tembayad's heirloom. Because the blanket and its box represent Sunan
Tembayad's heirloom, visitors regard them as sacred. Therefore, these visitors give respect to the box as well as the blanket.

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 *Niat* (intention) and *Percaya* (faith)

The function of *niat* in *ziarah* traditions is important. Not only does *niat* demarcate proper and improper activities, but it also functions as a 'switch' (*maleh*) between the sacred and profane status of an object. As stated before, in certain contexts an object is regarded as sacred, whereas in another it is considered profane. The tomb of Sunan Tembayad, for example, is regarded as profane at the *pasang singep* ceremony. Therefore, visitors dare to climb onto the tomb. However, when visitors perform *ziarah*, they treat the tomb as sacred, and they would not dare to
climb on it. *Niat* is also involved in determining the sacred and profane nature of an object or place.

*Niat* is an Arabic word, meaning an 'intention'. The quality of a work or an effort is determined by the intention. People may perform similar actions, but with quite different intentions. A *juru kunci* provided an example:

"If you watch visitors in front of the tomb, you will see that almost all of them rub the tomb. However, when you ask the intention of the activity, you will get different answers; even if you ask the *juru kunci*, they will give you different answers. Once I was asked by a visitor, what *niat* led to people rubbing the tomb. I could not give him a single answer, because I had recorded so many stories about the intention of rubbing the tomb. One visitor regarded it as a means of showing care and respect to Sunan Tembayad. Another visitor argued that the activity is intended to signify that he has already visited the tomb. For this visitor rubbing the tomb is similar to shaking hands. Another visitor said that rubbing the tomb is an expression of the link between him and Sunan Tembayad. This visitor does not clean his hand until he has a dream, because he believes that the rubbing will facilitate his having a spiritual dream."

The *niat* functions as 'a switch' (*maleh*) which changes the meanings and functions of things, and it is also *niat* that can 'switch' a person from doing something forbidden by religious doctrine to doing something that is allowed by religion. One elder *juru kunci* in Bayat, pointed out that, "I believe that burning incense should not be directed to Sunan Tembayad. Therefore, when I assist people in burning incense I have a different intention (*kula saktemene pitadas, bilih mbakar kemenyan niku mbaten angsal dipun tujuaken dumateng Sunan Tembayad. Mula menika, rikala kula mbiantu para ziarah mbakar menyan, kula niat sanes).*" He further explained that the practice of *ziarah* is a subject of debate among Muslims. It is categorised by some Muslims as heresy (*bid'ah* which is considered the greatest sin), but by other it is regarded as a pious activity to gain reward from Allah. The Prophet Muhammad forbade *ziarah* to graveyards to avoid *syirik*, since many people consider tombs as
places for worship. However, the Prophet Muhammad allowed Muslims to visit tombs, as it is good to remind people about death. Some *ulama* (Muslim scholars) interpret the Prophet Muhammad's prohibition on visiting tombs as a warning against performing *ziarah*, as *ziarah* could lead to *syirik*. To demarcate *ziarah* from *syirik*, people should formulate the *ziarah*’s intention correctly, that is, that they intend to visit to pay respect to *wali* and not to worship them. *Niat*, thus, is a 'marker' which defines the function and status of the object.

*Niat* is also significant in *ziarah* rituals since it determines the results of *ziarah*. The oldest *juru kunci* of Bayat said that previously the purpose and function of the *jawab* ritual was to teach visitors good and proper *ziarah* intentions. If visitors state an improper intention, such as asking for wealth without working for it, *juru kunci* who assist them should correct them. He further explained:

"Some visitors have complained about their *ziarah* failure to me. They did not get what they wanted. When stating their *niat* in front of Sunan Tembayad's tomb, they asked for wealth, success and so forth. Of course they failed, because Sunan Tembayad is not *Gusti Allah* (Allah); he cannot give humans anything. The correct *donga* is to ask for his *baraka*. For me *baraka* is similar to *pangestu* (blessing), so that with this *pangestu*, we hope that our crops will grow well, our business will succeed, our career will flourish and so forth."

*Niat*, therefore, will determine what sort of *baraka* will be gained by visitors. Furthermore, *niat* is also significant in determining what kinds of *ziarah* ritual should be performed. A visitor told me his experience:

"I cannot count how many times I have come to Bayat. I feel that I mostly succeed in doing my *ziarah*. Usually I perform *ziarah* for a certain purpose. However, my general *niat* is always related to asking for *baraka*. I state that if Allah wishes to give me *baraka* through Sunan Tembayad, I hope that the *baraka* is manifest according to my goals, such as building a house, finding a job and so forth. Some visitors told me to avoid asking for too much *baraka* in a *ziarah*. It is better to ask for a little at a time."
Therefore, I came to Bayat the first time asking for baraka in my effort to find a job. After I succeeded, I visited Bayat again to ask for baraka for maintaining my job. Then I visited Bayat to ask for baraka for my intention to build a house, and so forth. For certain purposes and intentions, some juru kunci urged me to perform a certain programmatic ziarah."

If a person's niat can 'switch' a certain object from being sacred to profane entity, how does one ensure the status of the object for himself/herself and others? The answer is percaya (belief, trust or to believe; percaya is a verb and a noun). Percaya is a Javanese word designating a 'feeling of confidence', trust and certainty in achieving a goal. Visitors should have a feeling of percaya that their ziarah will give them something. A Bayat kyai, who leads a communal tahlil and recites donga in the pasang singep and sadranan ceremonies, explained the meaning of percaya or ngiman (derived from iman, an Arabic word, meaning belief or faith):

"The primary benefit of ziarah is that it creates and increases peoples' motivation to achieve a particular goal. When people come from a distant place to visit Sunan Tembayad to ngalab baraka, it demonstrates that these people percaya (believe) that their goals can be achieved. Percaya means that there is a possibility of achieving the goal. To express their feeling of percaya, people should work and make an effort to realise it. For me, ziarah is a part of that effort."

These two words, niat and percaya, are fundamental for current Javanese beliefs. This is a result of Islamic reflection in the ziarah traditions because Islamic teachings stress the importance of niat in every activity.¹ The meaning of an activity varies according to its intention. A slametan, for example, can have different functions and meanings; some people conduct it to show thanks, to state a hajat (requests) and

¹ A juru kunci quoted a Hadits to stress the importance of intention: "Actions are but by intention and every one shall have but that which one intended." The Hadits was related by two Imams, scholars of Hadits, Imam al-Bukhari and Imam Muslim.
so forth, although the overt object of slametan remains the same. Some visitors believe that certain works or attitudes can only be interpreted through the actor's intentions. For example, visitors in Bayat perform their ziarah in many different ways. Some visitors perform ziarah by clasping the tomb of Ki Dampu Alam, Sunan Tembayad's treasure, with open arms. They believe that those who can touch the edges of each side will gain a baraka as a successful trader (saudagar kaya). When I asked about the nature of the relationship between the arm length and obtaining the ngalamat to become a trader, the answer was that clasping the tomb symbolises seriousness and willingness to achieve baraka.

5.3 Incense, Flowers, Water and Berkat

Edmund Leach argued that the redundancy in ritual performance is aimed to emphasise the meaning and goals of ritual forms. Leach explained the repetitiveness of ritual behaviour in terms of communication theory. Humans ensure that their message has been understood, by repeating it in the same forms, and expressing it in a visual form. Ritual, as a means of communication, he pointed out, contains condensed symbols of relevant cultural knowledge. In other words, ritual is a way of transmitting information through symbols portrayed in its performance. In Leach's view, ritual has affinities with 'computer programs' (Leach, 1979:230-231). Redundancy in ritual performance is to reinforce and emphasise a message; to stress the significance of the message.

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

a. Incense

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

The Javanese word used to refer to incense is *menyan* (*kemenyan*, or *dupa*). Javanese use incense mainly in activities concerning supernatural powers, in rituals, in the maintenance of *pusaka* (heirlooms), in conducting *sesaji* (paying homage) to the spirits and so forth. For example, incense is burned close to the sacred *pusaka* of Yogyakarta's court. In the *Garebeg* ceremonies the sacred *pusaka* are paraded before the public.2 On this occasion, incense is burned to tame the wildness of the *pusaka* and

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2 *Garebeg* is a ceremony held three times a year: once to commemorate the birth of Prophet Muhammad (*Garebeg Mulud*), once to celebrate the end of the month of fasting (*Garebeg Syawal*); and once to solemnise the day of sacrifice (*Garebeg Besar*). *Garebeg Mulud* is conducted on a larger scale every eight years. In these *garebeg*, the sacred *pusaka* of Yogyakarta court are paraded and shown to the public (Soelarto, 1993).
to pay respect to the *pusaka* (Soelarto, 1993:78-84). Javanese people who practice meditation burn incense to sharpen their concentration.

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

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

Other visitors and *juru kunci*, however, argued that incense is only a means of making a place aromatic. Furthermore, the incense gets rid of insects, e.g. spiders and mosquitoes.Traditionally, before mosquito repellent was available, people in rural villages used smoke to get rid of mosquitoes.³

³ The smoke of incense also can be used to repel mosquitoes. This need is evident in the places where visitors conduct their meditations. They mostly conduct their meditations, or *nenepi*, in a quiet place, such as on a mountain, at a river, or in the jungle where insects abound. In Bayat, for example, there is a special place to meditate on the top of Mount Jabalkat, which is full of mosquitoes. There are some *warung* (little shops) near the location that sell mosquito repellent. Some visitors do not buy the formula, because they use incense to repel mosquitoes.
Other visitors suggested that incense is symbolic. The spread of the smoke and fragrance of incense and visible movement of that smoke upwards towards the heavens gives it a symbolic relationship to prayer, making the offering synonymous with the worship of God who, they believe, exists above. In Bayat this symbolism can be seen clearly in the use of tobongan in the jawab ritual. This symbolism encourages people to direct their prayers and hopes toward God, not toward the tomb itself. Furthermore, the visible upward movement of smoke reminds people where they should address their prayers.

b. Flowers

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

According to visitors, every ziarah place requires different flowers. For example, kembang telon (a combination of three kinds flowers) is suitable (cocok)\(^4\) for ziarah in Bayat, whereas other places may require other kinds of flowers. An informant who had visited all the Javanese wali said that every place of ziarah requires

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\(^4\) In Java cocok has more meanings than simply 'suitable'. If a woman gets married to a man and they live happily, it means that they are cocok. If a person takes medicine and he recovers, the medicine is cocok. If a person, after changing his/her name is always sick, it signifies that the name is not cocok. If a visitor brings a flower for his ziarah and he does not gain baraka, it could be because the flower is not cocok.
a specific kind of flower. If visitors bring the wrong flowers, it will affect the success of their *ziarah*. Therefore, he always asked visitors or the *juru kunci* to tell him what flowers should be used. For this visitor, flowers are a requirement of *ziarah*, and function to determine the success of the *ziarah*.

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

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

**c. Water**

During *ziarah* ritual, people use water before entering the graveyard or at the beginning of the *ziarah*, and after the *ziarah*. The *padasan* in front of the mosque in Sunan Tembayad's graveyard or the *padasan* at the *langgar* at the first gate of the graveyard are prepared for visitors' ablutions. The ablutions signify the visitors' intention to cleanse away their sins; they also symbolise the purity of visitors' *ziarah* intentions. Furthermore, visitors make ablutions to protect themselves from the influence of bad spirits. It is believed that a bad spirit can enter a person's mind, and the ablutions are a means of protection from this. In short, the ablutions are conducted to show the eagerness of visitors to obtain *baraka*.
In front of the main building of Sunan Tembayad’s tomb, there are two *padasan* storing water. Glasses and *siwur* (a ladle made from a coconut shell) are also provided. Here, water is used to symbolise Sunan Tembayad’s *baraka*. Some visitors drink the water after completing *ziarah*, whereas others take the water home. It is believed that the water stored in the *padasan* is an expression of Sunan Tembayad’s *baraka*. Like the flowers that are taken home by visitors, the water is also consumed for good fortune, and as a cure for disease.

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

d. *Berkat*

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

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

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5 The word *baraka*(h), derives from Arabic alphabet the ba-ra-ka-h. Arabic word which end with h (*tak marbutah*) are adopted into Javanese either with 'h' or 't', such as *berkat* or *berkah*, and *rahmat* or *rahmah*. 90
Why is an object itself referred to as berkat or berkah? Different people offer different explanations. First, it may be designated berkah because it has a relation with a special person or object. People use the dung of kyai Slamet, because it is the dung of a special creature. In some traditional pesantren, santri strive to acquire their kyai's left overs (turahan), such as his drinks, meals, and cigarette.

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

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

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

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

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

5.4 Donga-Donga (Prayers)

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

People frequently discuss the language used in reciting donga. Some suggest that it is better to recite donga in Arabic because God will pay more attention to people who recite donga in Arabic. Other visitors argue that the donga should be recited in a language that people know, so that people know exactly what is said in the donga. Still others do not agree with either of these two groups, which only focus on the formal language of donga. The third group says that the most important part of the donga is the content itself, not the language. People can use any language they want, even if they just recite donga silently in the heart. God knows all language spoken in this universe. The donga can be recited in mixed languages, Javanese and Arabic.
Most visitors use both Javanese and Arabic *donga*. According to visitors and *juru kunci* the use of Arabic *donga* and Javanese *donga* in *ziarah* performances is related to the concept of *mantep* (completeness, fulfilment, satisfaction, confidence, determination). Different languages should be used depending on whom the *donga* is directed. The Javanese *donga* is better used to address Sunan Tembayad, because, people argue, Sunan Tembayad was Javanese; he communicated in Javanese language. Therefore, if people want to communicate with him, it is better to use the language recognised by him. On the other hand, Arabic *donga* are recited when they are directed to Allah. This, people argue, does not mean that God speaks in Arabic. God belongs to all humans. He can communicate in any language. Arabic is used because it is *afdol* (Arabic, meaning 'better', 'more perfect') for *donga* recited for Allah.

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

*Hajat slametan* and *syukuran slametan*, which are held at the *bangsal juru kunci* (the hall of *juru kunci*), begin with the declaration of the intention and purpose of the *slametan* and its *ziarah*. Visitors then approach the *juru kunci* and say: "My name is Ngadimin. I come from Semarang. I conduct this *slametan* to come close to Sunan
Tembayad, hoping that he might help me to enlighten and overcome my life problems. I ask the juru kunci to recite a donga that is suitable for my request" (Smelah Hirahmanirohem [originally Bismillahi Arrahmani Arrahim]. Nami kula Ngadimin, saking Semarang. Kula ngedamel slametan punika inggih kula maksudkaken kangge ndepe-ndepe dumateng Sunan Tembayad, mugi-mugi panjenenganipun Kanjeng Sunan kersa ambiantu ngringanaken cobaan sarta awratipun lampah kula. Inggih matur dumateng juru kunci kula sumanggaaken dene donga menapa ingkang cocok lan pas kangge panyuwunan kula).

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

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

Introduction

The preceding chapter suggested that discourses on ziarah rituals are manifested in various forms, in dealing with different ritual procedures, in various formulations of donga and in the rich interpretations of ritual symbols. I argue that these various perceptions result from the different interpretation of baraka that people understand. Although discourse on the concept of baraka is developed initially from one line of thought, it expands to a series of perceptions. Different perceptions of baraka influence the way in which visitors explain not only the transmission of baraka, but also their methods of acquiring it. The reason for this is that the development and formulation of several conceptions of baraka determine the discourse on ziarah rituals.

Baraka in its broadest and original Arabic meaning is God’s blessing, which might be expressed in terms of wealth, status or knowledge. The usual terms for denoting people possessing baraka are orang sholih (pious people), kyai (religious leaders), and wali, on whom baraka is bestowed by God in recognition of their religious dedication. It is believed that these holy people possess baraka during their life and after their death. Therefore, these people and their tombs are sources of baraka. In Bayat, however, baraka is understood in many different ways. Some visitors say that baraka is expressed in mundane and material ways, such as through wealth, success and so forth. Other visitors understand baraka in a more sacred sense as something that will be given on the day of judgement. These different interpretations of baraka affect the way that people perform their ziarah.
This chapter deals with visitors' perceptions of baraka. How do people explain the meaning of baraka? Discussion of the concept of baraka must take into account the context in which baraka occurs. This is because peoples' conceptions of baraka are shaped by social conditions. The explanation of baraka, I argue, is formulated to give a rational logic to ziarah. Tracing these aspects, I hope to give a thorough perspective on the transmission of baraka.

6.1 The Concept of Baraka

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

Baraka literally means 'blessing, grace bestowed by God',¹ but in Bayat, baraka includes a range of 'mundane qualities': prosperity, abundance, well-being, or merely

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¹ In studying Maraboutism in North Africa, anthropologists, such as Evans-Pritchard, Gellner, Gilsenan, Eickelman, Tringham, Geertz and others, argue that baraka is 'God's blessing' which make the people who have it particularly well placed to serve as intermediaries with the supernatural and to communicate God's grace to the people (Evans-Pritchard, 1958; Gellner, 1965; Eickelman, 1976; Gilsenan, 1982)
sufficiency. Therefore, a farmer articulates Sunan Tembayad's *baraka* as a fertiliser of crops; a trader interprets Sunan Tembayad's *baraka* as a means of making business successful; a student conceives Sunan Tembayad's *baraka* as a way of achieving success in his/her studies. However, some visitors articulate *baraka* more in terms of 'transcendental qualities'. They argue that *baraka* consists of a range of sacred qualities, such as luck (*untung, beja*), reward from God (*pahala*, *ganjaran*) and spiritual power (*kadigdayan*). Similarly, *juru kunci* assert that *baraka* is "the same as a reward from God" (*baraka niku sami kaleh ganjaran utawi pahala saking Gusti Allah*).

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

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2 This understand is also found in other Muslim regions, such as North Africa. There Evans-Pritchard, Gellner, Eickelman, Gilsenan and others also found the same tendency to interpret *baraka* as applying to mundane qualities.

3 He is a *kyai* respected by the *juru kunci* and the Bayat community. He always prays at official ceremonies held in Bayat, such as *pasang singep* and *sadranan*.

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

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

The oldest *juru kunci* of Bayat said that the significance of *ziarah* is that it provides motivation and courage to support people in achieving their goals.5 By performing *ziarah* people feel that God is behind them, and that provides strong motivation and confidence, which encourages them to pursue their goals. In this respect, the *juru kunci* interpret the meaning of *baraka* as 'arousing motivations'.

5 This view resembles Malinowski's discussion of magic and religion in which he maintained that, "those who are well acquainted with some good magic have, in virtue of that, courage and confidence" (Malinowski, 1979: 39)
While assisting during ziarah he often gives visitors a prayer (donga), to encourage visitor motivation:

"Bismillahi Arrahman Arrahim, Oh, God, if my livelihood (rejeki) is still in the sky, would you please drop it to me. And if the rejeki is still in the earth, would you please extract it for me. If my rejeki is far away from me, would you please bring it close to me. And if my rejeki is unlawful (haram), would you please make it lawful (halal) for me. Amen."6

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

A crucial question concerns the source of baraka. Where does it originate? From God or Sunan Tembayad? Some visitors argue that baraka comes from Sunan Tembayad, whereas others argue that it derives from God. Visitors who identify Sunan

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6 "Bismillahi Arrahman Arrahim. Duh Gusti Allah, sak menawi rejeki kula menika tasih gumantung wanten ing langit, mugi Allah kersa nurunaken, lan menawi rejeki kula tasih sumimpen wanten ing njera bumi, mugi Allah kersa angedalaken, lan mbak menawi rejeki kula menika tebih kaleh papan panggenan kula, mugi Allah kersa nyedakaken, lan mbak bilih rejeki kula menika haram, mugi Allah kersa nyucekaken." This prayer is always recited by the Kyai of Bayat whenever he recites prayers at ceremonies such as the pasang singep and sadranan.

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

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

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

However, other visitors disagree with this view, and say that God alone owns *baraka*. *Wali* are only normal people who have no rights to give *baraka*. It is true that

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7 There is a controversy in differentiating between miracles performed by a *wali* and miracles by the Prophet. Some Sufi argued that a *wali's* miracles actually trickle from the Prophet's miracles, like 'a drop trickling from a full skin of honey' (Nicholson, 129).

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as a *wali*, Sunan Tembayad was very close to God, but it does not mean that Sunan Tembayad's closeness to God provides him with the right to give *baraka*. The Sunan Tembayad's closeness to God means two things. First, he is among the pious people who have been guaranteed their salvation on the day of judgment. Second, he can communicate with God. Therefore, Sunan Tembayad's closeness to God might be used by visitors to mediate in their communication with God, not to ask him for *baraka*. Performing *ziarah* to Sunan Tembayad's tomb is to seek his mediation to convey their messages to God asking for *baraka*.

Debates about the concept of *baraka* and the ways of transmitting *baraka* lead to discussion of different perceptions of Sunan Tembayad as a *wali*. Serat Babad Tembayad describes him as the ninth Javanese *wali* (*wali sanga*) replacing Seh Siti Jenar who was condemned as a heretical Sufi. According to some peoples' beliefs, a *wali* is chosen in virtue of his/her sincere devotion, self-mortification and firm attachment to eternal realities. *Wali* is an Arabic term that has several meanings, those who are close to, those who protect, and those who rule. In Sufist terms, *juru kunci* in Bayat figure that the term *wali* alludes to individuals who are close to God, to people whose holiness takes them close to God, and who receive from Him miraculous gifts. The *juru kunci* cited a verse from the Quran that describes *wali* as God's friends, "For friends of God (*wali*) no fear shall come and they shall not grieve" (Quran, 10. 62). According to Bayat tradition, Sunan Tembayad was inaugurated as a *wali* by Sunan Kalijaga after he received a revelation (*wahyu widayat*)\(^8\) on Friday *Kliwon* of 27th *Ruwah*\(^9\) (Soewignja, 1938:31).

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\(^8\) *Widayat* is a Javanese term for *hidayat*, meaning a direction (*petunjuk*). This word is used by Muslims to refer to a kind of revelation given to a person who embraces Islam and becomes a serious Muslim. For example, a non-Muslim who converts to Islam is said to have received revelation (*hidayat* in Arabic and *Widayat* in Javanese). A Muslim who does not seriously obey Islamic teachings, and then becomes serious about practicing Islam, is regarded to have receiving *hidayah*.
Visitors to Bayat, regard *wali* as pious people (*sholihin*, plural, from *sholih*) who obey and practice religious teachings more than normal people do. Because of their piety, *wali* belong to the 'highest rank' (*derajat tinggi*). Moreover, visitors maintain that *wali* have a special relationship with God that makes them particularly well placed to serve as intermediaries to him. *Wali* are close to God. The meaning of "closeness" here is modelled upon, and to some extent constitutes a pattern for, relationships among people, such as next of kin, patron, protector and friend. These special positions of *wali* are strengthened by the fact that God gives them *baraka* expressed in terms of, following Westermarck, "a mysterious wonder-working force". On the basis of these factors people venerate *wali* not only during their life, but also after their death.

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

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

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9 *Ruwah* is the seventh Javanese month. The Javanese months are *Sura, Sapar, Mulud, Ba'da Mulud, Jumadilawal, Jumadilahir, Rejeb, Ruwah, Pasa, Sawal, Dulkangidah and Besar* (Except for *Ruwah, Pasa* and *Besar* these terms are derived from the Islamic lunar calendar. Some *juru kunci* speculate that *Pasang Singep* ceremony is conducted during *Ruwah*, in part, to commemorate the day of Sunan Tembayad's revelation.
medium, mediator and referee. Sunan Tembayad, as medium, functions as a vessel used to deliver messages to God. Visitors draw an analogy between a wasilah and a postman who acts as a medium for communication through correspondence. The communications actually occur only between the person who writes the letter and the person who receives the letter. Sunan Tembayad's mediation is like that of the postman who delivers the message. After the line of communication is open, visitors continue their communication by themselves. Visitors argue that they delegate the message to Sunan Tembayad because they believe that they cannot convey the message themselves since they are full of sins. Furthermore, they argue that people cannot guarantee that their messages are heard by God, but if they delegate them to Sunan Tembayad they have a hope that their donga will be heard.

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

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

6.2 Semedi, Nenepi and Impen

After performing ziarah, most visitors spend at least one night at the graveyard, waiting for a sign of baraka from Sunan Tembayad. Visitors spend this waiting time in various ways, the most popular being semedi (meditation), nenepi (meditation with special attitudes and procedures) and impen (dreaming). Each way is believed to be best performed in a certain place. For example, semedi is believed to be best conducted at the main building of Sunan Tembayad's tomb and in its surrounding areas, whereas nenepi is best performed somewhere considered to have certain spiritual powers, such as behind the mosque, at the remains (petilasan) of Sunan Tembayad's mosque and at the tombs of Sunan Tembayad's descendants. Dreaming, however, is best done in areas close to Sunan Tembayad's tomb.

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

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

It is essential that nenepi procedures are not changed, because alterations will affect the outcome. Nenepi procedures are transmitted in oral traditions. Sometimes, people just recall the procedure of people who have succeeded in their nenepi. For example, the procedure for attracting a pengasih is based on the practice of following those who have succeeded in doing it. If people fail to acquire a pengasih by nenepi, then the failure is analysed with a view to perfecting the nenepi. The factors analysed include the seriousness with which nenepi is performed, and the completion of
required preparations, such as offerings, flowers and incense. People believe that the nenepi should be performed perfectly.\textsuperscript{10}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure8.jpg}
\caption{A couple perform ziarah at the tombs of Ki Ageng Pawilangan and Ki Dampu Alam on the right side of Sunan Tembayad’s tomb}
\end{figure}

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

\textsuperscript{10}This calls to mind Malinowski’s discussion of the effectiveness of magic in Trobriand Islanders. People on the island analyse the failure of magic through the imperfection of the magic preparation, including the spell, requirements of performing magic and so forth (Malinowski, 1934).
The place where people sleep is considered by some to be an important determinant of the kind of dreams they will have. Some visitors sleep near to certain tombs because they wish to receive a certain ngalamat. However, others do not believe that the place influences the ngalamat that will be obtained; wherever they sleep in the graveyard complex, they will have a good dream. They suggest choosing a place that is conducive to sleep. A nice sleep will encourage dreaming. Therefore, rather than sleeping at the main tomb, which is quiet, dark and scary, and which may

\[\text{Figure 9}\]
One of a hall (bangsal) used for sleeping, meditation and resting.

\[\text{11}\] Sleeping at Sunan Tembayad's main building is forbidden. Therefore, on the busiest nights some visitors take the opportunity to sleep for a while at the main building while the juru kunci are busy assisting other visitors.
disturb sleep, they prefer to sleep in the juru kunci's hall, which is pleasant and comfortable.

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

"I was a motorbike racer, but only a regional racer. In the regional championship unfortunately I always failed at the final race. This is because those who contested at the final stage had a better amulet than I had. Previously I searched for an amulet to ensure safety, to protect my body from serious injury. However, after I discovered that some racers had an amulet to support their motorbike, I went to a kyai to search for such an amulet. The kyai asked me to conduct nenepi for at least a week at the corner outside his house. On the seventh day of my nenepi an old man approached me, and he struck my knee with his hands. I screamed because it was so painful. Afterward, the man gave me a glass of water. When I opened my eyes, there was no one beside me. Feeling scared, I ran into my kyai's house and told him what had just happened. Then he explained that a power had entered my body. The old man who struck my knee actually had introduced the power into my body. The kyai took a big stone and threw it at my knee, but I did not feel anything. The water, my kyai said, is for your engine. Just take a little amount of water into your wheel, it will fasten the motorbike. My kyai advised me, "Do not ever show your power to people". But, I did not take my kyai's advice, and I used my power to destroy my opponent's motorbike in front of a crowd of people. After that, my power disappeared, and my motorbike and legs were not protected any more. My leg was broken, and I never again contested a race."

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

6.3. Baraka and Perolehan

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

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

12 People even distinguish between the results achieved through ziarah in Bayat areas. Some say that ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's wife and Sunan Tembayad's friends, Seh Kewel and Seh Domba perolehan.

13 Some people, however, do not see perolehan negatively. Some people seriously pursue them. In Bayat, a rich family is obligated to assure other people that their wealth is not achieved through perolehan. When I chat with a villager, he described his success, including his ability to educate all their children in the big cities, Jakarta and Yogyakarta. He assured me that he never employed perolehan. He further explained that in Bayat, if there is a successful family, there will be rumour that the family employs perolehan. One visitor from Magelang explained that it is a shame if a family is known to have a perolehan.
these *perolehan* one employs a devil. Even though it is true that *perolehan* can generate material wealth, it will not ensure true happiness. *Baraka*, however, helps people to achieve happiness.

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

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

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

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

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

6.4. Cocok and Ikhtiar

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

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

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

"Many people come to me asking for a logical explanation of their *ziarah* because they doubt that they can obtain *baraka* from their *ziarah* since many of them have obtained nothing though they may have completed the *ziarah*. Of course, I give a different explanation to different people. For people who have a strong Islamic background, I say that we humans cannot determine the success of our efforts. Although humans have carried out their efforts, they cannot guarantee their success, but only God does. Thus, *ziarah* is a prayer addressed toward God to obtain success. However, for people who do not have a strong Islamic background, I choose rather to use the Javanese concept of *cocok*. If a visitor succeeds in his/her *ziarah* in Sunan Tembayad's tomb that means that the place is *cocok* for him/her, but if another fails to gain any *ngalamat* from Sunan Tembayad's tomb, it means that the place is not *cocok*. Therefore, if a visitor fails to obtain *baraka* from a certain wali's tomb, he/she should wander to other walis' tombs to find the *cocok* place."

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

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

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

Many social scientists have analysed pilgrimage as a social process. Eliade, for example, focusing on the function of the pilgrimage centre, sees pilgrimage as a religiously motivated journey to the "centre of the world". He argues that the pilgrimage is a symbol of movement to the centre of religious power. For Eliade, the pilgrimage centres are imagined centres of religiosity (Eliade, 1969:27-56). By contrast, Turner sees pilgrimage as the process of disenchantment that proceeds from the profane world into the sacred world. Although Turner also considers that the pilgrimage centre constitutes a centre of religiosity, he argues that it is the "centre out there". Turner argues that such a centre, based on the location of most pilgrimage centres in the remote places, exhibits remoteness (Turner, 1973:211-214, Turner and Turner, 1978:241-242). While Eliade regards the remoteness of the centres only in geographically terms, Turner considers the remoteness of the place to have further significant meaning. It is a symbol of the separation between the mundane and sacred situation. It is an expression of the wish to separate religious institutions from other secular institutions. Therefore, "centre out there" expresses the paradoxical conceptualisation of a centre, as central and yet removed.

However, these approaches suffer some common weaknesses. They tend to generalise and ignore the involvement of social context in the practice of pilgrimage. Werbner and his colleagues argue that the pilgrimage studies should take into account the context of pilgrimage. Analysed from this perspective pilgrimage in any society has

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1 Cohen criticises Turner as being influenced by the Christian concept of the separation of these two worlds (Cohen, 1992:47).
its own concepts, meanings and interpretations that people define (Werbner, 1977:ix). The context of pilgrimage is also necessary to explain changes in pilgrimage at the level of praxis. This thesis studies ziarah in Bayat from this perspective. It is concerned to see ziarah from the viewpoint of the people who perform it and to take into account the social contexts involved in ziarah practice.

This study thus attempts to describe the tradition of visiting the tomb of a Muslim saint in Bayat, a regional ziarah centre in southern Central Java. This study of ziarah is, however, related to the wider context of the studies of pilgrimage and the study of the tradition of travel in the Islamic world. The tradition of ziarah to a saint's tomb is by no mean a unified practice that can be seen from a single viewpoint. Many scholars have shown that the tradition of ziarah in the Muslim regions is varied, and it is interpreted differently in different Muslim regions. Trimingham regards the visits to saints' tombs in North African Muslim regions as a means of seeking spiritual mediation (muraqqaba) from the saints (Trimingham, 1971). Eickelman records the practice of visiting saints' tombs in Muslim Morocco to acquire baraka from particular saints (Eickelman, 1976). Evans-Pritchard's study of Sanusiya Orders in Cyrenica shows that the visit to a saint's tomb, for Cyrenicans, is a way of tracing genealogical links as well as seeking baraka (Evans-Pritchard, 1973). In Egypt, Gilsenan finds that people visit a saint's shrine to commemorate the death of the saint by performing religious activities (Gilsenan, 1973). Nancy Trapper analyses the movement from the viewpoint of gender. In Turkey, Trapper finds that women participate in the ziarah to affirm their equal position before God (Trapper, 1990). For Moroccan Jews, the visit to saint shrines is to strengthen ethnic bonds among a minority group (Weingrod, 1990). In other Islamic areas, such as Iran, Iraq, even in the practice of hajj in Saudi Arabia where the iconoclastic Wahabi, who reject the practice of visiting tombs, are
followed, the tradition of *ziarah* to shrines of holy people exists. These various meanings and function of *ziarah* in different Islamic regions suggest that *ziarah* is highly influenced by the social context in which *ziarah* is performed.

In addition, explanations of the meaning of *baraka* and its transmission in the Islamic world also vary. For example, Westermarck describes how Moroccan people interpret *baraka* as God's blessing which is manifest in terms of 'wonder working' (Westermarck, 1926). Gilsenan also finds in Egypt such an interpretation of *baraka* (Gilsenan, 1973). Furthermore, Gilsenan records that for Egyptians *baraka* is believed to be a 'symbol of an ever-continuing process of divine control and grace' for people in this worldly life. Trimingham interprets *baraka* in terms of Sufi teachings that focus more on the meaning of *baraka* in terms of spiritual feeling (Trimingham, 1971). Evans-Pritchard finds that in Cyrenica people interpret *baraka* in terms of power and status (Evans-Pritchard, 1973). In explaining the transmission of *baraka*, Westermarck found that in Morocco *baraka* is transmitted in several ways: it is transmitted through descent; it is transmitted by drinking or eating the left-overs of a living saint's meal; it is transmitted through a tribal basis, meaning that members of the society who have a saint automatically inherit the *baraka* of that saint (Westermarck, 1926:37-41). In Cyrenica, Evans-Pritchard found a similar way of transmitting the *baraka*.

In the Javanese context, none of these studies sufficiently elucidates the polyphonic understanding of *ziarah* at the level of practice and belief. In Bayat people interpret the meaning of *baraka* variously. People interpret *baraka* in terms of both practical and spiritual qualities. Some argue that *baraka* is similar to a reward (*pahala*) from God, whereas other people interpret it, in a practical sense, as a kind of fertiliser and as a cure for disease. The way of transmitting *baraka* in Bayat follows some of the common ways of transmission in the Islamic world, but there are also other ways of
transmitting baraka. In Bayat people explain that Sunan Tembayad's baraka is transmitted to people because it overflows from Sunan Tembayad who is full of baraka. This kind of transmission is beautifully explained by an analogy of water that overflows from a full glass. Sunan Tembayad is a full glass and his baraka is like an overflow of water from him.

When set in a larger comparative context, therefore, the discussion of ziarah practice in Bayat reveals some features that enrich the study of pilgrimage. Firstly, it shows that the way in which people interpret ziarah changes over time. In this thesis, however, the issue of the influence of political interest in the interpretation of ziarah is not discussed in detail. To elaborate further would require examination of the history of Islamisation in the region. This issue, I think, is another interesting issue that needs further study. Secondly, it shows that ziarah is understood in various ways. Thirdly, the ziarah practice is by no means homogenous, but it is culturally constructed. Finally, since the discussion of ziarah is also related to peoples' understandings of Islamic teachings, these understandings reflect popular forms of Islam. The systematic study of ziarah in Islamic doctrines is important to explore the bases for popular religion (Eickelman, 1990:xvi). The debate over the ziarah practice in its various interpretations in Bayat leads to a discussion of peoples' understandings of Islam.

People in Bayat argue that Islam in Java should take the form that has been created by Javanese wali. The Javanese wali are regarded as having spread Islam in a special way that combines Javanese traditions with those of Islam. If one looks at the way the wali spread Islam on Java, it is clear that they had a broad understanding of Islam and of Javanese traditions. Therefore, it is argued that ziarah should be developed along these lines. However, other people, mostly the younger generation,
argue that the process of Islamisation in Java is not yet complete. The wali successfully introduced Islam by making an accommodation with Javanese traditions, but this represents a compromise way of Islamisation in Java. The process of Islamisation in Java, they argue, should be carried further by the next Muslim generation. The next program of Islamisation is to purify Islam of the influence of other traditions on it. Therefore ziarah should be purified and rendered proper according to Islamic teachings.

In responding to these various assertions, juru kunci said that this debate should not occur. This is because the differences in ziarah are expressions of the way in which people view the ziarah. Ziarah is milik umum ('belongs to the public') and therefore may be understood in different ways. It is up to the people to decide whether they interpret Sunan Tembayad as a wali, a ruler or pundhen. It is also up to the people to interpret the baraka of Sunan Tembayad in their own terms. However, every one should remember the concept of rukun (social harmony). Rukun does not mean that people should have the same behaviour and perceptions of a certain thing. Rukun is a recognition that people have different perceptions and thoughts. Therefore, in the name of these differences, people should rukun. Ziarah practice in Bayat is a good example of how rukun is applied. People should have respect and regard to differences.

To conclude, the study of ziarah is a complex endeavour. It is a study of a ritual that provides a 'window' to view not only the impact of social change on religious practice, but also the interaction between the religious doctrines and social contexts. In its relation to the study of pilgrimage, the study of ziarah in Bayat shows that the practice changes over time in accord with other changes. Thus, it is not possible to rely on a general pattern of the pilgrimage to discern its social process. Moreover,
there are differences between practices, since the *ziarah* is much influenced by social context. Following Eickelman, the study of pilgrimage cannot be generalised, as there are some fundamental differences among practices in different contexts.

The tradition of visiting a saint's tomb exists throughout the Islamic world, but the practice is culturally unified and diversified at the same time. Some general features of the *ziarah* practice and their interpretations such as the discussion of the notion of *wali* and *baraka* also exist throughout Islamic world. Common perceptions of *wali* as selected individuals among pious people and the common meaning of *baraka* as God's blessing can be found elsewhere in Islamic regions. However, there are also some variations in interpreting *ziarah* practices such as the explanation of the *wali*'s function in the transmission of *baraka* and the manifestation of *baraka* itself. These regional diversities derive from both internal and external factors of differentiation; geographical and ethnic factors, the pre-Islamic religio-social substratum, and external influences as well as the nature and differences in the history of Islamic penetration. It should be obvious that Islam in Africa differs profoundly from that of Islam in Java.

*Ziarah* practice, in Bayat, in part is an expression of popular Islam in southern Central Java. The discussion of the function of *wali*, the meaning of *baraka* and the interpretation of symbols used in *ziarah* rituals reflect peoples' understandings about Islam. Furthermore, various explanations and interpretations of *ziarah* exhibit the polyphonic perceptions of Islam in Java. People in Bayat argue that "Sunan Tembayad's graveyard belongs to everyone. It is up to the people to provide meanings to their *ziarah*" (*makam Sunan Tembayad niku gadahane tiang katah. Inggih terserah dumateng para pesowan lan peziarah kemawon sing bade menggalih*). As a result,
people interpret the meaning of the visit differently, they use different words for their visits to stress their own perceptions, and so they may perform ziarah differently.

In terms of cultural discourses the use of ziarah, sowan and nyekar in referring to the visit to a saint's tomb indicates two things; it signifies the influence of other traditions on the practice and it marks the different identities involved in ziarah practice. Furthermore, performing ziarah in the Islamic manner or performing ziarah in the Javanese manner maintain the various identities of ziarah. Juru kunci in Bayat say that people who perform ziarah in the Javanese manner are Muslims who understand Islam in their own way. In their performance, these people also recite Islamic words, such as reciting 'bismillah' (in the name of Allah) at the beginning of ziarah and reciting alhamdulillah (all the pride belongs to Allah) at the conclusion. They are not different from other Muslims; they differ only in their degree of understanding of Islam. In describing people's degree of understanding Islam, people in Bayat prefer to say that there are people who are 'ngalim' and people who are 'not yet ngalim' (tiang ngalim lan tiang dereng ngalim). Here 'ngalim' is taken to indicate a person's Islamic understandings. Thus the gaining of Islam is seen as a personal process. Therefore, beside expressing identities, these markers are indications of the degrees and the manners that people use to express their perceptions.
GLOSSARY

(Note: only those meanings which are relevant to the study are provided here)

**Adipati**: Regional chief and commander

**Aji-aji**: Amulet

**Ambil hikmah**: Take philosophically. Taking the past experience as knowledge.

**Ampuh**: spiritually powerful

**Babad**: Javanese chronicles

**Baki**: Rectangular tray

**Bangsal**: Hall

**Baraka/berkat/berkah**: God's blessing

**Bathin**: The inner aspect of a human being.

**Batok**: Coconut shell

**Beja**: Fortune, Luck

**Bekti**: To show respect through complete obedience.

**Bersih desa**: A ceremony to give homage to the spirit of the village to cleanse it of misfortune and to express the desire to avoid misfortune for the village in the future.

**Bid'ah**: Heresy

**Blangkon**: Javanese cap made from a batik cloth. There are two kinds of blangkon, Yogyakarta's style and Surakarta's Style. The Yogyakarta's style has a ball shape at the back, whereas the Surakarta's style has a flat ball at the back.

**BPH**: *Badan Pengawas Hastina Agung* (Office for the supervision of Hastina Agung).

**Buntut**: Literally means 'tail'. This word is used by Javanese to refer to a lottery game. Individuals request the last two numbers ('the tail') in a sequence of six numbers.
<p>| <strong>Buto ijo</strong> | : 'Green giant.' This is a devil spirit whose help can be employed to earn money. |
| <strong>Cocok</strong> | : Most appropriate, suitable, satisfied and fulfilled. |
| <strong>Dalang</strong> | : Puppeteer |
| <strong>Danyang</strong> | : A spirit which guards a certain place such as mountain, village or building. |
| <strong>Dinas Kepurbakalaan</strong> | : The institution of archaeological services. |
| <strong>Donga</strong> | : (Do'a) prayers. |
| <strong>Dukuh</strong> | : Hamlet |
| <strong>Dupa</strong> | : Incense |
| <strong>Dzikr</strong> | : From Arabic dzikr (remember). Dzikr is a religious activity that involves reciting a selected word from the Quran. In Sufism, Dzikr is a step in its teachings. |
| <strong>Gala</strong> | : A small, short spear. |
| <strong>Gapura</strong> | : Gate |
| <strong>Garebeg</strong> | : Javanese Islamic annual festivals, consisting of <em>Garebeg Mulud</em> in celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, <em>Garebeg Pasa</em> in commemoration of the end of the Fasting month, and <em>Garebeg Besar</em> to celebrate the <em>hajj</em> in Mecca and to commemorate Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son |
| <strong>Gelungan</strong> | : A bound of hair. Women who have a long hair, tie their hair back. This tied of hair is called gelungan. |
| <strong>Gerabah</strong> | : Pottery craft |
| <strong>Greget</strong> | : Feeling |
| <strong>Gudangan</strong> | : Mixed vegetables flavoured with coconut spices. |
| <strong>Gurih</strong> | : Savoury |
| <strong>Guru</strong> | : A teacher |
| <strong>Hadith</strong> | : Reported traditions based on the actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hajat</td>
<td>A wish, request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj</td>
<td>(Arabic) Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijra</td>
<td>(Arabic) Emigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hormat</td>
<td>To give 'respect' due on account of a person's superiority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibadah</td>
<td>A pious activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iket</td>
<td>A head covering. It is a triangle batik cloth, usually black, to cover the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikhlas</td>
<td>Equanimity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikhtiar</td>
<td>An effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impen</td>
<td>Dreams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingkung</td>
<td>A whole cooked chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isnad</td>
<td>Intellectual genealogy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Jaelangkung | *Jaelangkung* made from wood to resembles a human.  
Two pieces of wood tied up like a cross wrapped in clothes to represent the body. The coconut shell (*batok*) is painted with eyes, nose and mouth to represent the head. |
| Jaman   | Era, period                                                             |
Therefore *jaran kepang* means a dance using a bamboo horse. |
| Jenang  | A sweat cereal made from flour with coconut milk and coconut sugar.    |
| Jenang abang | *Abang* means red. So *jenang abang* is red *jenang*.  
The *jenang* is sweetened with coconut sugar which a has brown colour. |
| Jenang putih | *Putih* means white. *Jenang putih* is white *jenang*.  
The *jenang* is flavoured with coconut milk. |
| Jimat   | An amulet                                                               |
| Jodo/h | A pair. The concept of *jodo* involves matching that is similar to the concept of *cocok*. |
Juragan : A middle-size trader

Juru kunci : The term juru kunci consists of the two Javanese words, juru, meaning a master, and kunci meaning a key. Thus, the term juru kunci signifies a custodian who looks after (the key) of a sacred place or building, such as a palace or a graveyard. In Bayat there are two kinds of juru kunci, the inside juru kunci (juru kunci jero) and the outside juru kunci (juru kunci jaba). The juru kunci jero assist visitors in performing ziarah, whereas the juru kunci jaba look after the 'outside affairs', such as security, cleaning services and the secretary.

Juru kunci basah : Literally meaning, 'a wet juru kunci. This expression signify the position of juru kunci whose function involves the collection of substantial amounts of money.

Juru kunci kering : Literally, meaning 'a dry custodian' one who can earn little money from his position.

Kadigdayan : Spiritual power

Kecamatan : District. Administrative division consisting of collection of villages.above village

Kembange turu : A dream that is considered as the flower of a sleep. This expression signifies a dream that has no spiritual meaning.

Kemul bayi : Baby's blanket

Keranda : A frame of bamboo-laths or other wood to cover a corpse that is carried on a wooden stretcher

Keris : Dagger

Kesakten. : Power, magical or spiritual power

Kesawaban : See on sawab.

Ketentreman : Peace

Kliwon : One of the days in the Javanese five day week: Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi and Pahing

Kuburan : A graveyard
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kungkum</td>
<td>Immersing oneself in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyai</td>
<td>A religious leader, a respected figure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahir</td>
<td>The outside aspect of a human being.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langgar</td>
<td>A small mosque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laras Madya</td>
<td>Traditional music with four terbang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebaran</td>
<td>Islamic festival in celebration of the end of the fasting month, Ramadan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legi</td>
<td>One of the Javanese five day week (see explanation for Kliwon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lek-lekan</td>
<td>To stay awake all night long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lurah</td>
<td>Village chief or head man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makam</td>
<td>Tomb, graveyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantep</td>
<td>Satisfied, fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantep</td>
<td>Completeness, fulfilment, satisfaction, confidence, determination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marabout</td>
<td>A Sufi (Moroccan).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazhab</td>
<td>Islamic school of thought and law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menyan/kemenyan</td>
<td>Incense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merenung</td>
<td>Contemplate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenepi</td>
<td>Meditation with special attitudes and procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngadang-ngadang</td>
<td>Waiting for ngalamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngalamat</td>
<td>From Arabic (A-la-mah/t) meaning sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngapuro</td>
<td>Forgiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niat</td>
<td>Intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyekar</td>
<td>A refined Javanese word (krama) for scattering flowers on as, for example, a tomb or grave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padasan</td>
<td>A water jar made of clay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Paguyuban**: Organisation

**Pahala/ganjaran**: Reward for good deeds

**Pangestu**: Blessing

**Pasa mutih**: Performing fasting and only eating something that has a white colour

**Pasang Singep**: A ceremony to change and rewrap the drape cloth that is used to cover Sunan Tembayad's tomb.

**Pasarean**: A graveyard (literally 'sleeping place').

**Pasrah**: Acceptance without complaining

**Peci**: Indonesian black hat

**Pengabdian**: Dedicated service

**Pengasih**: An amulet to attract a lover, either woman or man

**Penglaris**: An amulet to make one's trade successful

**Percaya/ngiman/iman**: Belief, trust or to believe; *percaya* is a verb and a noun. *Percaya* is a Javanese word designating a 'feeling of confidence', trust and certainty in achieving a goal.

**Perolehan**: A noun meaning 'something that is obtained from', deriving from *oleh*, meaning 'to get'

**Pesantren**: Islamic Boarding School

**Pesugihan**: An amulet to become rich

**Petilasan**: Remains of a certain object. For example, the old Sunan Tembayad's tomb which still remains in the village is regarded as the *petilasan* of Sunan Tembayad's tomb.

**Petungan**: Javanese numerological system

**Pundhen**: A ruler, master, the first ancestor

**pusaka**: Heirloom, holy regalia

**Quran**: The Islamic sacred book

**Ramadan**: The month of fasting for Muslims
Rejeki : Livelihood
Reog : The lion dance
Roh halus : Spirit
Sadranan : A *slametan* to welcome the month of fasting (*Ramadan*)
Santri : Students of an *pesantren*.
Sawab : Spiritual Influence. *Kesawaban* means 'influenced spiritually'
SDSB : *Sumbangan Dana Sosial Berhadiah*. A kind of state lottery.
Sedekah : Folding hands on the chest
Semangat : Motivations, Spirits
Sesaji : Homage, offerings
Sholat : Islamic daily prayers performed five times each day (*Subuh*, is the morning prayer, *Dhuhr*, the mid-day prayer, *Asar*, the afternoon prayer, *Maghrib*, the sunset prayer and *Isya*, the evening prayer)
Sholeh : Piety, pious
Sila : Sitting with feet folded with one foot on top of the other
Siwur : A ladle made from a coconut shell
Slametan : A feast
Sokabat : Disciples and friends
Sowan : A refined Javanese word for visit
Suci : Pure, sacred
Sumeleh : Feeling of acceptance
Sumur tiban : 'Fallen well'. This signifies a well that is believed not to have been built by human beings, but by a spirit.
Syririk : Associating other beings and powers with Allah
Tahlil/tahliyan: Reciting the phrase of 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger

Tajwid: The rule for reciting the Qur'an

Taman Sari: A court garden

Tembang: A pattern of Javanese song and poetry

Tobongan: A place for burning incense. It has a small chimney that is directed to the place or person visited. Sometimes a tobongan is also called padupan, the place for burning incense (dupa).

Turahan: Left overs

Untung: Luck, fortune

Wali: Pious persons who spread Islam throughout Java

Wali Sanga: The nine wali are considered to be the founders of Islam on Java

Wangsit: A dream that is believed to be a revelation from God

Wasilah: Mediation

Wayang: Javanese play and the puppets used in the performance.

Wilayah: Area. Wilayah inti=the core area, wilayah jaba=outside area and wilayah jero=the inside area

Ziarah: An Arabic derived term used to refer to visits to saints' tomb (literally meaning to visit).
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