

Chapter 6: The Veneration of Wali and Holy Men: Visits to the Shrines

GENERAL FEATURES OF VENERATION: INTRODUCTION TO ZIARAH

Along with the ritual practices already discussed in the last two chapters, there is another ritual practice belonging to *adat* which is critically important: the veneration of *wali* (saints) and holy men. Part of this *adat* has been touched upon in the preceding chapters but many important aspects of it are still to be considered. Due to its place in the life of the people, and to its complexity, this practice deserves separate treatment.

Wali veneration is a long established practice throughout the Muslim world. Only since the influence of Ibnu Taymiyah and his student, Ibnu Qayyim, has this practice encountered serious challenge.¹ When Saudi Arabia was taken over by Ibnu Sa'ud, a Wahabi ruler in AH 1344, *wali* veneration was strongly condemned and stigmatised as idolatrous. Harsh measures through various means were taken to wipe out this practice throughout the country and the Arabian peninsula.² Despite all these attempts, *wali* veneration persists and flourishes in most parts of the Muslim world along with the flourishing Islam itself. Even in Arabia where the attack against this practice has been the most severe and strong, this practice has not been totally wiped out. Moreover, within the Traditionalists' line outside Saudi Arabia, the practice of *wali* veneration is almost unshaken. The world-wide occurrence of the practice of *wali* veneration is discussed for example by Goldziher, Patton, and Arnold.³ Although South East Asia is not included in their accounts, this region is no exception to the continuation of this practice. In Indonesia, especially on Java, *wali* veneration, and in particular visits to their tombs, is a well established practice. Its wide-spread performance and its relation to the wider context of Javanese tradition (in which *wali*

¹ Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263–723/1328) was a distinguished Hanbalite jurist and theologian. He was born in Harran and later established himself in Damascus where he studied, taught and died. He is known as a literalist in understanding the Qur'an and famous for having said in a Friday sermon that "God comes down from heaven to Earth [to hear prayers] just as I am now coming down [the steps of the pulpit]." He championed the proposal that the gate of *Ijtihad* remained open and he had profound impact on the rise of Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia. He attacked many authorities in Islam including al-Ghazali, the Sufis, especially Ibn 'Arabi, stormed against innovation in religious practice and even questioned the competence and authority of the Patriarchal Caliph, Umar and 'Ali. (See: Concise Encyclopedia of Islam).

² Subhani, S.J. (1989), *Tawassul, Tabarruk, Ziarah Kubur, Karamah Wali, Termasuk Ajaran Islam: Kritik Atas Faham Wahabi*, Jakarta: Pustaka Al Hidayah, p.7.

³ Goldziher, I. (1971), *Muslim Studies*, vol.2, ed. by M. Stern, London: George Allen and Unwin, pp. 277–341. Patton, W.M., "Saint and Martyr" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*; also Arnold, T.W., under similar heading in *ibid*.

eneration is an expression of piety among many Javanese) is stated by Fox.⁴ Strong condemnation from the Modernists launched since the mid-1920s seems to have had relatively little impact on the persistence of its practice on Java.

In Cirebon, in particular, *wali* veneration takes various forms; the most prominent one of which this chapter will pay a greater attention is *ziarah* (visits) to the sacred places (shrines), of local *wali* or holy men, be they the tombs or the relics of these venerated figures. Other forms of *wali* veneration worth mentioning are *hadiwan*, *manaqib* and *hawl*. I shall touch briefly upon these types of veneration.

Hadiwan and Manaqib

Each of these forms of veneration is concerned with addressing the spirits of the *wali* or holy men. The revered figures in *hadiwan* or *manaqib* are the *wali* of foreign renown of whom, Syeikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriyyah order is of special prominence. *Hadiwan* is basically an invocation to God by reference to, or by asking the support from, the *wali*. It is conducted by a group of people led by an *imam*. *Manaqib*, on the other hand, is similar to *hadiwan* but its core is the recital of the biography of the *wali*.⁵

With respect to *hadiwan*, its procedure starts with asking forgiveness three times from God, followed by reciting the *Fatihah* (the first Surah of the Holy Qur'an) nine times. The merit of the first recitation of the *Fatihah* is to be conveyed to the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad; the second is to the spirits of the previous Prophets, angels, martyrs (*syuhada*) and good doers (*shalihin*). The third is to the spirits of Adam and Eve and all their descendants who excel themselves in religious work throughout the history of mankind until the Day of Judgement. The fourth is to the companions of the Prophet, their followers, followers of these followers and those who are linked with them throughout the history of mankind until the Day of Judgement. The fifth is to the spirits of the exegetes, jurists, theologians, *Sufis* and those who take their paths. The sixth is to the spirit of the Syeikh 'Abd al Qadir al-Jilani, and the seventh is to the spirits of his teacher and those who are linked with them by the chain of intellectual genealogy to Ali bin Abi Talib and then to the Prophet Muhammad. The eighth is to the other *wali* such as As-Syadzili, An-Naqsabandi, Al-Ghazali and the nine *wali* of Java. The last *Fatihah* is to be conveyed to the spirits of the parents, teachers, and all Muslims wherever and whoever they are, dead or alive. A number of prescribed *Surah* of the Holy Qur'an are also recited, followed by a

⁴ Fox, J.J. (1991), "Ziarah Visit to the Tombs of Wali, the Founder of Islam on Java" in Ricklefs, M.C, ed, *Islam in Indonesian Social Context*, Melbourne: CSEAS, Monash University. pp. 19-38.

⁵ During field work I was not able to find an example of *manaqib* in practice and thus I wish to exclude it from my discussion. The only occasions of *manaqib* I could find were those among the Tijani followers at Buntet with reference to the founder of the order, Sheikh Ahmad Tijani, which was performed as an additional item to their routine gathering (*pengajian*). The biography of Ahmad Tijani which is composed in poetical form is read verse by verse by the *imam*, and the audience follows it in chorus.

full concentration of the mind to ask the help and support of all the *wali* in an invocation to God. This is done in a meditating manner by murmuring such words as: "Oh our master Al-Syeikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, help us, help us, help us in acquiring our needs ... (at this moment each participant mentions his own special individual as well as his group's needs).

Usually, *hadiwan* or *manaqib* is held on Thursday night (*bengi Jum'ah*) at the request of a certain household and thus, it is performed in the house or *tajug*, attended by neighbouring households or members of the congregation of that prayer house (*jama'ah tajug*). This ritual is called *hadiwan*, probably due to the fact that although the procedures of the ritual, especially the litany is fairly complex, its core involves addressing God by His names a hundred times or more, "Ya Hadi, Ya 'Alim, Ya Khabir, Ya Mubin (Oh the Guiding, oh the Knowing, oh the Omniscient, oh the Clearest)." *Hadiwan* is concluded with a *du'a* recited by the *imam*, while the others support him by saying "Amen" repeatedly until the *du'a* ends. The content of the *du'a* basically involves begging God to fulfil the needs of those who pray by mentioning God's sovereignty and the fact that He has endowed numerous marvels to those who excelled themselves in religious works, especially the *wali*, and asking the *wali* for support so that God would fulfil what they need in this world as well as in the hereafter. After the *du'a*, food is served; while eating the participants chat and talk together in a way that is similar to the practice of other *slametan*.

Hawl and Ngunjung

Still another form of the veneration of holy men is the **hawl** or *haul*. This refers to the commemoration of the anniversary of the death of an important figure, possibly a *wali* but more frequently the founder of a *pesantren* or a renown *kyai* or even a commonly known ancestor of a certain descent group. The intensity of *haul* ranges from a simple gathering for *tahlil* or assembly to a big festival with a set of activities including a bazaar. An example of this is what happens with the *haul* at *Pesantren Buntet* which is held to commemorate its founders and lasts about a week. Finally, there is also *ngunjung* which, while basically the same thing as *ziarah*, has for its revered figure the founder of a village (*desa*) whose title *Ki* or *Nyi Gede* (male or female founder) is placed before the name of the *desa*, as is the case of Kalitengah.⁶ The ancestors termed as *Ki* or *Nyi Gede* are included in the list of holy persons because they are now considered as the early propagators of Islam in the village. Any *ziarah*, *hadiwan*, *manaqib*, *haul* or *ngunjung*, is intended as a reminder to the performers who consider the personages they are venerating as exemplary models whose piety and behaviour deserve imitation and appreciation. By becoming involved in these rituals participants express a sense of piety. It is this function that many forms of *wali*

⁶ See the preceding Chapter.

reverence in Cirebon seem to occupy. Without disregarding other forms of veneration, the discussion that follows concerning *wali* veneration is focused on *ziarah*, mainly due to the fact that *ziarah* is the most prominent form of the practice. It is performed by many people from all strata of society and can be seen everyday in various places, locally called *kramat* (holy place).

BABAD NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS OF SOME CIREBONESE HOLY MEN

Wali veneration exists, in the first place, because there are people who render veneration. People are not satisfied to show respect by mere recollection of these figures at home, or by ritual such as *hadiwan* and *manaqib*. To show profound reverence, people seek, whenever possible, opportunities to visit the tombs and relics of important personages. This is further accentuated by the belief that the 'fragrance' of their honour still remains posthumously and thus such places contain *berkah* (divine blessing).⁷ Thus visits to these places may also bring *berkah*. It is therefore critical to identify those personages who have attained local, even supra local reverence, by examining various biographical narrative accounts. As the number of the revered figures is very large, I shall confine my account to looking at those whom, I think, are the most widely known.

Certainly, there is a different degree of esteem among these figures. Each may be considered of higher or lower importance relative to the other but by and large their level of virtue is relative to a single figure, the most venerated *wali*, Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati). He is the centre of veneration because he is considered as the key figure responsible for the overall process of Islamisation throughout West Java, the Land of Sunda (*Tanah Sunda*). Other figures are peripheral and have their importance as either the patrons, disciples, descendants or assistants. The difficulty in recounting their biographies is that most of them are known locally through popular accounts either written or oral. Except possibly Sunan Gunung Jati, these other figures are more mythical than historical. Even concerning Sunan Gunung Jati himself, the historians disagree.⁸ Because of the lack of historical evidence my account of the venerated figures is, thus, based on local sources especially the *Babad* (Cirebon Chronicles). But even to follow these sources a difficulty still arises because there are so many versions of the *Babad*. These *Babad*, however, can be broadly divided into those

⁷ See further section.

⁸ Considering the nature of local sources, which are mostly blended with legendary tales, historians such as Husein Djayadiningrat (1983), are reluctant to take them as sources for their accounts. The foreign (European) sources, such as Pinto (1692), a Portuguese, of questionable accuracy on whom historians prefer to rely on, says little about Cirebon and nothing about the figures under consideration. Beyond the main figure of Sunan Gunung Jati, de Graaf and Pigeaud (1989), for example, mentions only Pangeran Pasarean, Panembahan Ratu and Pangeran Girilaya, the 1st, the 3rd and the 4th descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati. These figures, however, have almost no significance in the *wali* veneration in Cirebon.

which have been collected, and those which are still in the hands of private owners. Among the former are those which are in the collection of either the Manuscripts Division of the National Library, National Archives in Jakarta, or the University of Leiden. There are at least 16 volumes in the National Library in Jakarta alone, one of which is a recent addition donated by Tjokrosubroto, an army Lieutenant from Cirebon. Some versions of the *Babad* are available in the market in Cirebon, some others are not. Examples of these *Babad* are as follows:

1. *Babad Tjerbon*, edited by J.L.A. Brandes and D.A. Rinkes (1911), collection No. 36, Deel LIX, Batavia: Albrecht.
2. A comment from linguistic and historical perspectives of this Brandes' edition is given by Ekajati (1978), *Babad Cirebon Edisi Brandes: Tinjauan Sastra dan Sejarah*, Bandung: Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Pajajaran.
3. *Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari* by Pangeran Arya Tjarbon supposedly written in 1720, which has been partly translated by Atja (1972).⁹ Atja has also made an overall revised edition with an introductory comment which appeared in 1986 as *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari: Karya Sastra Sebagai Sumber Pengetahuan Sejarah*, Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat.¹⁰
4. *Perjuangan Wali Sanga, Babad Cirebon (Pasundan)*, by H. Mahmud Rais and Sayidil Anam (1957), reprinted more than once and available in the market. My own copy is a 1986 reprint.
5. *Babad Tanah Sunda, Babad Cirebon*, by P.S. Sulendraningrat (not clearly dated), also available in the market, my copy is a 1984 reprint.
6. *Babad Cirebon Asli*, by P.B Ardinigrat, a mimeographed version dated 1913. I suspect my copy is a recent reprint although its reprinting date is not indicated.
7. *Babad Cirebon* (of 'Klayan manuscript,') a newly found version owned by Taryadi Tjokrodipuro from Klayan, Cirebon. This version has been transcribed into Roman script with an introduction and summary by S.Z. Hadisutjipto (1979), entitled *Babad Cirebon*, Jakarta: Proyek Penerbitan Bacaan dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

For convenience, my recount of Cirebonese holy men is mainly based on *Babad Tjerbon* of the Brandes' collection (No.1 above). This is an older edition among

⁹ Ricklefs (1993), casts a doubt on the authenticity of this version, especially due to its ostensible solution of the problems of distinguishing Sunan Gunung Jati from Faletahan. See his comments in his *A History of Modern Indonesia Since c. 1300*, 2nd ed, London: MacMillan, p. 38.

¹⁰ Atja takes some other historical sources into account, including Ricklefs' sceptical warning (see the preceding note). Part of his introductory comment is his positive attitude on the value of taking *Babad* narratives in general, and *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* in particular, as a source of an historical account through careful selection.

other *Babad* and already known to Western scholarship. I will refer further to this *Babad* as '*Babad Tjerbon*.' In addition to this I shall also take into account oral explanations from *Juru Kunci* (key bearers or custodians) of the *kramat* site(s) in regard to figures on whom the *Babad* tells only very little.¹¹ The figures I wish to include in this discussion are: Walangsungsang, Rarasantang, Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati), Pangeran Bagus Pasei, Syekh Kahfi, Pangeran Panjunan, Nyi Mas Gandasari and Syekh Magelung. These personages are among the most important focus of *wali* veneration in Cirebon. The first four are buried at Gunung Sembung; Syekh Kahfi is at Gunung Jati, Pangeran Panjunan at Plangon, Nyi Mas Gandasari at Panguragan and Syekh Magelung at Karang Kendal.

Walangsungsang (Cakrabuana) and Rarasantang

Babad Tjerbon recounts that Walangsungsang (Cakrabuana) and his sister Rarasantang, mother of Sunan Gunung Jati, were the children of the king of Pajajaran from his marriage to a woman from Singapura (4 km north of Cirebon).¹²

Cakrabuana took Rarasantang with him on pilgrimage (to Mecca). When they were in Arabia they made a visit to Baitulmaqdis (*Beta 'lmoeqdas*) at the time when the ruler of Bani Israil in Egypt (*Mesir*), Maulana Mashuda or Huda, was in mourning because his wife had just passed away.¹³ Maulana Huda instructed his minister (*qadi* or *penghulu*), Qadi Djamaluddin and his family, to find for him a woman whose appearance was like his former wife. It happened that the *qadi* met with Cakrabuana and Rarasantang who were on their way to Baitulmaqdis. The minister found that Rarasantang and Maulana Huda's former wife were alike and reported the matter to Maulana. Upon learning this Maulana Huda asked the minister to summon Cakrabuana and Rarasantang to his palace and thence, after Rarasantang stated her requirements and the *maulana* granted them, the marriage occurred. Among the requirements was that Rarasantang wished to have a son to become a *wali* who would preach Islam on Java. After his pilgrimage Cakrabuana took a new name, Haji Abdullah Iman (haji Ngabdoellah Dzoe'liman); Rarasantang, upon marriage, took the new name, Syarifah Mudaim (syarifah Moeda'im). After marriage, Maulana Huda and Mudaim went to Mecca on another pilgrimage. They reached Medina in the month of Rabi'ulawwal,

¹¹ Reliance on this *Babad* ('*Babad Tjerbon*'), however, posed further difficulty because, as we will see, it tells very little about Cirebon and the Cirebonese holy men. More over, some ambiguities also appear in this *Babad*. This leads to and allow various interpretations both scholarly and popular. Encountered with this shortcomings, some other sources worth considering. For clarity purposes, I shall also consider some other *Babad* known locally.

¹² In *Babad Tjerbon* (p 29), Walangsungsang is identified as 'radja Tjakra boeana,' Rarasantang as 'nji dalem Satang,' and Sunan Gunung Jati as 'Soenan Gunung jati poerba' or 'molana Jati.' Their brother, 'radja Sengara' which this *Babad* also mentions, has little significance in present day *wali* veneration in Cirebon.

¹³ *Beta'lmoeqdas* must be the **Bayt al-Muqaddas** (Dome of the Rock in Palestine), the former direction of Muslims' prayer. The reference of *molana* must be an Arabic *maulana* (our master), a reference to a dignitary (king, ruler, prophet, etc).

visited the Prophet's tomb and stayed in Medina until the month of Shawwal. They continued their journey to Mecca and did an *umrah*.¹⁴ They stayed in Mecca for a period of time where, on the month of Safar, Mudaim bore a child, Syarif Hidayatullah (Hidajat sjarif). When Syarif was 40 days old, they returned to Egypt.¹⁵

After acting as the *wali* at Rarasantang's marriage to Maulana Huda, Abdullah Iman returned to Java but not to Pajajaran (Pedjadjaran) but instead, to Cirebon. He married Riris, the daughter of a local *Kuwu* and upon the *kuwu's* death he took his father-in-law's office and position as *Kuwu*, with the new name Pangeran Carbon (pangeran Tjerebon). From this marriage Pangeran Carbon had a daughter, Pakungwati, who later stayed at the Great House of Jalagrahan (*dalem agung Padjalagrahan*). Pangeran Carbon himself stayed at Cirebon Girang although his office was at Lemah Wungkuk.¹⁶

Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati) and Fatahillah

Babad Tjerbon goes on to recount that Maulana Huda passed away when his sons Syarif and Nurullah, were still infants, and thus the sultanate was taken care of by Maulana's brother, Raja Ongkah (radja 'Oenqah). When Syarif passed adolescence Ongkah took him to a special room where a box, the heirloom from the *maulana* was stored. Upon opening the box Syarif found a book about the Essence of *Muhammadiyah* (*haqeqat Muhammadiyah*) written in golden ink.¹⁷ This book inspired Syarif to asked his mother's permission to leave the palace to seek the knowledge about the essence of *Muhammadiyah*. He told his mother and Ongkah to give his rights to the sultanate to his brother, Nurullah. He then set off on an adventure.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Umrah* is the pilgrimage to Mecca outside the Hajj season.

¹⁵ *Babad Tjerbon*, pp 29-36. The *Babad* says that the date of their return to Egypt is '*waktoe tatkalaning babar hedjrah rasoele'llah lagi pitoeng atoes sangang poeloeh lilima poenjoeling warsi doerjataning kanabijan kang estoe Moehammadihi*,' suggesting that it was AH 795 (p 36).

¹⁶ *Babad Tjerbon*, pp 37-38.

¹⁷ What seems to be indicated is a *Sufi* book with a message from the *molana* advising his son to study Sufism.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp 39-42. The *Babad* recounts at length (pp 43-64) about Syarif's spiritual journey in search of the real truth or *haqeqat Moehammadiyah* which involved wandering from place to place. On this journey he found strange things and had strange experiences. For example, after 7 days of his journey, he reached the sea-shore and found a speaking dragon and had a conversation with it. After passing south of Syam (*Esjam* or Syria) and after another 7 days he met a hermit named 'Afani, who approached him from the sea and suggested to him that they go together to visit the tomb of Salomon; hence, he started a spiritual ascendancy (*a kind of mi'raj?*). He met satans, reached the country of jinns, met the Prophets Hidir (*Hidhir*), Ilyas (Elias), Nuh (Noah), and finally the Prophet Muhammad. The latter gave to Syarif a name. 'Sayid Kamil,' and taught him among other things, not to prostrate to anyone other than God ('*adja soedjoed pada anjar*'), told him to find teachers, try to become a just '*chalifah rasoele*' (vicegerent of the Messenger). The story is narrated in mythical flavour. As the mythical story tells about spiritual journey, I think, the *Babad* should be interpreted, as telling about a religio-mystical experience rather than a purely physical one.

After his spiritual adventure, Syarif returned to Egypt for a reunion with his mother, uncle and other family members. He did not stay with the family for long as he soon asked permission from her mother to leave the palace to study religion from distinguished teachers. First he went to Medina to visit the Prophet's tomb, then to Mecca and studied with Syeikh Tadjmu'ddin al-Kubri. After studying with this *Syeikh* he moved to another *Syeikh*, named Ata'ullahi Syadzili, then to another teacher, Maulana Datuk Siddiq at Surandil and took an initiation in the Khalwatiyah order ('*sjoeghoel chalwati wirid*'). From Surandil he continued his journey to Java via Banten where he found a Muslim community there due to the work of Sunan Ampel. From there he went to Kundul to see Syeikh Madzkur and to Kudus to see Datuk Bahrul who taught him the whole corpus of Islamic religion comprising the *syare't*, *tarekat*, *haqeqat* and *ma'rifat* (*ma'rifatoe'llahi Ta 'ala*). Datuk Bahrul authorised and suggested him to start preaching the Islamic faith, but Syarif said that he needed to contemplate first at Banyu Putih, ('banjoe Poetih,' literally meaning white water) where Maulana Dhofi did the same thing.¹⁹

When Syarif (Sayid Kamil) visited Sunan Ampel, the *sunan* advised him to go to Cirebon and to stay first at 'Gunung Jati Sembung.' Syarif took the advice and went to Cirebon. On his voyage to Cirebon he met Patih Keling and his men who numbered 100. Syarif asked them to embrace Islam saying that he would be responsible if the conversion angered Patih Keling's master. Patih Keling and his men were convinced and embraced Islam, then escorted Syarif to Cirebon and stayed at Gunung Sembung.²⁰ In Cirebon Syarif met, and was welcomed with warmth and cheer by, his uncle and all of his family, including Nyi Dalem Pakungwati, daughter of Kuwu Carbon, who later became his wife. Pangeran Cirebon Girang and Kuwu Carbon held a meeting and decided to cease paying the tribute of shrimp paste' (*terasi*) to Pajajaran. This angered the king of Pajajaran who sent a group of inspectors and soldiers to investigate the matter. When the group reached Gunung Kromong by night they saw a light shining at the peak of Gunung Sembung. This light guided them. Before they reached Gunung Sembung however, at the mount Patahunan, they were mysteriously rendered lame, trapped by the marvel of '*kalimah syahadat*' and were finally converted to Islam.²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp 64-68. Molana Dhofi, probably refers to Sheikh Idhofi or Datuk Kahfi who was traditionally known as an Islamic teacher predating Syarif.

²⁰ Converting Patih Keling was therefore, Syarif's first work in his career of preaching Islam and Patih Keling and his men were thus his first disciples (*Ibid* pp 79-80). Later, the descendants of Patih Keling and his men become the hereditary custodians of the Astana Gunung Jati grave complex where Syarif and others were buried (see the next section).

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 80-81. This is the first event for which the *Babad* uses the reference of *Maulana Jati* ('molana Djati') to replace, *Sayid Kamil* which was the previous reference for Syarif Hidayatullah. It seems open to assume the possibility that *Babad* might have combined various stories about different figures and associated them all with Syarif Hidayatullah. The story about the (Chinese) pregnant girl Nio Ong Tin,

Haji Abdullah Iman told Maulana Jati to take power and to claim authority as the heir of Pajajaran, to an area from western end of Java (Ujung Kulon) eastward to Cipamali in Brebes (Central Java). Beyond that border eastward, he said, Maulana Jati was not heir (*'dede waris kita'*), but the land belonged to Majapahit. Maulana Jati, however, did not take power immediately but left it instead to his uncle, Haji Abdullah Iman, because he wanted to go to Egypt first and bring his mother to stay with him in Java. Moreover, he said, he also wished to visit the Prophet's tomb in Medina for his blessing and Baitulmaqdis for other prophets' permission.²² Before going to Egypt he went with Pangeran Maqдум and met Ki Gede Babadan whose daughter, Nji Mas Babadan, he married.

On his way to Egypt Maulana Jati stopped in Johor where he obtained a disciple, 'Abdulrahim. From Johor he went to China to fulfil an invitation from the Chinese emperor who wished to test Maulana Jati's saintship. The emperor summoned his daughter, Nio Ong Tin, and asked Maulana Jati to say whether or not "the unmarried girl's confession that she was pregnant" was true. Maulana Jati answered that it was true that the girl was pregnant. The emperor laughed and said that Maulana Jati was not a true saint, because he was unable to recognise the truth that the girl was not really pregnant. He even denounced Maulana as a liar and asked him to leave China immediately. The *Babad* recounts that after Maulana Jati had gone the emperor found that his daughter, who had been referred to as "the unmarried girl" was really pregnant. Feeling deeply embarrassed by this affair, he sent a ship with his daughter on board (to Cirebon) at night to avoid detection. He told his daughter to surrender herself to the Maulana.²³

In Egypt Maulana Jati settled all his family business including the passing on of his rights to the throne to his brother Nurullah, then asked his mother to return with him to Java. Returning from Egypt with his mother, Maulana Jati stopped at Surandil to fetch his friend, raja Lahoet; he landed at Muara Jati. He stayed there to preach Islam and found the Chinese emperor's daughter was already there. He converted her to Islam along with others such as Babu Dempul, Adipati Cangkuang and Patih Gering. Maulana Jati travelled with Adipati Cangkuang through Pajajaran. He reached Banten where Maulana Jati met Putri Kawunganten, married her, and took her to Cirebon to stay at Muara Jati village. From this marriage he had a son Sabakingking, and a daughter Ratu Winaon.

Afterward came hostile white men, who caused serious disturbances. Patih Keling thought that they were from Keling sent to support Pajajaran. Pangeran

associated with Syarif Hidayatullah goes parallel with the story about Ajar Cempaka with a pregnant woman appears in Babad Tanah Jawi, pp 11-12.

²² *Ibid*, p. 83-84. This, probably, marked the foundation of Cirebon ruling house by Cakra Buana predating *kraton*.

²³ *Ibid*, pp 88-90. In the Babad it is written '*angaoela ing kakoeng*' which literally means to enslave (herself) to the man (p. 90). See also Chapter Three.

Carbon, Patih Keling and Adipati Cangkuang made up the necessary preparations and went to battle until all enemies were driven away.²⁴

Along with the appointment of the other *wali* in other places, Maulana Jati was appointed ruler of Cirebon ('Tjerebon') by the Wali Council. From this time on Maulana Jati became Sunan Gunung Jati. The Wali Council was mainly concerned with theological issues and was attended by Sunan Bonang, Syeikh Majagung, Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Kali Jaga, Syeikh Bentong, Maulana Maghribi, Syeikh Lemah Abang, Sunan Giri and Pangeran Kudus.²⁵ Soon after his appointment, Sunan Gunung Jati erected the great mosque, (*Sang*) '*tjipta rasa*,' located at '*tegal pangalang-alang*' (the field of wild grass). At that time, another mosque had been erected in Demak, the region where Raden Fatah was the ruler.²⁶ *Babad Tjerbon* also says that Sunan Gunung Jati was involved in the defeat of Majapahit by Demak in which he (Sunan Gunung Jati) was responsible for mounting the siege on the west front. The war between Demak and Majapahit is described by the *Babad* as a total war involving not only physical force but also mystical power, where the superiority of *karamat* (honour from God) over *istidraj* (magic) was attested.²⁷

Babad Tjerbon recounts Sunan Gunung Jati's marriage to a woman from Tepasan Adi from whom he had a son, Pangeran Pasarean, and a daughter, Ratu Ayu, while from his royal wife (*garwa jati*) he had Pangeran Kelana Adi and Pangeran Gung Anom (Sedang Lautan). Sunan Gunung Jati entrusted his position to his son, Pangeran Pasarean, while Sunan Gunung Jati himself went about to preach Islam. He converted the people of Bandung, Cianjur, Sumedang, Bogor and Jakarta ('Djaketra') but the ruler of Galuh, Kuningan and Ciamis showed animosity toward him. Some of the converts became religious hypocrites (*munafik*) so that he was forced to send representatives. He appointed Raja Lahut

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 90–94. The coming 'white men enemies' might be the Portuguese and thus the battle into which they were involved may be what is traditionally known as the defeat of Sunda Kalapa. Historians note that in 1522 the Portuguese had agreed with Banten to establish a port on its eastern border as a barrier to the Muslim forces from the east. This caused Pajajaran's second port, Sunda Kalapa, to be taken by the Muslims and renamed Jayakarta, meaning 'prosperous victory' (Ricklefs 1993:37).

²⁵ While other *wali* are well known, Syeikh Majagung and Syeikh Bentong, are not. *Babad Tjerbon* does not specify who they are. The name Majagung is probably identical to Maja Agung, a place in East Java, suggesting that Syeikh Majagung might be an East Javanese *wali*. Syeikh Bentong, on the other hand, is described in some (recent) versions of Cirebon Chronicle as one who first met Syarif Syam alias Syeikh Magelung alias Pangeran Karang Kendal. Syeikh Bentong, according to these *Babad*, advised Syarif Syam to see Sunan Gunung Jati to have his hair cut [See for example, Mahmud Rais and Sayidil Anam, *Perjuangan Wali Sanga Babad Cirebon (Pasundan)*], unknown publisher, pp 144–146.

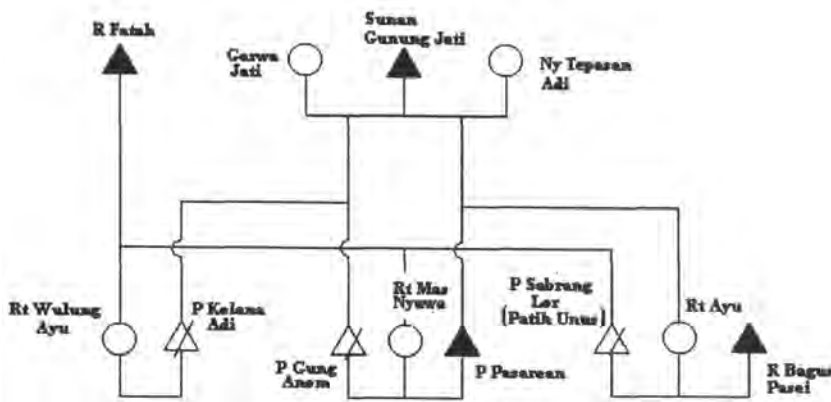
²⁶ *Ibid*, pp 101–104. When Maulana Jati became Su(suhu)nan Gunung Jati, he held the position as '*ratoe pandita*' suggesting that besides being a (territorial) ruler he was also a religious leader. This is different from the position of, for example, raden Fatah in which the *Babad* says: '*... maring Demak para wali arsa ngangkat raden Fatah djoemenenga ratoe djawi* (... the *wali* appointed raden Fatah the ruler of Java),' suggesting he was only a territorial ruler, not a spiritual leader (p. 104).

²⁷ *Ibid*, 104–110. '*bala boeda mahabara sakti sarta istidraj bala islam sakti poenjoel linuwih sarta karamat*' (the Buddhists army was powerful with its magic, the Muslim army was more powerful with its *karamat*' p. 107).

his representative in 'Djaketra,' Sabakingking (Seba-kingkin) in Banten, Haji Abdullah Iman in Pajajaran and Raja Sengara in Tegal Luar.²⁸

Sunan Gunung jati strengthened his relationship with Demak by establishing a marriage alliance.²⁹ Sunan Gunung Jati's son, Gung Anom, married Raden Fatah's daughter, Ratu Nyawa. Not long after the marriage, Gung Anom died at sea, becoming known as Pangeran Seda(i)ng Lautan: the prince who died at sea; he was buried at Mundu. Pangeran Pasarean, another Sunan Gunung Jati's son, replaced Gung Anom to become Ratu Nyawa's husband and stayed in Demak.³⁰

Figure 6.1: Marriage alliance between Sunan Gunung Jati and Raden Fatah



This alliance was still further strengthened when Sunan Gunung Jati's daughter, Ratu Ayu, married Sultan Demak, the successor of Raden Fatah, from whom Ratu Ayu inherited a set of musical instruments ('*gamelan sekati*'). After the Sultan of Demak died, Ratu Ayu remarried a 'noble from overseas' (*wong agoeng sabrang*), named Ratu Bagus Pasei ('*ratoe bagoes Faseh*'), and had a daughter, Ratu Nawati Rarasa. Nawati Rarasa married son of Pangeran Pasarean, Dipati Pakungja or Dipati Inkgang Seda(i)ng Kemuning. They begot a son, Pangeran

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 98–100. *Garwa djati* was probably, Nyai Pakoengwati, daughter of Pangeran Cakrabuana (Haji Abdullah Iman), the founder of *kedaton* (Cirebon ruling house). The *Babad* also mentions Sunan Gunung Jati's marriage with *poetri ratoe Tjina* (traditionally known as Putri Cina, Nio Ong Tin or Rara Sumanding, daughter of the Chinese emperor), and that this marriage was short lived because the *poetri* soon passed away. For her honour, a grave complex was established at gunung Sembung employing ki Goesa, an architect from Karawang. After this site became a grave complex, Sunan Gunung Jati moved to Pakungwati palace in the city of Cirebon (p. 114).

²⁹ One established relation between Sultan Demak and Sunan Gunung Jati was religious. Sultan Demak was Sunan Gunung Jati's disciple having taken an oath (*be'at*). He followed Sunan Gunung Jati's religious (*Sufi*?) way. The *Babad* (p. 112) states: '*soeltan Demak ... mlebet be'at ... maring kandjeng sinoehoen Djati*' (soeltan Demak ... took an oath ... to the master *sinoehoen Djati*). The Javanese word *be'at* must be from Arabic *bay'ah* which, according to Danner (1988:233) refers to "the initiatic pact between the Sheikh and his disciple that implies rebirth and entry into the Path. In return Sultan Demak assisted Sunan Gunung Jati in the construction of the city and palace in Cirebon by sending Raden Sepat, an architect from Majapahit (*Babad Tjerbon*, p. 112).

³⁰ Ibid, p. 113.

Agung Pakung Radja who, upon Sunan Gunung Jati's death, succeeded to rule Cirebon.³¹ The noble man from overseas, named as Ratu Bagus Pasei, is identified by some writers, especially Babad commentators, as Fatahillah, Faletahan or Fadhilah Khan.³² There is disagreement among some writers, especially historians, on whether or not Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati) and Fatahillah alias Faletahan alias Tubagus Pasei alias Tagaril alias Fadhilah Khan are the same person.³³

Syeikh Datu Kahfi and Pangeran Panjunan

According to local commentators, Syeikh Datu Kahfi is locally equated with Syeikh Idhofi, whose tomb is at Gunung Jati (the former Amparan Jati hill). He is believed to have been a religious teacher predating Sunan Gunung Jati. *Babad Tjerbon*, however, says very little about him. He is referred to firstly as 'Molana Dhofi,' the one who had a place of spiritual seclusion (*petapan*) at 'banjoe poetih' (?) Sayid Kamil (Maulana and later Sunan Jati) used this site for meditation before he started preaching Islam.³⁴ Secondly, the *Babad* mentions Syeikh Datu Kahfi ('shekh datoe Kahfi') in relation to Pangeran Panjunan. Pangeran Panjunan followed Syeikh Datu Kahfi from Baghdad to Java.³⁵ *Babad Tjerbon* does not clearly state who Molana Dhofi and Syeikh Kahfi were, nor whether both names refer to the same or to different persons.

According to the *Babad Tjerbon* the original name of Pangeran Panjunan was Maulana Abdul Rahman. He led a group of Arab immigrants from Baghdad including his own sister, Siti Baghdad, and brother, Syeikh Abdul Rahim.³⁶ They came to Java in three ships and settled separately in Sembung, Muara Jati, Junti (17 km north of Cirebon) and Japura (13 km east of Cirebon). They followed Datu Kahfi who came to Java much earlier and who settled at Muara Jati. Ratu Hud, Pangeran Panjunan and Sunan Gunung Jati were said to have a kinship relation where Sunan Gunung Jati was Panjunan's cousin ('*sederek misanan*'). Pangeran Panjunan initially adopted the Jabariyah school of theology but after

³¹ Ibid, 124–125. The 'soeltan Demak' (p. 124), husband of ratoe Ayoe, probably refers to the traditionally known as Pangeran Sabrang Lor son and successor of Raden Fatah. He is identified by historians such as Kartodirdjo (1987:38), as Pate (Patih) Unus, the ruler of Jepara. He died in an expedition to Malacca against Portuguese in the new year of 1512/3.

³² See for example, Hadisutjipto S.Z. (1979), *Babad Cirebon*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, especially pp viii–ix; Atja (1986), *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari: Karya Sastra Sebagai Sumber Pengetahuan Sejarah*, Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat. Sulendraningrat, S. (1985) *Sejarah Cirebon*, Jakarta: P.N. Balai Pustaka. Abdurrahman, P.R. (1982) *Cerbon*, Jakarta: Sinar Harapan).

³³ Husein Djajadiningrat (1913), for example, who based his argument on *Babad Banten* (Brandes' collection No. 269), concluded they were the same person, whereas *Babad Tjerbon* (and some other versions of Cirebon Chronicles) distinguishes between these personages. (Consider note 11).

³⁴ Ibid, p 68.

³⁵ Ibid, p 94.

³⁶ The story of pangeran Panjoenan appears in *Babad Tjerbon* (pp. 94–98). Siti Baghdad is locally known as Syarifah Baghdad, she became Sunan Gunung Jati's wife and took a new name, Nyai Mas (Syarifah) Panata Pasambangan.

having been involved in a theological debate with Sunan Gunung Jati, he took an oath (*be'at*) to follow Sunan Gunung Jati's way.³⁷ He and his families, who were engaged in making pottery (*awangoen gegetak*), were given homage at Panjunan, a site in the city of Cirebon. The Panjunan mosque, one of the antiquities in Cirebon, is attributed to him. Until now, his descendants (local Arabs) who live around this mosque still retain their pottery making traditions. It is said that they do this to preserve their hereditary occupation which lays stress on spiritual rather than economic values. Upon his death Pangeran Panjunan was buried at Plangon (12 km south-west of Cirebon) and thus came to bear the name of Pangeran Plangon ('pangeran ing Pelalangoen'). His tomb attracts visitors, especially on 27 of Rajab (*Rejep*) when a festival is held annually.³⁸

Nyi Mas Panguragan and Pangeran Karang Kendal

The locally well-known Nyi Mas Panguragan or Nyi Mas Gandasari and Pangeran Karang Kendal or Syekh Magelung are important because their tombs have become popular foci of *wali* veneration in Cirebon outside the Astana grave complex where Sunan Gunung Jati and others are buried. *Babad Tjerbon*, however, tells very little about these figures. It only recounts that not long after Maulana Jati married Nyi Mas Babadan, he met a young saint (*pandita*), whose name was Pangeran (ing) Karang Kendal. This *pangeran* willingly became Maulana Jati's disciple and agreed to travel together to preach Islam.³⁹ Later, they met a woman, an Egyptian princess (*'poetri Mesir'*), younger sister of Tubagus Pasei. The princess requested Sunan Gunung Jati to help her make a decision.⁴⁰ Sunan Gunung Jati agreed to help her by saying that if she would rather wait (to marry?)

³⁷ In the *Babad Pangeran Panjunan* is described as '*anganken kadjabariah*' (p. 96), suggesting that he adopted Jabariyah, an Islamic school of theology which held that God compels man to act as he does and thus, man's actions are completely predetermined. Jabariyah emerged as a response to and thus the firm opponent of Qadariyah, which held the doctrine of absolute human free will. Pangeran Panjunan finally learned and followed Sunan Gunung Jati who was supposedly an Ash'arite Sunni. ('*molana Djati woewoesane ahli soeni kang woeroek ming pangeran Pandjoenan.*' p. 97). Al-Ash'ari (d. 324/944) was a religious thinker who adapted certain rational methods to Sunni Islam. He was originally a Mu'tazili, the seemingly neo-Qadariyah school of theology. This school sought to apply reason to a broad range of questions by using the methods of argument, reasoning and dialectic. Al-Ash'ari abandoned this school as it did not reflect an adequate understanding of spiritual reality. (See: "Kalam," *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 98. The name 'Plangon' is said to have been constructed from *pe-langu-an*, meaning the place of *lelangu* (seclusion) where pangeran Pandjoenan is said secluded himself when he was alive.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 85.

⁴⁰ *Babad Tjerbon* recounts: '*noeli ... teka ajoeh wong wadon atas poetri Mesir ... rajine toebagoes Paseh' anoehoen toeloeng ing djeng molana panjinge ing sawargane ...*' which means: 'then came a beautiful lady, an Egyptian princess, younger daughter of Tubagus Pasei, begging help to lord Maulana to lead her to heaven.' (*Ibid*, p.86). It is not clear who 'poetri Mesir' (Egyptian princess) really was but local narratives indicate that she was Nyi Mas Panguragan or Nyi Mas Gandasari who was about to make a decision about her marriage (to Pangeran Karang Kendal).

in the hereafter, whereas in this world, she would become Maulana Jati's disciple.⁴¹

As the *Babad Tjerbon* does not indicate clearly who the Egyptian princess was (except that she was Tubagus Pasei's sister) a rather intricate explanation about these figures was given by *juru kunci* (custodians) at Panguragan where Nyi Mas Gandasari was buried. It was said that Gandasari was an Achenes who had been taken by Cakrabuana upon his return from his pilgrimage to Mecca when she was still a child.⁴² At fifteen she learned Islam from Sunan Gunung Jati and began to follow the *Sufi* way under the guidance of Sunan Gunung Jati. Although she was a woman, she was very much interested in and paid special attention to acquiring the art of self defence and had an instrumental role in the defeat of Rajagaluh a vassal-state of Hindu Galuh-Pajajaran. Due to her beauty and with high competence in the art of self defence she could fool Prabu Cakraningrat, the then ruler of Rajagaluh who, in the hope of attracting and then marrying her, took her and showed her everything about the marvels and excellence of Rajagaluh, including the detailed security of the kingdom. This paved the way for Cakrabuana, the army commander of Cirebon, to make the necessary plans to bring about the fall of Rajagaluh. Gandasari was buried at Panguragan and from this the name Nyi Mas Panguragan is derived.⁴³

In 1991, her tomb and musoleum were thoroughly renovated with the construction of permanent stone buildings with modern ceramic tiles which cost about Rp 200,000,000.00 (more than A\$ 120,000.00). The funds came from a donor named Hellina Ratu Handia, a rich Central Javanese business woman staying in Jakarta who felt obliged to do this for her success in business.⁴⁴ According to Pak Yamsir, the key bearer, Ratu Handia was once a visitor at this *kramat*. She is a business woman initially engaged in jewellery making, who

⁴¹ Maulana Jati said: '... *tatapi deng ridha besook ing achirat bae doepe ing doenja soenakoe baboenira*' which means: '... but you have to be generous that you wait (to marry) in the hereafter, while in this world I take you as my disciple.' (*Ibid*, p. 86).

⁴² In more recent *Babad*, Nyi Mas Panguragan was said as foster daughter of Pendeta Selapandan. This *pendeta* (hermit) obsessed to have a pious child. Due to this obsession he performed a meditation under a '*pudak*' tree (a tree which is grown for its scenty flower). He gave up his meditation when a (*pudak*) flower fell onto his lap. Upon his return home he was entrusted to take care Nyi Mas Panguragan under his guardianship. See for example: *Babad Tanah Sunda/Babad Cirebon*, p.60; *Perjuangan Wali Sanga Babad Cirebon (Pasundan)*, p.134. For a fairly long story about her and her relation with 'Pangeran Magelung,' see also: *Babad Cirebon* (Taryadi's manuscript), pp.77-82. These *Babad* do not tell who Nyi Mas Panguragan really was nor where she came from. It is her relation Syeikh Magelung (Pangeran Karang Kendal) which indicates that poetri Mesir was Nyi Mas Gandasari.

⁴³ The story of Nyi Mas Gandasari may remind us to the 'Feminine Element in Sufism' described by Schimmel, A. (1975), especially pp. 426-435. Schimmel states among other things that Sufism was more favourable to the development of feminine activities than were other branches in Islam. Beside the fact that the first true Muslim saint was a woman, the well known Rabi'ah 'Adawiyah (713-801), there were many others whose sainthood position was comparable to men. Maryam of Basra, Rihana, Sayyida Nafisa and Fatima of Nishapur were few examples. Further account on women saints in Islam, see: Smith, M. (1928), *Rabi 'a the Mystic and Her Fellow in Islam*, Cambridge.

⁴⁴ According to the *juru kunci*, this name may not be her original name.

opened a construction firm and won a tender valued at a billion rupiah. Feeling that her success had some relationship with *barakah* from her visit to this *kramat*, she offered to fund the renovation.⁴⁵

The legend of Gandasari would be incomplete without incorporating Syarif Syam alias Pangeran Soka alias Syeikh Magelung alias Pangeran Karangkendal. Pak Chaeruman, the *juru kunci* at Karang Kendal, did not reveal who Syeikh Magelung really was, only that he came from Syam (Syria), hence his name Syarif Syam. He had already adopted the *Sufi* way when he was young and his presence in Cirebon was as a *Sufi* wanderer. He is said as to have had very long hair which, when it was loosened, would reach the ground and so he always knotted (*gelung*) his hair. As a result he was called Syeikh Magelung (the Syeikh with knotted hair). The reason for having the long hair was because no one could cut it. The hair was invulnerable to all cutting devices. He wandered from place to place in search of someone who would be able to cut his hair. Should he find someone, he would be willing to surrender to him and become his disciple. He finally arrived in Java (Cirebon) where, at a site in the city of Cirebon, he found an old man who was able to cut his hair quite easily. The old man was Sunan Gunung Jati; thence Syarif Syam happily became Sunan Gunung Jati's disciple and his name was changed to Pangeran Soka (from *suka*, meaning 'like' or 'happy'). The place in the city of Cirebon where his hair was cut is called Karang-getas ('the land easily cut').⁴⁶ He lived in Karangkendal, 19 km North of Cirebon, and after he died he was buried there and from then on, he was known as Pangeran Karangkendal.

His relation with Nyi Mas Gandasari started when he wandered westward from Cirebon and he found a crowd for whom Nyi Mas Gandasari was the centre of attention. Upon completing her learning of *tasawuf* from Sunan Gunung Jati, Nyi Mas Gandasari was advised to think about taking a husband. There were many offers of marriage, making it hard for her to make a choice. To make the decision easier she announced a competition by which she declared that any man who could beat her in a fight, would be the one she would take as her husband. The watching crowd was made up of both spectators and competitors

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, according to the Cultural Section Officer at the Regional Office of the Department of Education and Culture, the renovation was made merely by pulling down and rebuilding everything without taking note of the historical value of the previous buildings. Now, he claims, there are no more important artefacts, as almost everything with any historical value has already disappeared. What now exists is a set of new buildings with new structures. The case would probably be different if his office have been consulted prior to renovation. In that way both renovation and the preservation of historical relics could have somehow been combined. From the *kramat* side, Pak Yamsir said that what he had in mind was how to do the best for the *kramat*. He did not really understand nor feel it necessary to have such a consultation. Moreover, he said, much involvement of government officials might even make things complicated and difficult.

⁴⁶ Some informants told me that a river in the city of Cirebon which passes Karanggetas, the 'Sukalila' river, as bearing its name in remembrance to Magelung's surrender. The name 'Sukalila' is said to have been derived from '*sukarela*' meaning 'willingly' or '*suka lillah*' meaning 'willing for the sake of God.'

attempting to win her. There were many princes and knights who attempted but no one succeeded. Pangeran Soka introduced himself and challenged Gandasari to a fight. Although their powers were really equal and balanced, Gandasari, who was exhausted, jumped behind Sunan Gunung Jati to hide from Magelung's attack. Disregarding the fact that there was someone sitting between them, Magelung tried to grab Gandasari and almost hit Sunan Gunung Jati's head; but before his hand reached the head he fell down powerless. Sunan Gunung Jati helped him and mediated by declaring that neither one was winner or loser.

Plate 22: A gate at Kramat Nyi Mas Gandasari.



Plate 23: The tomb of Nyi Mas Gandasari.



Nevertheless, since the contest was intended to find a partner, while in fact both contestants were *Sufi* and were not really willing to marry, it was agreed that they would marry not in this world but in the hereafter.⁴⁷

As the association of these figures with Sunan Gunung Jati is limited, it is difficult to judge how important these personages were to him. What these legends reveal is that both Gandasari and Magelung represent Sunan Gunung Jati's sincere disciples. Both are considered as *wali* but are peripheral figures. They somehow had kinship relations with Sunan Gunung Jati and their share in the process of Islamisation was considered instrumental, especially in the defeat of Rajagaluh and Talaga, vassal states of Hindu Galuh-Pajajaran.⁴⁸

THE OBJECT OF ZIARAH: TWO EXAMPLES OF KRAMAT

A visit to a sacred place using a particular procedure is called *ziarah*. The word is borrowed from Arabic *ziyara* meaning visit. Its original use basically applied to almost any visit to any object, be it a place or a person. Used as a local term *ziarah* refers to formal visits to a revered person (such as a distinguished *kyai*) or a sacred place (tomb or relics of *wali* or holy men) implying a hope for *barakah* (*ngalap berkah*). Although visits to living individuals such as distinguished *kyai* also take place, this does not constitute a significant practice but rather ordinary reverence. To this extent I shall confine my discussion to visits to sacred places.

In Cirebon sacred places where visits are made are called *kramat* (shrine). A shrine's physical form is usually a building that houses a sacred object which may either be a tomb or relics (*petilasan*) such as the remnants of a dwelling, like the *Umo Gede* (the Great House) of Mbah Buyut Trusmi at Trusmi, springs like *Kramat Cimandung* at Cimandung (11 km South West of Cirebon), a collection of sacred objects such as *Kramat Tuk* at Tuk (4 km West of Cirebon). In most cases a *kramat* contains a combination of these features. The simplest *kramat* is a building where a revered object is kept or situated, with a hall for visitors to stay at least for a moment. A large *kramat*, on the other hand, may incorporate a number of buildings with different functions, including a prayer house (mosque

⁴⁷ The story of fighting competition appears in many locally known *Babad* suggesting another feminist tone of Gandasari legend (see note 43).

⁴⁸ Talaga is located about 40 km south-west of Cirebon, in the regency of Majalengka. A kinship relation between the princess (Nyi Mas Gandasari/Panguragan), Tubagus Pasei/Fadhilah Khan/ Faletahan, Pangeran Karang kendal/Syarif Syam/Syeikh Magelung, and Syarif Hidayatullah appears in Sulendraningrat, P.S. (1985), *Sejarah Cirebon*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, pp. 27-28. It states that Syarif Syam was son of Abdurrahman Rumi, son of Ali Zainal Alim, son of Barkah Zainal Alim. Nyi Mas Gandasari was sister of Fadhilah Khan, both were children of Mahdar Ibrahim, son of Abdul Ghafur, son of Barkah Zainal Alim. The latter was younger brother of Ali Nurul Alim, grandfather of Syarif Hidayatullah. This may be a recent construct. Habib Lutfi of Pekalongan (Central Java) however, acknowledged (in personal talk) this kinship relation although he revealed a different version from that of Sulendraningrat. (Habib Lutfi is known by many people as pious, genius and knows a lot about *wali* on Java. He is associated with four *tarekat*: Syattariyah, Tijaniyah, Qadiriyyah wan-Naqsabandiyah and Syadziliyyah. He has many guests for his blessing. Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim of Pesantren Buntet, who took and introduced me to him, was among those who were close to the *habib*).

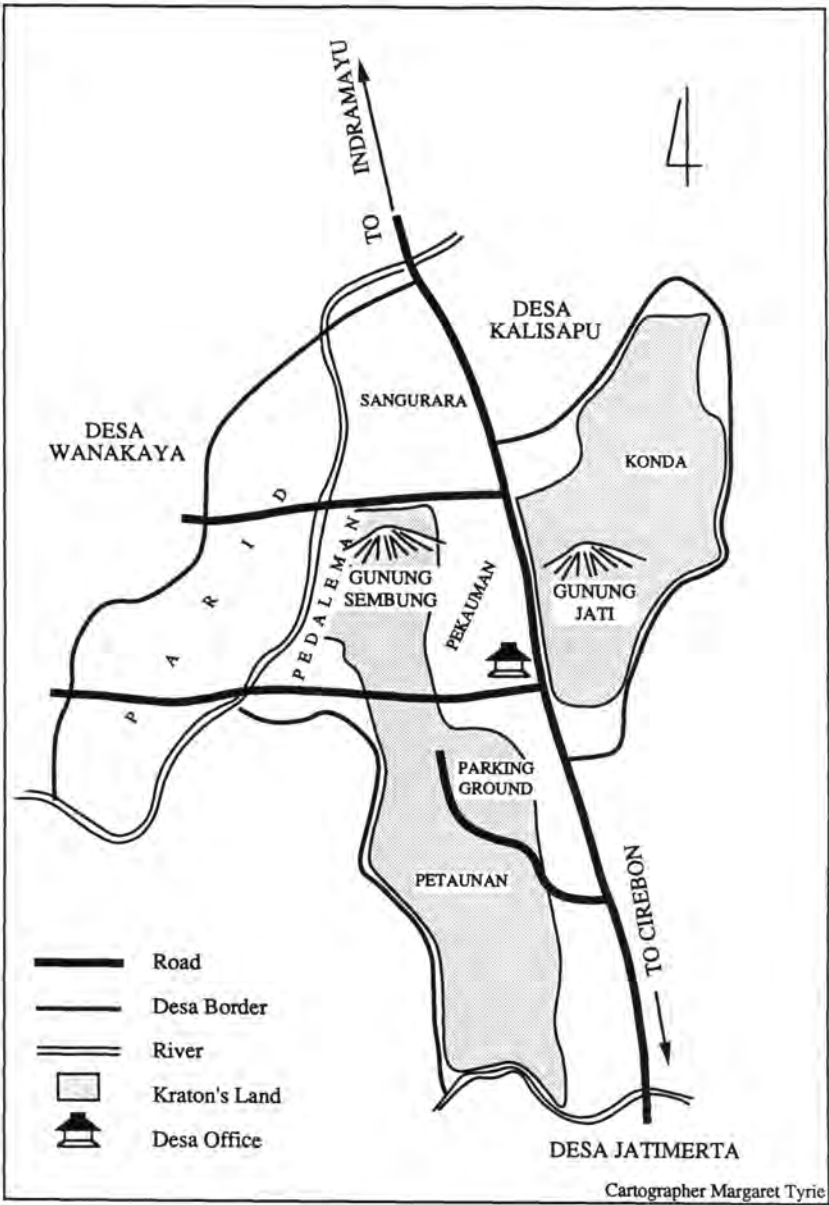
or *tajug*). Other parts of the building may also be divided into sections and each section may have different sub-sections.

Originally, in Cirebon, the word *kramat* refers to anything 'holy' which may either be a word, an object, a person or a place. Etymologically, its special reference to a 'holy place' may be traced through the Arabic word **haramat** (plural form of **haram**), meaning 'sacred' or 'forbidden,' or **karamat** (plural form of **karamah**) meaning honour or regard (from God). Referring to the first word, **haramat**, the replacement of **h** with **k** is common among Javanese. **Haji** becomes *kaji*, **hajat** becomes *kajat*, **halal** becomes *kalal* and **haram** becomes *karam*, **haramat** becomes *karamat* and then *kramat*. In Islam there are three places formally acknowledged as sacred, the two in Arabia called **haramain**, meaning the two sacred (places), and another one in Palestine. The first two are the Sacred Mosque (**Masjid al-Haram**) in Mecca which contains the most revered object, the **Ka'ba**, sometimes called The House of God (**Bayt Allah**); another one is The Mosque of the Prophet (**Masjid al-Nabawy**) in Medina where, after his death, the Prophet was buried. The other which is in Palestine, is the mosque of **Al-Aqsa** (Dome of the Rock), the former direction for Muslims in prayer and a place where the Prophet stopped on his night journey (*Isra' mi'raj*). The official acceptance of the existence of these holy places may have given rise to the belief that some local sanctuary places, especially the tombs and relics of local *wali*, should have some degree of sanctity, although their sacredness is far less than the three officially accepted holy places.

The sanctity of such places is further accentuated by the notion of *karamah*, the marvels wrought by the *wali* which God brings about in the corporeal world. This Arabic word **karamah** (pl.. **karamat**), meaning honour or regard (from God) is sometimes also corrupted by Javanese into *kramat*. Thus, both words **haramat** and **karamat** combine to form a single term *kramat*, implying that the place itself is *holy* (*haram*) and divine marvels (*karamat*) brought about by the *wali* can be expected there.

To illustrate what a *kramat* looks like, I shall present examples from two sites, Astana and Trusmi. Astana, which contains the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati is the most prominent object of visitation in Cirebon. Sunan Gunung Jati is regarded as one of the nine saints who initiated the preaching of Islam on Java. Sunan Gunung Jati had a number of local associates with whom he worked. These associates, due to their links with Sunan Gunung Jati are considered to have been invested with the honour and fragrance of his saintship. Although they are considered to be saints, they rank lower than Sunan Gunung Jati himself. As many of his associates were buried in different places, this gives rise to the emergence of sacred places outside the Astana grave complex. Currently the number of such places in Cirebon is said to number over 300.

Map of Desa Astana



Astana Gunung Jati

The Astana Gunung Jati grave complex, the biggest and the most revered place of visitation in Cirebon, is located at the village of Astana, in the sub-district (*kecamatan*) of North Cirebon, 5 km northward along the main Cirebon-Indramayu road. The complex is made up of two compounds, separated by the main road. Driving from Cirebon, Gunung Jati is on the right of the road whereas Gunung Sembung is on its left. From the foot of Gunung Jati hill we can walk through an ascending pathway where graves of various associates are found, but these have no familial link with the *kraton* family. Up on a hilly plot near the summit covered by high trees lies the tomb of Syeikh Datu Kahfi. He is known as the religious teacher of Sunan Gunung Jati's predecessor. Following another path to the top of the hill is *puser bumi* (centre of the earth), a plateau which was once the crater of a formerly active volcano, from which there is a clear view of the sea. Close to the peak there is a cave (Arabic **kahfi**) which, it is said, Syeikh Kahfi used for contemplation. As a result the Sheikh's name, Master of the Cave (Datu Kahfi) has become associated with it.

Despite the fact that his tomb is an important object of visitation, little is known of Syeikh Kahfi. According to legend, on the North-Coast of West Java there were two Qur'anic schools run by teachers of Arab stock. One was in Karawang led by Syeikh Quro and the other was in Gunung Jati led by Syeikh Nurjati. One of Syeikh Quro's student was Nyai Subanglarang, daughter of Ki Jumajan Jati, the ruler of Singapura (now Mertasinga). She married Prabu Siliwangi, King of Pajajaran and their descendants are significant in later traditional accounts of the history of Cirebon.

Syeikh Nurjati, on the other hand, due to his age and physical condition passed on his work to his student, also of Arab origin, named Syeikh Datu Kahfi or Datuk Khafidh who came to Pasambangan with a contingent of 22 people, two of whom were women. He and his companions were accepted with honour by Ki Jumajan Jati, the then Harbour Master of Amparan Jati who allowed them to settle there. They became the students of Syeikh Nurjati. Later Syeikh Datuk Kahfi was appointed by Syeikh Nurjati, to take his place to teach Islam.⁴⁹ When Syeikh Kahfi was leading the school, some new students commenced their study, among whom were Prabu Siliwangi's children from Nyai Subanglarang. They were Walangsungsang, his wife Indang Geulis, and Rarasantang, younger sister of Walangsungsang. It was these students who increased the importance of Syeikh Kahfi's role. These students, Walangsungsang and Rarasantang were

⁴⁹ Some other traditions equates Sheikh Nurul Jati with Datuk Kafi; both names, according to these traditions belong to the same person. Some informants speculated that the name Kafi is probably from Arabic **kahf**, meaning cave and associated him with the cave adjacent to the supposed site of his school, now his tomb. He is then thought of as the master of the cave because he is said to have used it as a place of seclusion. The name Khafid, on the other hand is associated with his function as a Qur'anic teacher who himself was a *khafid* (one who memorises the whole Qur'an).

instrumental in the further development of Cirebon and Islam in West Java. It was Walangsungsang who, after studying with Syeikh Kahfi, became the forebear of Cirebon and its kingdom.

Across the main road from Gunung Jati hill is the precinct of the former Pasambangan village where the Gunung Sembung grave complex lies.⁵⁰ Some custodians said that formerly Gunung Sembung was a guest house but after Nio Ong Tin (Nyai Rara Sumanding), Sunan Gunung Jati's Chinese wife, died and was buried there, it grew into a grave complex. The name Sembung is said to have been derived from *sambung*, meaning 'added' because to build it up a large amount of soil from various places was added to the existing hill.

Across the Cirebon-Indramayu main road in front of the *Desa* office there is a paved road about 500 metres long leading to the Astana square with the grave complex of Gunung Sembung lying on its North. The date of construction of this complex is indicated by a *Candra Sangkala* (memorial statement) written in Javanese letters, saying "*Sirna Tanana Warna Tunggal*," implying the Saka Era (SE) 1400.⁵¹ At the square there are two buildings, one is *Pendopo Ringgit*, a hall where puppet plays (*wayang*) or other performances are held; at its western side is the wooden house called *Mande Mangu* or *Mande Tepasan*, with the *Candra Sangkala* "*Singa Kari Gawe Anake*," indicating that the *Mande* was constructed in SE 1402(?) as a present, it is said, from Ratu Nyawa, the daughter of Raden Fatah from Demak, who married Gung Anom (Pangeran Bratakelana), son of Sunan Gunung Jati who passed away at sea on his way to Cirebon. The first entrance to the *kramat* is through either one of the two unroofed gates (*candi bentar*), named respectively *Gapura Wetan* (Eastern gate) and *Gapura Kulon* (Western gate). The word *gapura* meaning entrance or gate is symbolically associated with the Arabic *ghafura*, meaning forgiveness suggesting that by passing through the gate, one obtains forgiveness. A few steps through the East gate, inside a half metre high wall that separates the grave complex from the square at the right of the gate, there is a well called *Sumur Jati*. At the left side of the gate, three buildings stand parallel. The first of these is *Mande Cungkup Danalaya*, a wooden hall belonging to the villagers of Danalaya (8 km west of Cirebon) who use it to make preparation for their *ngunjung* ceremonies. The next is a museum where the collection of presents from foreign rulers for Sunan Gunung Jati given over centuries are kept. It includes tens of Chinese jars from the Ming dynasty as well as other valuables. The third building is *Mande Cungkup Trusmi*, a wooden hall which belongs to the people of Trusmi which is used for a similar purpose as that of Danalaya.

⁵⁰ Now the name Pasambangan refers only to the *Pekemitan*, a watch hall for the caretakers of the grave complex.

⁵¹ The *Candra Sangkala* (memorial statement) of *Sirna* (disappear) *Tanana* (nothing) *Warna* (four) *Tunggal* (one), according to *Juru Kunci*, refers to the number of 0041 which is to be read from right to left. It indicates the Saka Era (SE) which starts at AD 78.

Entering the second entrance, a gate near a water jar from which ablution is taken prior to *ziarah*, there is the *Pendopo Soka* which was used as an assembly hall but has now become a resting room for pilgrims. Next to it is Siti Hinggil, an elevated floor where the Sultan used to keep a watch across the square. A wooden building called *Mande Budi Jajar* or *Mande Pajajaran* with the *Candra Sangkala* "*Tunggal Boya Hawarna Tunggal*," indicating that it was constructed in SE 1401(?) stands next to Siti Hinggil. The *Mande* is said as to have been brought by Dipati Jagabaya from Pajajaran and to be used by the Dipati on behalf of Prabu Siliwangi to install Pangeran Cakrabuana (Walangsungsang) as regent of Cirebon under the suzerainty of Pajajaran.

The main gate leading to the pilgrims' destination is *Gerbang Weregu* through which the visitors pass by way of a corridor to *Pekemitan*, a pillared hall used as the quarter for the care-takers called *Pasambangan*.⁵² *Pasambangan* is divided into two sections the *Paseban Bekel* (place for *bekel*) at the West and *Paseban Kraman* (place for *wong kraman*) at the East. Here the caretakers stand on duty; they are dressed in the Cirebonese traditional way with *iket* (batik headcloth) on the head, white *kampret* shirt at the top for the *Bekel* or *kutung* (chest wrap) for the *Kraman*, and *tapi* (batik garment) as their lower garment. Turning left along the corridor is a hall called *Gedongan Raja Sulaeman*, which was erected by Sultan Sepuh IX and later became his graveyard. The wall throughout these sections is decorated with Dutch and Chinese porcelain plates. The platform to which the pilgrims are led to sit for *ziarah* is next to this *gedongan*. This is the *ziarah* platform which lies between *Gedongan Raja Sulaeman* on the East and *Pelayonan* on the West, and with *Lawang Krapyak* on the South and *Lawang Pesujudan* or *Siblangbong* on the North. The two *lawang* (gates) are part of the nine gates standing one after another in a straight line from south to north, along the ascending pathway from the square to the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati at the top of the hill. In order, they are: 1) *Gapura Kulon*, 2) *Krapyak*, 3) *Pesujudan* or *Siblangbong*, 4) *Ratnakomala*, 5) *Jinem*, 6) *Rararoga*, 7) *Kaca*, 8) *Bacem* and 9) *Teratai*. Except for *Gapura Kulon*, all the gates are kept closed; they are opened only on the eve of *Syawalan* to make way for the Sultans and their consorts. *Krapyak* is opened on Thursday night *Kliwon* (*Jum'at Kliwon*) after the *tahlil* ceremony, the main item of *ziarah*, to allow the flocking pilgrims to pass through leaving the *ziarah* platform, whereas *Pesujudan* is also open on Thursday night *Kliwon* during the *tahlil* ritual, not to allow the pilgrims to pass through it but only to allow visibility towards the ascending pathway leading to the hill top. To the West, next to the *ziarah* platform is the *Pelayon* or *Mande Layon*, a wooden hall where corpses are put for a rest prior to burial. After this, there is a section where many Chinese pilgrims burn incense sticks in reverence to Nio Ong Tin

⁵² This main gate however, does not constitute one of the nine gates leading to Sunan Gunung Jati's tomb. (See the sketch of the grave complex).

(Nyai Rara Sumanding), and finally, at the West end of the complex, stands *Gedong Kaprabon*, a hall used only by the Sultans and their families when a visit to Astana is made (see diagram).

Gedong Raja Sulaeman is the only block of the kraton family grave site to which access is allowed for ordinary visitors. The other blocks behind *Lawang Pesujudan* along the East and West sides of the elevated path-way to the top of the mount are beyond normal reach. Only the three Sultans and their families, or individuals who get special written permission from the Sultans are allowed to enter. The main block called *Gedong Jinem Gusti Syarif* is located at the top of the hill where lies Sunan Gunung Jati's tomb, along with 17 other important figures including Walangsungsang (Pangeran Cakrabuana), Fadhilah Khan (Faletchan), Rarasantang (Syarifah Mudaim), and Nyai Ratu Tepasari (Tepasan). Over the roof of this *gedong jinem*, there is a *memolo* (the top) called *kendi petula* ('emerald pitcher') coated with pure gold. Behind the wall outside the 29 blocks are buried numerous *Ki* and *Nyi Gede* of various *desa*. This section is open to the public on the eve of *Syawalan* and *Raya Agung*.⁵³

Along with the *Sumur Jati* (*Jati* well), there are two other wells which attract visitors, the *Kesepuhan* and the *Kanoman*, located at the West end of the complex. There are still others, however, one of which is the *Kejayaan* well located at the mosque at the North-Eastern section of the complex; many visitors including Chinese, bathe at the seven well (*adus sumur pitu*) by going from one well to another. The purpose of this bathing is to release dirt from the body (*ngirab*), a symbolic intention of washing away all sins and bad luck (*mbuang kekebel*). Two of the preferred wells for this ceremony are *Tegang Pati* and *Jala Tunda* located on Gunung Jati hill.⁵⁴

The care for the whole of compounds, both Gunung Jati and Gunung Sembung, is managed by a group of custodians with a fairly complex organisational structure. The overall operation is under the responsibility of *Ki Jeneng*, the principal, who coordinates 120 staff. He directs 4 senior assistants (*Bekel Sepuh/Tua*), 8 junior assistants (*Bekel Anom/Nom*) and 108 technical assistants (*Wong Kraman*). The *Bekel Sepuh* and *Anom* reflect the two *kraton*, *Kesepuhan* and *Kanoman*, while the whole structure of the custodians reflects the continuation of the duty set forth in the traditional organisation of the ship's crew, captained by Patih Keling, before their ship was wrecked. Working in rotation, everyday there are always 14 people on duty consisting of *Ki Jeneng* himself, one *Bekel Sepuh*, one *Bekel Anom* and 12 *Wong Kraman*. Along with other duties, the *Bekel Sepuh* is especially responsible for care around the grave

⁵³ See Chapter Five. A detailed list of prominent occupants at this complex, see: Atja (1986), Carita Purwaka ..., pp. 105–112.

⁵⁴ The names of the seven wells (*sumur*) are thus: 1) Jati, 2) Kesepuhan, 3) Kanoman, 4) Kejayaan, 5) Tegang Pati 6) Jala Tunda, and 7) one whose name I missed. It is located within the mosque precinct, next to the women's resting/bath room.

of Pangeran Raja Sulaeman, *Bekel Anom* for care of *Jinem Gusti Syarif*, and the *Wong Kraman* are responsible for caring for the whole complex. Three of the *Wong Kraman* on duty are separately named. One is *Penanggap*, responsible for care for the block of Pangeran Manis graveyard, the other two are *Jemlodi* for Panembahan Ratu, and *Penjangkar* for Sultan Syamsuddin. They are on duty 24 hours for a period of 15 days at each rotation. Thus, only *Ki Jeneng* works everyday as the coordinator. A *Bekel Sepuh* works only once every 45 days, a *Bekel Anom* works once every 105 days and a *Wong Kraman* works only once every 120 days. *Jeneng* and *Bekel* are recruited from the descendants of Patih Keling (Adipati Suramenggala), formerly the captain of ship-wrecked sailors, who later became Sunan Gunung Jati's faithful servant, his body guard and a triumphant warrior at the same time. *Wong Kraman*, on the other hand, are recruited from the descendants of his men sailors. Each rotation (once every 15 days) is marked by a ceremony called *tampan* (handing down the duty) from the former group to the successor in a semi traditional military procedure. This procedure is preserved including the wording which is kept intact. The following is an example of how a *Bekel Sepuh* reports to *Ki Jeneng* at the initiation:

“Yes Kyai, I was entrusted by Kyai to care for the tomb of Sultan Sepuh Raja Sulaeman; now, I have just handed the duty onto *Bekel Sepuh* named (...he mentions the successor) who has taken my job. I would like to report that there has been nothing wrong in and around the site. I apologise if there is something that does not satisfy you. I hereby ask your permission to do *ziarah* at the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati”.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Its original Javanese reads: “Inggih sampun Kyai sakala wau kula dituwawi dumateng Kyai kangge ngormeni Gusti Sultan Sepuh Pangeran Raja Sulaeman, sapuniki sampun kula tampiaken dumateng Bekel sepuh ingkang nami (...) ngagolong pedamelan dalem. Lan malih ngaturi uninga salebete lan sawawine pangubeng Dalem boten wonten salah sawios. Bilih wonten salah sawios kirang penggarapan nyuwun dituwakup. Sinareng saniki kula permios nyuwun izin bade ziarah.”

The Nine Gates
 I Gapura Kulon
 II Krapyak
 III Pesujudan
 IV Ratnakomala
 V Jinem
 VI Rararoga
 VII Kaca
 VIII Bacem
 IX Teratai

Original design Masduk Sarpin
 Cartographer Margaret Tyrie

Along with this graveyard custodian there is also a group of mosque caretakers called *kaum*, headed by a *penghulu*.⁵⁶ He is assisted by 12 staff consisting of 3 *ketib* (**katib**), 4 *modin* (**muadz**in) and 5 *kemit* (technical assistants). They work in rotation on a weekly basis from Thursday to Wednesday. Everyday the *penghulu* directs 3 staff, a *ketib*, a *modin* and a *kemit*. The *Penghulu* gives a sermon and leads (*ngimami*) the Friday prayer and the *tahlil* at Pasambangan on Thursday night with Ki *Jeneng*. The *ketib* (secretary) is his direct assistant who represents the *penghulu* in case the latter is unable to do something and to lead daily congregational prayer at the mosque. Outside the mosque he cares for the corpse when a death occurs. The *modin* strikes the *kentong* and *bedug* followed by the call for prayer to signal to the surrounding villagers every time prayer time comes; whereas the *kemit* is in charge of doing technical work in general, including taking care of and cleaning the mosque. All personnel, both for the grave complex and the mosque, are named by the Sultans of Kesepuhan and Kanoman and, thus, they formally work for the sultans. In fact most of the land at Desa Astana is owned by the *kraton*.⁵⁷

Kramat Trusmi

The complete reference for *Kramat Trusmi* is *Kramat Mbah Buyut Trusmi*. It is located in *Desa* Trusmi in Weru Sub-District, about 7 km West of Cirebon and 1.5 km north of the Cirebon-Bandung or Cirebon-Jakarta main road. Public transport to this *kramat* is plentiful and available from Cirebon by taking a small passenger car to Plered, the main town of Weru, then from Plered directly to the *kramat* by *becak*. This *kramat* is the second most important site after Astana in terms of visitors and traditional festivals, although in size it is smaller than Astana. Unlike Astana, which is under the direct control of the *kraton*, Trusmi is now independent, although formerly it also belonged to the *kraton*. Recruitment of the custodians, requires that each candidate should be the descendant of a past custodian, but in many cases, the final decision on who is appointed, involves the *desa* officials, especially the chief (*kuwu* now *kades*), rather than the *sultan*. When this sort of independence commenced is unclear.

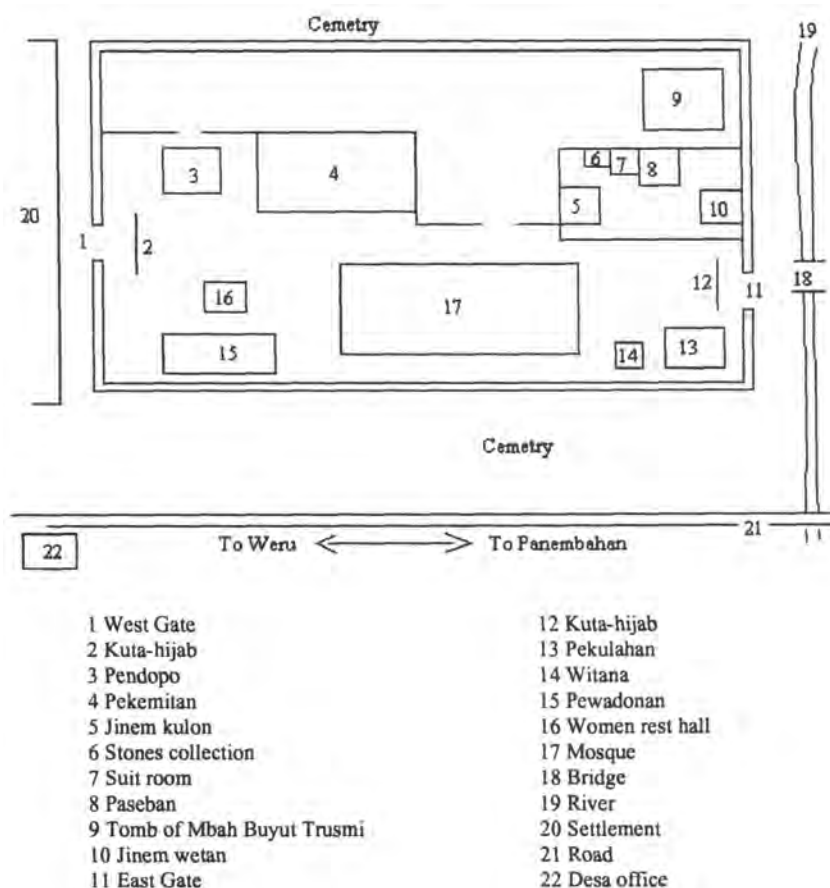
The revered figure of this *kramat* is known as Ki *Buyut* Trusmi from which the *kramat*'s name is derived. *Buyut* means great grand-father, but the term *Ki Buyut* refers to the ancestor, the founder of the *desa* where the *kramat* is located. Who is really meant by *Ki Buyut* Trusmi is still unclear. Whether it is Walangsungsang, the owner and the founder of the *kramat*, Ki Gede Trusmi, the ancestor or the first settler at Trusmi, or Pangeran Trusmi, grandson of Ki Gede Trusmi and Walangsungsang does not appear to be known. According to the legend the

⁵⁶ The present *penghulu* is Kyai Qasim, descendant of Sunan Gunung Jati. He is also local *mursyid* of Qadiriyyah wan-Naqshabandiyah order. Most of his followers come from Bekasi, Subang, Karawang and Indramayu regencies.

⁵⁷ See map of Astana.

name Trusmi is derived from *terus* (instantly) *semi* (spring up). Thus *terus semi* means 'to spring up instantly.' It is said that once Ki Gede Bangbangan, the first settler in the area, was sitting in front of his cottage enjoying with pride a site around the cottage he had just cleared. Suddenly he heard a mysterious voice saying: "*Assalamu'alaikum* (peace be upon you)." Immediately all the weeds and trees he had just cleared sprang up again and returned to their former condition thus spoiling all his hard work. While he was looking around with a mixture of sadness and astonishment two men walked toward him with a greeting saying: "*Assalamu'alaikum*." The voice and tone of the two men saying the words was precisely similar to what he had mysteriously heard. A dialogue occurred between Ki Gede Bangbangan and the two men and it turned out that the men were Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati. As a result of this unexplainable event Ki Gede Bangbangan finally embraced Islam and the area became known as Trusmi; Ki Gede Bangbangan became Ki Gede Trusmi.

Figure 6.5: Sketch of Kramat Mbah Buyut Trusmi (1995).



Like many other sites, *Kramat* Trusmi consists of two sections, one section is separated from the other by a space which functions as a pathway from the West entrance of the *kramat* to the East entrance. The first section is in the south, comprising the mosque and its annex, whereas the other section is to the north being the tombs section where the revered figures, Ki Gede Trusmi and Pangeran Trusmi, are buried. Both sections are surrounded by a wall two metres high made up of an uncemented stack of ancient bricks. The sacredness of the complex, although unclear, is attributed more to Walangsungsang (Pangeran Cakrabuana), the founder of Cirebon, who is said to have built the complex. Walangsungsang, the founder of Cirebon, stayed at Cirebon Girang but his son, Pangeran Carbon, married Nyai Cupluk, daughter of Ki Gede Trusmi and had a son named Pangeran Trusmi or Mangana Jati who stayed at Trusmi. The oldest building Walangsungsang erected is called *witana*. This stands for *wiwiit ana* meaning the first that existed (was built). *Witana* was used by Walangsungsang to rest in and to teach Islam. It lies next to *pekulahan*, a pond for bathing and ablution

which is watered from the adjacent river. Next to *witana* lies the mosque, one main part of the *kramat* which, although it has undergone extensive renovation, still maintains its antiquity by the preserved structure of the building, the style of its wooden roof (*sirap*), *pillars*, and *memolo* (peak), its pulpit and the water jars (*padasan*) for ablution.

The tomb section consists of a *pendopo* (a hall to receive guests), *pekuncen* (quarters for key bearers on duty), two *jinem* (stands for *si-ji kang ne-nem*, one consisting of six) on the West and East, each of which accommodates pilgrims who stay overnight, a stone room where a collection of 17 stones are kept, a room where key bearers change their clothes, *paseban* (the hall where the pilgrims doing *ziarah* go), and the *gedongan* ('brick building') where the tombs of Ki Buyut Trusmi and Pangeran Trusmi lie. All are under the responsibility of a group of 9 caretakers called *kuncen* headed by a *sep* (key bearer in chief) who is recruited by election in the same way as a *desa* chief is elected. The present *sep* is the 15th generation since Walangsungsang (Cakrabuana). The 10th of which was Ki Thalhah, who is a prominent *mursyid* of the Qadiriyyah wan Naqsabandiyah order in West Java and student of Syekh Khatib Sambas, a Jawah who lived in Mecca, and the founder of the order.⁵⁸

The *sep* is assisted by four (*juru kunci*) (key bearers) and four *kyai*, assistants to the *kunci*; each being appointed by the *Sep* from among the descendants of previous *kuncen*.⁵⁹ The total number of nine for the custodians (according to Ki Turdjani, one of the *kunci* at Trusmi), has a double reference. One reference is to the work of the nine *wali*, the founders of Islam on Java, and the other is to the nine world founders of Islam comprising The Prophet, the four Caliphs who succeeded the Prophet's (Abu Bakr, Umar, Utsman and Ali), and the four Imam, founders of the schools of *syare'at* who followed the Caliph (Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali and Syafi'i). In this hierarchy, the *kunci* rank higher than the *kyai*. This is analogous to the fact that the *Caliph* rank higher than the *imam* of the four schools. Along with the *kuncen* there are also *kaum* and *kemit*. *Kaum* are the mosque custodians headed by a *lebe* who has a similar function to the *penghulu* at Astana. He is assisted by a *ketib* and two *modin*. The *kemit* consists of four people who are engaged in technical work for both the graveyard and the mosque. The total number of custodians is therefore 17, representing the total

⁵⁸ *Mursyid* is a leader who has an authority to initiate a new follower of a *tarekat* (Sufi order). Khatib Sambas (d. 1875) was a prominent 19th century Indonesian scholar in Mecca, born in Kalimantan. (For a short description, see: Dhofier, 1985:85–87). He is regarded as the one who combined Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah doctrines into a single order, the Qadiriyyah wan Naqsabandiyah. This order might have had a stronghold at Trusmi and Astana. The present *penghulu* Astana mosque grave complex is a local *mursyid* who traces his spiritual genealogy through Ki Thalhah. Aba Sepuh, father of Aba Anom of Pesantren Surialaya (Tasikmalaya, southern West Java) was also initiated by Ki Thalhah. See: Nasution, H. (1990), ed, *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah: Sejarah Asal-Usul, dan Perkembangannya*, Tasikmalaya: IAILM.

⁵⁹ At Trusmi the way to refer to *juru kunci* (key bearer) is by just using the term *kunci* or *Ki Kunci*, meaning key. The word *juru* (holder or bearer) is omitted. A group of *kunci* is called *kuncen*.

number of units of five prescribed prayers. The *Sep* at Trusmi, like the *Jeneng* at Astana, works everyday; the others work in shifts of a week each from Thursday afternoon each week and thus, everyday there are always 5 persons on duty: a *sep*, a *kunci*, a *kyai*, a *kaum* and a *kemit*.

The physical structure of the *kramat* and the traditions within it, Ki Turjani said, also conveys symbolic messages which lay stress on recounting the meaning of Islam as a religion of peace (*rukun/damai*). The total length of the surrounding wall for example, is 60 *depa*; the number, 60 alludes to the number of the prophets known by most Muslims, 25 of whom are messengers (*rasul*) for whom the Prophet Muhammad serves as the seal (the 25th). The notion of 25 messengers and the seal is signified at the traditional Maulid festival (*muludan*) at Trusmi held on 25th of *Mulud*. The use of *depa* (stretching the two hands apart making a straight line of approximately 1.75 metre long) as a way of measuring a unit of length is to reflect that each prophet led mankind onto the straight path (*sirat al-mustaqim*), the only way man can live safely in this world and the hereafter. On the wall throughout the complex there are also 60 domes of piled brick (*candi laras*) to represent the idea that among the messages brought by each of the 60 prophets is the idea of living in harmony (*selaras*) with each other, and with nature and, above all, with God.

The entrance to the *kramat* is called *gapura* (forgiveness) meaning that the main purpose for everyone visiting the place is to seek forgiveness from God both for himself and for others (the living and the deceased). Passing through the eastern entrance which leads to the mosque, one encounters a 'veil' in the form of a brick wall (*kuta hijab*) which obstructs one's view. This wall which is about 2 metres wide and 2 metres high signifies that if someone has an intention to perform *ibadat* (going to the mosque) that person should have made a firm decision and be generous, only for God's sake, not for any other reasons. The same understanding should be held when passing through the western entrance leading to the *pendopo* to meet people and to the *pekuncen* (place of *kunci*) for *ziarah* (visit) or *sedekah* (offering) or other means of establishing a relationship with people, dead or alive. The notion of generosity is further accentuated when inside the *kramat*, close to the well, one will find *kapianjing* and *blimbing wulu* trees standing side by side. The *kapianjing* tree is to signal that anyone who enters (*manjing*) either the mosque or the grave-site must first be clean hearted and spiritually pure. The outward expression of this is indicated by taking a ritual ablution (*banyu wulu*) represented by the *blimbing wulu* tree. The first section of the *kramat*, the mosque, represents *syare'at*, the worldly life; whereas the second, the grave, resembles *hakekat*, life after death. Life in this world, should be used to prepare for the life after death.

The *jinem* which stands for *(si)ji kang (ne)nem* (one which contains six) alludes to the Decrees of Faiths which are six in number (Belief in God, the Angels, the

Messengers, the Holy Books, the Day of Judgement and God's Pre-destination). *Jinem* lies at both West and East, meaning that wherever and whenever one goes or stays, eastward or westward, at the place where the sun rises or at place where the sun sets, the faiths must be preserved. The enactment of the faith is the holding of the Five Pillars of Islam, the most important of which is the observance of the five prescribed daily prayers whose total number of units is 17, signified by the 17 persons who are custodians, and the collection of 17 stones put on the ground. The stones are of different size from the smallest of 60 grams to the largest of about 27 kg. The largest one, which alludes to the *tauhid* (the unity of God), the key of Islamic religion, is surrounded by the others.

It would be a long list if everything in this complex were to be enumerated. But the important thing is, according to Ki Turjani, there are sufficient grounds to deduce from these examples that Islam is a religion of peace. Islam has been presented by the *wali* to local people in peaceful and subtle ways, using a gradual approach, indirect persuasion and exemplary models. In this way aspects of Islam as a religion of peace and harmony were strongly emphasised. To this end the use of allegorical expressions, mythical stories, and symbolic representation in conformity with the existing condition, world view and traditions have inevitably become a major feature.

THE PROCEDURE OF ZIARAH

Along with the physical structure and historical aspect of the *kramat*, how *ziarah* proceeds, what happens in the *kramat* and how the caretakers and the visitors interact requires careful examination. From the eyes of the caretakers, visitors to *kramat* are of various kinds: first, there are *pengunjung biasa* (ordinary visitors) who come to *kramat* mainly for profane purposes such as to see its historical relics, the architectural structure and the artistic dimension of the buildings. Tourists, researchers and government inspectors belong to this category. Secondly, there are *wong ziarah* (pilgrims), the visitors who come to *kramat* not only to know its physical dimensions but more importantly with a spiritual purpose in mind in hope of obtaining *barakah*. These are the majority of visitors. They come from various places and various backgrounds, with different occupations, status and education. Their knowledge of Islam also varies from very knowledgeable to very rudimentary.

They are broadly of two categories, the *wong ziarah* proper and the *wong nyepi*. The former are those who come for a short visit, pray, look around and go home. The latter are visitors who stay overnight or for some days or even weeks. Some are newcomers, some others are well accustomed to visit the place. The reasons for their coming also vary; some stay only for *dedonga* (praying), to seek or maintain well being in general, some others have some specific purpose and make the visit as an *ikhtiar* (effort) to find divine guidance (*'alamat*) for the solution to a particular problem. An example of this type of visitor is Rohiman

(38 years), a farmer from Gegesik (40 km north west of Cirebon), who had stayed for four days (when I spoke to him) and would stay for at least seven days at Trusmi. He wanted to change his life by applying for a job to work in Saudi Arabia via an agent in Jakarta. Substantial cash was needed for the arrangement along with the administration cost paid to the agent. He covered the total amount by selling part of his *sawah* (paddy field). When the date to finalise his passport and visa came he had to return to Cirebon for some reason and came back to the agent two days later. Unfortunately when he visited the agent, his place had been allocated to someone else who paid more than he did. Instead of refunding his money the agent promised him another arrangement. He visited the agent several times but all the promises were nothing but empty words. He was fooled by the agent, had lost his *sawah*, money and hope. He had no money to pay a lawyer, and had no one to help him. What remained, he said, was faith and belief that God at last would repay his patience with His grace. So he came to the *kramat* for recompense. This was his third visit.

Some other visitors told of different problems but with similar flavour; attempting a restoration from mental breakdown, economic difficulties, family problems, marriage failures, and many others including anxiety to have a child after a long marriage, after consulting many doctors, or being unable to afford such a consultation. For them the *kramat* becomes a mental hospital (*rumah sakit mental*) where self-treatment within a spiritual atmosphere is made. Not all visitors however, come to the *kramat* with such hardships. For example, Pak Sanusi (36 years) and his wife from Semarang (Central Java), came to Astana and stayed there for 40 days not for a redemption. Pak Sanusi slept at the mosque, his wife at Pasambangan. Unlike Rohiman, they were staying there to express thankfulness (*syukuran*) after gaining certain worldly merits. Pak Sanusi had just returned from working in Saudi Arabia as a driver for three years. He had managed to make substantial savings and decided to buy a piece of land, renovate his house and start a new life by opening a shop with the hope that what he had received and what he would be doing would be endowed with *berkah*. He was also praying for his daughter who was staying at *Pesantren* at Mangkang (Central Java). He wanted his daughter to become a person (*dadi wong*), meaning he wanted her to be a proper adult, to be well off and to find a good husband.

For Kartiman (21 years) a young man from Losari (Central Java), a *kramat* is like a *pesantren*. It is a place where a free hostel is available. After graduating from Religious High School (*Madrasah 'Aliyah*), he had the pleasure of wandering from place to place from Banten in West Java to Banyuwangi in East Java. He had visited various *pesantren* and *Kyai* too. He used the mosques in *pesantren* or *kramat* to stay as long as he wanted. When I met him at Astana, he said that he was lucky enough, he got some money (*sangu*) from his parents six months ago and he still had it. Sometimes a *Kyai* who was very kind would give him some money, another time someone else would.

Beside *wong ziarah* and *wong nyepi*, there are also visitors, difficult to name, who come to the *kramat* and stay over-night for mere seclusion without having spiritual purposes. These are the most unexpected visitors and virtually now their number is quite small. Among these types of visitors are criminals who find a *kramat* to be a safe hiding place to escape from arrest. To avoid the presence of such unexpected visitors security measures have been made through co-operation with the local administration (*Desa* officials). Currently in most *kramat*, visitors who stay overnight are required to give their identity card to the security section and their identity is recorded. If a person fails to produce an identity card he will not be allowed to stay overnight. Given the variety of visitors I wish to confine my discussion to the pilgrims belonging to both *wong ziarah* and *wong nyepi* categories.

Wong Ziarah and Wong Nyepi

A *kramat* caretaker considers all visitors in the first place as guests (*tamu*) who must be treated with honour. Many reasons are given for this. A visitor is a guest not only of his own but primarily of the revered person who sanctifies the place for whom the caretaker works. Here he assumes himself to be the servant (*bujang* or *pelayan*) for his master. In this capacity he feels obliged on behalf of his master to receive, mediate and show respect and courtesy to all guests. From a religious and ethical viewpoint, according to a *juru kunci*, any guest deserves honourable treatment since the Prophet said that whoever believes in God, His messenger and the Day of Judgement, should honour his guest. Considered from the mystical dimension, although a guest is a *barakah* seeker, at the same time he is also a *barakah* bearer who brings *barakah* to the host. Thus, from this viewpoint, there is a sense of exchange and reciprocity of *barakah* between the host and the visitors in the *ziarah* process. Finally, from an economic point of view, a guest, although not always, but more often than not, means a donation for the maintenance of the *kramat*. At least partly, this is a source of income for the *juru kunci* and his associates. In some *kramat* the donations they collect from visitors spill over outside the *kramat* milieu. A medium size *kramat* such as *Kramat Syekh Magelung* at Karangkandal (35 km North of Cirebon) for example, where Syekh Magelung is buried, provides a grant of a Rp 1,000,000.00 per annum (1992) to support the *desa* administration. It is not surprising then that visits to most *kramat* are always welcome and thus can be made every day at any time. When the *juru kunci* is not there contact with him can be made at his house and most *juru kunci* will not refuse to serve visitors.

The relation between visitor and *juru kunci* normally starts when a visitor or a group of visitors come(s) to the *juru kunci* explaining whether they have come for *ziarah* or for *nyepi*. For formality sake, some *juru kunci* recommend that a visitor, should come with a parcel of flowers and incense (both, which are not compulsory, usually can be bought from peddlers nearby or around the *kramat*),

take an ablution and go together with the *juru kunci* and enter the *ziarah* platform with standard greetings addressed to the dead in a similar way to the ordinary Islamic procedures for visiting graves.⁶⁰ The greeting (in Arabic) reads: “*Assalamu’alaikum ya ahladdiyar minal mu’minin wal-muslimin wa inni insya Allah ma’akum lahiqun nasalullaha lana walakumul ‘afiyah*” (Peace be upon you oh, the grave dweller[s] of the believers and surrenderers, verily if God will, we shall be with you soon; we beg God endows us with well being).⁶¹ Then they sit on mats or on the floor facing the tomb and burn incense. The *juru kunci* then asks if the guest will utter the next prayer by himself or, when it is a group, whether one of the group members would like to lead the prayer or else whether the *juru kunci* himself should lead.

The standard prayer uttered in *ziarah* is the renewal of faith by means of *tahlil*.⁶² Prior to the *tahlil* the *fatihah* is recited seven times, the merit of each *fatihah* is addressed to a number of spirits of the deceased.⁶³ The first is to the Prophet Muhammad and his companions, wives, descendants, dwellers of his house (**ahl al-bayt**); the second is to the four companions (the four Caliphs) and some specified closest friends (Thalhah, Sa’ad, Sa’id, Abd Rahman bin ‘Awf, Abi ‘Uбайдah, Amir bin Jarrah, Zubair bin ‘Awwam); the third is to the founders of the four schools of **shari’a**, their followers, the scholars, jurists, *hadithists*, readers of the Qur’an, exegetes of the Qur’an, the true *Sufi* and those who follow them good heartedly (*ihsan*) until the Day of Judgement. The fourth is to the martyrs (*syuhada*) buried at al-Ma’la, al-Shubaikah, al-Baqi’, and the believers in general who already passed away in the East and in the West, on land and at sea. The fifth is to all *wali* in the East and in the West, on the ground and in the sea, especially Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, Junaid al-Baghdadi, Ahmad al-Badawi,

⁶⁰ Some informants said that in one sense flowers are used as a symbolic expression of love, affection and sincerity. In another sense, putting flowers on graves is deduced from the example given by the Prophet who once put palm date leaves on the grave he visited. With regard to incense, there are many things enumerated about it, one of which is that it is a symbol of “*ngarwah*” to address to the spirits. Smoke is a subtle thing which contrary to water, always goes up. The ethereal world where the spirit is supposed to reside is up there and the smoke with incense is the symbolic vehicle which would bring the message. There are also many practical reasons for the use of incense, such as to create spiritual atmosphere, to drive away mosquitoes and other insects, to unite the fragrance brought by various people of various conditions. But those practical reasons, I think, have come mainly as apologies against stigmatisation of its use. According to Kyai Nasir of Pesantren Tarbiyatul Banin at Kaliwadas, burning incense is one of the Prophet’s customs, depicted in the *hadith* narrated by al-Nasai and Muslim (i.e.: *Sunan Nasai*, vol 7–8 p.106 and *Sahih Muslim*, vol 2, p.302).

⁶¹ This procedure is directly derived from a *hadith* transmitted by Muslim and Ahmad. See for example: Sulaiman Rasyid (1988), *Fiqh Islam*, p.183.

⁶² The claim that *tahlil* is a renewal of faith came from a *Juru Kunci*. When I asked about it to Ki Dulah of Buntet, he confirmed that the claim is true. According to Ki Dulah, there is a *hadith* in which the Prophet told his companion: “Renew your faith (continuously)!” His companions asked: “How do we renew our faith?” The Prophet said: “Keep saying as many as you can the words “there is no God but Allah.”

⁶³ This is done in the same manner with *hadiwan* mentioned earlier but the stress to be put is different. In *hadiwan*, the stress is put on addressing the spirit of Syekh ‘Abdul Qadir Al-Jilani whereas in *ziarah* the stress is on the *wali* or holy men being visited.

Ahmad al-Rifa'i, Ja'far al-Sadiq, Abu Yazid al-Busthami, Yusuf al-Hamdani, Hasan al-Harqani, Ma'ruf al-Kurkhy, Sirr al-Saqty, Habib al-'Ajamy and other *Sufi*. The sixth is to a number of prominent figures buried at Gunung Sembung and Gunung Jati, especially Syarif Hidayatullah, Syarifah Mudaim (Rarasantang), Nyai Mas Panatagama Pasambangan (Syarifah Baghdad), Pangeran Cakrabuana (Walangsungsang), Syeikh Datu Kahfi, and Syeikh Bayanillah. This is the case of Astana; in the case of other *kramat*, besides these figures, the figure buried at that *kramat* is added. At Panguragan, for example, an addition is made by mentioning Nyi Mas Gandasari, and at Karangkendal by mentioning Syeikh Magelung and others related to that place.

Having mentioned these figures a special address like that used in *hadiwan* is uttered: "Help us by God's permission and by reference to the *karamat* God endowed to the already mentioned deceased persons, we ask for intercession, blessing, remuneration and safety." The last *fatihah* is addressed to the spirits of parents, ancestors, Muslims, and all believers dead or alive. Then the *tahlil* (testimony "there is no God but Allah") is uttered 100 times, followed by the recital of a set of selected Qur'anic verses, exaltation of God and exaltation of the Prophet Muhammad. Concluding with a *du'a* the palms of the hands are raised up and other participants respond with "Amen." This is similar to *tahlil* at *slametan* or other occasions. Then the flowers are put on the grave between tombstones or at the appropriate place as directed by *juru kunci*. At the end, each visitor contemplates and prays by heart in his own language for any wishes he/she might have, and the *ziarah* is completed. When the visit is made individually, upon leaving the *ziarah* platform the visitor shakes the *juru kunci*'s hands and gives him some cash as a donation or puts it into a box provided for it. At Astana where many visitors come and go one after another and usually in groups, the cash is put in front of the *pesujudan* door. When a crowd of people want to give their donation in coins but cannot approach the door because there are too many people, they throw the coins towards the door which will fall down around it. The coins hitting the door thrown by the crowd produces an orchestrated sound. Usually the throwing marks the end of a *ziarah* session. All money and coins will be collected by *wong kraman*.

Many visitors, especially at Astana, feel unsatisfied by merely attending the *tahlil*. Some struggle amidst the crowd, or those who are patient wait until there is enough space, and come forward to take a chance, leaning their chest against the *pesujudan* wooden door; some others kiss it or rub it with their hands, then rub their hands to their face; some brush the door with handkerchiefs; still others pick up and kiss some flowers they put there before *tahlil*. Outside the *tahlil* session there are visitors sleeping between graves, or sitting while their lips are murmuring something, or reciting the Qur'an facing the graves, some even hold a tombstone while doing these things.

Seeing this type of behaviour, observers may gain different impressions from it, some would get an unfavourable one. Of these, especially those who condemn *wali* veneration, usually take it as authentic evidence for their allegations about the idolatrous nature of *ziarah* practices, saying that not only do the pilgrims worship either *wali*, their tombs or both along with God, but also other objects as well such as the wooden door at Astana or other objects elsewhere.

There are many others who see it differently ranging from recommending, agreeing or just not condemning such practices, while they themselves may not do them. They are mostly of the *pesantren* (traditional religious school) stock and the traditional villagers at large. For them faith is in the heart and thus one's faith cannot be judged from outward behaviour only. Some visitors said that what they do is an expression of their anxiety to show respect to *Kanjeng Sinuhun* (a reference to Sunan Gunung Jati); some others said that it was to satisfy themselves emotionally that they were able to come to the place; still others said that it was to ensure earnest praying and to show an eagerness for *barakah*.⁶⁴

For a *wong nyepi*, after the ordinary *ziarah* procedure is concluded, *juru kunci* may lead him to occupy a space available at the *kramat* to stay with others if he is a newcomer, or the *juru kunci* may let his guest take any space he likes if he is familiar with the place. During their stay at *kramat*, *wong nyepi* usually engage in either one or a combination of fasting, voluntary night prayer, reciting the Qur'an, *tahlil* individually or in group, and doing mental training (*tirakat*) by means of eating only plain staple foods (*mutih* or *ngasrep*) such as rice, cassava and maize, as well as doing other pious practices. Those who cannot do these things, can ask the *juru kunci* for advice. When an individual visitor is unable to take his advice because of serious ignorance, *juru kunci* usually stress the earnestness of the person's concern to keep praying to God, wishing that by virtue of the *barakah* and *karamah* of the figure at the *kramat*, God would answer his prayer. This earnestness should be expressed outwardly in one form or

⁶⁴ The situation did not allow indepth talks with visitors who were coming and going to explore their theological outlook. The evidence I could obtain from those who exhibited such behaviour (leaning their body onto the door, rubbing it with handkerchiefs or bare hands, kissing it, etc) is that they feel their visit to this place as an exciting opportunity and do not think of having chance for another visit. They came from far outside Cirebon region, including Lampung (South Sumatra), Bekasi, Subang, Karawang, Indramayu, Cianjur, Sukabumi or other parts of Java. None were regular visitors from surrounding villages. *Ki Jeneng* at Astana was aware of the idolatrous allegation, but he said, such an allegation is too simplistic. Other informants showed similar opinions. Pak Said at Kalitengah for example, said that anyone anywhere can lean on a door or another object, rubbing it and kissing it, but why when these things done at Astana or other *kramat* are they said to be idolatrous while elsewhere they are not? Ki Dulah (of Pesantren Buntet) said, expressions of love, respect, excitement, happiness and sadness vary from person to person. *Sungkem* (prostration to parents) or kissing hands does not mean equating the object with God, neither does kissing a letter from a fiancée, rubbing it, pushing it at one's breast, etc. In fact, both groups (those who condemn and those who perform *wali* veneration) hold the same doctrine, the *tauhid* (unity of God). They are, nevertheless, separated by what Wittgenstein (1987:75) calls "an unbridgeable communication gap." They see similar things but each conceives the things differently and uses the things and the sight for different projections.

another like fasting, uttering *du'a* continuously by heart or by tongue in their own language, reciting repeatedly whatever they can do even only the *Basmalah* (In the name of God) and the *Syihadat* (Testimony of Faith). Concentration of the mind (*mancleng*) on God is, above all, strongly stressed.

Ziarah however, can also be performed without formal contact with a *juru kunci* if it is conducted on regular occasions or on the occasion of festivals. At least once a week, usually Thursday night (*bengi Jum'ah*) after evening prayer (*'Isya*), almost all *kramat* in Cirebon routinely perform *tahlil* in which public participation is welcome or even expected. At Trusmi, for example, *tahlil* is held four times a week, on Sunday and Tuesday nights after evening prayer (around 8.00 pm), and twice on Thursday night. Each is carried out after evening prayer and at midnight (12.00 pm). At Astana, on the other hand, *tahlil* is performed once on Tuesday night (*bengi Rebo*) and twice on Thursday night at 8.00 pm led by *Ki Penghulu*, and at 10.00 p.m., led by *Ki Jeneng*. At Astana, each time it is attended by no less than 5000 participants. This number increases substantially to 30.000 on Thursday night (*bengi Jum'at*) *Kliwon*, and several hundred thousand at festival times. Each festival, either at Trusmi or Astana, lasts about a week.

Kramat Trusmi has three main festivals: *muludan* (commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad), *memayu* (replacement of *welit* or palm-thatch roofs) used on *pewadonan*, *pekuncen* and two *jinem*,⁶⁵ and *ganti sirap* (replacement of *sirap* or wooden roofs) used on *witana*, the mosque, *penyekaran*, *pesujudan* and *paseban*. The *muludan* is held each year on a fixed date, the 25th of Mulud. *Memayu* is held once a year and *ganti sirap* once every two years; each is held at the beginning of the rainy season. The exact date is determined by the assembly of *desa* officials and *kramat* custodians specially held for that purpose. All materials and labour needed at both *memayu* and *ganti sirap* are provided entirely by the people. The offer of the materials as well as the application for essential voluntary work such as by carpenters and masons comes eventually after the custodian issues an announcement about the matter.

At Astana, as already mentioned, the festival is held four times annually. These festivals are held on *Syawalan* or *Grebeg Syawal* (on the 8th of Syawal), *Grebeg Raya Agung* on 12th Raya Agung, *Muludan* (on the 11th of Mulud) and *Sedekah Bumi-Nadran*, prior to the beginning of the rainy season.⁶⁶ All these festivals attract hundreds of thousands of visitors who come by chartered buses or other means of transportations from many places throughout Java and even Sumatra. Folk arts such as *wayang golek* (puppet plays), *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet plays), *topeng* (mask dances), *tarling* (Cirebonese local music), acrobatics, *sandiwara* (play) and Malay orchestra, are performed at these festivals, along

⁶⁵ According to Ki Turjani, the word *memayu* is derived from the *ayu*, meaning beautiful; thus, *memayu* means to make beautiful.

⁶⁶ See Chapter Five.

with great carnivals held on the last festive day. The entertaining groups voluntarily come for promotion to entertain visitors without being paid, but their hope of gaining *berkah* from participation in the festival is implicit.

Plate 24: An entrance to Astana Gunung Jati grave complex.



Plate 25: Astana Gunung Jati custodians at the "Pekemitan" hall.



Plate 26: Pilgrims at Astana Gunung: the "Pesujudan" door is closed.



Plate 27: The "Pesujudan" door is open. (The ascending pathway leads to Sunan Gunung Jati's tomb.)



Plate 28: A "wong kraman" serves pilgrims.



Plate 29: Astana Gunung Jati custodians and Kecamatan Administrative officials pray together on a festival occasion.

