

Chapter 9: Pilgrimage at Pamijahan: Practice and Narrative

Now concerning the purpose of pilgrimage, it is to create a 'bridge' by which we connect our wishes to God's Emissary, or to the Prophet, or to all the Friends of God, in order to obtain a result which is granted by our Lord God. (Risalah Adab al-jairin).

A. Introduction

Ziarah, or pilgrimage, is the most sublime and intense symbolic interaction in the valley of Safarwadi or Pamijahan. Both the 'signs of the past' and the 'signs in the past' are mixed, modified, and 'broadcast'. In previous chapters, I draw attention to the significance of ancestral signs in the lives of the villagers. Now, I will look at these representations from the perspective of outsiders, as well as villagers, as they make devotional visits to the shrine of the wali.

Pilgrimage in the Muslim world appears in two significant modes. The first is the sacred journey to Mecca in the days of Dhu' l-hijja, the twelfth lunar month, which is made incumbent on the faithful by Scripture (Qur'an 2:286; 3:97). It is the fifth of the Five Pillars after the profession of faith (*syahadah*), the five daily ritual prayers (*shalat*), the fast (*saum*) in the month of Ramadhan, and almsgiving (*zakat*). The Five Pillars of Islam stand as a sturdy framework supporting the whole range of complicated ritual actions, collectively called *ibadah*, that are incumbent upon Muslims. The basic criterion for determining whether a particular devotional act, or act of *ibadah*, can be defined as serving God, is the intention of that act, called *niat* or, in Pamijahan, *niat ibadah*. Thus, any form of devotional ritual would be meaningless if not performed in the service of God with pure *niat*. The Five Pillars of Islam function as a mnemonic device to translate all Islamic prescriptions into action.¹

However, there are also *ibadah* which are not clearly stated in the Five Pillars, but are the result of interpretations of certain traditional recollections of the sayings and deeds (*hadith*) of the Prophet Muhammad or even the result of local understanding regarding these traditions and the scriptures. *Ibadah* at this level is to some extent still recognised as accepted ritual when it has the approval of religious scholars, or *ulama*. In the anthropology of Islam in Indonesia, such secondary practices are collectively classified as a 'little tradition', (Eickelman 1990; Eickelman 1976: 4) designating them as belonging to a more popular discourse. In this perspective pilgrimage to the tomb of the wali is regarded as forming part of the 'little tradition' (see also Jamhari 2000).

The *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is compulsory for those who are able to supply their travelling expenses, are in good health, and can provide sufficient food and money for their family left at home. It is not compulsory for the poor or the sick. The pilgrimage to Mecca is deeply rooted in the narrative of the prophet Ibrahim. According to Islamic tradition, Ibrahim and his son Ismail were ordered by God to build the Ka'bah, the house of worship now standing in the centre of the Baitul-Haram mosque in Mecca. From that time the Ka'bah, in the Qur'an called *Al-Bait* or 'The House', became a place of pilgrimage. Later, through the Qur'an, pilgrimage to the Ka'bah was prescribed and perpetuated by the Prophet Muhammad and his followers for all time.

"Remember, We made the House a place of assembly for men, and a place of safety; and take ye the Station of Abraham as a place of prayer; and We covenanted with Ibrahim and Isma'il that they should sanctify My House for those who compass it round, or use it as a retreat, or bow, or prostrate themselves (therein in prayer)." (Qur'an 2:125)²

The visit to Al-Bait has inspired some Muslims throughout the Islamic world to copy the structure of the *hajj* in making visits to the sacred sites of holy men, or *wali*. So at the very least, for some Indonesian Muslims, to go to Pamijahan, and to other local pilgrimage sites, is to perform a preliminary pilgrimage before they go to Mecca.

There has been some debate on the status of local *ziarah* in the framework of *ibadah*. The practice influenced by belief in the existence of wali or similar holy figures who can be accessed after their death, and this has been subject to controversy among Muslim scholars. Nevertheless, *ziarah* still plays an important role in daily practice.

Examining the practices around pilgrimage in Pamijahan enables us not only to recognise the importance of this act for participants (Fox 2002; Quinn 2002; Taylor 1999) but also to highlight the way narrative is used as an expressive medium for various purposes. Pamijahan has become the third most popular pilgrimage destination in West Java after Cirebon and Banten. Pilgrims from Java and Sumatra come to this sacred village bringing with them a variety of motivations and devotional intentions (*niat*). They trust that Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's site is a location for everyone who wants to seek blessing (*barokah*). According to the villagers, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's blessings have transformed Pamijahan from a poor area to the most prosperous rural community in the district of Bantar Kalong. For Pamijahanese, then, the wali's blessings, or *barokah*, adhere to their village. In turn, they have responded to such blessings by setting up various social and religious institutions such as the guild of custodians (*pakuncenan*), a sufi community, and a traditional Islamic school (*pesantren*). In their accounts, these institutions are an expression of gratitude (*syukur*) because

God has given good fortune to the community through the person of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi.

For this reason, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's tomb in Pamijahan is recognised as a most sanctified place. The tomb custodians maintain that they never solicit people to come to Pamijahan, yet the number of pilgrims coming to the village increases significantly every year.³ This veneration has spread to other neighbouring tombs, or *makom*,⁴ which are historically also related to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi; namely Makom Khatib Muwahid in Panyalahan, Makom Shaykh Abdul Kohar in Pandawa, Makom Sacaparana in Bengkok, and Makom Yudanagara in Pamijahan. These blessed tombs are popular pilgrimage destinations after Abdul Muhyi's grave and the sacred cave, Guha Safarwadi.

To comprehend this practice, it is important to outline the main narratives related to pilgrimage in Pamijahan. The first is to be found in the Manual of Pilgrimage or *Risalah Adab al-jairin*,⁵ a printed material written by some previous custodians and the second is an oral account delivered by the custodian. Both of these narrative sources give the significant grounds used by villagers and visitors to perform the pilgrimage successfully. Pilgrimage to the tomb of Abdul Muhyi is prescribed and mediated through these narratives. I will illustrate this by focussing on the three most essential elements of pilgrimage as found in the narratives: ideology, the participants and the sequence of rituals.

Mediation or Approach

The *Risalah Adab al-jairin* mentions explicitly the concept of mediation, or *wasilah*, that is central in pilgrimage. *Wasilah* is derived from the Arabic meaning "to reach", or "to come to", "a means", and "a connection". In the Qur'an the term appears in two *ayat*: Surah al-Maidah 35, and Surah al-Isra 75. For some Islamic scholars the meaning of *wasilah* in the Qu'ran is to perform *ibadah* (worship) as prescribed in *syari'ah*. But *wasilah* can have other meanings. It can mean a place in paradise, as recited in the Prophetic Traditions, or Hadith. *Wasilah* can also mean to seek help from someone. This *wasilah* can be found in the *Hadith* as well. Finally, *wasilah* is a method of finding a way to God by using an absent figure. It is this practice, so common to popular Islam, that has become the focus of controversy. Persis, the *Persatuan Islam*, or Islamic Union, a reformist organization based in Bandung and active in West Java from 1926, promoted the scripturalist thinker Ibn Taimiyah and rejected *wasilah* and *tawassul* in this latter sense.⁶ Nonetheless, for Pamijahanese, *tawassul*, or mediation is an attempt to build a bridge, *lantaran* in Sundanese, between human beings and God. Here the connection, the *lantaran*, is the literal translation of *tawassul*. Such a notion is also derived from interpretation of the verse in the Surah al-Maidah, which reads:

O ye who believe! Do your duty to God, Seek the means of approach unto Him, And strive with might and main in His cause that ye may prosper. (Qur'an 5: 35).

The *Adabuljairin*, the Manual of Pilgrimage, says:

The meaning of this ayat is:

“That is making a *lantaran* by visitation to wali who have been recognised by Allah, in short, in order to receive God’s blessing through the wali’s *karamat*, so that our intention will be mediated by them. Our wishes will be conveyed by the wali to Lord God the Most High. All of you have to perform pilgrimage to the tombs of the prophets, wali, and others pious Muslims because these men are given ability as if they were still alive in the world, so that for them there is no difference between being dead and alive. Their *safaat*, the help which they give us, is greater than before they died, and so they are able to *jungkereng*, or return to the phenomenal world just as if they were still alive... (Adabuljairin 2)

If we look carefully, there are three key words denoting the central issues in ‘mediation’ or ‘approach’. The first, according to the villagers, is that all conduct should be based around *tawassul*. *Lantaran*, the locals’ gloss on the Arabic term, is also a method or a bridge to achieve blessing from God. We humans should seek out a spiritual environment in order to perform *tawassul* rites. The purpose of pilgrimage is to bring about *tawassul* by visiting holy men, or *wali karamat*. This is explained in another part of the *Risalah Adab al-jairin*.

The purpose of pilgrimage (*ziarah*) is to create ‘a means’ (*lantaran*);⁷ that is, a way to convey our purpose to the Rasul or to the prophets or to the wali or to pious Muslims⁸ so that our wishes are granted by the Lord God. For example, we ask to strengthen our faith, or we ask (*iman*) for addition to our fortunes which is *halal* to us in service of God (*ibadah*), or we want to meet repayment of debts sooner, or we ask for a solution to misfortune and perplexity. These are called ‘the way to convey these wishes’ or *tawassul*.⁹

Ari maksudna *ziarah* nyaeta ngadamel *lantaran*, nyantelkeun maksud urang ka para Rasul atawa ka para Nabi atawa ka para Wali atawa ka para salihin supaya ngarah hasil diijabah ku Gusti Allah sapertos nyuhunkeun rizki anu *halal* kanggo *ibadah*, atanapi hoyong enggal ka taur hutang, atanapi nyuhunkeun hoyong leungit kasesah kabingung, etateh disebut *tawassul* (Adabuljairin 1)

Furthermore, the *Risalah Adab al-jairin* puts in plain words that causal effect, the *lantaran*, can be created by attaching (*nyantelkeun*) and entrusting (*nitipkeun*).¹⁰ The metaphor of attaching and entrusting states explicitly how

ziarah is significant. The custodian clarifies that we never delegate or *nitipkeun* to someone who cannot be trusted. Similarly, we never trust someone who is not willing to help. For the Pamijahanese, *tawassul* in this sense, is an effort to attach one's wishes to the holiness of the Shaykh. In regard to the concept of *lantaran*, the locals have a popular metaphor, as told to me by an informant one evening. *Lantaran* is a consequence of hierarchical relations as suggested by "the story of the bupati" as follows:

"Lantaran is a kind of bridge which can bring us to our objectives. Let's say, if we want to meet a high ranking officer or Bupati, we have to follow the protocol in his office. The Bupati can receive us in his office formally or at his guest house. However, the Bupati often rejects our schedule or proposal if we have not followed the protocol, or *tata krama*. If on the other hand we are close to the Bupati, he will always pay attention to us. Then we don't need to follow formal protocol because he knows us."

The second crucial notion associated with *wasilah* or *tawassul*, is the manifestation of *jungereng*. According to the Pamijahanese, a wali never spiritually dies and he is even able to become visible in the world again, or *jungereng*, as in real life. As is suggested by the *Risalah Adab al-jairin*, the wali is able to recognise what is happening in the village and can communicate with the inhabitants or with visitors. One villager said that when electricity first came to the village, an old man in a white turban appeared in a vision and came up to him, saying that the village would face difficulties. There was a belief in Pamijahan that the close descendants of the wali should maintain 'proper' behaviour, which included not installing any electronic appliances such as televisions and radios near the sacred places.

This story is related to penetration of the village by the technology of modern entertainment such as television, VCD players, and satellite antennae. But many young people have different feelings towards tradition. When electricity came to the village, a good number of them immediately installed these devices. For the elders, this alteration in life-style was disturbing. Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, as stated by the custodians, comes to the locals whenever the village is in danger and this is what he was believed to have done when he appeared.

Because a wali never dies, he is able to give *syafaat* (Arabic: *syafi*) meaning 'help'. In turn, *ziarah* to the Shaykh's tomb is of significance to the villagers and visitors. Finding benefit, or *syafaat* is the third concept connected with *wasilah* in the *Risalah Adab al-jairin*.

The idea of the intermediary is widely accepted in popular belief and has been influenced by sufi traditions. In sufism, the master or the *shaykh* is supposed to mediate for his pupils' wishes. Students are urged to get the master's blessings.

From this point of view, it is not surprising if the villagers who claim to have inherited sufism from Shaykh Abdul Muhyi translate the concept of *wasilah* into the pilgrimage activities. To delegate prayer, or *nyantelkeun doa*, is 'to attach *doa* to the holiness of the master'. Accordingly, pilgrimage to Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi is an accepted bridge or *cukang lantaran*. The *Risalah Adab al-jairin* also claims that *ziarah* practice occurs in the Prophetic Traditions known as *hadith*.

The Prophet (Kangjeng Rasul) also often made *ziarah* visits to tombs. This is clearly stated in the in the first chapter of the *Hadith Muslim*, page 8553. Kangjeng Rasulullah sala al-lahu alaihi wa sallam, at the end of the night, often makes devotional visits Baqing¹¹ and delivers greetings to those who are buried there.

Thus, the Pamijahanese tend to invest the term *tawassul* or mediation with a particular meaning, that is, to formulate a means to approach God by performing pilgrimage. The Pamijahanese also perceive this practice as an acceptable bridge because the Qur'an and the *hadith* support it. Indeed the Pamijahanese seem to have found a way to synthesise a theological interpretation of the conception of the intermediaries with their own traditions.

However, for some the "stairway to the blessing" is not always clear. One needs a tutor and guidance to grasp it, and it is the tomb custodians, the custodian or "key bearers", who offer assistance and lessons to the pilgrims.

C. Custodianship

The Sundanese word *pakuncenan* is derived from custodian, "key bearer" which in turn is derived from *kunci*, "key".¹² The *pakuncenan* is the village guild of custodians. It is led by a custodian (custodian) who is elected by the members of the four main families (*pongpok*) descended from Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. At the time of writing (2002) Engku Syukrudin from *pongpok* I headed the *pakuncenan*. The task of the *pakuncenan* is to maintain Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's shrine and help people to perform the correct rituals at the site. The head custodian also acts as the village head. The rank and file of custodians have various roles in pilgrimage, supporting the *pakuncenan*, registering pilgrims and helping pilgrims in their rituals.

The *pakuncenan* is a relatively new institution in Pamijahan. I learned about it from my informants in the field. The first site custodian referred to as a custodian was Haji Muhammad Kosim who died in 1985. His lengthy full name gives his lineage: Haji Muhammad Kosim bin Abd. Mutholib bin Kiai Madhoip bin Kiai Uba bin Kiai Madhanan bin Nida Muhyidin bin Shaykh Abdullah putra Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi. Before him, Pamijahan or Safarwadi had been led by a custodian who had the title of *Panembahan* (literally "he to whom honour is due"). Previously, besides acting as the custodian, the *panembahan* also had the authority to manage all local religious affairs, including the supervision of

pilgrimage. However, around the 19th century the Dutch colonial government introduced a formal administrative apparatus centred on a mosque official called a *naib*. The institution of *panembahan* was converted into that of the *pakuncenan*, and since then the *pakuncenan* has administered pilgrimage, while all other religious affairs have been handled by the *naib*.

In response to these external factors, the villagers invented the guild of custodians *pakuncenan*. Folk narratives recited by one the custodian staff explain the emergence of custodianship around the middle of the nineteenth century, after visitors began to come to the site in large numbers with all their various rituals and intentions. Abdul Muhyi's descendants had the obligation to regulate events in this situation. The following is a narrative delivered by A.A. Khaerusalam, a prominent member of the Muhyi family who later wrote the book, *Sejarah Perjuangan Shaykh Abd al-Muhyi* (The History of the Struggles of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi).

On Monday the 8th of Jumadil Awal in 1151/1730, after the subuh prayer, he returned to the One (Rab l-zat), being at the age of eighty.

News of Muhyi's death circulated widely. His followers, both, those who lived close to him and those who came from distant places, made their way to Pamijahan to express their condolences.

Thereafter, people always came to visit his tomb, showing their respects in various ways, such as reciting al-Qur'an (membaca al-Quran),¹³ reciting the phrase 'all praise to Allah' (membaca tasbih), reciting the phrase 'God is Great' (takbir), reciting the phrase of 'the glory of God' (tahmid) and reciting the phrase 'there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Messenger' (tahlil), so that the graveside resounded with their words. All the blessings of their prayers were intended for him. There were also people who hoped to seek barakah from the place in various ways; and there were people who sought barakah by conducting tawassul through the holy charisma of Muhyi in order to fulfil their wishes.

Because of the great number of pilgrims who conducted ziarah at the tomb of Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi, Muhyi's son wondered whether such practices would disturb the power and sanctity of Muhyi and his tomb. Then the descendants of Kangjeng Shaykh gathered to discuss an appropriate way to protect and maintain their ancestor's tomb.

In a village council meeting, it was decided that the maintaining of the shrine and its surrounding area would be assigned to the four families of the wali. However, as stated in Khaerussalam's book (Khaerussalam 1992) the management of the shrine would be controlled by three clans or sides called *pongpok*. These groups mainly originated from the three sons of the wali from his first wife, Ayu

Bakta. These sons were Sembah Dalem Bojong, Shaykh Abdulloh and Media Kusuma. They also agreed to give the status of custodian to descendants of another of Muhyi's wives, Sembah Ayu Salamah. Thus, custodial rights were distributed evenly over four lines of descent. Based on this pact the shrine's management was similarly divided into four sides or *pongpok*.

Therefore, the maintenance of Muhyi's tomb and his heritage was given to the *pakuncenan* which has four groups called *pongpok*. The first *pongpok* was called *pongpok hiji*, the main side, or *pongpok pokok*. The others are called *pongpok dua*, *pongpok tilu*, and *pongpok opat*. *Pongpok* is a kind of right to maintain the shrine. These four *pongpok* originally come from the Muhyi line. The leader of the villagers was the *panembahan* in previous times or the custodian today. The *kuncen* staff is elected from among the four *pongpok*. The custodian never comes from outside Muhyi's descendants. This is a testament from our ancestors that *kapongpokan* should be continued by his descendants or *seuweu siwi*.

Such arrangements later become a potential source of the conflict and resentment with descendants of Abdul Muhyi from his other wives. According to this pact, the descendants of the first wife gained more privileges over the symbolic space, particularly the centre area of Pamijahan. They also claim to be the members of the family who have stayed on the land for centuries and have never moved outside the sacred territory. On the other hand, many descendants of the other three wives left the land and some of them have never returned to Pamijahan. Soon after Pamijahan come into existence as a popular pilgrimage destination, they tried to settle again in Pamijahan and have now become a potential source of conflict with the first group. Matters have become complicated in cases where some of them gained positions in the government bureaucracy and have tried to use their positions to regain some of the symbolic signs of authority which they have lost.

It is not clear exactly when the pilgrimage to Kangjeng Shaykh became popular. However, we have a significant clue that in the eighteenth century a noble from the city of Sukapura (now Tasikmalaya) performed rituals on this site.¹⁴ A manuscript points out that when the political elite came into dispute over internal political or personal matters,¹⁵ they would visit the tomb of Abdul Muhyi to make oaths and vows. Such visits are believed to have had a great impact on the political figures of the time. According to *Sajarah Sukapura* (The Chronicle of Sukapura) edited by Hermansoemantri (1979, 24):

His brother, Raden Patih, said, "I will not be satisfied until you have taken the true oath. Brothers, you must gather at Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's tomb where we will make a true oath so that our oath has power. Soon after they arrived in Pamijahan and they sat down around the tomb.

According to Sajarah Sukapura, soon after the oath was sworn one of the participants, Dalem Subamanggala, fell sick and after a short time, died. Subamanggala, according to Sajarah Sukapura, is buried in Pamijahan close to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's tomb. Subamanggala is called Kangjeng Dalem Pamijahan, become his tomb is to be found in the southern corner of the Muhyi Shrine, covered by an umbrella (payung). It is the only tomb in the shrine which is associated with the aristocracy of Sukapura, the 'ruler of the world'.

In time, saintly linkages have legitimated custodianship. The *pongpok* groups claim to have symbolic authority over territory associated with their place at the tomb. They have followers in this "territory" both in the Desa Pamijahan and outside the Desa Pamijahan.

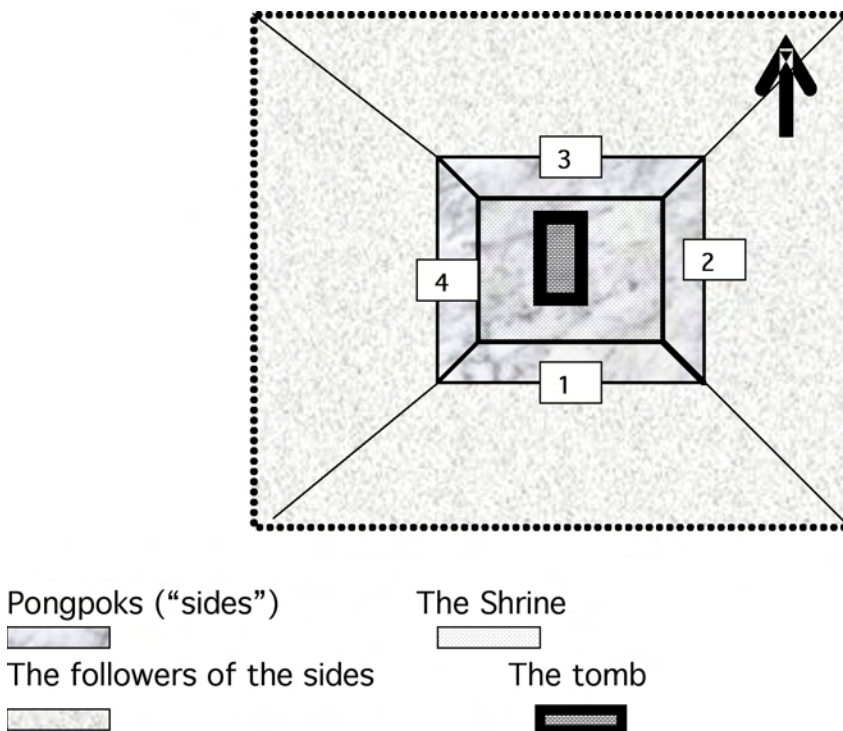


Figure 26 the Tomb and the *pongpok* Sides

Regarding this system, the custodian recites Kangjeng Shaykh's testimony that 'anyone who breaches this tradition, which has been delivered by our descent, will not gain prosperity for his family',¹⁶

Saha bae anu nyisikudi kana katangtuan anu parantos diserenkeun ti luhur... aya basa kaluhur aja sirungan ongsor aja oyodan (The Kuncen)

What should be noted about the notion of place is that such a division is structured hierarchically, reflected in cardinal numbers resembling the structure of genealogy, where the oldest family occupies the most important position. The first family or *pongpok hiji* occupies the south 'side'. This 'side' is sometimes called the southern door (*panto kidul*). This first family's place is important because most rituals are held in this area.

According to the leader of the first group, the group is responsible for maintaining the rituals held in the area. In practice, in contemporary Pamijahan, most important rituals associated with the wali will pass this gate. Therefore, politically, the first family has a legitimate control of the important 'ritual space' (see, Fox 1997). The chief custodians always come from the first *pongpok*.

Accordingly, space in Pamijahan can be imagined ritually in a rectangular shape where each side represents a sub group derived from the wali's wives. There is also another way the Pamijahanese conceived their village. Space is also conceived in terms of closeness and the mystical journey of the ancestors. The places are interconnected by the itinerary of the mystical journey of the Shaykh on his early journey to the village. Each spot in his itinerary is crucial in the spatial concept; the cave, the mosque, the non-smoking are part of the sacred journey of the wali. Furthermore, the space is also related to the concept of (*kerabat* or *qaraba*) as has been illustrated by the arrangement of the *pongpok*. Later, some people from outside Pamijahan also follow the idea of closeness by connecting themselves to a 'side' which is relatively close to their hamlet. The leader of a 'side', hence, symbolically has followers in those ritual spaces. For example, villagers on the west side of the villager such as Padahayu, Sabeulit Cirakoneng, Pamijahan, and Parungpung mongpok to the *pongpok kulon* (West group, *pongpok tilu*) which is lead by Media Kusuma. People in the villages of Bongas, Ciwalet, Cintabodas, Cilumbu, and Cihandiwung associate themselves with *pongpok kidul* (South group, *pongpok hiji*) led by Sembah Dalem Bojong (Muhyi's son from Sembah Ayu Winangun). Shaykh Abdullah from *pongpok kaler* (North group, *pongpok dua*) has territory in the northern area such as Pandawa, Pajadun, Sangulat Saronge and Leuwinaggung; and finally Sembah Ayu Salamah has territory in *pongpok wetan* (East group, *pongpok tilu*) or the eastern part such as Lebaksiuh, Cilangkruk, Petir, Cilingga, Campaka, and Cikawung. Thus, the imagined spaces can be seen on the map below (the figure 4).

These affiliation is ritualised in shrine renovation and in yearly rituals such the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad, *muludan*. The shrines are renovated and maintained not only by the kuncen and his family on each side but also by people outside Pamijahan who belong to a particular *pongpok*. At *muludan* they will send 'tribute' to the *pongpok* leader.

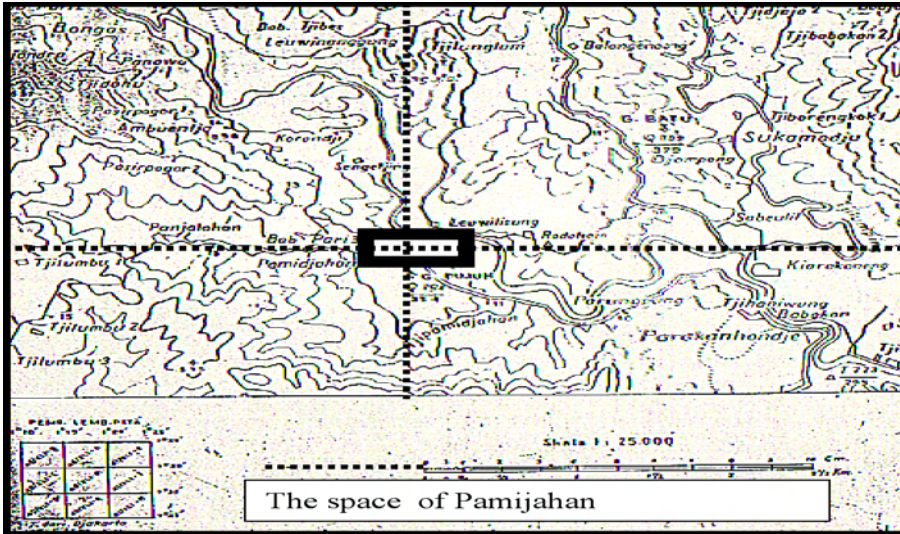


Figure 27 the space and topography of Pamijahan

During my field work, 1997-1998, I observed that a member from *pongpok* I, Pak Engku Syukrudin, had been elected as the second kuncen. He was a farmer and had some pesantren association before he was elected. Like other elected senior custodian, he uses his house as an office. He came from the primary 'side' or *pongpok* Santana.

After interviewing members of other *pongpok*, I found different attitudes regarding his election. According to my informant, the previous custodian, Mama Ajengan Kosim was better than Engku Syukrudin. My informant said Mama Ajengan Kosim had spiritual powers and so every visitor was given a gift, such as an amulet, or verval cham (*isim*), or advice (*nasihat*). Other said that Engku Syukrudin was not really appropriate for the custodian due to his lack of spiritual power. Furthermore, according to him, the son of the previous custodian, Mama Ajengan Satibi, should be the real successor or the custodian. Mama Ajengan Satibi spent his life at various Pesantren and now he teaches santri at Pasantren Karamat Safarwadi. However, Mama Ajengan Satibi had a stroke near the time of election and Engku Syukrudin was elected. As a legitimate custodian, however, he prefers not to exercise his rights to income other staff. Previously the custodian received 20 percent of the income and 80 percent was divided among the four groups; but now, the custodian no longer receives this privilege. He only acquires a share (*bagian*) from his *pongpok*. However, the custodian still receives additional income since he has more personal clients than other staff.

Currently, shifts are distributed the four *pongpok* groups so that each *pongpok* has the job for one week looking after the shrine and serving pilgrims. They

occupy the custodian's house 24 hours a day. Every day, around three or four men from one *pongpok* are on duty.

The custodians on duty can be classified into three categories. The first, the leader, is called the custodian. The second are the custodian's staff (*staf* custodian), and these in turn are subdivided into those who registers pilgrims (*nu ngadaftar*) and those who conduct them to the shrine (*nu jajap ka makam* or *nu ngaziarahkeun*). The third category is that of guides to the cave of Safarwadi. These are called *nu jajap ka guha*.

A leader of a *pongpok* (*ketua pongpok*) acts as the head custodian during a shift. He has to ask and record visitors' identities and their intentions. He also offers guidance to guests. The majority of visitors prefer to be guided, and there are two main reasons for this. The first is that they are unable to perform their own ritual. The second is that they believe that Muhyi's family has the "license" to mediate their intention (*pamaksadan*).

While the *pongpok*'s leader registers pilgrims and collects donations, other staff, often two or three men, act as mediators in the shrine. Those who accompany the guest to the shrine are called *nu jajap ka Makam*. If visitors need guidance, then the custodian employs his colleagues who sits close to him. They will accompany visitors to approach Kangjeng wali's tomb while the *pongpok* leader stays in the office.

Another type of custodian is one who accompanies visitors to the sacred cave (*nu jajap ka guha*) after the main ritual at the tomb. The custodian who accompanies visitors to the shrine get their allowance from the leader as well as from the guest, but staff who escort pilgrims to the cave only receive money from visitors about which they have to negotiate. Visitors have to rent a pressure lamp and are expected to pay for their guidance. This group does not affiliate formally with the custodian. As a marginal group, they try to organise themselves. The organiser, who comes from *pongpok* III, regards the role of *nu jajap ka guha* is as important in pilgrimage practice because they guide visitors to trace the labyrinth and show its importance. They are important in transferring the tradition of these sites. When I went there for the first time, they often explained the importance of pilgrimage. They also narrated the miracle of Kangjeng Shaykh in the caves. However, the *pakuncenan* is the authoritative institution, which does not want its activity to overlap with theirs, even through former organiser said to me that this organization had merged with the *pakuncenan*.

There are instructions in writing that every pilgrim to Muhyi's tomb should report to the custodian. In contemporary Pamijahan seems to have been interpreted in various meanings. Firstl, there are those who say that it is compulsory for the pilgrim to be guided, whether they are able to do their own ritual or not. Second, pilgrims can in fact do their own ritual as long as they are

able to perform them and have been registered (*ngadaftar*). Thirdly, whether pilgrims or not are able or not to perform their own ritual, if they present money for registration (*ngadaftar*) they have the choice of being guided or not.

The economic impact of the *pakuncenan* is tremendous. Thanks to their collective income, the custodians are able to build mosques, renovate the shrines, circumcise every Rajab, and more importantly provide a cash source for the Muhyi families. In 1996, one custodian told me that, in total, the custodians receive donations (*sodaqoh*) from the pilgrims of around one to two hundred thousand rupiah every day particularly during peak season. The *pakuncenan* also control the money placed in the boxes which are located along the path to the shrine. In fact, this is greater than the amount given directly to the custodian at registration. One charity box (*Kas Amal*) can contribute at least a million rupiah a week. The boxes are put at the gate of the shrine; others are located close to the custodian house. Ajengan Endang reported that 15 percent of this income is spent on social activity, 25 percent for the *pakuncenan*, 25 percent for the *petugas*, and the remaining 25 percent for education (*pendidikan* or *pesantren*). The local government also gets benefits since they charge for every vehicle, which comes to Pamijahan.

The *pakuncenan* has significant authority compared to modern institutions such as the village leader. For example, the village leader always comes to the Maulid festival, which is performed by the *pakuncenan*. On the other hand, when the village leader performs a festival in the village hall (*balai desa*), the custodian does not regard it compulsory to attend. The *pakuncenan* is also able to invite the provincial governor or the local district head (*bupati*) to his gathering, while it is difficult for the village head to do this.

D. Pilgrims

In the villagers' view, all visitors who come to Kangjeng Shaykh's tomb, whatever their motives are the guests of the holy man (*tamu Wali*). The custodian categorises pilgrims primarily based on the way they perform rituals, though their motives are also taken into account. However, it is difficult for the custodian to identify the purpose of all visitors.

Pilgrimage is mostly carried out as a personal ritual. For example, Karna, a pilgrim, confessed that he did not explicitly tell the custodian his aim. Karna ran a business in Jakarta. His business went bankrupt and he had to make repayments to investors. However, he reported to the custodian as only 'making a visit' or 'bade *ziarah*'. Deden, another visitor, came to Pamijahan to solve his marriage problem. His wife had asked for a divorce but Deden still loved her. He said to the custodian that he came "To find a quiet place", or *milari katenangan*. One staff member said to me that it is not compulsory to know explicitly what the intentions are for pilgrimage are. He believes that pilgrims

generally have particular intentions, or gaduh *pamaksadan*. In some cases, pilgrims visit the shrine due to an assignment from their teacher.

There are various categories of pilgrims based on their behaviour. The first category is the ordinary visitor, or nu *ziarah biasa*. The ordinary pilgrims (nu *ziarah biasa*) are weekenders who come to Pamijahan not only for *ziarah* but also for spiritual refreshment. They come in groups of one to four luxurious buses. Pamijahan's fresh air and green scenery offer an attractive atmosphere for those who work in polluted cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, and other big cities of Java. They often rent houses for the night, including meals. Before returning home, they often buy various local product as souvenir gifts.

Visitors like this have become the main source of income for local residents. In the peak season, villagers are able to sell more gifts. One villager says that she gets an extra five thousand hundred rupiah a month. This amount is equal to a high school teacher's monthly salary. Moreover, villagers also get money from visitors who stay in their houses. Villagers charge them from one to five thousand rupiah a night including food. This type of visitor is in the majority of pilgrims in peak seasons such as Mulud and Rajab. They come from various places in Java. The flow of pilgrims has been influenced by the development of road networks in Tasikmalaya. Remoteness is no longer a problem since Pamijahan is now accessible to all vehicles. Moreover, Pamijahan has been set up as one of the targets of a pilgrimage network in Java by various organisers. Some organisers have linked Pamijahan with other established pilgrimage destinations such as those in Gresik, Cirebon, and Banten.

Another characteristic of nu *ziarah biasa* is that they may be able to perform rituals but they do not perform any additional ritual after the main ritual (*tawassul*). They only make a short visit to the tomb, go to the cave and return home. Therefore, it is possible that the custodian also classifies someone who can perform prayer and intermediary ritual at another tomb as nu *ziarah biasa* when they do not understand the particular sequence for Pamijahan. The pilgrims usually believe that each place has its own sequence and set of rules or tali paranti. In this case, pilgrims actually recognise the local custom and the custodian's authority. The custodian calls them nu *ziarah biasa* as long as they do not carry out other specific rituals and only perform the standard ritual that he suggests. Also classified as ordinary visitors are nu *awam* who are unable to perform rituals and need guidance.

Second categories of pilgrim are those who mastered visitation to sacred tombs. Belonging to this category, are the specialists such as Muslim leaders (*ajengan*), pupil at pesantre schools (*santri*), teacher and klerik (*kiai*), and expert in Islam (*akhli hikmah*), as well as people who want to obtain particular knowledge (*ngelmu*) and those seeking solutions for their problems (*nu gaduh pamaksadan*). Like ordinary visitors, they also report to the custodian and give some money.

This is not in return for guidance but out of charity, which is relied on to regularly maintain the shrine. After registration, they visit tomb alone or with their followers. Such visitors claim that they have often come to Pamijahan before. They perform their own *tawassul* and other additional rituals. Belonging to this type, for example, is Haji Hassan from Bekasi. For Haji Hassan such a pilgrimage is his and good deed. He carries out *tawassul* by himself and for his followers. He has a boarding school (*pesantren*) and a travel company, which assists anyone who wants to go (*ngumbra*) on the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca. According to him, he and his followers regularly come to Pamijahan at least once a year. When I met him on 21 July 1996, he had brought with him 60 followers. His followers were charged for transport and accommodation. They usually spend only one hour or a night at the shrine but the custodian believes that pilgrims like this can communicate with the wali effectively. Staff (*kuncen*) said that one *ajengan* from Manonjaya Tasikmalaya had met Kangjeng Shaykh face to face in the cave. This *ajengan* only made a short visit but he was able to communicate with Kangjeng Shaykh.

Some ordinary pilgrims perform an additional ritual such as fasting (*tirakat*) or practice austerity (*tapa*). I found about twenty pilgrims who spent forty days doing *tirakat* near the tomb during the period of Safar and Mulud in 1996. An example of this type is Karjo, 27, from Cirebon. When I found him at the corner of the shrine, he had been staying for 25 days. Karjo is a *santri*. According to him, he came to Pamijahan for *tabaruk* is gain blessing. *Tabaruk* is well known in Sufi rituals (see Chapter 8). His guru suggested that he stay at the shrine for 41 days. During this period he had to fast and only eat rice and drink water when he broke his fast. Mostly he spent his time doing *tawassul* and *dhikir* at the shrine. Such individuals will leave after they obtain some sign from Kangjeng Shaykh. Mostly they stay in a corner of the shrine. They only go outside to take a bath or find some food. Some of them were able to make personal connections with the villagers. When villagers performed *salametan*, they were often invited.

The sacred cave is the second most popular site after the Shaykh's tomb among visitors who want to seek spiritual power by *tapa* and *tirakat*. An example of this type of pilgrim (*Satrio*) is a man who has been staying and doing, *tapa*, there for almost two years. He will complete his visitation in 2000. He has made his own hut (*saung*) near the sacred cave.

The reasons for which pilgrims come are varied. It is difficult to identify their intentions without detailed interviews with them. In Pamijahan, pilgrims tend to describe their intentions in general terms; that is, as bade *ziarah*. Of course, there are some pilgrims who state their intentions in detail, but it is often a particular request to the custodian, which is made personally by visitors at the tomb when the ritual is about to start. In other places, such as in Tembayat or

in Cirebon, it is common to answer the custodian more explicitly in the ritual jawab during the first stage.

Based on my interviews with pilgrims, I found that their motivations and intentions (*pamaksadan*) usually concerned personal wellbeing. Such an intentions are also common at other sacred sites in Java. One shrimp farmer (Munir, 39) from Lampung Sumatra is an example of this type of pilgrim. When I met him, he had already spent eleven days at the shrines. According to his guru, he had to stay there for at least fourteen days. It is common among the specialists to consult their guru first before going to sacred sites. Munir had a problem with his shrimp ponds (*udang*). Almost twice a season he had been unable to harvest his shrimps. The shrimps either died before harvesting or were swept away by the waves. He stated that until a couple of years ago he regularly came to Pamijahan before he put the shrimp into the pond. According to him, he always got a good harvest (*panen*). After that, he stopped coming to Pamijahan. Thereafter, predators easily attacked his shrimp. So he decided to *ziarah*. After he had spent fourteen days, he returned to Lampung with holy water, which he sprinkled onto his ponds.

Pamijahan is indeed popular among farmers like Munir. It is not surprising that Pamijahan is often associated with fertilisation, as suggested by the name for the village. Pamijahan means a “hatching place” where something always doubles, triples, and so on. Visitors who seek fertility for their paddy fields or sawah include paddy farmers from Indramayu who frequently make visitations to the shrine and bring gifts to the custodian and his family after they harvest their paddy.

E. The sequence of rituals

Travelling to the sacred sites has a grammar. Pilgrims as “the reader” should have a certain competence in syntax in order to obtain blessings. In the previous chapter, I have mentioned that the space in Pamijahan is imagined to have four sides or *pongpok*. The ideology of closeness, which is derived from the structure of the genealogy, is applied to the notion of space. The closer to the holy men, the more privilege people may have. The privilege and the blessing of the locals have been attached to their land since the Shaykh made his first shelter in the village. If the villagers have privilege attached instantly to their land and of course to their village culture, the pilgrims outside these linkages and outsiders should performed special rituals in order to grasp such privilege from their holly men (*wali*). Privilege should be achieved through a structured process. On the other hand, the villagers have the obligation to help the pilgrims. Thus, they try to translate what their ancestors prescribed and what they did not. One of their obligations is to make a sign. For instance, locals designate locations to make boundaries between outer and inner space for both villagers and pilgrims. Furthermore, they codify a sacred protocol and its sequences in their village.

Sequence is crucial in ritual. A ritual should be started and finished within a certain period. Pilgrimage in Pamijahan is also structured in conventional ways. It is slightly different to anti-structure (Turner 1984) The space and place in Pamijahan are to some extent similar to other parts in the hilly areas of West Java. Turner argues that unusual sites are the characteristic of pilgrimage. In fact, Pamijahan is not special from the perspective of oddness. It has a cave; but there are lots of the caves in Tasikmalaya. In an anomalous city like Jakarta, we can go to a pilgrimage site known as Batang. Indeed, the most important locus is the erected sign. In Pamijahan created signs should be connected to Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. One of the displayed signs in Pamijahan is the gate.

Turner (Turner 1968) argues that pilgrimage forms a series of structure-communitas (anti-structure)-communitas. Pilgrims move from structured environments to anti-structure environments and back again to the structured one. Meaning is acquired by passage through the liminal.

From Pamijahan we learn that the terms of 'communitas' (Turner 1968) are experienced differently due to fact that pilgrims consist of various categories and each category may have different practices on the site. For the weekender, the sense of communitas in the Turnerian view may not always be achieved. They often come with a large group and bring with them their own master (guru) and ulama, and even their village headman (Ketua RT). When they come to the sites, such structured environments to some extent still closely adhere to the group. It is different for the specialist pilgrims who stay for a long time in the shrine, interact with other specialists, and create a sense of similarity without being influenced by previous lived structures.

The most apparent aspect in pilgrimage is the demarcation between profane and sacred space. The sacredness starts at the gate (Kaca-kaca). Kaca-kaca is a Sundanese term for gate. The gate is built on the most eastern side of the village. It is a sign with reference to tradition. Pilgrims have to learn about this tradition. Prohibitions called *tali paranti* are written on the gate wall. According to texts written on that wall, pilgrims should wear appropriate clothes. Woman must use their veils. Neither villagers nor visitors are allowed to use their vehicles in the sacred village (kampung Pamijahan). The gate regiments pilgrims to act in certain ways. The regimentation is acquired through the structured affect of the gate. The gate physically points to the sacredness. Villagers find the gate as the starting point for the sacred journey. It is like the front door of the sacred village. Based on *tali paranti*, the gate should be erected and maintained by the all the families of Muhyi or *kapongpokan* who stay inside as well as outside of Pamijahan.

However, according to the custodian, the current gate was build by the prominent family of Abdul Muhyi who became a famous Islamic scholar (ulama) in Cianjur (200 km to the West) a long time ago. Thus, in Jakobsonian terms, the gate is a message. It is also a code providing pilgrims with information and

referential function. The code of pilgrimage (*adab jarroh*) as stated on the wall also expresses the presence of the addresser in Jakobsonian terms.

Approaching Pamijahan from the main gate, visitors enter a non-smoking area. According to local narratives, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi ordered his family and his followers not to smoke in the area close to his residence (and now his tomb). Pamijahan recognises such prohibitions as part of the *tali paranti*, which should be obeyed by both villagers and visitors.

For instance, villagers do not hesitate to warn pilgrims (*nuziarah*) who break custom (*tali paranti*) by shouting at them not to smoke on the way to the shrine: "Please put out your cigarette." They believe that a person who disobeys tradition (*tali paranti*) will receive punishment. The custodian told the story that some visitors who break this custom have problems with their cars or even become sick on their way home. The custodian said, "Everywhere, as a guest, they have to respect the host" (*Di mana bae tamu mah kedah ngahargaan kana tali paranti atawa kabiasaan satempat tuan rumah.*) He stressed the word host, which not only refers to the villagers but, most importantly, also to Kangjeng Shaykh. So breaking tradition (*tali paranti*) means not respecting Kangjeng Shaykh.

Passing the gate and the bridge and walking for about ten minutes along the concrete path, visitors find the custodian's office. Between the gate and the custodian's headquarters some residents sell fried fish and handicrafts made in Tasikmalaya. The sacredness of this place exists side by side with its worldliness. I found some pilgrims from Jakarta who were surprised when they found that the village (*kampung*) Pamijahan is unlike other remote areas. After visitors walk down to the valley where Kampung Pamijahan is situated they find a mosque renovated at a cost of five hundred billion rupiah, soaring from the valley up to the hills. The house of the custodian and his staff member are designed as in cities (*kota*.) Parabolic antennas have been erected on the roofs. In the background, the green hills characterise Pamijahan as a country area. Even Rinkes, on his first 'pilgrimage' to this site found "a first class hotel in the country." (1910)

Visitors should write down their names at the custodian's office. This stage establishes the relation between visitors, the custodian, and his staff. The visitor approaches the custodian, his staff, shakes hands with them and they sit crossed-legged (*sila*). The custodian opens his registration book and his staff offer a cup of tea and some sweets. When I was there, I noted the transaction as follows

The kuncen asked the pilgrims: Do you want to do Pilgrimage? How many people?

Visitor: Yes, I am coming with four friends; they are outside.

The kuncen then checked the date in his book and gave the guest book to the visitors. Each visitor was asked to write down his identity and his intention and the number of people who accompanied him.

Kuncen: Have you brought your own ajengan, Ustad, or Kiai for tawassul?

Visitor: No, we have not.

Kuncen: You will be accompanied by nu ngajarahkeun (The Kuncen then appoints a member of his staff who is sitting close to him)

Visitor: This is hatur lumayan (He gives an envelope to the Kuncen and the Kuncen then puts it under the guest book)

The Kuncen: Haturnuhun.

Next, the custodian offers ritual accessories such as perfume, incense, isim, and the book, which describes the history of Kangjeng Shaykh. These packages cost five thousand to ten thousand rupiah. The custodian realises that not all visitors can afford these packages so he suggests that they only buy a particular item such as perfume or a book. After that, the custodian assigns a caretaker to accompany the visitors. Visitors can perform their own ritual after reporting (ngadaftar), but the majority ask the custodian for guidance.

The visitors proceed From the custodian's office to the Shrine; after the ten minute walk along the village path, visitors make ablution. The manual *Risalah Adab al-jairin* suggests that pilgrims should first purify their body and clothe; after that they should make ablution. Ablution (*wudu*) in fiqh is to purify the body from minor najis. The *Risalah Adab al-jairin* does not explain when or where *wudu* should be made. Mostly pilgrims purify themselves before they step on to the hill where the shrine is located. There are three washing areas, which can be used for ablution. This stage makes clear to visitors that they are entering the most sacred place in Pamijahan.

After performing *wudu*, visitors should consider their intention. According to the custodian, there is no ibadah without intention (*niat*). He says, "All conduct will be rewarded based on its intention (*sagala oge tergantung kana niat*)." According to him, the first intension (*niat berangkat*) is recited at home and the second, *niat ngalaksanakeun*, before approaching the sites. The manual makes clear that pilgrims should not hesitate to come to the tomb site since they believe that pilgrimage is recommended by their faith.¹⁷ After that, visitors take off their shoes and put them on a shelf. Before they trek up the hill, some are offered the accessories of the rituals (kelengkapan). Afterward, visitors climb the steps to the hill where Kangjeng Shaykh's Makom is situated.

The manual advises that visitors should step with the right foot first when entering the shrine and greeting the wali (*kedah sampean tengah anu tipayun bari maos assalamualaikum*). By that time, the custodian has approached the gate of

the shrine. He then leads visitors on to take their places in a cross-legged position. The manual also suggests that one should perform this stage with respect. Furthermore, one should also imagine that one will meet the saint as one will meet the leader pangagung.¹⁸ The next stage is to deliver the ritual greeting: the first greeting is delivered to the Prophet Muhammad, then to his companions; the second greeting is to Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi.¹⁹ For the third greeting, the custodian recites a set of Quranic verses ten times.

These stages are designed to introduce another stage; that of delivering the gift or *hadiyah*. The *hadiyah* is a recitation of *fatiha* or the opening verses of Quran. However, before the kuncen delivers the *hadiyah* he has to do a greeting ritual. The greeting says:

Ya Allah salam atas bagimu wahai kekasih Allah, salam bagimu wahai kekasih Rasulullah Sayyidina Muhammad SAW. Engkau di tempat yang mulia dengan kekasih Tuhan semesta alam. Salam bagimu wahai kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi dan siapa saja disekitarnya dan akhli kubur mukmin engkau semua telah mendahului kami dan kami insyallah akan menyusul kemudian... (Risalah Adab al-jairin p. 5)

May God grant His blessing to you, His beloved, His blessings upon you, beloved Prophet of God, our lord Muhammad (peace be upon you). You reside in exaltation in the love of God for all of the world. And blessings upon you, honoured Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi, and those close to you and all the faithful departed. You have gone before us and with God's grace we will follow... (Risalah Adab al-jairin, 5.)

The benefit of the recitation is addressed to the dead. In popular practice, *hadiyah* is an additional daily ritual which is performed after, for instance, the five prayer times. The ritual *hadiyah* consists in reciting the formulaic chants, for instance,

“To the elect prophet Muhammad, peace and prayers of Allah be upon him and upon his house and all of this companions. Let us recit al-Fatiha for them!

The *hadiyah* or the ‘gift’ can be sent to figures other than the Prophet depending on the intention made and the context in which *hadiyah* is recited. In the context of individual Muslims, at home, the *hadiyah* is delivered to one's dead parents or neighbours or their teachers. In the context of *ziarah*, *hadiyah* is addressed to the people who are ‘historically’ connected to the holy men buried in the shrines, or to other people who are believed to have a relationships with the dead in the shrine, or to the people who have been connected by Sufi silsilah. So, the first, the ritual *hadiyah*, is to address the Prophet and, the second is to address the martyrs and the masters of the Sufimaster, Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani. The third is to address the master of the particular tarekat, Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. The fourth is to address the holy men visited at the shrines. The fifth is to address

the murid of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi and all prominent families buried around the Shrine and neighbouring areas. The sixth is to contemporary figures that are important from the point of view of *nu ziarah*. The gift is the *Al-Fatiha* recitation.

Radical scripturalist groups such as Muhammadiyyah and Persis reject this practice. The rejection is based on their beliefs that the dead can not do anything expect wait for judgment. Only pious children are believed to have the opportunity to send *hadiyah* for their dead mothers and fathers. The meaning of *hadiyah* in their interpretation is also limited to praying to God to enhance their parents' status on God's side.

In contrast to Muhammadiyyah and Persis, the popular practice, which is in the majority came from Nahdatul Ulama, provides further meaning for the ritual *hadiyah*. It is not only presented to one's parents but also to the wali, the master of the tariqa, even to the local dead in the village. Such believers perceive the reciprocal values between the dead and pilgrims could emerge in ritual *hadiyah*, as stated in the manual of pilgrimages such as *Risalah Adab al-jairin* of Pamijahan. This ritual is close to the ideology of *tawassul*.

The *hadiyah* is also seen as part of the preliminary set of rituals. *Risalah Adab al-jairin* states *hadiyah* as part of the greeting to the wali, "ari ieu risalah sakadar hajat paranti hadiyhana uluk salam..." The manual was written to provide pilgrims with the ritual guidance. One important section in ritual pilgrimage is making *hadiyah* or the greeting ritual. In the case of Pamijahan, after sending the gift to the Prophet, the same gift is also directed to the *sahabat* and *Karabat*. Sayidinia Abubakar, Sayyidina Umar, and Sayyidina Ali, also receive *hadiyat* from pilgrims. Next, the gift is also given to the *mujtahid*, *ulama*, *amilin*, *fuqaha*, *ahlul Sufi* and *tabi'in*. Then, the gift is sent to the *wali* from Magrib until Masyrik. After that, one should send the gift to Shaykh Abdulqadir Jailani. Special holy men are addressed here. They are particularly people who have been linked with the Order or the founder of the Order and his companions. The gift is initially addressed to the Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi and his familiy and friends such as Sembah Khatib Muwahid, Sembah Kudrat, Sembah Dalem Sacaparana, and Sembah Dalem Yudanagara.

The *hadiyah* is a important preliminary protocol permitting entry into a symbolic transaction, and reciprocally between the dead and *nu ziarah*. After delivering *hadiyah*, visitors recite a set of verses, personal prayers such as *salawat*, *istigfar*, *tahlil* and *doa tawassul*.²⁰ The *doa tawassul* contains *salawat* to the Prophet and also address Shayh Abdul Muhyi in the following terms:

Ya Allah dengan Karamah Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi, aku memohon agar Engkau tetapkan iman kami dan engkau sampaikan maksud dan tujuan kami agar Engkau sampaikan maksud dan tujuan

kami agar Engkau angkat duka lara kami dan melunasi hutang-hutang kami

Almighty God, under the grace of our honoured Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi, I beg You to strengthen our faith and convey our hopes and our desires, we ask you to convey our hopes and our desires, so that you release us from our burdens and lighten all our worldly obligations

Finally, the custodian recites the *hadiyah* ritual again, followed by doa.

Tiada Tuhan kecuali Allah. Apa apa yang telah kami sampaikan dari shalawat atas Nabi baginda nabi Muhammad SAW di majlis ini sebagai hadiah yang kami sampaikan dari kami, kami hadiahkan dan kami haturkan kepada hadrat sayidina wa maulana tuan dan penolong kami Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi dan kepada asa muasal nenek moyang serta cabang-cabangnya, istrinya dan kaum keluarga serta karib kerabatnya. Dan kepada seluruh arwah, seluruh yang hadir di kuburan ini, sebagai hadiah...dan baginya nikmat yang berlimpah dan tinggi mulia. Ya Allah berilah dia pertolongan dan diri kami dan pertolongan bagi seluruh yang hadir dan seluruh pada penziarah. (Adabuljairin, p. 8)

There is no God but God. May what we have offered in our greetings upon Your Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in this assembly be a gift from us, we present it and we offer it to our lord, our teacher and our master and our help, Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi. And to his ancestors and their kin, to his wives and family, and to his kinfolk. And to all the departed souls, all those whose dwelling is this resting place here, we offer this gift... and to them may exalted blessings flow. Oh, Almighty give them and give us help, and Your help to all those present now and to all pilgrims. (Adabuljairin, p.8)

The custodian prays for the visitors, their families and friends. In the prayer, the custodian mediates the visitors' wishes.²¹ The custodian's palms are raised and the pilgrims follow his gestures by saying "Amen...Amen...Amen...". If a visitor explicitly asks the custodian to deliver his wishes, then the custodian recites a particular doa. The custodian also recites "an additional" doa without the visitors,' explicit request. For example, if the custodian knows the occupation of the visitors, he then recites a doa to strengthen their position in office or to develop their business. He also recites a doa for researchers like me.

Kangjeng Shaykh.... ieu seuweu putu Kangjeng Shaykh anu nuju mayunan studi. Anjeunna hoyong terang sagala rupa perkawis Ajaran Kangjeng Shaykh sapuratina. Mugi ajeunna tiasa ngamalkeun elmuna, mangfaat di dunya rawuh diakherat. Amin.

Honoured Shaykh... this grandchild of yours, Kangjeng Shaykh is engaged in research. He desires to learn your teaching in its entirety.

May he make good use of his knowledge, may it be of benefit here in the world and in the hereafter. Amen.

Finally, the custodian turns to face his visitors and shakes hands with them. The custodian delivers salam to them and returns to his office for the next assignment. At the final stage, visitors probably give the kuncen who accompanied them to the shrine, or the *nu ngaziarahkeun*, a consideration for his personal service.

After the custodian returns to his office, the *nu biasa ziarah* will stay at the tomb to recite their personal doa and find appropriate shelter in a corner of the shrine while women visitors enter a special room (*rohangan kanggo istri*). However other visitors will continue to other sacred sites.

Unlike other pilgrimage sites in Java, at Kangjeng Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's shrine, there is no burning of incense or scattering of flowers. According to the villagers, this unwritten procedure is a response to the critics who condemn such practice as heresy. However, when the Dutch orientalist, A.D. Rinkes visited to this site in 1909 (Rinkes 1910), he found visitors burning incense.

A specialist pilgrim will stay for the length of time, that has been suggested by his guru or the tradition in his school, while other *nu ziarah biasa* will continue their pilgrimage to the Safarwadi cave, Guha Safarwadi—which is also often called Guha Pamijahan. At the gate to the shrine, a cave guide, or *nu nganteur kag guha*, will offer guidance to visitors. One to five visitors make use of one of them. So, if the visitors belong to groups, which may consist of one to five buses, four-*nganteur ka guha* are needed to serve the passengers from each bus. In peak season such as Maulid and Rajab, a *nu nganteur kag guha* earns about twenty thousand rupiah a day. Sometimes, they are lucky because pilgrims give them tips as well.

The cave guides are important in maintaining traditions. On the way to the cave, they often make conversation with their clients. On the way to the cave, they are 'broadcasting' the story (cf. Fox 2002) at the site, answering questions, suggesting the route, shelter, or even restaurants. On these occasions, for example, they will describe what the miracle, *kaghaiban*, in the cave is. Visitors often ask many questions about the cave.

Visitors need ten minutes to walk from the tomb to the cave. They have to climb the path. This journey is not easy for older visitors. During my fieldwork, I found a visitor had died on the way to the cave because he was too old and probably had a heart attack. The *pakuncenan*, like an insurance office, had the responsibility of calling for an ambulance and sending him back to his village in Semarang. The difficult path for the pilgrims may enhance the potency of the site.

Before entering the cave, visitors should recite the call for prayer (*adzan*). *Nu nganteur kag guha* say that *adzan* gives visitors a sense of calm, '*katenangan*'.

Someone who has never entered a cave (*guha*) probably feel scared because he may think that inside there are snakes and other poisonous animals. One *Nu nganteur kag guha* said that a lot of visitors feel extremely close to God when they approach the cave because they realise that only God can help them if something happens inside. Therefore, besides reciting *azan*, other visitors voluntarily recite verses from the Quran and *salawat* when they are inside the cave. *Adzan* is a standard chant in Islam. However, according to the text, *adzan* should be performed before prayer five times each day and not at times other than that. It is common for the Sundanese and probably the Javanese, to extend the use of such formulaic chants to different settings and for different purposes.

Villagers believe that the Guha Pamijahan called the cave of Safarwadi in manuscripts, is sacred. The cave was an important place for Kangjeng Shaykh Abdul Muhyi after he returned from Mecca. As discussed previously 6, there is convincing evidence that Shaykh Abdul Muhyi obtained the Shatariyah *silsilah* from Abd al-Rauf al-Singkel, the prominent Sumateran Sufi of the 17th century (Christomy 2001; Krauss 1995; Rinkes 1909). However, in the oral tradition of Panyalahan and Pamijahan, Shyakh Abdul Muhyi is reported to have found the cave at Abd al-Rauf's suggestion made when Muhyi and Abd al-Rauf were in Mecca.

Oral traditions regarding regarding Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, some of which have become available in printed form (see Khaerusalam 1997), provide an emphasis different from that of the *Babad Pamijahan*. The 'manager of the sacred site', to borrow Fox's phrases, a 'broadcaster', uses oral traditions of the kind given below to fill a gap in 'the sign of history'. To illustrate how a custodian gives an oral account of their *Wali* I will present here verbatim one such narrative written down by Zainal Musfofa bin Muhammad Jabidi, a custodian, 1978. In 1970 researchers from Padjadjaran University in Bandung, West Java, witnessed a custodian reciting the same narrative as that written down by Zainal Mustof. (Kossim 1974). When the Padjadjaran University team came to Pamijahan, a custodian was still designated by an older title, *panembahan*. The present oral narrative was evidently copied by the *panembahan's* successor. Zainal Mustofa, an older brother of the current custodian.

To give more comprehensive perception of how villagers recognise the past I will describe this oral account in terms similar to those I employed in my discussion of the *Babad Pamijahan*. The *Babad Pamijahan* provided a genealogical framework for the reconciliation of mystical narratives relating to the realms of Sunda and Java. It also connects Shaykh Abdul Muhyi to the Nine Saints of Java (see Rinkes 1911). In the oral account, the contemporariness of Muhyi is given more attention. For this purpose, I describe the journey of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi and compare it with this journey as given in the *Babad Pamijahan*. The comparison produces a clear result: the *Babad* and the oral account fulfil different

functions in the telling of the past. The oral text is segmented according to the main place referred in each unit of the narrative.

THE LIFE OF KANGJENG SYEKH

He is born in Mataram [A] around 814 H./1394 A.D. and is immediately taken to Geresik, his mother's home.

His Education: While still young he studies Qur'an in Geresik and Ampel, East Jawa. At the age of 19 he goes to the Pesantren Kuala in Aceh. He remains there for 8 years (833-841 H./1413-1421 A.D.). His teacher in Kuala is Syekh Abd Rauf Bin Abdul Jabbar bin Syekh Abdul Qadir Jaelani of Baghdad.

Travels to Baghdad and makes the Pilgrimage. At the age of 27 (841 H./1421 A.D.) he and his fellow students are taken by their teacher to visit Baghdad. There he visits the grave of Syekh Abdul Qadir and reads Qur'an with a Baghdadi ulama. From Baghdad he is taken to make the Pilgrimage in Mecca. As they approach the House of God, his teacher receives inspiration, or dreams that among his santris there is one who will show the signs of Sainthood (kawalian). 'When you see/recognise this sign, the santri must be ordered to retreat from the world, and the place of his retreat must be sought out. It is a cave situated on the island of Java, in its western part and the very cave in which Syekh Abd Qadir Jaelani was initiated by his teacher, the Imam Sanusi. And it happened that at one time, about the time of the Asar prayers, Syekh Abd Muhyi and his fellow students were sitting together in the Masjidil Haram. His teacher saw sparks of light falling on his face and thought to himself that this surely was the sign promised him in the dream. The teacher did not however reveal this to his students.

Returns from Mecca. Having witnessed the sign, Syekh Abd Rauf and his students returned immediately to Kuala. On their arrival there, Syekh Abd Rauf instructed Syekh Abdul Muhyi to return straightway to Geresik and to withdraw to a cave in which Syekh Haji Abdul Qadir had been initiated by his teacher, Imam Sanusi. The cave was in the western part of the island of Java. There, his teacher ordered, Syekh H. Abdul Muhyi was to dwell, to perform his religious duties steadfastly (istiqomah ibadah) and to preach religion.

Returns to Geresik. After receiving his teacher's instructions, he went back to Geresik. Upon his arrival, he informed his parents and asked their blessing on his departure, because he was going in search of a place/cave to make his retreat, following his teacher's instructions. He then set out from Geresik, travelling in a westerly direction. He traversed

the countryside until he reached Kampung Darma/Kadu Gede Lengkong in the district of Kuningan.

He Stays in Darma. In Kampung Darma he rested and got to know the local people, who, it happened, were already Muslims. Presented with his friendliness towards them and his piety, which rested on a high degree of learning, vision and accomplishments, the people became so attached to him that they pressed him to remain in Darma and to teach them religion. He complied with their wishes and remained in Darma for seven years. The news of his sojourn in Darma was sent back to his parents in Geresik. They immediately went to Darma and stayed with him there.

He Leaves Darma/Kuningan. After seven years' stay in Darma he took his leave from the people to search for the place that his teacher had told him about. He continued his journey, turning southward. He arrived in Pameungpeuk (South Garut) where he remained, teaching religion for two years. It was while he was in Pameungpeuk that his father was called back to God, and was buried there.

His Sojourn in Lebaksiuh. After residing for two years in Pameungpeuk, he resumed his travels, and came to Batuwangi. There he was welcomed and stayed to teach religion. We do not know how long he was there. It was while he was in Batuwangi that his mother died and was buried there. From Batuwangi he set out again on his journey and came to Lebaksiuh, remaining there for 4 years to propagate religion. In Lebaksiuh he suffered all kinds of harassment and opposition from the adherents of the pre-Islamic religion (Agama Budha). Yet he remained steadfast in the holy task of preaching the faith of Islam there, until it became widespread.

His Sojourn in Saparwadi (Pamijahan). After four years in Lebaksiuh, he continued his journeying in search of the place/cave where he was to practise meditation. He did not cease from praying to the Almighty that he might be shown the place he was seeking. It is then told that one day he lighted upon a valley. There he discovered a cave, whose appearance matched the description given by his teacher. Surely this was the cave that he was seeking (and now it is called the Cave of Pamijahan). He named the cave *mujarrood* (the place of purifying the mind). East of the cave he founded a settlement in which to reside and to propagate Islam. He named the settlement, or Kampung Saparwadi, which is now known as Pamijahan. The length of his stay in Saparwadi was 40 years. He passed away in Saparwadi on 14 Mulud 894 H./1474 A.D. and was buried in Saparwadi (Pamijahan). He came to us on 12 Mulud 854 H./ 1434 A.D.

The End. God Knows Best the Truth of This. If It Prove False, Return it to its Origin.

Pamijahan 13 Rewah 1390, Rebo Kaliwon

18 July 1978. Written by Z. Mustopa Bin M. Jabidi.

Unlike *Babad Pamijahan* oral tradition gives more lively narrative on the relation between the Sunda wali and his Sumateran Sufi Master, Abd al-Rauf. According to oral tradition, when Abdul Muhyi was studying Sufism in Mecca, before he established a settlement in the valley of Safarwadi, his master Abd al-Rual al-Singkili order him to meditate in the Safarwadi café. There are a popular recitations about this episode, and the role of custodians is quite important in preserving and transmitting them. A. A. Khaerusalam, a graduatet of Unswagati University in Cirebon and a custodian ath Abdul Muhyi's tobm wrote down and published what had originallu been a local oral history of the saint under the title *Sejarah Perjuangan Shyakh Abdul Muhyi Waliyullah*. As summary of the story indicates, the cave is internationalized' in it, and connected to a wider tradition of Islam.

At the age of 27 he and his fellow students at the pasantren were taken by their Teacher to Bagdad. There they made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani Qoddasallahu Sirrohu. They stayed there for two years in order to take their licence in Islam.

After the two years' sojourn in Bagdad, their Teacher took them straight away to the holy city of Mecca to perform the duty of the great pilgrimage.

When they had all assembled at the House of God, their Teacher, Abdul Rauf received a sudden revelation that among his students there was one destined to sainthood.

Within the revelation it was also conveyed that once the signs (of sainthood) became apparent, then he, Syekh Abdul Rauf must immediately order the person to return home and to seek out a cave on the western part of the island of Java to dwell there. That cave was actually the place where Syekh Abdul Qodir Jaelani had performed meditation, or tawajuh, and had received the teachings of Islam from his Teacher, the Imam Sanusi. About the hour of the mid-afternoon prayers, Syekh Abduh Muhyi and his friends had gathered at the Great Mosque of Mecca, when suddenly a light shone upon the face of Syekh Abdul Muhyi and this was perceived by the Teacher, Syekh Abdul Ra'uf. Witnessing this, Syekh Abdul Rauf was greatly amazed and remembered the revelation that he had received. Having considered the mater carefully, he was conviinned that his indeed was the sign of sainthood

which he had been expecting. And yet he kept all of this in his heart, not revealing it even to his students. (Khaerusalam 1992).

There is nothing unusual about custodians of sacred places preserving and transmitting histories in this way. Fox (Fox 2002), in his account of the role of custodian in the graveyard of Brawijaya in Trowulan and The Tombs of Senopati in Mataram Central Java, mentions the important part of juru kunci in broadcasting 'the history' of the dead. When the manuscripts, the Babad, are silent about a particular episode, then, the juru kunci fills the gap. He also states that "tombs in Java function as popular 'broadcast centres' for the historical traditions of Java, then it is the juru kunci who keep these traditions alive and relevant to contemporary Javanese" (2002: 172).

The custodian in Pamijahan narrates that in the cave of Safarwadi or Guha Pamijahan, Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani obtained ijazah from his master Shaykh Sanusi. Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (d.1077) is the founder of Qadiriyya born in Jilan. In Sunda the figure is still popular; people always pray for him. His name can not be detached from the majority of Sundanese Muslim practices. In West Java he is known as the Sufi founder who was able to perform miracles even after his death. Adabuljairin clearly mentions the importance of the influence of Abd al-Qadir,

"Dalam manaqib Shaykh dari segala Shaykh Abd Qadir Jailani, sesungguhnya arwah arwah para nabi dan wali Allah membentuk jasad sebagaimana terbentuknya jasad (p. 3).

According to the book of Manaqib of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jailani, indeed, the spirits of the prophets, the friends of Allah are able to reappear as physically (p. 3)

The cave is also recognised as the place for meditation, or tempat tawajjuh, which connects the cave 'mystically' with the great tradition of Sufism. In the golden age of Syattariyah in Sunda, a new novice should perform two days meditation in the cave before he was initiated and took the oath of Syattariyah. This place is also recognised as a meeting place where Kangjeng Shaykh met other saints. This cave, which is 284 metres long and 24.5 wide, has several rooms, which are regarded as "doors." These doors connect the cave to the centre of pilgrimage in Mecca and to the tombs of other great wali such as Sunan Gunung Jati of Cirebon, Sunan Giri of Surabaya, and Shaykh Maulana Mansur of Banten.

Besides the doors, the cave also has a place for meditation, a place for the holy water, a small natural chamber that is a 'mosque' for men and one for women, and the hill of "the haji hat" or *Jabal kupiah*, the boarding school, or *pesantren*, kitchen, or *dapur*, and altars. The cave has a complete room for staying more than a week or even months for devotees who want to perform *tawajjuh*. According to oral tradition, when Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassri²² was sought by

the Dutch troops, he fled to the cave and consolidated and launched guerilla operation from this place. Oral tradition states that on Friday from 11 am--2 pm when the cave is closed, villagers believe that Kangjeng Shaykh performs Friday prayer or *jumaahan* there.

In the cave, visitors first take holy water, or *cai zam-zam* believed to come from Mecca, and put it in their cans, or *jariken*. After that, they climb to the masjid. This place is believed to be another *masjid karamat* where Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi used to *shalat* when he was doing meditation. Visitors often chant azan in the quba. For older visitors, it is difficult to stay in Masjid for long during the peak season because the oxygen is reduced by the hundreds of pilgrims and the *nu jajap kaguha* who bring push kerosene lamps, or *patromak*. However, in the low season, in the month of Ramadhan, this place is very quiet and some visitors prefer to perform *tirakat* or *tapa*. For *nu ziarah biasa*, they stay here for ten minutes. They recite their own doa.

From the mosque, guides take visitors to *cai kahuripan* and *cai kajayaan*. These are rivers, which flow in the lowest part of the cave. Pamijahanese believe that anyone who takes a bath in *cai kahuripan* will be free from disease, and those who take bath in *cai kajayaan* will succeed in business.

After this, visitors exit from the opposite gate which leads them to Kampung Panyalahan, the second most popular sacred site in Pamijahan. In this village is buried Shaykh Khatib Muwahid. He is not a wali but is a pious man with the title of Shaykh. Shaykh Khatib Muwahid married Kangjeng Shaykh Abdul Muhyi's sister. *Nu nganteur kag guha* have an important role since they can suggest whether pilgrims visit Shaykh Khatib Muwahid's tomb or not. In the peak season *nu nganteur kag guha* are very busy. Sometimes they do not suggest that people continue their sacred journey to Panyalahan but rather that they return to Pamijahan so that *nu nganteur kag guha* will have more opportunity to guide other visitors.

The caretaker of Shaykh Khatib Muwahid's tomb in Panyalahan states that only 15 percent of all pilgrims who come to Pamijahan continue their sacred journey to Panyalahan. Realising this problem, the custodian Panyalahan has provided incentives for *nu nganteur kag guha* to encourage their clients to continue their visitation by going on to Panyalahan.

The custodian at Panyalahan applies the same system as Pamijahan. The custodian identifies visitors and assigns a staff member to accompany them and perform *tawassul* at the tomb of Khatib Muwahid. Unlike in Pamijahan, the custodian of Panyalahan is present in his office the full day. They do not need to share with other families as in Pamijahan. He is the sole single care taker.

F. The Prescribed Sequences

Ritual consists of symbolic and social signs (Turner 1966; Parmentier 1996). Between symbolic and social signs there is a medium, as Catherine Bell has pointed out called discourse. Bell (Bell 1992) tries to elaborate further what has been stated by Geertz (1976: 355) about the cultural and social dimension of ritual by proposing discourse, the third category, which frames individually practised particular rituals or a discourse. The model developed by Geertz (1976) and Bell (1992), to some extent, resembles the Peircean (Peirce 1997; Parmentier 1994) idea whereby there are three elements of a sign: *representamen*, *reference*, and *interpretant*. *Representamen* is a form or structure. Reference is an individual meaning, and interpretant is a public interpretation, or, using Bell's terms, a discourse.

Pilgrimage, like the plot of a story, is constructed by various events. Pilgrims choose their own succession of times and places. Different sequences often indicate the pilgrims' different objective and spiritual levels. Furthermore, the sequence also indicates a negotiating process related to signification. In Pamijahan, *ziarah* represents a sacred sequence as the main text as indicated by the official narrative found in the manual of pilgrimage or in the book written by the family of the custodians. However, pilgrimage in Pamijahan also represents the subtext, which is open to individual interpretation: a text, which appears within the main text. Furthermore, based on sequential analyses, pilgrimage is connected to other systems of meaning (intertextuality) where the more public and shared meaning can 'regiment' our interpretation of the sequence (cf Parmentier 1994).

[A] *passing the gate or kaca-kaca*

[B] reporting to the custodian and submitting an amount of money

[C] accompaniment by the staff of the custodian to the Shrine

[D] performance of ritual tawassul led by the custodian,

[E] return with the custodian back to his office, or

[F] continuation to the cave, [F1] accompanied by the lantern man

[G] going to the Panyalahan Custodian and Shrine

[H] back to Pamijahan passing the custodian office

[I] return home

Figure 28 The Sequence of Ziarah

This chain of events is taken from the manual given by the custodians. The string can be read in terms of various strategies. As is evident the main text consists of a standard order as stated by the custodian and the book of pilgrimage: it is the syntax, which is accepted by most Pamijahanese. The logical concept is tightly dependent on the point of view of the 'storyteller' (e.g. Danesi and Parron, 1999:249). From the list of possibilities of prescribed sequences, we can identify that the most important point is visiting the shrine [D] whether accompanied by the staff or not. Furthermore, the pattern also suggested that passing the gate and reporting to the custodian office is important. After that, going to the cave and Panyalahan is the next prescribed route.

The linear aspects described above can be abstracted as follows.

1.	A	B	C	D	E	F		H	I
2.	A	B	C	D	E			H	I
3.	A	B	C	D	E			H	I
4.	A	B		D		F		H	I
5.	A	B		D				H	I
6.				D	E	F	G	H	I
7.	G			D		F	G	H	I
9.	(G)			(F)		(D)		H	I
10.	(g)			(F)					I

Figure 29 The possible strategies in the pilgrimage 'narrative'

However, if we look carefully, there is a contrast between the sequence of no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 with no. 6, 7, and 8. Instead of passing the gate [A] and the custodian office of Pamijahan [B], some pilgrims go, first, to the custodian of Panyalahan [G] (see the sequence no. 6—8). From the point of view of the book of pilgrimage written by the Pamijahanese, such a journey is not proper. For them, pilgrimage should started from the gate, or *kaca-kaca* and pass the custodian's office located between the gate (*kaca-kaca*) and the shrine of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi. For the villagers the proper journey should follow proper sequences as stated by the manual. Finally, the sequence of no. 9 is not a preferred succession because according to them, pilgrims do not pay respect to the Shaykh.

There are several reasons why pilgrims choose this route (sequence no. 6--8). The first may be simple ignorance, they do not know what should be done first. Some pilgrims said that when they arrived at the car park outside the sacred village, some one offered guidance and led them directly to Panyalahan [G→D→F→G→H→I] or [G→F→D→H→I] instead to Pamijahan first [A]→[B]→[C].... However, they may have come once before and used the Panyalahan route [G] and so they consider it the appropriate method because it was suggested by the

custodian of Panyalahan [G]. Another reason for the use of this route may be a special purpose suggested by their local teacher.

If the syntagmatic axis was applied here, then we have to find an underlaying system that puts events in an acceptable string of pilgrimage. It is clear that, from the point of view of Pamijahanese, *ziarah* to the shrine of Muhyi has two 'minimal unit' (1) **reporting** to the custodian [B] of Pamijahan and (2) **visiting** the tomb of Muhyi or {[B]→[D]}. Reporting (*ngalapora*), in fact, is the crucial event in Pamijahan. There is a proverb among the villagers that "if you come I can see your face, if you return I can see your back." Visiting the tomb is the core of *ziarah*. Of course, people can create their own combination. However, such a combination will influence the quality of the *ziarah*. In this regard, the custodian states that there are three kinds of sequence: (1) perfect, or *sampurna*, (2) good , or *sae*, and (3) in appropriate or *henteu dipikahoyong*.

In the view of the custodians the perfect sequence (*sae pisan*) should consisted of the full series of [A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I]. The *sae* or good sequence should consist of [B, F] or [A, B, C, D, E, F]. The inappropriate sequence is the sequence without the elements of reporting [B] and visiting [F].

It is a fact that the structure of the pilgrimage, from a sequential analysis, consists of two compulsory elements: **reporting to key bearer** and **visiting the shrine**. Pilgrims, of course, have to visit to decide their preferred progression. There are some possibilities to be inserted between [B] and [F]. However, the choice is limited.

The custodian office and the shrine are located at the centre while other sacred sites including Panyalahan are at the periphery (see Chapter 5). The non-smoking area is the most sacred territory where the compulsory sequences take place.

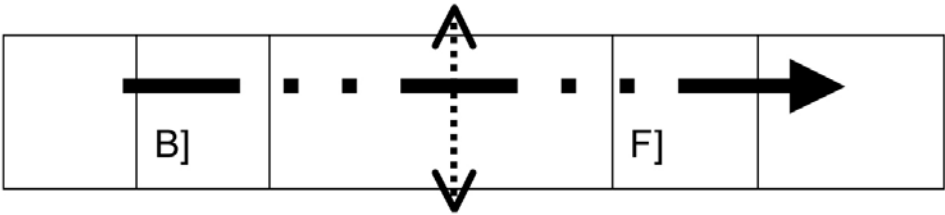


Figure 30 Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Axis

Ritual is a structure; but as the result of alternative interpretations and contestation the rigidity of the structure as both a sensible and intellligible order is not stable. On the other hand, in Pamijahan, the custodian states that all pilgrims are guests of the wali. To be a pilgrim is to follow the prescription stated by the book or custodian directly. It is easy for the custodian to differentiate between the sacred and the profane.²³ If a peddler comes to the sites to sell

something to the villagers or pilgrims, then he should not be categorised as pilgrim. Similarly, if a peddler came to the kuncen and went to the shrine to perform *tawassul* and then sold his goods, he would be considered a pilgrim. For the custodian of Pamijahan, as long as the people report to his office and carry out the intermediary ritual, then they should be considered pilgrims. The custodian even says that if peddlers achieve good fortune in the market after visitation to the tomb then they are indeed blessed. In other words, it may be difficult for the custodian to identify all true *niat* but it is easier for him to identify whether visitors have followed the prescribed sequence or not.

In Islam, there is a compulsory precondition for performing *ibadah*: these are first true intention, and the second is true action or *amalan*, and the third is knowledge. Thus, the proper pilgrimage should meet such prerequisites. However, intention is an intelligible aspect for the custodian. In the ritual *ngadaftar* or subsequently the custodian often asks the visitor's intention. Most of the visitors, according to the custodian, state general motives such as solving their problems and seeking *barokah* from the process. Often, more specific motives will be retained in their hearts and delivered to God personally in the front of the Muhyi tomb. Some times, *nu ziarah* also tell the custodian in detail and ask his help. Based on my interviews, I found some visitors have huge debts and come to Pamijahan for help. Some of them have even run away from their wives and families because they cannot support their family life.

The custodian says that all *niat* should be translated into *amalan* or action. He states that if you have a good *niat*, then God will grant you a reward. If you have a good *niat* and you are able to actualise it, God will grant you multiple rewards; but if you are unable to actualise it, God will grant you only one reward. Action is the second stage in the ritual. The kuncen explains that *amalan*, good deeds, without knowledge will reduce the rewards. Knowledge, or *ilmu*, is basic to perform in the ritual. In the case of pilgrimage, the custodians feel responsible for help people in this third area.

Knowledge of the ritual can be learned from various sources. For instance, a group of the pilgrims often brings their own *ulama* to the sites in order to get lessons and guidance so that their *niat* and action are performed in harmony. In reality, the custodians are still perceived many visitors as the main source of knowledge in the village. This is due to the belief that ritual pilgrimage is connected to the local codes for which the kuncen is the key bearer. For instance, the kuncen will allow visitors to perform their own *niat* and *amalan* with some precautions. Ideally, pilgrims are not expected to stay in the sacred site for more than a week. In fact, there are some specialists who spent more than 41 days in the shrine. For this reason, the kuncen will give special permission. The custodian also will allow specialists who ask special permission to enter the main room in the shrine. In normal circumstances, such an area is a forbidden place.

The specialists and 'ordinary pilgrims' may perform different sequences. The minimal structure, however, should be tightly connected to what the custodian calls "proper conduct", that is, reporting to his office and visiting the shrine. However, if we carefully examine the table of sequences, the space for negotiation is apparent. While the power of the kuncen regulates the prescribed sequence by limiting the accepted choice of 'paths', others still have space for negotiation as seen in what the kuncen often calls *sae pisan*, *kirang sae*, or *teu dipikahoyong*.

Ziarah practice in Pamijahan is not only influenced by outsiders but also by the contestation among the groups who claim to have the same ancestral sources. As seen in the table above structural variation coincides with the two different sequences prescribed by the two different custodian offices: Pamijahan and Panyalahan. And indeed in practice, the custodian of Pamijahan's account may be contested by the custodian of Panyalahan who also shares the same lineage.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ How the Five Pillars help us to remember the basic obligation of being Islam.
- ² See A. Yusuf Ali (translator), *The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary*.
- ³ "Nu Jaroh daratang teu diondang ku urang, maranehna datang sorangan ku sabab di dieu aya Wali."
- ⁴ Makom meaning 'tomb'. The word originates from Arabic meaning 'station'.
- ⁵ This is a manual of pilgrimage which is sold in the custodian office or in the gateway to the shrine of Shaykh Abd a-Muhyi.
- ⁶ Ibn Taimiyah (1976) *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of his Kitab iqtida as-sirat al-mustaqima mukhalafat ashab al-jahim*, Mouton The Hague.
- ⁷ Pamijahanaese translate the word *wasillah* to mean (al-Maidah: 35) *lantaran*. *Lantaran* can also be translated as 'a cause'.
- ⁸ salihin
- ⁹ 'Eta teh disebut **tawassul**'. Tawassul from Arabic al -wasillah meaning 'means' or 'a way' as seen in Quran Al-Maidah: 35 and Al-Isra: 57 "Tawassul meaning to find a way. The tawassul ritual is the most important sequence in pilgrimage at the *maqom* of Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi.
- ¹⁰ In Sundanese, *nyantelkeun* originates from the word *cantel* meaning 'to hook'. Attaching the affixes ny- and -keun produces the meaning of 'to put something on', so *nyantelkeun* is 'to entrust something to someone', or in this case 'to attach our wishes to the holiness of the wali'.
- ¹¹ Baqing is the graveyard in Mecca where martyrs are buried.
- ¹² The nominal construction pa+noun+an in Sundanese means 'a means for x' or 'a place of x'. In this case, pa + *kuncen* + an can be translated as 'a place for/of caretakers'.
- ¹³ (see also Jamhari, p. 130).
- ¹⁴ Sajarah Sukapura
- ¹⁵ At that time there was a tension between those who made a contact with the Dutch administrator and the Moslem movements. The result of this conflict was that the Bupati Wiradadaha was exiled to Ceylon and his successors were divided. Oral narratives recite that before Wiradadaha was exiled, he ordered Kangjeng Shaykh to send a rosary to him in Batavia (Jakarta).
- ¹⁶ *Saha bae anu nyisikudi kana katangtuan anu parantos diserenkeun ti luhur... aya basa kaluhur aja sirungan ongsor aja oyodan* (The Kuncen)
- ¹⁷ "Ulah aya deui manah ka sisi ka gigir sarta pangdumeuheus teh ka pakuburka Wali karana sidiq mahabbah sara peracaya (iman) kana karamatna anu di paparinkeun ku Allah ka para Wali" (Adabuljairin, p. 6)
- ¹⁸ Dimana dongkap kana panto maqam anu dilebetkeun (ngalengkah) kedah sampean tengah anu tipayun ...lajeng linggih sila sing rekep sakumaha tatakrama adak kapangagung anu aya oayuneun urang lajeng uluk salam kawaliyullah (p. 6)

¹⁹ “Assalamaualaikum ya Kangjeng Shaykh Haji Abdul Muhyi wa man haulahu min amwatin al mursalina antumu as-sabiquna wa nahnu insya allahu bikum la hiquana” (p. 7)

²⁰ 1) *qulhu* eleven times, 2) *falak bi nas* one time, 3) *fatiha* one time, 4) the first *ayat* of *albaqarah* one time, (and surah?) 5) *ayat kursi* one time, (followed by *al-baqarah*; [Surah 284] 6) the last ayah of *surah al-Baqarah* one time, 7) wa fu anna wagfirlana (al-B aqarah), sakawasana, 8) some personal *dua*, 9) *Shalawat* 10) *istigfar* 11) *tahlil* 12) *zikir* and finally 13) *dua tawassull*.

²¹ “Nitipkeun jisim abdi kana awal jisim abdu sareng ka pun Bapa sareng ka pun Biang sareng ka pun Bojo sareng ka pun Anak, Incu, jisim abdi sareng ka sadayana dulur-dulur jisim abdi sareng ka sadayana ahli-ahli jisim abdi sareng kasobat-sobat jisim abdi ti kawit dinten ieu dugi kayaumul qiyamat nitipkeun ka dampal gamparan nyuhunkeun ulah lepat tina kalimah asyhadu ana la ilaha ila allahu wa asyadu anna Muhammada ar-rasulullah.”

²² For the Dutch accounts on Shaykh Yusuf activities and his relation with the Hajj from Carrang or Shaykh Abdul Muhyi see F. Dehan, De Prianger.

²³ In his account on pilgrimage at The Shrine of Mu'in al-din Chishti in Ajmer, Currie (1992) states that there are four motives behind the practices. The first is a practical motives such finding the help from the saints. The second is material motives where people come to the site in order to find material benefit directly. Curry reports that pilgrims come to the shrine only for performing special ritual...“they were at the shrine for purposes linked with life-cycle rituals.” (Currie 1992:133). This third motive, according to Curry is of declining. The fourth motive is the relation between the Creator and the created such as in mystical terms, which is called by Curry as spiritual motive (p. 133).