

JAVANESE ABANGAN WORLD VIEW AND PRACTICES IN IMOGIRI CEMETERY YOGYAKARTA

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini fokus pada isu bagaimana “pandangan hidup” dan juga praktek Jawa abangan di makam Imogiri. Terdapat 3 isu utama yang didiskusikan, yaitu (1) konteks istilah abangan untuk masyarakat Jawa saat ini, (2) para abdidalem, peziarah dan pengunjung yang dikategorikan sebagai praktisi abangan, dan (3) “pandangan hidup” Jawa abangan dalam memahami praktek ritual mereka di makam Imogiri. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode etnography dalam pengumpulan data di lapangan. Sedangkan proses analisisnya menggunakan teori Clifford Geertz (1976), Andrew Beatty (2004), Robert Hefner (1987) M. C. Ricklefs (2007), Koentjaraningrat (1985), Neils Mulder (1983) Robert Wessing (2006), dan Irving Hallowell (1960). Dengan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif interpretatif, penelitian ini menyimpulkan 3 hal: (1) Saat ini, istilah abangan oleh Geertz dan Ricklefs sudah tidak relevan. Berdasarkan fenomena para peziarah dan pengunjung makam Imogiri bahwa banyak santri, priyayi dan non-muslim juga mempraktekkan ritual dan upacara abangan. Fenomena ini menolak definisi Geertz yang mengklaim bahwa abangan hanyalah kelompok petani dan masyarakat Jawa desa (Geertz, 1960:4-5), point ini pun sekaligus membantah pernyataan Ricklefs yang menyatakan bahwa abangan adalah kelompok Muslim yang tidak menerapkan ajaran-ajaran Islam (Ricklefs, 2007:84). Ditambah lagi, pengelompokan antara santri, abangan dan priyayi saat ini bersifat lebih relatif. (2) Beberapa ritual dan upacara di makam Imogiri sebagian besar berhubungan dengan semua kategori yang masuk dalam istilah abangan yang sampai saat ini masih eksis. (3) “Pandangan hidup” Jawa abangan dalam praktek ritual dan upacara di makam Imogiri merupakan bentuk usaha untuk melestarikan dan mempertahankan hubungan antara manusia dan bukan manusia.

Kata Kunci: Abangan, Praktek Ritual dan Pandangan Hidup.

I. INTRODUCTION

Scholarly discussion about “Javanese abangan” has consistently linked in the history of Javanese local culture, syncretism among some religions in Javanese spiritual belief, and variation to differences of socioeconomic class, political behavior, and social conflict in Javanese society. In the most widely known sociological formula, Clifford Geertz as American anthropologist, distinguished three varieties of Javanese society being: *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi* (Hefner, 1987:533).

The important basic discussing of *abangan* practices in this article is the *abangan* definition itself. Hefner who refers from Geertz book; “The Religion of Java” divides *abangan* as; “a syncretic blend of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements” (Hefner, 1987:533). Ricklefs (2006:84) in his article “The Birth of

abangan” explains that the term of *abangan* refers to;

“Javanese society a category of people who were defined by their failure – in the eyes of the more pious – to behave as proper Muslim. These were *abangan*, the nominal or non-practicing Muslim”

Further, Ricklefs also shows to us that the earliest references about *abangan* are around 1855. The reference was written by a Christian tract; Hoenzoo (1855) who translated a record from Javanese language to the Dutch version in the same year in Semarang. Hoenzo’s term of *abangan* here means people who were profane or secular.

Besides referring to some *abangan*’s definition above, this research additionally tries to take some notes and findings in the field about the phenomenon of *abangan*

practices. This research will examine and question to the term of *abangan* above in the context of Imogiri cemetery recently. This research further also will try to re-divine *abangan* in the new way. The process of re-divine is important in the context of social study because the objects (society and their practices) are always changing as time and condition which always changing.

The process of examining to the Javanese *abangan* practices in the academic level is significant, because lately some studies written by scholars (includes; Hefner and Ricklefs) assert that the existence of Javanese *abangan* now days has been polarized or in fact has gone. Are the statements both Hefner and Ricklefs about the existence of *abangan* in Java really true now days? Or in contrary, the practices of *abangan* actually are still existing and spreading in some areas of Java. This research is an effort to respond and examine the question. By focusing in exploring some practices of Javanese *abangan* in Imogiri cemetery, hopefully, this effort will be a comparison or antithesis to the some studies above. Minimally, this research can give a contribution in the academic discussion that factually in some certain areas of Java, the Javanese *abangan* practices is still exist.

II. METHODOLOGY

This research uses ethnographical methods in gathering data in the field. The process of analysis convoys some theories by Clifford Geertz (1976), Andrew Betty (2004), Robert Hefner (1987) M. C. Recklefs (2007), Koentjaraningrat (1985), Neils Mulder (1983) Robert Wessing (2006), and Irving Hallowell (1960). Finally, by using descriptive and interpretive approaches.

III. DISCUSSION

A. Some Notes about *Abangan*

Geertz clearly divides Javanese society being three categories/groups. He makes a clear distinction among religious teachings

and social status of Javanese people to the three categories/groups; *abanganis* associated with group's village farmers, *santri* as well as *tensto* the traders who are in areas that are closer to the city than *abangan*, while *priyayi* is related to the group of those who were set bureaucracy (Geertz, 1960:6).

Although in the book "The Religion of Java", Geertz gives a long overview and analysis to the various aspects of religious systems and Javanese worldview, nevertheless there are some ambiguities and complexities about the criteria. The ambiguities of criteria absolutely can be a mess in the academic discussion. This analysis will give some insight and critic relating with Geertz category above.

The most important point to reminder about an effort of creating social stratification in the certain society is the 'division'/'criteria' which being the primary references. The 'criteria' of stratification actually should be *consequent and consistent* (Muchtaron, 2002: 5).

Conversely, if the basic material of division/criteria is inconsistency, it will cause confusion, and the results completely will be misleading. Examples of material division/criteria of stratifications are: economy, ideology, ancestry, religion, politics, etc.. (Bakker, 1979:436).

In the Geertz context, he uses many standards/criteria in the process of categorizing Javanese community where the standards sometimes are unstable and unbalanced among each other. In other words, Geertz used double standards in identifying Javanese society. In reality, if we see the stratification of Javanese community using social status perspective, it is different to Clifford Geertz category. Another scholar who focuses in the study of Javanese society as D. H. Burger in his book untitled "Structure Changes in Javanese society; The Supra-Village Sphere" explains that the stratification of Javanese society in social status is divided to the three categories. In detail Burger explains:

In the fact, the Java society as social status in

simply can be divided into three levels: The King (*pengeran*), aristocratic (*bangsawan*), and farmers/grassroots (*wongcilik*). Javanese feudalism coincided with the peak of the Dutch influence to the Java community geographically and social structure. During that time there are four status levels of Javanese society: the first is the king (monarchy), the second is the head of the provincial and district heads, village chiefs in the third level and the fourth is the villages and farmers society (Mulder, 1983:260-267).

Based on Burger categories above, if we analyze the reality of social status of Javanese society vertically using status social categories we will never find the term of “*santri*” and “*abangan*”. Similar with D. C. Burger analyzing, R. M. Koentjaraningrat tried to analyze and make a clear distinction of Javanese society based on “social stratification”:

The Javanese social stratification is distinguished being four levels, namely: *ndara* (aristocratic), *priyayi* (bureaucrats), *wongdagang* (merchant/trader), and *wongcilik* (grassroots) (Koentjaraningrat, 1985:188-198).

Two examples both D. C. Burger and R. M. Koentjaraningrat above take *social status* being a basic category in identifying the stratification to the Javanese society. Look up the result! So difference with Geertz category.

The division process of Javanese social stratification conducted by Burger and Koentjaraningrat are always consistent and not move to another standard. They use *social status category* being the basic reference of the process of social stratification to the Javanese society. The evidence of consistence in using the standard by Burger and Koentjaraningrat is the category of ‘social status’ does not jump to the ‘religious piety’ and other categories.

The case above is different with how Geertz determining the stratification of Javanese people being; *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*. Zaini Muchtarom explains that the basic standard/category used by Geertz is inconsistent. *Priyayi* basically have no relation with the religious piety anymore, *priyayi* is

social status in Javanese society. Meanwhile the term “*santri*” is have no relation with social status of Javanese society, the term *santri* is a stratification based on religious piety of Javanese society (Muchtarom, 2002:5). The mess will be clearer, if we refer to the Ruth R. McVey explanation:

In reality, the social Javanese stratification being three: *santri-abangan-priyayi* based on two standards that actually different arrangement between each other. In terms of cultural separation of the main separation occurs between the Islamic religion and “the religion of Java” that embraced by aristocracy community/*priyayi* and *abangan* adopted as well as the pre-Islamic culture representing the villages and the palace family in Java, in self-defense to Islamic power and influence that has stepped rapidly forward in the history. Viewed from the standpoint, the Java community is divided into two-rather than three-part religious culture. And actually, this is the division/distinction of the two groups (Hallowell, 1969:14-15).

Relating with McVey explanation above, R. M. Koentjaraningrat also emphasizes that the term of *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi* which used by Geertz is referring in to double standards; religious piety and social status (Koentjaraningrat, 1985:191). It is a mass in identifying Javanese category.

In reality of Javanese society now days is easy to Javanese people to jump and cross among the stratification boundaries of *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*, for example: because of the proper education that achieved by farmers/villagers (*wongcilik*) so their stratification can change and jump to *priyayi*. As well as from *abangan-priyayi* group also can change to *santri* because of the influence of Islamic schools and boarding schools/*pesantren* are widely spreading in the area of Java (Koentjaraningrat, 1985:86). The consequence is that the boundaries itself are more relative and flexible in the current context.

B. Re-Devining *Abangan* Imogiri Cemetery Context

In the Imogiri cemetery context, pilgrims and visitors who practicing any rituals and ceremonies associated with *abangan* are more complex than Geertz and Ricklefs definition. Geertz claims that *abangan* group is only associated to the Javanese village and farmer (Geertz, 1960:4-5). According to Geertz, Javanese village is:

...as old as the Javanese, for it is likely that the first Malayo-Polynesian peoples to come in the island already possessed knowledge of agriculture (Geertz, 1960:4-5).

Furthermore, Ricklefs also divines *abangan* only as “the nominal or non-practicing Muslim” (Ricklefs, 2007:84). Two *abangan* categories above actually are not really relevant in representing *abangan* Javanese society now days, especially in Imogiri cemetery. So, the re-divining effort of *abangan* terms is useful to understand the phenomenon of *abangan* in Imogiri entirely.

Visitors and pilgrims in Imogiri who perform any *abangan* practices are not only from Muslim, farmer, Javanese village as Geertz and Ricklefs point of view, but also many traders, elite people, non-Muslim and also aristocracies participate in the rituals and ceremonies over there. Whereas “trader” based on Geertz category is part of *santri* who sometimes becomes the opponent of *abangan*. Geertz explains that; “the association of the Javanese trading element with a more puristic version of Islam” or called *santri*. Furthermore Geertz also divines that aristocracies is part of *priyayi*. Geertz categories above are not representing what actually happen in the Imogiri cemetery now days. The clear example which recorded by the author is many pilgrims and visitors of Imogiri *abangan* practices (Geertz, 1960:4-6).

In Imogiri context, the author finds some pilgrims who claim themselves as *santri* but they practice *abangan* practices. Wahyudin as pilgrim who have background of alumnus of Islamic boarding school in east Java (32 years

old) comes in Imogiri to perform *tirakatan* and meditation with bring any equipment which identical with *abangan*, such as; incense, five flowers, and offering. Another pilgrim is Imam Mukhlis (27 Years old). He is a student of one university in Yogyakarta, but he practices rituals and ceremonies as same as Wahyudin. Several elite politics (who associated with *priyayi*) also visiting Imogiri cemetery to performing any rituals (Abdurrahman, interview: 22 May 2014). The examples above are evidences that *abangan* actually is not limited to the certain group such as; farmer and Javanese village as Geertz point of view. *Abangan* referring to the findings above tends to the category which more fluid and can be practiced by all of Javanese people.

According to courtiers, the pilgrims who perform rituals in Imogiri cemetery also are not only from Muslim group (whether nominal/secular or pious Muslim), but also many non-Muslim (Chinese, Christians, Hindu, and other religions) practice the ritual (Sono, interview: 27 June 2014). Sono states “although *Sinuwun Sultan Agung* is a Muslim leader, and all of kings who were buried in Imogiri cemetery are Muslim however many non-Muslim came here to pilgrimage and practicing rituals” (Sono, interview: 27 June 2014). Those phenomenon is a critic to the Ricklefs who divine *abangan* is only non-practicing Muslim group (Ricklefs, 2007:84).

Regarding some findings and critics about *abangan* overhead, the most contextual definition of *abangan* in this research as; “any kind of practices, rituals, and way of thinking of any people who associated with syncretism, mixing among religious belief, and combining several religious teachings by ignoring the background of the practitioners”. This definition will be a standard of *abangan* in this research.

C. Imogiri Cemetery Practices

Imogiri cemetery is the tombs of the Javanese Mataram Sultanate kings. The cemetery is located in the hamlet of Pajimatan, *kalurahan* /village of Wukirsari,

Imogiri, Bantul-Yogyakarta. Its position is approximately 17km south east of the city of Yogyakarta. The tomb area around 10 hectare is located on top of Merak hill. To achieve to the King tombs location, the visitors should be taken up road stairs high enough; the particular number of stairs according several courtiers of Imogiri Cemetery is mysterious. The consequence is that each visitor when try to account the number of stairs is always different between each other. Javanese people call the stairs of Imogiri cemetery is “*trap sewu*”, meaning thousand stairs (Sono, interview: 10 May 2014).

For Javanese people in Yogyakarta, Imogiri cemetery is categorized as sacred place. Several kings who were buried in the area of Imogiri cemetery also assumed have blessed and spiritual power. The significance is each Tuesday *kliwon* and Friday *kliwon* (a certain Javanese calendar that common for Javanese people) numerous pilgrims visiting the cemetery to seeking blessing, pilgrimage, and praying.

Imogiri cemetery also has some routine ceremonies and rituals which including many courtiers (*abdidalem*), pilgrims and visitors. They are; *ngurasenceh* ritual (*enceh* drained rituals), *nyekar* (flower sowing), *nglurupesugihan* (seeking blessing), *nyadran*, bringing *wunglen* wood, independent day celebration ceremony and the ritual of circling Imogiri cemetery. Each ritual in Imogiri cemetery above basically has correlation with supernatural spirits such as; *dhanyang* (guardian spirit), *sing baurekso* (the protector spirit), the holy spirit of *Sultan Agung*, blessing and other components. This session would like to explore briefly about each ritual and ceremony in Imogiri cemetery:

1. **NgurasEnceh(EncehDraining Ritual)**

Ngurasenceh or *enceh* draining ritual is a routine ritual that practiced by several *abdidalem*/courtiers and visitors in Imogiri cemetery every year, to be exact the ritual of *ngurasenceh* is practiced in Imogiri cemetery every *kliwon*'s Friday/

kliwon's Tuesday on the Month of *sura*. Each lunar year (*tahun*) is divided into a series of twelve *wulan* or lunar months. Each consisted of 29 or 30 days. This is adapted from the use of months in the Islamic calendar. The names of the month are given below (in *krama*, *ngoko* and Arabic). They are: *Sura*-Muharram (المحرم) 30 days, *Sapar*-Safar (صفر) 29 days, *Mulud*- Rabi al-awwal (ربيعالأول) 30 days, *BakdaMulud*-Rabi al-thani (ربيعالثاني) 29 days, *JumadilAwal*-*Jumada al-awwal* (جمادالأولى) 30 days, *JumadilAkhir*-*Jumada al-thani* (جمادالآخرة) 29 days, *Rejeb*-Rajab (رجب) 30 days, *Ruwah*-*Sha'aban* (شعبان) 29 days, *Pasa*-Based on interview with one of *abdidalem* (courtier) in Imogiri cemetery where explains that the ritual of *ngurasenceh* actually has deep meaning, there is an effort and symbol of purification of human being from any kind of sins to purify (Abdurrahman, interview: 11 May 2014). Many people who participate in *enceh* draining ritual assume that spilling water of *enceh* is sacred and has magical power. They believe that the spirit of *Sultan Agung* and some sacred spirits who cover Imogiri cemetery influence to the spilling of *enceh*'s water. Furthermore many people use the *enceh* water for secure, healing, and blessing (Yuni&HartoSutejo, interview: 13 May 2014).

2. **NgluruPesugihan (Seeking Blessing)**

Javanese people mostly believe to the term of “*pesugihan*”. *Ngalapberkahin* Javanese tradition exist in several places that are considered sacred or *wingit* (a certain place which identical with many spirits). The main purpose of seeking blessing is to achieve wealth, prosperous, and rich. The pilgrims who practice seeking blessing believe that the existence of sacred spirits covering Imogiri cemetery *dhanyang* (guardian spirit), *sing baurekso* (the protector spirit), the holy spirit of *Sultan Agung* can help them to their purposes. In practicing seeking

blessing, pilgrims usually preparing some equipment; offering, incense (*sesaji*), five flowers (*kembangpancawarna*), chicken meat (*ingkung*), plantain (*gedangrojo*) (RP Suraksotarwono, interview: 13 May 2014).

3. **The Ruwahan Ceremony/Sadranan**

Another ritual that routine practiced in Imogiricemetery by several courtiers, pilgrims and visitors is *sadranan*. This ritual usually practiced once time in every year by Javanese people. *Sadranan/nyadran* basically is derived from Javanese word means: 'Ruwah' or 'Sha'ban'(one name of month in the Islamic-Javanese calendar). Usually the ceremony is practiced at the shrine, mosque, cemeteries, and water sources (*sendang*). *Nyadran* ritual mostly is performed by the Javanese community routinely, especially in the Yogyakarta-central Java, and some areas in east Java and west Java.

The basic propose of *sadranan* ceremony is to honor the ancestors of certain families spirits that have passed away. During the ceremony usually there is accompanied by practicing *slametan*/feast communal practices. Furthermore, the process of *nyadran* also accompanied by pilgrimage and carrying flowers, especially flowers *telasih*, as a symbol of the persistence of the familiar relationship and always maintained between the pilgrims and the ancestral spirits (Tarno, Abdurrahman, and RP Suraksotarwono, interview: 13 May 2014)

4. **Nyekar (Pilgrimage)**

Many Javanese people assume that the pilgrimage to the ancestral graves/tombs to the certain figure is assumed has magical power and character that the power can cause a certain effect to the pilgrims. The story of superiority or privilege of the figure who was buried in the tomb is being an attraction for Javanese people pilgrimage/*nyekar* in there. The motivation in visiting the

certain tomb is complex (based on the intention of the pilgrim/visitor).

Furthermore, the pilgrimage/*nyakar* on the grave/tombs is practiced by Javanese people because to glorify, respect, and pray for the spirits of their family that was buried there. In addition there are also requesting prayer from the God (Allah SWT) for the blessing of the ancestors in the face of several problems in the hereafter. The ceremony is called *nyekar*, because *nyekar* in the Javanese language means (sowing flowers). The process of sowing flowers following the pilgrimage grave is being the important part of the *nyekar* process. The ceremony was conducted by sowing flowers on top of the tomb. The flower that used in the process of *nyekar* usually is five flower characters. They are: roses, jasmine, magnolia and *telasih*. The process of *nyekar* usually is coupled with burning incense and praying (Tarno, interview: 13 May 2014).

5. **The Ceremony of Bringing Wunglen Wood in Imogiri**

The *wunglen* wood in Imogiri cemetery is believed by Yogyakarta people and several pilgrims of Imogiri cemetery to be one *wasilah*/mediator for *Sultan Agung* to provide help (supernatural powers, healing, being an antidote to prevent crime and disorder by supernatural beings). According to the story, this *wunglen* wooden are considered sacred relics of *Kanjeng Sultan*. The *wunglen* wood can be used to keep the body from something unseen disorders, can increase the authority and can also heal the sick (Abdurrahman, Interview: 12 May 2014).

The ceremony of bringing *wunglen* wood is performed when there are people who want to have *wunglen* wood and bringing *wunglen* wood to their home. To have *wunglen* wood the visitor and pilgrim must firstly make a formal appearance (*sowan*) to the cemetery caretaker of Imogiri cemetery, furthermore the visitor/

pilgrim should say and ask a permission that he would bring (bring home) *wunglen* timber. After the first stage has finished by the visitor who would bring home the *wunglen* wood, furthermore he cannot directly bring home the *wunglen* timber. The next stage is that the *wunglen* wood must be tested first. The way of testing is by inclusion the *wunglen* timber in a glass of water, if the *wunglen* directly sink down. It means the visitor can bring home the *wunglen* wood. However, if the wood does not sink so the visitor cannot bring the *wunglen* wood (RP Suraksotarwono, interview: 13 May 2014).

6. The Ceremony of Indonesian Independent Day Celebration

The ceremony of Indonesian independent day celebration is performed by practicing *tahlilan* together by inviting all the courtiers of Imogiri cemetery and furthermore the ceremony was followed by sowing flowers on the tombs. *Tahlilan* is an event to pray for the family or a neighbor who had died usually read prayers and read Surah Yasin accompanied with doing that in the majority of the Indonesian people. The ceremony purposes are to commemorate and remember about some services and struggles of the fighters and ancestors that buried in the tombs of Imogiri cemetery especially and entire independence fighters in general (Supadjar, 2001:62-64). According to mbah Jumali as the courtiers of Imogiri cemetery, the difference among the Indonesian independent day ceremony and the other ceremonies in Imogiri cemetery is that on the timing, purpose, and manner. The timing of the performing the Indonesian independent day ceremony in Imogiri is performing in every year on the 17 August as the day of Indonesian independent. Relating with the purpose of this ceremony, mbah Jumali express that the main purpose of the ceremony is to commemorate and remember the services and the struggles

of many fighters and the ancestors that buried in the tombs are of the kings of Mataram in Imogiri cemetery especially and entire independence fighters in general. He also says that several Kings of Mataram sultanate are Indonesian hero in the process of struggling to get independent of Indonesia from the colonizer. Furthermore, relating with manner is that in general, we practice *tahlilan* and praying for the ancestor that was buried in the area of Imogiri cemetery. And further, the ceremony is followed by sowing flowers on the tombs (Jumali, interview 14 May: 2014).

7. The Circling Ritual of Imogiri Cemetery

After approximately 2 months observing and doing interaction with a variety of courtiers, visitors, and communities of Imogiri cemetery in the effort of observing some rituals and ceremonies, the last point that needed to be explored and is about ritual of circling Imogiri cemetery. The ritual of circling Imogiri cemetery can be practiced in every time (conditional) based on the visitors/pilgrims intention. The main purpose of the ritual is to pray by a mediator of the sacred place in Imogiri cemetery, especially the sacred tomb and the spirit of the great sultan (*Sultan Agung*).

All ceremonies and ritual above show us that the *abangan* practices still exist in Imogiri cemetery. The phenomena above are questioning to the Hefner and Ricklefs who state that *abangan* has gone and polarized in Javanese society. Based on data and findings in Imogiri cemetery above prove that *abangan* practices who identical with the belief of many spirits, animism, and syncretism are still exist and spreading in some areas of Java.

D. The Javanese *Abangan* World View in Imogiri Cemetery

Rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri cemetery including; *ngurasenceh* ritual (*enceh* drained rituals), *nyekar* (flower sowing),

nglurupesugihan (seeking blessing), *nyadran*, bringing *wunglen* wood, independent day celebration ceremony and the ritual of circling Imogiri cemetery actually has correlation with supernatural spirits such as; *dhanyang*, *sing baurekso*, the holy spirit of *Sultan Agung*, blessing and other components. The phenomena above reinforce to the statements by Geertz, Wessing, Mulder, Beatty, and Koentjaraningrat in explaining Javanese belief frequently. Although each idea of the scholar has different approach, focus, stressing and character, however their idea about Javanese belief can be underline on the main point. It is about “syncretism and belief of Javanese people to the many spirits”.

Javanese tradition and Javanese belief is “primarily the product of a syncretism of native animism and Hinduism with an admixture of Islam” (Mulder, 1983:260-267), where the basic point in the process of syncretism is a belief to the existence of many spirits in around human life. Similar with Mulder idea, Beatty also express that typically the understanding of Javanese belief cover about the existence of “ancestors, place spirits, Muslim saints, Hindu- Javanese heroes, and Adam and Eve in a polytheistic jumble seemingly designed to scandalize” (Beatty, 2004:28). Robert Wessing and Geertz in their each research further also state a similar idea. Geertz writes that Javanese religion is cannot be separated by a concept about animism, syncretism, and the existence of many spirits in all over the place of human life. Furthermore, Wessing also express namely that:

In the Javanese conception, the earth and all of nature is inhabited by a variety of spirits with whom people continually come into contact and with whom reasonable relations must be maintained, especially with those on whom people are dependent for the fertility of their fields and the success of their harvest (Wessing, 2006:16).

Some Scholars ideas above are an illustration how Javanese people understand their life. Javanese people actually never feel

alone in this world. They believe that all of their activities related and influenced by other-than-human (Hallowell, 1960).

Javanese people assume that some spirits around them can intervene to the human accomplishments. They believe sometimes several spirits power can threaten for human life such us; sickness, insanity or death (Geertz, 1960:19). Likewise, Geertz explains that the common name for Javanese people in identifying the spirits who caused troubles are *lelembutgendruwos*, *setans*, *demits*, or *jims*. In contrary, Javanese people also believe that some spirits in around them also can give any goodness and blessing for them. Wessing describes some spirits can give good influence for the fertility and blessing (*berkah*) to Javanese people. In detail, he states;

The Lord of the Soil, who in Java is often called *dhanyang* and is conceived of as the owner of the soil on which a village stands. The Javanese speak of them as *penguasa*, the ones who are in authority or in control of a place (Triyoga 1991:63; compare Hazeu 1901:88), who may sometimes give people a token of their power in the form of a magical object that mysteriously appears out of the ground in the mountains or underneath a sacred tree (HarisHaryanto and Ay 1990:15). The Lord of the Soil is the divinization of the energies of the soil, of its fertility as it were, the power that produces its fruits, harvests, and cattle, which is the essence of this entity; it is a socialization of the locality where the community reside (Wessing, 2006:18).

Geertz also express that *dhanyang* spirit is alleged by Javanese people can cause security for the certain area (Geertz, 1960:26-28).

The thoughtful of scholars above can be correlated to the way of thinking of courtiers, pilgrims and visitors in Imogiri cemetery. Blessing from the great figure of *Sultan Agung*, spirits of several Mataram kings, and the other holy spirits (includes; *dhayang*, *singbaurekso* and ancestor) are assumed by some courtiers, pilgrims and visitors can caused secure, goodness and pacification for them. Based on the understanding, Imogiri cemetery is

part of holiness and blessing place. Wilken (1912:232) noted the Javanese people actually do not venerate trees, rivers or mountains, but rather the spirit of these places.

All of understandings and beliefs of Javanese people above are part of their way of thinking or 'world view' (Hallowell:1960). Redfield explains that 'world view' "is a picture of members of society have of the properties and character upon the stage action". In detail, Hallowell quotes Robert Redfield's description about the concept of 'worlds view' states:

Redfield says that 'world view' differs from culture, ethos, mode of thought and national character. It is the picture the members of society have of the properties and characters upon their stage of action. While 'national character' refers to the way these people look to the outsider looking them. 'World view' refers to the way the world look to that people looking out (Redfield, 1952:30).

Referring to the definition above, we can try to understand the 'world view' of Javanese people, includes a relationship of human being and other-than-human (*dhanyang, singbaurekso*, ancestor and another spirits).

The practitioners of rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri cemetery look their practices as a media of communication to the some spirits. They believe that all of their practices are neither secular nor profane side, but the practices are categorized as sacred activities where express deep meaning related with the existence of other being (spirits). It is a simple image of the practitioners world view in Imogiri cemetery. Rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri consist several items which mostly related with the existence of the other being (ancestor spirits, the guardian/*dhanyang* *singbaurekso*, spirits, blessing and others). All of items above become a starting point to understand how actually Javanese *abangan* look at their practices in Imogiri.

This propose of this section is to determine clearly about Javanese *abangan* 'world view'

as the practitioners (courtiers, pilgrims and visitors) of the rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri cemetery. The process of identifying and examining to some items is going to be described narratively. By quoting and comparing among some items of rituals, the process of analyzing would be conducted.

Hallowell (1960) argues based on his research untitled "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View" that the basic world view of his research object as Ojibwa belief is "person", "supernatural," and "animate" (Diamond, 1969:45). Those Hallowell's categories actually are parallel categorizations which have similar meanings for the westerners between each other. In the context of Imogiri practices, some categories above refer to the *abangan* items.

Hallowell's study in the culture of the Ojibwa based upon varied evidence--linguistic, behavior, belief, and attitudes maintains: "Although not formally abstracted and articulated philosophically, the nature of persons is the focal point of Ojibwa ontology and the key to the psychological unity and dynamics of their world outlook" (Hallowell, 1960:22). Hallowell statement above is important in approaching to the Javanese *abangan* 'world view'. In short, to understand some spirits which believed by Javanese *abangan* (ancestor spirits, the guardian/*dhanyang* *singbaurekso*, spirits, blessing and others) as 'person'/other than human actually cannot be approached formally and philosophically. However, other approaches as ethnography or anthropology are more useful to understand Javanese *abangan* 'world view'.

Many Javanese *abangan* perform several rituals and ceremonies to maintain their relation among other-than-human/'person'. All rituals and ceremonies above mostly always associated with the spirit existences. Taking one example, in the performing of *nyadran*, the practitioners purpose the ceremony is to honor and respect the ancestors that have passed away (Abdurrahman, interview:

2014:12 May). In the process of *nyadran*, during the ceremony is accompanied by *slametan*/feast practices. Furthermore, the process of *nyadran* also accompanied by pilgrimage and carrying flowers (especially five flowers) as a symbol of the persistence (Interview with courtiers, 2014:12 May).

Nyadran ritual that practiced in Imogiri cemetery by Javanese *abangan*s previous explanation is acculturation and syncretism among many religious belief tradition (Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Javanese local belief). In the context of *nyadran* of Imogiri, the Islamic teaching actually cannot reduce totally to the basic belief of Javanese people who familiar with the existence of other-than-human. The process of syncretism and acculturation among Hinduism, Buddhism, Javanese local culture and Islamic belief actually create a new way of *nyadran* as tradition and ritual itself. The basic point of *nyadran* in Imogiri cemetery according to RP Suraksotarwono is to honor, praying, offering relating with Allah SWT and ancestor spirits (RP Suraksotarwono, interview: 12 May 2014). Based on the explanation clearly can be seen that the relation between human being and person/spirits is exist in the *nyadran* ritual of Imogiri cemetery.

The world view of Javanese *abangan* belief in the *nyadran* is similar to the other rituals in Imogiri cemetery such as; *nyekar*, seeking blessing (*nglurupesugihan*), circling ritual of the Imogiri cemetery, *enceh* draining ritual, bringing *wunglen* wood and others. However, several specific cases sometimes emerge among the rituals. For examples are; the processes of *enceh* draining rituals and the ritual of bringing *wunglen* wood.

In the case both *enceh* draining rituals and the ritual of bringing *wunglen* wood the Javanese *abangan* people as the practitioners not only believe to the sacred power and blessing of the some spirits, but also they also believe to the magical power and miracle behind the 'water of *enceh*' and 'wunglen wood'. Relating with the acceptance, the Javanese

abangan people/the practitioners and local people around the Imogiri cemetery believe that the spilling of water of *enceh* contents sacred power and miracle (Yuni, interview: 42 years old). Yuni as the practitioner of the ritual of *nguraseceh* (*enceh* drained ritual) and also local people explains that because the water of *enceh*, his son can be health after sick with a fever a few days. So, until now Yuni fully trust that the water of *enceh* has sacred power (Yuni, interview: 13 May 2014). Sutejo also explains that he ever was told by women who participate in the ritual of *ngurasenceh* that because of the water spilling of *enceh* his husband those experiencing pain spasms can be health (Harto Sutejo, interview: 13 May 2014). Based on some experience and explanation from some courtiers and people around Imogiri cemetery above can be understood that many Javanese people that participate in the *ngurasenceh* ritual trust that the water from four *gentong* has sacred power.

The *enceh* case is similar with *wunglen*. The *wunglen* wood in Imogiri cemetery is also believed by several pilgrims of Imogiri cemetery which can be one *wasilah*/mediator for *Sultan Agung* to provide helping (supernatural powers, healing, being an antidote to prevent crime and disorder by supernatural beings). According to the story, this *wunglen* wooden are considered sacred relics of Kanjeng Sultan. The *wunglen* wood can be used to keep the body from something unseen disorders, can increase the authority and can also health the sick (Abdurrahman Interview 2014:12 May). Many people visitors and pilgrims the Imogiri cemetery proposes to take home the *wunglen* wood as amulet.

Based on two examples above, we can see that the items which categorized sacred and sanctified by Javanese *abangan* are not only the existence of several spirits (the spirit of ancestor, *sing baurekso*, *dhanyang*, *sing ngemong* and the other spirits) but also some relics and items such as: *enceh* water and *wunglen* wood. Those items above are part of 'persons' in Hallowell term.

The relation among the practitioners, other-than-human 'persons', and the mediator (includes; rituals, offering, meditations and so forth) is understood by the Javanese *abangan* as practitioners as a unity which related among each other. Hallowell term categorized the phenomenon as 'social relations' between human being and other-than-human (Hallowell. 1960:22).

A relation and interaction between the Javanese *abangan* as the practitioners and the 'person' or other-than-human, is always accompanied by several practices such as; ritual, meditation, offering, and the other disciplines. The examples are ceremony of *nyadran*, *nglurupesugihan* (seeking blessing), the celebration of independent day, and other rituals are always followed by the performing of *slametan*, praying, burning incense, and the other disciplines. All process followed the ritual above are evidence that between the practitioners and the 'person'/other-than-human obtain a mediator which breaching between them. To be clearer, these further paragraphs would cover the explanation specifically about the role of the mediator between the practitioners and the 'person' or other-than-human in the performing of several rituals and ceremonies of Imogiri cemetery.

Slametan and offering that identical with Javanese culture and belief have important role in the several ritual practices for Javanese belief. Almost all of the rituals and ceremonies that practiced in Imogiri cemetery are followed by practicing of *slametan*. Although the process of *slametan* is performed based on proposes, however the processing of *slametan* consistently companied most of the rituals. Relating with the role of *slametan* for Javanese people, Andrew Beatty most explains almost all of anthropologists of Java agree that the *slametan* lies at the heart of Javanese religion (Beatty, 2014:27). Geertz also has the similar perception to the Beatty. In the context of *slametan*, Geertz argues:

At the centre of the whole Javanese religious

system lies a simple, formal, undramatic, almost furtive little ritual: the *slametan* (Geertz, 1960:11).

Based on explanation above can be understood that actually *slametan* has the important meaning for Javanese people. *Slametan* is a ritual meal at which Arabic prayers and combined with high Javanese language are recited and food is offered to the Prophet Muhammad, saints, and ancestors, spirits who are implored to shower blessings on the community (Woodward, 2006:54). Beatty also explains *slametan* is a communal meal that familiar with Javanese culture. In detail he argues the way of *slametan* is:

The host makes a speech in High Javanese explaining the purpose of the meal to his guests, incense is burned, an Arabic prayer is recited by the guests, and the special festive food is divided and consumed in part, the remainder being taken home. Typically, the speech invokes the host's ancestors, place spirits, Muslim saints, Hindu-Javanese heroes, and Adam and Eve in a polytheistic jumble seemingly designed to scandalize Muslim purists (Beatty, 2004:28).

As above descriptions, we can pointed that the process of *slametan* always linked by the existence of the other-than-human/persons (Hallowell:1960). Referring to the Woodward and Beatty statements, *slametan* is a symbol of offering and respecting to the many spirits; Prophet Muhammad, ancestor spirits, place spirits, Muslim saints, and others. So, the functions of the *slametan*, and offering in Imogiri cemetery are to pray, communicate, respect, honor God, and other-than-human spirits.

If we identify rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri closely, all of the rituals and ceremonies which followed by offering and *slametan* propose to pray, communicate, respect, honor God, and other-than-human spirits. All components that should be prepared by the pilgrim before practicing ritual (see the third chapter) includes; *ingkung* (chicken meal), *kembangponcowerno*

(five flowers), incense, and other items are an intermediary and mediator between human life (the practitioner; courtiers, pilgrims, and visitors) to other-than-human/'person' and other spirits. *Slametan*, offering, and other ritual is practiced by the Javanese *abangan* people to be a mediator and intermediary in communicating and respecting the other-than-human with complex proposes; "save', wealth, blessing, heath and others.

After explaining some components which construct the 'world view' of Javanese *abangan* people/practitioners in the practicing rituals and ceremonies in Imogiri cemetery, the conclusions remark of this discussion about all components above would be stated in this session. In simple, the basic components of world view are a sacred relation among the Javanese *abangan* people/practitioners as human being, other-than-human/'person' (God, the holy spirits of great sultan/Sultan Agung and Mataram kings, spirit of ancestor, *sing baurekso*, *dhanyang*, *sing ngemong* and the other spirits), Mediator (*slametan*, meditation, offerings, rituals and other disciplines), magical item/amulet (*encehwater* and *wunglen wood*), and proposes of the practitioners (blessing, wealth, heath, prosperous and other goals). All items above are linked and influenced among each other.

The 'world view' of Javanese *abangan* people in understanding their relations as human being and other-than-human/persons is as unity. Hallowell (1960) also describes, based on his research in Ojibwa, the relation between human being and other-than-human/'person' is an awareness about unity. Referring to Hallowell finding can be a 'key word' to approaching the 'world view' of Javanese *abangan* in Imogiri cemetery.

In maintaining the relation and communication among themselves (Javanese *abangan* people), they keeps effort to preserve and maintain their relation between the other-than-human/persons. The efforts are started based on the awareness and 'world view' that actually among human being and

other-than-human are unity, linked, and influenced between each other.

Graphic 1: An illustration about 'world view' of Javanese *abangan* in understanding their practices in Imogiri cemetery

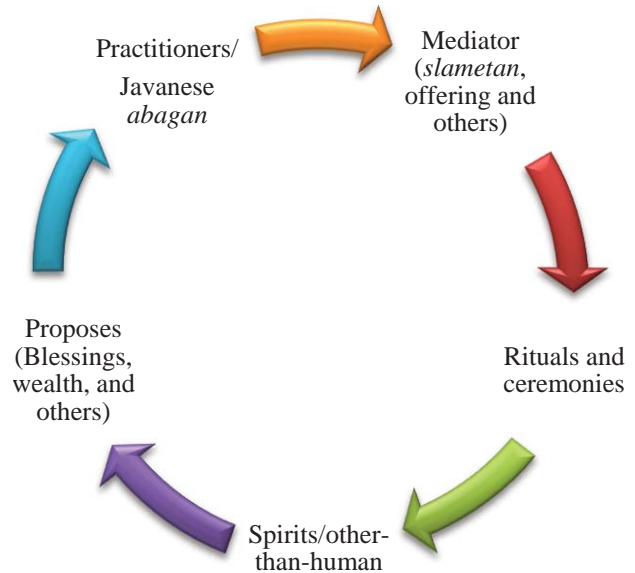


Diagram above is an illustration about the relation and interaction among all items and components of Javanese *abangan* ritual in Imogiri cemetery. The illustration description above hopefully will make easier to us in understanding the 'world view'.

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