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Rituals Around the Tombs of *Wali*: the Implementation of Islamic Shari'a of Demak and Kudus Communities

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Abstract

View of life is a set of values which affects the entire life system of its adherents. One of the views of life among Demak and Kudus communities is the relationship between rituals conducted around the tomb and *ukhrawi* (eschatological) piety. Hence, these eschatological values are considered sacred, which are generated through activities and rituals integrated with Javanese culture and are held around the tomb. The tomb of *Wali* in Java coincide with the mosque and rituals outside the two epicenter are considered as worldly (profane) affairs. These various forms of ritual are part of Islamic shari'a embodiment of Demak and Kudus communities. For instance, the series of *Grebeg Besar* rituals are centered at Demak Great Mosque and *Buka Luwur* are centered at Menara Kudus Mosque and Sunan Muria Mosque. Other forms of ritual are making pilgrimage to the tomb of *Wali* who are considered to have *karamah* and meditation through praying around the tomb to get blessings. By using the technique of grounded research, the socio-anthropological approach, this study succeeded in describing the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in society which was formed from the life perspective of religious propagators (*kiai*). This study aims to reveal how the community's views are formed which are manifested in the form of activities and rituals they believe to be a way of religion that will lead to the happiness of the *ukhrawi* life.

The factors influencing the outlook on life and their characteristics are also the object of this study.

Keywords: *Epicenter of Diversity, Ideology Teachings, Tomb, Mosque.*

Abstrak

RITUAL DI SEKITAR MAKAM WALI: PENERAPAN SYARI'AT ISLAM MASYARAKAT DEMAK DAN KUDUS. Pandangan hidup adalah seperangkat nilai yang mempengaruhi seluruh sistem kehidupan pemeluknya. Salah satu pandangan hidup masyarakat Demak dan Kudus adalah hubungan antara ritual yang dilakukan di sekitar makam dan kesalehan *ukhrawi* (eskatologis). Karenanya, nilai-nilai eskatologis ini dianggap sakral, yang dihasilkan melalui kegiatan dan ritual yang terintegrasi dengan budaya Jawa dan diadakan di sekitar makam. Makam Wali di Jawa bertepatan dengan masjid dan ritual di luar dua episentrum dianggap urusan duniawi (profan). Berbagai bentuk ritual tersebut merupakan bagian dari perwujudan syari'at Islam masyarakat Demak dan Kudus. Misalnya rangkaian ritual *Grebeg Besar* yang dipusatkan di Masjid Agung Demak dan *Buka Luwur* yang dipusatkan di Masjid Menara Kudus dan Masjid Sunan Muria. Ritual lainnya adalah ziarah ke makam Wali yang dianggap memiliki *karamah* dan *semedi* dengan berdoa di sekitar makam untuk mendapatkan berkah. Dengan menggunakan teknik *grounded research*, yaitu pendekatan sosio-antropologis, penelitian ini berhasil mendeskripsikan implementasi syari'at Islam di masyarakat yang terbentuk dari perspektif kehidupan para penyebar agama (kiai). Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana terbentuknya pandangan masyarakat yang diwujudkan dalam bentuk kegiatan dan ritual yang mereka yakini sebagai jalan religi yang akan mengarah pada kebahagiaan hidup *ukhrawi*. Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pandangan hidup dan karakteristiknya juga menjadi objek penelitian ini.

Kata Kunci: *Episentrum Keanekaragaman, Ajaran Ideologi, Makam, Masjid.*

A. Introduction

This research describes one form of Islamic shari'a implementation of the typical Demak and Kudus community as the epicenter of religious activities in the form of rituals as symbols of piety carried out around the tombs and mosques. In Demak and

Kudus districts, there are several tombs of the *Wali*, whose name are Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Muria. Accompanying those tombs, in Demak there is tomb of Raden Fatah and his descendants which is considered sacred.¹ Meanwhile, in Kudus, beside the tomb of Sunan Kudus and Sunan Muria, there are tombs which are considered sacred by the community, whose belong to Kyai Telinging,² and Sheikh Hasan Sadzali Rejenu who was believed to be one of the great scholars from Baghdad. The location of his tomb is around the slopes of Mount Muria, near the tomb of Sunan Muria and other sacred tombs.

Many studies focusing on tombs and mosques, such as that one conducted by M. Misbahul Mujib, concluded that making pilgrimages frequently was a sign of someone's piety in the perspective of Javanese society.³ Similar to this conclusion, Raynal Falah. et al., in his study concluded that religious motivation was dominant factor for holding the traditional ritual of *Buka Luwur* Sunan Kudus which made people excited to organize and work together to conduct it.⁴

The ritual and religious aspects have indeed become an appeal for people when it is connected to a mosque and tomb. Marwoto, Sugiono Soetomo, Bambang Setioko, and Musaddun's research that taking place at Masjid Agung Demak finds a fact that the mosque's visitors are also pilgrimaged to the tomb of the Sunan to *ngalap berkah*.⁵ Along with spiritual aridity and the many social problems faced by individuals and society, anxiety and fear arise to overcome them with pilgrimages that are believed to calm the soul.⁶ The

¹Marwoto and Imam Santoso, "Tempat Sakral: Reinterpretasi Wisata Religi di Kota Demak", Departemen Arsitektur, Fakultas Teknik, Universitas Sumatera Utara, 2017, 105.

²Ma'mun Mu'min, "Living Hadis Inklusif dalam Perspektif Kyai Telingsing, Syekh Ja'far Shodiq, dan Raden Umar Sa'id di Kudus", *Riwayah: Jurnal Studi Hadis* 2, no. 1 (2016): 6.

³M. Misbahul Mujib, "Tradisi Ziarah dalam Masyarakat Jawa: Kontestasi Kesalehan, Identitas Keagamaan, dan Komersial", *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 14, 2 (2016): 205.

⁴Raynal Falah, Moh. Ngemron, and Moordiningsih, "Motivasi dan Nilai hidup Masyarakat Kauman dalam melakukan Ritual Adat *Buka Luwur* di Makam Sunan Kudus", *Indigeneous: Jurnal Ilmiah Berkala Psikologi* 8, no. 1 (2006): 63-76.

⁵Marwoto, Sugiono Soetomo, Bambang Setioko, and Musaddun, "*Ngalap Berkah*", *Zonasi: Journal of Architecture* 1, no. 2 (2018): 87-95.

⁶Ainun Nafiah, "Spiritualitas dalam Ziarah Kubur: Studi atas Motivasi Peziarah di

development of the economic sector around the tomb and mosque that became a spiritual destination for Muslims also became the attention of some researchers, such as Harun Wijayanti Sutaryo.⁷

The research author did strengthen the previous research that the pilgrimage and following the rituals around the tomb and mosque can be a *wasilah* (mediation) for the granting of prayers because of the intercession and blessings upon the people who buried it.⁸ The novelty of this research is that the pilgrimage and the ritual surrounding the tomb and the mosque become the symbol of the piety of a person and the ritual outside that two places are part of worldly affairs. This study also seeks to uncover the factors (ideologists) that affect the view of the community performing the rituals around the tombs of the religious leaders (*wali*).

From knowledge aspects, communities of Demak and Kudus got their knowledge from the heritage of their ancestors from the coast. The dependence of coastal communities against natural factors is strong. They consider the sea has the power of magic so that they are willing to do the ritual feast of the sea or sea alms.⁹ Islam came to Nusantara to meet the characteristics of the society with the socio-culture such as described and formed religious community as acculturation between understanding the Islamic

Makam Pangeran Sukowati Dusun Kranggan Desa Pengkol Kecamatan Tanon Kabupaten Sragen", 2018.

⁷Harun Wijayanti Sutaryo, "Pengaruh Tradisi Ziarah terhadap Dinamika Ekonomi Masyarakat Kota Gede: Studi Kasus di Kompleks Makam Mataram", 2014.

⁸Until now, Muslims still do the tradition of pilgrimage, especially the adherents of sunny. In Indonesia, the adherents of sunny are the majority, which usually embodied in an organization called the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). *Nahdhiyin*, a term used to refer to the adherents of the NU, has a strong tradition of Sunni, especially in terms of Sufism and *thariqah*. One of the Sunni's doctrines that become the foundation of this pilgrimage is the doctrine of *washilah*. *Wasilah* or *tawashul* is an attempt to ask Allah swt. through the *wali*. Clifford Geertz, *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1989), 13; Solichin Salam, *Sekitar Walisongo* (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 2010), 390.

⁹Soedjipto Abimanyu, *Babad Tanah Jawi: Terlengkap dan Terasli* (Jakarta: Laksana, 2013), 18. In the observation of the researcher, ranging from the coastal areas of Indramayu up to the region of Tuban there are sea alms ceremony. In Indramayu is called *Nadran* or *Sedekah Laut*. In Pekalongan is called *Nyadran*. In Semarang is called *Larangan Sesaji*. Those are the culmination of a tradition of Alms of the Sea and the Earth of Village Tambaklorok, Tanjung Mas, Semarang City. In the region of Jepara called *Pesta Lomban*, in the area of Rembang Larung Tradition of Alms Alms Sea, which is commanded by the Rembang Fishermen Association. The results of the observations of researchers in 2002-2019.

preachers who the majority from Gujarat with the knowledge that society tends to be orthodox.¹⁰ The characteristics of the variety of the Islamic community in Demak and Kudus is a dominant aspect of the shari'a even to the consideration of the fiqh and a little loose on the aspect of faith.

B. Discussion

1. Community Rituals around the Tomb and the Mosque

The tomb of Sunan Kalijaga is located in the Village of Kadilangu, Demak. The Sunan Kalijaga tombs area is a special cemetery for the heirs of the descendants of Sunan Kalijaga and their families. Therefore, it is not for public burials. Sunan Kalijaga is one of the Walisanga (nine guardians in Java) which has characteristics that differ from the other guardians, he tends to be accommodating to the traditions of Java.¹¹

Kadilangu Demak people always organized the recitations of Majlis Dzikir and Maulid Diba every Friday (Kliwon) evening in Kadilangu tomb and mosque veranda. The Ritual activity was an acculturation of Javanese culture with Islamic teaching. The activity included choosing Friday (Kliwon, Javanese Calendar) to do many activities such as reciting Majlis Dzikir (Islamic teaching), diffusing the perfumes of *Buchur* (a kind of incense) which burned in charcoal and scented powder sprinkled (Javanese culture). Otherwise, the last event was drinking coffee tradition. The people believed that someone who drank it would be prayed by an angel to receive the forgiveness of Allah Almighty. The importance of prayer and *zikir* was the hope of merit, blessings, and avoided from calamity and Satan's temptations.¹²

¹⁰The theory of Gujarat, this theory was put forward by several scholars of the Netherlands, they are J. Pijnappel, Snouck Hurgronje, W.F. Stutterheim, and J.P. Moquette. This theory says that Islam in the Nusantara did not come from Persia or Arabia, but rather from Arabs who have migrated and settled in the region of South India and then bring it to the Nusantara. Faizal Amin and Rifki Abror Ananda, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoretik Tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara", *Analysis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 18, no. 2 (2018): 67-94.

¹¹Achmad Chodjim, *Mistik dan Makrifat Sunan Kalijaga* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2003), 12.

¹²Marwoto, *et al.*, "Makna Spiritual Kliwonan pada Makam Sunan Kalijaga", *Jurnal Arcade* 2, no. 2 (2018).

Every Zulhijah 10th after the Eid al-Adha prayer, the descendants of Sunan Kalijaga performed the *penjamasan* (purification of the relic) ritual of Sunan Kalijaga's inheritance.¹³ People flocked from different regions to receive (*ngalap*) the blessing of this ritual. As Pekalongan pilgrims of Central Java reported, "Our family always received plenty of food, health and long life, and avoided from misfortune (danger)."¹⁴

After the pilgrimage to the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga, the pilgrims went to the Great Mosque of Demak. There were the tombs of the Indonesian first Islamic Kingdom founders in this mosque complex (the Sultanate of Bintoro Demak), namely the tomb of Demak first sultan, Raden Fatah (reigned from 1478 to 1518). There were also the tomb of Raden Patiunus who reigned from 1518 to 1521, Raden Trenggono reigned from 1521 to 1546, and Putri Campa, mother of Raden Fatah.¹⁵

Grebeg Besar was a traditional ceremony in Demak Regency which had religious value for Demak people to welcome the arrival of Hajj Celebration. The most interesting event of *Grebeg Besar* was the night of Zulhijah 9th, namely *Tumpengan* which held on Demak Great Mosque veranda. There were nine *tumpeng* with cone shaped, each of them were completed with side dishes that reflected the greatness and number of the nine Guardians, namely Sunan Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, Sunan Dradjat, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Gunung Jati. The *tumpeng* was paraded from the pavilion of Demak Regency office to the Sultanate of Demak Bintoro Tombs in the Great Mosque complex. It purposed to be seized by the visitors who had been waiting there.¹⁶

¹³Nur Ahmad, "Perayaan Grebeg Besar Demak Sebagai Sarana Religi dalam Komunikasi Dakwah", *At-Tabsyir: Jurnal Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam* 1, no. 2 (2013).

¹⁴Ari Widodo, "Ritual Penyucian Pusaka Sunan Kalijaga", *Kompas.com*, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/08/23/10523091>. August 23, 2018.

¹⁵Marwoto, Sugiono Soetomo, Bambang Setioko, and Musaddun, "Ngalap Berkah", *Zonasi: Journal of Architecture* 1, no. 2 (2018): 87-95.

¹⁶Nur Ahmad, "Perayaan Grebeg Besar Demak Sebagai Sarana Religi dalam Komunikasi Dakwah", *At-Tabsyir: Jurnal Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam* 1, no. 2 (2013).

Finish at Demak Regency, the pilgrimage was continued to the tomb of Sunan Kudus and Sunan Muria at Kudus Regency. Sunan Kudus Tomb was located in Kauman Kulon (Kudus Kulon), while Sunan Muria Tomb was located on Mount Muria, Dawe District, Kudus Regency.¹⁷ Sunan Kudus died at 1550 AD and was buried in the area of the Menara Kudus Mosque. There was an exceptional entrance which could be passed to enter the funeral complex. However, you could also pass the left gate of the Menara Kudus Mosque.¹⁸

The big names of these two Guardians were still respected by Kudus people. The public respecting for these two Guardians was a colossal prayer to celebrate *haul* (commemoration day of his death). Sunan Kudus was commemorated every Sura 10th (Asyura), while Sunan Muria was every Muharram 15th. Kudus people called it as *Buka Luwur* Ceremony (*luwur* is a white cloth that covered the tomb). It replaced with a new one every year.¹⁹

The tradition series of *Buka Luwur* of Sunan Kudus tomb starts with the purification (*penjemasan*)²⁰ of the heirloom keris *Cinthaka* and two spearheads of *Trisula* in the *Tajug* in the first month of Zulhijah. The next activity is Islamic recitation to welcome the Islamic new year, releasing *luwur* (valance), discussing about religion issues, creating a new *luwur*, praying of the apostle and flying *papat*, slaughtering *shadaqah* animals, *khataman* Al-Qur'an, donation for orphans, distributing Asyura porridge, reciting *Qasidah al-Barzanji*, general recitation, distributing *berkat*,²¹ and *Buka Luwur* ceremony.²²

¹⁷Ahmad Falah, "Spirituality Sunan Muria: Accommodation Tradition and Tourism". *Jurnal Walisongo* 20, no. 2 (2012).

¹⁸Observation, 1985 to present.

¹⁹Moh. Rosyid, "Islam dan Kearifan Lokal: Kajian Tradisi *Haul* Sunan Kudus", *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 19, no. 2 (2019).

²⁰*Menjamas* comes from *jamas* (Java) which means to bathe, purify, clean, care, and maintain. In the Javanese tradition, *menjamas* is done as an effort to appreciate the legacy of *adiluhung* from the previous figures. Three heirlooms of Sunan Kudus, namely *Cinthaka* keris and two spears of *Trisula* are cleaned and cared for by the village elders with *rendeman* of sticky rice merang.

²¹*Berkat* comes from the word *al-barakah* (Arabic) which means "blessing".

²²Interview with Nadjib Hasan, the Chairman of the Sunan Kudus Mousque and Tomb Foundation (Yayasan Masjid Menara dan Makam Sunan Kudus, YM3SK), October 10, 2017.

The all mentioned tradition of *Buka Luwur* is conducted around the al-Aqsa Mosque and at the tomb of Sunan Kudus.

Those various Islamic rituals can also be found in along the way of north coast of Java Island such as Cirebon, Demak, Kudus, Tuban, until Surabaya and Madura as the basis of the spreading of Islam by the saints known as Walisongo.²³ Half of Javanese traditions that are still preserved by the Islamic community of the north coast of Central Java, such as *selamatan nelung dino*, *mitung dino*, and *nyatus dino* on the day of someone's death, *mendhak* and *nyewu*, *tahlilan*, *Buka Luwur*, and pilgrimages to the tombs of religious leaders.

Until now, all those religious practices are still flourished especially in the area of North Coast of Central Java. People pilgrimage to someone's grave when they have a wish or intentionally for getting closer to Allah swt. by reciting Al-Qur'an, *tahlil*, and *wirid* in the grave of clerics or saints to get *berkah* (blessing).²⁴

Another form of compounding from the community from Kudus is the taboo on slaughtering cows which is rooted from the tolerance toward Hindus tradition. Not far from Kudus Tower, there is an old building—probably from the Hindu era—which has been damaged, named Masjid Bubar. When the local people have a wish or have a fulfilled wish, they serve a roasted duck which is placed in the corner of that building.²⁵

The various rituals become a strong doctrine among the society in Kudus and Demak, Central Java which make them difficult to accept a different religion concept. It is because the religious socialization done by the community leaders and clerics over the years has been so strong and has become an ideology of society. In

²³The existed characteristics of Islamic diversity are the ritual of pilgrimage to the grave, recitation of *thayyibah* at the ancestors' grave, *selamatan* of someone's death, and *selamatan* on certain days in certain months such as *selamatan* 10 Asyura and others.

²⁴Interview with Ahmad Syahidin, Solihin, and Fauzan, pilgrims to the tomb of Sunan Kudus, August 4, 2017.

²⁵The author has lived for one year (1987-1988) near Bubar Mosque and often seen directly the small ritual conducted by the society around the mosque, especially the new residents in that community.

some cases, the rituals and religious activities become an economic source for the society by being a guardian of the mosque or the saints' grave, a guide for reciting *tahlil*, cleaner at the mosque or tombs of the saints and also seller of souvenirs for pilgrims.²⁶

2. Cultures Acculturation

One of the important areas in the maritime history in Indonesia is the coastal area that has a rich and various natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable energy. Additionally, this area also has excellent accessibility for all the economic activities such as transportation, ports, industry, housing, and tourism destination so that it becomes the place and domicile for the community as well as a promising economic source.²⁷ However, the average of socio-economic life of coastal communities is in the middle-low position.²⁸

Starting with the entry of Islamic teachings in the 7th or 13th century,²⁹ with Islamic knowledge that was understood and brought by the Islamic proselytizers, the religious knowledge of the people in the archipelago was formed, especially in the Demak and Kudus areas, Central Java.³⁰ The religious knowledge of the Islamic

²⁶The fact in the society proves that many of them depend their life on the ceremonial and ritual activity around mosque and the saints' tomb.

²⁷In the writer observation, since the research for thesis in the north coastal area of Kendal Regency (2003), along the way of North Cost (Pantai Utara) until the bordering area to Tuban, East Java (observation during his doctoral study in Surabaya), the potential of the coastal which is rich in marine resources has not been obtained a serious attention by the government. It is proved by the people's lives especially the fishermen and salt farmers are in the middle-lower position, even the majority of the people live in the poverty.

²⁸Mundakir, "Kesejahteraan antara Konsep dan Perilaku Hukum Islam Masyarakat Nelayan Kabupaten Kendal", *Thesis*, IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 2003. Fishermen do not have an economic independent because their life is controlled by the collectors of yields, either from sea and pond products.

²⁹There are three theories about the entry of Islam to Indonesia. *First*, through Muslim merchants with peaceful reading routes. *Second*, through Islamic proselytizer and Wali who came from India or Arabia who deliberately converted non-Muslims to Islam. *Third*, through power of declared war on idolatres countries. Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), 63-67. Of the three theories, the strongest is the theory which states that Islam was spread to the archipelago through trade routes and the Islamic proselytizer (Sufis). This second theory is supported by findings in the form of Sufistic texts.

³⁰It can be said that social order is a product of human world called nonmaterial culture. The human world, which is called society, requires stability so that culture has a stable character, then human jointly agree norms, form social institutions in the form of a social order

proselytizers is conveyed to people who already have knowledge of the socio-cultural heritage of their ancestors.³¹ The strong influence of Islamic teachings in the North Coast of Java Island makes Islamic culture more dominant. These smart and wise Muslim Islamic proselytizers were later known as *wali*, who formed Javanese Islamic culture. On the other hand, the southern regions of Java Island, such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta, were not touched by the teachings of the *wali*, so the domination of Javanese culture was more coloring.³²

The interaction of Islamic teachings with various adherents of understandings and beliefs in Java, there are dimensions that can be combined (syncretic), some have adapted (acculturation) to the diversity and traditions held by Javanese society and there are new dimensions of Islamic teachings that replace beliefs, views, rituals, and people's behavior.³³

The characteristics and typology of the diversity of Javanese Islamic community were established through the basis of Islamic knowledge carried by propagators of Islam in the archipelago through trade routes,³⁴ which were more formal legal (Islamic

that can maintain the stability needed by humans as social cultures in building their their world. Peter L. Berger, *Langit Suci: Agama Sebagai Realitas Sosial* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 7-10.

³¹In many ways, Islamic teachings and Javanese rituals are two entities that are perceived as separate, different, opposites, and cannot possibly be combined, especially their theological teachings. This contrast with Woodward's view that the two entities are compatible. Mark R. Woodward, *Javanese Islam: Normative versus Mysticism* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), vi.

³²At least in Mulder's view, the *Kejawen* civilization only revolved around the mystical culture of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Niels Mulder, *Mistisisme Jawa: Ideologi Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001), 2. Mulder's view was refuted by Indonesian *Kejawen* researcher, Suwardi Endraswara, because outside of Surakarta and Yogyakarta is still worthy of being called the *Kejawen* region. Suwardi Endraswara, *Mistik Kejawen, Simbolisme, dan Sufisme dalam Budaya Spiritual Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2004), 6. *Kejawen* is a unique belief in the traditions of Javanese society, it is called unique because *Kejawen* has a mystical tradition that is different from other regions.

³³Islam is not the first religion which came into this archipelago, Hindu and Buddha have been professed by society. When the spread of Islam through trade routes reached the archipelago, the process of religious conversion occurred gradually. This fact does not rule out of the growing animist and dynamism culture that has been embraced by Javanese society for centuries. M. Amin Abdullah, *Studi Agama: Normativitas atau Historisitas* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1996), 5.

³⁴Supported by the Dutch Scholar Wertheim, Pijnapel. Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 63-64. The characteristics of Islam carried by traders are more shari'a, meaning that the validity of religious behaviour measured through the perspective of Islamic shari'a.

shari'a). However, not a few people argue that the spread of Islam in the archipelago was carried out by Sufi Islamic proselytizers,³⁵ which has implications for the diversity form of society which has a sophisticated dimension.

Among the historians who support the second theory, they raised the evidence of the rapid spread of Islamic teachings and obtained a wide response.³⁶ The analysis of the occurrence of such a fast response is partly due to the existence of dimensions of Islamic teachings that can be integrated with Javanese culture mixed by the ability of the Islamic proselytizers by adopting local traditions to become part of Islamic.³⁷

When the propagators of Islam interacted with Javanese people who had embraced a number of beliefs, the Islamization of Javanese traditions and culture was initiated and a distinctive diversity was formed. The people of Central Java already have traditional and cultural characteristics which centered in Demak and Kudus. The traditions that developed in the Demak and Kudus regions were rooted from the Ancient Mataram Kingdom and the Majapahit Kingdom, in the Solo and Jogjakarta regions the culture originated from the Mataram Kingdom. In Demak, two religious figures were buried, namely Raden Mas Syahid (Sunan Kalijaga) and Raden Fatah, the founder of the Demak Islamic Kingdom, but

³⁵The proponents of the spread of Islam theory in the archipelago, especially in Java through the Sufi route, found its significance by analyzing the ease with which the mystical elements of Islam and Javanese were combined. Scholars who think so include S.Q. Fatimi, John, and Tjandrasasmita. Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 64.

³⁶Deliar Noer noted, at the beginning of the 19th century, Islamic organizations were established, such as Jami'at Khair in 1905, Sarekat Dagang Islam in 1911, Muhammadiyah in 1912, the establishment of Adabiyah school in Padang, as formal evidences of the extent and depth of society in embracing and deepening Islam. This indicator means that Islam was embraced by the people of the archipelago long before the 19th century. Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), xi.

³⁷Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 64. Many symbols of local traditions are then acculturated with Islamic teachings, or vice versa. Like the *wayang* which is carried from the Indian mystical tradition and favored by the ancient Javanese, it is full of symbols that symbolize life in this world. In traditional Javanese mystics, *dhalang* as a symbol of God and *wayang* as a symbol of human, while *kelir* symbolizes the world of reality. Suwardi Endraswara, *Mistik Kejawan: Sinkritisme, Simbolisme, dan Sufisme dalam Budaya Spiritual Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2004), 71-73.

Raden Fatah was not included in the ranks of Walisongo.³⁸ The community welcomed the arrival of Islam, whose traditions and culture in several dimensions have a harmony of teaching entities.³⁹ The Javanese people welcomed the arrival of traders, both traders who had genuine trade agreements and traders who carried the mission of spreading Islam.

Islam began to develop in the Central Java region when the Pajajaran Kingdom in West Java, the Hindu Mataram Kingdom, and the Majapahit Kingdom collapsed then the Cirebon and Banten Sultanates also Demak Islamic Kingdom were established. The center of power shifted from the interior to the north coast, from Javanese culture to Islamic culture, and continued until the establishment of the Kingdom (Sultanate) of Cirebon and Banten and also the Islamic Kingdom of Demak. Although it had moved back inland to the Islamic Mataram Kingdom in Yogyakarta, the coastal area had become busy due to trade flows until the arrival of European nations. Centers of power and economy began to

³⁸The names of Walisongo who contributed in Islamizing the symbols of Javanese tradition and culture are: (1) Maulana Malik Ibrahim, known as Syekh Maghribi (882 H/1419 AD) was buried in Gresik. He did not openly oppose indigenous beliefs and customs that apply in society; (2) Sunan Ampel or Raden Rahmat, he co-founded the Great Mosque of Demak which was built around 1479 AD, also played a role in the establishment of the Demak Kingdom, Sunan Ampel was buried in Ampel Surabaya; (3) Sunan Drajat is Syarifuddin, the son of Sunan Ampel. Some historians argue that Sunan Drajat was the creator of *Gendhing Pangkur* as a medium for *da'wah*; (4) Sunan Bonang or Raden Maulana Makhdum Ibrahim is also the son of Sunan Ampel, he spread Islam in the Tuban area targeting Central Java. Sunan Bonang created *Gendhing Dhurma* and replaced the names of the days according to Hindu beliefs with the names of angels and prophets; (5) Sunan Giri or Raden Paku or Sultan Fakih is a *sunan* recognized by the King of Majapahit as the leader of the Ampel and Gresik communities. Sunan Giri composed a lot of children's songs with Islamic breaths, such as *Lir-Illir*, *Jamuran*, and *Cublak-cublak Suweng*; (6) Sunan Kalijaga or Raden Mas Syahid is the son of Tumenggung Sahur Wilantikta, the Regent of Tuban. Sunan Kalijaga was buried in Demak, by using a puppet that includes Islamic elements in the story. This was done, because the Javanese people at that time still had a thick belief in Hinduism and Buddhism; (7) Sunan Kudus or Syekh Ja'far Shadiq was the son of Raden Mas Usman Haji or Sunan Ngudung, he was buried in Kudus. Based on the history, Sunan Kudus was a poet who was good at composing short stories containing Islamic teachings, including *Gendhing Maskumambang* and *Gendhing Mijil*; (8) Sunan Muria or Raden Prawoto is the son of Sunan Kalijaga. He was buried in Mount Muria, Kudus; (9) Sunan Gunung Jati or Fatahillah. He was from Pasai and developing Islamic teachings in West Java. He was buried in Gunung Jati Cirebon. Suparman, et al., *Pengetahuan Sosial-Sejarah* (Solo: Tiga Serangkai, 2004), 86-89.

³⁹An example is the harmony or compound between the two elements of Islamic teaching entities and Javanese culture, in the spiritual field, especially Sufism and *Kejawen* mystics. Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 2-4.

appear on the North Coast. The cities of Banten, Jakarta, Cirebon, Semarang, and Surabaya which were previously only small ports have turned into big cities, rivaling inland cities, such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta.⁴⁰

The success of Islam propagators in the archipelago, especially in the North Coastal region of Central Java, can be seen in the large percentage of Muslims, it is 72%.⁴¹ By analyzing the interaction of the content of Islamic teachings, which was disseminated in the Java region, especially in the North Coastal community, Central Java, there are various typologies of religious adherents. Each typology has its characteristics and can be identified as adherents of modern Islam, adherents of traditionalist Islam, and adherents of Javanese Islam and even recently the emergence of fundamentalists-Salafi.⁴²

This typology of diversity in the people of the North Coast of Central Java,⁴³ especially in the Demak and Kudus regions is based on the characteristics of Islamic religious knowledge which is externalized into social life in the middle of the Javanese tradition, especially the Javanese mystical dimension.⁴⁴

⁴⁰"Bandul Bergerak ke Pesisir Utara Jawa", *Kompas.com*, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2008/08/22/02280822/bandul.bergerak.ke.pesisir.utara.jawa>. August 22, 2008.

⁴¹Public Welfare Administration Section of the Regional Secretariat of Central Java Province, September 23, 2018. Data from the Central Java BPS report, Rembang Regency: Muslims 606,474; Christians 3,412; Catholics 2,042; Hindu 193; and Buddhists 400; Kudus Regency: Muslims 785,388; Christians 13,062; Catholics 3,353; Hindus 73; and Buddhists 400; Demak Regency: Muslims 1,157,190; Christians 4,799; Catholics 3,163; Hindus 109; and Buddhists 200. If the total population of the three districts is 2,580,157, who are Muslims 2,549,052.

⁴²There is still another typology that in fact exists in the community, namely the Javanese religious typology (Javanese spiritualist) whose members consist of various non-Muslim faiths and religious groups (Catholic Christians, Protestant Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians).

⁴³The typification scheme is used by Berger and Luckmann to understand the type of externalized knowledge from a person or group, where the reality of life has been patterned by the subjectivity of everyday knowledge available (general knowledge) for it. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan Sosial: Sejarah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012), 44.

⁴⁴The form of struggle between Islamic teachings and the traditions and culture of local communities, there is a dimension that experiences full struggle called syncritis, there is also a dimension that adapts to local traditions called acculturation. Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 4-5.

3. Implementation of Islamic Shari'a versus Ideologization of Religious Understanding

The main problem of this research is the ideologization of the figure veiw of life and a set of values that affect the whole life system of its adherents. Ideologization is a term used in the sociology of religion to describe the shifting position of the profane to be sacred, from the empirical to being theological. In the context of Demak and Kudus people of Central Java, one of the typical people's views is the relationship between the ritual around the grave and the mosque as a form of Islamic shari'a implementation with the *ukhrawi* piety. This view is a response to the understanding of public figures on religious teachings, in this case about the hadith of grave pilgrimage narrated by at-Tirmuzi.

Buraidah reported that the Prophet Muhammad saw. said, "I used to forbid you to visit graves, [but now] visit them, for it is a reminder of the afterlife." Some scholars have argued that the hadith was spoken before the Prophet Muhammad saw. allowed the pilgrimage of the grave, but after he permitted it, men and women were covered in the capacity. The next hadith is narrated by Abu Dawud's regarding reading the Yasin to *mayit*, this is where there is understanding and then become a tradition in the society, when there is a resident who died then three or seven days after, the community reads out Yasin or because not all people are able to read the Qur'an this was then replaced with a series of recitation of *tahlil* (series of recitation of *thayyibah*) known as (recite Qur'anic verses).

The hadith is "From Ma'qal bin Yasar, narrates that the Prophet Muhammad saw. said, '*Read the Yasin to your deceased.*'" This hadith is understood by the leaders of the community as a recommendation to recite the *thayyibah* for every Muslim who died either when the body has not been buried or after being buried, because the command is to recited *Yasin* to your deceased. This kind of recommendation is traditionalized by the community through grave pilgrimage ritual, and on each death date of a person (anniversary of death) is held, for religious leaders, such as *kyai* and/or guardians who have charisma in the eyes of society, the haul

was carried out specifically (*ritual*) such as *Grebeg Besar* ceremony in Demak and the *Buka Luwur* ceremony for Sunan Kudus and Sunan Muria in Kudus.

There is also the ritual of *nyekar* to the grave of the guardians located in Mount Muria, is a culture attributed to the creation of the guardians or the early propagators of Islam in Java. Through in order to motive conceptual chart or to obtain blessings, it is also important to be seen from conceptual chart because motive or people going to the sacred place are because they belief that the cultural “fields” contains sacrality, mystical, and magical. Nevertheless, both are not enough to analyze the action, it is necessary a conceptual chart of transcendental motive or spiritual motive, people go to cultural fields caused by the theological motives to meet spiritual needs in their lives.⁴⁵

In line with because motive concept, sociologically Marx and Freud noted that the function of religious rituals for lower class people such as fisherman, salt farmers, fish farmer, and fish traders the theological-eschatological elements are more dominant. The world is a place to meditate, to gain reward and happiness in the afterlife,⁴⁶ but the fact that those involved in the ritual that is popular around the grave and mosques are not only foe people who are experiencing material difficulties. In this context, Joachim Wach’s thesis is acceptable that religious rituals around tombs and mosques are a response to what is lived out of absolute reality, namely the reality that determines and binds everything.⁴⁷

In order to gain involvement and recognition (socio-religious legitimacy) of the wider community, the recommendation of pilgrimage and the ritual of reading the *kalimah thayyibah* for the deceased continues to be preached. This kind of suggestion is understood by the general society as a religious command

⁴⁵Ahmad Falah, “Spirituality Sunan Muria: Accommodation Tradition and Tourism”, *Jurnal Walisongo* 20, no. 2 (2012).

⁴⁶Nico Syukur Dister, *Experience and Religious Motivation* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994), 85-87.

⁴⁷Joachim Wach, *Ilmu Perbandingan Agama* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1994), 44.

(institutionalization of the grave pilgrimage and reading *thayyibah*) and shifting from the views or interpretations of figures (religious leader) to dogma or ideology (religion). The suggestion by community leaders (*kiai*) is so strong. It touches the esoteric entity of humanity and manifests in esoteric life in the socio-economic dimension. Moreover, it affects society as reflected in their religious behavior.

The doctrine of the grave pilgrimage later became an Islamic teaching. Although some groups believe that it was *bid'ah*, this pilgrimage tradition then encountered cultural relevance when Islam came to Indonesia. As what is understood, the Javanese tradition is closely related to animism and dynamism beliefs. Dynamism strongly believes in the existence of a spirit that is in an object, including in this case the spirit of a person who has died. Even this Javanese Islamic acculturation is intertwined with the teachings of death. For Javanese people, pilgrimage means communication with ancestors. This meaning also enriches the purpose of the grave pilgrimage. Thus, the motivation for the pilgrimage becomes various, not only to remember death and get closer to Allah.⁴⁸

The process of institutionalizing a socio-religious order of meaning goes through two attempts, the first is through legitimizing the definition and justification of the social world that they build into an agreed objective reality. The second is through objectivation, namely a process of institutionalizing subjective reality—knowledge and forms of interrelation in society—into objective reality. This means that all sources of knowledge and meaning systems attached to the institution are accepted as a consensus. The realization of a consensus leads to the highest level of generality (*universum*), namely the formation of a universal symbolic meaning world in the institution.⁴⁹

⁴⁸M. Misbahul Mujib, "Tradisi Ziarah dalam Masyarakat Jawa: Kontestasi Kesalehan, Identitas Keagamaan, dan Komersial, *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam* 14, no. 2 (2016).

⁴⁹Frans M. Parera, "Menyingkap Misteri Manusia Sebagai Homo Faber", Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan Sosial: Sejarah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012), xxiii.

General symbols that have obtained a consensus containing knowledge and society awareness have various sources and types of norms. It includes social norms, moral norms and religious norms. The concept of religion as a religious generality that is manifested in the socio-religio-cultural of Demak and Kudus communities in Central Java is one of the aspects of life norms constructed into an institutionalized social order.⁵⁰ The construction of these various aspects and norms then became an implementation of the Islamic shari'a of Demak and Kudus communities.

The social construction theory of the religion sociology perspective (the sociology of knowledge sub-field) makes religion as one of the important sources that underlie knowledge and forms of interaction between individuals in society. The transcendent ideal of Islamic shari'a is one of the knowledge sources that builds the characteristics of a society. The changing process of the ideal-transcendent to empirical-sociological teaching can be referred to the cosmization of religious teachings or the empiricization of transcendental messages from religious sources to the thought products of religious figures or *kiai*. From normative religious concepts to empirical realities, these two entities become integrated sources of knowledge and build the attitudes and behavior of each individual in religious society.⁵¹

Empiricization or customization is a process of changing the idea of sharia teachings into facts in religious adherence, in the form of a series of adherent activities in concrete life in the community. The content of sharia source as a universality of norms fills in every individual or group activity in all areas of human life. When the message of values in Islamic sharia has been understood and implemented by the community through its thinkers, the products of understanding,

⁵⁰As stated by the informants themselves, this regional regulation was born from individuals and religious social groups. They are passionate and continue to strive for the realization of regional regulations that can address commercial sexual exploitation.

⁵¹There is a difference in the *ushuliyyun* paradigm between the *mutakallimun* and the *fuqaha ushuliyyun*. The *mutakallimun ushuliyyun* view that God's message is completely contained "in the text", while the jurists view God's message as having a dialogue between "the spirit of the text" and the "reality of context". Jamali Sahrodi, *Menelusuri Jejak Sejarah: Kajian Islam ala Sarjana Orientalis* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2008), 115.

awareness, beliefs and attitudes of adherents have shifted to be diversity and social fact. As a social fact in the perspective of social construction, it constitutes the source and motive for community behaviour, forming individual and/or social Islamic sharia behaviour patterns referred to as community religious products.⁵²

Walisongo, the saints with the Islamic religious knowledge, formed the patterns and characteristics of Islamic sharia behaviour in the Demak and Kudus people of Central Java. They were religious thinkers (social agencies), they interpreted, understood, responded to and implemented their thought products and became norms that turned out the fundamental ideas for the social order of the people of Demak and Kudus, Central Java. The empirical form of diversity in the field of Islamic sharia from this process can be very diverse and intertwined between the norms of Islamic teachings and the norm that live in society. There were a dialectical process and a reflection of subjective reality that did not stand alone against the objective reality called society. The subjective reality of these thinkers came from their knowledge of Islam in the field of Islamic sharia on their understanding of Islamic teachings. Therefore, a social life that contained various norms lived in the middle of the Demak and Kudus communities in Central Java was established.

The dominance of the Islamic sharia behaviour construction in the Demak and Kudus communities was the influenced of the shari'a aspect. It's even more to consider *fiqh* rather than the faith aspect. Rituals that accommodate Javanese cultures, such as the explanation of the heirlooms of Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus⁵³ in a series of *Buka Luwur* and *Grebeg Besar* contained the elements of animism and dynamism which did not follow sufficient religious

⁵²Philosophically, there is a fundamental difference categorizing religious norms as norms of morality. The German philosophers of the enlightenment aspired to change the moral norms based on revelation into moral norms based on goodness and general truth. Harun Hadiwijono, *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat 2* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1985), 63.

⁵³The experiences and observations of researchers who present at the Sunan Kudus' heirloom *penjamasan* ceremony in 2019 showed that there was a powerful magic element, even for those who weren't strong enough or cannot hold their faith. They can fall to believe these magics things, such as the movement of a *keris* after *penjamasan* and will be put in the sheath.

justification. It was likewise *ngalap berkah* for contested food in the ritual of *Buka Luwur* and *Grebeg Besar* that was full of Javanese beliefs did not get enough religious legality.

One social theory that can describe reliably, the relationship between human knowledge in a social context was the sociology of religion theory (sub-field of the sociology knowledge), the perspective of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. This theory observed that human could not be separated from the world they occupy. Therefore, they had a dialectical relationship between humans and society as a place of self-expulsion and to become themselves. They were also actors in their world—the human world or the world of culture—which is called society and vice versa, humans, being himself by the world of life around him.⁵⁴

Therefore, the world of life or society becomes a dialectical phenomenon in the sense that the community represents a product from humans that will always provide feedback to the producer. As human product, society which analogized as a small and complete universe is formed from human activity and awareness,⁵⁵ and awareness which originated from religion becomes “pembentuk purna”⁵⁶ formers. Then, the world of life (*lebenswelt*) will give feedback to human action and awareness.

It can be stated that objective reality which looks from small and complete universe which called by the society as reflection from subjective reality which does not stand alone. According to Peter L. Berger, reflection of reality characteristic of society from activity interaction and individual knowledge as a member of society can be only understood by phenomenology,⁵⁷ particularly

⁵⁴Peter L. Berger, *Langit Suci: Agama Sebagai Realitas Sosial* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 9.

⁵⁵Berger, 3.

⁵⁶Religion in the context above is not in the textual or preaching which have to be approached with theology-normative, but through religious theology-normative dimension which already preached in empirical life (religiosity) which have to be approached through historical-critical. M. Amin Abdullah, *Studi Agama*, 4. The terminology of “pembentuk purna” is a conclusion which makes the religious believers accepting as undeniable truth.

⁵⁷The word of phenomenology originates from Greek “fenomenon”, which is something visible, visible because it is glow, in Indonesian it called by “gejala”. Phenomenology is a genre which talking about phenomena or everything visible. The term of phenomenology in the context

phenomenology which initiated by Max Scheler⁵⁸ and Alfred Schutz.⁵⁹ By phenomenology, sociology study is started from the reality of daily life as main reality (par excellence) of societal symptoms. Its process is redefined the definition of “reality” and “knowledge” in the social context or knowledge about social reality, so it is possible to understand how social life (society experience) is formed, proceeds, and vivified by all its member.

In order to understand the structure of knowledge as social reality that society is complex, selective, and aspectual,⁶⁰ refers to the structure of common-sense world. Social reality can be studied through some approaches, such as irrational mythology and theology approach, moralistic philosophy approach, and functional practical approach which all of them build up the structure of common-sense world.

In the light of knowledge complexity of society, therefore sociology has to scrutinize knowledge in individual structure

of sociology is used in a particular definition, that is as a method to think in order to know the essence of objective reality in social world. In order to achieve something, it uses reduction method, that is phenomenological reduction, eidetic reduction, and transcendental deduction. Harun Hadiwijono, *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat 2* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1985), 140-144.

⁵⁸Scheler's perspective about value is something that aimed by feelings, a priori emotion. Value is not an idea, but it is something concrete which can be only experience by trembling soul with emotion. Sense can not see the value, because value looks if there is feeling which addressed to something. It is clear that the idea about value is different with Kant's idea. According to Kant, value is formal a priori, while according to Scheler, value is material and absolute a priori, it can not be changed, stands for itself, something which changes is our introduction and ratio about the value. Harun Hadiwijono, *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat 2*, 145.

⁵⁹The contribution of phenomenology in social life of Alfred Schutz is opposite with Weber's idea that human action is (social relationship) if another one gives definition of her/his action, and understands her/his action as something meaningful. Particularly, Schutz concerns the form of relation of individual action to another individual which called as intersubjectivity. The concept of inter subjectivity refers to the reality that social groups interpret their action each other and their experience also obtain through the same way like in individual interaction (in individual awareness, there is the same awareness to the other). Mutual understanding factor of each individual or group is required in order to make cooperation in social organization. Irving M. Zeitlin, *Memahami Kembali Sosiologi: Kritik terhadap Teori Sosiologi Kontemporer* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1998), 259-266.

⁶⁰Complexity of knowledge as social reality relates to some former elements (production) social knowledge, starting from the senses, intellective, perspective, discursive, intuitive inductive, deductive contemplative, speculative to the practical elements. Frans M. Parera, “Menyingkap Misteri Manusia Sebagai Homo Faber”, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan Sosial: Sejarah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012), xviii.

awareness and differentiate knowledge and awareness.⁶¹ Knowledge is an action to make a reality more or less to be revealed while awareness makes someone knowing herself/himself better when dealing with some reality.⁶²

Peter L. Berger focuses on analyzing the world of life with social construction theory to understand society, with the following steps: *First*, defining reality and knowledge. Social reality is something that is implied in social interactions, which are expressed socially through communication in collaboration with language through forms of social organization and so on. This social reality was founded in the intersubjective experience. Meanwhile, knowledge about social reality is related to the appreciation of social life in all aspects, including cognitive, psychomotor, and intuitive.⁶³

Second, to examine something intersubjective, Berger uses Durkheim's way of thinking about objectivity, and Weber's way of thinking about subjectivity. Durkheim argues that the separate entity between the subjectivity and the objectivity of human knowledge places objectivity above subjectivity, while Weber places subjectivity above objectivity. In other words, society is above individual (social facts paradigm perspective), and individual is above society (social definition paradigm perspective). Berger saw these two as an inseparable entity because human life and society contained elements of subjectivity and objectivity.⁶⁴

Berger formulated a concept to connect the subjective with the objective through a simultaneous dialectical concept known as externalization, objectivity, and internalization. Externalization is an incarnation of the subjective world of individuals and

⁶¹The relation of aspect in the knowledge of the society is not always linear and consist of some factors which involved even it is very extremely difficult to separate one aspect to another aspect. M. Amin Abdullah, *Studi Agama*, 9-11.

⁶²Therefore, in the paradigm of social definition of Weber, it is formulated that sociology as knowledge which tries to interpret and understand the social action and each social relation to the explanation of relation of each aspect. In this definition, there are two basic concept: *First*, social action concept; *Second*, interpretation and understanding concept as a method to explain the first concept (social action). George Ritzer, *Sosiologi Ilmu Pengetahuan*, 44.

⁶³Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan*, 28-65.

⁶⁴Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan*, 28-65.

social groups in the socio-structural world. Objectivation is the institutionalization of social interaction in an institutionalized intersubjective world, while internalization means that individuals identify themselves in the social institutions or social organizations in which the individual is a member.⁶⁵

The dialectic of these three moments runs simultaneously,⁶⁶ there is a process of pulling out (externalization), so it is as if the social reality is outside (the objective one). Then, there is a process of withdrawing it back inside (internalization) that makes objective social reality is on the outside as if it were also something that was within.

The process of social construction with three simultaneous moments in the Javanese society of the socio-cultural world is a process of externalization. Forms of communication, attitudes, and social activities in the society is a form of externalization to become an institutionalized social order (objectivation). Like the forms of rituals around the graves of Sunan Kalijaga, Raden Patah, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Muria in Demak and Kudus, Central Java. Those rituals are products of the externalization of public knowledge that institutionalized into an agreed social order which intended to fulfill and develop the elements of people's spirituality from Islamic religious thinkers (Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Muria).

The existence of rituals around the graves and mosques built by *wali* as an objective social order that is mutually recognized this means that it has gained sociological and religious legitimacy in the socio-religious-cultural context of the Demak and Kudus communities in Central Java. The existence of rituals around the graves of the guardians takes place naturally, meaning that internalization occurs with socialization through language symbols that are familiar with the local culture. Also, it was recognized by each individual from the Demak and Kudus communities.

The formation and enforcement of rituals around the graves of *wali* in the area have gained sociological and religious legitimacy.

⁶⁵Frans M. Parera, "Menyingkap Misteri Manusia Sebagai Homo Faber", Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Tafsir Sosial atas Kenyataan Sosial: Sejarah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2012), ix-xx.

⁶⁶Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, 37-38.

It was formed dialectically from the knowledge between the people who already know Javanese culture and the propagators of Islam.

The complexity of the problems that have become the culture of society with Islamic knowledge that comes later, then there will be dialectic and a new social order that institutionalized objectively. The new order requires secondary legitimacy, namely religious legitimacy as an effort to gain juridical legitimacy and to get society's intersubjectivity knowledge regarding the social order which has been objectively institutionalized. Therefore, the ritual issues around the guardians' graves often shift to a religious issues discourse and people will get spiritual peace after getting justification from religious figures or *kiai*.

C. Conclusion

The implementation of the Islamic shari'a diversity in Demak and Kudus communities in Jawa Tengah is a combination of theology element and cultural anthropology between the Javanese community, which was initially driven by the Islamic kingdom rulers with the dimensions of sufistic Islamic knowledge. The characteristics of the Islamic community which comes from the combination of Javanese Hindu religious with sufistic Islamic knowledge in Demak and Kudus, Central Jawa, are formed through an ideological process by the *kiai* who is able to convince the community that the ritual forms around the tombs and mosques are symbols of someone's piety who is concerned with hereafter reward (eschatological).

The religious characteristics of the Demak and Kudus communities in Central Jawa are more formalistic (dominance of shari'a and/or *fiqh* oriented) rather than faith dimensions. Its implementation is dominated by Javanese culture, such as the heirlooms explanation (*penjamasan pusaka*) of Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus. Although there are animism and dynamism elements such as in the *Buka Luwur* and *Grebeg Besar* series, it does not enough to get religious justification. Moreover, *ngalap berkah* (taking blessings) on the food served in the *Buka Luwur* and *Grebeg Besar* rituals which are closely related to Javanese beliefs but do not get enough religious legality.

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Interview

- Interview with Ahmad Syahidin, Solihin, and Fauzan, pilgrims to the tomb of Sunan Kudus, August 4, 2017.
- Interview with Nadjib Hasan, the Chairman of the Sunan Kudus Mousque and Tomb Foundation (Yayasan Masjid Menara dan Makam Sunan Kudus, YM3SK), October 10, 2017.