

Journeying to God in Communion with the Other: A Comparative Theological Study of the Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Traditions in South Central Java and Their Contributions to the Catholic Theology of Communio Sanctorum

Author: Albertus Bagus Laksana

Persistent link: <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/bc-ir:104408>

This work is posted on [eScholarship@BC](#),
Boston College University Libraries.

Boston College Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, 2011

Copyright is held by the author, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise noted.

Boston College
The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Department of Theology

JOURNEYING TO GOD IN COMMUNION WITH THE OTHER:
A COMPARATIVE THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MUSLIM AND CATHOLIC
PILGRIMAGE TRADITIONS IN SOUTH CENTRAL JAVA
AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CATHOLIC THEOLOGY OF *COMMUNIO SANCTORUM*

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

ALBERTUS BAGUS LAKSANA, S. J.

Director: Prof. James W. Morris, Ph. D.
Reader 1: Prof. Francis X. Clooney, S. J., Ph. D.
Reader 2: Prof. Roberto Goizueta, Ph. D.

December 2011

ABSTRACT

JOURNEYING TO GOD IN COMMUNION WITH THE OTHER:

A Comparative Theological Study of the Muslim and Catholic

Pilgrimage Traditions in South Central Java

and their Contributions to the Catholic Theology of *Communio Sanctorum*

Albertus Bagus Laksana, S. J.

Advisor: James Winston Morris

This dissertation is a comparative phenomenological and theological analysis on Catholic and Muslim traditions of pilgrimage to sacred tombs and shrines in south central Java, Indonesia. Both in the Muslim and Christian traditions, pilgrimage is a rich and complex religious practice that has served as a privileged milieu in which pilgrims and their communities attempt to foster diverse kinds of communion with God and His spiritual company of saints and other sacred figures, including the founders and paradigmatic ancestors of the local community. Precisely due to its richness and complexity as a spiritual and religio-cultural practice driven by the deeper and inclusive dynamics of communion, pilgrimage has also become a crucial practice in which a distinctive and hybrid religio-cultural identity is forged and negotiated in creative and fruitful ways—among others through the process of engaging various forms of otherness including other religious traditions and cultures—in the context of a long historical continuum that is also marked by tensions and ambiguities.

Based on the underlying and multifaceted category of communion with God, the self, and the other that lies at the heart of the pilgrimage traditions in Islam and Catholicism, and guided by the method of the new comparative theology, this study attempts to offer a focused analysis of the major ways in which this dynamic of communion is played out in the deeper shared features and intimate encounters that exist between these two pilgrimage traditions in south central Java. Carried out from the perspective of the Catholic tradition, this study also seeks to explore the ways in which the extraordinary depth and breadth of these dynamics of communion in the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions—that in Catholic theology can be placed under the inclusive category of the work of the Spirit (pneumatology)—can serve as a creative avenue for a comparative theological enrichment of our contemporary understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* (“communion of saints and the holy”). Drawing from both the most salient features of both the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage practices in south central Java as well as the corresponding insights from the larger Islamic and Catholic traditions, this proposed pneumatological framework for a renewed understanding of the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* can be seen as the modest constructive fruit of this study’s comparative theological engagement with the dynamics of pilgrimage in these two traditions.

Through this process, the Catholic theology and practice of *communio sanctorum* is also made more richly anchored in the Catholic principles of communion, mediation, and sacramentality. And since this very process includes other religious tradition(s), the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* becomes remarkably inclusive and expansive as well, thus becoming a profoundly “catholic” theological vision.

Dedicated to the loving memory of my grandmother,
Aloysia Darmasuwita,
who first introduced me to the beauty of pilgrimage
and accompanies me with her presence
during my own pilgrimage journeys.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of every book is a journey. In many ways, this saying holds even truer in the case of this dissertation. For this is a study on pilgrimage, a special kind of journey. The research for and the writing of this study have taken me to various places, near and far. As occurs in a typical pilgrimage journey, I encountered so much help from many generous people—a clear manifestation of God’s blessings (Ar. *baraka*)—along this journey. I am grateful first of all to my Jesuit Provincial Superiors (Fr. Wiryono Priyotamtama, Fr. Priyono Marwan, and Fr. Riyo Mursanto) who entrusted me with a mission to pursue graduate studies in theology in the United States. In Boston, my deepest gratitude goes to Prof. James Winston Morris, my supervisor, whose presence at Boston College has truly been a surprising gift and blessing to me on many levels. I started my Ph.D. program at Boston College a year prior to his move from Exeter. I have learned so much from him, not only in the area of academic study of Islam, but also in encountering Islam as a rich and living religious tradition. I am indebted to him for his pedagogy as well. Prof. Francis X. Clooney of Harvard University has also been a wonderful mentor and Jesuit friend. His creative and sharp thinking has always been an enormous help to my project since my days in Cambridge, and his pioneering work in comparative theology has opened up a whole new theological vista for me. I have also learned considerably from Prof. Roberto Goizueta, whose work on the intersection of theology and culture has inspired this project in a profound way. While at Boston College, I also benefited much from Prof. Catherine Cornille, now chair of the theology department, who advised me earlier in my Ph.D. program.

Of course, my studies would not have been possible without the generous financial help from the New York Province of the Jesuits. So my heartfelt gratitude goes to Fr. Thomas Feely, whose assistance went well beyond financial matters during all these years. The Comparative Theology Area at Boston College theology department has also generously funded my language studies, library research, and fieldworks in the Netherlands, Syria, and Indonesia (Java, Bali and Sumatra) in 2007 and 2008-2009, while the Ernest Fortin Foundation helped me with some grant as well for my summer Arabic studies at Harvard in 2006. I also enjoyed throughout the years of study and research the hospitality of various Jesuit communities in Boston, Washington DC, The Hague, Yogyakarta, Damascus, and Los Angeles.

Furthermore, the at times formidable challenge of doing this kind of interdisciplinary project has been made so much easier by many librarians and archivists at the following institutions who have responded with such remarkable expertise and generosity to my various requests: Boston College, Harvard University, Cornell University, the Dutch Jesuit Archives in Nijmegen, the KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) and Leiden University, the IFPO (*Institut français du Proche-Orient*) in Damascus, St. Ignatius College in Yogyakarta (Fr. Bernhard Kieser and his staff), the Indonesia Province Archives of the Jesuits in Semarang (Fr. Kristiono Purwadi and his staff).

I am especially grateful that this project that touches on the theme of saints and friends of God has also been marked by a lot of collaboration and friendships. In the United States, I thank Sukidi, Dadi Darmadi, Ulil Abshar Abdalla, Elisabeth Esti Rahayu (who helped me with so many things), Thomas Tjaya, Fr. Thomas Michel, Hengky

Adrianto (who helped me with maps), Fr. James Spillane, Caroline Utomo, Niko Setiaputra, Harijanto Tjahjono, Christian Krokus, Karen Enriquez, Bede Bidlack, Erik Rangstrom, Christopher Conway, Casey Beaumier, Chris Collins, Tone Svetelj, and many others. In Damascus, I fondly remember the kindness of Kinda Ahmed, Fr. Paolo Dall'Oglio, Nasser Demeria, and Walid Qasim, my Arabic teacher, and other friends who made my pilgrimage in Syria so memorable and fruitful. Various Indonesian Catholic communities in the United States have also aided me in countless ways, providing supports and heartfelt friendships.

In Indonesia, my gratitude goes to the Hadinoto family for supporting me in many ways for many years now, Sophie Toligi, the Suparman family, Fr. Gregorius Utomo, and many friends in Denpasar, Medan, and Yogyakarta whose generous help during my fieldwork proved to be instrumental. I also find the curiosity and enthusiasm of my young undergraduate students at Boston College for the topics of Muslim-Christian comparative theology to be particularly edifying. During the very last stage of this project, I had the privilege of receiving a very warm support from my colleagues at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, especially James Fredericks, Tracy Tiemeier, Dorian Llywelyn, Joe LaBrie, Michael Lee, and Amir Hussein.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my parents and family for being a constant source of strength and comfort throughout these years. If my years away from them have taught me anything, it is that this bond of love and affection gets even stronger. It is to my grandmother, whose loving memory is ever present to me, that I dedicate this work.

Los Angeles, Calif., September 2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	vi
Notes on Spelling, Transliteration, Translation, and Sources	xii
List of maps, illustrations, and figures	xiii
Maps	xiv
INTRODUCTION	1
I. Thesis Statement	3
II. The Scope and Methodology of the Study	5
II. 1. Case Study of Pilgrimage in South Central Java	5
II. 2. Notes on Data and Methodology of this Study	15
III. An Introductory Overview of Pilgrimage and Saint Veneration in Christianity and Islam	20
IV. Some Notes on Relevant Features of the Common Javanese Culture of Pilgrimage	33
V. The Recent Scholarly Study of Pilgrimage and the Contributions of this Study	36
VI. Outline of this Study	42
 PART ONE: THE JAVANO-ISLAMIC CASE	
 Chapter 1 Formation of Javano-Islamic Identity: Saints, Shrines and Sacred History	51
I. 1. Sacred History as Communion and Continuity	56
I. 2. Sainthood, Kingship, and the Formation of Javano-Islamic Identity	61
I. 2. 1. Sunan Kalijaga: Interplay of Javanese and Islamic Themes	64
I. 2. 2. Sunan Kalijaga as the Embodiment of a Javano-Islamic Identity	71
I. 2. 3. King Brawijaya V and the Idea of Hindu and Islamic Continuity	74
I. 3. The Three Muslim Shrines and Their Saints	79
I. 3. 1. Sunan Pandanarang and the Shrine of Tembayat	79
I. 3. 2. Mawlana Maghribi: an Arab Saint and the Javano-Islamic Tradition	83
I. 3. 3. Raden Santri and Other Javanese Muslim Saints at Gunungpring	86
I. 4. Concluding Remarks	89
 Chapter 2 Muslim Self and the Hindu-Javanese Other: Spatial, Architectural and Ritual Symbolisms	92
II. 1. Spatial, Artistic, and Architectural Traces of the Other	94
II. 2. The Self and Other in Javano-Islamic Rituals and Festivals	115
II. 2. 1. Javano-Islamic Etiquette of <i>Ziarah</i> and Shrine Festivals	116
II. 2. 2. Thanksgiving to God, the Saints and Ancestors (the <i>Slametan</i>)	123
II. 2. 3. Saints and Communal Identity: the <i>Haul</i> Festivals	127
II. 3. Saints as Religious Guarantors and Cultural Brokers	132
II. 4. Concluding Remarks	137

Chapter 3 The Richness of Pilgrimage Experience: Devotion, Memory, and Blessings	140
III. 1. Motivation: Devotion, Need and Blessings in Pilgrimage	148
III. 2. Pilgrimage, Asceticism, and Spiritual Moments	163
III. 2. 1. Soul-Searching Pilgrims	166
III. 2. 2. The Ascetic-Wandering Pilgrims	169
III. 3. Concluding Remarks	181

PART TWO: THE JAVANO-CATHOLIC CASE

Chapter 4 Dutch Jesuit Mission, Javano-Catholic Identity, and Islam: A History of Identity Formation	187
IV. 1. The Historical Context: Modernity, Colonialism, and Identity	191
IV. 2. Dutch-Catholic Mission and Javano-Catholic Identity	200
IV. 2. 1. Memory of the Founder: Father Franciscus van Lith, S. J.	200
IV. 2. 2. Christianity as the Other: Some Confrontations	212
IV. 2. 3. Overcoming Otherness: Catholic Mission and Javanese-ness	218
IV. 2. 4. Forging a Hybrid Javano-Catholic Identity	229
IV. 3. The Limit of Colonial Catholic-ism: Islam as the Other	238
IV. 4. Conclusion: Persisting Ambiguities and Limits of Hybridity	247

Chapter 5 Identity as Memory: Sacred Space and the Formation of Javano-Catholic Identity	251
V. 1. At the Origin of the Community: the Lourdes of Java	258
V. 1. 1. Memory of and Communion with the Founding Moment and Founders	258
V. 1. 2. Encounter with the Other: From Mimetic Rivalry to Communion	271
V. 2. The Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran: A Community Being Sent	280
V. 3. The Shrines of the Martyr and the Founder: the Community Being Tested	293
V. 4. Concluding Remarks	309

Chapter 6 The Trace of the Other in the Javano-Catholic Identity: Sacred Space, Architecture, and Rituals	312
VI. 1. Meanings of Spatial Location	316
VI. 2. Self and Other in Hybrid Architecture and Religious Arts of the Shrines	320
VI. 2. 1. The Religio-Cultural Vision of Josef Schmutzer	328
VI. 2. 2. The Expressions: Hybrid Religious Arts in Ganjuran	335
VI. 2. 3. On the Hybridity of Jesuit Mission Art in Java	347
VI. 3. Self and Other in Rituals and Festivals	350
VI. 3. 1. Inculturated Saints Veneration	355
VI. 3. 2. Annual Festival of the Sacred Heart	359
VI. 4. Concluding Remarks	363

Chapter 7 Immersed in the Web of Blessings and Communion: The Experiential World of the Pilgrims	365
VII. 1. Foundational Experience: Devotion as Connectedness	369

VII. 1. 1. Pilgrimage as a Habit of the Heart	377
VII. 1. 2. The Spread of Devotion: Creation of Daughter Shrines	384
VII. 2. Peacefulness: Foundational Blessing of Pilgrimage	387
VII. 3. The Tangibility of Sacramental Blessings	401
VII. 4. Wider Communion: Unveiling of Self and Community	408
VII. 5. Pilgrimage Experience and the Question of the “Other”	413
VII. 6. Concluding Remarks	422
 PART THREE: COMPARATIVE THEOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT	
 Chapter 8 A Double Visiting: Comparative Insights on Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Traditions in Java	427
VIII. 1. Shared Spiritual Milieu, Common Culture of Devotion	433
VIII. 2. Javanese Culture as the Common Bond	440
VIII. 3. Communion with Saints as Ancestors (Devotion, Memory, and History)	462
VIII. 4. Pilgrimage as Devotion and Spiritual Quest for Peace and Wellbeing	473
VIII. 5. The Sacredness of Space, Time and Things (Sacramentality)	480
VIII. 6. Observable Particularities	489
VIII. 7. Conclusion: Some Comparative Insights	493
 Chapter 9 Becoming Transfigured: Toward a Renewed Theological Understanding of <i>Communio Sanctorum</i>	504
IX. 1. Comparative Theology, Pneumatology, and <i>Communio Sanctorum</i>	508
IX. 2. The Spirit and the Depth of Communion: Exploring the Heart	531
IX. 3. The Spirit and the Breadth of Communion	549
IX. 3. 1. The Spirit and Cosmic Communion	551
IX. 3. 2. The Spirit and Communion with Paradigmatic Figures or Saints	570
IX. 3. 3. The Communal, Ancestral, and Intergenerational Aspects of Communion	581
IX. 4. Conclusion: What Have We Learned?	591
 CONCLUSION	597
I. Important Insights, Findings, and Contributions	598
II. Some Directions for Further Research	602
III. Concluding Story	605
 APPENDIX A: FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	608
 APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY	626
 SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES	630

NOTES ON SPELLING, TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION, AND SOURCES

In dealing with the variations in Javanese, Indonesian, and Dutch spelling, I decide to maintain the original spelling in the respective sources for words in quotations. For Javanese toponyms and words not in quotations, I use the Indonesianized system especially with regard to the letter “o” (spelling it as “a”), except for certain names that have been widely known in its original Javanese system such as Sendangsono (rather than Sendangsana). Also, with regard to Javanese proper names that have been referred in contemporary scholarship, I opt for the one that has been more widely used in this scholarship, such as Tembayat (not Bayat), Kalijaga (not Kalijogo), Walisongo (not Walisanga), Yogyakarta (not Jogjakarta), and Soegijapranata (not Sugiyapranata). For Javanese words in general, I employ the simplest transliteration system, doing away with diacritical marks (such as *è* and *é*), except for very few cases of proper names. Readers familiar with Javanese will readily recognize the Javanese terms and their meanings used in this study without the help of these diacritical marks.

In cases when Javanese words derived from Arabic are used, especially in the Islamic context, I provide the Arabic root to make the semantic field clearer for readers with knowledge of Arabic. The same principle applies to Javanese words derived from the Sanskrit, mostly in the context of Javanese Hinduism and Buddhism.

For Indonesian words not in quotations, I use the most recent spelling rule, that is, the EYD system (*Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan*). For the transliteration of Arabic words I follow the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. As for the Dutch, I employ the spelling of the original text that in some cases can be different from the present Dutch spelling system.

To help readers not familiar with Javanese, Indonesian, and Dutch, I provide English translation of the major titles of the bibliographical and archival sources in these languages.

The names of persons interviewed in this study are pseudonyms, except for the names of well-known figures. However, all names of places, including the places from which these persons come from, are real and true.

LIST OF MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND FIGURES

Map 1. 1. Indonesia

Map 1. 2. Java and South Central Java

Map 1. 3. Muslim, Catholic, and Other Shrines in South Central Java

Fig. 1. 1. The Demak Grand Mosque.

Fig. 2. 1. Traditional Rendering of the Nine Saints of Java (*Wali Songo*).
with only Kalijaga (in the center) in Javanese outfit.

Fig. 2. 2. Pilgrims at the Entrance to Sunan Kalijaga's Tomb,
Kadilangu, Demak, Central Java.

Fig. 2. 3. Pilgrims at Prayer before Sunan Kalijaga's Tomb, Kadilangu.

Fig. 3. 1. Javanese Traditional Ornaments at the Grand Mosque of the Yogyakarta Palace.

Fig. 3. 2. The Main Hall of Yogyakarta Palace.

Fig. 3. 3. A Hindu Javanese Gate at the Royal Mausoleum of Kotagedhe, Yogyakarta.

Fig. 4. 1. A Hindu Javanese Gate at Tembayat Shrine, Klaten, Central Java.

Fig. 4. 2. Obelisk with Makara, Tembayat Shrine.

Fig. 4. 3. The Image of Two Beast guarding a Hindu temple, Tembayat Shrine.

Fig. 4. 4. The Image of Two Dragons Guarding a Royal Crown filled with Lotus Flowers,
Flanked by Two Buddha-like Figures in Deep Meditation, Tembayat Shrine.

Fig. 4. 5. Pilgrims at Prayer at the Grave of Sunan Pandanarang, Tembayat.

Fig. 4. 6. Pilgrimage Leaflets on the Door of Tembayat Shrine's Mosque.

Fig. 5. 1. Mawlana Maghribi Shrine, Parangtritis, Yogyakarta.

Fig. 6. 1. Pilgrims Reciting the Qur'ān at the Grave of Mbah Dalhar,
Gunungpring Shrine, Muntilan, Central Java.

Fig. 6. 2. The Grave of Raden Santri, Gunungpring, Muntilan.

Fig. 7. 1. Pilgrims at the Sendangsono Marian Shrine.

Fig. 7. 2. Pilgrims at the Sendangsono Shrine during May Festival.

Fig. 8. 1. The Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran with the Sacred Heart Statue
in the Inner Sanctum.

Fig. 8. 2. The Image of the Sacred Heart /Christ the King in Hindu Javanese Style
at the Ganjuran Shrine.

Fig. 8. 3. The Prajnaparamita Mary of Ganjuran.

Fig. 8. 4. The Prajnaparamita Mary of Ganjuran (Full View).

Fig. 8. 5. The Image of the Trinity with the Figure of the Holy Spirit in the Middle.

Fig. 8. 6. The Image of the Trinity (represented in one person).

Fig. 8. 7. Josef Schmutzer and Iko flanking their collaborative works.

Fig. 8. 8. Traditional Offering (*Gunungan*) at the Annual Festival of the Sacred Heart.

Fig. 8. 9. The New Parish Church in the Style of Javanese Palace at Ganjuran.

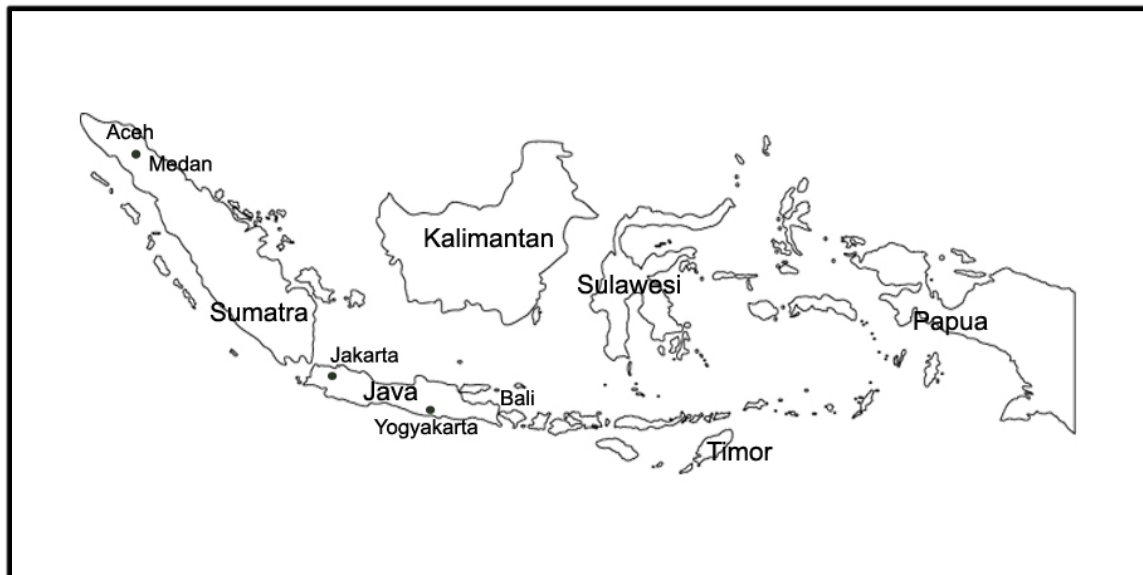
Fig. 9. 1. Pilgrims at the Grave of Fr. Sanjaya, Muntilan, Central Java.

Fig. 9. 2. Van Lith Statue in Front of the Catholic Mission Museum, Muntilan.

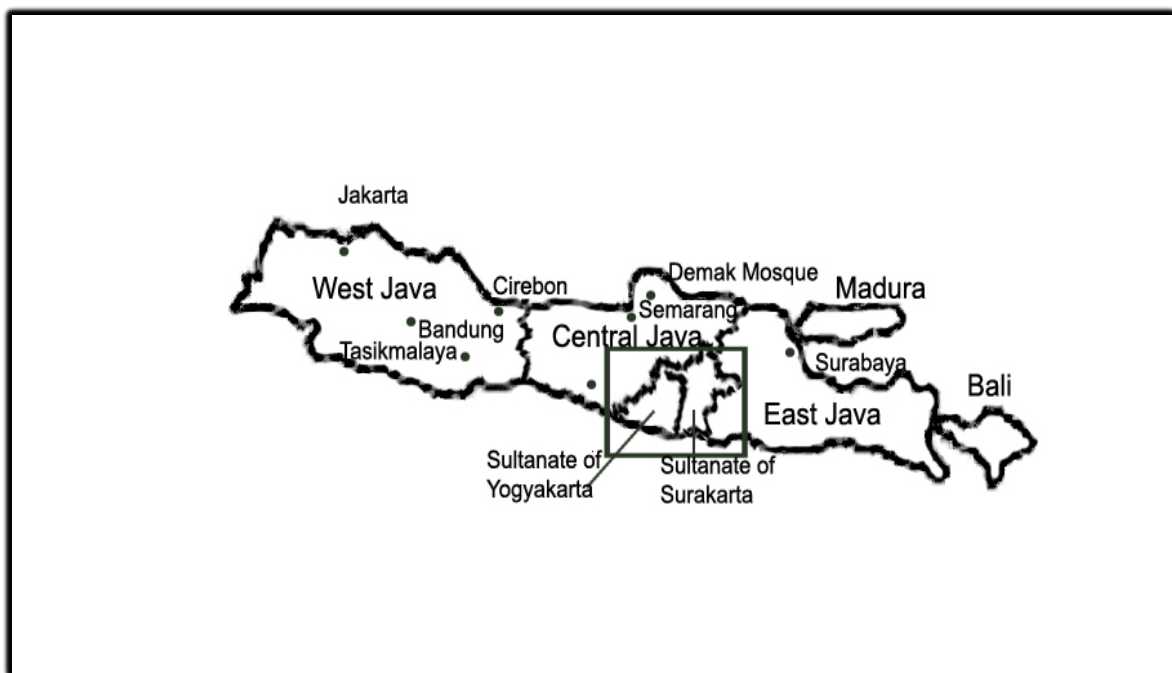
Fig. 9. 3. The Grave of Fr. van Lith, Mausoleum of Muntilan.

Fig. 9. 4. Pilgrims during Mass and Vigil at the Grave of Fr. Prenthaler,
in the Parish Compound of Bara, Yogyakarta.

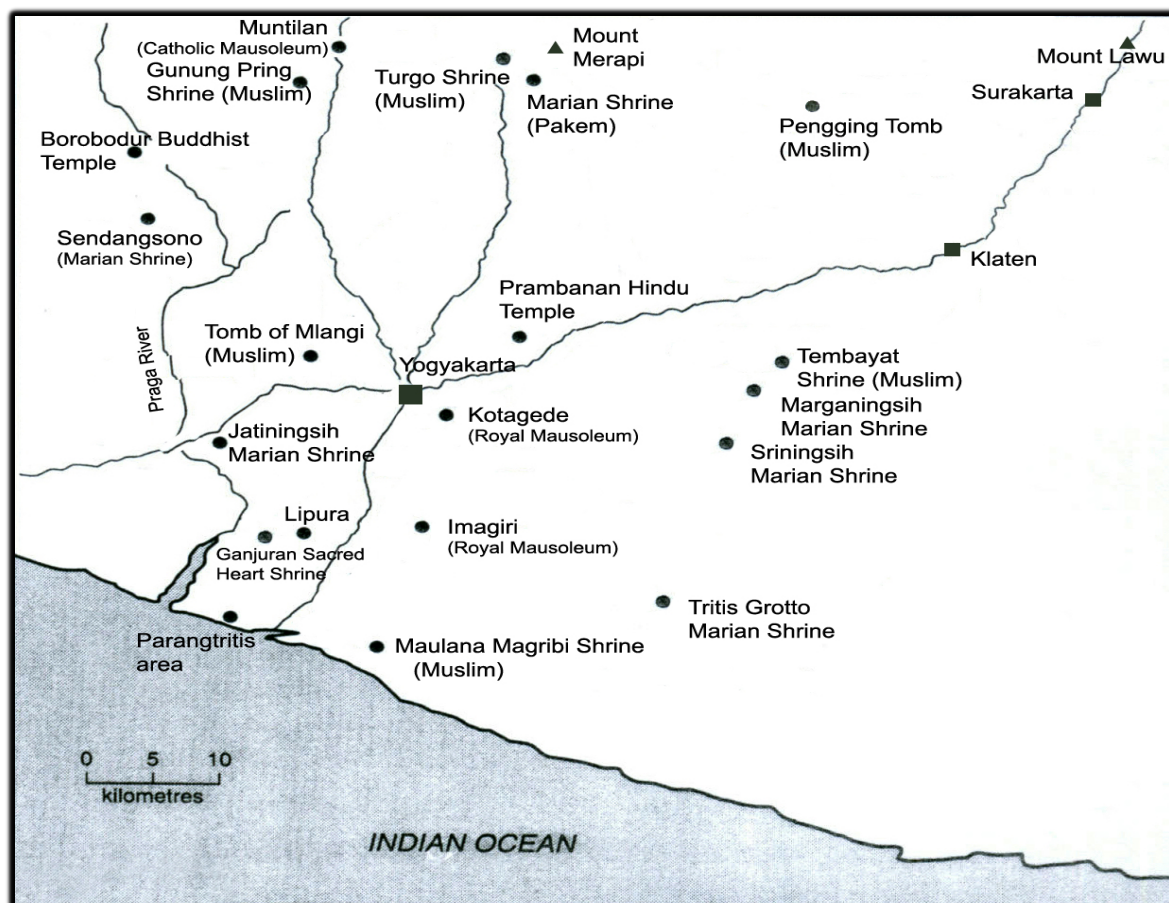
MAP 1.1. INDONESIA



MAP 1. 2. JAVA AND SOUTH CENTRAL JAVA



MAP 1. 3. MUSLIM, CATHOLIC, AND OTHER SHRINES OF SOUTH CENTRAL JAVA



I N T R O D U C T I O N

I'm drawn to the idea that the pilgrimage will help me
find my way to God and thus to myself.
Hape Kerkeling¹

I came as a pilgrim of peace.
Pilgrimage is an essential element of many religions
and also of Islam, of the Jewish religion and of Christianity.
It is also the image of our existence that is moving forward towards God
and hence towards the communion of humanity.
Pope Benedict XVI²

I roam the lands east and west;
to many a wanderer and hermit was I a companion.
I saw every strange and marvelous wonder,
and experienced terror in comfort and misery.
I have come to be buried alone beneath the earth;
I hope that my Lord will be my companion.
Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215)³

Pilgrimage is a very ancient practice. And it continues to be done in countless ways in which the various facets of human life intersect with one another. Pilgrimage is also an extremely rich and complex practice where a deep religious and spiritual search for God and self exists along side the more mundane need for the therapeutic effects of travels

¹ Hape Kerkeling, *I'm Off Then: Losing and Finding Myself on the Camino de Santiago* (Free Press, 2009), 4.

² Interview of the Holy Father Benedict XVI May 15, 2009 (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_benxvi_spe_20090515_ritorno-interview_en.html (accessed December 2010)).

³ Translation from Josef W. Meri's introduction to al-Harawī's *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā Marīfat al-Ziyārāt* (*A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*; Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin Press, 2004), xxv.

and tourism, and where a strictly pious activity for obtaining God's blessings intersects with a complex framework of cultural or ethnic identity formation. A great many Christian and Muslim saints and mystics have been among its most ardent and prominent participants and promoters, such as Ignatius Loyola and Ibn al-ʿArabī. For al-Harawī (d. 1215), an avid Muslim pilgrim whose words we quoted above, pilgrimage was an extremely rich and complex experience that afforded him in sometimes dramatic fashion an intimate understanding of the profound meanings of existence—he said, “I saw every strange and marvelous wonder, and experienced terror in comfort and misery”—and put him in an intimate relationship with God. It is remarkable that al-Harawī's classic pilgrimage itineraries included many Christian and Jewish sites, while he counted among his companions a number of Christian monks as well. And, while understanding himself as a “non-religious” person, the German comedian Hape Kerkeling somehow conceived his life-changing pilgrimage along the traditional Christian route to Santiago Compostella in terms of searching for God and self. On his part, Pope Benedict XIV put this ancient practice in terms of the common human existential journey to God and toward communion with one another in Him.

In contemporary Java, pilgrimage is highly popular across religious boundaries as well, although this study focuses mainly on the Muslim and Catholic contexts.⁴ Among Javanese Muslims, pilgrimage has attracted the whole gamut of persons, from monarchs and princes to Sufi mystics and countless ordinary persons seeking the blessings (Ar.

⁴ In light of the growing popularity of pilgrimage, in recent decades scholars have been made more aware of a serious lacuna in Clifford Geertz's magisterial work, *The Religion of Java* (1960), which took no interest in this phenomenon at all. For such criticism, see George Quinn, “Local Pilgrimage in Java and Madura: Why is it booming?” *IJAS Newsletter* 35 (2004): 16; see also Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia and Islam* (Springer, 2010), 6 and passim.

baraka) of God and His righteous Friends (Ar. *awliyā*).⁵ Hundred of thousands of pilgrims flock to the famous Nine Saints (Jv. *Wali Songo*) pilgrimage sites in Java annually. Compared to the Muslims, Catholics are newcomers in Java (from the late 19th and early 20th centuries), but local pilgrimage culture quickly took deep root among Javanese Catholics during their formative years.

This wider pilgrimage culture in Java has resulted in the proliferation of countless pilgrimage sites. Over time the process of pilgrimage also becomes much more complex. Among others, it intersects with the whole process of identity formation for the respective religious communities in interaction with local realities and with one another. In the context of Java, the relationship between pilgrimage and Javanese identity formation is quite crucial. In fact, the famous Javanese text *Serat Centhini* (19th century) imagines the collective identity of “Java” in terms of journeying to all of its sacred and potent places of all kinds, while being attentive to various local customs, natural wonders, and so forth. In this text, this journeying also corresponds to the various stages in the personal growth of the human person. This encyclopedic work on the collective understanding of “Java” thus argues that pilgrimage is crucial both in terms of personal and collective identity formation.

I. Thesis Statement

Taking into account the richness and complexity of the pilgrimage tradition mentioned above, this study is a comparative phenomenological and theological discourse focused on Catholic and Muslim traditions of pilgrimage to tombs and shrines (Jv. *ziarah*, Ar. *ziyara*) in south central Java. The basic argument of this study runs as follows. Both in

⁵ See Nelly van Dorn-Harder and Kees de Jong, “The Pilgrimage to Tembayat: Tradition and Revival in Indonesian Islam,” *The Muslim World* 91 (2001): 325-54.

the Muslim and Christian traditions, pilgrimage is a rich and complex religious practice that has served as a privileged milieu in which pilgrims and their communities attempt to foster diverse kinds of communion with God and His spiritual company of saints and paradigmatic figures, including founders and ancestors of the community. Precisely due to its richness and complexity as a spiritual and religio-cultural practice driven by the deeper dynamics of communion, pilgrimage also becomes a crucial practice in which a distinctive religious identity is forged and negotiated in creative and fruitful ways, among others through the process of engaging various forms of otherness including other religious traditions and cultures, in the context of a long historical continuum that is also marked by tensions and ambiguities. Carried out from the perspective of the Catholic tradition, this study argues further that due to the extraordinary depth and breadth of these dynamics of communion at the heart of the pilgrimage tradition, this practice lends itself to a process of comparative theological learning geared toward an enrichment of a contemporary understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* (“communion of saints and the Holy”).

The overall dynamics of this study consist of two major steps. First, guided by the method of the new comparative theology, this study attempts to offer a comparative phenomenological overview of the Javanese Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java, focusing on the major ways in which we can make sense of their deeper shared features and intimate encounters, as well as certain particularities (to a lesser degree) that exist between these two pilgrimage traditions. The principal category of communion with God, the self, and the other will serve as a guiding hermeneutic principle for this comparative study.

At the second stage, we explore various ways in which in response to the fact that the dynamics of communion and hospitality lie at the heart of Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions, this study and experience points to a renewal of the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* that can be understood basically as a theology of communion. Drawing from both the most salient features of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage practices in south central Java as well as the corresponding larger Islamic and Catholic traditions, this interfaith theology of communion can be seen as the constructive fruit of our comparative engagement with the pilgrimage processes in these two traditions.

II. The Scope, Method, and Contributions of the Study

II. 1. Case Study of Pilgrimage in South Central Java

As has been mentioned, this study focuses on the particular context of the practices of pilgrimage among the Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java (Maps 1.2 and 1.3). This area is historically very crucial in the construction of Javanese identity, particularly in terms of its long and distinctive engagement with both the Hindu-Buddhist heritage and later Islamic elements. This area covers the former Javanese principalities (D. *vorstenlanden*) during the colonial era, now represented by the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta that descended from the Javano-Islamic kingdom of Mataram that was founded in the late 16th century.⁶ In the early history of the Republic of Indonesia (1940s), Yogyakarta and its sultan (Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX) played a significant role. This sultan was a major supporter of the independence movement against

⁶ Actually, there are two other minor royal houses in this area, namely, Mangkunegaran in Surakarta and Pakualaman in Yogyakarta.

the Dutch colonial power and the city served as Indonesia's capital for a brief period of time. Based on this history, Yogyakarta was granted a special territory status.⁷

The distinctive cultural identity of Yogyakarta within Indonesia has a long history. During the New Order regime (1966-1998), as part of the central government's effort to construct a distinctively "Indonesian" identity, Yogyakarta was imagined as a national symbol of unity in diversity, a beacon of the so-called *Pancasila* tourism.⁸ On this point, Heidi Dahles writes:

Representing the common history, revolutionary spirit, national pride, and the defeat of the colonial power, Yogyakarta had been designed as an obligatory place to visit for Indonesians to experience both 'Indonesianess' and 'Javanese' and for foreign tourists to be lectured about Indonesian national identity. Therefore it is argued here that Yogyakarta had been created as the centre of 'Pancasila tourism.' A visit to Yogyakarta, particularly for domestic tourists, bears elements of a national pilgrimage, with an emphasis on cultural continuity.⁹

In general, Yogyakarta and Surakarta's distinctiveness always lies in the realm of culture and cultural imagination, both in the specific context of what is "Javanese" and the more general notion of "Indonesia." Since the colonial era, Yogyakarta and Surakarta have been identified as the repositories of the most authentic and highest of Javanese

⁷ Yogyakarta was the capital of the Republic of Indonesia from 1946 to 1949. In the recent controversy over the special status of Yogyakarta, this historical fact was used by its supporters as one of the valid reasons for the special status of this royal city.

⁸ The New Order regime under the late President Suharto began with a political upheaval associated with the abortive communist rebellion in 1965. In the realm of national identity formation, this regime's project was to firmly root the Indonesian identity in the principle of unity in plurality in terms of ethnicities, local cultures, religions and so forth, as expressed in the state philosophy of *Pancasila* (from Sanskrit *panca*, "five", and *sila*, "principles") that includes: belief in one supreme God; just and civilized humanitarianism; nationalism based on the unity of Indonesia; representative democracy through consensus; and social justice for all. The cultural maxim of the regime was that the Indonesian culture is the sum total of all its ethnic and local cultures. That regime ended in 1998 following political chaos triggered by the worsening of the Southeast Asian economic crisis.

⁹ Heidi Dahles, *Tourism, Heritage and National Culture in Java: Dilemmas of a Local Community* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 220.

cultural traditions.¹⁰ With regard to Surakarta, the anthropologist John Pemberton observed: “for many New Order Javanese, it is a city of origins, a siting of the past in place, a privileged locus for much that is recalled as ‘Javanese.’”¹¹ Indeed both the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta understand themselves as distinctive religio-cultural entities in many ways, but particularly in the manner in which the Islamic dimension is integrated within a rich religio-cultural framework that incorporates Java’s older legacies, such as Javanese Hinduism and indigenous religious systems, manifested among others in the distinctive ritual, art and cultural style of the palace (Jv. *kraton*).¹²

For the most part, local residents of Yogyakarta and Surakarta share this view, identifying the sultan’s palace in particular as the center of the preservation of the Javanese tradition and culture.¹³ The recent controversy on the special status of Yogyakarta within the Republic of Indonesia has highlighted this strong collective sense of distinctive identity among the people of Yogyakarta. For them, the central government’s attempt to “democratize” Yogyakarta by removing the Sultan from his status as ex officio governor of the province without election was an insult to the time-

¹⁰ Suzzane Brenner, *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 24-29, 60.

¹¹ John Pemberton, *On the Subject of “Java”* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 25.

¹² Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, *Kraton Jogja: The History and Cultural Heritage* (Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 2002), 25. An interesting passage of this book explains the history and meaning of the name of Yogyakarta: “The name Ngayogyakarta [Yogyakarta] is derived from the Sanskrit word *Ayodya* (or in Javanese, *Ngayodya*), the capital city of Rama’s Kingdom in the great Ramayana epic. King Rama, the incarnation of the god Vishnu as the savior of the world in crisis, is the ideal type of the Sultan. Vishnu was also depicted as *ksatria*, as is manifested in his incarnation of the figure of Khrisna in the Mahabharata epic. It was seen as matching the personality of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, the first king of the sultanate of Yogyakarta.” On the Surakarta court, see Pakubuwana XII, *Kraton Surakarta: A Look into the Court of Surakarta Hadiningrat, Central Java* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2006).

¹³ Timothy Daniels, *Islamic Spectrum in Java* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 19.

honored distinctive cultural and political identity of Yogyakarta.¹⁴ In response, Yogyakartaese staged demonstrations against this plan.

This distinctively hybrid self-understanding, however, begs the question of hegemony, particularly with regard to the nature and exact role of Islam in it. There is a certain sentiment among Indonesian Muslims that the Islamic contribution to this local identity is either truly lacking or not deservedly recognized. Nurcholish Madjid (d. 2005), one of the most influential Muslim scholars that Indonesia has ever had, compared the role of Islam in Indonesia and India this way:

In the Hindu India, Islam has a glorious past (showing its deep cultural influence), while in the Muslim Indonesia, Islam only has a future (since it did not influence the local culture in the past).¹⁵

As noted earlier, this sentiment should be understood within the background of a cultural vision that took the Majapahit kingdom and the Hindu and Buddhist cultures as the real backbone of Java and Indonesia's glorious past. Again, in this regard, one has to recall that the New Order did not really initiate the glorification of the Hindu-Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) culture and polity in the make-up of modern Indonesian statehood and identity. This tendency had been firmly in place since the colonial era among the earliest generation of Dutch orientalist scholars who fell in love, personally and professionally, with the cultural legacy of pre-Islamic classical Java.¹⁶ We will see as well that many

¹⁴ Mark Woodward, "Resisting Wahhabi Colonialism in Yogyakarta," *COMPS Journal: Analysis, Commentary and News from the World of Strategic Communications* (2008): 1-8; see also his *Java, Indonesia and Islam*, 2-3.

¹⁵ Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Doktrin and Peradaban* ("Islam: Its Doctrines and Civilization"), Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992), lxvii.

¹⁶ On this see Pemberton, *On the Subject of "Java"* and Nancy Florida, "Reading the Unread in Traditional Javanese Literature," *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 1-15; also her *Javanese Literature* Vol. 1 (Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1993), 11ff. A good example of orientalist works on Java's ancient high-culture is J. F. Scheltema, *Monumental Java* (London: Macmillan, 1912); see also Beverley Jackson, *A Lifelong Passion: P. J. Veth (1814-1895) and the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Dutch Jesuit missionaries who worked in south central Java, including Father Franciscus van Lith (d. 1926), adopted this colonial view. To a large extent, the view that Islam was an “other” and that there was a significant degree of incompatibility between the Hindu-Javanese legacy and Islamic tradition was indeed part of the colonial orientalist mode of scholarship of this period.

In light of this background, this study will show that Islam has actually played an important role in the religio-cultural shaping of the local Muslim communities in Indonesia, more particularly in Java. An authentic vision of Islam is preserved and expressed in the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java, in a highly creative and complex religio-cultural framework that includes genuine appropriation of the older Hindu-Javanese religio-cultural legacy as well.¹⁷ In this regard, this study explores the role of Javanese culture—a reality that can no longer be separated from Islam—as a complex positive force that has been deeply influenced by Islam and other religio-cultural traditions. Certainly, the Javanese culture in its complexity has served as a common bond among diverse religious groups in south central Java, as we shall see.

What is also distinctive in this area is that this role has become stronger and more pervasive due to the support of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta as the contemporary heirs to the legacy of the Javano-Islamic kingdom of Mataram. It is in this religio-cultural setting that a rich tradition of pilgrimage, in diverse forms, flourishes today. All the major Muslim shrines in this area are formally under the patronage of either one of these courts, or both. In recent years, the unifying role of Javanese culture

¹⁷ On this topic, see M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2006); also his *Polarizing Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830-1930)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). See also Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

and its specific relation to the pilgrimage traditions has become more apparent in many forms and levels. On the popular level, this revival of Javanese culture is observable in the retrieval of various communal rituals and festivals among many local communities in this area. Throughout this study, we will see the prevalence of certain elements of this court culture, both among Muslims and Catholics.¹⁸ It is also worth noting that this revival of Javanese culture includes the creation of hybrid Javano-Chinese celebrations under the auspices of the court.¹⁹

Within the larger context of Java or Indonesia, south central Java is quite unique due to the significance presence of Catholic Christianity and its distinctive dynamics of encounters with the Javanese culture and Islam. The presence of Catholics in this area dates back to the earliest period of the Catholic mission under the Dutch Jesuit missionaries in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries. The small town of Muntilan that is located some 20 miles to the north of Yogyakarta (Map 1.3) was the center of the Catholic mission in Java for the first two or three decades of the 20th century, largely due to the pioneering work of Father Franciscus van Lith (1896-1926), a remarkable figure whose memory and legacy have become an important pillar in the identity formation of Javanese Catholics, as we will see in this study.²⁰ Based on the foundation laid by Father

¹⁸ On the ascendancy of the sultanate-sponsored Javanist rituals and traditional values in Yogyakarta in the past decade, see Timothy Daniels, *Islamic Spectrum in Java*, chapter 1.

¹⁹ This particular revival is significant given the New Order's politico-cultural policy against the Chinese, a discriminatory policy that culminated in the anti-Chinese riots in 1998 as the New Order under President Soeharto crumbled. In south central Java in recent years the Chinese Peh Cun celebration, for example, was held in hybrid Javano-Chinese festivities. During the celebration in 2009, the sultan was also in attendance.

²⁰ The significant Catholic presence among native Indonesians dates back to the Xavier era in the 16th century, with the formation of small Catholic communities in the Moluccas. In the period after Francis Xavier, Portuguese missionaries also worked in other outer islands (the Lesser Sunda Islands) of Indonesia. However, with the arrival of Dutch colonialism in the early 17th century, the progress of Catholic missions in the Moluccas was halted, while in the outer islands that were still under the Portuguese it continued to grow until the second half of the 18th century (the island of Flores, where Catholicism is the majority religion now, remained under Portuguese rule until 1859). Protestant missions began in a very modest way, mostly in the outer islands of the archipelago, starting circa the 17th century. Since the second half of the

van Lith, the Catholic mission in south central Java can be considered a success, especially compared to other areas in Java. As a result, south central Java still has the largest percentage of Catholics in the whole of Java. In this area, Catholicism has a visible public presence. This college town houses two major Catholic universities as well as numerous higher education institutions and schools that draw thousands of students from all over the country. The area is also dotted with Catholic hospitals, orphanages, convents and seminaries, as well as historic churches and shrines. The Christian presence in this area becomes even more remarkable if we take into account the local Protestant churches with their vast networks of educational institutions, health care systems, and so on.²¹ In general, both Catholic and Protestant missions have had an amicable relationship with the sultans since the beginning; at times during the colonial period this relationship was considered too cozy by certain elements in the Muslim population.²²

The area of south central Java was chosen as our focus in this study precisely because of the rich and distinctive religio-cultural dynamics among four elements: the presence of Islam, the centrality of the Javanese culture (with various elements from earlier Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous religious beliefs and practices), the crucial

18th century, Protestant missions were becoming more intensive in many parts of Indonesia (though not in Java) with the active role of various missionary societies, while Catholics were discriminated against during most of this period, both in the Netherlands and the Indies. This discrimination was lifted only in 1808, allowing some Jesuit priests to work for the European Catholics in the Indies. However, the Jesuit mission among native Javanese only started in 1859. See Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, eds., *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008).

²¹ Unlike in other parts of Indonesia, the Protestant presence among Javanese natives began to be significant only in the 1840s, roughly half a century before the Catholic mission. In the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, however, the Protestant mission started building hospitals and schools only around the first decade of the 20th century. See Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 677.

²² For example, during its annual meeting in 1924 the Muhammadiyah, a modernist Islamic organization that was also founded in Yogyakarta, accused the Christians of being unfairly favored in terms of financial support by the colonial government and the sultan of Yogyakarta. See Alwi Shihab, *The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1995), 252.

role of the sultanates, as well as the significant presence of Christianity and Catholicism. In this area almost all the Islamic shrines, as well as the indigenous Javanist ones, are historically and spiritually connected in one way or another to either or both of the sultanates. On the Catholic side, this area houses the most foundational and important Catholic shrines in Java. Furthermore, it is also worth noting that in this area these Muslim and Catholic shrines share spatial and cultural proximity to one another, thus forming a more intense and concentrated milieu of devotion. Even within the wider context of Java, this area has the rare concentration of diverse important shrines and holy sites, not only Muslim and Catholic, but also Hindu, Buddhist, and Javanist.²³

Given the fact that this area has so many Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage sites (Map 1.3), this study focuses primarily on three shrines of each tradition for the sake of more detailed analyses. On the Islamic side, these sites include the shrine of Tembayat, the shrine of Gunungpring, and the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi. A major shrine with some hundred thousand pilgrims per year, the shrine of Tembayat houses the tomb of Sunan Pandanarang, the famous disciple of Sunan Kalijaga, one of the most important early saints of Islam in Java (Jv. *Wali Songo*) and the one who is considered to be the patron and embodiment of a Javano-Islamic identity, especially in south central Java. Historically, this site exerted a powerful role vis-à-vis the court of Mataram after the historic pilgrimage of Sultan Agung (r. 1624-1645), the most celebrated Sufi king of that court, to this site. This historical connection might explain why in this shrine's rituals and festivities, Javanese culture is not only always present, but appears to be very dominant (see Figs. 4.1-4.5). The second Muslim shrine under study, the shrine of Gunungpring

²³ Important ancient Hindu and Buddhist sites in this area include the Hindu temple of Prambanan and the Buddhist temple of Borobudur; while many popular Javanist sites are found in the Parangtritis, Mount Merapi, as well as Mount Merbabu areas. See Map 1.3.

(Figs. 6.1 and 6.2), is located in the outskirts of the town of Muntilan. Attracting up to 250,000 pilgrims per year, this shrine houses the tomb of Raden Santri (Pangeran Singasari), a Javanese Muslim saint who was also a rather important royal ancestor of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta; it also houses the tombs of local Muslim saints from the more recent times (19th/20th century), such as Mbah Dalhar (d. 1959) and his son, Gus Jogorekso.

The shrine of Mawlana Maghribi, the third local Muslim shrine, contains a tomb believed to be the grave of Mawlana Maghribi (Fig. 5.1). In the Javanese folklore, Mawlana Maghribi (ca. 15th century) is related to Najmuddin al-Kubra, who is considered to be the ancestor of the founders of Islam in Java (Jv. *Wali Songo*).²⁴ This shrine is located on a hilltop on the southern coast of Yogyakarta (Parangtritis), which according to local Javanist beliefs, is a sacred and potent place due to the presence of the goddess of the Southern sea, a pre-Islamic mythical figure whose romantic alliance with Panembahan Senapati (r. 1582-1601), the founder of the Mataram dynasty is traditionally considered a crucial support for the legitimacy and spiritual power of the Javano-Islamic sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.²⁵ This mythically charged location helps the site draw a continuous stream of pilgrims from all over Java, some of whom stay for a longer period of time as itinerant ascetic pilgrims (Jv. *musafir*).

²⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in early Indonesian Islam," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150 (1994): 305-29.

²⁵ This alliance was upheld even by the most pious of all Muslim monarchs of this dynasty, Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1646), under whose reign the so-called mystic synthesis of Islam and Javanese identity was achieved, as we will see in Chapter 1. This coast is also very close to the place called Lipura where Panembahan Senapati, the founder of the Mataram dynasty to which the current two Javanese sultanates owe their original existence, received his royal omen from God through a dream. For the mythical and spiritual significance of Lipura and the southern coast for Javanese identity, see H. J. de Graaf, *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram: Masa Pemerintahan Senapati* (Jakarta: Grafiti Press and KITLV, 1985), 74ff; see also M. Ricklefs, "Dipnagara's Early Inspirational Experience," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130 (1974): 227-58.

On the Catholic side, the three shrines we focus on in this study include the Sendangsono Marian grotto, the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, and the mausoleum of Muntilan. Modeled on the famous shrine at Lourdes, the Sendangsono grotto (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2) is perhaps the most important as well as the oldest Marian shrine in Indonesia. Its foundation in 1929 commemorated the birth of the indigenous Catholic community in Java. For it was on this very site that in 1904 the first large group of the Javanese people (173 persons) received their baptisms into the faith through the hands of the Jesuit Father Franciscus van Lith. The historical account of this shrine during the early period is rather well documented, and the centenary celebration in 2004 confirmed its foundational role in the identity of the local Catholic community.²⁶ Our second shrine, the Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran (Fig. 8.1), is considered to be the sister shrine of the Sendangsono grotto. Founded in 1930 by the Schmutzer family, this shrine was from the very beginning known to be a model for an inculturation of the Catholic faith in Javanese culture, since it abundantly makes use of local Hindu-Buddhist symbolisms and architectures. Especially in the last decade or so, this shrine has attracted a significant number of non-Catholic pilgrims. The third Catholic shrine under study, the mission mausoleum of Muntilan (Figs. 9.1 and 9.3), is a historic mausoleum that houses the tombs of some of the most prominent figures in the history of the Catholic church in Java, such as Father van Lith, the founder of the local Catholic community, and Father Sanjaya, the community's "first martyr." Located in the town of Muntilan (see Map 1.3), it shares a geographical proximity with the world famous Borobudur Buddhist temple, as well as the Muslim pilgrimage site of Gunungpring.

²⁶ The early historical documentation of this shrine is available in Dutch publications such as the Jesuit missionary journals *St Claverbond* and *Berichten uit Java*, as well as Javanese Catholic newspaper *Swara Tama* (ca. 1920-1940).

II. 2. Notes on Data and Methodology of this Study

As this project of comparative theological analysis of Catholic and Muslim pilgrimage is based on a close study of the above-mentioned shrines, ethnographic as well as historical data will be used in filling out the larger framework of the comparative theological perspectives.²⁷ The ethnographic data is drawn from both fieldwork and library research (historical ethnography). The most intensive fieldwork for this study was conducted from January to August 2009, on the basis of earlier personal visits to several of these shrines. These fieldwork data include interviews with pilgrims, officials of the shrines, as well as insights from participant observation, particularly my participation in various rituals and festivals in the six shrines mentioned above, as well as other shrines in the same area.²⁸

In this regard, the use of the term “Javanese” in this study needs an explanation since not all the pilgrims and members of the local communities, both Muslim and Catholic, belong to the ethnic Javanese. It is largely in relation to the cultural and geographical location (not primarily the ethnic identities) of the shrines, their pilgrims, and their communities that I understand the term “Javanese” in both the Muslim and Catholic contexts, although it is still true that the overwhelming majority of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrims to these shrines are ethnically Javanese. However, a significant

²⁷ Different from contemporary scholarship on pilgrimage in the Western world that for the most part emphasizes the cultural and psychological (or “spiritual” in the broadest sense of the word) of pilgrimage, I argue that pilgrimage in Javanese context is still very deeply religious in the traditional sense of the word. Moreover, although the inclusive nature of pilgrimage has been stressed by various scholars in non-theological disciplines, it is very rare that these scholars consider the theological and religious nature of pilgrimage as the heuristic framework for this inclusivity. See for example Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, eds., *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004). In this respect, Turner’s foundational work (*Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*) might still be a very insightful exception.

²⁸ Almost all group interviews occurred in the shrines, while some individual interviews were conducted in different settings, including homes, church, mosques and so forth.

number of these Catholic pilgrims are of Chinese descent, while the presence of non-Javanese Muslim pilgrims, especially in the Tembayat and Gunungpring shrines, is also remarkable. In most cases, interestingly, these Chinese Catholics embrace features of Javanese culture as well, due to their upbringing. Perhaps more importantly, as we shall see, Javanese culture is overwhelmingly preserved in these shrines in many different ways such as in the forms of their rituals, architectures, festivals, and so on; and this becomes their distinctive feature that is appreciated by all pilgrims from all ethnic backgrounds.²⁹ In this study, then, the terms “Javano-Islamic” and “Javano-Catholic” identities correspond to this hybrid religio-cultural framework that is shared around these shrines by the local communities and by pilgrims across ethnic backgrounds.³⁰

As for the historical data, I have drawn heavily from classical texts of Java to shed some light on the historical role of the Muslim shrines,³¹ while using missionary journals and letters for the Catholic ones.³² Access to many of these historical documents and

²⁹ It has to be noted here that these Catholic shrines also play important roles in the lives of Catholics beyond this area. Catholic pilgrims have come from all over Indonesia since the early years of this shrine. The same phenomenon is even more striking in the case of Ganjuran in recent decades. The same is true in the case of Islamic shrines under study here. For many Muslim pilgrims come from different parts of Indonesia, while the occasional presence of some Malaysian or Singaporean pilgrims is also noticeable at Tembayat.

³⁰ It has to be pointed out, however, that these shrines also have developed a pan-Indonesian character. As will be seen in this study, many pilgrims and shrines officials formulate this character in terms of the inclusive principles of *Pancasila*, the official and foundational principles of the Republic of Indonesia that, among others, includes the respect for all religions. See also footnote # 8.

³¹ Examples of Javanese classical texts include *Serat Centhini*, *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Suluk Malang Sumirang*, *Babad Jaka Tingkir*, *Babad Dipanegara* and so forth. In this regards, the works of M. C. Ricklefs, Nancy K. Florida and Peter Carey are particularly relevant. See M. C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II, 1726-1749* (Allen and Unwin, and University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995); Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanegara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (KITLV Press, 2008).

³² *St Claverbond* was a Dutch language missionary journal, published under the auspices of the Sint Claverbond Foundation in the Netherland, a support group for Catholic mission in the Dutch East Indies founded in the 1880s; this journal became defunct around 1946 (substituted in a way for some years by *Berichten uit Java*). The *Swara-Tama* (Jv. Good News) was a Javanese weekly publication (1920-1940s) that was started by the students of the Catholic mission school in Muntilan (the Xavier College); the

primary sources has been made possible during my library research at various libraries in the United States, Europe, and Indonesia.³³

These ethnographical and historical contextual data will also be placed in the larger framework, using phenomenological and comparative theological methods. While the phenomenological method, exemplified in the Islamic context by the works of Annemarie Schimmel, helps us to be attentive to the whole range of the possible meanings of different aspects of the pilgrimage tradition,³⁴ theological approach helps us make sense of pilgrimage and its major elements and dynamics theologically: e.g. why and how the whole idea of “travel” could become an exceptionally rich milieu of spiritual transformation in Christianity and Islam; or why God’s blessings can be understood “sacramentally” in both, as the pilgrims experience them. In this regard, the insights of great Muslim masters like Ibn al-‘Arabī, as expounded recently by James W. Morris, William Chittick, Sachiko Murata and others will be extremely crucial.³⁵ Furthermore, in this dynamic, the comparative theological method, exemplified primarily by Francis X. Clooney and James Fredericks, will bring pertinent insights from both traditions—both

editorial board moved to Yogyakarta later and was connected with the Jesuit house of formation there. I use the *Swara-Tama* and *St Claverbond* rather extensively in my discussion of the negotiation of the Javano-Catholic identity in its earliest formative years (Chapter 4). I call the Javanese Catholic writers who contributed to these publications “the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals.” Not only did they voice the nascent Javanese Catholic community’s concerns and aspirations and engage the wider public, they also went on to become leaders of this community both on the ecclesial and political realms, such as Soegijapranata, the first native and Javanese bishop, and I. J. Kasimo, founder of the Catholic Party.

³³ These include the libraries of the University of Leiden and the KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies), both in Leiden; the Jesuit Archives in Nijmegen, the Netherlands; the library of Cornell University, Ithaca; as well as various libraries and archives in Java, including the Jesuit archives in Semarang, central Java.

³⁴ Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Albany, N. Y.: SUNY, 1994).

³⁵ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart: Discovering Spiritual Intelligence in Ibn ‘Arabī’s ‘Meccan Illuminations’* (Louisville, K.Y.: Fons Vitae, 2005); also his *Orientations: Islamic Thought in a World Civilisation* (Cambridge: Archetype, 2004); William Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Cosmology* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1998); Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (Albany, N. Y.: SUNY Press, 1992).

data from the ground and from the larger pertinent sources of the traditions—in order to illuminate each other, and ultimately to help us in envisioning an enrichment and renewal of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*.³⁶

So, following the new comparative theology's method, I endeavor to put the (Javanese) Catholic and Muslim practices of pilgrimage next to each other. In my case, this comparative study has unfolded through my personal “dwelling” or visiting and participation in the Muslim pilgrimage itself, as well as the subsequent back-and-forth movement that accompanies such a dwelling. Then, being committed to and working from within the Catholic tradition, I have attempted to flesh out a possible and desirable kind of enrichment of the Catholic theological understanding of *communio sanctorum* that is suggested by this encounter with the related Islamic traditions. In light of my identity as a Catholic comparativist, this is a homecoming that not only refreshes my understanding of Catholic theology in an abstract sense, but it also grows out of my personal transformation as a pilgrim-cum-comparativist.

In this regard, some explanation of my own identity and religio-cultural location as a Javanese Catholic and Jesuit are in order. The subject matter of this study is the role of pilgrimage tradition in the identity formation of Javanese Muslim and Javanese Catholic communities in south central Java. In this respect, it has to be noted that some of the shrines under study here, including the Muslim shrines, have been integral part of my religio-cultural upbringing and identity since I was born and raised in that area. This personal identity and background has greatly facilitated the back-and-forth movements

³⁶ In all his major books, Francis Clooney gives some explicit account of how his comparative method of reading texts is at work in the particular project. Although the dynamic of back-and-forth reading is quite different each time, the attentiveness to details of the texts and to the fruit of this detailed comparative reading for the enrichment of Christian theology is constant. For a concise introduction to his method, see his *Comparative Theology: Deep Learning across Religious Borders* (Willey-Blackwell, 2010).

between shrines of the two traditions during my ethnographic fieldwork. It has also helped me considerably in discerning the larger historical dynamics of the local pilgrimage tradition as well as other aspects that relate to the wider Javanese life situation in general. Being a Javanese Jesuit, there are also personal factors in the ways I have come to raise and discuss the major questions involved in Javano-Catholic identity formation, beginning with the role of the Dutch Jesuit missionaries and their Javanese students and so forth.

So, following the notion that the practice of comparative theology is to a large degree autobiographical and confessional in its origin, I consider as quite relevant here my identity and autobiography, including the dynamics that I experienced as a pilgrim-comparativist.³⁷ Quite intentionally I designed my fieldwork method in such a way that I myself was always implicated, as a pilgrim, in the back-and-forth dynamics between Muslim and Christian shrines. Over time it became clear to me that through visiting and participating in Muslim pilgrimages, I grew more and more familiar with that world. To a large degree, I felt at home there, but not totally. However, when I returned to a Catholic shrine, sometimes on the same day, the familiarity of this “home” setting was overwhelming. As I see it, the dynamic of this back-and-forth movement is very instructive for the subject matter of this study. For the more time I spend in Muslim shrines, the more meaningful my homecoming to the Catholic ones would become.³⁸

³⁷ Francis X. Clooney, *Hindu God, Christian God* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 10-11, 178-81.

³⁸ In terms of this “comparative” Christian-Muslim pilgrimage, my personal exposure is not limited to Southeast Asian or Indonesian Islam. During the summer of 2008 I was exposed to many Muslim and Christian shrines in Turkey. And while studying Arabic at Damascus University during Fall semester 2008, I was also researching various Islamic shrines, both Sunni and Shiite, in Syria—such as the Umayyad Mosque (the tomb of John the Baptist), the tombs of Sayyida Ruqayya and Sayyida Zainab, various sacred tombs in Bab al-Saghir cemetery, the tombs of Ibn al-‘Arabī and Shaikh Arslan, all in Damascus, as well as the tomb of Prophet Zecharia in Aleppo, and so forth. This exposure became more influential in terms of this project due to its heavy comparative component. For, while visiting various Muslim shrines and *tekkes*

However, this is not just a usual home coming, because I would bring in some new experience and perspective as well. The result was a re-integration of this experience of the “other” into the familiar. This process is of course akin to the return journey of each pilgrimage, as a process of reintegration of the pilgrimage experience into the fabric of daily life. There is familiarity in this integration, but also newness and freshness. This dynamic is closely related to the “deepening” aspect of comparative theology, namely that a comparative theological journey should result in the deepening of one’s rootedness in one’s home tradition.³⁹ Although this process of integration and transformation in this comparative theological study goes beyond the strictly personal, its personal dimensions should also be duly noted.

III. An Introductory Overview of Pilgrimage and Saint Veneration in Christianity and Islam

Even to casual observers, the contemporary popularity and visibility of the tradition of making pilgrimage to shrines and sacred tombs among Catholics and Muslims are self-evident. However, one has to remember that this now widespread practice has a quite dramatic and contentious history in both traditions. On the Christian side, it is of course true that the metaphor of pilgrimage has been a favorite collective image for the Church since the earliest time in church history—namely, the Church and the Christians as

in Turkey, I was also able to visit some important Christian sites in Istanbul, Ephesus, and Cappadocia. And, during my stay in Syria, I kept a habit of visiting a number of famous Christian shrines, including the Ananias chapel in Damascus where St. Paul was cured and baptized by Ananias, the shrine of Our Lady of Seidnayya, the shrine of St. Thecla in Maaloula, as well as the ruins of the Basilica of St. Simeon the Stylite outside of Aleppo in north Syria.

³⁹ See for example Francis Clooney, *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother: Hindu Goddesses and the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 23, 227ff. Clooney writes; “As we immerse ourselves in texts—ideas, images, emotions, insights—of a hitherto unfamiliar tradition, from that newly acquired vantage point we can return home and discern the powers and possibilities latent in our familiar traditions.” (23). See also James Fredericks, *Buddhists and Christians: Through Comparative Theology to Solidarity* (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 2004), 95.

pilgrims on earth on the journey to God.⁴⁰ However, when it comes to the question of real pilgrimage or visits to sacred places, the picture is quite complex. For the propriety of the practice of pilgrimage was hotly debated in early Christianity. As Bitton-Ashkelony has pointed out, the Christian debate on the propriety of pilgrimage in late antiquity revolved around the tension between local sites of pilgrimage on the one hand and Jerusalem on the other; as well as around the dilemma of earthly sacred journeying to encounter the divine versus interior journeying through an inner and spiritual space.⁴¹ Among others, the main concern also touched on the theological question of a divine presence in a defined spatial locus over against the scriptural idea of “Jerusalem on high” (Gal. 4:26) and “worshiping God as spirit, spiritually” (John 4:24).⁴²

In general, fruitful tensions were preserved between the spiritual and spatial frameworks of understanding God’s presence. It was quite apparent that pilgrimage, either to Jerusalem or to local shrines, did not only quite quickly become a religious practice with some valid theological grounds in the first centuries of Christianity, but it also became highly popular. In this regard, it is very important to note the role of the complex and particular developments of the respective Christian communities at this time.⁴³ Also crucial here was the fact that this debate had a lot to do with the specificities

⁴⁰ This image is rather deeply rooted in the Bible (cf. 1Peter 1:1; 2:11 and Hebrews 11:13). Among the Patristic writers, Augustine (cf. *De Civitate Dei*) is probably the most famous for his usage of this metaphor to describe the nature of Christian existence.

⁴¹ Bruria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 4. On this debate in general, see also Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, eds., *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); also John Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁴² On this, see Andrew T. Lincoln, “Pilgrimage and the New Testament,” and Steve Motyer, “Paul and Pilgrimage,” in Bartholomew and Hughes, *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, 29-49, 50-69.

⁴³ As Bitton-Ashkelony has noted, this bigger picture (that includes some element of power struggle and tensions) is necessary to understand, for example, the complex views of Gregory of Nyssa (d. ca. 395) on pilgrimage. For while rejecting the values of pilgrimage to Jerusalem (probably due to his experience with

of the formation of these Christians' religious identity.⁴⁴ For this formation of identity was not only based on the data of the New Testament, but also took into account the evolving self-understanding of the Christian community itself as it progressed further in history. By the 4th century, for example, this self-understanding had incorporated the image of Jerusalem as their holy city.⁴⁵ Thus, by this time the question was no longer primarily about the sanctity or sacredness of a place per se, but rather about the historical significance of this particular place for the community of faith. In this framework, the significance of place is deeply communal and relational. There was an intimate nexus between place, community, and faith. The flowering of the cults around the shrines of the martyrs in early Christian communities should also be understood in this larger framework.⁴⁶ By extension and through the eyes of faith, Christian pilgrims also came to see the role of living saints as a crucial part of this dynamic of God's presence in the development of the community of faith.⁴⁷ Theologically speaking, the concrete history of the community itself is a locus of the work of the Spirit of God. Thus, the commemorative shrines built on these sites reveal the community's desire to connect with its sacred past. They are memory of God's work for the community. This is precisely the kind of approach that many contemporary Christian theologians and authors advocate

the local church there during his visit), Gregory was an avid proponent of local cult of martyrs in his own diocese of Cappadocia. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, 48ff.

⁴⁴ Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, 5.

⁴⁵ Peter Walker, "Pilgrimage in the Early Church," in Bartholomew and Hughes, *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, 79.

⁴⁶ On this topic, see the classic study of Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

⁴⁷ On this question, see Georgia Frank, *Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

today.⁴⁸ Another important aspect in the historical development of Christian pilgrimage is its personal and spiritual character. In response to the excessive emphasis on the externals of the pilgrimage practice in the medieval Christianity—rightly pointed out by some Protestant reformers—the personal and spiritual character of pilgrimage came to be emphasized.⁴⁹

This general development of Christian pilgrimage with its major elements has spread widely, and it continues to exist in many parts of the world today. We can see how pilgrimage tradition and saint veneration become a crucial part in the formation of Christian identity vis-à-vis diverse (local) realities that Christian communities came into contact with in Latin America, South Asia and so forth.⁵⁰ As we will see in detail below, the case of south central Java falls into this category.

This study takes seriously the twofold aspect of pilgrimage—as an earthly journey that involves an interior journey—since this is actually what makes pilgrimage so rich as an integral religious practice. Echoing the Protestant concern, we will see the deeply personal and spiritual (self-purifying) character of these Javanese pilgrimages. In this regard, it has to be stated that overt polemics on pilgrimage among Christians in Java or

⁴⁸ See for example, Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity* (London: SCM Press, 2001); John Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place* (Ashgate, 2003); also David Brown, *God and Enchantment of Place: Reclaiming Human Experience* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁴⁹ See various insights in the Vatican II document on the nature of the Church, *Lumen Gentium* # 50, 67 and passim. On the theme of Protestant approach to pilgrimage, see Graham Tomlin, “Protestants and Pilgrimage,” in Bartholomew and Hughes, *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, 110-25. For a fine historical analysis on the role of pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the identity formation of American Protestantism, see Stephanie Stidham Rogers, *Inventing the Holy Land: American Protestant Pilgrimage to Palestine, 1865-1941* (Lexington Books, 2011).

⁵⁰ In the Latin American context, the case of Our Lady of Guadalupe is very interesting, especially with regard to the question of encounters of Christianity with native identity. On this, see Virgilio Elizondo, *Guadalupe: Mother of the New Creation* (Orbis Books, 1997). On the question of encounters of Christian saint veneration with Hinduism and Indian local realities, see, for example, Corrine Dempsey, *Kerala Christian Sainthood: Collisions of Culture and Worldview in South India* (Oxford University Press, 2001); also Margaret Meibohm, *Cultural Complexity in South India: Hindu and Catholic in Marian Pilgrimage* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

Indonesia today is almost non-existent. On the contrary, as we will see in this study, some Indonesian Protestants are active participants in this tradition, and they openly declare that they benefit spiritually from this practice.⁵¹ In the last few decades, we have also witnessed a rising trend in the role of other sacred spaces and pilgrimage to them among mainstream Protestant communities across Indonesia.⁵²

In the larger Islamic context, any discussion on pilgrimages to shrines and tombs (Ar. *ziyāra*), as distinguished from the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca (the *hajj*), cannot avoid the more heated debate, both past and present, on the propriety of this piety. In this respect, Ibn Taimiyya's importance cannot be underestimated. In fact it has become customary among modern scholars to illustrate this debate by examining the critical views of Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1328), a Hanbali jurist of Damascus, on certain aspects of the *ziyāra* tradition or saint veneration in Islam. However, some qualifications need to be made here. First, Ibn Taimiyya's views on the theme represented the minority during his time. Secondly, he did not attack the *ziyāra* tradition wholesale either. He supported what he called the "licit *ziyāra*" (Ar. *al-ziyāra al-shar'iyya*). In this framework, he considered licit the practices of greeting the dead, of making supplications to God on behalf of the dead—but only in the context of a visit that is not specifically meant for offering these supplications for the dead—as well as of making oneself more aware of death or the transitory nature of life. He even permitted visits to the cemeteries of non-Muslims, as far

⁵¹ Beyond Java, the overwhelming presence of Protestant pilgrims in the Marian shrine of Annai Velankani in Medan, North Sumatra, is rather striking.

⁵² For example, in the Sumatran town of Tarutung, outside of Medan, a memorial called "Salib Kasih" (the Cross of Love) was built to commemorate the great German missionary and founder of the local Protestant community, Dr. Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen (d. 1918). In the city of Manado, North Sulawesi, a monument (called "Bukit Kasih", the Hill of Love) and a huge statue of Jesus were recently erected to commemorate the foundation of Christianity there. In Manokwari, West Papua, Christians hold an annual celebration of the founding of the community by visiting the Mansinam island where the first two European missionaries landed in the late 19th century; pilgrims also go to the foundation of the first church and to the well associated with these missionaries, now believed to have curative powers.

as the Muslim pilgrims did not to pray for them.⁵³ In this regard, it might also be noted that Ibn Taimiyya himself was a member of the Qādirīya Ṣūfī order.⁵⁴ Insofar as his attack on certain aspects of the *ziyāra* tradition is concerned, Ibn Taimiyya's main argument is that many features of his contemporary *ziyāra* tradition were dangerous "innovations." According to him, they were practices not specifically sanctioned by the Qur'ān, the *sunna* and the practice of the *salaf* (the first three generations of Islam), and they smacked of polytheism (Ar. *shirk*), and thus go against the principle of the oneness of God (Ar. *tawḥīd*). What made this worse for Ibn Taymiyya was that these practices supposedly bore the influence of other religious groups he detested, such as the Shi'ite Muslims and the Christians.⁵⁵ His basic doctrinal objection was on the propriety of intentionally going to offer prayers or supplications (Ar. *du'ā'*) in specific places, such as tombs, that are not sanctioned by the earlier tradition, believing that God will be inclined more to these prayers. In this regard, it has to be noted, Ibn Taymiyya recognized that certain *hadiths* hold that certain places are more sacred than others, and that certain times are more propitious than others for prayers.⁵⁶ Again, he did not object *in toto* to the idea of *ziyāra* as visiting a sacred place. His concern in this regard revolved around the suspicion that this desire for traveling to a specific place to offer prayers of supplications smacked of *shirk*. For him, it was a desire for an intermediary between God and man.

⁵³ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 1999), 188.

⁵⁴ On this, see George Makdisi, "Ibn Taimīya: A Ṣūfī of the Qādiriya Order," *American Journal of Arabic Studies* 1 (1973): 118-29.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973), 5.

⁵⁶ Such favorable places include Masjid al-Ḥaram in Mecca, Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina, Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem, Ka'ba, and other sites in the Hajj pilgrimage; and the propitious time for prayers is the entire second half of each night. Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 174.

Over the centuries, many prominent Muslim scholars have of course responded to Ibn Taymiyya. As Christopher Taylor has noted, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), a chief jurist of Damascus, offered perhaps the most detailed and comprehensive responses.⁵⁷ Rejecting Ibn Taymiyya's objections, al-Subkī considered *ziyāra* as a lawful and praiseworthy religious practice of *qurba*—a good deed or pious work that brings to a closer communion with God.⁵⁸ Within the category of lawful *ziyāra*, al-Subkī made a strong case for the propriety of doing *ziyāra* for the purpose of being blessed by simply being in the proximity of the righteous dead.⁵⁹

This debate also clarifies some fine points about pilgrimage that are quite important for our study. For example, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1328), himself a staunch critic of certain aspects of the *ziyāra*, reiterated the valid reasons for *ziyāra* according to the *sunna*—i.e., to remember the hereafter, to perform a good deed for the person buried in the grave, and to perform a good deed for the pilgrim himself—and he emphasized that with regard to the remembrance of the dead, connection and communion with the dead would be severed without regular visits, and that the dead would enjoy the visits because of they have been separated from family and friends.⁶⁰ So, for Ibn Qayyim, one of the underlying spirits of the *ziyāra* was to preserve the existing bonds of friendship and communion, a highly important part of the piety of many Javanese Muslim pilgrims

⁵⁷ In his refutations, al-Subkī identified three “judicial errors” of Ibn Taymiyya. First, Ibn Taymiyya incorrectly interpreted the *ḥadīth*—that says “Do not undertake travel except to three mosques”—to mean banning *ziyāra* altogether, whereas this *ḥadīth* meant that Muslims should not embark on travel to any mosques in order to venerate them, other than the three specifically mentioned. Thus, this *ḥadīth* did not prohibit *ziyāra* to tombs of saints and families out of respect, devotion, and the desire to pray for them. Ibn Taymiyya's second judicial error was nullifying the whole tradition of *ziyāra* based on a few limited examples of excess, or improper elements of this otherwise praiseworthy tradition. From al-Subkī's perspective, Ibn Taymiyya's third judicial error was his notion that the *ziyāra* was a form of forbidden innovation, a view that was not supported by the views of any religious scholars or examples from the Prophetic period. See Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 201-208.

⁵⁸ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 201.

⁵⁹ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 205.

⁶⁰ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 189.

we encounter in this study. Along the same line, Ibn ‘Uthmān (d. 1218) stressed the necessity of having inner sincerity or pure intentions on the part of the pilgrims, a condition that pilgrims today also strive to achieve, as this study will show.⁶¹

In this respect, it has to be stated that the debate on *ziyāra* became so technical and intricate. Of course we do not have the space to go deeper into this debate here. It has to be stated that generally speaking Muslim scholars, jurists, mystics, and rulers down to our time have found legal and other grounds within the Islamic tradition itself to defend the validity of the practice.⁶² So, in response to this debate and in light of the approach of this study, two observations are in order. First, we need to approach the *ziyāra* tradition as a complex and integral practice with many layers of meanings and significance. This is the approach taken in this study, which integrates the pilgrims’ deep spiritual experience of loving devotion and blessings, both personal and communal, and discusses the creative socio-religious negotiation connected with these practices. To a large degree, the *ziyāra* tradition has become an important aspect of the religious and spiritual formation of many Muslims, including those in Java today. In light of the depth, richness, and complexity of the practice, Ibn Taymiyya’s obsession with just one particular doctrinal aspect of the practice—i.e., the legitimacy of intentionally embarking on a journey to offer prayers in a specific place not sanctioned in the Qur’ān and *sunna*—seems to be extremely narrow, and it overshadows or simply ignores other salient aspects of this rich tradition, as al-

⁶¹ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 71. Due to the relative purity of the heart during pilgrimage, Ibn ‘Uthmān justifies the need for prayers during pilgrimage.

⁶² In many pilgrimage guides in medieval period, for example, Muslim scholars offered a more balanced view of the activities involved in the *ziyāra* as an integral religious practice. These guides also contained particular reasons for certain practices in pilgrimage, such as the need to pray for the dead, a practice that has precedence in the *sunna* of the Prophet. In some cases, these authors were critical of certain questionable practices such as wailing in the cemetery, while allowing for weeping. They argued that the latter had a basis in the *sunna* as well. See Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 70ff.

Subkī rightly pointed out. It is in the wider context of this complexity and organic evolution of the practice that one should place the rather dubious aspects of it.⁶³

Secondly, we also need to be attentive to the larger question of the historical development of Islam, including its ongoing and complex interactions with diverse realities such as other cultures and religious traditions, in very different local contexts. As some scholars have noted, there are some grounds to believe that interactions with the earlier Eastern Christian tradition of pilgrimage was part of the early development of the practice in Islam.⁶⁴ On this point, Muhammad Memon writes of the limitation of Ibn Taimiyya's vision:

His failure lay in denying any validity to the historical evolution of Islam which had, away from its rigid orthodoxy, taken place in a series of brisk interactions with the traditions and faiths of diverse peoples, and in trying to comprehend the unconscious depths, the irrational side of human mind, through a medium of perception fit essentially for rational thought.⁶⁵

Memon's point on the historical evolution of Islam is especially crucial. In the framework of Islamic theological hermeneutic, the new and local aspects of this *ziyāra* tradition might be understood as "praiseworthy innovation" (Ar. *bid'a al-ḥasana*), which can be explained in terms of the larger and deeper inspirations and aims of the wider tradition of Islam. As al-Suyūṭi (d. 1505) pointed out, Muslim festivals were indeed innovation, but a praiseworthy one (Ar. *bid'a al-ḥasana*).⁶⁶ As we will see in many

⁶³ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 79.

⁶⁴ As Irfan Shahid points out, the presence of the Christian elements or influence in the earlier tradition of Islamic *ziyāra* seems to be so plausible, given the fact that it was these Arab Christians who were later converted to Islam, so that they might have continued to undertake this practice well into the Islamic period. Arab-Christian shrines did indeed survive well into the Islamic period, for example the shrine of a fifth-century holy man, St. Euthymius (d. 473). See Irfan Shahid, "Arab Christian Pilgrimages in the Proto-Byzantine Period (V-VII Centuries)" in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 373-92. See also Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 4. See also von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (London and Totowa: Curzon Press and Rowman and Littlefield, 1976; first published 1951), 73, 76-81.

⁶⁵ Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*, 6.

⁶⁶ G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, 76.

places in this study, Muslim communities in Java have also been trying to frame the discussion on the various aspects of *ziyāra* tradition, especially those that seem to be coming from outside of the historically preceding Islamic tradition—i.e. local Javanese religio-cultural traditions—within a larger framework of Islam as a comprehensive and inclusive religious tradition with its dynamism toward becoming a blessing for the whole universe (Ar. *rahmatan lil-‘ālamīn*). Within the theological framework of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (the NU) in Java, Ahmad Shiddiq (d. 1991), one of its founding fathers, offered a useful hermeneutic based on the principles of tolerance (Ar. *tasāmuḥ*) and moderation (Ar. *tawassuṭ*) that include both the notions of equity or harmony (Ar. *i’tidāl*) and balance (Ar. *tawāzun*). From Shiddiq’s perspective, as we will examine more closely later in this study, these principles ultimately form a vision of Islam that embraces all manners of good things that are found outside of the commonly understood boundaries of Islam, such as the richness of local cultures.⁶⁷

In the context of Java, it also has to be noted that the *ziyāra* tradition until recently has been one of the most important markers of oppositional identity between the traditional and modernist Muslims. In contemporary Java, however, the situation has been changed rather considerably, although not completely. Opposition to the tradition of *ziyāra* from the modernist Muslims can still be found today, although much less polemical in tone.⁶⁸ It seems that the most ferocious criticisms come from the much

⁶⁷ See Martin van Bruinessen, “Traditions for the Future: The Reconstruction of Traditionalist Discourse within NU,” in *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, eds., Greg Barton and Greg Fealy (Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, 1996), 163-89.

⁶⁸ Some concerns on certain aspects of the *ziyāra* tradition (not the whole tradition) are found in certain shrines in south central Java. For example, in the new mosque on the foot of the hill in the compound of the Tembayat shrine, we find an Indonesian translation of a Qur’ānic verse which reads: “You alone do we worship; and unto You alone do we turn for aid.” (Qur’ān 1:5). And, in the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi, we find a warning that says: “Please maintain the standard of religious morality!” (I. *jagalah akhlak*).

smaller Wahhabi-oriented circles.⁶⁹ On the other hand, some traditionalist Muslim scholars and leaders have recently written books and booklets to explain, without adopting polemical frameworks, the nature and legitimacy of the *ziyāra* tradition and its local features.⁷⁰

As far as the pilgrims themselves are concerned, the picture is quite interesting. Of course, the staunch Wahhabi-oriented Muslims take no active part in this tradition. It might be surprising that there are many local Muslim pilgrims today who claim to have stronger religio-cultural identification with the modernist Muhammadiyah than with the traditionalist NU. This phenomenon is reflected as well in the recent discourse within the Muhammadiyah's leadership toward more nuanced and realistic views on the dynamics between Islam and local culture.⁷¹ It is striking that during my fieldwork, I encountered many pilgrims who dismissed this kind of question—"Do you identify yourself with the NU or the Muhammadiyah?"—as largely unimportant. In this regard, it seems that the *ziyāra* tradition has become a deeply personal practice that is shared by many Muslims from diverse affiliations and backgrounds. Even some pilgrims who are deeply into the

⁶⁹ See, for instance, the many works by Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, a polemical author who is affiliated with the Salafi-oriented *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (DDII), such as *Tarekat, Tasawuf, Tahlilan Mawlidan* (Solo: Wacana Ilmiah Press, 2006); *Mendudukkan Tasawuf: Gus Dur Wali* ["Putting Sufism in Perspective: the Question of Gus Dur as a *Wali*"]; Jakarta: Darul Falah, 1999); *Bila Kyai Menjadi Tuhan* ["When the Kyais are Deified"]; Pustaka al-Kautsar, 2001).

⁷⁰ See, for instance, H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri: Tradisi Santri dan Kiai* ["The Tahlil Prayers and the Communal Meal: The Tradition of the Traditionalist Muslims"]; Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2009); see also H. Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU* ["The Tradition of the Nahdatul Ulama"]; Yogyakarta: Pusaka Pesantren, 2006).

⁷¹ On this question, see Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Islam Murni dalam Masyarakat Petani* ["Pure Islam among the Peasants"]; Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 2000); see also Zakiyuddin Baidhaw, Mutohharun Jinan, *Agama dan Pluralitas Budaya Lokal* ["Religion and the Pluralism of Local Cultures"]; Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2002); M. Thoyibi, Yayah Khisbiyah, and Abdullah Aly, *Sinergi Agama dan Budaya Lokal: Dialektika Muhammadiyah dan Budaya Lokal* ["The Synergy between Religion and Local Culture: the Dialectical Relationship between the Muhammadiyah and Local Cultures"]; Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2003).

tradition of *ziyāra* would not necessarily feel the need to identify themselves as belonging to the traditionalist NU.

It has been stated that the *ziyāra* tradition has to be treated as a complex, integral and evolving tradition within Islam. In connection to this, one pivotal aspect of this tradition is the notion of sainthood (Ar. *walāya*). Sainthood is one of the most important theological frameworks of *ziyāra* that requires us to be attentive to its Qur'ānic foundation, as well as to the richness and complexity of its development as a doctrine and practice. For example, the notion of sainthood will help us understand al-Subkī's point about the legality of doing *ziyāra* for the purpose of being blessed by being in the proximity of the saints without being engaged in *shirk*.

Although the doctrinal aspect of sainthood might be important to answer Ibn Taymiyya's concerns, it is crucial to take into account the fact that in the larger framework of pilgrimage as an ongoing religious practice, the pilgrims' relationships with God and with the saints (Ar. *awliyā'*, God's Friends) often become inseparable: loving God and His Prophet means fostering a loving devotion and respect for His Friends as well. This feature is ultimately related to the Islamic spiritual cosmology in which the messengers, prophets and *walīs* participate in God's universal protectorship and authority, that is, God as the Protector of all, *al-Walī*. In this Muslim framework of sainthood, this participatory nature of the saints' authority, which is popularly understood particularly in terms of their power to perform miraculous deeds (Ar. *karāmāt*) or to become intercessors, is the result of their proximity and friendship with God. Proximity, friendship, and authority are at the heart of the Muslim understanding of sainthood. Later in this study (Chapter 9), I will delve deeper into this point. For now, it suffices to point

out that there are two fundamental aspects of Islamic sainthood: proximity (friendship) and authority, that are derived from the verbal root W-L-Y (*waliya*) in Arabic.⁷² Thus, a Muslim *walī* is someone who is first of all especially proximate to God, and only then he is given certain kind of authority from God, the Protector of all.⁷³ In terms of authority, there is also the sense here that a *walī* is somebody whose affair is taken care of by God.⁷⁴

The paradigmatic role of Muslim saints has also been further justified and explained in terms of the *ḥadīth* literature that further specifies the qualities of God's *awliyā'*. One particular *ḥadīth qudsī* (divine saying) understands the basic qualities of the *awliyā'* in terms of poverty (freedom from earthly possessions), pleasure in prayer, intimate yet "secret" devotion and service to God, and so forth. This particular *ḥadīth* seems to emphasize both the inner qualities as well as the concealment of the true *awliyā'*.⁷⁵ The famous "ḥadīth of envy" (Ar. *ḥadīth al-ghibtah*) identifies the *awliyā'* of God as God's servants who are neither prophets nor martyrs, but who are envied by the prophets and martyrs for their special position and intimate nearness to God.⁷⁶ According

⁷² Michel Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 22.

⁷³ The term "*walī*" is also one of God's names, thus being a *walī* is one aspect of God's being (Qur'ān 2:257, 4:45, 7:196, 42:9,28, 45:19). See Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: the University of California Press, 1983), 263.

⁷⁴ Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of The Saints*, 24.

⁷⁵ This *ḥadīth qudsī* reads as follows: "For Me, the most blessed of My friends is the person of faith who is unburdened (by possessions), who takes pleasure in prayer, who carries out well his devotion to his Lord and eagerly serves Him in secret. He is concealed among the people; no one points him out. His sustenance is barely sufficient, and he is content with that... His death comes quickly, there are few mourners, and his estate is small." This *ḥadīth* is included, with minor variations, in the canonical collections of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Majā, and Ibn Ḥanbal; quoted in James W. Morris, "Situating Islamic 'Mysticism': Between Written Traditions and Popular Spirituality," *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics, and Typologies*, ed. R. Herrera (New York, Berlin: Peter Lang, 1993), 293.

⁷⁶ This *ḥadīth* of envy reads as follows: "Know that God has servants who are neither prophets nor martyrs and who are envied by the prophets and martyrs for their position and their nearness to God... on the Day of Resurrection thrones of light will be placed at their disposal. Their faces will be of light... These are the *awliya'* of God." Quoted in Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of the Saints*, 25.

to this *ḥadīth*, these saints will be blessed with the thrones of light and their faces will be of light when they see God face to face. This *ḥadīth* seems to be extraordinary in its description of the graces that would be bestowed on the highest saints: they will participate more fully in the *walāya* of God by partaking more intimately in God's glory as light.

All these features of Islamic sainthood have given rise to the highly complex and multifaceted personal, socio-communal and cosmic roles of Muslim saints or *walīs*. Muslim saints have an initiatic or guiding function as well as cosmic role, while they also may become founders and pious ancestors of local communities. Again, the theological ground for all these roles is their special participation in God's own *walāya*. Thus, the saints are not acting on their own. Recently Muslim scholars also have begun to reflect more seriously on the socio-economic ramifications of the notion of *walāya*, emphasizing the idea of protectorship or guardianship of God, understood as an active and dynamic loving, over the whole creation.⁷⁷

IV. Some Notes on Relevant Features of the Common Javanese Culture of Pilgrimage

As scholars have argued, one of the most distinctive characteristics of the pilgrimage tradition in Christianity and Islam is that it very often shows the synthesis between universal message of the respective religions and local realities or cultures. This study also argues that central to the hybrid identities among Javanese Muslims and Catholics in south central Java is the role of a largely shared local Javanese culture. In fact, Javanese

⁷⁷ See, for example, Abbas Mirakhor and Hossein Askari, *Islam and the Path to Human and Economic Development* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 60-89 and *passim*.

culture has played a crucial role as their common bond, enabling them to interact more intimately and fruitfully on many levels. Thus, many common features of the Javanese culture—that includes various religious, social and spiritual concepts and practices—will appear throughout this study. To help readers not familiar with the intricacies of these Javanese concepts and practices, in what follows I shall introduce briefly here the most important of them, such as the notion of pilgrimage (Jv. *ziarah*) as *tirakat* and *laku*, and the notion of *rasa* as an inner knowing.

Many Javanese Muslims and Catholic pilgrims understand pilgrimage as *tirakat* and *laku*, emphasizing the whole process of self-purification through ascetic practices. In this conception, the journey and continuum of the pilgrimage are stressed, not solely its final goal. The emphasis on the journey or process is particularly enforced in the notion of *laku*. In Javanese culture, the basic concept of *laku* points to action as a distinctively human act, involving the whole person. Thus, the derived verb *nglakoni* means putting oneself fully into the dynamics of action for a particular purpose, as opposed to holding oneself back, or just observing or thinking. Due to this fundamental meaning, the term *nglakoni* is also applied to spiritual activity in the movement of walking (Jv. *mlaku*), an activity that is implied in the very notion of journeying or pilgrimaging.⁷⁸

So, when pilgrimage is understood in terms of *tirakat* and *laku*, it is not only a pious visit, but rather a journey toward an intensive solitary withdrawal from the world in order to better commune with God, the saints, ancestors and protectors. This practice seems to date back to pre-Islamic Java, where it was taken as a preparation of important

⁷⁸ In this regard, it is interesting to note that in Yogyakarta there has been a rise in the practice of *tirakat* and *laku* as an inclusive communal ritual. See, for instance, the communal and interfaith *tirakat* for the wellbeing and unity of the nation in May 2009. A report on this very interesting communal ritual can be found in *Kompas Daily*, May 22, 2009.

undertaking, an intense period where one purged the self of egotistical interests and tried to discern the ways to proceed by communing with the ancestors and spiritual guardians of Java.⁷⁹ Thus, when pilgrims say that they would do pilgrimage as *tirakat* at certain shrine, it means they take seriously the whole process of going to this shrine, and that they would stay longer at the shrine for the purpose of doing all sorts of the spiritual and purification practices. While the Arabic term *ziyāra* may refer primarily to the act of visiting a grave or shrine, *tirakat* and *laku* are not just about an accompanying process, but rather an inherent part of the whole journey of visitation that gives the true personal and spiritual quality to the entire journey. It necessarily involves a series of spiritual practices such as extended meditation, fasting, prayers and so forth.

In order for pilgrimage to acquire a truly spiritual and personal character, pilgrims also have to have certain methods to ensure some level of authenticity and depth in this pilgrimage experience. It is in this framework that the crucial Javanese notion of *rasa* comes into place. In Sanskrit, the word *rasa* covers diverse semantic fields. It means taste, essence, delight and so forth, but it also refers to the sap of a plant or more broadly the best or finest or prime part of anything, or the vital essence of a thing. It could also point to flavor, love, affection and desire.⁸⁰ In Javanese everyday usage this word could simply mean “feeling or taste,” both in the physical and emotional sense. However, the Javanese also use the word in a much deeper sense to talk about the dynamics of their inner life. They employ the same word to point to “intuition” or “inner knowing” as a distinct epistemological and cognitive category. In the words of Paul Stange, “*rasa* is at

⁷⁹ Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 131. In Javanese culture, *tirakat* is also connected to the idea of acquiring all sorts of “power.”

⁸⁰ Graham M. Schweig, *Dance of Divine Love: The Rasa Lila of Krishna from the Bhagavata Purana, India's Classic Sacred Love Story* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 99.

once the substance, vibration, or quality of what is apprehended and the tool or organ which apprehends it.”⁸¹ As such, the cultivation of *rasa* connects a person with his world of experience in a deeper, personal and integral way. Through the cultivation of *rasa*, one is maximizing his inner openness and receptivity and thus able to absorb the outer data of experience and knowledge into his inner world so as to process and transform this raw experiential data into his personally learned experience or wisdom. Although the Javanese tend to locate *rasa* in the heart, actually it operates in a way that involves the person as a whole including his mind, body and senses. Understood this way, *rasa* becomes a very useful and integral instrument and milieu by which the pilgrims come to experience the true quality of this practice in all its aspects. Some pilgrims, both Muslims and Catholics, would use *rasa* as an inner spiritual tool to gauge the sacredness of the tombs of the saints. Some other would employ *rasa* to tell whether they have come to be in true communion with the Divine at shrines. It is also true that all of these practices in pilgrimage are, to a certain degree, traditional ways to cultivate *rasa*.

V. The Recent Scholarly Study of Pilgrimage and the Contributions of this Study

Due to its universality across religious traditions and cultures, as well as its contemporary rise in popularity, pilgrimage has been taken up as a subject of study in various academic disciplines, such as history, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, ritual studies, religious studies, as well as theology. On the side of Christian and Islamic traditions, pilgrimage studies tend to be focused on certain regions or historical periods.⁸² In this

⁸¹ Paul Stange, “The Logic of *Rasa* in Java,” *Indonesia* 38 (1984): 119.

⁸² On the Islamic side, see for example, Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*; Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: OUP, 2002); Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press,

respect, some fine studies have dealt with the question of religious identity and touched on the inclusive nature of shared shrines or on the interaction between pilgrims of different faith traditions.⁸³ Of course studies of this kind should serve as a reminder that the case of south central Java is not totally unique in terms of the beneficial encounters between Muslims, Christians, and other peoples of different faith traditions in the framework of pilgrimage culture. However, it has to be noted as well that no full-fledged and focused comparative study of pilgrimage, including both Christian and Muslim ones, in a particular area or historical period, has been done yet. In the area of Christian theology, pilgrimage has also made its way into a more rigorous reflection, from the biblical, spiritual and doctrinal points of view, in a sense developing the Patristic or early Christian thoughts about the subject.⁸⁴

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, this study addresses specific questions and concerns raised in a number of different academic disciplines and certain intersections between them. First, to a certain extent, this study shares a thematic proximity to different

1998). In this regard, Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Guillot's work, *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995) is the only work that covers all the principal regions of the Islamic world. On the Christian side, there is no single work with such a global coverage. What we have is regional or historical in nature. See for example various works by Diana Webb: *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999), *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C. 700-1500* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), and *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy* (Manchester University Press, 2007).

⁸³ See, for example, Fredrick Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Hasluck Press, 2007); Alexandra Cuffel, "From Practice to Polemic: shared saints and festivals as 'women's religion' in the medieval Mediterranean," *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 401-419; Dionigi Albera, "Pèlerinages mixtes et sanctuaires 'ambigus' en Méditerranée," in *Les pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*, eds. Sylvia Chiffolleau and Anna Madoeuf (Institut français du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth, 2005), 347-78. See also, Valerie Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (SUNY Press, 1992); H. T. Norris, *Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe: Sufi Brotherhoods and the Dialogue with Christianity and 'Heterodoxy'* (Routledge, 2006). For a fine case study on the interactions between the Jews and Muslims in pilgrimage culture see, Issachar Ben Ami, *Saint Veneration among the Jews in Morocco* (Wayne State University Press, 1998).

⁸⁴ See Bartholomew and Hughes, *Explorations in the Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*; N. T. Wright, *The Way of the Lord* (London: SPCK, 1999); Paul Post, Jos Pieper and Marinus van Uden, eds. *The Modern Pilgrim: Multidisciplinary Explorations of Christian Pilgrimage* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); Christian Duquoc and Sean Freyne, eds. *Pilgrimage* (London: SCM Press, 1996).

fields that come to take a serious look into the role of popular religious practices (or better, “lived religion”), including pilgrimage and saint veneration in general, in the identity formation of various ethnic and religious communities.⁸⁵ Highly insightful here is the work of Susan Bayly on the formation of distinctively local Christian and Islamic practices in south India, a long process that included a dynamic and growing synthesis between these two traditions and the local Hindu religion and culture.⁸⁶ The comparative breadth of Bayly’s work is impressive, but the work is intentionally non-theological.⁸⁷ Another example is Chad M. Bauman’s very fine study on the dynamic of hybrid identity formation among Dalit Christians in India.⁸⁸ This is a largely historical and ethnographic study of the formation of a distinctively local form of Christianity, with no explicit theological framework. In contrast to these earlier studies, our work endeavors to combine an analysis of the process of distinctive identity formation among Javanese Muslims and Catholics with an explicitly comparative theological framework.

Along this line of thought, this study also attempts to make a modest contribution to the contemporary discourse on identity. This question of identity has become the focus of current research in various disciplines, as a response to the growing problem of

⁸⁵ In the context of Southeast Asia, we can mention the work of Jean DeBernardi on the Chinese community in Penang, or the ascendancy of goddess veneration in Vietnam. Jean DeBernardi, *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community* (2004), *The Way That Lives in the Heart: Chinese Popular Religion and Spirit Mediums in Penang, Malaysia* (2006). Phillip Taylor, *Goddess on the Rise: Pilgrimage and Popular Religion in Vietnam* (2004).

⁸⁶ Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). In the context of a Muslim shrine shared by Hindus in Punjab, see Anna Bigelow, *Sharing the Sacred: Practicing Religious Pluralism in Muslim North India* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸⁷ For another example of this kind work, see Selva Raj and Corrine Dempsey, eds., *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines* (Albany, N. Y.: SUNY Press, 2002).

⁸⁸ Chad M. Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008).

identity making in the global world of today.⁸⁹ Furthermore, one of the reasons why this comparative study takes the case of Java is that the Indonesian society at large has been struggling precisely to understand the relationship between forging a robust identity and taking into account the presence of the other. As John Sidel has pointed out, the last decade in the Indonesian history has been marred by three major types of violence: riots, pogroms and *jihad*, in which the question of otherness becomes more and more crucial as one of the leading contributing factors to violence.⁹⁰ In this context, a stronger sense of belonging to a community or group is oftentimes provoked by the prevalence of a narrow identity politics based on the appeal of a simplified, exclusive and sectarian identity. In this regard, this study seeks to contribute modestly to the contemporary discourse on identity by offering a theological analysis of pilgrimage as a privileged—in the sense of rich, authentic, integral, and long lasting—milieu of religio-cultural identity formation. In the context of south central Java, the creativity, authenticity and sustainability of the hybrid religio-cultural identities forged in the pilgrimage practices become especially significant today given the context of “struggle for the soul of Islam” that Mark Woodward describes as happening in this area (Yogyakarta), between centuries-old Javano-Islamic tradition and a smaller recent strand of militantly exclusivist Wahhabism.⁹¹ Furthermore, some chapters of this study can be seen as contributing to

⁸⁹ Cf. Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (London, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006).

⁹⁰ John T. Sidel, *Riots Pogroms Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006). On the ethnic and socio-religious conflicts in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto in 1998, see Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). As Bertrand points out, religious identity has played a very crucial role in these conflicts. See also Chris Wilson, *Ethno-religious violence in Indonesia: From Soil To God* (Routledge Contemporary Southeast Asia, 2008).

⁹¹ Mark Woodward, “Resisting Wahhabi Colonialism in Yogyakarta,” 1-8. In a broad stroke, Woodward argues: “Struggles like this one will determine the degree to which the Muslim world falls under the sway

Indonesia studies on Islam and Christianity, in particular the theme of pilgrimage culture in both communities that has hitherto been relatively underdeveloped.⁹²

Secondly, this study aims to respond to the challenge of doing an explicitly comparative and theological work on Christian and Muslim practices of pilgrimage. In terms of comparison, as Dionigi Albera has rightly pointed out, the recent ascendancy of pilgrimage as a field of anthropological study has not yet matched the attention that anthropologists themselves paid to the necessarily comparative work on the so-called ‘ambiguous sanctuaries’, namely sites that draw pilgrims across religious traditions.⁹³ Comparative work was also the original intention of Victor Turner, the Catholic founding father of the anthropological study of pilgrimage.⁹⁴ However, this study is not about “ambiguous shrines” per se, because these shrines are almost always more or less known as either Muslim or Catholic shrines. Instead, this study seeks to understand the question of “ambiguity” in terms of common dynamics and mutual encounters that occur among two religious communities that live in the proximity of each other over a long historical continuum. Thus, in this framework, the question of the ambiguity of the shrines does not come solely from the nature of the shrines in question—e.g. the fact that the saints being venerated in these shrines are shared by different religions involved, such as Mary or St. George in the context of certain Christian-Muslim shrines⁹⁵—but rather from the

of Wahhabi religious exclusivism or, alternatively (and to my mind hopefully) the degree to which Muslim peoples retain their locally distinctive religious and cultural traditions.”

⁹² On the Islamic side, this theme has been explored a bit better, largely from ethnographic and historical perspectives (thanks to the works of D. A. Rinkes, James Fox, Jamhari, and others; see bibliography for their works). On the Catholic side, no serious scholarly work in English has been done on this theme in regard to Java.

⁹³ Dionigi Albera, “Pelerinages mixtes et sanctuaries ‘ambigus’ en Mediterranee,” 347-78.

⁹⁴ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, xv.

⁹⁵ On this topic, see for example Mahmoud Ayoub, “Cult and Culture: Common Saints and Shrines in Middle Eastern Popular Piety,” in *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*, eds. Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103-115; also Glenn Bowman, “Orthodox-

more fundamental character of the practice of pilgrimage itself as a complex activity that has both theologico-spiritual and socio-cultural imports that appeal to different pilgrims across religious boundaries.

Thirdly, the main theological contribution of this study is conceived in the context of the recently emerging field of comparative theology. While following rather closely the methodological assumptions of this new comparative theology proposed by Francis Clooney, James Fredericks and others—such as the importance of doing comparison on a focused, limited aspect of two religious traditions with a view to acquiring theological insights for the enrichment of the comparativist’s understanding of his or her home tradition—this study is rather different in terms of its material, since it focuses on a religious practice rather than a religious text.⁹⁶ Furthermore, this practice is located in a very particular socio-religious context in which certain dynamics of comparative engagement among religious communities have already happened: for example, how the Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java have come to negotiate their self-understanding in the context of ongoing encounters with each other. Here the concerns that I attempt to address in this study quite obviously fall under the new directions that Clooney observes in younger comparativists: “doctrinal theology remains important, but lived religion and cultural exchange is more central to their work than to mine.”⁹⁷ It also

Muslim Interactions at ‘Mixed Shrines’ in Macedonia,” in *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*, eds. Chris Hann and Hermann Goltz (University of California Press, 2010), 195-219.

⁹⁶ Clooney’s major works are textual comparisons, thus privileging the act of comparative reading. Clooney stated that this is his preferred method, while also acknowledging that other avenues (based on practice, symbols, images, etc) are valid as well. See his *Comparative Theology*, 58. On the notion of comparative theology as a practice of solidarity, see James Fredericks, *Buddhists and Christians*, ix-xiii, 112-15.

⁹⁷ Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 52.

corresponds to the local character of comparative theology that James Fredericks emphasizes.⁹⁸

Fourth, through comparative engagement with the Islamic tradition, this study seeks to make a contribution in the area of Catholic theology, especially in the pneumatological framework of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. In this respect, this project also shares the concerns of those Catholic theologians in the United States who are working on the fruitfulness of “border-crossing,” or the cultivation of the in-between space that results in religio-cultural *mestizaje*, such as Virgilio Elizondo, Roberto Goizueta, Orlando Espin and others.⁹⁹ In their theologies, self-identity is always rooted in a community and forged by communion with otherness.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, they also take seriously the role of lived religion, including saint veneration and pilgrimage, in this identity making and negotiation.¹⁰¹

VI. Outline of this Study

This study is divided into three Parts. Parts One and Two deal with the distinctive practice of pilgrimage among Javanese Muslims (Part One) and Javanese Catholics (Part Two) in south central Java. These two parts set forth the necessary data and contexts for the comparative theological analysis in Part Three. Since the practice of comparative theology requires a detailed analysis of the materials compared, both Part One and Two

⁹⁸ James Fredericks, *Buddhists and Christians*, 110.

⁹⁹ Virgilio Elizondo, *The Future Is Mestizo: Life Where Cultures Meet* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2000). Timothy Matovina, ed., *Beyond Borders: Writings of Virgilio Elizondo and Friends*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2005).

¹⁰¹ Virgilio Elizondo, “Popular Religion as Support of Identity,” in Timothy Matovina, *Beyond Borders*, 126-32. Also Roberto Goizueta, “Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Heart of Mexican Identity,” in *Religion and the Creation of Race and Identity*, ed. Craig R. Prentiss (New York and London: New York University Press, 2003), 140-51.

become necessarily rather long. I take this step very seriously, since this step is not pre-comparative, but essential to the comparative analysis. In this regard, Part Two (the Catholic context) is significantly longer than Part One, because it provides more elaborate historical and cultural background about my home church and tradition.

The basic structure of Parts One and Two revolves around how the overarching idea of communion with God and His company of saints in pilgrimage, which includes the central identity questions of self and other, is manifested in three major realms: namely, (1) the history of each shrine and its saint; (2) the spatial, ritual, artistic, and architectural features of the shrines; and (3) the experience of the pilgrims and their local communities. I take up the question of identity formation among Javanese Muslims and Catholics in all of these three dimensions.

Within Part One, Chapter 1 addresses the understanding and practice of sacred history among Javanese Muslims, focusing on the notion of history as communion and continuity with the past that includes paradigmatic figures and saints. This is the notion of history as a sacred past, to be kept alive in the present. This sacred history is not a fixed narrative and legacy of the past, but rather the communal task of continual remaking of connection and continuity with the complex sacred past, which includes the presence of the other (the pre-Islamic legacy). It is chiefly through the act of making pilgrimages to the shrines of the paradigmatic figures of the past that Javanese Muslims in south central Java act out this notion of history as memory. In this dynamic, the figures of the saints represent living memories of the embodiments of this creative process of Javano-Islamic identity formation in south central Java. In particular, this chapter explores the foundational and singular role of Sunan Kalijaga, a Javanese Muslim saint,

in this dynamic of historical continuity between Islam and the pre-Islamic or Hindu-Javanese legacy. In south central Java, Kalijaga's role in this religio-cultural negotiation—that included a localization of universal Islam in Java through appropriation of Javanese culture—is considered paradigmatic. This model of Kalijagan inculturation of Islam in a Javanese context became the hallmark of Javano-Islamic practice upheld by the Javanese royal houses in south central Java which descended from the Javano-Islamic Mataram dynasty. It is also revealing that all the shrines under study are connected to these courts, as well as to Kalijaga and Brawijaya V (the last king of the Hindu-Javanese Majapahit kingdom, who is imagined as a representation of the Hindu-Javanese past). Based on this notion of sacred history, this chapter also explores the historical particularities of the three Muslim shrines under study (and their saints).

As Chapter 2 will show, this general pattern of hybrid identity formation, marked by the principle of continuity and communion with the other, is manifested in many tangible fashions in the ways the shrines and the local Javano-Muslim community deal with the traces of the earlier other in rituals, arts and architectures. Again this hybridity is considered to be one of the most enduring and distinctive legacies of the local Javanese Muslim saints like Kalijaga, Pandanarang, and others, whose role as “religio-cultural brokers” ensured the Islamic authenticity of this complex synthesis. In this chapter we will examine some of the particularities and creative dimensions of this religio-cultural synthesis.

Chapter 3 deals with the experiential world of the Javanese Muslim pilgrims, that is, the many ways in which pilgrims enter into an experience of intimate communion with and devotion to God and His Friends (Ar. *awliyā'*), thus obtaining diverse forms of

blessing, while also forming a deeper contact with their own selves as well as other pilgrims from different backgrounds. Special attention will be given to the distinctive intersections between Javanese spiritual and cultural heritage and the wider Islamic tradition, as manifested in the various ways in which pilgrims actually experience different aspects of the pilgrimage. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the complex motivation of the pilgrims, captured by the notions of devotion, need and blessings, and on the pilgrims' experience of various spiritual lessons and personal growth, in tandem with the often intense practices of asceticism and purification (the idea of pilgrimage as *tirakat* and *laku*).

Part Two shares the basic structures of Part One, with one obvious difference: instead of going directly to the three shrines under study, we begin this part (Chapter 4) with a rather detailed history of identity formation among Javanese Catholics during their most formative period (roughly from 1920s to 1940s). The provenance of all the three Catholic shrines under study here also goes back to this crucial period. Pivotal in the argument in Chapter 4 is that the discourse on a hybrid Javano-Catholic identity among the first generation of Javanese Catholic educated elites was founded on the need to reckon with three main realities: (1) the local and indigenous reality of Java; (2) the Catholic Christian tradition brought into Java by the Dutch (Jesuit) missionaries under the conditions of late colonial period in the Netherlands East Indies, especially Java, starting from the second half of the 19th century; and (3) the specter of Islam as both part of the indigenous reality of Java—albeit in what they considered a “superficial” way—and a religion that was particularly perceived to be hostile to Christianity. The struggle for this self-understanding was rather dramatic, and it occurred under complex circumstances that

involved a tension between their desire to cling to the local reality (the Javanese culture) and at the same time their attraction to the universal and modern appeal of Catholicism in the Western form. In this struggle, the role of the founding missionaries was paradigmatic and foundational. As in the case of Islam in south central Java, what was born out of this struggle was a decidedly hybrid identity: a Javano-Catholic identity that was not perfect or without ambiguities—as manifested among others, in the ongoing need to reckon more seriously with the local reality of Islam—but an identity that was quite a creative breakthrough under colonial conditions. Driven by a widening dynamic of continuity and communion, this is a framework of identity that was able to serve as a guide for the community in later periods.

To a large degree, Chapter 5 continues our historical discussion on the formation of a Javano-Catholic hybrid identity by exploring the ways in which these tensions, ambiguities and limits of the Javano-Catholic identity formation were dealt with and made fruitful by the community itself, especially with regard to the role and significance of the three shrines under study. In this chapter, we explore the major ways in which the Javanese Catholic pilgrims and their community have understood history as a foundational and sacred past, a past that still has an overwhelming authority over the present, a past that invites deeper reconnection and communion, as well as re-interpretation. Paradigmatic in this past are the founders and founding events of the community, represented and commemorated in the three Catholic shrines and the pilgrimage traditions to them.

As occurs in the Javano-Islamic context, the pilgrimage tradition among Javanese Catholics has also served as a milieu where their hybrid identity is negotiated in many

concrete and tangible ways, including in rituals, arts and architecture. In Chapter 6, we will see the principal ways in which this hermeneutics of identity is operative in the spatial, architectural and ritual dimensions of the shrines under study. These Catholic shrines have become privileged sites for the flourishing of the culture of devotion and the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community, where the hybrid notion of a Javano-Catholic self is continually negotiated by engaging different forms of otherness, especially the Hindu past and the largely Muslim present. The local Javanese Catholic community seems to be resolute to ground this negotiation in the ever-widening hermeneutic of openness to and including the other, anchored in the theology of the Holy Spirit and the theological interpretation of Christian love in the framework of the Sacred Heart devotion.

Following this line of thought, Chapter 7 is an endeavor to delve deeper into the dynamics of pilgrimage tradition in the three Catholic shrines under study, as experienced by pilgrims themselves in the context of their shared Javanese religious and cultural sensibilities. This chapter focuses on five major elements of their pilgrimage experience: (1) devotion as connectedness; (2) peacefulness as a fundamental blessing; (3) the tangibility of sacramental blessings; (4) communion with self and others, and (5) the question of pilgrims of other religious traditions. This chapter seeks to show how the whole idea of hybrid identity formation and the overarching desire for communion is concretely experienced by pilgrims themselves. Thus it also shows why and how pilgrimage culture, with all its complexities and richness, continues to be a spiritually and religiously rewarding practice, and how it continues to have a religio-cultural significance as a supportive milieu for forging a deeper, inclusive, and lasting identity.

Part Three consists of two chapters. Chapter 8 is devoted to an explicitly comparative analysis of the data presented in Parts One and Two, employing the new comparative theological method proposed by Francis Clooney, James Fredericks and others. Faithful to this method, I also discuss the role of my own identity and location in the whole project, i.e., as a Javanese Catholic and a member of the Jesuit order. The main objective of this chapter is to identify what I consider the most significant similarities and a few observable differences found in the two pilgrimage traditions. These key similarities include: (1) the role of saints and paradigmatic figures as ancestors; (2) the nature of pilgrimage as moment for spiritual renewal; and (3) the deeply sacramental worldview that lies at the heart of these pilgrimage traditions. These insights suggest a major theological argument of this study on the widening dynamic of communion with God that is at stake in the two pilgrimage traditions, a dynamic that in many different ways has been strengthened by and expressed through Javanese culture, a common religio-cultural bond between the two.

It has to be noted that this comparison is already “theological” precisely because it shows how the underlying dynamic of fostering an ever deeper and wider communion with God—itself a reality with serious theological import—is deeply shared by Islamic and Catholic pilgrimage traditions as they are practiced in south central Java. The theological import of this basic observational insight from the ground is further taken up in Chapter 9 in which I show how this comparative study can enrich our understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* (“communion of saints and the Holy”), a doctrine that is profoundly pneumatological, since it is rooted in the fruit of the inclusive work of the Holy Spirit. My argument is that the fuller scope—its

“catholicity” and pneumatological dimension—of this largely Catholic doctrine and practice will be made more obvious, richer and relevant to these “signs of the times” when we take seriously the comparative insights laid out in the previous chapters of this study which take into account the contributions of the Muslim tradition, Javanese culture and society, as well as the distinctive features of the Javanese Catholic practice of pilgrimage. For this purpose, however, insights from various sources in the larger Islamic and Catholic traditions will also be drawn to shed further theological light on the data of comparison. It is through this comparative method from the ground up that this study contributes in a distinctive way to the contemporary enrichment of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. Thus the shape and scope of this enrichment will be rather different from the one offered by Elizabeth Johnson, a prominent American Catholic theologian, for instance.

PART ONE

THE JAVANO-ISLAMIC CASE

CHAPTER 1

FORMATION OF JAVANO-ISLAMIC IDENTITY:
SAINTS, SHRINES, AND SACRED HISTORY

Remember well, all who are created,
do not seek permanence in this world,
as if you were in your dwelling place.
Carita Iskandar (1729)¹⁰²

As the 19th-century Javanese text, *Serat Centhini*, narrates, Raden Jayengresmi was a devout and young Muslim prince from the Giri palace on the north coast of East Java, near the present day port city of Surabaya.¹⁰³ He was the son of the monarch Sunan Giri

¹⁰² Canto XI. *Carita Iskandar* is a Javanese elaboration of the Tale of the Qur'ānic figure, Iskandar dhu'l-Qarnain (Alexander the Great). This book was written circa 1729 at the Surakarta court and attributed to Queen Pakubuwana, herself known as a Sufi mystic. It is also worth noting that this sacred book was written partly as a spiritual commemoration of the royal pilgrimage of the greatest Sufi king of the Mataram dynasty, Sultan Agung, to the shrine of Tembayat a hundred years before in 1633. See M. C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java*, 39-53.

¹⁰³ The provenance of the *Serat Centhini* goes back to the 19th century. The writing of this massive encyclopedic text was sponsored by a Javanese king from the Surakarta court. However, the story itself narrated events that occurred in the 17th century (1636), namely, the sack of the Giri kingdom in East Java by the Mataram army from south central Java. In a way, the text was an attempt to understand the extent of the so-called "Javaneseness"—or a Javanese identity, a topic that became increasingly important in the 19th century onward—by relating events from the earlier period. On the *Serat Centhini*, see Marcel Bonneff, "Centhini, servante du javanisme," *Archipel* 56 (1998): 483-511. My account of Jayengresmi's wandering pilgrimage is based on the condensed translation of the *Centhini* text by Soewito Santoso, published as *The Centhini Story: The Javanese Journey of Life* (Singapore: Marshal Cavendish International, 2006).

Parapen.¹⁰⁴ In the wake of the attack of his father's palace by the kingdom of Mataram (1636), Raden Jayengresmi decided to embark on a long period of pilgrimage and wandering throughout Java, while trying to come to terms with his own self with regard to the larger framework of his life after the crisis. During the pilgrimage, this prince dutifully practiced Muslim piety such as reciting the Qur'ān by heart and doing the canonical prayers (Ar. *ṣalāt*) and other supererogatory prayers such as the remembrance of God (Ar. *dhikr*), meditation (Ar. *murāqaba*), intimate conversations with God (Ar. *munājāt*), and the supererogatory night prayers (Ar. *tahajjud*). And he never failed to offer heartfelt personal prayers (Ar. *du'ā'*) for his parents and siblings. His visit to the Grand Mosque of Java (the Demak Mosque, Fig. 1.1) was memorable. Inside this mosque, he was carried over by a profound sense of peace and devotion, and saw a miraculous sign from God.¹⁰⁵ Among the Islamic sites that he visited were the tombs of Java's prominent Muslim saints. Very interestingly, however, this pious Muslim prince also visited the ruins of the Hindu Majapahit kingdom and other Hindu kingdoms during his journey. At one point he even spent a night in the Panataran Hindu temple in East Java.¹⁰⁶ It is obvious that as a Javanese, he felt profoundly connected to these kingdoms. As the *Serat Centhini* narrates, when Raden Jayengresmi left this temple, he was overwhelmed with mixed feelings and a discomfort. He was apparently so taken by a

¹⁰⁴ On the kingdom of Giri, see H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Pigeaud, *De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java, Studiën over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw* (["The First Muslim Kingdoms in Java: Studies on the Political History of the 15th and 16th centuries"], Leiden: KITLV, 1974), chapter XI. Jayengresmi's father, Sunan Giri Prapen, should not be confused with his grandfather, the monarch-saint, Sunan Giri I, who was also a prominent saint in the legendary Nine-Saints tradition in Java (Jv. *Wali Songo*).

¹⁰⁵ *The Centhini Story*, 53. As the *Centhini* text narrates, he saw reed grass growing under the pulpit.

¹⁰⁶ This Hindu temple is very important historically because it was the place where Brawijaya V (d. 1478), the last king of the Hindu Majapahit kingdom, used to pray before converting to Islam. The *Centhini* text describes the atmosphere of the temple as very mystical and sublime (*The Centhini Story*, 40). We will see later the importance of Brawijaya V in the identity formation of Javano-Islamic community in south central Java, the cultural milieu that produced the *Centhini* text.

sense of the loss of the grandeur of Java's past while trying to deal with his own uncertain future.¹⁰⁷ But very often he found profound peace while staying at Hindu hermitages: "the serenity of the place seemed to penetrate into his heart, calming his emotions and driving away all weariness and worry."¹⁰⁸ Along this line, it is also interesting to see how this prince always tried to pay pious visit to the graves of his distant Javanese ancestors.¹⁰⁹ In this regard, the *Serat Centhini* always envisions this prince's long pilgrimage journey also in terms of forging a deeper and wide-ranging connection with his ancestors not only by visiting their graves but also by getting in touch with their religio-cultural legacy that had made up the identity of Java.

More than anything else of course, the particularities of Jayengresmi's pilgrimage reflected the worldview of the Javanese Muslim community in south central Java that was involved in the creation of the work in the 19th century. For the figure of Jayengresmi was not a historical figure, but rather a religio-cultural model of a Javano-Muslim identity. In this framework, his style of pilgrimage that was marked by a heartfelt sense of communion with the past events and figures of Java, understood in the most inclusive fashion, was primarily imagined and projected as the kind of pilgrimage that was particularly fitting to a Javanese Muslim sensibility.¹¹⁰ In the context of the *Serat*

¹⁰⁷ *The Centhini Story*, 41.

¹⁰⁸ *The Centhini Story*, 55. During his stay at the hermitage, Raden Jayengresmi also learned spiritual wisdom and other forms of knowledge from the Hindu hermits.

¹⁰⁹ *The Centhini Story*, 48.

¹¹⁰ To a certain degree, this inclusive pilgrimage is also reminiscent of the journey of 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215), a curious and avid Muslim pilgrim whose words we quoted in the beginning of the Introductory chapter of this study. Al-Harawī lived mostly in Syria, serving various Muslim rulers during the tumultuous years of the Crusades, including Saladin (r. 1169–1193) and his son, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghāzī, the ruler of Aleppo. On al-Harawī's extensive pilgrimage that included numerous visits to Christian sites, see his *Kitāb al-ishārat ilā ma'rifat al-ziyārat* (*A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*), translation and introduction by Josef W. Meri (Princeton, New Jersey: Darwin Press, Inc., 2004). On the significance of this kind of pilgrimage for comparative theology, see my chapter "Comparative Theology: Between Identity and Alterity," in Francis X. Clooney, ed., *New Comparative Theology: Interreligious Insights from the Next Generation* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 1-20.

Centhini, the inclusivity of this pilgrimage was intimately connected to what the idea of “Java” consisted of and what it meant to be a Javanese Muslim. For the *Serat Centhini*, this religio-cultural hybrid identity was understood in relation to a set of concrete realities: a particular geography with all its natural wonders, a deeply plural society with distinctive religio-cultural customs and lore, a civilization that was extremely proud of its glorious past, and so forth. Hence, pilgrimage was imagined as a way of fostering a deeper connection with this spatial and religio-cultural reality of “Java.” This is why the account of such pilgrimage becomes necessarily encyclopedic. Furthermore, the *Serat Centhini* also understands the whole journey of pilgrimage with all its stages as intimately related to the growth of life of every human being, from childhood to adulthood. It is a long and complicated journey of life toward maturity and wisdom in which every human being is expected to undergo a process of true education in all its aspects. This way, the personal and communal aspects of pilgrimage become deeply intertwined.

To a large degree, as the three chapters in this Part One will make it clear, many crucial dimensions of Prince Jayengresmi’s wandering pilgrimage still ring true for many Javanese Muslim pilgrims in south central Java today, particularly the role of pilgrimage as a process of finding one’s true self in relation to the wider religio-cultural identity formation, the practice of pilgrimage as a memory of history (understood as a sacred past that includes the pre-Islamic legacy), the idea of pilgrimage as a moment of expressing love and devotion to saint-founders and revered ancestors, as well as the practice of pilgrimage as an intense ascetic or purifying moment.

Focusing on the three Islamic shrines in south central Java as well as taking insights from some others in the same area (Map 1.3), this particular chapter seeks to flesh out the dynamics of communion in pilgrimage by analyzing the particular understanding of history as a collective memory of, connection with and participation in the reality of saints and their shrines, marked by its emphasis on the inclusive yet selective continuity between the Muslim tradition and Hindu-Javanese religio-cultural framework.

Since the identity of the three shrines under study will be dealt in detail later in this chapter, it will suffice here to present them with only the most pertinent information with regard to their status and geographical location. The first site is the shrine of Tembayat in Klaten regency, midway between the royal city of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. A major pilgrimage destination with half a million pilgrims per year from all over Java and beyond, the shrine of Tembayat contains the tomb of Sunan Pandanarang.¹¹¹ Intimately connected to Sunan Kalijaga, the beacon of Javano-Islamic identity, and to the court of Mataram, this shrine and its pilgrimage tradition are marked by a prominent presence of Javanese culture. The second site is the shrine of Gunungpring in the vicinity of a central Javanese town of Muntilan, some twenty five kilometers to the north of Yogyakarta and a few miles away from the grand Borobudur Buddhist temple.¹¹² Attracting up to 250,000 pilgrims per annum, this shrine houses the

¹¹¹ It is hard to get the exact percentage of pilgrims from outside of Java at this shrine. However, since this site has become part of the typical itinerary of the popular *Wali Songo* pilgrimage tradition that draws a large number of pilgrims from outside of Java, it is probably safe to estimate that 10% of the pilgrims to this shrine come from outside of Java, that would include Malaysia and Singapore as well.

¹¹² As Map 1.3 shows, this shrine shares a geographical proximity to two major Catholic shrines in the area, namely, the mausoleum of Muntilan and the Marian shrine of Sendangsono (dealt with in Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter 8 I will examine more closely what this geographical proximity might mean for the interaction between the Muslim and Catholic communities in the area as well as for our comparative project.

tomb of Raden Santri (considered an ancestor of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta) as well as the tombs of Muslim saints from the more recent times. The combination of the Tembayat and Gunungpring shrines is rather common, especially among pilgrims who come in big groups. Then, the third site is the tomb of Mawlana Maghribi, an Arab holy man and early missionary who also came to be considered as an ancestor to the royal dynasty of Yogyakarta. An old and rather important pilgrimage site in the mythically charged area of Parangtritis on the south coast of Yogyakarta, it draws continuous stream of pilgrims—perhaps well over 10,000 per year—from all over Java, some of whom stay for a longer period of time as itinerant ascetic pilgrims.¹¹³

In this chapter I will begin the discourse with history, that is, how the underlying principle of communion is played out in the particularities of understanding and practice of sacred history in south central Java, especially in relation to the tradition of pilgrimage. More specifically, I will explore the notion of history as a constant remaking of connection and continuity with the sacred past, through paradigmatic figures (founders and saints), potent sites and sacred writings. Since this sacred past is also rife with the presence of the Hindu-Javanese other, this kind of history is thus practiced in south central Java as a reaffirmation of a complex Javano-Islamic identity.

I. 1. Sacred History as Communion and Continuity

Located in the region of south central Java (Map 1.3), all three Islamic shrines under study—the shrines of Tembayat, Mawlana Maghribi and Gunungpring—are intimately connected with the very notion of Javanese history and religio-cultural identity. This is so

¹¹³ The Catholic Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran is located few miles away from Parangtritis (Map 1.3). As we will see later, especially in Chapter 5, this location is meaningful for the identity and mission of this Catholic shrine in the context of Javanese society and culture.

because this area is historically very crucial in the construction of Javanese identity, in engagement with both the Hindu-Buddhist heritage and Islamic element. It covers the region of the former Javano-Islamic kingdom of Mataram (founded in the second half of the 16th century), or the Javanese principalities (D. *vorstenlanden*) during the Dutch colonial era, currently represented by the major royal houses of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. As we will see, all these three shrines are intimately connected in various ways to the two royal houses of Yogyakarta and Surakarta as the contemporary successors of Mataram. Especially during, and under the influence of, the colonial era, these two courts have come to be identified as the pivots of “Javaneseness” and its most refined religio-cultural achievement (Jv. *adiluhung*).¹¹⁴

For Javanese pilgrims, this particular spatial and historical location and a web of connections that comes with it, are considered highly crucial for the religio-cultural identity and role of these shrines. In what follows, we will delineate some major elements that contribute to the identity formation of these shrines in terms of their connectedness to the whole history of the realm or the community of south central Javanese people. We will begin with the notion of history in Javanese thinking in general before moving more specifically to how this notion affects the identity and role of the shrines for the self-understanding of the pilgrims themselves.

¹¹⁴ As John Pemberton and Nancy K. Florida have pointed out, this designation of Yogyakarta and Surakarta as the center of Javanese culture was historically conditioned by colonial discourse on what constituted “Javanese culture,” a discourse that involved an othering of Islam. See Pemberton, *On the Subject of “Java”* and Nancy Florida, “Reading the Unread in Traditional Javanese Literature,” in *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 1-15; also her *Javanese Literature*, Vol. 1, 11ff. I will take up this question in Chapter 4, in relation to the role of Dutch Jesuit missionaries in this colonial “invention” of Javanese tradition. In the context of Chapters 3 and 7, however, my emphasis is that the Javanese pilgrims themselves, probably slightly influenced by this discourse indirectly through court cultures, consider “Javaneseness” to be more pronounced, though not necessarily in its most refined manifestations, in shrines of south central Java, compared to other parts of Java. My interviews with pilgrims from East Java as well as my observation with the religious etiquette of visitation (Ar. *adab al-ziyāra*) in East Javanese shrines confirm this impression.

Among Javanese pilgrims, history is generally understood more as a collective memory that defines their identity, rather than factual and objective events of the past. Instead of an obsession with the facticity of the past, history is conceived as a longing for connection and communion with the sacred past, something that continues to have profound implications for the present as well as future direction of communal life. The past is always imagined as consisting of significant sacred events and paradigmatic figures. And there is an obvious search for some sort of contemporaneity of this past with the present, where the vividness of these events can once more be relished. In this framework, the acts of writing and reading history constitute a sacred activity capable of eliciting blessing, precisely because history connects the readers and writers with the power of the Invisible.¹¹⁵ Thus history is both a guide to the present as well as a potent prophecy. By extension, pilgrimage to potent historical sites is an act of making connection to an invisible sacred history through the visible contemporary traces of the same history.¹¹⁶

The past is sacred because it is the moment of foundation, the beginning of the community, corresponding to what Mircea Eliade calls the Great Time (*L. in illo*

¹¹⁵ On this Javanese idea of history, see M. C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*; and Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995).

¹¹⁶ The connection between pilgrimage and history in Javanese worldview is illustrated by the fact that both share the same semantic field when pilgrimage is called “*sujarah*”, while history is called “*sejarah*”. Both words are derived from the same Arabic root of *shajara* that means to happen or to break out, thus, signifying history as events. The derived noun of this verbal root is *shajara* that means tree, thus, signifying genealogical connections. See Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (4th edition; 1994), 532. Other than “*ziarah*” (derived from the Ar. *ziyāra*), the other common term for pilgrimage in Javanese is *tirakat*, a term that understands pilgrimage in terms of an intentional and intensive period of purification involving a series of ascetic practices such as fasting, prolonged meditation and so forth at the shrines. On this see our Introduction Chapter.

tempore).¹¹⁷ Here, what is represented by the idea of history is not the account of the past, but rather the sacred moment of founding itself as well and the memory of the founders or ancestors.¹¹⁸ In this respect, connection to the past becomes more crucial to the self-understanding of the community; for it is the moment of founding and the role of founders that laid out the foundation of the identity of the community. This is why the Javanese call their historical accounts “*Babad*”, a Javanese word that originally means clearing the forest for new settlement, the beginning of a community. Thus, writing history as *babad* is an attempt to foster a connection with that founding moment and the paradigmatic founders of the community. This connection is made to kings, saints and other foundational figures whose sacredness is accrued due to their role in the most decisive part of history. In the Javanese religio-cultural framework where communication and communion with the dead and ancestors is essential for the identity and continuation of the community, history is practiced as a habit of memorialization, both at personal and communal levels.¹¹⁹ This way, it is prevented from being reified as a detached and objective account of the defining events in the past that formed the community once and for all, precisely because what is at stake is a deeper connection and communion with the sacred past that continues to bear on the present.

¹¹⁷ Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History* (first edition 1949; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹¹⁸ Hence the crucial role assigned to “genealogies” in the *Babad* literature, that is, a Javanese traditional historical writings that are normally written in poetic song (Jv. *tembang*). The inclusivity of this Javanese rendering of genealogy is obvious in the hybrid list of Javanese ancestors (Jv. *lèluhur*) in *Babad Tanah Jawi*, as a result of the incorporation of Islamic sacred history (the Prophet Adam etc) into the existing Hindu-Javanese one. Thus, Adam is viewed as the ancestor of *Sangyang Tunggal*, a Javanese deity. See E. Wieringa, “An Old Text Brought to Life Again: A Reconsideration of the ‘Final Version’ of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*”, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999): 250. See also R. Kevin Jaques, “Sajarah Leluhur: Hindu Cosmology and the Construction of Javanese Muslim Genealogical Authority,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17:2 (2006): 129–57.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid, ed., *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia* (Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’i Press, 2002).

In this respect, the understanding of history as memory is practiced among the Javanese in the living tradition of making personal connection with sacred places, texts, rituals and so forth.¹²⁰ Historical knowledge alone is never of prime significance in Java, but rather the deeper personal sense of connectedness and participation.¹²¹ The *Babads*, the written accounts of Javanese sacred history, as well as other writings, are called *pusaka pinustaka*, namely, a sacred heirloom in the form of a book. For they have “power” or authority over the present and thus invite deeper connection than just reading.¹²² In addition to the nature of the content, the creative process of writing sacred history also involves a certain degree of “sainthood” in the sense of supernatural inspiration and discipline, giving rise to the notion of Javanese poets as saints with prophetic pen.¹²³ In this regard, it is natural that the tombs of the most accomplished

¹²⁰ On this point, Amin Abdullah argues that what the saints of Java left behind is a “historiography,” understood as a remembrance through which the past is brought to bear on the present. In his thinking, what this past constitutes in Java is a process by which Islam came to be “re-contextualized” by appropriating the other and thereby became indigenous. See his preface to *Jejak Para Wali dan Ziarah Spiritual* (“Traces of the Saints and Spiritual Pilgrimage”), eds. Inajati A. Romli et al., (Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas, 2006), xxix.

¹²¹ In this respect, Nancy Florida remarks that “[the manuscripts] are physical sites upon which the extraordinary powers of former writers and readers may have rubbed off.” Florida, “Reading the Unread in Traditional Javanese Literature” in *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 4

¹²² “*Pusaka pinustaka*” is also the appellation given by the author(s) of *Babad Tanah Jawi* to the work. In Javanese parlance, an heirloom is also called “*wasiyat*” (from Ar. *waṣīya*, bequest), thus stressing its relationship with the dead ancestors (see E. Wieringa, “An Old Text Brought to Life Again,” 249). Different from J. J. Ras’s thesis that *Babad Tanah Jawi* functions as a legitimizing tool for the rulers, Wieringa emphasizes the aspect of the *Babad* as an heirloom (p. 252). Other historical, religious and mystical manuscripts from Javanese courts are also considered sacred and potent such as *Surya Raja*, *Carita Iskandar* (The Tale of Iskandar dhu’l-Qarnain), *Carita Yusuf* (The Story of Joseph) and *Kitab Usulbiyah* (a Javanese rendition of the Arabic Tale of the Prophets, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*). In some critical moments of the realm, some of these texts were reproduced to restore order of the realm (see Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*, 28-105; *Mystic Synthesis*, 179). In the court of Yogyakarta, several writings are called by honorific titles of “Kyai Kanjeng” including the edition of the Qur’ān in Javanese decorative motifs (see Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, *Kraton Jogja: The History and Cultural Heritage*, 143ff). The text *Surya Raja* is called with a personal name “*Kanjeng Kyai*” since it belongs to the most important heirlooms of the court. See Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2006), 160.

¹²³ A miraculous event in the life of Ranggawarsita (1802-1873), a foremost Javanese poet, illustrates the supernatural power of Javanese poet-saints as masters of language with a prophetic pen. It is believed that a flash of divine light descended upon him, turning “a derelict youth who had been up to that time a veritable

court literary figures (Jv. *pujangga*) quickly become sites for mass pilgrimage.¹²⁴ Due to their participation in the sacredness of writing history—a literary activity that is impossible, in the Javanese conception, without asceticism and blessing of the Unseen—they are considered to be poet-saints, masters of lofty spiritual knowledge and honorable ancestors.

Thus the *Babads* keep alive the memory of a community, not primarily by being read widely but by being “participated in” through rituals, pilgrimage, festivals and so forth. It is in this framework of history as memory and communion that the “historicity” of the shrines in question is considered in this section.

I. 2. Sainthood, Kingship, and Javano-Islamic Identity

Javanese historical identity in its south central Javanese conception revolves around two earlier poles. The first locus is Majapahit, the greatest and last Hindu-Javanese kingdom in East Java, whose religio-cultural achievement came to be imagined as the most refined representation of the Javanese classical civilization.¹²⁵ The second locus of identity is the kingdom of Mataram, a polity considered as the true Javano-Islamic successor to Majapahit, the one that truly succeeds in reconciling the Islamic and Javanese elements into a “mystic synthesis” of Islam in Java.¹²⁶ After the split of Mataram in 1755, the two

juvenile delinquent with a severe learning disability” to one of the greatest poet-saints of Java. See Nancy Florida, “Reading the Unread”, 5.

¹²⁴ For example, the tomb of Yasadipura (1729-1803) in Pengging and that of Rangawarsita (1802-1873) in Palar, near Tembayat (Map 1.3).

¹²⁵ This modern recasting of Majapahit belongs to the backbone of the politics of culture in the context of the construction of a pan-Indonesian national identity of the New Order Indonesia under President Suharto (1966-1998). In this cultural imagination of national identity, Majapahit signifies a founding moment of unity before the colonial era. See Michael Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia: New Order Perceptions and Counterviews* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), especially chapter 1.

¹²⁶ Here I follow Ricklefs’ coinage of the term “mystic synthesis.” This term obviously avoids the pejoratively inadequate term “syncretism.” This synthesis is anchored in the acceptance of Islam as

royal houses of Yogyakarta and Surakarta are the major representatives of the Mataram religio-cultural legacy.

Furthermore, in the framework of Javanese historical discourse in general as well as in the particular context of the Islamic shrines under study here, the complex historical dynamic of relationship between these two pillars is represented by two figures: (1) King Brawijaya V, the last monarch of Majapahit, and (2) Sunan Kalijaga, the most revered and influential Muslim saint (Jv. *wali*, Ar. *walī*) in south central Java and the spiritual protector of Mataram's early founders.

What these political entities and paradigmatic figures represent is a complex and long negotiation of what came to be a widespread cultural synthesis between Javaneseness and Islam, or the hybrid Javano-Islamic identity. In this regard, the figures of Brawijaya V and Sunan Kalijaga symbolically ensure the continuity and authenticity of Javano-Islamic identity, as opposed to any fissure or disruptive break between the old and the new. While Mataram rightfully claims to be able to trace its genealogical lineage to Majapahit, its Islamic identity is secured by the crucial role and constant presence of Sunan Kalijaga as its spiritual protector, as Ruler and Friend (Ar. *walī*).¹²⁷ This is so

(primary) identity in a way that also incorporates Javanese spiritual forces. Of course, some tension and ambiguity are inherent in such a synthesis. In general, the mystical Islam at the Javanese courts accommodated and domesticated much of Java's pre-Islamic high culture. Classical texts of the Javanese like *Dewa Ruci*, *Arjunawiwaha*, *Ramayana* and others are considered deeply Islamic, while the goddess of the Southern Sea is often depicted as behaving in the framework of Islam: she orders the Javanese to recite the Qur'ān and to pray to God in the battle with the Western infidels (cf. *Serat Surya Raja*; Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 162; *Seen and Unseen*, 220). Another important spirit-figure, Sunan Lawu, is identified with the spirit of Brawijaya, the last king of Majapahit, but later on he is considered to be an anti-Islamic figure from the invisible world; but, curiously, the Surakarta King Pakubuwana II justified the help of Sunan Lawu as being the help from God (Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 134).

¹²⁷ Here, the role of Kalijaga as the spiritual protector of Mataram should also be placed within the larger Islamic conception of sainthood and the role of saints. In the Islamic tradition, discourse on the role and nature of saint (Ar. *walī*, pl. *awliyā'*) and sainthood (Ar. *walāya/wilāya*) revolves around the notions of proximity (friendship) and authority (protectorship; guardianship). This has to do with the fact that the verbal root W-L-Y in Arabic conveys two main sets of semantic meanings: to be near (proximity, contiguity; to be friends) and to be in charge (to have authority). So, in the words of Michel Chodkiewicz,

because Brawijaya could not be imagined as having a direct involvement in the founding of Mataram *qua* Javano-Islamic polity. The Muslim identity of this last Hindu-Javanese monarch is a matter of historical contention in Javanese discourse and historiography, since the nature of his conversion to Islam was not without ambiguities, as we will examine later. Thus, while Brawijaya V was a remarkable figure in this chain of continuity of sacred power in Javanese successions of royal dynasties,¹²⁸ Kalijaga is the personification of this dynamics of continuity due to his identity as a truly Javanese figure belonging to the circle of Majapahit court and a prominent Muslim saint at the

the *walī* is simultaneously one who is close, the beloved, he who is protected, taken in charge, and the protector, the patron (in the Roman sense), the governor (*al-walī*). (See his *Seal of Saints*, 24). This dual identity of the Muslim saint also corresponds to nature of his sainthood. With regard to the nature of Islamic sainthood, two verbal nouns from the same root W-L-Y, namely *walāya* and *wilāya*, become crucial. *Wilāya* is constructed on the *fi'āla* pattern in Arabic grammar, referring to the execution of a function. Thus, in the case of *wilāya*, it expresses the function of a *wali* and by extension his realm of competence, that is, his spiritual government. *Walāya* is, on the other hand, modeled on the *fa'āla* pattern in Arabic, expressing a state of being. In the framework of *wilāya*, we could well place the role of Muslim saints as protectors to Muslim kings and their kingdoms as in the case of Kalijaga and Mataram. This is so because spiritual government or authority of the saint that comes from his closeness to God is needed for the kings to turn their kingdom into a truly a blessed realm. In the conception of the king as the center of power in Javanese cosmology (see the footnote below), the help from the spiritual government of the saint is also necessary to ensure such a power. In the Qur'ān, *al-walī* is one of the names of God (Q 2:257; 45:19). For a discussion on Islamic sainthood, see Michel Chodkiewicz *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi* (Cambridge: the Islamic Texts Society, 1993); Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998); Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-'Arabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999); John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California, 2008).

¹²⁸ This is in relation to the notion that royal court and its king are the center of power in the Javanese cosmology (see Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Centuries* [Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968]). A curious example of this worldview in Javanese Islam can be found in *Kitab Usulbiyah* (the Javanese rendering of *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Tales of the Prophets) where the Prophet Muḥammad is portrayed as a King of the worlds (participating in God's Kingship as *al-rabb al-'ālamīn*), but wearing the golden crown of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit. The king is often described as the embodiment of the ideal of Javano-Islamic mystical anthropology. The Javanese text *Suluk Garwa Kencana* uses a metaphor of the spirit as monarch and the five senses as royal officials who urge the king to be involved in this world. However the king should reject this worldly advice and overcome these carnal temptations, relying on a clear vision or contemplation of God, to be a truly king and an embodiment of the Perfect Man (Ar. *al-insān al-kāmil*). See Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 47-8; on the notion of the king as the historical embodiment of *al-insān al-kāmil* in Malay culture, see Milner, "Islam and the Muslim State," in M. Hooker, ed., *Islam in South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 23-49.

same time. This twofold identity surely explains why his ubiquity in Javanese sacred history is without parallel.¹²⁹

I. 2. 1. Sunan Kalijaga: Interplay of Javanese and Islamic Themes

Given the importance of his role, we must examine more closely the identity formation of Kalijaga as a Muslim saint of Java *par excellence*, touching on the nature of his sainthood as the Javanese tradition conceives of it, particularly the interplay between the Islamic and Hindu-Javanese elements in the accounts of his initiation into sainthood. The interplay of these two dimensions is very helpful in understanding the nature of his role in the larger formation of Javano-Islamic identity in south central Java, the religio-cultural framework in which the tradition of Javanese Muslim pilgrimage flourishes, and in which Kalijaga is still often evoked as a paradigmatic model.

Born into a prominent Javanese family that was connected to the court of Majapahit, Kalijaga's Islamic genealogical credential came from the fact that his uncle was Raden Rahmat, a prominent early Muslim saint who married Kalijaga's aunt.¹³⁰ Kalijaga may have learned Islam at home, but his transformation to a Muslim *wali* was probably the most spectacular and legendary in Java. Under the tutelage of Sunan

¹²⁹ On the ubiquity of Kalijaga in Javanese sacred history, see the *Babad Tanah Jawi*. The memory of Kalijaga is preserved in the Javanese sacred geography through his many *petilasan* (unassuming places associated with paradigmatic figures of the past, as opposed to proper shrines or tombs) scattered throughout Java (as well as Bali and Lombok), and is kept alive through popular pilgrimages to these *petilasans*.

¹³⁰ According to *Babad Dipanagara*, Rahmat's aunt, in turn, was one of the wives of Brawijaya V, making him the nephew of this last monarch of Majapahit. This genealogy also connects Kalijaga to many other members of the *Wali Songo*, such as Sunan Bonang, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Drajat and Sunan Giri. See James J. Fox, "Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the *Wali*, the Founders of Islam on Java", in M. C. Ricklefs, ed., *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context* (Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991), 32. On Raden Rahmat or Sunan Ngampel, see Anna M. Gade, "Sunan Ampel of the Javanese Wali Songo," in John Renard, ed., *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiographies in Translation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 341-58.

Bonang, another prominent member of the legendary *Wali Songo* (the “Nine Saints” responsible for the Islamization of Java), he underwent a dramatic spiritual awakening, coming to be in touch with the Real. Not only did he abandon his former roles as a privileged member of an aristocratic family and then as a Robin Hood-like wayside robber, but he embarked on the cultivation of his new self by going through an extreme ascetic practice of long meditation on the bank of a river.¹³¹ In comparing Kalijaga to his Moroccan counterpart, Clifford Geertz argues that Kalijaga had become a Muslim:

through an inner change of heart brought on by the same sort of yoga-like psychic discipline that was the core religious act of the Indic tradition from which he came; his redemption, if that is what it should be called, was a self-produced inner state, a willed mood.¹³²

As Geertz notes, the affinity between this mode of conversion and its yogic counterpart is rather obvious, but Kalijaga’s ascetic practices could also be thoroughly understood within traditional Sufi contexts of conversion.¹³³ In this regard, what is more important is that this type of Sufi conversion presents Kalijaga as a truly Javanese *walī*, a religious virtuoso whose ascetic purification of self (Jv. *laku*) led him to the deepest core of the mystical knowledge of Islam (Ar. *maʿrifā*).¹³⁴

¹³¹ Hence his name, Kali-jaga. *Kali* is a Javanese word for “river”, while *jaga* means “to guard.” In some versions, his meditation is believed to have taken some years, so much so that by the time his teacher returned to him, vegetations had grown around his body. The film *Sunan Kalijaga* (1984) seems to emphasize the dramatic conflicts of this saint with his wealthy family as well as his Buddha-like journey to enlightenment and compassion to the poor. This extreme asceticism could also be seen in the conversion story of Sunan Geseng, another famous disciple of Kalijaga’s in south central Java. See D. A. Rinkes, *The Nine Saints of Java* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1996), 49-68.

¹³² Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 27. In this work Geertz seems to assume that Kalijaga did not know Islam at all before his conversion.

¹³³ In my view, Kalijaga’s conversion belongs to an abrupt or sudden transformation, reminiscent of that of Fudayl ibn ‘Iyād. See John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California, 2008), 48.

¹³⁴ In Chapter 3 we will see how the notion of pilgrimage as an intensive period of self-purification through asceticism (Jv. *laku*), as well as the role of the cultivation of inner sense (Jv. *rasa*) become crucial in the experience of the Javanese pilgrims.

The nature of Kalijaga's mystical initiation into the spiritual world of Islam is considered pivotal to the specificity of his sainthood and future role in Islamic Java. Under the name of "Sèh Malaya" ("Sèh" from Ar. *shaykh*), Kalijaga was said to have been further initiated to Islam by none other than al-Khaḍir —thus putting him in the special company of former disciples of al-Khaḍir, most notably Moses (found in the *Sūra al-Kahf* in the Qur'ān), Ibn al- 'Arabī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) and others.¹³⁵ There is no shrine associated with al-Khaḍir in Muslim Java, but his role as the teacher *par excellence* of the highest level of Islamic mystical knowledge is secured in various Javanese texts.¹³⁶ In Javanese folklore Kalijaga's image as the only *walī* who is closely associated with al-Khaḍir helps secured the truly Islamic and mystical nature his initiation to the spiritual world of Islam, as well as his elevated status among other *awliyā'* in Java.

However, it is also crucial to see that even in this framework of Kalijaga's discipleship under al-Khaḍir, a Javanese motif of putting him in the familiar world of

¹³⁵ Originally, the name Sèh Malaya is probably assigned to Kalijaga in the Chinese version of his story. See Hasanu Simon, *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 283. On Ibn al- 'Arabī's encounter with al-Khaḍir, see James W. Morris, *Reflective Heart* (Louisville, Kentucky: Fons Vitae, 2005), 19, 66, 229 and passim; Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 62-6, 116-17 and passim. With regard to the relationship between Kalijaga and al-Jīlānī, we should note another parallelism: both were commanded by their respective teacher to sit in a particular place and meditate until their teacher returned. On this, see Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York, and Hampshire, U. K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 76-77.

¹³⁶ In Java, al-Khaḍir is always considered a prophet (popularly called "nabi Kidlir") due to his prominent status with regard to esoteric knowledge and revelation. The story of al-Khaḍir is found in many Javanese texts such as, *Serat Asmarasupi*, *Serat Suluk Musawaratan*, *Suluk Seh Malaya* and so forth. See Nancy K. Florida, *Javanese Literature* Vol. II (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2000), 201, 205, and 235; Pigeaud, *Literature of Java* Vol. II (The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1968), 445-6; see also Siti Chamamah Soeratno, "Tokoh Khidrir dan Tradisinya pada Masyarakat Jawa: Tinjauan atas Dampak Penyebaran Islam di Jawa" ["The Figure of al-Khaḍir and His Tradition in Java"], a paper presented at the Symposia on the Charism of Islamic Cultural Heritage in Indonesia (Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta, Museum Benteng Yogyakarta, November 9, 1995); On *Suluk Seh Malaya*, see also T. E. Behrend and Titik Pudjiastuti, eds., *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara* ["The Main Catalogue of Ancient Texts from Indonesia"], Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003), 379-81.

Javano-Indic mystical story of Déwaruci is also at play.¹³⁷ The story of Déwaruci (or Bhimasuci) is an account of the mystical journey of the Mahabarata hero, Bhima, toward enlightenment; it forms the backbone of Javanese representations of the mystical union of God and the self. In the story, Bhima's quest for enlightenment is spoken of symbolically as his quest for the water of life (Jv. *tirta perwitasari*) that took him to the heights of the mountains and the depths of the seas before finding out that he had to find it in the core of his very being. On this point, it is curious to see that an important part of the extra Qur'anic legends of al-Khaḍir is his search for the water of life.¹³⁸ Describing the final phase of Bhima's quest for enlightenment as it is found in the Javanese mystical text *Suluk Déwaruci*,¹³⁹ Nancy Florida writes:

The hero of the *Suluk*, the Pandhawa Prince Bhima, braves and survives a series of horrible dangers finally to achieve union with God. That union is attained through knowledge gained by means of self-transcendence in the form of the hero's divine fusion with a tiny miniature of himself. Representing the hero's own 'inner self', the miniature's name is Déwaruci. Although the hero at first would prefer to remain suspended at the eternal moment of union, he learns that he must return to the phenomenal world in order to fulfill his duties as a warrior. ... The return, then, is to a point from which the hero has yet to depart—and to nowhere. A changed man, he remains 'himself'; his 'return' is to a changed world—and to one he never left.¹⁴⁰

In the book of *Cabolèk* (18th century), a treatise on Javano-Islamic mysticism and spiritual anthropology that emphasized ascetic practices as conditions for true knowledge

¹³⁷ Leiden Mss (LOR .7510); see Chamamah Soeratno, "The Figure of al-Khaḍir," 14.

¹³⁸ See John Renard's entry on al-Khaḍir in the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, Vol. 3. (J. D. McAullife, ed., Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), 83.

¹³⁹ *Suluk Déwaruci* is a Modern Javanese version of the older Middle Javanese *Nawaruci*; it was composed in the late 18th century by the Javanese poet of the Surakarta court, Yasadipura I (1729-1803). See Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 257-8.

¹⁴⁰ Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 261.

of the self and God, this story of Bhima is also foundational.¹⁴¹ Echoing the famous *ḥadīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad, ascetic purification is spoken of as “Die before you die!” (Jv. *mati sajroning urip*, or *ngaurip iya urip ing sajroning pejah*). This “death” (of the physical body) is understood as a condition for the spiritual body to achieve union with God.¹⁴² It is also highly interesting that Bhima enters into the womb (Jv. *garba*) of Déwaruci in order to know himself. For, the Javanese concept of *garba* (womb) is used to echo its Arabic counterpart, *rahīm*. Thus, this process is akin to entering into the essence of God as *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, participating more fully in God’s undifferentiated mercy and grace. As a result, Bhima is able to overcome his narrow self-centeredness. The book of *Cabolèk* describes this transformation thus:

Werkudara’s [Bhima’s] heart was no longer troubled, now he knew himself. By the power of Déwaruci’s words, he could fly without wings, and was able to traverse the entire great universe, he had mastered his body. It is fitting, in the language of poetry, to compare him to a flower which has been long a bud and now opens and spreads its fragrance, its beauty and perfume ever increasing. the entire world rejoiced.¹⁴³

In Kalijaga’s case, it is the interplay between this earlier Javanese mode of enlightenment and the Islamic one that shapes his identity. For the Javanese tradition also casts Kalijaga (Sèh Malaya) as the new Bhima and al-Khaḍir as the real Déwaruci. One text describes how, during their meeting in Mecca, al-Khaḍir took the form of a child into whom Kalijaga entered to gain a mystical knowledge, knowledge of the Reality, the

¹⁴¹ Although the Bimasuci story originates from the pre-Islamic era, this book of *Cabolèk* (18th century) argues that the spirit of this pre-Islamic story, as well as others such as the Ramayana and Arjunawiwaha, is thoroughly compatible with Sufism, provided we have the skillful interpreters; see Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 116-7; also Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), viii; 28. For a fine analysis of the ambiguous relationship in colonial Java between Islam and the Javanese puppet theatre tradition (Jv. *wayang*) that is based mostly on pre-Islamic epics and lores such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, see Laurie Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996).

¹⁴² *Sèrat Cabolèk*, Canto VIII (51):38; Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 126.

¹⁴³ *Sèrat Cabolèk*, Canto VIII (53): 40; Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 126.

cosmos and so forth.¹⁴⁴ This re-casting of Déwaruci into Kalijaga is eventually made very explicit in another important text, *Suluk Sèh Malaya* (late 19th century), a translation of Déwaruci's Javano-Indic religious and psychological terms into the standard Arabic terminology of Islamic mysticism.¹⁴⁵ As we will see later in different parts, this traditional archetypal idea of the mystical journey to the self is also quite foundational for our study of pilgrimage in Java as the milieu for re-construction of the self or the formation of identity.

Kalijaga's mystical relationship with al-Khaḍir and Déwaruci turns him into a rather unique saint in the spiritual world of Java: he became the archetype of Javano-Islamic saint. In south central Java, his mythical stature is heightened by his intimate relationship with the Mataram kingdom.¹⁴⁶ As I have argued, it was Kalijaga who provided the link that would make Mataram a truly Islamic polity, a legitimate successor to Majapahit. As James Fox has shown, the *Babad Tanah Jawi*—a religio-historical account of the founding of Mataram—narrates that Sunan Kalijaga was the spiritual teacher of all the founding fathers of Mataram and that he always intervened at critical

¹⁴⁴ Leiden Mss (LOR 7510); quoted in Chamamah Soeratno, "The Figure of al-Khaḍir," 14. See also Anthony H. Johns, "From Buddhism to Islam: An Interpretation of the Javanese Literature of the Transition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (1966): 48-50. As Johns points out, central to *Suluk Sèh Malaya* is the idea that true pilgrimage is a journey into the self. On the meeting between Kalijaga and al-Khaḍir, see also Zainul Milal Bizawie, "The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin: The Struggle of Javanese Islam 1645-1740," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 9 (2002): 52.

¹⁴⁵ Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 261; also her *Javanese Literature* Vol. II, 235.

¹⁴⁶ Kalijaga was the teacher of founders and early kings of Mataram (Ki Gedhe Pemanahan, Senapati and Sultan Agung) from the late 16th to mid 17th centuries. See Laurie Sears, *Shadows of Empire*, 54; also Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*, 26; Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 329 (on Pakubuwana IX's encounter with Kalijaga). Even the late President Sukarno claimed a lineage to Kalijaga in his speech at Demak in 1958; see Abdurrahman Mas'ud, "The Religion of the *Pesantren*," in *Religious Harmony: Problems, Practice, and Education: Proceedings of the Regional Conference of the International Association for the History of Religions*, eds. Michael Pye et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 222. See also the note below.

moments in the history of Mataram since its beginning.¹⁴⁷ According to the legendary history, when the *walis* in Java gathered in Demak right after the fall of Majapahit to erect the Demak Mosque (Fig. 1.1), Kalijaga was deeply immersed in his ascetic and spiritual practice (Jv. *tirakat*) in Pamantingan, in the Parangtritis area on the south coast (Map 1.3) before joining the other *walis* to miraculously contribute one of the main pillars for the grand mosque.¹⁴⁸ The *Babad Tanah Jawi* seems to assume that by this act, Kalijaga had successfully linked the future Islamic kingdom of Mataram in south central Java with the most important Grand Mosque of Java on the north coast. In this regard, it is insightful to see that later on both the Grand Mosque of Demak and the tomb of Kalijaga in the nearby area of Kadilangu (Fig. 2.2 and Fig. 2.3) are considered to be the main sacred heirlooms of Java that can never be taken away.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ As mentioned previously, these founding fathers include Ki Gede Pemanahan and his son, Panembahan Senapati, and Sultan Agung. Right after Panembahan Senapati's encounter with the Goddess of the Southern Sea, Kalijaga met with him and warned him not to be overly confident in his supernatural power but rather to be obedient to the will of God. Then he bestowed the heavenly gift that consisted of a prayer mat and the mantle of the Prophet Muḥammad to Senapati. According to legend, Kalijaga himself received this gift during a prayer session with other *walis* in the Demak Mosque. This gift was considered to be the proof of divine favor on Mataram as an Islamic kingdom. See James Fox, "Sunan Kalijaga and the Rise of Mataram: A Reading of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* as a Genealogical Narrative," in Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street, eds., *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society* (Leiden, New York, Koeln: Brill, 1997), 212-214; see also H. J. de Graaf, *De regeering van Panembahan Sénapati Ingialaga* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), 76-77; Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*, 11.

¹⁴⁸ J. Ras, "The genesis of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*: Origin and function of the Javanese court chronicle," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143 (1987): 350. He writes: "In the *Babad Tanah Jawi* we read that this saint, before taking part in the building of the famous mosque of Demak in A.J. 1401 (= A.D. 1479), first went on a pilgrimage to Pamantingan, near Parangtritis (cfr. *Babad Tanah Jawi*, 111:15; De Graaf and Pigeaud [1974], 30-33)." On this point, James Fox also writes: "the mention of Sunan Kalijaga's visit to Pamantingan is a critical allusion. By this act, which occurs just prior to the building of the mosque, Sunan Kalijaga provides a link between different periods of Javanese rule in a way that foreshadows the rise of Mataram." See James J. Fox, "Sunan Kalijaga and the Rise of Mataram," 202.

¹⁴⁹ Famous is the saying of Pakubuwana I (r. 1704-1719), the king of Mataram, that even if all the heirlooms (Jv. *pusaka*) of the land of Java are taken away, it will not matter in so far as there are still the graveyard of Kalijaga in Kadilangu and the Demak Mosque (see Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 81). The Demak Mosque is considered a *pusaka*, a concentration of Islamic sacred power in Java, due to the process of its building, involving all the *walis* and other paradigmatic Muslim figures in Java. See *Babad Jaka Tingkir* (Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 155-163) for a list of all the saints involved in the building. This *babad* contains the most detailed hierarchy of saints in Islamic Java.

I. 2. 2. Sunan Kalijaga as the Embodiment of a Javano-Islamic Identity

The image of Kalijaga is the personification of the Javano-Islamic identity that the court of Mataram traditionally endeavors to embody. As Ricklefs argues, this mystic synthesis, represented by the traditions of the royal houses of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, is anchored in the creative (if still ambiguous) interplay between a strong Islamic identity, based on the fulfillment of the five pillars of Islam, and a wide acceptance of an array of local spiritual forces and indigenous culture.¹⁵⁰ In this regard, Mark Woodward has emphasized the role of a wide-ranging Sufistic interpretive framework for holding together the creative and ambiguous tensions in this synthetic view of Islamization in Java.¹⁵¹

Interestingly, this synthesis is also popularly remembered as the unique cultural and spiritual legacy of Kalijaga. In what follows we examine a foundational feat of Kalijaga that helped make him the emblematic personification of Javano-Islamic identity. This legend concerns the achievement of Kalijaga in making a case for the rightful position of Islamic Java vis-à-vis the center of universal Islam represented by Mecca. As the 19th-century Javanese epic history, *Babad Jaka Tingkir*, narrates, at the point when the council of Muslim saints in Java was dealing with a possibly devastating fiasco in the process of realigning the recalcitrant Mosque of Demak toward Mecca, Kalijaga emerged as an imposing figure with immense powers of reconciliation. It was due to Kalijaga's spiritual power that the Grand Mosque would finally be brought into alignment with the

¹⁵⁰ Merle Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830-1930)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 5-7. This mystic synthesis could be witnessed in the life of Prince Dipanagara (1785-1855), a Javanese prince of the Mataram court, especially his mystical practices as a wandering pilgrim. On Dipanegara, Ricklefs wrote: "Here was a devout Muslim mystic who travelled the countryside in search of new learning and mystical experiences. [...] Those visions also brought him into contact both with the spirit of Sunan Kalijaga, and with Ratu Kidul [the Goddess of the South Sea]." (8).

¹⁵¹ Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 6.

Ka‘ba in Mecca (Ar. *qibla*), the material-spiritual center of universal Islam, after a long period of resistance on the part of this Grand Mosque in Java.¹⁵²

This incident is highly revealing about the nature and process of negotiation of Javano-Islamic identity vis-à-vis universal Islam, as well as the unique role of Kalijaga in it. On this point, Nancy Florida muses:

The resistance of this Mosque that embodied the society of new Javanese Moslems who constructed it signifies that the society’s work both to define its *Islām* and to establish itself, from its position on the margins of the Islamic world, as a center of authority. The *wali*, who ground that structure of nascent authority, debate among themselves the *kéblat* thus to negotiate a valid understanding of the Prophet’s message that would properly inform the submission, the *Islām*, of those whom they are converting.¹⁵³

In light of this, it is crucial to point out further that the question of relationship between local Islam (represented by the Grand Mosque as the most sacred heirloom of Islamic Java) and the universal Islam (represented by Mecca) is settled by “the miraculous manipulation of Sunan Kalijaga, a manipulation of both the Meccan Ka‘ba and the Demak Mosque.”¹⁵⁴ For, Kalijaga is said to have grasped the Ka‘ba by his right hand, while his left hand took hold of the uppermost peak of the Demak Mosque. Pulling both of them, Kalijaga unified the Ka‘ba’s roof and the peak of the mosque into one perfect structure or substance.¹⁵⁵

This legendary act of Kalijaga’s in this religio-cultural negotiation and localization of universal Islam in Java—thus, overcoming the binary opposition between center and periphery—is followed by a set of other significant gestures of appropriation

¹⁵² In the *Babad Jaka Tingkir* (XIII. 23), Sunan Kalijaga is called the “Substitute Axial Saint” (Ar. *qutub al-abdal*), the sixth rank of the nine saints in Java. See Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 333.

¹⁵³ Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 334

¹⁵⁴ Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 334.

¹⁵⁵ *Babad Jaka Tingkir*, XV.33-34; Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 167.

of Javanese culture.¹⁵⁶ This model of Kalijagan inculturation of Islam in Javanese culture becomes the hallmark of Javano-Islamic practice upheld by the Javanese royal houses in south central Java.¹⁵⁷ In this respect, *Kitab Usulbiyah*, a Javanese reworking of the *Qışaş al-anbiyā*¹⁵⁸ (Tales of the Prophets) that was produced at the Javanese court of Surakarta, for example, offers an interesting iconic image of the Prophet Muḥammad wearing a crown in Hindu-Buddhist style reminiscent of the Majapahit crown: it has the figures of mythical eagles (Jv. *garudha*) facing forward and backward, with teeth of precious rubies, gems for eyes and tongues of water jewels.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Known as a Muslim saint who appreciated the Hindu-Javanese shadow theatre (Jv. *wayang*), Kalijaga's mystical interpretation of this religious art is insightful. Quoting a Javanese text, *Babad Cirebon*, the Dutch Javanologist Rinkes summarizes Kalijaga's interpretation thus: "the *wayang* is indeed a reflected image of the One, so to speak: the image of the Law. The *wayang* [puppet] represents all humanity; the *dalang* [puppeteer] corresponds to Allah, Creator of the universe... Thus, also the Creatures can only act by the will of the Lord, the Highest, He who manipulates the world" (Rinkes, *The Nine Saints of Java*, 130). Among the other saints of Java, Kalijaga is the only *walī* who is always depicted as donning a Javanese traditional outfit (instead of an Arab one) as an expression of his identity (see Fig. 2.1). The religio-cultural significance of this symbolism becomes rather clear in light of the criticism by Hasanu Simon, a contemporary reformist writer, who muses that although this way of dressing is fine within Islam, it becomes a problem when motivated by an anti-Arab motivation and Javanese culture's superiority (see his *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar*, 332). Early in the history of Islamization in Java, the issue of clothing was indeed a sensitive one. A text from this era argued: "it is unbelief to dress like an infidel and to speak highly of these clothes"; see G. W. J. Drewes, ed. and trans., *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 37. On Kalijaga's appreciation of Javanese cultural elements, such as traditional music (Jv. *gamelan*), shadow theatre and so forth, see Kees van Dijk, "Dakwah and indigenous culture: the dissemination of Islam," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 154 (1998): 221-2.

¹⁵⁷ On the case of the Surakarta court, see Pakubuwana XII, *Karaton Surakarta*; while on the case of the Yogyakarta court, see Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java*; see also, Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, *Kraton Jogja*.

¹⁵⁸ Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 46-7; *Seen and Unseen World*, 75. In this connection, it is worth noting that a royal vehicle of the Kasepuhan court in Cirebon, West Java, has similar decorative features, but intentionally incorporating three different entities. The Garudha's head has trunk of an elephant (representing Hinduism), while at the same time it incorporates features of Chinese dragon (the teeth etc). The Garudha is also flanked by two elaborate images of Chinese dragons. In this hybrid symbol of unity, Islam is represented through the wings, legs and body of the Garudha that resemble those of the *bouraq* (the mystical creature used by the Prophet Muhammad in his night journey from Mecca to the highest heaven). What is missing here is the European element, since this dates back from pre-colonial times. However, this absence is made up for by the presence of ceramics from the Netherlands with complete illustrations of biblical stories in the main royal hall. Kasepuhan Court's custodians, personal communication, June 2009; see also James Bennet, *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia* (Adelaide and Canberra: Art Gallery of South Australia and National Gallery of Australia, 2005), 52.

I. 2. 3. King Brawijaya V and the Idea of Hindu and Islamic Continuity

The previous section focused on the establishment of Kalijaga's image as the originator and embodiment of Javano-Islamic identity, especially in south central Java, due to the influence of the two Javanese royal houses. However, as we have mentioned previously, this Javano-Islamic identity is also anchored in the notion of cultural continuity. As the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit was subsequently constructed and imagined as the peak of the Javanese culture, it was crucial that Mataram—and the whole idea of Javanese identity that this court was supposed to carry forward—be related intimately to Majapahit. In this regard, somebody other than Kalijaga is needed. For, while Kalijaga is the Muslim Javanese saint *par excellence*, his genealogical location (by virtue of not being a king, or genealogically linked to a king) could not put him in the unquestionable line of royal continuity between Majapahit and Mataram. In the Javanese tradition, this principle of continuity revolves around Brawijaya V, since he was undoubtedly the progenitor of subsequent Javanese monarchs. We will see later that all the shrines under study, as well as many others in south central Java, are connected to Brawijaya V in genealogical terms, a principle that ensures the continuity of supernatural blessings and power through his genealogy and descendants.¹⁵⁹

However, the relationship between Brawijaya V and later Javano-Islamic identity goes beyond mere genealogy. For, in the Javanese cultural memory, he is also imagined and thus remembered as an accomplished saint whose personal and saintly achievement

¹⁵⁹ On this point, James Fox writes: "Not just Prabu Brawijaya but many of his sons—thirteen by one account—made their way from East Java to settle in Mataram in order to follow the teachings of their father, Sunan Bayat. The tombs of many of these sons of Prabu Brawijaya are still places of *ziarah* in the area around Prambanan and in the villages of the Gunung Kidul. Thus some of the spiritual power of Majapahit remains incorporated in Mataram." See James J. Fox, "Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the *Wali*, the Founders of Islam on Java," 30.

becomes much more significant precisely because it explains the nature of the highly critical moment of the transition from Hindu-Javanese period to the new Javano-Islamic one. What is considered important in this Javanese memory is not his accomplishment as a Javanese monarch, but rather the nature of the end of his life. A Javanese epic history and prophecy, the *Babad Jaka Tingkir* text that I have mentioned few times earlier, describes the last moment of Brawijaya's life in the old Indic religio-cultural framework of *moksa*:

Vanished from the mortal realm, surging up in lightning body, he rose to the realm of Release (*moksa*), not by way of death; true return consummate, to the realm divinely pure; in absolute perfection, His Majesty Brawijaya perfectly realized *Jatimurti*, knowing the Whence and Whither.¹⁶⁰

Depicted this way, Brawijaya thus attained the highest stage of a mystical journey of realization of Reality (Ar. *tahqīq al-ḥaqq*), somewhat parallel to Kalijaga's mystical experience under al-Khaḍir or Dewaruci mentioned earlier. For he realized in his very being the theomorphic nature of humanity, a realization that led him to the final return to the Truly Real. It is crucial that the text *Babad Jaka Tingkir* uses the Javanese terms *jatimurti* and *sangkan paran*. *Jatimurti* is derived from two Sanskrit words—*jati*, denoting truth, reality, original state of being, and birth; and *murti*, meaning body, incarnation, and form—while *sangkan paran* is a compound Javanese word, denoting both original source (*sangkan*) and final destination (*paran*). In the wider context of Javanese religiosity, the doctrine of *sangkan paran* forms the pivot of Javanese

¹⁶⁰ *Babad Jaka Tingkir* I.13; Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 357. In *Babad Jaka Tingkir* XIII. 7 we find how the (Muslim) author of the work tries to account for Brawijaya's religious adherence: "His Majesty Brawijaya, though but a heathen *Buda* still was brilliant bright, aware of the Whence and Whither." Although not stated in this work explicitly, this framework of celestial ascension is not foreign to Islam. In fact, this *moksa* puts Brawijaya in the framework of the ascension to heaven experienced by Enoch (Idrīs) and Elijah (Ilyās), or even Jesus.

mysticism since it describes the most fundamental dynamics of the human journey, originating from God and returning back to Him.¹⁶¹

However, it is crucial to note that this journey is also intimately connected with the self as well as the role of *rasa*, a very crucial concept in Javanese culture. As has been explained in the Introductory Chapter, *rasa* is originally a Sanskrit word denoting taste, essence, delight and so forth. In Javanese spirituality and theological anthropology, *rasa* points to the deepest intuition and inner sensing. Thus it is at once an epistemological and spiritual category. In the words of Paul Stange, “*rasa* is at once the substance, vibration, or quality of what is apprehended and the tool or organ which apprehends it.”¹⁶² This term also acquires much deeper spiritual and mystical meaning in the Javanese culture because it also came to be associated with another Sanskrit term, *rahasya* (secret, mystery). Due to this association, the term *rasa* is then used to refer to the deepest spiritual experience or knowledge that could not be explained by words. This element of spiritual depth gets further intensified when the Javanese use the term *rasa* to translate the Arabic and Islamic concept of *sirr* which, among others, refers to the most subtle and

¹⁶¹ The idea of *sangkan paran* is also closely related to the framework of “origin” and “return” (Ar. *al-mabda’ wa al-ma’ad*) in the Islamic tradition. In this context, this framework points to the fundamental ontological structure and dynamics of human being (spiritual psychology) and the whole reality (cosmology and eschatology). The concepts of origin and return are central in the work of Muslim thinkers such as Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī; d. 1640); on this, see James Winston Morris, *The Wisdom of the Throne (al-Hikmat al’Arshiya): An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra* (Lahore: Suhail Academy), 12-13, 130ff, and *passim*. On the centrality of this ontological framework in Sufism, see Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *The Path of God’s Bondsmen: From Origin to Return*, trans. Hamid Algar (North Haledon, New Jersey: Islamic Publications International, 1980); William C. Chittick, *The Heart of Islamic Philosophy: The Quest for Self-Knowledge in the Teachings of Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), 51-67; see also Ostad Elahi, *Knowing the Spirit*, trans. and introduction by James W. Morris (Albany, N. Y.: SUNY Press, 2007). In Java, the encounters between the Javanese spiritual anthropology and the Islamic tradition can be found in the Javano-Islamic mystical literature (Jv. *suluk*) and the spiritual doctrines of the *kebatinan* movements (indigenous Javanese mystical brotherhoods). On this theme, see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995); also Harun Hadiwijono, *Man in the Present Javanese Mysticism* (doctoral diss., Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1967); also see Franz Magnis-Suseno, “Javanese Sangkan-Paran Philosophy,” in his *Pijar-Pijar Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 40-57.

¹⁶² See Paul Stange, “The Logic of Rasa in Java,” *Indonesia* 38 (1984): 119.

most hidden recess in the human heart in which God is believed to reside intimately, the spot where God and the soul are intimately in contact.¹⁶³ In light of this framework of *sirr*, then, *rasa* is the deepest realm in the human constitution where the knowledge and realization of the Whence and Whither (Jv. *sangkan paran*) are sustained. Again, for the Javanese, the journey to the Whence and Whither means going deeper into the self as well, as the stories of Sèh Malaya (Sunan Kalijaga) and Dewaruci describe.¹⁶⁴

As we have seen, the last episode of Brawijaya's life is depicted both in terms of Javano-Islamic mystical anthropology of *sangkan paran* as well as in the older framework of Hindu understanding of *moksa*. In this regard, Soemarsaid Moertono opines that the *moksas* of last Hindu-Buddhist kings of Java have been used by certain Javanese texts, such as the *Babad Tanah Jawi* and the *Babad Cirebon*, as a way to assert the unbroken continuity between the dying dynasties and the upcoming ones. This is so because these kings did not die in the violent battle against the Muslim forces, but rather they disappeared and attained a spiritual height. Thus the idea of *moksa* evades the problem of radical and violent change, something that is culturally troubling for Javanese.¹⁶⁵

This principle of continuity, however, takes on another different form in Javanese account of Brawijaya, namely, through certain kind of conversion, understood not as a

¹⁶³ Due to the centrality of the heart in the pilgrimage tradition and experience, we will explore the meaning of the heart in the larger Islamic tradition in Chapter 9.

¹⁶⁴ It is worth noting as well that the book *Usulbiyah* (a 18th-century Javanese rendition of the Arabic Tale of the Prophets, *Qışaş al-anbiyā'*) calls the Prophet Muḥammad God's *rasa* (Jv. *rasaningsun*). Echoing the possible meanings associated with the combination of the Sanskrit terms *rasa* and *rahasya* as well as the Arabic term *sirr*, Ricklefs translates this expression as "[God's] secret essence" (Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*, 65). In this framework, it becomes clearer that the term *rasa* is used to talk about the familiar Sufi concept of *al-nūr al-Muḥammadī* (the Muḥammadan light) as well as the possibility and mode of union between God and the human person.

¹⁶⁵ See Moertono, *State and Statecraft*, 55. This strategy of preserving continuity did not assume conversion. *Serat Cabolang*, for example, narrates that Brawijaya's wife did convert to Islam, while Brawijaya remained true to his ancestral faith. See Pigeaud, *De Serat Tjabolang en de Serat Tjentini: Inhoudsopgaven* (Batavia, 1933), 28; cited in G. W. J. Drewes, "The Struggle", 346.

radical break with the past, but rather as a deeper reconciliation and continuity. The accounts of Brawijaya V's conversion to Islam are known in Java, and, probably quite intentionally, are put next to the narratives of his *moksa*. As Rinkes has pointed out, in a rather general term, the Javanese seem to see this conversion as continuity on account that "there is little difference between Hinduism in Java and the forms by which Islam found its acceptance, apart from terminology."¹⁶⁶ In this framework, Brawijaya could have been a Muslim but still had an experience of *moksa*.¹⁶⁷ Again, what is at stake in the various accounts of the last days of Brawijaya V is the idea of continuity with all its possible tensions and ambiguities.¹⁶⁸ At this point in our study, emphasizing the idea of continuity is highly crucial because it helps us understand the inclusivity and openness that are still operative in the whole tradition of Muslim pilgrimage in Java. For instance, it explains how Javanese Muslim pilgrims come to see the role and complex, not to say hybrid, identity of the saints being venerated and the religio-cultural identities of their shrines. Due to this principle of continuity, the Hindu-Buddhist heritage is not considered the totally superseded other, but rather an other who remains a quite crucial aspect of the

¹⁶⁶ Rinkes, *Nine Saints of Java*, 72 (fn 14).

¹⁶⁷ Probably a variant of this dynamic of continuity, there is a tradition among the Javanese that Brawijaya V himself was transformed into the spirit king of Lawu after his disappearance from Majapahit. In the context of the mystical role played by south central Java, Sunan Lawu is important because he is considered the counterpart of, and the balance to, the spirit Queen of the South Sea. See Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 107.

¹⁶⁸ This tension and ambiguity came to the surface, for example, in the discourse of Javanese identity vis-à-vis Islam in the 19th century. Here, the exact nature of King Brawijaya's conversion was debated in two controversial works, *Serat Dharmagandul* and *Suluk Gatholoco*. In this regard, deciding the nature and circumstances of his conversion to Islam was important for deciding the role of Islam in the Javanese identity. *Serat Darmogandul*, a Javanese text advocating Javanism with anti-Islamic and anti-Chinese sentiment, asserted that Brawijaya was indeed converted to Islam but in rather dubious circumstances. He regretted his conversion later, but he could not return to the Hindu-Buddhist religion because it was witnessed by Kalijaga. In the text, Kalijaga is presented as a verifier and guarantor of Brawijaya's true Islamic faith. In line with its defense of Javanism, the text argues that Brawijaya could not go to heaven through *moksa*, because he was a Muslim. On this, see Drewes, "The Struggle," 321; in some other versions of Javanese legends, Brawijaya was believed to have been "converted," at least nominally, to Islam by Sunan Kalijaga. See Rinkes, *The Nine Saints of Java*, 72

self. To a certain degree, this pattern foreshadows the dynamics of mutual openness in which Muslim-Catholic encounters occur in south central Javanese society today.

I. 3. The Three Muslim Shrines and Their Saints

I. 3. 1. Sunan Pandanarang and the Shrine of Tembayat

This principle of continuity between the old Hindu-Buddhist heritage and the new Islamic tradition is also pivotal in the story of Sunan Pandanarang, the saint buried in the mausoleum and pilgrimage shrine of Tembayat. The Javanese account of his legendary ascent to sainthood involves the two earlier personages of continuity, namely Kalijaga and Brawijaya V.

By all accounts, it can be established that Sunan Pandanarang was the disciple of Kalijaga. Totally immersed in his worldly pursuit as the governor of Semarang, an important port city on the northern coast of central Java, Pandanarang was made to realize the nature of reality (Jv. *sunyata jati murti*) by Kalijaga's display of lofty spiritual feats and utter detachment from wealth and mundane power. However, the *Sèrat Babad Tembayat*, a Javanese text about this saint, also links him to Majapahit royal lineage through its last king, Brawijaya V.¹⁶⁹ In this genealogical account, Pandanarang is believed to be actually none other than Brawijaya V himself or at least his descendant.

¹⁶⁹ Jamhari, "In the Center of Meaning: Ziarah Tradition in Java" *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Studies* 7 (2000): 65. Jamhari is one of the few Indonesian scholars who have been doing a considerable research on the pilgrimage tradition in Muslim Java, especially the pilgrimage to Tembayat. His major works include: *To Visit a Sacred Tomb: The Practice of Ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's Resting Place in Klaten* (unpublished MA thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1995), *Popular Voices of Islam: Discourse on Muslim Orientations in South Central Java* (unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Australian National University, Canberra, 2000). Other scholar of note is Tommy Christomy of the University of Indonesia whose research is focused on the pilgrimage site of Pamijahan in West Java, the tomb of Shaykh Abdul Muhyi, an important 17th-century saint who belonged to the Shattārīyah Sufi brotherhood. See his *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites of Pamijahan, West Java* (Canberra: the ANU E Press, 2008); also his "Shattariyyah Tradition in West Java: the Case of Pamijahan," *Studia Islamika* 8 (2001): 55-82.

And it was Kalijaga who brought him to Islam and initiated him, in a way that displays a deeply Javanese spiritual framework, in the process of becoming the last *wali* (Jv. *wali panutup*) of the venerable council of the Nine Saints of Java. In this regard, it is very important to notice that *Babad Jaka Tingkir*, a 19th-century Javanese text that did not seem to assume the identity of Brawijaya V and Pandanarang, nevertheless keeps a parallelism between the two in terms of the nature of their spiritual transformation on the road to sainthood. As in the case of Brawijaya's *moksa*, this *Babad* also insists that it is the knowledge of *jatimurti*, the core of Javanese mysticism and spiritual anthropology, that Kalijaga imparts to his protégé.¹⁷⁰

Thus we witness here once again the effort to preserve the continuity of the old religious framework in the identity formation of a new Muslim saint. The same desire to form an inclusive Javanese-Muslim identity is further illustrated in the formative event of Pandanarang's journey to *wali*-hood. As the *Sèrat Babad Tembayat* narrates, Pandanarang built his first mosque on the top of Mount Jabalkat, in order that his call to prayer as well as the light of his mosque could be heard and seen throughout Java. Annoyed by the display of this junior *wali*'s haughtiness, the senior *walis* reprimanded Pandanarang. And it was Kalijaga who once again made him learn how to understand his identity as a true Muslim *wali* in the Javanese milieu. By telling him to move his mosque to a lower ground and lower the volume of his call to prayer, Kalijaga taught Pandanarang the virtue of humility, not primarily as a personal achievement but rather as a proper expression of Muslim identity.¹⁷¹ On this crucial point, Jamhari argues:

¹⁷⁰ *Babad Jaka Tingkir* XVI.12; Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 357.

¹⁷¹ This lesson of humility is made even more fitting in the context of the *Babad Jaka Tingkir*'s rather unique account of Pandanarang's conversion story. Different from the major versions of his conversion story, this *Babad* presents him as a prince-regent of the north Javanese city of Semarang who felt sidelined

Sèrat Tembayat interprets the warning as a means of alerting Sunan Tembayat to the fact that, as a new religion, Islam should not flaunt itself. In other words, *Sèrat Tembayat* construes the building of the mosque on top of the hill as an arrogant act. As a new religion, Islam should not be expressed in an arrogant way. In other words, the narrative of the moving of the mosque can be interpreted as a kind of cultural alert for the fast-growing Muslim community in the southern area of Central Java.¹⁷²

Thus the nascent Muslim community was being asked to master the art of knowing the dynamic of visibility and invisibility, not only in terms of their relationship with the Divine manifestations, but also in terms of forging and expressing their identity and location in the whole fabric of Javanese society. Pandanarang himself was no stranger to this pedagogy. For he owed his spiritual transformation to the effectiveness of this pedagogy at the hands of Kalijaga, his master. In the earliest phase of Pandanarang's journey of conversion, the maverick Kalijaga made use of a didactic game of simulacra (Jv. *semu*) and truth (Jv. *sejati*) to lure the future saint to the spiritual path, by skillfully presenting himself as a destitute uninvited guest to Pandanarang's lavish banquet, then minutes later appearing as a rich man dressing in the most elegant robes; or, according to different version, as a poor hay trader whose utter indifference to wealth finally brought Pandanarang to a spiritual discovery of the truly Real (Ar. *al-Haqq*).¹⁷³ For Pandanarang, this pedagogy taught him that discerning his master's true identity amounts to discerning the constancy of Divine presence in the complex dynamics of visibility and invisibility.

in the new religio-political hierarchy of power in Java introduced by the Islamic saints in the aftermath of the demise of Majapahit and the birth of Demak. Not finding a high position of authority in this new hierarchy, he refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of this new structure completely. It was, again, Kalijaga who overcame the crisis. Fulfilling Pandanarang's desire for position, Kalijaga taught him the esoteric teaching of the *wali*-ship and thus moved him up the ladder of the new spiritual hierarchy (see Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past*, 339). In this sense, *Babad Jaka Tingkir* is unique among other major *babads* that never mentioned Sunan Bayat's motive for prestige and power in his road to *wali*-hood. However, this story might further explain the reputation of the shrine of Tembayat as a place associated with the *baraka* of prestige and power, including worldly achievements.

¹⁷² Jamhari, "In the Center of Meaning," 65.

¹⁷³ Rinkes, *The Nine Saints of Java*, 73-74.

Pandanarang apparently took this lesson to heart since he himself made use of it later as a Muslim *wali*.¹⁷⁴

Pandanarang's relationship with Kalijaga and Brawijaya definitely puts him and his shrine at Tembayat on the spiritual map of Java. However, the shrine's prominence in south central Javanese history is due largely to its connection with the court of Mataram. Among its list of royal pilgrims, the shrine has no less a figure than Sultan Agung, the most pious and greatest monarch of Mataram, who visited the shrine following the appearance of the saint in his dream.¹⁷⁵ The timing of this royal pilgrimage in 1633 could not have been more significant. For it occurred during the most fragile moment of Sultan Agung's otherwise glorious reign: after having to swallow a bitter failure in his attempts to subdue the Dutch in Batavia in 1628 and 1629, only with great effort did Sultan Agung finally manage to crush the rebellion of some Muslim leaders around Tembayat. So, Sultan Agung's pilgrimage might have been motivated by a sense of acute crisis and a pursuit of supernatural help from the saint.¹⁷⁶

Regardless of Sultan Agung's exact motive, the effect of this visit is significant in terms of the formation of Javano-Islamic identity. For it was right after this visit that Sultan Agung incorporated the Islamic Hegira calendar to the existing Hindu Caka calendar, forming a hybrid Javano-Islamic calendar.¹⁷⁷ The fact that Sultan Agung opted

¹⁷⁴ Legendary is his victory over a Hindu ascetic in the contest of spiritual power through a game of hide-and-seek. By emphasizing Pandanarang's special power to get to know what is invisible as well as to become invisible himself, the Javanese lore of his sainthood prizes the saint's *karāmāt* of true perception of reality. See Rinkes, *The Nine Saints of Java*, 78-79.

¹⁷⁵ According to *Babad Kandha*, Sunan Tembayat appeared to Sultan Agung in a dream as an old man resplendent as the moon. The saint would appear again in a dream to this Sufi king of Mataram when he slept in the saint's shrine of Tembayat. See Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 43; see also John Pemberton, *On the Subject of "Java,"* 280.

¹⁷⁶ James J. Fox, "Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the Wali, the Founders of Islam on Java," 29.

¹⁷⁷ In addition, around the time of his pilgrimage to Tembayat, two explicitly Islamic works were composed at the court of Mataram: *Carita Sultan Iskandar* (the tale of Iskandar Dhu al-Qarnain) and *Carita Yusuf* (the

not for a replacement but rather an inclusion is telling about the larger spirit of inclusivity and continuity in the Javano-Islamic identity that the court of Mataram endeavored to embody. In this respect, the Hindu-Javanese style of the ceremonial gate in the shrine that Sultan Agung erected as a memory of his visit could well serve as a symbolic and tangible testament to Javano-Islamic identity at Tembayat.

I. 3. 2. Mawlana Maghribi: an Arab Saint and the Javano-Islamic Tradition

So far, we have touched on the historical significance of the Tembayat shrine, where we also find the centrality of Kalijaga and Brawijaya in the framework of continuity between Hindu-Javanese Majapahit and Javano-Islamic Mataram. The two other Muslim shrines under study here, the shrines of Gunungpring and Mawlana Maghribi, did not really have the same “historical” stature compared to the shrine of Tembayat. However, both are also symbolically related either to Kalijaga or to Brawijaya.

In terms of genealogy, Mawlana Maghribi belongs to an important line of the Arab family from whom nearly all early Muslim saints in Java descended. According to the genealogy (Jv. *silsilah*) posted in the shrine, he was the grandchild of Sèh Jumadil Kubra.¹⁷⁸ As van Bruinessen has argued, Jumadil Kubra is the ancestor of many members

story of Joseph). These writings are considered spiritually potent and were reproduced and redacted in the court of Surakarta in 1729, as the centennial year of Sultan Agung’s pilgrimage to Tembayat approached. Yet another writing, *Suluk Garwa Kencana*, is associated with Sultan Agung’s pilgrimage to Tembayat (it is believed to contain the spiritual lessons that the saint of Tembayat confided to Sultan Agung). See Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 43, 186.

¹⁷⁸ According to the text *Babad Dipanagara* (19th century), Mawlana Maghribi was the father of two important saints, Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri (see James Fox, “Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the Wali,” 32), and in *Serat Sèh Dul Kadir* (19th century), Mawlana Maghribi is related to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the famous saint from Baghdad, who is also very popular among Javanese pilgrims, as attested by the fact that his intercession is a constant feature in standard *tawassul* prayers in pilgrimage sites across Java. On the *Serat Sèh Dul Kadir*, see Nancy Florida, *Surakarta Manuscripts Vol. 1*, 299. On the role of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Muslim Java, see Julian Patrick Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java* (Ph.D. Dissertation, the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 2006); also Julian

of the Nine Saints of Java.¹⁷⁹ Many pilgrimage sites in Java are associated with him, including one in Turgo hill, near Mount Merapi, to the north of Yogyakarta, where he is believed to have been the spiritual adviser of Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1646), not in a historical sense but rather in a mystical framework. In this genealogy, although Maghribi was younger than Jumadil Kubra, he still belonged to the earliest era of Muslim presence in Java. Attesting to this would be the fact that his name appeared in the oldest surviving texts from that era such as the Ferrara Manuscript.¹⁸⁰ Despite the confusions and inconsistencies in the Javanese accounts of the genealogy of Mawlana Maghribi, it is generally accepted that he was none other than Mawlana Malik Ibrahim, the most senior member of the Nine Saints. Tradition has it that he hailed from Central Asia, but might have come to Java in the last decades of the 14th century via Gujarat (India) and Champa (Vietnam). He apparently had a cordial relationship with the Hindu court of Majapahit

Millie and Syihabuddin, "Addendum to Drewes: The Burda of Al-Busiri and the Miracles of Abdulqadir al-Jaelani in West Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161(2005): 98-126.

¹⁷⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in early Indonesian Islam", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150 (1994): 320. See also H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Pigeaud, *De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java*, chapter 1 (note #2). The exact genealogical relationship between Jumadil Kubra and early Muslim saints in Java (Mawlana Maghribi, Ibrahim Asmaraqandi, Mawlana Ishaq, Sunan Giri etc) is never made very clear in Javanese texts or *babads*. There are too many inconsistent stories. According to Pigeaud, Jumadil Kubra (or Jumadil Akbar) stayed in China and converted a Chinese emperor before coming to Java. In this respect, it is more important to understand the significance of this figure in the Javanese historical imagination. Van Bruinessen writes, "The range of the legends and the extent of the geographical dispersion suggest that the archetype of Jumadil Kubra must have enjoyed great prestige in early Indonesian Islam." (324) Attesting to this in the 19th century was the fact that the title of Sèh Jumadil Kubra was taken by Ahmad Ngisa, a Muslim figure who led an Islam-inspired rebellion against the Dutch in the area of Karangobar, along the Serayu river, central Java in 1871. In historical sources, Ngisa (a Javanese corruption of the Arabic *ʿIsa*, that is, Jesus) was depicted as a Javano-Muslim charismatic figure who was appealing to the mass largely due to his mastery of Javanese secret knowledge and martial arts. See Ahmad Adaby Darban, "Ulama Jawa Bagian dari Warisan Budaya Islam di Indonesia: Dinamika Perkembangan dan Perjuangannya," ["Javanese *ʿUlamā* as Part of the Islamic Cultural Legacy in Indonesia: the Dynamic Development and Struggle"], a paper presented at the Symposia on the Charism of Islamic Cultural Heritage in Indonesia ("Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa: Akulturasi, Perubahan dan Perkembangan"; Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta, Museum Benteng Yogyakarta, November 9, 1995), 38.

¹⁸⁰ Mawlana Maghribi is mentioned by name in this manuscript as one of the seven saints that were present during the so-called "synod of the *walis*" in which a verdict on Sèh Lemah Abang, an allegedly heterodox saint, was passed. See G. W. J. Drewes, ed. and trans., *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 9, 13.

due to his peaceful manner in his missionary work. As the inscription on his tombstone in Gresik, East Java, attests, he died in 1419.

In the context of the supernatural worldview of south central Java, shared by typical pilgrims to Maghribi's shrine in the southern coast, emphasis is generally placed on Maghribi's genealogical connection to Kalijaga and Brawijaya V (and Mataram) as well as the geo-spiritual location of his shrine. Maghribi was married to Kalijaga's sister (Roro Rosowulan),¹⁸¹ and one of his grandchildren (Dewi Nawangsih) became the wife of Prince Bondan Kejawen, the son of Brawijaya V, from whose line the Mataram dynasty descended.¹⁸² This genealogical line makes him a unique Arab ancestor (Jv. *pundhen*) of the Yogyakarta sultanate that descended from Mataram. For this reason, his shrine in Parangtritis is also under the jurisdiction of this royal house.¹⁸³

The location of Maghribi's shrine on the mythical southern coast of Parangtritis (Map 1.3) is also very crucial. This shrine shares physical proximity with three mythical places in this area that are associated with the founding of the Mataram dynasty. The first is the venue where Panembahan Senapati (r. 1588-1601), the legendary founder of Mataram, sealed a political and romantic pact with the Goddess of the Southern Sea (Jv. *Ratu Kidul*); the second is the site where Panembahan Senapati received the divine omen

¹⁸¹ This tradition is based on the *Babad Tanah Jawi*; see also Klaus Fuhrmann, *Formen der javanischen Pilgerschaft zu Heiligenschreinen* (Ph.D. Diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2000), 269; also Soewito Santoso, *Babad Tanah Jawi* (Surakarta, 1979), 80ff.

¹⁸² In the Parangtritis area (see Map 1.3), the connection between the Brawijaya clan and Mawlana Maghribi is further established through local legends, according to which two of Brawijaya's children became the students of Maghribi, following the defeat and eventual conversion to Islam of their former Hindu teacher at the hand of this Muslim saint. The alleged tombs of these two revered students of Maghribi—known as Sèh Bela-Belu and Sèh Gagang Dami Aking—still stand today in the same area and are popular among Javanese pilgrims, together with the shrine of Maghribi.

¹⁸³ The area of the shrine (called Pamancingan) belongs to a special category of tax-exempt territory, due to its religious (Islamic) status. See Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 141, 781.

(Jv. *wahyu*; Ar. *wahy*) of his future kingship from the invisible world at Lipura;¹⁸⁴ and the third is the tomb of Sultan Agung in Imogiri (see Map 1.3). Furthermore, in light of Mawlana Maghribi's genealogical connection with Jumadil Kubra, his shrine at the southern coast would be spiritually connected to Jumadil Kubra's shrine in Mount Merapi in the north. In the context of Mataram's traditional sacred cosmology, this genealogical relation also means connecting two important supernatural-geographical poles of the realm, namely the Indian Ocean (Southern Sea) and Mount Merapi in the north, thus forming south central Java as a unified spiritual cosmos.¹⁸⁵ All these factors seem to explain the curious fact that although this saint was of Arab descent, Javanese culture and history is certainly the main framework of the pilgrimage tradition to this shrine.

I. 3. 3. Raden Santri and Other Javanese Muslim Saints at Gunungpring

This linkage to Brawijaya and Mataram is also crucial for the identity of Pangeran Singasari (Raden Santri), the most senior saint of the Gunungpring shrine. According to the official genealogy of the saint, Pangeran Singasari also descended from Raden Bondan Kejawan and more specifically, was the brother of Panembahan Senapati (r.

¹⁸⁴ This coast is also very close to the area called Lipura where Panembahan Senapati, the founder of the Mataram dynasty, received his royal omen from God through a dream. In this regard, it is worth noticing that the Catholic Sacred Heart shrine is precisely located in Lipura (see Map 1.3). Since Panembahan Senapati's role in the history of Java is seen also as a fighter for a Javano-Islamic identity (as opposed to a pure Islamic one), this spatial and spiritual proximity has been interpreted as a call for the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran to be a place where this kind of inclusive identity is fostered. As we will see in Chapter 5, this spatial location and its connection with Senapati is considered significant in the self-understanding of this Catholic shrine and its mission in contemporary Java. For the mythical and spiritual significance of Lipura and the southern coast for Javanese identity, see H. J. de Graaf, *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram: Masa Pemerintahan Senapati* (Jakarta: Grafiti Press and KITLV, 1985), 74ff; see also M. Ricklefs, "Dipnagara's Early Inspirational Experience" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130 (1974): 227-58.

¹⁸⁵ As Woodward shows, this *mandala* has four guardians the Queen of the Southern Sea (Jv. Ratu Kidul), Sunan Merapi (the spirit king in mount Merapi in the north), Sunan Lawu (the spirit of Brawijaya) in the east, and Semar (an indigenous Javanese divine figure). See Woodward, *Islam in Java*, 199.

1588-1601).¹⁸⁶ After some years of helping out his brother in subduing some outlying Javanese principalities, Raden Santri devoted his life as a Muslim ascetic and teacher, and finally settled in the Gunungpring area. At Gunungpring, this royal connection is made more formal by the establishment of the Raden Santri Foundation (Jv. Yayasan KR Santri Puroloyo Gunungpring) that operates under the auspice of the royal house of Yogyakarta. As Stuart Robson remarks, there are some rather peculiar legends around this saint, the chief among which is that there will always be a “holy madman” (Ar. *majdhūb*) among his descendants.¹⁸⁷ In the 1960s, it was Gus Jogo (*Mbah* Jogoreso, also buried in Gunungpring) who was believed to be the mad saint. Together with *Mbah* Dalhar (d. 1959) from the nearby Darussalam Islamic boarding school (Jv. *pesantren*),¹⁸⁸ they were two famous contemporary saints who attracted large numbers of students from all over Java, including the next generation of *walī* such as Gus Miek (K. H. Hamim

¹⁸⁶ Thus, through the line of Raden Bondan Kejawen, Raden Santri is also connected, albeit very indirectly, to Mawlana Maghribi and Kalijaga. See “Silsilah Kyai Raden Santri (Eyang Pangeran Singasari) Puroloyo Gunungpring Muntilan” (published by the Association of the Yogyakarta Court’s Attendants [“Paguyuban Abdi Dalem Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat”]; without year). This genealogy (Ar., *silsilah*) is consistent with the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, which lists Raden Santri as the third son of Kyai Ageng Pemanahan. See also Ahmad Muradlo Hasabu, *Sekilas Kisah Simbah Kyai Raden Santri dan Tata Cara Ziarah Kubur* ([“A Sketch of Raden Santri’s Life and the Etiquette of Tomb Visit”]; Muntilan: Yayasan KR Santri Puroloyo Gunungpring, without year). However, a different version exists with regard to Raden Santri’s genealogy, for example, that he was the brother of Sultan Agung. For an analysis of the problems associated with Raden Santri’s genealogy, see Stuart Robson, “Kjahi Raden Santri,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 121 (1965): 259-64.

¹⁸⁷ Stuart Robson, “Kjahi Raden Santri,” 260. In the context of Sufism, the category of *majdhūb* (literally, those who are completely drawn to God) refers to a particular kind of saints who would exhibit shocking behavior under ecstatic or intense mystical influence. Due to this behavior, they sometimes would be regarded as mentally deranged. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 19, 105.

¹⁸⁸ Belonging to one of the central pillars of Islamic Java (especially among traditionalists Muslims in the Nahdlatul Ulama organization), the *pesantrens* are Islamic religious schools that also become, in most cases, centers of mystical learning and practice, associated with local and international mystical orders (Ar. *ṭarīqa*). The students of these schools (Jv. *santri*) would normally live in the compound for some years and have a more than formal relationship with the master (Jv. *kyai*). Major *pesantrens* in Java are interrelated through families and marriages. Many contemporary saints in Islamic Java come from these networks of families who own the *pesantrens*. In many cases, the *pesantren* compound in which the tombs of these saintly *kyais* become new pilgrimage centers. For a literature on *pesantren*, see Zamaksari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java* (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1980).

Djazuli, a maverick and controversial saint with a large following across Java who died in 1993; more on this figure below) and Kyai Chudlori (d. 1977), the founder of the famous Tegalrejo Islamic school (Jv. *pesantren*) in Magelang regency, central Java.¹⁸⁹ During his lifetime, *Mbah* Dalhar had been rather widely known as a *walī*, an expert in the science of Reality (Ar. *ḥaqīqa*), a disciple of al-Khaḍīr, and a teacher (Ar. *murshid*) in the Shādhiliyya Sufi order. He left behind a work in Arabic called *Tanwīr al-ma‘ānī* on the life and virtues (Ar. *manāqib*) of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 658/1258). Adding to his charisma among the Javanese people in south central Java, *Mbah* Dalhar was also a distant descendant of a Mataram king, Amangkurat III (d. 1734).¹⁹⁰ His grave at Gunungpring has become a focal point of *ziyāra* among pilgrims, especially those who are more attracted to him due to their connection to him via their teachers in the networks of *pesantrens*, rather than to Raden Santri. The former students and followers of Gus Miek, for example, become familiar with *ziyāra* to *Mbah* Dalhar’s tomb because their teacher taught them to do so.

At this point, it is crucial for us to see the confluence between the court culture as and the *pesantren* culture in the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java. As we have seen, the figure of Raden Santri represents the court culture while the figures of Gus Jogoreso, *Mbah* Dalhar, and Gus Miek represent the *pesantren* culture. For the most part, the two go hand in hand, making the tradition of pilgrimage more rich, intense, and

¹⁸⁹ For a biography of Gus Miek, see Muhamad Nurul Ibad, *Perjalanan dan Ajaran Gus Miek* (“The Life and Teachings of Gus Miek”), Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2007); and for a brief sketch of Kyai Chudlori’s life and work, see M. Bambang Pranowo, “Islam Faktual: Antara Tradisi dan Relasi Kuasa” (Adicita Karya Nusa, without year), 53-74; see also his *Memahami Islam Jawa* (“Understanding Javanese Islam”), Ciputat, Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet and Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment (INSEP), 2009). This book is a revision of the author’s doctoral thesis *Creating Islamic Tradition in Rural Java* (1991) at Monash University, Australia.

¹⁹⁰ For a brief biography of *Mbah* Dalhar by his descendant, see Muhammad Wafa al-Hasani, “Waliullah *Mbah* Kyai Dalhar Watucongol” <http://al-kahfi.net/tarikh-wa-tsaqafah/waliyullah-mbah-kyai-dalhar-watucongol/> (accessed September 2009).

widespread. Due to this confluence, the hybridity of the practice becomes noticeable. The *pesantren* culture, due to its strong master-student relationship, also connects a particular saint and his shrine to a chain of other saints and their tombs. For example, because of the role of Gus Miek, the tomb of Gunungpring is related to the cemetery of Tambak (Makam Tambak) in Kediri regency, East Java, where his tomb is located, together with the tombs of other Javanese *awliyā'*.¹⁹¹ The networks of pilgrims to this cemetery grow significantly due to the popularity of the special gathering of Qur'ānic recitation (Jv. *Sema'an al-Quran*) and prayers of remembrance (*Dzikrul Ghofilin*) initiated in the 1970s by Gus Miek. This cemetery is in fact the place where the gathering took place.¹⁹²

Before moving on to the next section, it is important to notice that the expansion of *ziyāra* tradition to include Gus Jogo, *Mbah Dalhar* and others at Gunungpring shows the growth of the Javano-Islamic pantheon of saints, reflecting the complexity of Islamic history in south central Java as it becomes intimately involved in the history of the Mataram dynasty and local Muslim communities.¹⁹³

I. 4. Concluding Remarks

This first chapter of our study deals with the crucial question of sacred history in the context of pilgrimage tradition among Javanese Muslims in south central Java, particularly the pilgrimage tradition to the three shrines under study. In this regard, I have

¹⁹¹ This cemetery houses the tombs of the most important Muslim figures who were instrumental in bringing Islam to the area. According to local tradition, no less than twenty-two figures buried here are popularly called *awliyā'*. Three of the most known ones are Syekh Maulana Abdul Qadir Khoiri Al-Iskandari, Syekh Maulana Abdullah Soleh and Syekh Maulana Erman Jawi. Upon his death in 1993, Gus Miek himself was buried in this cemetery.

¹⁹² See Muhamad Nurul Ibad, *Perjalanan dan Ajaran Gus Miek* ("The Life and Teachings of Gus Miek"), 113-54, and *passim*.

¹⁹³ A growing tradition of *ziyāra* to the tomb of Kyai Ali Ma'shum (d. 1989) of the al-Munnawir Islamic Boarding School (Jv. *pesantren*) in the outskirt of Yogyakarta also belongs to this recent wave of the expansion.

attempted to show that among Javanese Muslim pilgrims, a particular understanding of history is at work, namely history as a memory of sacred past and collective task. History is not a fixed narrative and legacy of the past that a generation would readily receive, but rather the communal task of continual remaking of connection and continuity with the complex past where the other (the pre-Islamic legacy) is not only present, but constitutively so. Concretely, it is through the act of making pilgrimages to the shrines of the paradigmatic figures of the past that Javanese Muslims act out this notion of history as memory. In this dynamic, as we have seen, the figures of the saints then represent living memories of the embodiments of this creative process of Javano-Islamic identity formation in south central Java. As we have seen, foundational in this identity formation was the role of Sunan Kalijaga. So singular was his role that the hybrid Javano-Islamic identity continues to be identified largely with this particular *walī*. In general, due to this role, saints like Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Pandanarang south central Java continue to have a religio-cultural authority for the community in the present. On the basis of the prominence of this kind of religio-cultural patterns, I argue that the Javano-Muslim pilgrimage tradition in south central Java is, by and large, governed by the principle of communion with the sacred past. In this overarching framework of communion, the newer saints and their religio-cultural legacies are creatively placed and interpreted.

In the next chapter, I will continue the discourse on the ways in which this Javano-Islamic identity formation around the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java tackles the question of the other, by focusing on the spatial, artistic, architectural, and ritual aspects of shrines and pilgrimage tradition. I attempt to show how the memory of the other is also implicated in very concrete and visible ways in the constant remaking of

the Muslim self in these shrines. In fidelity to the natural dynamic of pilgrimage itself, I will pursue the analysis by starting from the outward dimension, namely the spatial, artistic and architectural features of the shrines, and then ending with the more inward one, that is, the rituals.

CHAPTER 2
MUSLIM SELF AND HINDU-JAVANESE OTHER:
SPATIAL, ARCHITECTURAL, AND RITUAL SYMBOLISMS

Gone, vanished without a trace are the works of the (worldly) realm!
Javanese Chronogram¹⁹⁴

In the earliest history of Islamization in Java, it was the legacy of the Hindu-Javanese polity of Majapahit that for the most part became the “other,” a foil against which Islam set itself. Thus the transition from the fall of Majapahit (1478) to the first Islamic sultanate of Demak is curiously marked by the above mentioned chronogram: “Gone, vanished without a trace are the works of the (worldly) realm” (Jv. *sirna ilang pakartining bumi*). However, if we take this chronogram to refer specifically to the

¹⁹⁴ This chronogram is found in many Javanese texts, for example in the *Babad Jaka Tingkir* (canto I.19), a 19th-century Javanese writing of history from the court of Surakarta. This text is the subject of Nancy K. Florida’s excellent work on the Javanese notion of history and prophecy: *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 94. I slightly altered Florida’s translation of the chronogram. I translated the Javanese word “bumi” as realm, rather than earth.

vanishing of the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, a question arises: is there really no trace left behind by this once mighty kingdom? Our previous chapter has made clear that the principles of continuity, connection and communion with the sacred past that includes the pre-Islamic legacy have become the principal ways in which the so-called Javano-Islamic identity is founded and negotiated. In the kind of model pilgrimage that the *Serat Centhini* advocates, we see how Jayengresmi, a Muslim prince-cum wandering pilgrim, in his longing for the sacred past, visited the ruins of Hindu-Javanese sites, as well as learned some wisdom lessons from the living Hindu teachers in their hermitages. The *Serat Centhini* seems to argue that there were legitimate reasons why this pious Muslim prince lamented the loss of the grandeur of this sacred past and why he was still able to imbibe in its power in the present during his long wandering pilgrimage across Java.

This chapter takes our discussion of the formation of Javano-Islamic identity further by examining more specifically the spatial, artistic and architectural symbolisms, as well as the ritual activities, of the shrines under study. In this framework, these symbolisms and rituals are understood as tangible and material expressions of a Javano-Islamic collective self that is marked by an appropriation of Hindu-Javanese tradition of the past that in turn, can be taken as a larger and enduring symbolic hospitality to the other. On many levels, what we are dealing here are the various material and ritual expressions of the Javano-Islamic identity formation that in the popular Javanese historical account in south central Java has been associated with the figure of Sunan Kalijaga. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this saint's role has become paradigmatic in securing the rightful place of Javaneseness in the formation of a

distinctive Islamic identity in south central Java. In various ways, this chapter carries further the argument that pilgrimage in south central Java has always been imbued with the desire to commune with, and to make present, the authoritative and sacred past that includes the founding events and figures such as the saints and kings. As it will become clearer in this chapter, maintaining a connection with this sacred past that includes forms of otherness definitely makes this kind of religio-cultural identity formation richer and complex at the same time. That is why it raises the issue of continuous discernment on the part of the pilgrims and their communities with regard to finding creative ways of interpreting anew the extremely rich yet complex (not to say, ambiguous) aspects of this identity formation in the artistic, architectural, and ritual realms.

To serve its purpose, this chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part deals with the spatial, artistic and architectural features of the shrines; while the second delves into the realm of pilgrimage rituals. In the third part some rather general observations will be offered on the role of the *walīs* (Muslim saints) as religio-cultural brokers in this very process. It should be noted however that for this purpose, I am not going to examine the three shrines with the same intensity. Rather, for the sake of focus and brevity, I will mainly examine the Tembayat shrine due to its more important role in history as one of the oldest major Muslim shrines in Java, its contemporary status as a major pilgrimage site, as well as its more elaborate artistic, architectural and ritual features.

II. 1. Spatial, Artistic, and Architectural Traces of the Other

As examined in Chapter 1, it is in the framework of negotiating a complex Javano-Islamic identity that the practice of pilgrimage in south central Java in the present finds its framework of meaning. It is in this framework that traces of the past are not only carefully kept alive, chiefly through pilgrimage tradition to these sites, when they are available, but they are also sought after, or “invented,” when they are not readily available.¹⁹⁵

In this regard, the Javanese penchant for finding “traces” of the sacred past as well as forms of otherness contained in it, is illustrated well in the role of the “*petilasan*” (derived from Jv. *tilas*, trace). These are particular places normally associated with the particular deed of important historical or mythical figures in certain location, perhaps corresponding to the more general notion of *maqām*, understood as a place where paradigmatic figures have stayed or passed, in the Islamic tradition. The shrine of Mawlana Maghribi in Parangtritis area on the southern coast of Java (Map 1.3) is a good example of a *petilasan* that becomes a major pilgrimage site.¹⁹⁶ However, for the most part, *petilasans* in Java are very simple, seemingly having nothing much to offer to sight-hungry pilgrims, even evoking more absence than presence.¹⁹⁷ As Chambert-Loir shows, in some cases these *petilasan* “may materialise a sacred place; in others it may be the

¹⁹⁵ In this regard, James Fox argues that “for ordinary Javanese, who regularly perform *ziarah* to tombs throughout Java, it is still an oral tradition that provides a vivid view of Java’s past and its direction for the future. The tombs of the *wali* are thus popular broadcast points for the history of Islam on Java.” See his “Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the Wali, the Founders of Islam on Java,” 22.

¹⁹⁶ In Java, there are many *petilasan* associated with this saint, for example in Baturaden, Boyolali, Batang, Mojokerto etc. His real tomb is believed to be in Gresik, East Java.

¹⁹⁷ For example, the *petilasan* of Sunan Kalijaga in Cawas, Klaten (not far from the shrine of Tembayat) consists of just a stone with some holes. It is believed to be the place where this saint stopped to do the prayer. This simplicity of course stands in contrast with major Muslim shrines in Java, where the sense of sacred presence is definitely so much stronger due to its much more elaborate and grand architectural features.

means to revere a sacred mythical figure.”¹⁹⁸ By visiting these mostly unassuming places, Javanese pilgrims (not only Muslims) seek to commune with a sense of sacred and potent presence, however dim it would appear to be. The Javanese have a special term to designate this particular kind of pilgrimage as a reenactment of history. It is called *napak tilas* (Jv. literally means “walking in the footsteps” of paradigmatic figures). In this regard, the parallelism between this Javanese practice and Michel de Certeau’s understanding of historiography as “a treatment for absence” is striking. For *napak tilas* is nothing other than walking along, in the sense of re-tracing, the footprints of the vanguard. ¹⁹⁹ This is so because the Javanese verb “*napak*” means “to walk, to step” and it is derived from the noun “*tapak*” (footprints), thus denoting a physical re-enacting of the passage of the vanished.²⁰⁰ This act of re-tracing could make the vanished return, not always to the center of the present, but at least occupying a definite place in the collective memory of the community. In the context of Muslim Java, as examined previously, the vanished includes the other, such as the historical and mythical figures of the Hindu-Javanese past as well as this Hindu-Javanese past as a whole.

¹⁹⁸ See Henri Chambert-Loir, “Saints and Ancestors: The Cult of Muslim Saints in Java” in Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reids, *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, 136.

¹⁹⁹ In the context of his understanding of historiography as “a treatment for absence,” Michel de Certeau argues: “Like Robinson Crusoe on the shore of his island, before ‘the vestige of a naked foot imprinted upon the sand’, the historian travels along the borders of his present; he visits those beaches where the other appears only as a *trace* of what has *passed*.” de Certeau, *L’Absent de l’histoire*, 8-9; quoted in Jeremy Ahearne, *Michel de Certeau: Interpretation and Its Other* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1995), 10.

²⁰⁰ The Javanese notion of *napak tilas* also has a sense of entering into the experience of the paradigmatic figures of the past by repeating their course of actions. See Stuart Robson and Singgih Wibisono, *Javanese-English Dictionary* (Periplus, 2002), 723-4. Furthermore, in the Christian usage in Java, *napak tilas* also acquires the meaning of discipleship, as shown in the term “*napak tilas pada Dalem Sang Kristus*” (following in the footsteps of Christ).

Among the three shrines under study, it is in the shrine of Tembayat that the traces of the Hindu-Javanese “other” are the most conspicuous.²⁰¹ Historically speaking, as the previous chapter has shown, this character of Tembayat stems from the fact that most of its architectural remains date back to the early Mataram period (17th century) when the so-called “mystic synthesis” between Islam and aspects of Hindu-Javanese tradition, i.e. cultural synthesis between Islam and Javaneseness that is grounded in a mystical worldview shared by Sufism and Javanese culture, was flourishing under Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1646) who himself made a historic pilgrimage to the shrine in 1633 and became its royal patron.²⁰² And in this mausoleum, as in the royal mausoleums of Mataram in Imogiri and Kotagedhe (Map 1.3), the most conspicuous traces of the other are the Hindu-styled gateways with all the delicate ornaments (Fig. 4.1).²⁰³ On the presence of the Hindu other at Tembayat, Rinkes, a prominent Dutch scholar of Java and the then advisor to the colonial government on native affairs, wrote:

Some of the motifs in the ornamentation are found also on Hindu buildings, especially in Majakarta, according to experts; but in the lack of motifs from the animal kingdom, one senses Muslim influence on the builder of that time.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ It should be noted that, when speaking about the religio-cultural legacy of Hindu-Buddhism in Java as “the other”, I do not imply a total otherness precisely because, as the previous chapter has shown, the principle of continuity is at work, meaning that this other has become an inherent part of the self. However, even in the framework of the Javano-Islamic “mystic synthesis,” there is a persisting sense of alterity, ambiguity and tension, on account of the lack of total identity between Hindu-Javaneseness and Islam.

²⁰² See M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 39.

²⁰³ In a spatial movement from outer to inner part of the shrine, these Hindu-Javanese style gateways (Jv. *gapura*) are: (1) *Gapura Segara Muncar*, the first gate marking the boundaries between the shrine compound and its surrounding area; (2) *Gapura Dhuda*, located at the foot of the hill, marking the point where pilgrims start their ascent to tomb of the saint; (3) *Gapura Pangrantungan* that leads the pilgrims to the tombs of the saint’s close friends; and (4) *Gapura Panemut* that contains the chronogram “*Wisya Hanata Wisiking Ratu*” signifying the year when Sultan Agung renovated the shrine. If these Hindu-Javanese style gates are put in the context of the ascent to mount Jabal al-Qāf, we see how an interesting Hindu-Muslim architectural metaphor is displayed at this shrine.

²⁰⁴ D. A. Rinkes, *The Nine Saints in Java*, 71.

Thus Rinkes saw the influence of the Muslim architectural tradition through the category of absence, that is, the lack of human and animal motives (aniconism) in the otherwise completely Hindu-Javanese architectures, rather than the presence of a specifically Islamic architectural tradition.²⁰⁵

Obviously, Rinkes' observation was based on the conditions of the shrine then. However, as far as aniconism is concerned, there have been significant developments since his visit in 1910-1913. More aniconic images are much more visible now. For example, in front of the inner pavilion (Jv. *bangsal lebet*), just below the mausoleum of the saint, there stands a short obelisk with a familiar ornament of Kala's head on the bottom (Fig. 4.2). Then, on the bottom of the door of the hall, on both sides, we find two images of turtle head, one with mouth open and the other with mouth closed.²⁰⁶ In the same area, stands also the legendary water barrel (Jv. *genthong sinaga*) for ritual purification that has a shape of a dragon's head as the channel for the flowing water in the base. Then, just before entering the chamber where the graves of the saint and his family members are located, we find the Gate of the Dragon (Jv. *regol sinaga*). This gate is not in the Javano-Hindu Majapahit style—a fact that might suggest its more recent

²⁰⁵ In my view, this architecture of absence can be related, to a certain degree, to the fundamental quality of Islamic art as contemplation on “emptiness” or absence, as a result of the lack of human or animal images. In the words of Titus Burckhardt, Islamic art “reflects no ideas, but transforms the surroundings qualitatively, by having them share in an equilibrium whose centre of gravity is the unseen.” Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*, Commemorative Edition (World Wisdom, 2009), 29.

²⁰⁶ The image of turtle could also be found in the royal mausoleum at Kotagedhe (where a statue of a turtle called Ki Dudo was erected after its death) and in the Demak Mosque as well. The case of Demak Mosque is instructive in the context of transition from the Hindu-Javanese Majapahit to the Islamic kingdom of Demak. In this oldest mosque in Java, the image of a turtle is placed in the *mihrab*. This image has been interpreted in many different ways, including the belief that turtle is the manifestation or incarnation of Vishnu on earth to save the earth and all its inhabitants. The standard interpretation is that the walis took up this image to attract the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese to enter the mosque. See Sugeng Haryadi, *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak dan Grebeg Besar* [“The History of the Founding of the Grand Mosque of Demak and the Islamic Great Festival of Eid al-Adha”]; Jakarta: CV Mega Berlian, 2003), 70. Beyond Java, Annemarie Schimmel writes that there are white tortoises in the large pond at Bazeyid Bistami's sanctuary in Chittagong, Bangladesh. See her *Deciphering the Signs of God*, 7.

origin—and it is partitioned into three smaller gates. On the very top of these smaller gates, we find three sets of interesting ornaments. The right and left gates have the ornaments of two wild beasts guarding a Hindu temple (Jv. *candi*; Fig. 4.3),²⁰⁷ while the one at the center has the image of two dragons becoming one, forming a shape of a royal crown filled with lotus flowers, flanked by two buddha-like figures in deep meditation (Fig. 4.4).²⁰⁸

The fact that Rinkes did not notice these rather remarkable Hindu-Javanese traces at the Tembayat shrine can be explained by the fact that these images were added in the decades after Rinkes' visit around 1910-1913. The architectural features of the gates (non-Majapahit style) that hold these images do give the impression of more recent origins. In general, the artistic and architectural features of this shrine exhibit a remarkable influence of the royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Strikingly similar hybrid artistic patterns are found in this shrine and the Yogyakarta palace.²⁰⁹ Interestingly, in the context of the Yogyakarta palace, these hybrid artistic patterns are also found in the Grand Mosque (Jv. *Masjid Agung*; Fig. 3.1). For instance, on the pillars of this mosque, we find decorative designs (called “Putri Mirong”) that incorporate various central symbolisms of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, such as the lotus flower

²⁰⁷ Since Hindu temples in Java can also function as royal mausoleum, this ornament might be there to emphasize the fact that by passing this gate, pilgrims are entering a mausoleum. Cf. Roy Joordan, ed., *In Praise of Prambanan* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996).

²⁰⁸ Still, in yet different parts of the compound, we find the traces of pre-Islamic artistic patterns like head of buffalo and head of an ogre (Jv. *raseksa*). On one of the white gates (called *Bale Kencur*), we find the ornamental images of two dragons (Jv. *naga*) and two eagles (Jv. *garudha*) on the top of the *nagas*. Images of two dragons are also found on the top of the main white gate after the pavilion (Jv. *bangsal*) for ritual meal and communal prayers.

²⁰⁹ The ornamental motifs of two dragons, in the same shape as the ones in the Tembayat shrine, are also found in various places in the Yogyakarta palace compound, for instance in the Magangan Gate (Jv. *regol magangan*). This motif of two mating dragons is also used in the chronogram (Jv. *sengkalan*) to signify the year of the erection of the palace. In Javanese, this chronogram reads: “*Dwi naga rasa tunggal*” (two dragons united in profound sensation), referring to the year of 2861 Caka (1682 AH/1760 AD). See Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, *Kraton Jogja*, 57, 154.

and the stupa-like golden leaf. Quite intentionally, these non-Islamic symbolisms are taken as a sign of acknowledgement on the part of the court of all goodness in Hinduism and Buddhism.²¹⁰ In this hybrid decorative design, the Islamic framework is expressed in the inscription of the words “Allāh” and “Muḥammad”, as well as the Arabic letters “Alif Lām Mīm Rā”—the mysterious letters that are found in the beginnings of some chapters of the Qur’ān. These central Islamic symbolisms are also taken as a reminder for the sultan that his power is limited and God is truly the Lord of the world.²¹¹

In light of this connection, we might assume that the same interpretive framework has been at work in the incorporation of the Hindu-Javanese symbolisms in the Tembayat shrine as well. One example of possible interpretation of this hybrid art at the Tembayat shrine—particularly the symbolism of the mountain, Jabalkat—will be offered later. At this point, some general observation about the patterns of hybrid Javano-Islamic arts in Java would be helpful to situate the case of Tembayat and to show that this shrine is not an isolated case, both in terms of its historical location and its hybrid artistic pattern.

Generally speaking, Islamic architecture in Java from the earliest period (ca. 15th century onward) is marked by the concerns to find its distinctive identity. In this framework of identity formation, there was obviously a desire to minimize the aniconic motifs. However, it is very interesting to see that within this general pattern, cases of exceptional presence of the Hindu-Javanese artistic motifs in the forms of human and animal images could still be seen. As we will see, this hybrid art is found in many important mosques and court edifices throughout Java. Even the Demak Grand Mosque (15th century), the oldest and most sacred mosque in Java, exhibits this hybridity (Fig.

²¹⁰ Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, *Kraton Jogja*, 62.

²¹¹ Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, *Kraton Jogja*, 62.

1.1). It has a unique main door called *lawang bledhek* (the door of thunders), featuring images of dragon; its prayer niche (Ar. *miḥrāb*) has a chronogram cast in the image of a turtle, one of the sacred animals in Hindu Java.²¹² Along the same line, the mosque of Kajen, in north central Java, has a Javanese style pulpit (Ar. *minbar*) that features woodcarvings in Javanese traditional cloth patterns (Jv. *batik*) and a depiction of two birds holding the ends of a crescent moon. According to popular belief, the provenance of this *minbar* goes back to Kyai Ahmad Mutamakin, a rather famous and controversial 17th-century saint whose tomb is located nearby.²¹³ Images of dragons and ogres are also found in the main door of the tomb of a saint-monarch, Sunan Prapen (d. 1527) in the town of Gresik, East Java.

Among the most curious example of the hybrid Javano-Islamic arts in Java is the calligraphy-styled wooden panel called “Ganesha riding the Lion of ‘Alī” (Jv. *Macan Ali*) that is kept at the court of Kasepuhan (founded in 1479) in the west Javanese port city of Cirebon. This piece of art is highly interesting in its hybridity. It features some obvious Islamic motifs, such as the Arabic inscriptions “Allāh” and “‘Alī” on the body of the lion, as well as conspicuous Hindu element in the image of Ganesha, the elephant-head Hindu god. Very curiously, the Ganesha is depicted as holding the sword of ‘Alī while riding the lion. All of these diverse motifs are combined with local artistic framework

²¹² On the Demak Mosque, see Sugeng Haryadi, *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak dan Grebeg Besar*, 34, 58, and 67. See also Zakaria Ali, *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia 830 A.D. – 1570 A.D.* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Ministry of Education, 1994), 279-93.

²¹³ Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*, 132. On the debate about the significance of Haji Mutamakin in the history of Islam in Java, see Edwin Wieringa, “The Mystical Figure of Haji Ahmad Mutamakin from the Village of Cabolèk,” *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 5 (1998): 25-40; Zainul Milal Bizawie, “The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin, 27-61; also Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 26-53.

represented by the hornbills flying in the sky and the rocks on which the lion stands.²¹⁴ In addition to this curious panel, the palace of Kasepuhan and the nearby shrine of its first king and founder who also was a prominent Muslim saint, Sunan Gunungjati, are marked by different hybrid artworks that feature the non-Muslim other, including the Christian one in the forms of Dutch ornamental tiles describing Biblical figures and events.²¹⁵ This pattern of hybrid art is also found in the Kudus Mosque located in the north central Javanese city of Kudus (named after the holy city of al-Quds, Jerusalem). Local tradition has it that the saint Sunan Kudus, a prominent member of the early Nine Saints of Java whose grave is located behind the mosque, decided to convert the abandoned Hindu Javanese tower in the area into an Islamic minaret. As it stands now, the minaret also features a visible influence of the Chinese artistic tradition.²¹⁶

In East Java, we also find remarkable traces of early Javano-Islamic hybrid art. In this respect, the case of the Sendang Dhuwur mosque is rather interesting for our study, both in terms of its artistic and architectural particularities as well as its connection with Sunan Kalijaga, the legendary founder of the hybrid Javano-Islamic identity, as we have seen in Chapter 1. Located in the present day Lamongan regency in East Java, on the border with north central Java, this mosque, being one of the oldest Islamic edifices in

²¹⁴ John Miksic, "The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic in Early Javanese Islam" in *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilisation in Southeast Asia*, ed. James Bennett (Adelaide and Canberra: Art Gallery of South Australia and National Gallery of Australia, 2007), 130. As Miksic points out, the hornbill is considered a traditional symbol of the afterlife in many cultures in Indonesia.

²¹⁵ In the grave compound of Sunan Gunungjati, we find an exceptionally beautiful gravestone (called *batu Aceh*, the stone from Aceh) that features a combination of the Meru motif and the Islamic one. The center of this artistic work is in the form of the peak of a mountain, encircled by Arabic script, on which stand two stylized lions of 'Alī each pointing to the peak of the mountain peak with one raised paw. Then, at the lower corners of the mountains stand two elephants standing on the clouds in Chinese style, while the bases are ornamented with stylized lotus borders, betraying a Hindu-Buddist influence. On this, see John Miksic, "The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic in Early Javanese Islam," 134.

²¹⁶ On the distinctive feature of this mosque and shrine, see Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot, "La Jérusalem javanaise et sa mosquée al-Aqsâ: Texte de foundation de la mosquée de Kudus daté 956/1549," *Archipel: Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien* 63 (2002): 27-56; see also Zakaria Ali, *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia*, 293-306; Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 25-27.

Java, exhibits this early Javano-Islamic hybrid architecture and ornaments in remarkable ways. Built on a former Hindu site, the mosque of Sendang Dhuwur contains a highly decorated wooden pulpit (Ar. *minbar*) that is composed of diverse motifs such as mythical crocodile (*makara*), the Majapahit-style sunburst (*surya*), as well as the lotus and *kala* motifs.²¹⁷ As is common in the Hindu edifices in Java, the *makara* monsters guard the staircase leading to the gateway of the mosque. The monumental gate of this mosque features two gigantic wings and a truncated pyramid, i.e., a mountain with curving peaks in whose midst is placed a bird-like figure with outstretched wings. In the bas-relief we also find images of peacocks and lions. The familiar Islamic element of this mosque is observable in the crescent moon shape carved on a tombstone.²¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, the role of Sunan Kalijaga in the founding of this ancient hybrid mosque (and grave) of Sendang Dhuwur is worth noting. As local legend has it, the saint of Sendang Dhuwur (d. ca. 1585) was trying to purchase the original mosque from its proprietor, Queen Kalinyamat (16th century) of Jepara, north central Java.²¹⁹ She refused at first and then only let it go due to the power of Sunan Kalijaga who intervened, helping the saint of Sendang Dhuwur relocate the mosque from its original location to the top of the hill at Dhuwur. As it stands now, this mosque is attached to the grave of this saint. Again, as we have seen in the previous chapter, this rather typical story reveals the

²¹⁷ In Hindu Javanese temples (*candi*), the *kala* ornament is the mask of a demon (Batara Kala, originally the god of time in Hinduism) placed above doorways or niches. Normally it goes together with the *makara* ornament, i.e., the depiction of the mythical crocodile with an elephant's trunk. See Ann R. Kinney et al., *Worshipping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 288-89.

²¹⁸ John Miksic, "The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic in Early Javanese Islam" in James Bennett, *Crescent Moon*, 136; see also Zakaria Ali, *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia*, 320-1.

²¹⁹ On the rather popular pilgrimage tradition to the tombs of Queen Kalinyamat and her husband, Pangeran Hadlirin, in the Jepara regency, north central Java, see ed. Inajati A Romli et al., *Jejak Para Wali dan Ziarah Spiritual* ["Traces of the Saints and Spiritual Pilgrimage"], Jakarta: Kompas, 2006), 187-95.

religio-cultural memory of Kalijaga as the originator of hybrid Javano-Islamic identity, including its artistic and architectural manifestations.²²⁰

In this continuum of hybrid art and architecture that is marked by combinations of Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese and Islamic motifs, we see the crucial role of the royal houses of Surakarta and Yogyakarta as the heirs of the Mataram dynasty continue this pattern beyond the earliest phase in the late 15th or early 16th century.²²¹ As we have examined in Chapter 1, the Javano-Islamic identity has been the religio-cultural hallmark of the Mataram dynasty in south central Java since its foundation, and the role of Sunan Kalijaga in this regard is always regarded to be so foundational and paradigmatic. It is in the framework of this wider tradition of Javano-Islamic art, as well as the particular role of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, that we could place the artistic and architectural specificities of the shrine of Tembayat.

In my view, what we are dealing with here, both in the Tembayat shrine and the Yogyakarta/Surakarta palace is the expansion of the religio-cultural dynamic of inclusivity and connection with the past. While the whole interpretive framework at Tembayat is largely Islamic, given the identity of the saint being venerated here, there is an intentional effort to maintain connection with the Hindu-Javanese past. In this regard, the name of the mountain, Jabalkat, is insightful since it puts the whole shrine into an explicitly Islamic sacred geography. This name is clearly a Javanese corruption of the Arabic *Jabal al-Qāf*, which according to the Muslim tradition is the mother of all

²²⁰ At times, this identity is contrasted to the notion of “pure” Islam, and in this regard, the superiority of Kalijaga over other more “pure” saints of Arab origins in Java is also seen as a proof of the superiority of the hybrid Javano-Islam. See John Mikić, “The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic in Early Javanese Islam” in James Bennett, *Crescent Moon*, 138; see also Zakaria Ali, *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia*, 325.

²²¹ For example, the architecture of the Yogyakarta court’s water castle (Jv. *Tamansari*) features the ornamental motifs of birds and arabesque. The custodian of this royal bath compound informed me that this hybridity is a symbol of harmony between Islam and Hinduism, a widely held view on this.

mountains, encircling most of the inhabited world.²²² Placed in this cosmic framework, the shrine of Tembayat becomes a kind of liminal space. This designation of Jabalkat is made more meaningful in the context of pilgrimage understood as an ascent to God and the true self that involves an intense process of ascetic purification, as many Javanese pilgrims would like to understand it. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, ascetic purification is so central in the understanding of pilgrimage as *tirakat* and *laku* among Javanese Muslims in south central Java.²²³ In this regard, the journey of the saint of Tembayat (Sunan Pandanarang) is exemplary. As we examined in Chapter 1, Sunan Pandanarang's ascent to sainthood under the tutelage of Sunan Kalijaga began with an arduous journey from the city of Semarang to Tembayat. In popular hagiography of this saint, this journey has always been understood as a journey of intense purification of the soul from its lower self (Ar. *nafs*), something that is necessary to pursue true friendship with and proximity to God (Ar. *walāya*). Only after he was able to purify himself, Sunan Pandanarang was allowed to reside in the peak of the Jabalkat hill. So, in this respect, his residing in the hill is a symbolic sign of his status as a *walī*, an intimate friend of God.

This understanding of spiritual journey as an ascent to God is of course very familiar in the wider mystical tradition of Islam. In Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's (d. 1220) *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (*Conference of the Birds*), this ascent is described so dramatically in terms of the

²²² The description of the cosmic Jabal al-Qāf could be found, for example, in the work of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (d. 1349), a Damascene scholar, called *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* ("Pathways of Vision in the Realms of the Metropolises"). Describing this mountain, he says: "All mountains are branches of the range which encircles most of the inhabited world. It is called Jabal al-Qāf, and is the mother of mountains, for they all stem from it. It is in some places continuous, in others interrupted. Like a circle it has, to be precise, no recognizable beginning, since the ends of a circularity of the Jabal al-Qāf is not that of a sphere, yet it is a bounding circularity, or almost so." See N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, eds., *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Markus Wiener Publishers Edition, 2000), 254.

²²³ See the discourse on the conversion story of Sunan Kalijaga in Chapter 1. In Chapter 3 this understanding of pilgrimage as *tirakat* and *laku* will be explored further by looking into the experience of the pilgrims.

journey of the thirty birds (representing different psycho-spiritual types of human being) to the Sīmurgh, the king of the birds, a symbolic representation of God, who resides in Jabal al-Qāf.²²⁴ In ‘Aṭṭār’s mystical framework, it has to be noted that this arduous and purifying journey to the Sīmurgh or God of course occurs as a journey of discovery of the true self in its relation to God and other selves.²²⁵ On this central relationship between the self and God in ‘Aṭṭār, James Morris argues:

The central—indeed the unique—subject of the poem is the intimate relation of God and the human soul, a relation that he describes most often in terms of the mystery or secret of divine Love. For the love that concerns him throughout this work is not simply a particular human emotion, or even the deeper goal of man’s striving, but rather the ultimate Ground of all existence: the birds’/soul’s pilgrimage itself turns out to be the unending self-discovery of that creative Love. Thus the entire poem is in fact an extended commentary on the famous divine saying: “I (God) was a hidden treasure, and I *loved* to be known, so I created the world that I might be known” –and on another, even more celebrated ḥadīth restating that reality from the human point of view: “He who knows his soul/self, knows his Lord.”²²⁶

In this framework, then, the human persons, both individually and together (the thirty birds of ‘Aṭṭār), become a privileged site where manifestation and traces of God can be encountered.²²⁷ In this respect, the mystery of the human person becomes like Jabal al-Qāf, that is, the very context of the ascending journey to God. As we have seen, this theological anthropology is the backbone of traditional Javanese mysticism. In this framework, such a spiritual and mystical interpretation of pilgrimage as ascending the

²²⁴ For an excellent English translation of this work by Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis, see *The Conference of the Birds* (Penguin Classics edition, 2009).

²²⁵ James Winston Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 16. See also his article, “Reading ‘Aṭṭār’s ‘Conference of the Birds’” in *Approaches to the Asian Classics*, eds. Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 77-85.

²²⁶ James W. Morris, “Reading ‘Aṭṭār’s ‘Conference of the Birds’”, 78-79.

²²⁷ Thus, on a deeper level, the whole symbolism of Jabal al-Qāf then still shares the basic Hindu-Javanese understanding of Mount Meru as macro-cosm and its counterpart, namely, the human person as micro-cosm. On the symbolism of Mount Meru, see I. W. Mabbett, “The Symbolism of Mount Meru” *History of Religions* 23 (1983): 64-83.

Jabal al-Qāf seems to be natural.

What is unique about Tembayat in this respect is that the meaning of this Islamic symbolism of Jabal al-Qāf becomes more complex due to its spirit of including the other, i.e., the various Hindu-Javanese symbolisms, including the symbolism of Mount Meru in the form of the Hindu temple with its various gates. For perceptive pilgrims who ascend the hill of Tembayat as the symbolic Jabal al-Qāf have to take into account the symbolism of Mount Meru in the Gate of the Dragons (Jv. *regol sinaga*), just before they enter into the inner chamber that houses the grave of the saint. This symbolism could be a strong reminder that there is some possibly deeper affinity between Meru, the Hindu mountain, and Jabal al-Qāf, the Muslim mountain. In particular, the need for asceticism and the purification of soul in the ascent to the spiritual realm of God and His saints that these two symbolisms represent seems to stand out as a possible meeting point. In the familiar Hindu-Javanese depiction, this sacred mountain is guarded by wild beasts or ogres at the lowest gate.²²⁸ This might be easily taken as a reminder for the pilgrims for

²²⁸ In the Javanese culture, under the influence of Indian cosmology, the symbolism of the Meru is very important, both as the macrocosmic mountain and microcosmic map of spiritual ascent. The Meru symbolism is replicated in the Hindu and Buddhist temples found throughout Java, as well as in the various architectural and ritual elements of the royal court culture. In this regard, the Borobudur temple is iconic because this Buddhist temple is structurally built in the template of Mount Meru (both in its overall structure and its thousands of stupas), and it also features, in the stories of the bas-reliefs as well as in the dynamic of movement from one layer to the next, the archetypal story of the spiritual ascent and enlightenment of the Buddha, a spiritual journey marked by intense purification. Beyond the realm of these temples, the Meru symbolism finds its way into the Javanese culture in the central image of the *gunungan* (literally means “the image of a mountain” in Javanese) found most significantly in the traditional shadow puppet theatre (Jv. *wayang*). In the framework of its meaning as a cosmic mountain, the *gunungan* also symbolizes the mystical ascent of the human person to God. This is so because on the summit of this cosmic mountain, stands the Tree of Life. However, in order to reach this peak, one has to overcome the wild beasts and ogres that guard the mountain. In this framework, anyone who aspires to embark on a mystical ascent should take an arduous journey analogous to climbing up the mountain, reaching its peak which symbolizes the nirvanic experience of liberation, thus achieving the true destiny of his existence (corresponding to the Javanese *sangkan paran* mystical doctrine that we examined in the previous chapter). On the meanings of Borobudur, see Julie Gifford, *Buddhist Practice and Visual Culture: The Visual Rhetoric of Borobudur* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward, eds., *Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 2, 1981); Jacques Dumarçay, *Borobudur* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). For a fuller treatment of the

the need overcome the temptations of the egotistical self (Ar. *nafs*) in their spiritual journey or pilgrimage to God and the true self.²²⁹ To return to ‘Attār’s mystical framework, the pilgrims are the “birds” who have to fight these wild beasts inside themselves in order to be able to embark on the journey toward the Sīmurgh. Armed by this victory over their own *nafs*, pilgrims would be ready to reach the liminal sphere of the true Jabal al-Qāf.

At this point, it has to be stated that this pattern of symbolic relationship between Islamic artistic tradition and other artistic traditions on the idea of purification is not peculiar to Java. Particularly insightful for the symbolisms of dragons found in the shrine of Tembayat as well as other shrines or mosques in Java that we just discussed is the various meanings of the dragon image in Islamic art. As Abbas Daneshvari has noted, the image of the dragon is a recurring and popular image in the arts, architecture and literature of Islam. It is found on city gates and walls, portals of mosques and *madrasas*, caravanserais, shrines and funerary structures.²³⁰ To a certain degree, this image of the dragon and its various meanings are taken from non-Islamic cultures. In the framework of Islamic spirituality, the dragon had become the symbol of greed, attachment and love for the worldly life; it was also used to describe the destructive aspect of human desire.²³¹

significance of the *gunungan* in the Javanese culture, especially in the context of rites of passage, see Sumastuti Sumukti, *Gunungan: The Javanese Cosmic Mountain* (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1997). For an insightful treatment of the symbolism of the Tree of Life in the Islamic tradition and culture, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God*, 17.

²²⁹ At Tembayat, through the symbolism of a crown guarded by two dragons and flanked by two meditating Buddhas at the center of the Gate of the Dragon (Fig. 4.4), the end of the journey of true pilgrimage is imagined in terms of “power,” a very crucial category of the manifestation of sainthood in Java.

²³⁰ Abbas Daneshvari, “The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam,” in Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst (eds.), *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), 16-25.

²³¹ Abbas Daneshvari, “The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam,” 18-9. Here Daneshvari quoted the works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), Nāṣir Khusraw (b. 1004), and Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Fāryābi (d. 1202).

Most probably, this association of serpent with worldly temptation is inspired by the biblical story of Adam and Eve being tempted by the serpent.

Particularly pertinent to the image of the dragon at the Tembayat shrine (i.e., the image of a royal crown guarded by two dragons) is the widespread depiction of the dragon as guardian of treasures and royal power. This belief might stem from the popular notion that dragons coil upon treasures, due to their greed and attachment to them. Thus, in this framework, to get access to these treasures, one needs to slay the dragons, an idea found in Muslim poets and mystics such as Nāṣir Khusraw (b. 1004), Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. 1220), and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492).²³² In the context of Islamic spirituality, then, it is the process of “slaying” these dragons that becomes much more important. The spiritual journey of purification, the pilgrimage of each human being, is nothing other than a transformation of this desire, the distorted human *naḥs* represented by such “wild dragons”. It is through this process that the spiritually enlightened persons like the saints become the true guardians of spiritual treasures. This idea is by no means alien to the wider Islamic tradition where the dragons are also believed to guard the spiritual treasures.²³³ This feature might also be related to the popular pre-Islamic belief that the dragons were responsible for the eclipse of the “sun”. However, it should also be pointed out that the employment of the “sun” as a symbol for God is known in the Islamic tradition as well.²³⁴ In light of this, we can understand the reasons why the image of the dragon is quite popular in shrines and tombs of Muslim saints.²³⁵ For the saints as God’s

²³² Abbas Daneshvari, “The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam,” 19-20.

²³³ In the *Tales of the Prophets* (Ar. *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*), for example, it is said that the Divine Throne is surrounded by mighty serpents. On this, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God*, 25.

²³⁴ Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs of God*, 14.

²³⁵ As Daneshvari points out, we find many stories about the close friendship between Muslim saints and dragons. See his, “The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam,” 23.

friends (Ar. *awliyā*) and spiritual company can be seen as the real “dragons” who gather around the Divine treasure. Like the dragons, they are powerful. But their power and authority are derived from their very participation in and proximity to God. This is the foundation of their power to perform miraculous feats (Ar. *karāmāt*). In this respect, the shrines of the saints also participate in this Divine treasure, turning into a milieu in which the blessings of God could be attained. In light of this, we can better understand our earlier insight about the Tembayat shrine as a kind of liminal space in the sacred mountain (*Jabal al-Qāf*) where pilgrims find their true selves in God. The shrine only becomes liminal on account of the presence of Divine treasure there, a treasure that the saint (s) participate in and something that the pilgrims could obtain only through purifying their *nafs* along the ascent.

In relation to this theme of purification of the soul in hybrid Islamic art, especially in terms of the wider usage of animal symbolism in it, it might be useful as well to look at certain artistic patterns found in Safavid rugs. For in depicting the process of purification of the soul in the journey to God, one of these patterns employs an interesting set of animal images to describe both the snares of worldly temptations and the process in which the spiritual wayfarers overcome them, as well as a curious symbol of the Sun Gate representing the point of entry into the purified state of the journey. Summarizing this pattern and its meanings, one commentator remarks:

How might a rug designer express this idea of the snares and delusions that must be overcome before the soul could find its way back to God? He did it very simply by the use of pun pictures. The word *dam*, besides meaning “net or snare” and “the snares and delusions of worldly delights,” had still a third meaning in Persian. It also served as a collective name for horned or domestic animals, as opposed to the rapacious beasts (called *dad*). Therefore, the Safavid rugs and other textiles which depicted lions, tigers, or leopards stalking and slaying various *dam* creatures—even in the

gardens or parks of Paradise—could symbolize to a Sufi the seeking out and destroying of worldly temptations, in order to gain the right to pass through the Sun Gate, which was generally depicted at the center of such a rug.²³⁶

At this point, it has to be stated that the interpretation of the possible symbolic meanings of the artistic decorations at the Tembayat shrine offered here is just one example of how the spatial and architectural pattern of including the other could function for the pilgrims to this shrine. The presence of the other could simply complicate things, but it could also enrich the whole experience of pilgrimage, provided we have the right spiritual disposition. In this regard, it is crucial to note the nature of Islamic art as deeply contemplative and transforming, as James Morris argues:

What is essential in these arts is always what goes on inside each viewer or auditor, the mysterious inner shift in awareness from the sensible material, temporal forms in “this world” (*al-dunya*) to their transcendent Source and Reality among the archetypal divine Names.²³⁷

In this framework, the inclusion of the other in the Islamic arts as found in the shrine of Tembayat could be particularly significant. First, for the contemplative pilgrims, this inclusion of the other could mean that the religious other is included in their very ascent to God, whatever this might mean. Secondly, this contemplation should also help the pilgrims purify their hearts vis-à-vis the Hindu-Javanese artistic symbolisms, that is, finding their deeper meanings, rather than seeing them merely as an extraneous or “un-Islamic” representations of things. As we have seen, many of these Hindu-Javanese symbolisms themselves point to the need of this purification of the hearts. This point is particularly relevant given the fact that as we will see in chapter 3, purification is such a

²³⁶ Schuyler V. R. Cammann, “Religious Symbolism in Persian Art,” *History of Religions* 15 (1976): 198.

²³⁷ James W. Morris, “Remembrance and Repetition: Spiritual Foundations of Islamic Art,” *Sufi* (Autumn 2000): 18.

central aspect in the experience of Javanese Muslim pilgrims. In south central Java, as we have noted, pilgrimage is commonly understood as an intense period of spiritual cultivation (Jv. *tirakat*) accompanied by purifying practices of prayers, meditation, and asceticisms (Jv. *laku*).

Although, for the most part, typical Javanese pilgrims would not consciously articulate their experience of this complex religious world in any systematic fashion, its effect in terms of the formation of a distinctive Javano-Islamic identity is very real. For one thing, this inclusion of the other can be taken as a creative realization of the prophetic admonition of Kalijaga when he told the future saint of Tembayat to remove his mosque from the top of the hill to the lower ground. Now, it becomes entirely proper, even desirable, for the body of the saint to repose on the very top of the hill, precisely because the whole shrine has served as a sign of inclusivity, rather than haughtiness.

Before we move to the next section on the question of hybridity in rituals in the Muslim shrines, a brief observation on the larger phenomenon of hybrid Islamic arts and architecture is in order. This is to show that the case of Java is not totally unique in this regard. For, as scholars have pointed out, there have been cases of various degrees of continuity from the pre-Islamic into the Islamic period in other parts of the world. In the earliest period, as Oleg Grabar has pointed out, Islamic art was considerably influenced by Byzantine art and, very interestingly, in the subsequent centuries this dynamic turned to a mutual influence between the two traditions.²³⁸ In this respect, the prevalence of the symbolism of fish and bird (in Persian, *murgh-u mahi*) Islamic art in Iran and Central Asia, for instance, is a good historical illustration of this dynamic. Taken from the pre-

²³⁸ On this point see Oleg Grabar, *Early Islamic Art, 650-1100: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, Vol. I (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 3-41.

Islamic legacy, this image serves as a symbolism for the totality of the universe, the fish representing the lowest stratum of the world's axis while the bird representing its highest point.²³⁹ In the same cultural area, an influence of Buddhism in Islamic art was also very visible around the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries, due largely to the role of local Muslim dynasties such as the Samanids (819-1005) and the Ghaznavids (977-1186).²⁴⁰

Due to the limitation of space in this study, we could not do justice to this complex topic of the development of Islamic arts vis-à-vis other religio-cultural traditions. However, what is crucial for our study here is to never lose sight of the role of local society in the creation of this Islamic art and architecture. For as Oleg Grabar has argued, “monumental architecture has a close relationship to the society which surrounds it, sponsors it and uses it.”²⁴¹ In this respect, what we have seen in this chapter and the previous is the role of the Javanese culture and society in the creation of hybrid art that has both Islamic and Hindu-Javanese elements.

The argument of this study is that behind the creation and maintenance of such a hybrid art lies the local Javanese Muslim society's rather distinctive understanding of Islamic identity. Now a question might arise as to the role of such a hybrid art precisely with regard to formation and expression of Islamic identity. Due to its hybridity, can this

²³⁹ See Abbas Daneshvari, “Cup, Branch, Bird and Fish: An Iconographical Study of the Figure Holding a Cup and a Branch Flanked by a Bird and a Fish,” in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O’Kane (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 103-25.

²⁴⁰ See Géza Fehérvári, “Islamic Incense-burners and the Influence of Buddhist Art,” in Bernard O’Kane, *The Iconography of Islamic Art*, 127-41. On the influence of Buddhist art, Fehérvári remarked: “Geometrical and vegetal patterns, lions and mythical creatures which decorate Buddhist ivory panels and stone carvings reappear later in Islamic art, either faithfully copied, or in somewhat modified forms. However, the impact of Buddhism is perhaps most strongly manifested in early Islamic metalwork. Surprisingly not only the decorative designs were borrowed from Buddhist art, but more explicitly, Islamic metalworkers copied the forms of Buddhist monuments, first of all the shape of stupas.” (127).

²⁴¹ Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, Vol. III (Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 248.

art still be considered a true representation of Islam? On this question, Titus Burckhardt's categorical argument is worth noting:

If one were to reply to the question “what is Islam?” by simply pointing to one of the masterpieces of Islamic art such as, for example, the Mosque of Cordova, or that of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, or one of the *madrasahs* in Samarqand or even the Taj Mahal, that reply, summary as it is, would be nonetheless valid, for the art of Islam expresses what its name indicates, and *it does so without ambiguity*.²⁴² (emphasis added)

In light of Burckhardt's statement, the shrines and tombs of Muslim saints in south central Java, or in the whole Java for that matter, have never been called “the masterpieces of Islamic art”. For the most part, they are architecturally unassuming and modest. But, to come back to Grabar's point on the relationship between Islamic architecture and its society, we can say that these shrines of the saints, in terms of their artistic and architectural forms as well as historical significance, are intimately related to the process of identity formation or self-understanding of the Javano-Islamic society that built them.

And, as we have examined in the previous chapter, since the society itself is not free from creative tensions and ambiguities vis-à-vis the pre-Islamic traditions, then its architecture could not afford except to be so. While it is often harder for us to understand the deeper—as opposed to the practical or technical—reasoning behind some examples of hybrid art in other parts in the Islamic world during the more distant historical periods,²⁴³ the case of south central Java is rather different largely because we have some knowledge about its underlying logic, that is the principle of continuity and communion

²⁴² Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* (World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976), i. Here Burckhardt compares the genius of Islamic art with theology that is not free from contradictions and is no more than a series of approximations.

²⁴³ See Géza Fehérvári, “Islamic Incense-burners and the Influence of Buddhist Art,” in Bernard O’Kane, *The Iconography of Islamic Art*, 138.

with the complex heritage of the past, a principle that is kept alive to the present day in the court culture and pilgrimage tradition. Contrary to Burckhardt's notion of the non-ambiguous character of the masterpieces of Islamic art, it has to be noted that the application of the principle of continuity in Java is not without ambiguities. For one thing, the scope and details of the relationship between pre-Islamic legacy and the Islamic tradition have never been clarified systematically in a clear-cut and once-for-all fashion.

This ambiguity allows for some room for continuous discernment and negotiation on the part of the Javanese Muslim community, a complex process that also includes the active participation of the pilgrims, as we will see in the next chapter. In light of this, we can say that the hybrid architecture and art of these Islamic shrines not only answers the question of "what is Islam?" but also does it in a very concrete yet open fashion in the particular context of south central Java, precisely due to its complex ambiguity, understood positively as a result of a religio-cultural negotiation of identity that in south central Java has been associated with the paradigmatic roles of Sunan Kalijaga and other *awliyā'*, and perpetuated by the Javano-Islamic courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Precisely in this sense, this hybrid art expresses the universal spirit of Islam as an inclusive spiritual as well as a complex and enduring cultural force, a true blessing for the whole cosmos (Ar. *rahmatan lil- 'ālamīn*).

II. 2. The Self and Other in Javano-Islamic Rituals and Festivals

We have noted previously that the Muslim pilgrimage tradition in south central Java has been known for its more obvious and richly elaborate Javanese character, compared to its counterparts in East and West Java. This characteristic is made obvious mainly in the local pilgrimage rituals. In this section, we will illustrate how the complex dynamic of

inclusive identity, involving Javanese and Islamic elements, occurs in the rituals and festivals of the shrines under study, by focusing on: (a) the ritual etiquette (*adab*) of *ziyāra*; (b) the role of the ritual communal meal (Jv. *slametan*) as the meeting point between veneration of saints and memory of ancestors; and (c) the influence of the distinctive Javanese court culture of imperial festivals (Jv. *garebeg*) and its concomitant veneration of sacred heirlooms (Jv. *pusaka*) in the major festivals of shrines.

II. 2. 1. Javano-Islamic Etiquette of *Ziyāra* and Shrine Festivals

At the shrines of Tembayat and Mawlana Maghribi, a great number of Javanese pilgrims, mostly simple villagers from the surrounding areas, would continually follow a Javanese ritual etiquette of tomb visitation combined with the more standardized Islamic ritual etiquette (Ar. *adab al-ziyāra*). Typically, after climbing the hundreds of steps to the top of the Jabalkat hill where the grave of Sunan Tembayat is located, pilgrims take off their shoes to enter the compound; then they do the ablution in the area next to the old Javanese style mosque. Many would change their clothes, and some would go to the old mosque to do the prayer (Ar. *ṣalāt*). All pilgrims would then proceed to the registration desk where the custodian of the outer area (Jv. *juru kunci jaba*) of the tomb records their data, i.e., their name, address, intention of the visit and the amount of donation. This custodian would converse either in Javanese or Indonesian, depending on the language preferred by the pilgrims. It is interesting to observe that this custodian would not typically don the traditional Javanese outfit. As we will see below, it is the inner area custodians (Jv. *juru kunci jero*) who have to put on the traditional Javanese clothing. Apparently, this distinction has much to do with the ritual function and perception of

sacredness. For the rites that the inner area custodians perform occur in the area closer to the sacred tomb of the saint, and thus requires more respectful etiquette that is outwardly expressed in the various element of the rituals that include a variety of Javanese cultural elements as we will see below. Interestingly, in terms of the outward appearance of the officiants of the ritual, this respect is symbolically represented by the donning of the Javanese traditional clothing.

After recording their visits, pilgrims have the choice either to use the service of the inner area custodians of the shrine, or proceed to the mausoleum of the saint through various gates on their own. Many ordinary Javanese pilgrims to this shrine would opt for the former. The incorporation of local Javanese culture into this ritual etiquette is rather striking. It makes use of the Javanese language and other culturally symbolic gestures and items such as the *sembah* position,²⁴⁴ incense and certain kinds of flowers that are considered ritually fitting in Javanese culture (Jv. *kembang telon*). Donning a Javanese traditional outfit and sitting cross-legged in a Javanese style, the custodian (Jv. *juru kunci jero*) helps the pilgrims with their visitation (the *jawab* ritual). After asking the pilgrim's intention of making the *ziarah*, the custodian would lead the recitation of petition prayers in a hybrid mix of the highest register of Javanese—the only appropriate linguistic tool for addressing God and the saint in Javanese—and broken Arabic.²⁴⁵ The pilgrims would then go to the inner chamber of the mausoleum, passing through the last gate, the Gate of

²⁴⁴ In religious or ritual context, *sembah* is a ritual hand-gesture of respect, devotion and adoration made by holding the hands before the face, palms together, thumbs touching the nose, and bowing the head slightly. This gesture becomes rather standard in Java. Some Javanese Muslim pilgrims would do the *sembah* when approaching the gravestone of the saint. Rather surprisingly, it is the Catholics who make use of this gesture more abundantly, during mass and other devotional prayers including pilgrimage. Its origin is most probably pre-Islamic because of its similarity with the Hindu hand-position during the *puja* worship. It is also interesting to note that the Javanese word for “praying” is *sembahyang*, meaning to adore God. In the court culture, this gesture is also applied to kings.

²⁴⁵ Jamhari, “The Meaning Interpreted: The Concept of *Barakah* in *Ziarah*,” *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 8 (2001): 92.

the Dragons (Jv. *regol sinaga*) and the small door. Once inside, sitting in the Javanese meditation position (Jv. *sila*) and facing the dark wooden chamber that houses the sarcophagus of the saint, they would offer personal prayers (Jv. *donga*, Ar. *du'ā*).

Just outside of the door of the dark chamber, another custodian will be available to help the pilgrims with their visit. He would typically lead the ritual prayer together with the pilgrim(s) who ask for his service. Generally, this ritual consists of greetings to the saint, request for God's forgiveness for the saint, expression of the pilgrim's intentions, and gratitude to the saint. Then the pilgrims finally get inside the dark chamber through a very narrow and low door, so that they have to literally bow down to reach the graves of the saint and his two wives. Many would rub the tomb three times with their hands, then wipe their faces three times as a gesture of securing the *baraka* of God and the saint.²⁴⁶ Most pilgrims would then put the flowers on the graves of the saint and his two wives while murmuring some prayers. Pilgrims would normally set aside some flowers to be placed on the other graves of the saint's family members in the outer part of the chamber. Believing that the flowers now contain the *baraka* of the saint, pilgrims take some flower petals from the gravestones and bring them home as a memorial and portable blessing.²⁴⁷ At this point, it should also be noted that many pilgrims would spend a considerable time on private prayers in silence before they leave to ensure the personal character of the visit.

²⁴⁶ Jamhari, "The Meaning Interpreted," 77.

²⁴⁷ It has to be noted that the centrality of flowers in the pilgrimage culture at Tembayat has a lot to do with Javanese understanding of pilgrimage as *nyekar* (from the word *sekar*, meaning flowers), that is, visitation to the tombs of ancestors that includes putting the flowers on the graves. As Jamhari notes, this framework of *nyekar* is quite prevalent among Javanese pilgrims at Tembayat. For them, the saint of Tembayat has become a revered ancestor of the community (Jv. *pundhen*). See his "In the Center of Meaning," 70-8. An interesting description of the ritual etiquette of *nyekar* to the royal Mausoleum at Kotagedhe, see Suzanne Brenner, *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 52ff.

At this point it is crucial to note that although the hybrid *ziyāra* rituals are so prevalent at Tembayat shrine, there is no fixed ritual for all pilgrims in this shrine.²⁴⁸ In fact, we find other type of pilgrims who do not follow the hybrid Javano-Islamic ritual etiquette, and instead would stick to the more common and standardized Islamic ritual etiquette of tomb visitation (Ar. *adab al-ziyāra*), that is, with minimal influence from local culture. Typically, this type of pilgrim would not use the ritual service of the custodians. When they come in groups, the leader would lead the standard prayers for shrine visitation (mostly in Arabic) that is used widely in other shrines throughout Java.²⁴⁹ This kind of group of pilgrims would also perform other additional prayers together inside the inner chamber of the mausoleum. In some cases, this prayer session can be quite long.²⁵⁰ A number of pilgrims of this type would also start the visit by praying the *ṣalāt* in the old mosque in the shrine.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ This is what Jamhari, a Javanese anthropologist who has done research on this shrine, calls “a polyphony” of rituals. See his “The Meaning Interpreted,” 91.

²⁴⁹ The basic structures of this *adab* could be found in the popular pilgrimage booklets. In terms of the prayers, it typically consists of: the *tahlīl* prayer (the recitation of the formula “no god but God”) and other short prayer formulas like the *tasbīḥ* (prayer for the glory of God), *istighfār* (request for God’s forgiveness); the recitation of Qur’ānic chapters (typically the 36th chapter, the *Sūra Yā Sīn*, or the 112th chapter, the *Sūra al-Ikhlāṣ*, or at least the Throne Verse [Ar. *āyāt al-kursī*] from the second chapter of the Qur’ān); the *ṣalāḥ* (prayer for blessings on the prophet Muḥammad); the *tawassul* prayer (the intercessory invocations of prophets, saints and other righteous persons). See Labib M. Z., *Tuntunan Ziarah Walisongo* ([“Ritual Etiquette of Pilgrimage to the Nine Saints”], Surabaya: Bintang Usaha Jaya, 2000).

²⁵⁰ Within the plurality of rituals at the shrine, the case of Chinese pilgrims is very interesting. Since Sunan Pandanarang was a former prince-regent of the port city of Semarang, many Chinese merchants from this city would pay a visit to him in Tembayat for homage and blessings. They consider him as their ancestor whose intercession is particularly potent due to his former position. Of course, the great majority of them are not Muslims, so they would follow their own way of doing the rituals (mostly in the form of a Buddhist or Confucian ritual that is common among the Chinese in Java).

²⁵¹ There is a newer mosque at the foot of the shrine that seems to be managed by a reformist group. This mosque is built in the architectural template propagated by the New Order under President Suharto’s Pancasila Muslim Charity Foundation (the Yayasan Amal Bakti Muslim Pancasila). On the walls of this mosque, we find some reformist posters warning pilgrims about the danger of *shirk* involved in the *ziyāra* tradition. Understandably, fewer pilgrims who are mostly traditionalist Muslims would use this mosque. On the architecture of this New Order style mosque, see Hugh O’Neill, “Islamic Architecture under the New Order,” in *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*, ed. Virginia Matheson Hooker (Oxford, Singapore, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 151-65. It is interesting to note that the spirit of this architecture is actually quite inclusive and hybrid. It combines diverse features from different architectural traditions. Its three-tiered roof is taken from the Demak Mosque, the oldest mosque in Java; while its

In the context of our study, it is important to see that this standardized Islamic ritual etiquette of tomb visitation is in fact a combination of prayers of supplications and intercessions (Ar. *tawassul*) to God and His spiritual company, particularly the prophets and saints, and prayers for the dead. It is also crucial to note that the invocations of the prophets and saints are always done in the framework of praise and prayers to God. The underlying logic at work is that of a prayerful remembrance of the prophets and saints in the form of offering prayers and blessings to them. In this framework, visitation to the dead is conceived as no different from visiting living persons. The pilgrims greet the dead, both the pious and the ordinary, in direct speech because the dead are present or aware of their visits. It is for the same reason that pilgrims have to bring a gift (of prayers) as a sign of love, respect, and connection. Only within this framework of prayerful remembrance of God and His spiritual company could we understand the intercessory part of the prayer. Sometimes in very general terms, pilgrims ask the intercessions of the Prophet(s) and saints before God. In this respect the dynamic of inclusivity of the list of the holy and paradigmatic figures being invoked in the prayer is worth noting. It starts with the Prophet Muḥammad and his family; it then proceeds to other prophets, angels, saints and martyrs, and all the righteous (Ar. *ṣāliḥūn*), before mentioning particular saints, typically ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and the local saint whose tomb is being visited. The list then continues with all the inhabitants of the graves (Ar. *ahl al-qabr*), both the *muslimūn* (literally those who submit to God) and the *mu‘minūn*

windows and doors combine the horseshoe arch style (common in Maghribi art) and the keel arch style (common in Persian art). Curiously, this hybrid architecture seems to be based on the overarching framework of *Pancasila*, the five principles that become the foundation of the Indonesian nationhood (the first principle being monotheistic faith, a belief in the one God). In this architectural style, this *Pancasila* framework is symbolically represented in a hollow pentagonal frame that encloses the Arabic inscription “*Allāh*”; this frame is placed at the apex of the mosque, atop the Hindu-Javanese style crown.

(those who have faith), before it concludes with the immediate ancestors, teachers, parents of the pilgrims.²⁵² Very interestingly, a specific mention is made about all those persons who have been instrumental in the lives of the pilgrims. Again, the inclusive scope of this list is so striking, while the sense of lively and overwhelming togetherness and communion with all these figures is so remarkable.²⁵³

In the next section we will also see how these two features are at work in the Javanese ritual-communal meal (Jv. *slametan*). However, before delving into this very important ritual-communal meal and its intimate relationship with saint veneration and loving remembrance of ancestors, we need to examine briefly another crucial aspect in these dynamics of blessings and intercession (Ar. *tawassul*) in pilgrimage tradition, namely, the regular celebration of the saint by the pilgrims and their communities. In Tembayat, the blessing of the saint is believed to be abundantly available for all and takes on a very communal character on the eve of Friday *Legi* in the hybrid Javano-Islamic calendar (once every 35 days). During this night, local devotees as well as pilgrims from near and far form a single community in celebration of the saint. In general, the atmosphere of this night is ludic, festive and serene. A large crowd of locals and pilgrims would gather in the plaza, the outermost part of the whole shrine compound at the foot of the hill, where they can enjoy all sorts of entertainment and converse with one another.

²⁵² The universal tone of this concept is made clear in the prayer. For it specifies further that these figures are both men and women, from East and West, those in the sea and on the land. (See *Tuntunan Ziarah Wali Songo*, 57). It has to be noted as well that the concept of *īmān* (and its derivation, *mu'min*) is central to the Qur'an, and it does not primarily refer to "belief" but rather faith, inner peace and absolute assurance, total trust, granted by God. Thus it is foundational and existential disposition of human being vis-à-vis God. On the proposal to retrieve the more fundamental and universal sense of *īmān* and *mu'min*, see Farid Esack, *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity Against Oppression* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997), 117-26; on the various aspects in the discourse on *īmān* in Islamic theology, see Toshihiko Izutsu, *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology: A Semantic Analysis of Īmān and Islām* (Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965).

²⁵³ On the *tawassul* prayers used in West Java, see also Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saints*, 103-108. As Millie shows, the list of prophets and saints invoked in the particular text of *tawassul* prayer in West Java is much more complete (see the appendix, 212-15).

Then, as the night goes deeper, the crowd would do the ascent (Jv. *mungguh*) to the peak of Jabalkat to the grave of the saint, trekking through hundreds of steps. Souvenirs shops and food stalls are still to be found on both sides of these steps, but upon reaching the inner compound of the grave, marked by the area of ablution, the worldly festive character at the foot of the hill changes into a communal celebration of spiritual devotion to the saint on the top of the hill. The cacophonies of loud music and chatters are replaced by unison of communal ritual chants and divine invocations (Ar. *dhikr*) in a mix of Javanese and Arabic in the Surakarta melody in the big prayer hall, led by a group of custodians donning green Javanese traditional outfits. While this *dhikr* is underway, throngs of pilgrims continue to flow in. Some pilgrims would stop by to participate in this rather long session of prayer, then proceed to the inner chamber of the mausoleum, to do their own group *dhikr* or other forms of prayers in front of the grave of the saint.

During this celebration, most pilgrims would come with their families, including children. In rural Java, at few other occasions would they bring children out this late. While most of them would leave the shrine an hour or two after midnight, believing that the *baraka* of the saint would descend to them during this particular time period, a large number of pilgrims even spend the whole night in the shrine doing vigil (Jv. *tirakat*).²⁵⁴ During this night, the boundaries between the tomb as the place for the dead and the community of the living seem to disappear, as the tomb-shrine becomes a lighted city where the dead are brought back to life in the memory and devotion of the living.

²⁵⁴ As Ann Kumar shows, the same ritual was also held regularly on Friday eve at the court of Mangkunegaran in Surakarta in the 18th century. The king would often be in attendance. The atmosphere was both religiously serene and festive. Interestingly, this ritual was followed by a regular *slametan* after the Friday prayer at the court's main mosque. This, again, shows a rather close relationship between the Javano-Islamic culture of the court and that of the shrines of the common people. See Ann Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe: Ambiguous Encounters* (Curzon Press, 1997), 57-60.

II. 2. 2. Thanksgiving to God, the Saints and Ancestors (the *Slametan*)

As has been mentioned earlier, the ritual activities in the Islamic shrines in south central Java have another crucial and distinctive feature. It is the *slametan*, that is, a communal and ritual meal. In accordance with the wider Javanese ritual etiquette of holding this *slametan* as a thanksgiving meal to God, the prophets, saints and ancestors, some pilgrims at Tembayat whose prayers have been granted would also return to the shrine, bringing the traditional food for this ritual-communal meal.²⁵⁵ The custodian on duty will also officiate at this hybrid ritual meal.²⁵⁶ Pilgrims interpret this ritual meal not only as a sign of gratitude to the saint, but also a sharing of the blessing of the saint to the others.²⁵⁷ In this way the communal character of this meal is completed. A rather grand *slametan* ceremony, where more pilgrims and local devotees bring food offerings and abundant

²⁵⁵ At Tembayat, some pilgrims would also hold a *slametan* at the beginning of the *ziarah*, as a means of declaring their intention (Jv. *hajat*) and readiness to receive the *baraka* of the saint. See Jamhari, "The Meaning Interpreted," 109.

²⁵⁶ There is an ongoing debate among scholars with regard to the nature of this ritual-communal meal. The American anthropologist, Mark Woodward, argues for the truly Islamic character of this ritual meal, i.e., that it could be explained fully within the larger Islamic framework (the textual and mystical tradition), while the British anthropologist, Andrew Beatty emphasizes its multivocal character (cf. Woodward, "The 'Slametan': Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam," *History of Religions*, 28 [1988]: 54-89; Andrew Beatty, "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese *Slametan*," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2 [1996]: 271-288). In my view, this debate further reinforces the centrality of the *slametan* in the Javano-Islamic complex identity, so much so that when a shrine holds the *slametan* regularly, we can be sure that this shrine and its pilgrims understand themselves as *Javanese-Muslims*, as opposed to just "Muslims." Although this practice is also known in other parts of the Muslim world, it has become one of the most important features of Javanese ritual and communal life. Traditionalist Muslims in Java consider this ritual-communal meal as a crucial part of their identity and thus from time to time have to defend this practice against the assaults from the modernist Muslims (more on this in Chapter 8). The same can be said of Catholic shrines in Java where a regular *slametan* is also held (more on this in Chapter 6).

²⁵⁷ In this respect, *slametan* food is often referred to as a "gift of the heart" stemming from a deep desire to help one's fellow humans (Mark Woodward, "The *Slametan*," 64). Beyond central Java, holding this communal meal is also popular among the Madurese pilgrims in Bali, especially in the Hindu-Muslim shrine of Pamecutan, Denpasar. During my fieldwork there in July 2009, I participated in this thanksgiving meals mostly on Thursday afternoon or evening, the busiest time for the shrine. In this shrine of Raden Ayu Siti Kadijah, interestingly, it is the Hindu custodian who will officiate over the ritual meal, instead of a Muslim cleric. With regard to the blessing and distribution of the flowers, only the Hindu custodian has the monopoly.

flowers, is held regularly in late afternoons of the Friday *Legi*, to begin the communal celebration at the shrine that we discussed in the previous section.

In light of the subject matter of this study, it is crucial to see the role of the *slametan* as a particular expression of religio-cultural habit of devotion among pilgrims. For the nature of *slametan* is a thanksgiving meal where the community comes together in the presence of God and His spiritual company or court: prophets, saints, as well as all members of the invisible world, including the ancestors. It is one of the most central ways in which the Javanese express their relatedness with God and His saints as a community through the categories of “*slamet*” (derived from the Arabic *salāma*, the Javanese holistic notion of well-being) and “*berkah*” (Ar. *baraka*, blessing, blessedness).

In this respect, we should not fail to notice the centrality and ubiquity of the *slametan* in Javanese religious tradition, beyond the particular context of pilgrimage, but still in an organic relationship to the larger veneration of saints and loving devotion to (and remembrance) of ancestors. Traditional Javanese of all faiths hold the *slametan* in the face of every important life event such as rites of passage, communal festivities and so forth, in order to secure the blessing of God and his spiritual company of saints and their ancestors, precisely because these figures are an integral part of their community, on whose blessings the wellbeing of the community depends. Crucial in this ritual meal is the invocation of the saints and spirits to whom the ritual food is symbolically offered, before being shared to the participants. Interestingly, at least in the original and complete form, the saints and spirits have to be invited by name to the ritual.²⁵⁸ This feature is

²⁵⁸ The *slametan* is practiced in different ways among contemporary Javanese. However, the original and complete form of it has the feature of calling the prophets, saints and spirits by names to ensure the personal character of the invitation. On the varied nature of the lists of prophets, saints and spirits invoked during the *slametan*, Woodward writes: “The host generally mentions as many saints and spirits as he can

strikingly similar to the pilgrimage ritual etiquette (Ar. *adab al-ziyāra*) that we mentioned earlier, especially the direct and personal greetings of pilgrims to the prophet(s), saints and all the “people of the graves” (Ar. *ahl al-qubr*).²⁵⁹ As we have noted as well, the invocation of these figures is a pivotal part of the prayer of supplications in the Islamic pilgrimage etiquette.²⁶⁰ So, in this regard, we see a deeper organic connection between pilgrimage tradition and ritual-communal meal. Both are marked by the spirit of communing with God and His spiritual company of prophets, saints and ancestors of the community. More specifically, this communion is done through prayerful remembrance of these figures in the presence of God. During the occasion, the community gathers to offer prayers or praises to these figures, and to receive blessings in return.

In south central Java, the intimate relationship between veneration of saints, remembrance of ancestors, and the *slametan* finds its most communal and ritual expression in the celebration of *ruwahan* (or *sadranan*) that occurs on the 27th of the Islamic month of Sha‘bān, immediately preceding the fasting month of Ramadan.²⁶¹ This

remember in order to identify as many sources of blessing as possible. While the Prophet Muḥammad is always included, lists vary greatly. Among the most common are the nine *walis* who are said to have brought Islam to Java, as well as the spirits of the ancestors, Javanese kings, and local guardian spirits (who are the souls of local historical figures).” In this regard, as Woodward notes further, the *santri* Muslims (those who are not so much influenced by the Javanese culture) generally invite more Arabic saints, while the more Javanese-influenced Muslims would also invoke the spirits of Hindu-Javanese kings, many of whom are said to have been converted to Islam after death. See Woodward, “The *Slametan*,” 76.

²⁵⁹ Mark Woodward relates this to the general greetings (Ar. *salām*) that the Muslims normally do to each other. But in my view, the fact that this greeting is offered to the dead saints and ancestors as if they were living, makes the connection to the ritual etiquette of *ziyāra* more natural. See Woodward, “The *Slametan*,” 76.

²⁶⁰ For a roughly similar pilgrimage etiquette in the medieval Syria and Egypt, see Josef Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, 145ff; Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 70ff. For an interesting example of *ziyāra* etiquette in the Indo-Persian context, see Carl W. Ernst, “An Indo-Persian Guide to Sufi Shrine Pilgrimage” in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, eds. Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst, 43-67.

²⁶¹ The Javanese word *ruwahan* is derived from the Arabic word for soul or spirit (sg. *rūḥ*, pl. *arwāḥ*). The spirit of this celebration is strikingly similar to All Souls Day in Christianity. Sha‘bān, the eighth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, is also called “Ruwah” in the hybrid Javano-Islamic calendar, precisely due to this connection. In the larger context of Muslim piety, the month of Sha‘bān is considered a special month for self-purification, symbolically done by bathing etc. It is also the most propitious month for tomb

annual ritual for the dead has two major elements, namely, visiting the grave of the ancestors and the holding of the *slametan* in the cemeteries or mosques nearby. At Tembayat, this *ruwahan* ritual is central and quite elaborate because it coincides with the anniversary of the death of the saint, Sunan Pandanarang.²⁶² It normally begins with the cleansing of the graves by the community, and culminating in the offering of the food to the saint (and the subsequent distribution of the food to all present) and the ritual of changing the cloth of his grave, accompanied by various performances of Javanese traditional music and dances. This is the biggest annual celebration in the shrine when the whole community of local Muslims and other pilgrims express their common devotion and relatedness to the shrine and its saint, in a way that puts this saint in the company of their dead ancestors.²⁶³

In this regard, then, the holding of the *slametan* at the shrine could be understood perfectly within the larger Javanese tradition of saint veneration and remembrance of ancestors. Shrines and sacred tombs are places where the *slametan* acquires more specific meanings due to its location in the devotion and connectedness of the pilgrims and their communities to a particular saint. However, it is also through this ritual that the particularity of this devotion is put in a larger framework of saint veneration and loving

visitation. In Java, this month is traditionally connected to the communal ritual of village cleansing (Jv. *bersih desa*), that is, the purification of the whole village community. By visiting and cleansing the graves of the ancestors and saints, Javanese Muslims seek the special blessings that they need to undergo a process of self-purification in the month of Ramadan.

²⁶² The tradition of holding a *slametan* on the occasion of the anniversary (Jv. *haul*) of the death of the saints is popular in Java. In the case of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, this *slametan* is sometimes accompanied by a reading of his life and deeds (Ar. *manāqib*). In West Java, this *slametan* (or *syukuran*) for al-Jīlānī is held not only on the anniversary of his death, but more frequently during the rituals of the reading of his *manāqib* that occur at the homes of the devotees. This ritual is called *manakiban*. On this, see Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saints*, especially chapter 9. See also Ann Kumar, *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim: Politics and the Pesantren 1883-1886* (Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs, 1985), 154 (footnote no. 65).

²⁶³ Every year during the *sadranan*, the royal house of Yogyakarta would send some financial support and ritual items to the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi because the saint is considered the revered ancestor (Jv. *pundhen*) of this court.

remembrance of ancestors. This is so partly due to the inclusive nature of sainthood (in the sense of protectorship) and the list of the saints-protectors invoked in the *slametan* ritual. The Javanese proclivity to expand the list of saints and ancestors invoked in the *slametan* could be explained in several ways. Obviously, it is an attempt to embrace the universal and cosmic power represented by paradigmatic figures and saints from different religions, whether historical or legendary. Thus it is not surprising that the most comprehensive list would start with Adam, the prototype of the human person but also the first prophet in the Islamic tradition, then go down to different prophets, the Prophet Muḥammad and his early companions, the Islamic saints and monarchs in Java and also some figures from the Javanese-Hindu tradition, such as Vishnu and others.²⁶⁴

II. 2. 3. Saints and Communal Identity: the *Haul* Festivals

The inclusive and communal nature of the *slametan* is displayed in its most splendid grandeur during the imperial festivals of *garebeg*, held three times a year on the occasions of the three major Islamic feasts (*Īdu al-Fiṭr*, *Īdu al-ʿAḏḩā*, and *Mawlid al-Nabī*) by both the royal houses of Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Here, the spirit of the *slametan* becomes the pivot of the festivals of the realm since the peak of this festival is the offering of the gigantic food-mountains (Jv. *gunungan*; Fig. 8.8) as a symbol of thanksgiving to God for the wellbeing of the realm and the distribution of these food-

²⁶⁴ Ann Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe*, 60. It seems that the model for inclusivity of this pantheon of saints and prophets is the to be found in the court tradition of identifying two sides in their ancestral genealogy. The right side (Jv. *panengen*) of this genealogy includes the prophets and saints descended from Adam via Islamic figures, while the left side (Jv. *pangiwa*) is the line of descent from Adam through Hindu-Javanese gods, including Javanese kings (Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 171). In this regard, it should be noted that the actual lists of these paradigmatic figures vary depending on a number of factors such as the regional tradition, the religious preference of the host, the knowledge of the ritual officiant and so forth. In chapter 6 we will see how this ritual meal is done in a Catholic shrine, led by a Muslim *imam* and a Protestant minister, while attended by people of various faiths.

offerings to the people as a symbol of the generosity of the king to his people. Employing a vast array of Javanese symbolisms, these festivals also feature another ritual element of sainthood, understood specifically in terms of as sacred power that becomes a rather distinctive hallmark of the anniversary festival of the saints (the *haul* festival) in Java, namely, the cleansing of the sacred heirloom (Jv. *jamas pusaka*) and the subsequent heirloom procession (Jv. *kirab pusaka*).²⁶⁵

Modeled on the court rituals and festivals, the *haul* festivals of saints in various shrines in south central Java have two major elements, i.e., Islamic and Javanese. In both Tembayat and Gunungpring shrines, the *haul* celebration includes recitation of the the Qur'ān, the reading of the al-Barzanjī text,²⁶⁶ and a short biography of the saint; communal *dhikr*; traditional Islamic musical performance (Jv. *terbangan*); circumcision of boys and so forth. It also includes Javanese cultural performances, such as the *wayang* shadow theatre, traditional dances, ritual procession using abundant Javanese cultural symbolisms, from clothing to gestures, and so forth. At the Gunungpring shrine, this celebration occurs on the same day of Islamic New Year, a very important day in the

²⁶⁵ For a detailed picture of the various aspects of these *garebeg* festivals, see Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, *Kraton Jogja*, 114-125; also Suyami, *Upacara Ritual di Kraton Yogyakarta: Refleksi Mithologi dalam Budaya Jawa* [“The Rituals at the Yogyakarta Palace: Reflection on the Mythical Elements in the Javanese Culture”], Yogyakarta: Kepel Press, 2008), chapter 4.

²⁶⁶ Composed by the Shāfiʿī *mufti* of Medina, Jaʿfar ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Barzanjī (d. 1764), the al-Barzanjī’s text is one of the most beloved traditional panegyrics to the Prophet Muḥammad. In many parts of the Muslim world, this text is recited during the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (Ar. *mawlid*). Written in the spirit of praise and loving devotion to the Prophet, it covers the narrative of his birth as well as the most important events in his life. By participating in this celebration, many Muslims believe they obtain the blessings and intercession of the Prophet. In this respect, the spirit of the *mawlid* celebration is in line with the framework of the *tawassul* prayer that we discussed earlier. Among Javanese Muslims, al-Barzanjī’s text is the most well known among the *mawlid* texts. A prominent Javanese scholar by the name of Muḥammad Nawawī al-Bantānī (d. 1898) wrote a commentary on the text. On the history and significance of the *mawlid* celebration, see Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of The Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (Routledge, 2009). On the intercessory role of the Prophet Muḥammad, see also Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 81-104.

Javano-Islamic calendar.²⁶⁷ On the eve of this day, the royal houses of Surakarta and Yogyakarta would send offerings to a number of sacred places, including the mausoleums and shrines of saints connected to the royal court such as the shrines of Gunungpring and Mawlana Maghribi.

Another distinctive aspect of the *haul* celebration in Java has to do with the ritual of changing the cloth that covers the sarcophagus of the saint and the rite of heirloom cleansing. Obviously, there is a rather close relationship between these rituals and the Javanese royal ritual of heirloom cleansing that occurs typically during the Islamic New Year.²⁶⁸ This relationship could be perfectly understood in the Javano-Islamic belief that sacred shrines and mosques are “heirlooms” of the highest degree. As we have mentioned in chapter 1, famous is the alleged saying of Pakubuwana I, a Javanese king who in 1708 refused to lament the loss of all royal heirlooms that his predecessor (Amangkurat III) brought with him to his exile in Srilanka: “It does not matter if those heirlooms are no more, as far as Java still has the Demak Mosque and the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga in Kadilangu.” This is so because these two sites are the principal heirlooms of Java to which all other heirlooms draw their power.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Many major Muslim shrines in Java have the *haul* celebrations during the lunar “New Year” month of Muharram, such as the shrine of Sunan Kudus (1st of Muharram), that of Sunan Muria (on the 15th), and the shrine of Ahmad Mutamakkin (9th).

²⁶⁸ In some major shrines, this ritual is called “*buka luwur*”. At the tomb of Sunan Kudus, this also occurs on the 1st of Muharram. The connection to the Javanese ritual of heirloom cleansing (Jv. *jamas pusaka*) is very obvious at this shrine. In fact, the *haul* celebration begins with the cleansing of a Javanese dagger believed to be the possession of the saint during his lifetime. The *haul* ceremony at this shrine is among the most elaborate ones in Java. It lasts for ten days and includes the slaughtering of animals. The ritual of heirloom cleansing is also held in other major shrines in Java, such as at the tomb of Sunan Gunungjati, the tomb of Sunan Kalijaga in Demak, the tomb of Sunan Giri in Gresik, the tomb of Sunan Bonang in Tuban. See Inajati A Romli et al., eds., *Jejak Para Wali dan Ziarah Spiritual* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2006).

²⁶⁹ See Meinsma, *Babad Tanah Jawi*, 566; quoted in H. J. de Graaf and Th. Pigeaud, *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam Pertama di Jawa*, 33. Nevertheless, to boost his spiritual authority, Pakubuwana II still tried very hard to regain these lost heirlooms, which were only returned back to the court by the Dutch in 1737. See Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen*, 194-5; *Mystic Synthesis*, 126.

Of course, an extension of Muslim veneration of saints to objects that were somehow connected to the saints or prophets is not unheard-of in many other parts of the Muslim world.²⁷⁰ Many sacred items in Muslim shrines in Java are believed to have been left behind by the saints, for example the water barrel for ablution in the shrine of Tembayat. But these objects seem to occupy a lower rank in the hierarchy of potent heirlooms that clearly favors weaponries. Among these weapons, it is the *keris*, the Javanese ceremonial-ritual dagger that becomes most beloved in Java, especially in the courts.

In the context of Java, this interconnection among categories of sainthood, certain weapons as the most potent heirlooms, and the court culture might stem from both the fact that some of the major local saints were also kings or heads of independent communities or polities, and the widespread belief that kings are considered “saints” due to the supernatural power they obtain *qua* kings. In many shrines that hold the heirloom cleansing ceremony, another feature of court culture is also adopted, namely the grand public procession of the heirlooms (Jv. *kirab pusaka*). During this moment, the sacred objects that generally are kept out of public sight become visible. Thus, the *kirab pusaka* is a ritual moment where a normally hidden aspect of sainthood is unveiled. For most Javanese today, the ritually traveling “relics” serve more as a memory of the founding of the realm and the community, although the aspect of sainthood in the form of relics has not completely disappeared either.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ This practice should also be understood in relation to the veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad’s “relics” such as his hair, beard, mantle, sandal, footprint and so forth. On this, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, 39-45; see also Ignaz Goldziher, “The Veneration of Saints in Islam,” *Muslim Studies* 2 (1971): 255-341.

²⁷¹ It is the aspect of paying homage to the ancestors and preserving the tradition in memory of them that come to be emphasized in the contemporary practice of this ritual. The *kirab pusaka* of Ki Ageng Pandanarang (the saint of Tembayat) in Semarang regency is also presented as an expression of communal

In this regard, the wider context of Islamic tradition could help us understand the dynamics of this symbolism (dagger and the procession) better, especially in terms of its function as a memory of the founding of the community. The veneration of relics in the form of a sacred sword is rather wellknown in the Islamic tradition, for example in the discovery by ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib of swords and armor in the treasure of the Ka‘ba, as well as the sword of Muḥammad and ‘Alī. In general, sword is used in many cultures as a symbol of royal and religious authority. However, as Wheeler shows, the discovery of sword at the Ka‘ba is taken as a symbol of the dawn of the Islamic civilization.²⁷² The public display and procession of the relics of the Prophet Muḥammad’s hair is also a known part of the *mawlid* celebration in some places.²⁷³

In relation to our discourse on identity and alterity, festivals have a unique role to play due to their inclusive aspect as well as their significance as celebrations of the founding moment of the entire community. Clearly, the hybridity of the festivals is consistent with the hybrid identity of the community, precisely because the “festival is a special context for the construction of ethnicity and socio-religious behavior and

identity by returning to the founder and founding moment of the community (Jv. *asal-usul*). Prior to the ritual, the regent (successor to the saint) would perform a *ziarah* to the tomb at Tembayat. The cleansing of 6 heirlooms takes 15 days. The heirlooms are purified using the coconut juice mixed with flowers. After being cleansed, they are then presented to the current regent, before being taken for procession that culminates in the main plaza (Jv. *alun-alun*). The tone of the whole ritual is Javanese (obviously patterned on the grand royal procession of the Javanese courts), except for the Arab-style clothing of some of the heirloom bearers (*Suara Merdeka* daily, December 20, 2003). And, as George Quinn writes, this annual *ziarah* has much to do with fostering a local identity around the figure of the saint as the founder. The regent of Banyumas in Central Java is said to use the *ziarah* as a moment for communing with the founding regent at his grave in order to seek his advice and guidance. See George Quinn “The Role of a Javanese burial ground in local government,” in *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, eds. Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid (Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 181.

²⁷² See Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 2006), 43. On the larger significance of these relics, Wheeler writes: “Muslim exegesis links the relics of earlier prophets and kings to the origins of both Islamic and human civilization at the Meccan sanctuary established and visited as the earthly representation of the lost Eden.” (71).

²⁷³ Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, 75.

experience.”²⁷⁴ As we have examined, the Javanese pattern of “including” is clearly at display during these most splendid festivals.²⁷⁵ Modeled on the court *garebeg*, the various festivals at Muslim shrines in south central Java become rather unique moments where the foundational interconnection between ethnic and religious identities is re-enacted. The centrality of the *slametan* in such festivals also reinforces a sense of inclusivity precisely because the blessings that it brings are deeply universal in their scope.

II. 3. Muslim Saints as Religious Guarantors and Cultural Brokers

Our previous section has hopefully showed that the inclusivity and hybridity of the shrine rituals in south central Java are a remarkable participatory element in constituting and affirming Javano-Islamic identity. In the first part of this chapter, we also have seen how Kalijaga and other *walis* are seen to be the propagator of this Islamic inclusivity in the adoption of local Javanese cultures, arts and festivals. The continuation of the *garebeg* festivals is also attributed to their support and initiative. Indeed, this is probably the most public aspect of the Javano-Islamic identity.

As I have argued, the power of this particular framework of identity seems to lie in its ability to create room for diverse understandings and practices. Thus pilgrims who feel more as a Muslim than a Javanese would still be able to be fully present at the shrines, because the interpretation of the symbols of these rituals is not monolithic, and

²⁷⁴ David D. Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors: Music, Myth, and Cultural Politics at an Indonesian Festival* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 3.

²⁷⁵ The same dynamic is observable in the festival at Lingsar, on the island of Lombok, where Hindu Balinese and Muslim Sasaknese participate in the same festival at the temple. The inclusivity of this festival and temple becomes more normative when the officials declare “*siapa saja boleh bersembahyang di sini!*” (Anyone can worship here!). On this, see David D. Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors*, 119. Another interesting case occurs in the shrine of Pamecutan, Bali, where the *haul* ceremony becomes the moment when the Hindu and Muslim pilgrims come together in a common ritual (otherwise they would pray separately in the same shrine).

concrete participation allows for many different interpretation and meanings.²⁷⁶ In this regard, Javano-Muslim shrines in south central Java continue to be sites where different ways of engagement with regard to the notion of sainthood, rituals, histories and other features are not only allowed but also welcome and celebrated. It is even possible to see these sites as the embodiment of the deep, complex and at times ambiguous intersections of religion and culture.²⁷⁷ They might be considered as in-between spaces or interstices, in the sense that they authentically belong to both the local world of the Javanese as well as the wider tradition of Islam.

This way, I would argue, the Javanese case makes it harder to talk about the clear-cut boundaries between self and other, between Islam and Javaneseness (or *vice versa*). From a sociological or anthropological point of view, the *walis* are considered as religio-cultural “brokers” who smooth out the complex intersecting of boundaries.²⁷⁸ While, on

²⁷⁶ In this respect, my fieldwork confirms Andrew Beatty’s observation (in his article, “Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese Slametan”) on the plurality of interpretive frameworks on Javanese rituals, for example, about the role of the Goddess of the Southern Sea. The Javanese pilgrims in Parangtritis who did not personally subscribe to the belief in the existence of this goddess could still understand the religio-cultural spirit of Javanese courts’ practice of making annual offering to her. They could also understand the local belief in the sacredness of the place. Some other pilgrims who disprove the use of incense would still be able to tolerate it.

²⁷⁷ By ambiguity, I refer to the fact that some of the features of this framework can be taken in different directions. Arguably, this ambiguity also accounts for its ability to unify, or simply to change itself overtime in response to different needs. As a religio-cultural practice of memory, these shrines present the past not for the sake of the past but rather in response to the need of the present day Javanese society that continues to be pluralistic albeit in a different and shifting senses.

²⁷⁸ On the relationship between Islamic religious scholar-cum community leaders (Jv. *kyai*) and *walis*, it has to be noted that among traditionalist Muslims in Java, the *kyais* become the pivots of the local Muslim communities; many of them are believed to have achieved the status of *wali*-hood in their life times, such as the founder of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, *Kyai* Haji Hashim Asy’ari (1875-1947). The notion of the role of *kyai* in Java as cultural brokers was coined by Clifford Geertz (borrowing Eric Wolf’s concept) in his seminal essay “The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1960): 228-49. In a different essay, Geertz calls the achievement of this brokerage the production of a “workable halfway covenant” between Javaneseness and Islam (see Clifford Geertz, “Religious Belief and Economic Behavior in a Central Javanese Town: Some Preliminary Considerations,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 4 [1956]: 134-59). In relation to this, it is insightful to recall that Javanese *kyais* place their religio-cultural identity and role in the direct line of Muslim saints in Java who were the first cultural brokers of that kind.

the more theological side, these saints are guarantors of the authenticity of the Muslim character of the intersections.

An insightful example on this dynamic is the role of the *walis* in the Islamization process of the sacrificial ritual of *maheso lawung* in the royal house of Surakarta.²⁷⁹ The intention behind this ritual is not so different from that of the *slametan*, namely, to give thanks to the unseen world for the welfare and prosperity of the whole realm of the past year, while also to pray for the blessing for the following year.²⁸⁰ The origin of this ritual is pre-Islamic, since the offerings were addressed to the goddess Durga and some spirits under her command in a forest where they are believed to reside.²⁸¹ It was due to this extraneous element that the Islamic Sultanate of Demak (16th century) decided to discontinue the ritual. However, as local legend has it, the realm experienced turbulent time as a result. In response to popular plea, the *walis* were summoned and they came up with a proposal: a general renewal of morality and spirituality, aimed at a balanced harmony between the spiritual and material dimensions of human existence, has to be initiated while the old ritual needs to be reinstated in an Islamic form in order to secure the cosmic harmony. To effect this transformation, the *walis* translated the Hindu mantras used in the ritual into Islamic prayers in Arabic and Javanese.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ In Javanese, the term *maheso lawung* literally means letting a buffalo go loose. However, the Javanese Muslims, through their penchant for finding deeper meanings behind words (Jv. *kerata basa*) through creating various possible associations of similar sounds and syllables of words, come to understand the *maheso lawung* to really mean: God the Most High (Ar. *Allāhu Akbar*; Jv. *maha-eso-kang-adhi-luhung*). Naturally, popular belief attributed this discovery of Islamic meaning to Sunan Kalijaga.

²⁸⁰ In fact, this ceremony is also called “*wilujengan nagari*” denoting a state-sponsored ritual meal for the wellbeing (Jv. *wilujeng* or *slamet*) of the whole realm (Jv. *nagari*).

²⁸¹ For a more comprehensive discussion on the development of this court ritual and the wider context of Islamization process in this area of Krendawahono, see Stephen Headley, *Durga's Mosque: Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Central Javanese Islam* (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004).

²⁸² Pakubuwana XII, *Karaton Surakarta*, 312

It is insightful here that it was a change in ritual prayer that was believed to have effected a deeper transformation of the whole ritual. Other elements, such as the spatial location as well as the offerings, are kept intact.²⁸³ In this respect, our preceding discourse on the principle of continuity and communion hopefully helps us understand the religio-cultural motivation behind this dynamic of acceptance and adaptation, namely to preserve both in the complex religio-cultural framework of continuity and harmony. Again, these examples also reveal an important aspect in the role of the *walis* as negotiator of change and guarantor of authenticity. For one thing, their achievement manages to give a workable solution associated with the so-called “Islamic prayers *outside* the mosque” in the context of Java.²⁸⁴ As David Parkin understands it, the trope “prayers outside the mosque” signifies the (possible) fragmentary and contestable expression of Islam, as opposed to “prayers inside the mosque” that would signify the boundedness and coherence of normative Islam. In this framework, the *walis* were able, to a certain degree, to prevent the fragmentariness of Islam by transforming, from within, some major religious and cultural rituals of the pre-Islamic Java by making sure that

²⁸³ There are other lasting manifestations of this religio-cultural brokering by the *walis*. For example, according to some accounts, Sunan Kalijaga is believed to be the “inventor” of the *slametan*, the Javanese shadow theatre (Jv. *wayang*) and the royal ceremonies and festivals of Demak and Mataram, including the *garebegs* (see Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java*, 96). The pattern of transformation here seems to be the same: Kalijaga, or any other *walis* for that matter, did not so much change the material expression of these Javanese rituals and festivals, but rather their spirit and messages. Some Javanese puppeteers (*dhalang*) continue this pattern until today. For example, a certain puppeteer, without using the word “Allah” or “tawhid”, manages somehow to put an Islamic theology of the unity of God in the story about the hubris of Drona who in the Javanese version of the Mahabharata is the mischievous military and spiritual master of both the Pandavas and Kuravas. I listened to his performance in a radio station during my fieldwork. This puppeteer argues that this hubris amounts to the gravest sin against the unity of God because Drona basically considers himself on par with God by not realizing the limitation of his human condition. On the rather different dynamics of subtle permutations in the Javanese shadow theater tradition as a result of the penetration of Islam (e.g. the concern for orthodoxy) in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, see Laurie J. Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), 55-74.

²⁸⁴ See David Parkin and Stephen Headley, eds., *Islamic Prayer Across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000). David Parkin writes: “Metaphorically rather than literally, then, the spatial contrast of inside and outside the mosque refers to the boundedness and coherence of Islam as against its fragmentary and contestable expression.” (1).

these prayers outside the mosque are directed to the true God, even though a host of saints and spirits are given some role to play as the Javanese would want it.

In this dynamic, interestingly, some aspects of ambiguity and alterity are maintained. For, if one of the concomitant problems associated with “prayers outside the mosque” is the spatial and material expression of prayers themselves, then the *walis* seemed to be intentional in their stance against any notion of material and spatial rigidity in these Islamic rituals. Even when the ritual prayers have been Islamicized, the ritual of *maheso lawung* is still held in the forest of Durga, as we have seen. Of course, this ambiguity would only pose problems within a completely different interpretive and socio-political framework, such as the modernist or purificationist ideology.²⁸⁵ However, within the frameworks of Javanese sensibility that is largely shared by the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, this ambiguity is empowering, for it has become the standard way of fostering a real sense of harmony in dealing with alterity. In the context of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, this creative ambiguity is the result of their commitment to the values of balance, harmony and universality, represented by the principle of *tawassuṭ* (the middle path), as opposed to extremism, as well as the principle of Islam as the channel of God’s cosmic mercy (Ar. *rahmatan lil- ‘ālamīn*).²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Such modernist concern has been voiced recently, for example, by Hasanu Simon, a professor of forestry at the Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, who also wrote on Islamic themes in his spare time. With regard to Sunan Kalijaga’s composition of prayers (Ar. *du‘ā*) in Javanese (that come to be considered as *mantra* by some Javanese), he thinks that this kind of prayer poses no problem if it follows the direction of the Qur’ān. But, in reality, it provokes other people to compose different *mantras*. In some cases, these vernacular prayers degrade the dignity of Qur’ānic suras, he argues. And in Java, this led to the mushrooming of Javanist mystical movements (Jv. *kebatinan*). Hasanu believes that Arabic prayers keep the purity and universality of Islam. He also considers Kalijaga’s Javanese outfit (Fig. 2.1), as opposed to the Arab outfits of all other major saints, as having a subtext of asserting the superiority of the Javanese culture over against the Arab culture. See his *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar*, 330-31.

²⁸⁶ The charter of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama organization emphasizes the values of balance, harmony and universality, represented by the principle of *tawassuṭ* (the middle path), as opposed to extremism, as well as the principle of Islam as the channel of God’s cosmic mercy (Ar. *rahmatan lil- ‘ālamīn*). See Greg Barton, “Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of Tawassuth: the Thought of Achmad

II. 4. Concluding Remarks

I have attempted to show in this chapter the rich and complex picture of Javano-Islamic pilgrimage tradition in south central Java in terms of arts, architecture and ritual. Particular emphasis has been given to the significance of these features of the pilgrimage tradition in the process of the religio-cultural identity formation of the Javano-Muslim communities. As we have seen, the principle of continuity and communion with the other, done always in extremely complex ways, is also at work in the material and ritual culture of the shrines and the pilgrimage tradition among Javanese Muslims in south central Java. To a large degree, this principle is considered to be one of the most distinctive legacies of the local saints like Kalijaga, Pandanarang and others. The result is the formation of a hybrid Javano-Islamic identity marked by an overwhelming respect for the richness of the Javanese local culture and the desire to appropriate the goodness of this culture into the practice of Islam. In south central Java, this religio-cultural process has been supported and smoothed out by the Javano-Islamic courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, as well as by the traditionalist Muslim organization (the Nahdlatul Ulama).

This religio-cultural synthesis is unique in terms of its concrete contents and particularities. It is about the particular encounters between Islam and the Javanese culture, itself a synthesis of different religio-cultural traditions such as native spirituality, Hinduism, Buddhism, and so forth. This framework explains the presence of some distinctive ritual, artistic and architectural features native to Java. For instance, we have examined the distinctive role of the *slametan* as a ritual invocation and memory of the local ancestors, together with the prophets and saints. The ubiquitous presence of this

Siddiq,” in *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, eds. Greg Barton and Greg Fealy (Monash Asia Institute, 1996), 110-28.

ritual meal in the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java gives this tradition of saint veneration a more distinctive quality as a memory of ancestors as well. For although the basic form of this ritual meal is known in other parts of the Islamic world, this memory of local saintly and paradigmatic ancestors—as well as the distinctively hybrid lists of prophets and saints being invoked in the ritual—makes the Javanese case rather unique. In the same vein, we have also seen how the veneration of relics of the saints and ancestors takes a distinctively local form in south central Java due to the influence of the Javano-Islamic royal courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

However, as far as the general pattern of appropriation is concerned, the case of south central Java is not completely *sui generis* because it could be understood within the more widespread patterns of encounters between Islam and other religio-cultural traditions in other parts of the world and across historical periods. It should also be noted that, as far as the specificities of the case of Java are concerned, they can still be understood within the larger Islamic interpretive framework, such as the Islamic mystical tradition, more particularly its various symbolic devices such as mystical mountain, spiritual ascent, animal symbolisms and so forth. As always, certain degree of ambiguities is embedded in this kind of creative religio-cultural synthesis. In this respect, Javano-Islamic pilgrimage culture in south central Java continues to take as a paradigm the kind of synthesis that the earlier *walis* as the “religio-cultural brokers” have achieved. For many Javanese Muslims, it is the role of these *walis* that ensures the Islamic authenticity of the synthesis. However, this does not mean that the understanding and interpretation of every aspect of this synthesis have been finalized. This religio-cultural interpretive framework should be considered a living legacy of these saints and founders,

and within this framework, ambiguities are embraced as both sign of complexities but also openness toward further and diverse interpretive engagements in response to the dynamics of contemporary society. As a result, there is the need for continuous discernment both on the communal and personal levels. In the next chapter we will look rather closely at the various ways in which actual pilgrims of all types participate in this dynamic of pilgrimage. In particular, we will see how certain aspects of this hybrid synthesis comes to be experienced or negotiated by the pilgrims themselves. This way it should become clearer that this synthesis is a living reality that continues to play a rather crucial role in the experience of the pilgrims themselves.

CHAPTER 3
THE RICHNESS OF PILGRIMAGE EXPERIENCE:
DEVOTION, MEMORY, AND BLESSINGS

You are obsessed by greed for more and more
until you go down to [your] grave.
Qur'ān 102:1-2

Whenever he sets off from home to wander in lonely places,
[He] imbibes the old lessons, seeking ecstasy with clear intention,
With great disciplines, reining in the passion, both day and night,
Molding works pleasant to the heart of his fellow human beings.
Javanese Poetic Song in Memory of Kyai Chudlori²⁸⁷

This Javanese poetic song (Jv. *tembang*) is striking at least on two accounts. First, employing thoroughly Javanese idioms, this song is nevertheless meant to describe a personal habit of spiritual journeying (Jv. *ziarah*, *tirakat*) of a rather famous Javano-Muslim figure, Kyai Chudlori (1912-1977), the founder of the influential Islamic education center (Jv. *pesantren*) at Tegalrejo in Magelang regency, central Java. During

²⁸⁷ In the original Javanese, this song reads thus: “*Saben mendra saking wisma/ lelana leladan sepi/ Ngisep sepuhing supama/ Mrih pana pranaweng kapti/ Kepati amarsudi/ Sudaning hawa lan nepsu/ Tanapi ing ari ratri/ Amemangun karya nak tiyasing sasama.*” This Javanese poem was attributed to Mr. Rasdan, a good friend of Kyai Chudlori (1912-1977). See M. Bambang Pranowo, “Traditional Islam in Contemporary Rural Java: The Case of Tegal Rejo Pesantren,” in *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*, ed. M. C. Ricklefs (Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991), 39; also his, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (“Understanding Javanese Islam”), Ciputat, Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet and Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment [INSEP], 2009), 157. This book is a revision of the author’s doctoral thesis *Creating Islamic Tradition in Rural Java* (1991) at Monash University, Australia. I altered Pranowo’s translation slightly.

his life Kyai Chudlori played a paradigmatic role in attempting to strike a religio-cultural synthesis of Islam and Javanese culture in his *pesantren* as well as the wider local society. Due to his pioneering work, his school has been known for its excellence as a traditional Islamic boarding school that combines comprehensive Islamic learning with deep appropriation of Javanese culture. In a rather iconic way, Kyai Chudlori placed a shadow puppet image of Bhima, the most admired hero of the Mahabharata epic whose mystical experience is central to Javanese mysticism, on the wall of his room.²⁸⁸ Given this background, it is no wonder that his close friend composed the above-mentioned poetic song in his memory.

However, the song is also striking in different sense. For in attempting to describe the dynamics of extended pilgrimage (Jv. *ziarah*, Ar. *ziyāra*) as a process of spiritual journey, it starts with the experience of strangeness (being a wanderer) and of loneliness but ends with a sense of being in communion and friendship with fellow human beings. This dynamic is remarkably similar to the experience of al-Harawī (d. 1215) that we mentioned in the Introductory Chapter. In light of the subject matter of this chapter, it is insightful that the author of this poetic song chose to describe the identity of Kyai Chudlori in terms of his practice of spiritual and ascetic journeying, using the all too traditional Javanese idioms. This way, the ode has already directed us to one of the most crucial questions of our chapter, namely, the richness of pilgrimage experience. For

²⁸⁸ The choice of Bhima here is highly revealing, especially in light of the iconic image of Bhima in the Javano-Islamic understanding of true spiritual quest or journey. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Bhima's spiritual quest is so exemplary among the Javanese so that it served as a model in which the spiritual formation of Sunan Kalijaga, the foremost Muslim saint in south central Java, is understood. To a certain degree, by choosing the image of Bhima, Kyai Chudlori was revealing the nature of his project of creating Javano-Islamic identity that was also based on his own extended spiritual journey. On the role of this *kyai* and the Tegalrejo *pesantren* in the synthesis of Islam and Javanese culture, see Bambang M. Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* ("Understanding Javanese Islam"), 159-235.

within the framework of Javanese culture, the song mentions fundamental elements of pilgrimage experience, i.e., solitude and loneliness, spiritual lessons, devotion, purity of intention, disciplines of purification and asceticism, and so forth. Furthermore, in relation to the identity of Kyai Chudlori in whose memory it was originally written, the song also indicates further how the tradition of Muslim *ziyāra* or spiritual journeying as it is practiced in Java could become a milieu for forging such a complex identity that embraces otherness, namely, “non-Islamic” categories, such as the various aspects of the Javanese culture.

As has been mentioned, this chapter deals with the experiential world of the pilgrims, that is, the many ways in which pilgrims get into an experience of intimate communion with and devotion to God and His Friends (Ar. *awliyā'*), thus obtaining diverse forms of blessing, while also getting into a deeper contact with their own selves as well as other pilgrims. Special attention will be given to the distinctive interplays between Javanese spiritual and cultural heritage and the wider Islamic tradition, in the various ways in which pilgrims actually do different aspects of the pilgrimage practice, especially how they interpret the various aspects of God's blessings, the role of the saints and so forth. In short, we will delve into the many ways in which they come to experience the communion with God, His spiritual company of saints and the righteous ancestors.

At this point it has to be noted as well that the general argument of this chapter has to be placed within the larger and deeper framework of communion that has become the underlying principle at work in the pilgrimage tradition among Javanese Muslims in south central Java. As shown in the previous chapters, it is the underlying principle of

communion, understood broadly, that makes pilgrimage tradition able to forge such a hybrid and inclusive Javano-Islamic identity. In the dynamics of pilgrimage in south central Java, this complex and rather elusive notion of identity is shaped and acted out within this framework of attaining deeper and more integral communion and connectedness with God and His company of saints in the context of a complex tapestry of devotion to and spiritual intimacy with God, oneself, and other pilgrims. Furthermore, pilgrimage also involves a participation in the personal and communal memory of saint-founders, founding moments, holy places, and sacred landscape. As we have seen, the practice of pilgrimage as memory involves a certain degree of engagement and hospitality to the presence and traces of the other, such as the other religious traditions or cultures.

The two previous chapters have shown the principal ways in which Muslim saints, shrines and pilgrimage in south central Java function in the dynamic of Javano-Islamic identity, both in the realm of the imagination and practice of collective history as well as in the expressions of this complex and hybrid identity in the spatial, architectural and ritual dimensions of the pilgrimage tradition. We see how in all these settings, various forms and degrees of alterity are embraced in the complex formation of Javano-Islamic selfhood. Along the way, we have noted how pilgrimage tradition in south central Java is at the same time very ancient and strikingly new, ludic and ascetic, deeply personal and extravagantly communal. It is based on a harmoniously functioning, widely operating combination of Javanese court culture and traditional Islamic or Sufi doctrines and practices, as well as popular religio-cultural sensibilities.

In light of this larger framework, this chapter continues our probing by focusing on the pilgrims themselves, the most important agents of this tradition, especially in terms of the richness of their experience. It is the agency of the pilgrims that makes the liveliness of the pilgrimage tradition so striking, memorable, and long lasting. A recent statistical data on pilgrims at the Gunungpring shrine, for example, shows a rising pattern in the number of pilgrims during the peak months of the pilgrimage to this shrine.²⁸⁹ In light of the role of these pilgrims, our principal questions are: how pilgrimage has become what it is in Java, why pilgrimage continues to be a personally, culturally and religiously meaningful practice for these Muslims, and how it serves as a means for the identity formation of these individuals and communities. Naturally, such a treatment of the experience of the pilgrims involves a good amount of complexity, in the sense of richness and plurality of the experience. However, it is still possible to look for a certain degree of shared experience, illustrated by personal accounts of some pilgrims that I interviewed during fieldwork. This treatment of the experience of the pilgrims is taken up in an extended manner only in this chapter because these personal experiences, as we will see, could not be separated from the larger religio-cultural frameworks that we examined in the previous two chapters.

Before going into the experiential world of the pilgrims with all its richness and complexities, few important points are in order. First, we need to bear in mind that in the

²⁸⁹ The following is the statistical data on the number of pilgrims to this shrine, posted on the wall of the shrine itself, during the peak months of the pilgrimage season (not the whole year). In the year of 2000, there were 31,000; in 2001, 35,000; in 2002, 35,000; in 2003, 34,000; and in 2004, 38,000. So, we see an increasing trend in the number of pilgrims. During these busiest months, this shrine was visited by more than a thousand pilgrims per day. Many of them would stay in the simple inns (a new addition to the structure) in the compound. Given the stature of the shrine of Tembayat, the number of pilgrims would be more numerous there. This shrine also has some simple lodging facilities for pilgrims. This figure could be easily doubled in the most popular shrines in Java, such as the shrine of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, East Java, and the shrine of Sunan Gunungjati in Cirebon, West Java.

larger framework of pilgrimage as an ongoing practice, the pilgrims' relationships with God and with the saints (Ar. *awliyā'*, God's Friends) often become inseparable. This feature is ultimately related to the Islamic spiritual cosmology in which the messengers, prophets and *walīs* participate in God. As has been mentioned previously in the Introduction, this participation of the saints in God's protectorship and authority (God as the Protector of all, the *Walī*) is fundamental to the understanding of sainthood (Ar. *walāya*) in the Islamic tradition.²⁹⁰ In this Muslim framework of sainthood, this participatory nature of the saints' authority, which is popularly understood in terms of their power to perform miraculous deeds (Ar. *karāmāt*) or to become intercessors is the result of their proximity and friendship with God. I will explore this idea more fully in Chapter 9 that delves, among others, into the foundation of the doctrine of *walāya* in the Qur'ān, the *ḥadīth* tradition as well as various Muslim writers. So it suffices that for the time being we bear this basic point in mind as we look at the experience of the Javanese Muslim pilgrims with regard to their relationship with God and the saints.

Secondly, it has to be noted as well that in terms of experience, pilgrimage involves an ongoing, even trans-generational relationship. We have seen earlier that in south central Java, pilgrimage tradition is a religio-cultural habit of the heart. Thus it is a highly personal activity that is passed down from generation to generation. In this framework, every particular undertaking of pilgrimage is rather intimately related to the previous and the next pilgrimages with all the complex web of relationships with parents, other members of the family, other pilgrims, particular saints and shrines, and so forth. On the communal level, pilgrimage practice also forms inclusive circles of family and friends. In this regard, the role of souvenirs as a tangible memory of pilgrimage blessings

²⁹⁰ See also Introduction (section III).

is quite important. Pilgrims bring home different forms of souvenirs for themselves as well as for family and friends. In the previous two chapters, we have noted that the category of memory is prominent in the Muslim pilgrimage in south central Java. However, in these two chapters, we focused more on the collective memory of the past that includes the Hindu-Javanese other. It is through souvenirs and other pilgrimage memorabilia that the category of memory becomes more concrete and tangible, as they are related to a particular pilgrimage or shrine. It also becomes personal and interpersonal at the same time.

The third point, closely related to the second, is the gradual maturing and deepening of the pilgrims' relationship with God in general as the context of pilgrimage experience. Pilgrimage is by no means a fixed, reified and isolated practice or experience, but rather a growing and complex relationship with God and the saints. That is why the framework of devotion, understood as an overarching and enduring relatedness to God and the saints, becomes extremely crucial. As we will see, Javanese Muslim pilgrims talk about the necessary and continuous process of purifying their intentions during pilgrimage and beyond, in the pursuit of true spiritual growth. This way, pilgrimage experience helps the pilgrims deepen their relationship with their own selves as well.

This brings us to the fourth point, namely, that pilgrimage experience is a rich and complex experience whose dynamics are intimately related, but not limited, to a certain place and time. To a certain extent, pilgrimage experience is always very concrete since it involves a particular experience of visiting certain sacred place under specific circumstances. However, it has an ever widening dynamic. We will see how pilgrims desire to visit different shrines after visiting familiar sacred spaces. It should also be

noted that their visitations are not really bound by a fixed time although some propitious visiting times are known and followed. Perhaps more importantly, due to its richness, pilgrimage experience affects the larger worldview of the pilgrims. As we will see, Javanese Muslim pilgrims talk about fundamental and integral peace (Jv. *tentrem*) as the goal and most important blessing of pilgrimage.

These four points will be elucidated in the rest of the chapter. To facilitate our discussion, I will attempt to systematize or put some structures to the vast and complex experiential world of the pilgrims by employing two rather broad categories that in their interconnections to each other hopefully represent the salient elements of the pilgrimage experience. The first has something to do with the complex motivation of the pilgrims, captured by the notions of devotion, need and blessings. And the second category comprises the various spiritual lessons and personal growth, in tandem with the rather intense practice of asceticism and purification. Roughly, these two categories correspond to the two general types of pilgrim: (1) pilgrims of devotion, and (2) ascetic and soul-searching pilgrims (more on the more detailed sub-classifications of these types later). It has to be noted from the outset that this classification is based on the more dominant feature of each category, thus they are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the ascetic and soul-searching pilgrims also foster deep devotion, while the pilgrims of devotion embrace ascetic purification as an important part of the pilgrimage as well.

We should recall as well that other type might exist, such as tourist-pilgrims. However, the number of such casual pilgrims are quite limited in the three shrines under study, since these shrines are not the most popular tourist destinations. To a certain extent, it is true that these shrines are part of tourism industry, because group-pilgrims

would combine these shrines with other more touristy places nearby as destinations.²⁹¹ Furthermore, some people who would be present during festivals might qualify as local tourist-pilgrims, but they are more aptly considered as members of the local community. In this regard, we should be aware that not only does the relationship between visitors and the saints vary greatly—making it hard to set rigid boundaries between the devout pilgrims and more superficial tourists—but it also develops over time, a crucial point we have noted earlier. For many seasoned pilgrims ascribe their penchant for pilgrimage to an initially very casual visit to certain shrine.

III. 1. Motivation and Intention: Devotion, Needs and Blessings in Pilgrimage

We begin our discourse on the experiential world of the pilgrims with the category of devotion, understood as personal connectedness with God and the paradigmatic figures of the community. This is so because devotion is key to understand the many significant behaviors of pilgrims, both outward and inward, inside and outside the shrine. For, without taking devotion seriously, we could not understand the dynamics of pilgrimage itself, namely, the initial intention as well the whole process of pilgrimage, its aftermath as well as the next round of pilgrimage.²⁹² It is devotion that brings the saints and their

²⁹¹ This feature is of course related to the image and status of Yogyakarta as a unique destination for cultural tourism in Indonesia. As I have noted in the Introduction Chapter, the New Order government of Indonesia (1967-1998) promoted Yogyakarta as a unique place for the so-called “Pancasila” tourism. *Pancasila* is the Indonesian national principle, representing, among other things, the idea of unity in diversity. In this framework, Yogyakarta was imagined as a kind of national symbol of an ideal harmonious existence amidst diversity and plurality that should be the hallmark of the whole Indonesian society. In this imagination, Yogyakarta was a place where all these diversities, represented iconically by the Hindu-Javanese culture, always exist harmoniously throughout history. In light of this, it is not surprising to see that many pilgrims to Yogyakarta combine religious pilgrimage with cultural tourism. For a discussion on the image of Yogyakarta in the politics of cultural tourism under the New Order, see Heidi Dahles, *Tourism, Heritage and National Culture in Java*.

²⁹² In a rather direct relation to the sensitive nature of pilgrimage, some Muslim pilgrim come to base their habit on a strong personal religious conviction and belief (part of the devotion), at times coupled with theological arguments drawn from within the tradition. For example, Ms. Wiwik, an owner of a small

shrines to the hearts of the pilgrims and to places beyond the shrines. It explains the motivation of so many pilgrims that would come to shrines on a regular basis, simply because this practice has become the habit of their hearts, so to speak.²⁹³ It, for instance, explains the motivation of a group of illiterate elderly Javanese Muslim pilgrims who chose to spend the government's aid on making *ziarah*, rather than on buying new uniforms for their association.²⁹⁴ It also helps us understand the motivation of a group of pilgrims who felt the need to stop by the shrine of Gunungpring as they happened to attend a wedding celebration in the area.²⁹⁵ This personal and communal sense of devotion and connectedness to saints, the habit of the heart, could be puzzling to some people.

In this regard, the story about the former president of Indonesia, Mr. Abdurrahman Wahid (1940-2009), is rather interesting. Mr. Wahid—who was also a highly respected Muslim scholar and former leader of the Nahdlatul Ulama, the biggest Muslim organization in the country—was reported to have abruptly left his presidential palace just few hours before an important cabinet meeting was supposed to start, because

business, argued that although she is a member of the modernist Muhammadiyah (in fact, she hails from Kotagedhe, the area from which the modernist Muhammadiyah movement originates), she keeps doing some Javanese religio-cultural practices because of her personal conviction and experience. Thus, although the tradition of pilgrimage has a strong communal and cultural background, its personal nature is also crucial. Interview, Mawlane Maghribi shrine, June 5, 2009.

²⁹³ In Java, the collective and communal aspect of pilgrimage as a habit of devotion to the saints can be seen most dramatically on certain Thursday night in the Islamo-Javanese calendar (depending on the shrine) where local devotees would gather in the shrine for prayers and social activities. The shrines of Bayat and Gunungpring draw a significant number of pilgrims during this night, while the tomb of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya seems to draw the largest crowd compared to other major shrines throughout Java.

²⁹⁴ This group was from Tegalrejo, Magelang. They decided to visit the shrines of Tembayat, Mlangi (the tomb of Kyai Nur Iman, in the outskirt of Yogyakarta), and Gunungpring. I interviewed the leader while they were at Gunungpring, on May 30, 2009.

²⁹⁵ I met with this group of pilgrims from the town of Salatiga (around 20 miles from the shrine) on May 27, 2009. In this case, pilgrimage is a habit of devotion that has been part of daily life of people, to such a degree that sometimes it would be done spontaneously whenever possible. It is like stopping over in a good old friend house on the way to the ultimate destination. Again, this habit is the fruit of years of devotion. The leader of the group mentioned also that they would not feel quite right if they did not pay a visit to this shrine.

he had to pay a visit to the tomb of a deceased leader of his Nahdlatul Ulama. Throughout his life, Mr. Wahid had been known as a progressive traditionalist Muslim leader and non-sectarian thinker with a deep personal piety and devotion of visiting the tombs of some prominent leaders of his organization as well as other saints and paradigmatic figures.²⁹⁶ In this particular instance, Mr. Wahid felt he had to visit the tomb because his close confidante has reportedly told him that the deceased spiritual leader was unhappy that Mr. Wahid had not visited his grave for a while. In response, Mr. Wahid had to mobilize three presidential helicopters to rush him to the tomb where he prayed earnestly. Moments later he emerged with new confidence and resolve, and then he announced the dismissals of his cabinet ministers immediately thereafter.²⁹⁷ Again, to those unfamiliar with the rather intense and distinctive piety and devotion of many traditional Muslims like Mr. Wahid, this event will indeed look bizarre or idiosyncratic, especially its connection with politics. However, considered by many as a living *wali* himself, Mr. Wahid had no need to explain this to the public.²⁹⁸

Although the case of Mr. Wahid was definitely more complicated and controversial than the first two examples of ordinary pilgrims mentioned earlier, there was a common feature that they shared. Together with many other Javanese Muslim pilgrims, all of them would understand their *ziarah* (Ar. *ziyāra*) basically in terms of devotion understood as personal connectedness to God and His spiritual company, the

²⁹⁶ For example, while serving as the president of Indonesia from 1999 to 2001, Mr. Wahid visited the Tembayat shrine as well as the royal cemetery of the Mataram kings in Imogiri (see Map. 1.3), drawing some severe criticisms from his political opponents. See, for example, the criticism of *The Republika Daily*, April 22, 2000.

²⁹⁷ See Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid, eds. *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, xv.

²⁹⁸ After his death in 2009, Mr. Wahid's tomb in East Java has become a major pilgrimage site. At some point, it was drawing two thousands pilgrims per day according to some report (*The Jakarta Post*, December 22, 2010). There has been some suggestion for calling Mr. Wahid the 10th *wali*, thus putting him in the famed tradition of Javanese Nine Saints (Jv. *Wali Songo*). See the *Jakarta Post*, December 19, 2010.

saints and paradigmatic figures of the community. In this respect, more particularly, many Javanese Muslim pilgrims would describe the particular nature of *ziyāra* in the framework of Javanese cultural practices of *sowan* and *nyekar*. The Javanese word *sowan* denotes a dutiful visit of a subject to his master; it is an acknowledgment of dependence and duty, and it will result in the harmonious relationship between the pilgrims as subjects and the saints as masters and protectors. Here, the idea of Islamic *walāya* as protectorship seems to be particularly relevant. Due to their proximity to and friendship with God, Muslims *walīs* participate in the authority (Ar. *wilāya*) of God as the supreme Protector (Ar. *al-walī*). In south central Java, this notion of sainthood and its corresponding idea of *ziyāra* as *sowan* echo the religio-cultural framework of Javanese royal courts, especially the belief that kings are saints endowed with special supernatural powers.²⁹⁹ When this notion of *ziyāra* is combined with the word *nyekar* (lit. putting flowers on the graves of deceased ancestors and family members as a sign of loving remembrance), we see how this dutiful visit occurs in the framework of more intimate, familial, intergenerational, and communal framework of relationships. While the notion of *sowan* denotes dutiful reverence (Jv. *urmat*), *nyekar* is an outward display of devotedness (Jv. *bekti*) as a result of personal connection.³⁰⁰ On so many occasions, the pilgrims would politely refuse to address the saints by their real names, but rather by Javanese honorific appellations that connote both seniority and superior knowledge (wisdom), like *eyang* or *simbah*. Connected to our previous discussion on the Javanese

²⁹⁹ Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java*, 163-77.

³⁰⁰ In relation to our previous discussion on the Javanese etiquette of *ziyāra*, this attitude would be offered also to parents, living and deceased, to whom people have personal relationship, but not to government officials, for example. For a discussion on the Javanese framework of *sowan* and *nyekar* in the context of pilgrimage tradition at the Tembayat shrine, see Jamhari, "In the Center of Meaning: Ziarah Tradition in Java," 70-78.

etiquette of *ziyāra*, this attitude would be offered also to parents, living and deceased, to whom Javanese would have heartfelt personal relationship. When the term *nyekar* is used as a designation for visiting the tomb of the saint, it points to pilgrimage as a natural extension of loving remembrance of ancestors.

It is in this complex framework of relationship that most Javanese pilgrims would understand their more mundane intentions.³⁰¹ For many pilgrims, their relationships with God and the saints develop around the dynamics of devotion and supplications. In this respect, the question is not so much about the granting of their specific prayers, but rather about the dynamics and effects of such a communication, basically an unveiling of self, in the continuum of one's relationship and devotedness to God and His saints. This is the larger context of spiritual growth that particular pilgrimage finds itself, a crucial characteristic of pilgrimage mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. In general this dynamic is true for all kinds of pilgrims. In Java, quite many simple pilgrims would be drawn, initially at least, to particular shrines due to their legendary power of fulfilling requests. However, once a relationship of devotion is established, fulfillment gradually ceases to be the sole aim of the pilgrimage. This is so precisely either because other features of true devotion come to the surface, or because the pilgrims would understand the true meanings of the supplications and their fulfillments on a different level, perhaps in a more existential and integral framework of their complex lives, as we will see later. This process would often include a deeper realization of the necessary growth of their own understanding of life. In this framework, even in the case when requests are deferred

³⁰¹ The following is an example of how a simple pilgrim puts his needs in his relationship with the saint at Tembayat: "My name is Ngadimin. I come from Semarang. I conduct this *slametan* to come close (Jv. *ndepe-ndepe*) to Sunan Tembayat, hoping that he might help me to enlighten and overcome my life problems." Jamhari, "The Meaning Interpreted: The Concept of *Barakah* in *Ziarah*," 111.

outwardly, pilgrims continue to show devotion by going to the shrines over and over again as part of the larger process of understanding the complexities of their lives in relation with God and His saints. In this dynamic, pilgrimage is personally revelatory precisely because it becomes the milieu through which the hitherto hidden aspects of the pilgrims' lives are unveiled by the grace of God.

At the shrine of Gunungpring, for example, I encountered a middle-aged woman pilgrim who has been coming to this shrine since she was a small girl; she continued to come here, more in earnest when her daughter was having a mental breakdown recently. With her daughter's recovery nowhere in sight, she keeps coming. On the day when I met her, she paid a visit to the saint because her daughter would soon be transferred, probably permanently, to a mental hospital. When I asked her about the fact that her request has not been granted by the saint, she bluntly said that she has been asking God for some explanations. She has lost everything in the pursuit of her daughter's recovery, even the money she originally saved for the *hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca. Furthermore, her daughter's son, her only grandchild, had to die on her lap due to the maltreatment and neglect from his own mother. On top of this, she suffers from social stigma. Her neighbors accused her of neglecting her daughter and her grandchild. However, despite her protest to God, she said she could not help coming to this shrine because she has put her daughter in the protection of the saint. She has committed to the saint and the saint has been part of the life of her daughter who also used to visit this shrine before the breakdown. She said, while sobbing, that the situation has been so hard now, but she was resolute in keeping her faith in God and his blessing through Raden Santri, one of the Javanese Muslim saints buried here and her beloved saint. She believed that if her daughter would eventually be

healed, it would be at the hands of Raden Santri, due to his superior sanctity over other *walīs*. In other words, in the very dynamics of her habit of doing pilgrimage over the years, this woman learned to understand better the various aspects of having faith in God as well as the virtues of fidelity to and trust in the saint. The intergenerational aspect of this devotion to God and the saints is also apparent in her practice. She also learned how to place her personal needs in the larger framework of devotion.

The relationship between devotion and need is further illustrated by a couple whom I interviewed during their visit at the shrine of Yasadipura, the famous Javanese poet, in Pengging, central Java, few miles away from the Tembayat shrine. They come this time because of a history of connectedness. For God, through this poet-saint, has listened to their prayers. This particular shrine has been propitious for them. They come again because their business has gone rather badly. But, the element of devotion becomes more pronounced than the particular need, once they spend a quality time at the shrine. They say it is so peaceful at this shrine that they would not want to return home. Under normal circumstances, they would spend the night here. Now, they feel that the real blessing of God through the saint must be somehow related to this sense of peacefulness. And they also talked about the need to be forever faithful to the saint. During this moment, the sense of the saint's presence becomes more real and important. At the end of their visit, the husband bade farewell to the saint by saying a brief prayer at the door of the tomb, promising to return and spend more time at this shrine.³⁰²

These examples show that devotion is very personal and highly complex. It also necessarily develops over time in the context of the personal growth of the persons. In

³⁰² When asked about the propriety of *ziyāra* in Islam, the wife replied that *ziyāra* can indeed border *shirk*, but she said that we need to be faithful to the saint while keeping faith (Jv. *iman*, Ar. *īmān*) in God, implying that it is faithfulness and devotion to the saint that defines *ziyāra*. Interview, July 1, 2009.

many ways, a particular visit or pilgrimage is connected to the previous and future visits, as well as the larger development of the pilgrims' understanding of their lives in connection with God and the saints. In most cases, this devotion is not about a relationship of equal friendship. It is a loving devotion of course. However, most Javanese Muslim pilgrims continue to display a sense of being dependent on the saints in their journey of drawing near to their protectorship. In my view, it is in the real yet complex dynamics of proximity, friendship and protectorship (covered by the Islamic term for sainthood, *walāya*) that we should put, as the pilgrims do, the “transactional” character of pilgrimage.³⁰³ Some Javanese pilgrims that I interviewed at the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi explain the naturalness of the logic of proximity to God and the saints (Ar. *qurbā*) and intercession (Ar. *tawassul*) by using a metaphor of approaching the village leader (Jv. *Pak Lurah*) through his right-hand man (Jv. *Pak Carik*). In a society where human relation and connection is crucial, this metaphor shows how religious subject like saint veneration come to be adapted to social structures.

Especially among Javanese pilgrims who get used with the practice of shamanism or magic, the temptation to turn this friendship with the Muslim saints to a *do-ut-des* transaction seems to be more real at times.³⁰⁴ However, on the whole, this transactional model seems to be unable to express the deepest significance and overall structure of the pilgrimage experience in these Muslim shrines under study. As our examples have

³⁰³ Interview, April 20, 2009. In this sense, contemporary Muslim pilgrims are not unlike their Christian counterparts in Roman late antiquity, as Peter Brown has argued in his work *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (1981).

³⁰⁴ This practice becomes much more prevalent in the Javanist shrines that have a very slight or no connection with Islam, such as the tomb of Panembahan Jaka Bodo in Bantul regency (Yogyakarta), the shrine of Gunung Kawi in East Java, and the tomb of Pangeran Samudra in Kemukus, Sragen regency, Central Java. On shrines at Kemukus and Gunung Kawi, see Fuhrmann's *Formen der javanischen Pilgerschaft zu Heiligenschreinen*, 193-265, 317-368; on Gunung Kawi, see also Huub de Jonge, “Heiligen, middelen en doel: ontwikkeling en betekenis van twee islamitische bedevaartsoorten op Java,” in *Islamische Pelgrimstochten*, eds. Willy Jansen and H de Jonge (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1991), 89-95.

indicated, the element of “otherness” is quite inherent in this relationship. Even the most ordinary pilgrims know all too well that God is the one in charge, and we simply do not know the scope of the mystery and vastness of his Will. The saints themselves do not have power to grant their prayers apart from God’s, thus the idea of participation of the saints in God’s power.³⁰⁵ The awareness of pilgrims in Java in this regard is surprising; even the most simple ones seem to be quite informed about this orthodox framework of understanding the relationship between God and the saints. During the fieldwork I was continually surprised at the naturalness of pilgrims’ explanation that they are, strictly speaking, seeking God’s favor through mediation (Ar. *tawassul*) of the saints. In this regard, the dispute and controversies about the propriety of *ziyāra* that marked much of the interaction between the traditionalist and reformist Muslims in Java in the past probably has a good effect on pilgrims now.

In general, pilgrims are aware that contrary to magic, even the most meticulous executions of ritual conditions would not guarantee that supplications would be granted they way the pilgrims would expect initially. Learning from their own experience, they realize that mere ritual orchestration is simply not the best way to deal with this complex relationship. Naturally, it is a sincere friendship (Ar. *walāya*), expressed in the devotion of the pilgrims to God and His saints, that pilgrims feel to be the most appropriate response to this dynamic of relationship. Thus, in the bigger picture, it is the sincerity of this relationship that becomes the pivot.

In the experience of the pilgrims, the antidote to pure transaction is the cultivation of pure intention. As expressed in the etiquette of the Muslim *ziyāra*, right intentions (Ar. *niyāt*) is an essential part of this friendship and devotion. Interestingly, the purification of

³⁰⁵ On this aspect of Islamic sainthood, see Introduction (section III) and Chapter 9.

intention can happen in the repetition of pilgrimage to the same shrine, since unanswered prayers or supplications might be signals of flawed intentions. It is also in this framework that a transformation of the motivation of the pilgrims could occur. Many pilgrims expressed how they came to know their true need only as a result of their long struggle to purify their hearts and intentions, a process of spiritual transformation or growth that can be triggered by a series of outward rejection of their requests by God and the saints.

Moreover, there is another aspect in the dynamic of supplication that is crucial for our discussion here, namely supplication as an expression (unveiling) of self in the context of intimate conversation. As we have seen in the case of Tembayat, some pilgrims would do this unveiling of self through specific rituals: the ritual where the pilgrims formulate their personal intention to God and the saint through the custodian, as well as personal prayers (Ar. *du‘ā*). However, certain type of pilgrims (see the next section) would continue this unveiling of self through intimate prayerful conversations (Ar. *munājāt*) at the shrine.³⁰⁶ For many pilgrims, it is this unveiling of self that helps render the visits more personal, putting them in a lasting and deeper relationship with the saint and his shrine. It is also the place where the path of spiritual renewal often begins.³⁰⁷

In the experience of so many pilgrims in Islamic Java, this unveiling of self can at times occur in a deeply interpersonal atmosphere. Indeed, shrines could turn into an

³⁰⁶ Stephen Headley mentions a story of how Tambangraras, a heroine in the Javanese classical work of *Serat Centhini* (18th/19th century), did her Islamic prayers that included the *munājāt* where her prayers were internalised. See his “*Sembah/Salat: The Javanisation of Islamic Prayer, the Islamisation of Javanese prayer*,” in *Islamic Prayer Across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque*, eds. David Parkin and Stephen C. Headly (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 175.

³⁰⁷ Khalid Sindawi quoted Ibrahim al-Haydari as saying that from a psychological perspective these supplications constitute a mirror that reflects fundamental feelings such as grief, loneliness and worry, and the search for a secure path toward spiritual calm and stability. See Khalid Sindawi, “The Image of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib in the Dreams of Visitors to His Tomb,” in *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow (Boston: Ilex Foundation, 2008), 183.

intimate space where pilgrims converse not only with God and the saints but also with one another. It is rather surprising that during pilgrimage, “strangers” could confide, albeit gradually, some aspects of their most personal lives to one another. The dynamic of this rather intimate conversation seems to revolve around mutuality and trust. Typically, however, it starts with mundane conversations and then it takes only a person to open up to turn them into interpersonal communication and connection. For other pilgrims, this unveiling of self signals a humble plea for help, to which they would respond not by giving direct advice, but rather by narrating their own life stories as an expression of connection and solidarity. There is also a rather profound awareness that they need one another, precisely at the time when they feel so helpless and overwhelmed by all sorts of life problems. A middle-aged woman pilgrim at the Mawlana Maghribi shrine explains the spirit behind this, thus: “Being a pilgrim is to share with other pilgrim, because we all have problems and sharing them could ease us out!”³⁰⁸ This interpersonal unveiling of self results in a sense of mutual solidarity among pilgrims. In the presence of the friends of God (Ar. *awliyā*), strangers become friends quite literally. This friendship might or might not continue beyond the shrine, but what is more lasting is the experience of friendship itself. At this moment of friendship, communion with God and His saints means communion with one another.

For many pilgrims, this experience of encounter and friendship with other pilgrims is one of the many forms of Divine blessings (Ar. *baraka*). In Java and elsewhere, the category of *baraka* is quite central to the motivation and experience of the pilgrims. The Javanese term *ngalap berkah*—more or less equivalent to the Islamic notion of *tabarruk*—expresses a popular understanding of the pursuit of the divine

³⁰⁸ Interview, June 5, 2009.

blessing which is universally available and could be obtained in many possible ways, not only through pilgrimage as such, but also participation in public rituals and festivals at shrines, courts, mosques and so forth. In the framework of the pilgrimage tradition to the tombs of the Nine Saints (the *Wali Songo*), the theme of *ngalap berkah* is constant in the fliers or small posters for group *ziyāra*. We can say that it is the most popular spiritual framework for mass pilgrimage. These fliers are glued to the walls of major shrines throughout Java, a practice that resembles the old tradition of writing one's name on each site visited as act of remembrance. This theme would appear in different wording such as *lampah mubarakah* (blessed journeying), *expedisi ngalap berkah* (the expedition in the pursuit of Divine blessing) and so forth. One curious example is the flier from an Islamic high-school in East Java.³⁰⁹ Framed in an Islamic theme of “*Ngalap Pangestu Dateng Para Wali*” (seeking the blessings of the saints), it has a curious depiction of a man praying under a big tree, on a mountain at night, a typical Javanese description of the natural setting of ascetic practice (Jv. *tirakatan*). In this framework, it should be noted that the idea of seeking the blessings of God has the characteristics of both definiteness and openness. For there are certain personal and communal activities that are religiously and culturally connected to that pursuit; however, the actual forms of the blessings are open to different possibilities.

In the eyes of many, one of these possibilities of being blessed is related, mostly in ways that are beyond words, to some materiality, for example in the forms of the ritual food being distributed at the festivals, or the flower petals from the grave of the saints that we mentioned above. Of course they know that these petals are not “sources” of *baraka* per se and did not contain the whole *baraka* and its efficacious power, but they

³⁰⁹ This was the Islamic school, Madrasah Aliyah al-Manar, Nganjuk, East Java.

are somehow related to the world of Divine *baraka*. For many pilgrims, these petals become a tangible memory of pilgrimage blessings. When they give these petals to family and friends, the web of persons affected by the blessings of pilgrimage gets widened.

In this connection, widely popular among Javanese pilgrims is the notion of *kesawaban*. This notion expresses the belief that Divine blessings could be obtained through various degrees of connectedness to the saints and shrines as channel of those blessings, for example, through physical proximity, personal dedication and service, genealogical connection, and so forth.³¹⁰ This word might have been originally derived from the Arabic *ṣāba*, that means to be right, to obtain or to bestow, but also to wound, to injure, and so forth. This is why the Javanese also understand “*sawab*” as ambiguous. For it could bring about either true blessedness or misfortunes.³¹¹ In order to obtain this *baraka* as a positive force, one has to possess the right intention, proper inner disposition and capability. One should not abuse this *baraka*, once obtained. Thus, it is simultaneously a gift and a demand.

This ambiguous semantic field is insightful because it shows the double-edge sword of the saint’s spiritual power. As Jamhari shows, *baraka* is a multivalent term and many pilgrims at the shrine of Tembayat differentiate between “true blessing” as such (Jv. *berkah*) and “boon” or worldly gain (Jv. *perolehan*).³¹² Pilgrims believe that while both are bestowed by God to pilgrims, the two differ in their effect. For the *berkah* effects

³¹⁰ For example, the inhabitants of Paseban village, where the holy grave of Tembayat is located, believe to always receive *baraka* because they live in the physical proximity of the saint’s grave and they are genealogically linked to the saint. See Jamhari, “The Meaning Interpreted,” 96.

³¹¹ The negative aspect of this is expressed in the word *musibah* (misfortunes, disasters), derived from the same Arabic root. In the same semantic field, the word *uṣṭā* means to be stricken, attacked, and afflicted. Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 4th edition (1994), 617.

³¹² Jamhari, “The Meaning Interpreted,” 87.

a true spiritual peacefulness (Jv. *slamet* or *tentrem*), whose effect goes beyond the boundaries of our life on earth (Jv. *donya*; Ar. *dunyā*), while *perolehan* is worldly and ambiguous in terms of its effect on the integral welfare of the person. Some pilgrims would speak of the former in terms of a general education and purification of their hearts or souls. Their principle is simple: the more we spend time in sacred places and do spiritual exercises, the more our hearts would be purified.³¹³ This is the notion of *baraka* that we speak about previously, namely the sense of peacefulness of the heart at the shrine (Jv. *tèntrem*), as the result of being in touch with the Divine.

With regard to the relationship between true spiritual blessings (Jv. *berkah*) and worldly boon (Jv. *perolehan*), pilgrims believe that this spiritual blessing would not only naturally bring about worldly boon but also helps them manage it better. Mr. Parjono, a food-peddler at the shrine of Tembayat remarks that when his heart is purified, this would be reflected in his outward behavior so that he could attract customers more easily and naturally. Furthermore, once his heart is purified and filled with thankfulness to God, he would then have the right inner disposition to make use this boon wisely.³¹⁴ In this respect, pilgrims seem to be aware that specific requests for worldly gain would be inadequate and even dangerous without pursuit of the more fundamental state of

³¹³ It is in this framework of the more fundamental Divine *baraka* that some pilgrims would visit the shrines of the other. Here, “sacredness” of the shrine that ultimately is derived from the Divine is measured by its effect in the kind of inner transformation that the pilgrims experience. Most of these pilgrims would rarely engage in the rituals of the religious others, but they feel they partake in the sanctity of the Divine in these traditions by being there. In the next chapter we will see how Muslim pilgrims to the Catholic Sacred Heart shrine would still partake in the sacredness of this shrine without having necessarily a religious sensibility to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. I would say that this pattern is more generally true to these border-crossing pilgrims; although other alternative is often found too, namely, those who come to the shrines of the other largely appreciative of its particular sanctity in connection to its “otherness,” as in the case of a Muslim woman who visited this Sacred Heart shrine because she had a vision of Jesus; or in the cases of local Hindu-Balinese women who visit the Catholic Marian shrine in Palasari because they have had some kind of visions of her.

³¹⁴ Interview with Parjono, Tembayat shrine, June 25, 2009.

blessedness. This is why a purely transactional model fails to describe the dynamics of *baraka* in the experience of the pilgrims.

We will examine in the next section how this transactional model fails to explain the complex and rich experiential world of ascetic pilgrims whose fulfillment of the goal of their *ziyāra* is intimately intertwined with the whole range of educational dimension of the visit itself. Before we go into this particular kind of pilgrimage where the experience of blessedness is highly internalized and intensified, it should be noted that in the worldview of the pilgrims, *baraka* has probably become the most inclusive category. Flowing from God's boundless mercy (in the Islamic sense of *rahma*), it is cosmic in its scope, transcending the formal borders of religious traditions. In Java and elsewhere, this explains the practice of shared shrines among various religious traditions. In this context, the Javanese ritual meal of *slametan* seems to provide a model of shared blessing. The universality of divine blessing is also the reason why the custodians at Tembayat shrine insist on the inclusive character of the shrine, saying: "This is a *Pancasila* shrine!"³¹⁵ The saint is for everybody, regardless of religious affiliations. At Tembayat, this inclusivity explains the presence of Chinese pilgrims who would perform their own rituals at this shrine.

Having said this, even the most ordinary pilgrims experience how *baraka* is also highly personal because its effectiveness and impact also depend on the persons in their relationship with God and His spiritual company of saints. It is this context of personal relationship and connectedness that I call devotion. Understood this way, devotion is a

³¹⁵ As noted previously, *Pancasila* (literally, five principles) is the state ideology of the Republic of Indonesia that, among others, guarantees the freedom of worship among the adherents of major world religions, based on the common principle of faith in the One God. Together with the state motto of "Unity in Diversity" (S. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), *Pancasila* has become the basis for religio-cultural pluralism and harmony in the Indonesian society.

personal milieu for this *baraka* to work in a complex and dynamic web of correlation with personal needs, inner disposition and intentions, and so forth.³¹⁶ Furthermore, devotion also explains, at the deeper and personal level, the reason why pilgrims come to express their “selves” in the Javano-Islamic rituals: because these rituals belong to who they are. It helps us understand why they did not really become easily distracted by outward forms of otherness, precisely because what matters most is what they feel in their hearts with regard to their enduring relationship with God and His saints.

III. 2. Pilgrimage, Asceticism, and Spiritual Moments

In the previous two chapters, it has been pointed out that Javanese Muslims put an emphasis on the ascetic and purifying element of pilgrimage. This is the Javanese understanding of pilgrimage as *laku* or *tirakat*, a serious and focused period of spiritual cultivation aided by intensive spiritual and ascetic practices (Jv. *tapa*). It is a moment of intensive solitary withdrawal from the world. Normally taken as a preparation of important undertaking, the *tirakat* is also aimed at purging the self (Ar. *nafs*) of improper egotistical interests, thus putting oneself in a proper disposition to discern the right ways to proceed in view of the true goals of the undertaking. Traditionally crucial in this process of *tirakat* is its particular setting, typically sacred sites associated with prominent ancestors and saints. This is so because the *tirakat* is rather closely connected to the larger idea of communing with the ancestors and spiritual guardians of Java, a communion that can impart diverse forms of spiritual blessings and power.³¹⁷ It is also worth noting that the Javanese use the word *laku* to talk about this extended period of

³¹⁶ In light of this notion of devotion, I find insightful Christopher Taylor’s more comprehensive designation of *ziyāra* as a mode or style of pious expression, rather than a specific action. See his *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 62.

³¹⁷ Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 131.

self-purification. For in the Javanese sensibility, *laku* is a framework of movement, an active process of self-transformation toward a goal in which self-denial and asceticism are inherent. This dimension of transformation and change belongs to the semantic field of the verb “*mlaku*” (which means to walk, to move).

The *tirakat* or *laku* is deeply embedded in the Javanese culture, practiced by paradigmatic figures in the past such as kings, paradigmatic ancestors and saints, to gain spiritual or supernatural power that often translated to political power as well. In general, the traditional Javanese believe that true spiritual power only comes through self-restraint in all things, not only food, drink, or sleep, but also various forms of improper self-interest (Jv. *pamrih*). Thus, in this respect, the practice of *tirakat* (or *tapa-brata*) is essential for the spiritual formation of all. In the book *Serat Sasana Sunu* (19th century) as in other Javanese works, for example, this period of purifying ascetic practice (Jv. *tapa*) is frequently glossed as “death in life” (Jv. *mati ing sajroning ngurip*), echoing the famous ḥadīth of the Prophet Muḥammad: “Die before you die”.³¹⁸ This court poet argues that this practice is a crucial part of the formation of Javanese leaders. They are advised not to concern themselves about worldly things. Instead they should live as if they were dead.³¹⁹ In a paradigmatic fashion we see how this understanding of spiritual purification

³¹⁸ Composed by the Surakarta court poet Yasadipura II (1756-1844), *Serat Sasana Sunu* is a didactic work on Javano-Islamic ethics. The idea of “die before you die” is also prominent in the famous *Serat Dewaruci*. As noted in Chapter 1, *Serat Dewaruci* has served as the Javano-Islamic framework for the popular account of the spiritual formation of Sunan Kalijaga.

³¹⁹ On the centrality of purifying asceticism, the *Serat Sasana Sunu* argues categorically: “He who has great abilities, he who has supernatural power, and he who becomes a *priyayi* (noblemen), all have their roots in *tapa* (asceticism). Every great matter has its origin in *tapa*, which is followed by happiness. Even if one is very able, and even if one becomes a *priyayi*; it this does not originate in *tapa* it is riches from the devil.” See Ann Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe*, 404. See also her, “*Pancasila Plus, Pancasila Minus*,” in *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*, eds. Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street (Brill, 1997), 258. As Ann Kumar notes, this notion might be related to the Sufi practice of repentance (Ar. *tawba*).

was at work in the spiritual formation of Sunan Kalijaga as well as Sunan Pandanarang.³²⁰

In the context of popular group pilgrimage to the tombs of the major Muslim saints (the *Wali Songo* pilgrimage tradition) in Java, this purifying and ascetic aspect is maintained to a certain degree. Pilgrims would travel by bus, covering a dozen of sites within the span of four days. Under this condition, pilgrims sleep either on the bus or very briefly in various places in the shrines they visit. Food is mediocre, to say the least. However, this arrangement is intentional. On this point, a pilgrim reasons: “All these hardships should be considered normal; after all, this is a *ziarah*, so we have to do a lot of *tirakat* practices.”³²¹

For some pilgrims, the ascetic aspect of the pilgrimage might be understood more as a necessary means for a specific goal, such as to obtain a special divine favor or supernatural power. However, there is another longstanding group of Javanese-Muslim pilgrims who cultivate this type of ascetic pilgrimage as a long period of spiritual education. Indeed, shrines in Java continue to be spaces where a deep and sustained spiritual experience and formation can naturally and spontaneously happen more frequently. I have previously mentioned the distinction between pilgrims of devotion and soul-searching/ascetic pilgrims. It is the latter who consciously cultivate this practice of pilgrimage as an extended period of soul-searching and spiritual education, practicing rather intense asceticism and spiritual exercises, compared to the more numerous pilgrims

³²⁰ See our discussion in Chapter 1 (I. 2. 1. and I. 3.1)

³²¹ As told by a pilgrim in his blogspot, “Ziarah Wali Songo 2008”: www.edipsw.com/opini/ziarah-wali-songo-2008/ (accessed July 2010).

of devotion. Based on the difference in the mode and duration of their *ziarah*, we can differentiate between “soul-searching pilgrims” and “ascetic-wandering pilgrims.” The former are pilgrims who spend a longer period of time (days or weeks) at a certain shrine for an intensified spiritual practice. They tend to have more specific goals, typically in response to a particular personal situation, and do not normally move from one shrine to the next in a long journey away from home. The ascetic-wandering pilgrims, on the other hand, would travel a great distance over a much longer period of time (months or years), staying in various shrines and doing a series of ascetic and spiritual practices along the way, as part of a more comprehensive spiritual pursuit.

Furthermore, among these two categories of pilgrims, we also find two different styles of religio-cultural orientation along the continuum of the Javano-Islamic mystical synthesis, namely the *santri*-type who follows more normative Islam and the Javanist type who combines normative Islamic practices with Javanese traditions (or vice versa). In what follows we will briefly survey the world of their experiences. Since in many ways they overlap in terms of spiritual practices and experience, I will emphasize the heightened sense of spiritual experience in both, but will also pay attention to the significant differences.

II. 2. 1. Soul-Searching Pilgrims

For soul-searching pilgrims, the shrine is primarily a space of solitude and intimacy with God (and His saints) and the self. Ms. Yuni, a young woman entrepreneur from Jakarta who spends much time periodically at the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi, remarks that there is no gap between her words and her heart while she is at the shrine. It is at the

shrine that she can be really alone with God for an extended period of time.³²² This explains why some pilgrims of this type do not like crowded shrines or crowded visiting times at certain pilgrimage sites.³²³ This sentiment confirms the experience of a pilgrim to Tembayat who said that it is at the shrine that he can maximize his concentration, in order to see and get in touch with his life's problems more clearly.³²⁴

Most pilgrims would associate this pacifying and enlightening effect of the shrine to the natural location and environment of the shrine, as well as its sacredness. Some women pilgrims at the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi, for example, argued that this shrine gives them so much peace because it is far from the all-too-familiar domestic world where they at times would feel so choked with problems and struggles.³²⁵ It is this distance from the humdrum daily life that helps them to get focused on their encounter with God and the saints. Especially for urban pilgrims, the natural beauty and freshness of these sites also contribute to the aura of the shrines as a different place. In this regard, the atmosphere of solitude and loneliness also helps pilgrims considerably. Mr. Iwan Pinasti, a wandering pilgrim from East Java, expresses his profound experience of finding God and his own self thus:

³²² When I interviewed her on June 20, 2009, Yuni had spent ten days at the shrine. Her habit of making pilgrimage (in the Javanese sense of ascetic *tirakat*) was propelled by her conversion from being a drug addict to a spiritually attuned person under the guidance of a Muslim teacher in Jakarta. Every time she visits the shrine here, she would spend at least a week and would also visit nearby shrine of Bèla-Bèlu as well as the *petilasan* of Sunan Kalijaga in the Parangtritis area.

³²³ Thus the great festivals on the eve of Friday *Legi* or Friday *Kliwon* are not considered as a typical time for fostering this deep communion with God, at least in the view of these pilgrims. These festive periods seem to be perceived as the graced time for all pilgrims without a necessary correlation with the spiritual disposition of the individuals. The festivities also seem to be understood as a communal activity.

³²⁴ Jamhari, "The Meaning Interpreted," 114.

³²⁵ Interview with Ms. Wiwik and a woman from Temanggung regency, Mawlana Maghribi shrine, July 5, 2009. Another pilgrim at Gunungpring, a young married man who works as a construction worker, said that pilgrimage refreshes him so much, taking him out of his daily toil at the construction sites (interview, Gunungpring shrine, May 10, 2009). Another group of construction workers I interviewed in the mausoleum of Kotagedhe remarked that they need this peaceful space due to the hardship of their daily work as well as the crowdedness of their homes in the inner city of Yogyakarta (interview, May 14, 2009).

People say that although I try to search for God everywhere, I fail; yet, they didn't know that during the hardest times of being ill, helpless, rejected and outcast, I experience being alone with God: just God and myself.³²⁶

The shrine is indeed a different place.³²⁷ This aspect of distance and difference, interestingly enough, is combined with the experience of closeness, proximity and intimacy, to God, the saint and self.³²⁸ Earlier we have seen this kind of dynamic in al-Harawī and Kyai Chudlori. Thus actual distance facilitates inner proximity. There is also the pursuit of an intensified sense of Divine presence. These pilgrims speak about the fact that they become much more receptive to Divine presence in the shrines, although they keep praying at home as well.

Among these pilgrims, this spiritual experience of closeness and Divine presence is normally obtained through a rather structured order of daily activities. At the shrines of Gunungpring and Mawlana Maghribi there are always pilgrims who follow a retreat-like pattern: their days revolve around major spiritual exercises, such as the canonical prayers (Ar. *ṣalāt*), personal meditation and reflection (Ar. *tafakkur*), intimate and personal conversation with God (Ar. *munājāt*), fasting, manual work (such as cleaning the shrine compound), conversation with other pilgrims and the custodians, and so forth. Again,

³²⁶ Mr. Pinasti also understands his motivation for pilgrimage in terms of “seeking the truth” through ascetic practices. He spoke of the time-honored tradition of making pilgrimage for this reason by Sidharta Gautama and the great saints of Islamic Java in the past (see “Ziarah: Sepotong Surga Para Musafir,” *Kompas* daily [Yogyakarta edition], May 5, 2009). The motivation to seek solitude leads some pilgrim-seekers to avoid popular shrines or, if this is impossible, to avoid the crowds during the peak of visiting times. Mr. Agus, a Muslim pilgrim from Surabaya, East Java, said that he would even go to certain Hindu or Buddhist temples in the Dieng plateau in Central Java solely in pursuit of this solitude. Interview, July 2, 2009.

³²⁷ I use this term in reference to Jill Dubisch's work, *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender and Politics of a Greek Island Shrine* (Princeton University Press, 1995). In general, this notion of shrine as a different place is closely related to the understanding of pilgrimage as a therapy of place (*une thérapie par l'espace*), a quite well-established approach to pilgrimage in anthropology.

³²⁸ Many ordinary pilgrims, including those who come in groups, would also have this special moment of spiritual proximity. In the shrines of Tembayat and Gunungpring, I observed how many groups of pilgrims have a quite long meditative moment (silence) after the group prayers.

this pattern sets the extended *ziyāra* apart from daily life. A woman pilgrim remarked that while staying at the shrine, she would be able spend the hours from 1 to 3 in the morning in prayers, doing the devotional night prayers of soul-purification (Ar. *tahajjud*), thousands of prayers of God-remembrance (Ar. *dhikr*), and some specific Qur'ānic recitations or prayer formulae (Ar. *wirid*).³²⁹

Among these soul-searching Muslim pilgrims, the Javanist type would sometimes do the ascetic practice of total (24-hour) fasting (Jv. *pasa ngebleng*) as well as burning incense during meditation. With regard to these local practices, the more conservative *santri*-type pilgrims would not normally do these, but neither do they strongly condemn them. As Javanese, they certainly understand the underlying religio-cultural assumptions behind these practices.³³⁰

III. 2. 2. The Ascetic-Wandering Pilgrims

As we have mentioned, a second category of pilgrims who cultivate this spiritual experience is the ascetic-itinerant pilgrims (Jv. *musafir*; Ar. *musāfir*).³³¹ Before we takes

³²⁹ Interview, Mawlana Maghribi shrine, June 5, 2009. In recent years, the *tahajjud* prayer has enjoyed a surge of popularity as a skillful means for holistic therapy (for physical and mental health) among Indonesian Muslims. Based on medical research and religious teaching, Dr. Muhammad Sholeh's book on the subject, *Terapi Shalat Tahajjud* (["The Therapeutical Power of the Tahajjud Prayer"]; Jakarta: Mizan Publika, 2007) is probably the most popular one. He also opens up a clinic in Surabaya that draws constant stream of visitors. Emha Ainun Najib, a famous Sufi-inspired artist, offers a mystical interpretation to the *tahajjud* prayers in his recent collection of Sufi poetry, *Tahajjud Cinta* (["The Tahajjud of Love"], 2003).

³³⁰ Ms. Yuni whom we encountered before, for example, said that she, as a Javanese, could not run her life without doing *laku* (asceticism) such as periodical fasting and meditation. But her *santri*-type of religiosity leads her to do them in the spirit of Islamic laws. So, she would not do the Javanese total fasting. But she tolerates this practice by other pilgrims. On the use of incense by Javanist pilgrims, she argued that it can be justified in the Islamic framework because God, the Prophet, as well as all the inhabitants of the invisible world love fragrance. In general, this kind of tolerance seems to be one of the hallmarks of Islamic pilgrimages in south central Java. This might explain why in south central Java, there is no shrine that prohibits incense burning, in comparison with the shrines of Ampel and Bonang in East Java. See Huub de Jonge, "Heiligen, middelen en doel: ontwikkeling en betekenis van twee islamitische bedevaartsoorten op Java," 83-89.

³³¹ It has to be noted that in Arabic, the word *musāfir* means traveler, visiting stranger, or guest. In light of the purifying function of this kind of pilgrimage, it is also insightful to note that this word is derived from

up the experiential world of these pilgrims, it is important to note that this idea of “itinerant or wandering pilgrimage” is one of the major themes in Javanese classical literature, especially the mystical literature (Jv. *suluk*). Here, the idea of wandering pilgrimage is employed largely as a framework for spiritual and mystical quest for God and the true self.³³² The practice of wandering pilgrimage was also very popular in the *pesantren* culture in the 19th century, and, to a certain degree, this phenomenon continues until the present, as we will examine later.³³³ In the 19th century, this type of religious travel existed alongside the wider pattern of travel as a means to get the more intimate knowledge of the so-called “Java”, that is, Javanese identity and reality during the high colonial times.³³⁴

the verbal root S-F-R whose semantic field also covers the meaning of “remove the veil or disclose” (see Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 481). As we will see, all these shades of meaning are reflected in the Javanese understanding of *musafir*-hood.

³³² Just to mention two examples of the *suluk* literature from the court of Surakarta: *Suluk Makmunuradi Salikin* (by Yasadipura I, 1729-1803) about the spiritual adventures of the wandering Arab prince Makmunuradi Salikin and his two servants; *Suluk Jati Sampurna* (by Mas Ronggasutrasna, early 19th century) about the adventures of the Javanese princes Sèh Mudha Jatisampurna and Ki Jatisurti. On the mysticism of the *suluk* literature, see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature*.

³³³ An interesting example of this *santri*-type itinerant pilgrim in the 19th-century Java is Mas Rahmat, a Javanese Muslim who traveled throughout Java and Madura, visiting sacred places and Islamic centers for religious learning. Among others, he visited the grave of Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, spent two nights at the grave of Sunan Giri in Gresik, also participated in the *slametan* at the mosque there as well as performed the *tahlil* prayers. Mas Rahmat sojourned in the island of Madura, off the coast of Surabaya, for six months, at a *pesantren*. He practiced healing and obtained the reputation of being a mystic of both illustrious descent and exceptional spiritual strength. In Madura, Mas Rahmat maintained his habit of visiting graves and would also go to caves in the mountains to undergo ascetic practices. His advice and blessing were sought after by the nobility at the Madurese courts who had growing tensions with the Dutch colonial government. For this reason, Mas Rahmat had to leave his place of asceticism (Jv. *tapa*) to pay secret and “miraculous” nocturnal visits to the courts. On his journey, see Ann Kumar, *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim*.

³³⁴ An interesting example here is Raden Purwa Lelana (aka R. M. Candranegara), a Javanese Muslim traveler of aristocratic birth and high administrative rank. In Javanese, his name means “the first traveler.” Purwa Lelana’s account is ethnographically detailed, reflecting the changing times that Java had undergone under the colonial rule. As Marcel Bonneff notes, we have a number of historical accounts of such travels in the 19th-century Java. This was also the tradition that the encyclopedic *Serat Centhini* was part of (see Chapter 1). See Marcel Bonneff, *Pérégrinations javanaises: les voyages de R.M.A. Purwa Lelana: une vision de Java au XIXe siècle (c. 1860-1875)* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1986).

In light of this historical background, it might not be all that surprising that in contemporary Muslim Java, we still find the presence of itinerant pilgrims in many pilgrimage sites. Staying true to the spirit of asceticism, they would walk on foot from shrine to shrine all over Java, and sometimes in the neighboring islands of Madura, Bali and Lombok to the east, as well.³³⁵ Most of them are solitary pilgrims, although they may experience a kind of temporary *communitas* while residing in those sites. Defining themselves sometimes as *gembel* (Jv., filthy and destitute people), they would at times depend on the generosity of the people for sustenance, but usually try to exchange manual work for food along their long journeys from home.³³⁶ However, it is not rare that some have to eat from the garbage bin. The hardships of the journey are intentionally embraced as moments for spiritual growth, especially in acquiring and practicing the virtues of total trust in God (Ar. *tawakkul*), perseverance, patience (Ar. *ṣabr*) and so forth.³³⁷ For women itinerant pilgrims, this journeying can be a lot tougher. That is why

³³⁵ The recent creation of the tradition of making *ziyāra* to a series of shrines in Bali (the shrines of the Seven Saints, *Wali Pitu*) and Lombok (the shrines of the Three Saints, *Wali Telu*), a popular model of *ziyāra* patterned on the already well-established *ziyāra* to the Nine Saints (Jv. *Wali Songo*) in Java, has given further impetus to both group-pilgrimage and ascetic pilgrimage to the shrines outside of Java. In some cases, it was ascetic pilgrims themselves who started the new *ziyāra* traditions to these less well-known tombs, such as the tombs of *sayyids* in Bali in late 1990s.

³³⁶ Although not completely identical, this phenomenon of becoming a destitute ascetic pilgrim in contemporary Java could be understood within the wider phenomenon of *faqīr* or *derwīsh* in the larger Muslim tradition. In the history of Indonesian Islam, this Sufi motive is also known. To a certain degree, the conversion narrative of Sunan Tembayat that we discussed in chapter 1 follows this pattern. Beyond Java, the story of Sultān Muḥammad (12th century) is quite well-known. Upon relinquishing his royal throne in a Muslim kingdom in Southeast India, he became a *faqīr* and went to Pasai, a tiny state on the coast of North Sumatra whose population he eventually converted to Islam. See Martin van Bruinessen, “Sūfīs and Sultāns in Southeast Asia and Kurdistan: A Comparative Survey,” *Studia Islamika: An Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 3 (1996): 6-8.

³³⁷ Shrines become a home for this type of pilgrims in two senses. First, shrines are points of destinations in their journey, where they can cultivate their spiritual life by spending a longer period of time. Second, due to the societal stigma about them, shrines are the only place—“a little heaven”—where they can stay without having to deal with the distrust of people. See “Ziarah: Sepotong Surga Para Musafir,” *Kompas* daily (Yogyakarta edition), May 5, 2009; see also Ruslan, *Ziarah Wali: Wisata Spiritual Sepanjang Masa* ([“Pilgrimage to the Saints: An Enduring Spiritual Travel”], Pustaka Timur, 2007), 66-67. In the period after the Bali bombing in 2002, Muslim ascetic wandering pilgrims in Bali in particular have had to deal

they are believed to be more firmly trained in the virtues of *tawakkul* than their male counterparts. On this ground, male *musafirs* tend to respect the women pilgrims more, believing that their mystical stations (Ar. *maqām*) are higher.

Here are two examples representing two different orientations in the continuum of Javano-Islamic mystical synthesis. The first is a stricter Muslim *santri*, the other a more “Javanist” Muslim pilgrim. Mr. Hussein Astawati has been an itinerant pilgrim for practically twenty years, with only a brief interval when he got married. When I saw him in the shrine of Sunan Geseng in June 2009, he had been staying there for over a month.³³⁸ With a sense of pride, Mr. Hussein told the story of his association with Gus Miek, a maverick and idiosyncratic recent saint mentioned before. He often wandered all over Java with Gus Miek, and his most memorable ascetic practice with him was going for seventeen days without food (just drinking to work the fasting hours in the line of the Islamic law) while meditating at the shrine of Jumadil Kubra in Turgo hill in Kaliurang, on the slope of Mount Merapi, north of Yogyakarta (see Map 1.3).³³⁹ Then, one day, a woman with a delicious marinated whole chicken appeared because she had been ordered by the Almighty to do so for Gus Miek.³⁴⁰

When I asked him about his motivation for doing this extended wandering pilgrimage, his answer was brief, yet profound: there is something amiss about his life when he did not do pilgrimage. Being a son of a Muslim religious master (Jv. *kyai*), he

with severe distrust from the Hindu Balinese society, so much so that they are even denied access to sleep in the mosques.

³³⁸ Sunan Geseng was one of the most famous disciples of Sunan Kalijaga in south central Java (perhaps, second only to Sunan Pandanarang of Tembayat). Some themes in his conversion story are strikingly similar to the legend of Kalijaga. His shrines can be found in many places in this area, such as Piyungan (Yogyakarta), Purworejo, and Grabag, Magelang. For the identity of this saint and his shrine at Grabag, see Rinkes, *Nine Saints of Java*, 49-68.

³³⁹ On the question surrounding the identity of this saint, see Chapter 1 (I. 3. 2).

³⁴⁰ This marinated whole chicken (Jv. *ingkung*) is considered a delicacy in Java, and it is an obligatory component in the food offering during the *slametan*.

became deeply immersed in the tradition of *ziyāra* through his family. His love for pilgrimage has led him to faraway shrines in Sumatra, something very rarely done by pilgrims from Java. He even went as far as Medina and Yemen where he visited the tomb of prophet Hud and that of the prophet Muḥammad. In this respect, like many other *musafirs*, Mr. Hussein did not have a very particular “worldly” request to bring to the saints or prophets. The intercessory prayer ritual (Ar. *tawassul*) that he does every night, the remembering and invocations of a long list of saints whose tombs he has visited, has become a pious habit of his heart, a habit of communion, rather than petition. He considers these saints as moral and spiritual models to follow.³⁴¹

In general, he likes pilgrimage because he learns so many things in life through long travels, including his ugly confrontations with reformist Muslims who, he said, have taken over some pilgrimage sites in Java.³⁴² However, this confrontation has confirmed his long practice of following the prescriptions of the Islamic law while doing pilgrimage in order to strike a balance. He always tries to be attentive to his own personal style in doing pilgrimage and to the specific reasons and prescribed behavior for *ziyāra* that the Islamic tradition delineates, namely, to remember death, to pray for the dead, and to emulate the examples of these saints. When I was staying with him in the shrine of Sunan Geseng in Magelang, it became obvious that Mr. Hussein has become a sort of spiritual master for other itinerant pilgrims. Around him gathered some of the younger Javanese

³⁴¹ In some cases, this motivation leads this type of pilgrims not to visit shrines of saints whose historical identities are not known, because it would be difficult to follow in their footsteps. Interview with Mr. Subaki, Gunungpring shrine, May 10, 2009.

³⁴² Among his ugly experiences was when people threw human excrement and urine at him when he was praying at the tomb of Kyai Ali Ma'shum, a famous Muslim figure from Yogyakarta's most respected *pesantren*, the al-Munawwir Islamic Boarding School.

musafirs whose knowledge of the Muslim tradition barely goes beyond the basics.³⁴³ Every night Mr. Hussein would lead the prolonged prayer communal (Ar. *mujāhada*) at the shrine.³⁴⁴ In my view, Mr. Hussein represents a wandering pilgrim whose adherence to the Muslim principle of *tawhīd* and the *sharīʿa* goes hand in hand with his deep attunement to the Invisible World in shrines that feature a more conspicuous Javanese character, such as the Mataram royal mausoleums in Kotagedhe and Imogiri (see Map 1.3).

As indicated previously, shrines in Java are also natural homes to yet another different kind of *musafir*, the Muslim-Javanist type. Mr. Kasiyo is a simple Javanese villager from the vicinity of Yogyakarta who likes to spend his days in shrines and holy tombs, including the shrines of Mawlana Maghribi and Sèh Bèla-Bèlu, in the Parangtritis area (see Map 1.3).³⁴⁵ Representing a rather different Muslim personage from that of Mr. Hussein, Mr. Kasiyo never studied Islam formally, and he did not even finish elementary school. Framing his natural penchant for pilgrimage in Javanese terms, he anchors its dynamics (in terms of motivation, process, and goal) to the world of “inner sensing and

³⁴³ The motive for learning has actually become a major reason for these simple itinerant pilgrims to stay longer in the shrines. Shrines are places where these “uneducated” pilgrims could learn first-hand knowledge from very learned “masters” for free and without having to enter a formal school. It is known that the sons of prominent *kyais* in Java would be spending their formative times in shrines as itinerant pilgrims themselves, prior to assuming a more formal leadership role in their family-owned *pesantren*. Mr. Raharjo, a simple *musafir*, was elated to be able to stay for few days with this kind of master during his stay at the shrine of Gunungpring. Although this person never revealed his identity, Mr. Raharjo and his eight friends are sure that he is the son of a noted *kyai* who owns a large *pesantren* in the town of Pati, north central Java. Interview, Gunungpring shrine, May 30, 2009.

³⁴⁴ Among many pilgrims of this type, the *mujāhada* prayer (as a means for striving to get nearer to God through ascetic purification) is central. Mas Rahmat, a 19th-century Javanese itinerant pilgrim who presented himself as a *walī* to the readers of his pilgrimage diary, believed that his *walāya* (understood as proximity to God and the power that comes with it) was achieved through his perfection in the *mujāhada*. During his sojourns in many shrines and religious schools in Java and Madura, local Muslims would gather around him in order to partake in his *baraka*. See Ann Kumar, *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim*, 89.

³⁴⁵ See my article “Ziarah Kasiyo Sarkub,” *Basis* 56 (2007): 14–19.

intuitive/spiritual knowledge” (Jv. *rasa*).³⁴⁶ Every time he was moved by the subtle stirrings and spiritual desire in his heart, he would embark on an extended pilgrimage, sometimes completely on foot. He got the first taste of the art of doing pilgrimage when as a young boy he went with his grandmother on her ascetic pilgrimage journey (Jv. *tirakat*) around Yogyakarta area, passing through some uninhabited forests. Lacking a proper education in Islamic learning, Mr. Kasiyo is in fact content with uttering some basic prayers in Arabic, and would mostly express himself in Javanese while doing the pilgrimage. However, he never entertains any doubt with regard to his Islamic identity. Speaking as an adept in the knowledge of Javanese mysticism, he understands the ultimate goal of pilgrimage in terms of seeking *Kyai Slamet* (“integral wellbeing”) and *Nyai Tentrem* (“true peace”), two concepts that express the existential homeostasis and the sense of profound personal and cosmic harmony that Javanese mysticism always strive to achieve.³⁴⁷

As we have mentioned, these two individuals exemplify two kinds of itinerant pilgrims, as well as the possible forms of intersections between the two.³⁴⁸ The first category, the *santri* type, consist of the students and former students of Java’s network of

³⁴⁶ On the complex meanings of *rasa* in Javanese culture and spiritual tradition, see Introduction (section IV).

³⁴⁷ *Kyai* and *Nyai* are titles of high respect for male and female respectively. Normally used for persons of high religious and social status, these terms would also be used for things believed to possess supernatural power, such as sacred heirlooms left behind by kings or saints. Thus, by designating wellbeing as *Kyai Slamet* and true peace as *Nyai Tentrem*, Mr. Kasiyo holds them as personified sacred pillars of true human existence as the Javanese would understand it. In terms of understanding pilgrimage as a search for the true and comprehensive wellbeing (Jv. *slamet*), the American anthropologist John Pemberton also mentions a curious example of a Javanese spirit medium who undertook a series of *tirakat* with his disciples in the Parangtritis area shrines, including the shrine of Mawlana Maghribi, explicitly seeking the “*slamet*”. See John Pemberton, *On the Subject of “Java”*, 300-304.

³⁴⁸ In light of Andrew Beatty’s notion of the polysemic nature of Javanese ritual meal (the *slametan*) where the interaction between disparate groups and views is minimal, pilgrimage provides a greater room for a rather intensive communication among pilgrims of this type. It is not uncommon to see simple Javanese pilgrims with just basic knowledge of Islam learn a lot from their more textually learned (Jv. *santri*) friends. This rather informal and spontaneous occurrences of either master-disciple relationship or *santri*-Javanist exchange of views occur very frequently in shrines in Java.

Islamic religious boarding schools (Jv. *pesantren*), as well as other persons who are connected in one way or another to this network and come to adopt its style of Islamic observance.³⁴⁹ They embark on the long journey of pilgrimage in the quest for growth in spirituality and knowledge (Ar. *‘ilm*) in the footsteps of their former teachers. Many of these religious schools actually urge some of their students to lead a life of being itinerant pilgrims during a specific period of time each year. In some cases, this practice of ascetic pilgrimage occurs in the larger context of seeking all branches of Islamic knowledge from the right masters, something that requires these students to move frequently from one religious school to the next.³⁵⁰ Thus many of these students continue this practice of wandering pilgrimage long after their formal graduation.

The second type is what I have called Javanist-Muslim wandering pilgrims.³⁵¹ Exploring their particular identity as *Javanese* Muslims, they cultivate some Javanese religio-cultural practices alongside the standard Islamic ones. Of course, the degree of their regularity in practicing the normative Islamic *sharī‘a* such as the canonical prayers (Ar. *ṣalāt*) and Ramadan fasting varies greatly from person to person. They are naturally

³⁴⁹ Some wandering pilgrims might be only informally (although very actively) associated with the *pesantren* life due to their lack of formal enrollment at these schools. As previously mentioned, Ann Kumar wrote about this type of wandering pilgrim, Mas Rahmat, who was never a formal *santri* yet “a learned and mature participant in *pesantren* life” (Ann Kumar, *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim*, xxi). During my fieldwork, I also encounter many pilgrims who followed the more normative type of Islamic observance due to their personal master-disciple relationship with Muslim *kyais* who do not necessarily have *pesantren* or formal religious schools.

³⁵⁰ As mentioned previously, this practice is deeply rooted in the Javanese tradition of *satriya lelana* and *santri lelana* (wandering prince or religious student), exemplified by the famous Muslim rebel prince, Dipanegara (1785-1855).

³⁵¹ In making this distinction I follow Mark Woodward (*Islam in Java*, 2ff), instead of Clifford Geertz (*The Religion of Java*). For it is clear that this type of pilgrim does not neatly belong to Geertz’ typologies of *santri* (orthodox Muslims), *priyayi* (the nobility influenced largely by Hindu-Javanese traditions), or *abangan* (village animists). While highly influenced by Javanese tradition, they do not come from noble families and are far from being animists or “heterodox” Muslims. They clearly identify themselves as *Javanese* Muslims, emphasizing the Javanese way of being Muslims, as opposed to the *santri*-type whose Islamic practice follows what they consider the more “normative” path. In terms of general religious sensibility, this type of pilgrims would follow the path of mystical synthesis of Islam and Javanese tradition, as outlined by the historian of Java, Merle Ricklefs (see his *Mystic Synthesis*).

more inclined toward the mystical side of Islam. Most of them are not associated formally with the Javanist mystical brotherhoods (Jv. *kebatinan*) although they might share some of their basic tenets of Javanese spiritual teachings. Among the three shrines under study, the tomb of Mawlana Maghribi is without doubt the most commonly frequented by this type of wandering pilgrims who would visit other Javanese sacred shrines nearby as well (see Map 1.3).³⁵²

Different as they are in terms of their religio-cultural orientations and sensibilities, these two types of wandering pilgrims would often meet with each other. The *santri*-type would also visit some sacred places that are more Javanese than Islamic, for example the many *petilasans* (Ar. *maqām*) of legendary Hindu-Javanese figures. They would also meet in a certain place where they receive a generous donation from a noted *kyai*-figure who himself was a wandering ascetic during his formative years. In general, these groups tend to have an inclusive view of sacredness with regard to shrines of the other. At least some of them would pay short visits to the shrines of other religious traditions, such as Javanese indigenous shrines, Hindu-Buddhist temples, Catholic Marian shrines, Chinese temples and so forth.³⁵³ These visits would generally be short and might stem partly from mere curiosity, due to their hunger for looking for and being in the sacred precincts, but

³⁵² Apart from this shrine, as we have mentioned before, the surrounding Parangtritis area is known to be one of the most potent areas in the entire Mataram region. Many of these Javanist Muslim wandering pilgrims would also visit other shrines that have a traditional connection to the Javano-Islamic mystical synthesis, such as Parangkusumo, Guwa Langse and so forth. Prince Dipanagara, a well-known embodiment of this synthesis, also visited these sites in his spiritual wandering in preparation for leading the Java war (1825-1830). Dipanagara was a pious Muslim aristocrat with a strong connection with the *pesantren* world, yet he visited these sites that were associated mainly with indigenous Javanese spirit-figures. See Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 209; Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 140.

³⁵³ In this regard, some itinerant pilgrims come to develop an adaptable and personal way of praying, depending on the nature of the shrine they visit. Mr. Agus, a pilgrim from Surabaya, said that when he visits an indigenous Javanese shrine, he adjusts his way of prayer by using Javanese rather than Arabic and so forth. He always tries to know if the saint is happy with that. If not, then he has to re-adjust. When he goes to the shrines of Islamic *walis*, he would use Islamic manners of prayers. Interview, Pengging shrine, July 2, 2009.

they can also lead to a deeper relationship.³⁵⁴ As we have seen, these wandering pilgrims often discover hitherto unrecognized sacred sites and then initiate a novel tradition of pilgrimage to these sites.

In this respect, it is remarkable to see how these wandering pilgrims come to recognize the sacredness of hitherto unknown sites. In the case of the *santri*-type pilgrims, it is still true that despite their typically deeper knowledge of Javano-Islamic history, they do not base their recognition on history understood as an objective account of past events. Rather, as we have seen in chapter 1 on the Javanese notion of history, they rely on the experience of being connected to spiritual presence, something that they feel in the deeper recess of their heart (Jv. *rasa*). This is why their favorite sites might be not those favored by the general public or those sites whose historical background and Islamic identity are unambiguously established.³⁵⁵ They also tend to understand the charismatic grace (Ar. *karāma*) of the saints not in terms of their outward “miracles,” but rather the virtuous qualities of their personalities, especially their love (Ar. *maḥabba*) and proximity (Ar. *walāya*) to God.

In the context of pilgrims of both types, the depth of this spiritual experience is also normally connected with a special cultivation of sensitivity toward dreams, inner visions and signs (Jv. *wisik*), different stirrings of the heart, and so forth.³⁵⁶ As Jamhari noted, many pilgrims at the Tembayat shrine consider these forms of inner

³⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that Mr. Hussein once visited the Catholic Marian shrine of Marganingsih near the tomb of Tembayat when the relations of this Marian shrine and some of the Muslim neighbors were rather tense. He got the impression of some sort of rivalry between these two shrines.

³⁵⁵ Another example that I encountered is Zuhdi, a young *santri*-type wandering pilgrim from Magelang, who loves to visit the tomb of Kyai Nur Iman in Mlangi, Yogyakarta, and other less well-known sites in Pati and Juwana (north central Java). Interview, May 26, 2009.

³⁵⁶ Ms. Wiwik, a woman pilgrim who was on the brink of financial bankruptcy, argued that focused meditation could serve as the best condition for right interpretation of dreams because it cultivates a particular sensitivity to inner movements of the soul, including dreams. She believed that God and the saint give signs through these dreams. Interview, Mawlana Maghribi shrine, June 5, 2009.

communication with the Invisible world very crucial in their pilgrimage and the achievement of the true *baraka*. Pilgrims talk about this type of experience and sometimes consult the custodian or one another to arrive at the proper meanings. One pilgrim at the Tembayat shrine, for instance, narrated his experience with dream and its interpretation thus:

I came to this shrine because I was urged by a pious man in my dream. I could not recognize the person clearly. The man told me that this shrine is the right place to search for an amulet. After performing *ziarah* to the Sunan, I slept in the corner of the main building of Sunan Tembayat's tomb. A person with a nice smile and wearing white clothes approached me. He did not say anything to me, but he gave me a hoe. I did not understand the meaning of this symbol. Therefore, I asked the custodian (Jv. *juru kunci*).³⁵⁷

Then, through the help of the custodian who firmly believed that the saint advises visitors to his tomb through dreams, this pilgrim came to understand that the saint was very happy with him and urged him to work harder in life, achieving his purpose through the hoe, rather than the amulet. Thus, for this pilgrim, the true *baraka* of God and the saint ultimately comes from this kind of spiritual assurance and support from the saint, and should be achieved in the larger framework of his life.

Mr. Hussein, whom we mentioned previously, also had a memorable experience with dreams during pilgrimage. He claimed to have met with a famous Javanese *wali*, Sunan Drajad, during visit to his tomb in Lamongan, East Java. Later on he would attribute his personal liking of *ziyāra* to this initial encounter with the saint. With regard to the interpretation of dreams, he explained that the full range of meanings of these “signs,” might not always be self-evident when they first occur, so that they need to be interpreted in the larger continuum of one's life, namely before, during and after the

³⁵⁷ See Jamhari, “The Meaning Interpreted,” 93.

outward act of pilgrimage.³⁵⁸ Many pilgrims would confirm Mr. Hussein's point. The fuller meanings of God's blessings communicated through dreams have to be discerned in the context of one's own life. In this sense, *baraka* is always a mystery that can be unraveled only through more serious spiritual discernment.

At this point, it is also crucial to note that due to their intense cultivation of spiritual life, it is only natural that these true ascetic pilgrims become in some sense "spiritual masters", sought after by ordinary pilgrims for advice, spiritual and otherwise. Popular shrines in Java are places where such communication between ordinary pilgrims and spiritual "masters" continue to occur. And this role of informal spiritual master or counselor applies to both the *santri*-type and the Javanist one, as the experiences of Mr. Hussein and Mr. Kasiyo exemplify.³⁵⁹ In contemporary Java, this role is both real and rife with problems, as some itinerant pilgrims themselves realize.³⁶⁰

One defining feature of the *santri*-type soul-searching pilgrims as well as the itinerant ones is their mastery of and devotion to the Qur'ān. In the proper ritual etiquette of *ziyāra* in general, the recitation of Qur'ānic verses is considered the most meaningful

³⁵⁸ Mr. Agus, an itinerant pilgrim from Surabaya that we encountered previously, said that he often got lost in interpreting this kind of communication with the invisible world. At times, only a cultivation of *rasa* and the perseverance to always look for diverse signs in life could help him figure out the true meanings of that spiritual communication. Interview, July 2, 2009.

³⁵⁹ In Bali, I also encountered a Javanese Muslim itinerant pilgrim who became the teacher of the custodian and some other visitors at the tomb of Thee Kwan Pau-Lie in Buleleng, on the north coast of the island. Unlike other Muslim saints in Bali who are either of Hadrami or aristocratic Javano-Balinese descent, Thee Kwan Pau-Lie was Chinese and later took an Arabic name, Syaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad. However, tradition has it that he was related to Sunan Gunungjati of West Java, a Muslim saint with a Chinese wife. Today, Thee Kwan Pau-Lie's tomb is visited not only by Muslims but also by local Hindus because he is considered one of the prominent ancestors (in Balinese, *buyut*) of the Balinese people. Interviews with Haji Subandi, Mas Budi Purwanto, and the caretaker of Pau-Lie's tomb, Buleleng, July 13, 2009.

³⁶⁰ For the most part, these problems are associated with the gullibility of some simple pilgrims, but also with the tendency of some fake "spiritual masters" to exploit these credulous people. Due to their religio-cultural status as sacred precincts where supernatural energies are concentrated, shrines and holy tombs possess a natural appeal for both true pilgrims and more superficial visitors who search for shamanic assistance or magical feats from all sorts of masters of the supernatural world.

spiritual gift to the dead.³⁶¹ However, for many of these pilgrims, Qur'ānic recitation becomes the main pillar of their spiritual sojourn at the shrine. They develop some deep spiritual communion with God and the saints through the Qur'ān. Considering Qur'ānic recitation as a valuable and effective offering to the deceased saints and former teachers, they also believe such sacred recitation can bring blessings to themselves. At the shrine of Gunungpring, a large number of *santri* pilgrims spend their whole time of visitation reciting the Qur'ān at the tomb of *Mbah Dalhar*, with whom they are related in one way or another through the chain of teacher-disciple (Ar. *silsila, isnād*).³⁶² They often undergo the ascetic practice of vigil, staying up the whole night (Ar. *ṣahr al-layal*), following the personal example of *Mbah Dalhar*.³⁶³ Many of the *santris* also have the pious habit of completing the recitation of the whole Qur'ān (Ar. *khatamāt al-Qur'ān*) at the saint's grave (see Fig. 6.1).³⁶⁴

II. 3. Concluding Remarks

³⁶¹ Many Javanese Muslims commemorate the anniversary of the death of relatives through offering prayers and Qur'ānic verses printed on small booklets. Interestingly, this recitation is done not only in the grave of these relatives but also at the tombs of the saints. This is why we find abundant booklets of this type left in almost all Muslim shrines in Java. These booklets would also be useful for other pilgrims who had no relation with the dead being commemorated. To a certain degree, due to this practice, the prayers for the dead then continue beyond the circle of pilgrims who knew them.

³⁶² As we have seen, many *santris* who are related to Gus Miek want to follow in his footsteps by visiting the grave of *Mbah Dalhar*.

³⁶³ *Mbah Dalhar* is known as an accomplished ascetic; while in the Hejaz, he was doing a retreat for three months, accompanied with fasting and other ascetic practices. His penchant for silent *dhikr* would sometimes keep him in that state of intense God-remembrance for three days and nights without interruption. His descendants and students remember him as a saint who performed ascetic and spiritual practices (Ar. *riyāḍa*) for their wellbeing. See Muhammad Wafa al-Hasani, "Waliyullah Mbah Kyai Dalhar Watucongol" <http://al-kahfi.net/tarikh-wa-tsaqafah/waliyullah-mbah-kyai-dalhar-watucongol/> (accessed September 2009).

³⁶⁴ Kyai Chudlori, a noted Muslim figure from the influential *pesantren* of Tegalrejo that we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is said to have asked his disciples before his death, to complete the reciting of the whole Qur'ān at his grave at least once. He said that God will grant them useful knowledge and wisdom (Ar. *'ilm*) on account of this recitation. He also asked them to say the *dhikr* some 70,000 times. See Bambang Pranowo, *Islam Faktual: Antara Tradisi dan Relasi Kuasa*, 65.

We began this chapter by looking at the Javano-Islamic practice of pilgrimage associated with great figures of the traditional Islam in Java. Then, we delved into the various personal and communal aspects of the pilgrimage experience. In particular, we examined loving devotion as ultimately the most fundamental motivation in pilgrimage, the process of self-purification leading to spiritual integration, the attainment of true peace (Jv. *slamet*) as the most fundamental meaning of divine blessings, the sense of interpersonal and communal friendship between pilgrims, the concreteness and tangibility of pilgrimage blessings (Jv. *berkah*), as well as the intergenerational aspect of pilgrimage tradition.

In conclusion, three points need to be noted. First, pilgrimage is by no means an isolated practice. Rather, it is a rich and complex mode of religiosity and piety that is both personal and communal, religious and cultural. It is motivated by spiritual devotion and love, but it also includes a very real search for blessings and blessedness that in turn involves a rather profound process of self-transformation and understanding. Among Javanese Muslim pilgrims in south central Java, pilgrimage continues to be a spiritually privileged practice where authentically human as well as deeply spiritual experiences are not only possible but can be expected to happen. It is a space where a sheer human desire for all too mundane fulfillment is often transformed into a much more exciting lifelong journey of self-discovery and spiritual growth. As we have seen, pilgrimage can indeed be extraordinary in this power to provide every sort of pilgrim with the blessing and grace of meaningful experience, even if this discovery involves struggles and a more long-term interpretive framework. It can be surprising to find out how long term spiritual discernment is at stake in the pilgrimage experience for many pilgrims. To a large extent,

the dynamics of pilgrimage are governed by the Islamic idea of *walāya*, in the sense of proximity to God and His saints as well as participating in the authority of God and His spiritual company. As we have seen, Javanese Muslim pilgrims treat the saints as having real authority and continuous presence. For the most part, these saints also belong to the category of revered ancestors or founders, spiritual intercessors and protectors, paradigmatic exemplars and so forth. The aspect of proximity and friendship in the Islamic understanding of sainthood is illustrated in the fact that pilgrimage is fundamentally a habit of the heart. Its foundational framework is devotion, understood as deeper and personal connectedness to saints and God. Furthermore, in practicing asceticism and purification in the understanding of pilgrimage as *laku* and *tirakat*, pilgrims become closer to God and their true selves. In many cases, pilgrimage also becomes a moment where a profound friendship or deeper sense of solidarity between pilgrims happens. These are the major ways in which the sense of Islamic *walāya* as proximity and friendship gets played out in the pilgrimage experience.

Secondly, we have seen how pilgrims experience and express the Javano-Islamic aspect of pilgrimage. This hybrid aspect is not practiced or experienced all in the same way and to the same degree, given the diverse religio-cultural orientations of the pilgrims and the corresponding plurality of modes of doing the pilgrimage. What we see in these diverse types of pilgrims is the remarkable richness of pilgrimage experience itself. Pilgrimage appeals to a wide variety of pilgrims for many different reasons. Crucial in these diverse experiences are the ways in which many facets of Javanese culture get appropriated both naturally and intentionally. It is natural because it has become, for many pilgrims, the very fabrics of their inner and spiritual lives. As a Javano-Muslims,

they encounter God and His saints in ways that are both deeply Javanese and authentically Islamic. In terms of religious and spiritual sensibility, they come to deeper communion with God and His spiritual company of saints through the cultivation of *rasa*, the Javanese concept of spiritual and inner knowing and experience. For many Javanese Muslim pilgrims, the deepest and most foundational experience of pilgrimage also comes to be associated with the Javanese understanding of true peace and wellbeing (Jv. *tentrem* and *slamet*). With regard to the identity of the saints, they are considered both God's intimate Friends as well as the community's founders or ancestors. In many cases, this dynamic becomes intentional because pilgrims felt that, learning from their own experience, this is the most fruitful way for them. This is the kind of actual experience that confirms the fundamental idea of Islam as a blessing to the whole cosmos (Ar. *rahmatan lil-`ālamīn*), its ability to appropriate local cultures, a characteristic that is fully embraced by the Nahdlatul Ulama in Java and exemplified by its notable figures such as Kyai Chudlori, Mbah Dalhar, Gus Miek, Abdurrahman Wahid, as well as countless ordinary pilgrims. Crucial in what I call the overwhelming practice of religio-cultural hybridity is the influence of the Javano-Islamic court culture and the *pesantren* culture in south central Java. These two religio-cultural forces should be taken into account because they explain the hybrid patterns of experience of pilgrims. They help us understand why pilgrimage in south central Java becomes inclusive and rich, attracting peoples from various religio-cultural orientations in their desire to express their religio-cultural sensibility as well as in their search for the blessings of God and His saints.

Thirdly, in many ways, our discourse on the practice of pilgrimage has shown the various manifestations in which the idea of communion—in the forms of inclusivity,

continuity, adaptation, connection with the past, spiritual communion with God, the self and other pilgrims—is at work as a principle in the face of complex relationships involved in the pilgrimage experience. Due to all of this, the whole pilgrimage tradition has become a milieu in which a complex Javano-Islamic identity is forged, not superficially and instantly, but rather through a long personal and communal engagement in the multifaceted elements of this very old tradition of pilgrimage.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ In the recent discourse on Islamic identity in Indonesia, a bipolar distinction between “superficial Islam” (associated with the ostentatiousness and banality of the new urban modern display of Islamic identity) and “more authentic Islam” (represented by the long and profoundly Islamic tradition of rural *pesantren*) has surfaced. Without falling into this bipolarity, I would argue that the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java, both in rural and urban areas, represents an authentic and particular Muslim way of life whose ingeniousness has produced a complex and authentic Javano-Muslim identity in a way that is both traditional in its communalism and modern in its personal nature. For this discourse, see Achmad Munjid, “Thick Islam and Deep Islam,” *The Jakarta Post*, August 18, 2009; also the responses of Hilman Latief, “Cosmopolitan Muslims: Urban vs Rural Phenomenon,” *The Jakarta Post*, August 29, 2009, and Ahmad Muttaqin, “Between Islam, the Market and Spiritual Revolution,” *The Jakarta Post*, September 16, 2009.

PART TWO

THE JAVANO-CATHOLIC CASE

CHAPTER 4

DUTCH JESUIT MISSION, JAVANO-CATHOLIC IDENTITY, AND ISLAM:

A BRIEF HISTORY OF IDENTITY FORMATION

Things pure are not necessarily more valuable
than the mixed (hybrid) ones.
The *Swara-Tama*, March 1921³⁶⁶

Hollandsche Indische School, Magetan, East Java.³⁶⁷ Sometime in early 1921, Mr. Suwandi, a Javanese teacher at this school, took his own life after shooting Mr. Mabilis, his Dutch co-worker. The accident created some uproar in the native press, largely because of its racial component. Some native publications faulted Mr. Mabilis for provoking the incident by insulting Mr. Suwandi with racial slurs, and hailed Mr.

³⁶⁶ *Swara-Tama*, March 1921. The *Swara-Tama* (Jv. Good News) was a Javanese publication that was in circulation from 1920s to 1940s. Started by the students of the Catholic mission school in Muntilan (Xavier College), the editorial board moved to Yogyakarta later and connected for a while with the Jesuit house of formation there. In this study, I call the Javanese Catholic writers who contributed to these publications “the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals”; not only did they voice the nascent Javanese Catholic community’s concerns and aspirations and engage the general public, they also went on to become leaders of this community both on the ecclesial and political realms, like Soegijapranata (the first native and Javanese bishop) and I. J. Kasimo (founder of the Catholic Party).

In the original Javanese, the quoted line reads: “*Barang ingkang moerni mboten mesti langkoeng oetami, katimbang kalijan ingkang tjaroeban.*” The context of the discourse was the propriety of learning the Dutch for Javanese students; over against the argument that Dutch would compromise the linguistic (and cultural) purity of the Javanese (something that some people feared would dilute the purity of the Javanese identity and nationalist sentiment among the youth), the *Swara-Tama* argued: (1) that Javanese identity would not be diluted, because the pioneers for Javanese nationalism were those who spoke Dutch; (2) that purity (including linguistic and cultural one) is not necessarily better than hybridity. On the contrary, as the Javanese language as well as traditional music (the *gamelan*) show, hybridity is a good and beautiful thing. Javanese language could not be separated from Sanskrit.

³⁶⁷ During the Dutch colonial period, *Hollandsche Indische School* (HIS) was a primary school for native Indonesians providing Western education.

Suwandi as a true Javanese fighter-nobleman (Jv. *ksatriya*) and patriot because he stood up for the dignity of his people. Interestingly, the Javanese Catholic newspaper (the *Swara-Tama*) joined the discourse by challenging this view, arguing, among others, that Mr. Suwandi was unable to control his passion and broke the law and thus was not a true *ksatriya*.³⁶⁸

In the context of the extremely tumultuous second decade of the 20th century, this bold counter-argument might have aggravated the widespread suspicion that the Javanese Catholics were always more favorable toward the Dutch. In light of this, the quotation on hybridity at the very beginning of this chapter is intriguing. Originally, this quotation was part of an argument put forward by a Javanese Catholic intellectual in the *Swara-Tama* to defend the overwhelming reality of hybridity in the encounter between cultures, and to make a case for the creation of hybrid Dutch (Western)-Javanese culture. Written in a high register of Javanese, the tone of his article is paradoxically combative and argumentative, trying to convince the public that the introduction of Dutch language among Javanese students would not by any means replace the role of Javanese language in their identity, nor lessen their nationalist sentiment.

I put these two things up front in this chapter to highlight the highly complex negotiation of religio-cultural identity of the nascent Javanese Catholic community in Java during the first decades of the twentieth century, the most formative period of its

³⁶⁸ The *Swara-Tama* also argued that Mr. Suwandi's reaction was not proportionate to the harm done by Mr. Mabilis to him. According to the editor of the *Swara-Tama*, this judgment is not in line with what the Javanese nationalist organization, Budi Utomo, stands for: *santosa* (firm, principled), *waspada* (watchful, discerning), *anggajoeih oetama* (striving for the good or virtuous). Apparently, certain publications connected with the Budi Utomo were praising Mr. Suwandi as a true Javanese hero. As we will see later in this chapter, the Budi Utomo was a native organization of educated Javanese that advocated the cause of the native Javanese, particularly in the realm of culture.

identity formation. Their discourse of identity started with the questions of hybridity in language and arts, but very quickly it began to touch on the question of values, ideals, and eventually religion. The young Javanese Catholic intellectuals argued for a meeting between the loftiness of Christian values (represented by the Dutch Catholics) and the growth of Javanese religio-cultural values or what they called “Javanese conception of humanness” (Jv. *kamanungsan Jawi*). In short, these first Javanese Catholics were unabashed in their commitment to upholding their own Javanese culture in tandem with the Christian values and cultures brought about by Christian Europe.

However, the ambiguity and scope of this argument for a hybrid religio-cultural identity came to the fore when the question of strictly religious identity was posed. It might be highly conceivable and desirable that Javanese Catholics become truly Catholic while keeping some features of Javanese culture. But, does this mean that they could adopt some of the more religious features of religious heritage of Java into their new faith? As can be expected of new converts, they appeared to have said no. However, it is insightful to see the many concrete ways in which they came to translate this “no” as they concretely negotiated their identity as Javano-Catholics. For in this very process they were obviously made acutely aware of the rather flimsy boundaries between culture and religion in a complex society such as Java at the time.

Accordingly, this chapter will take the form of a historical account of this identity formation, focusing on its three major elements—Javaneseness, Christianity and Islam. In the larger context of Part Two of this study, this chapter provides the necessary historical background for the next chapter (Chapter 5) which deals with the place and role of the three Catholic shrines under study in this process of identity formation and negotiation.

In terms of its presentation, this chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section offers an overview of the tumultuous first decades of the 20th century in the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia. This section is crucial for our study because it provides a general historical framework that can help us see both the specificity as well as the interconnectedness of Javanese Catholic identity formation with that of other groups in the Netherlands East Indies. Then, in the second section, we delve deeper into the major dynamics of the identity formation of this community under the Dutch Catholic mission. Due to the weight of its subject matter, this second section has three sub-sections dealing with three major elements of the Javano-Catholic identity formation. The first sub-section (1) focuses on the role of Father Franciscus van Lith (1863-1926), a central historical figure in the Jesuit Dutch mission in south central Java, in this identity formation of the community, particularly the memorialisation of his persona as its founder-saint.³⁶⁹ This will be followed by a brief account of some confrontations between the Catholic mission (together with the Javanese Catholic community) and the wider Javanese Muslim public that stemmed from the image of Christianity as the religious and cultural other (sub-section 2). In the next sub-section (3), we will continue this discussion of identity and alterity by examining how the Javanese Catholic community endeavored to overcome this otherness by arguing that the Catholic mission respected, appropriated and elevated Javanese culture. Along this line, in sub-section 4 we examine how the first Javanese Catholic intelligentsia themselves attempted to negotiate their Javano-Catholic identity

³⁶⁹ In some sense, this pattern puts this community closer to their Javano-Islamic counterparts. As our previous chapter began with the story of Sunan Kalijaga, the Javano-Muslim saint par excellence in south central Java, we now take up the role of Father van Lith. Of course his status is not as mythical as that of Kalijaga, but his role in shaping the identity of the Javanese Catholics is very similar to that of Kalijaga's to his community.

through discourse and practice by appropriating van Lith's foundational works and thoughts, blending them with their own insights and then adapting them into the realities of interactions with different groups in Java and the Indies in general. The final section will address the crucial question of Islam as a religion that was both different and threatening for this nascent Catholic community. This is a lingering question that has arisen in all the previous sections, but whose explicit examination is postponed until the last in order to serve as a bridge for the transition to the next chapter.

IV. 1. The Historical Context: Modernity, Colonialism and Identity

The history of Christian mission in the area of what is now Indonesia, roughly corresponds to the former Dutch East Indies, began under the Portuguese since the 16th century. This was the period when Francis Xavier built small Catholic communities in the Moluccas. After Xavier, Portuguese missionaries continued to work in other outer islands (the Lesser Sunda Islands) of Indonesia. With the arrival of the Dutch traders in the early 17th century, however, the progress of Catholic missions in the Moluccas was halted, while in the outer islands that were still under the Portuguese it continued to grow until the second half of the 18th century. For example, the island of Flores, where Catholicism is the majority religion now, remained under Portuguese rule until 1859.³⁷⁰

Protestant missions began in a very modest way, mostly in the outer islands of the archipelago, starting circa the 17th century. Since the second half of the 18th century, Protestant missions were becoming more intensive in many parts of Indonesia (though not in Java) with the active role of various missionary societies, while Catholics were

³⁷⁰ Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History, 1808-1900* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003), 71.

discriminated against during most of this period, both in the Netherlands and the Indies. This discrimination was lifted only in 1808, allowing some Jesuit priests to work for the European Catholics in the Indies. Up to his point, there was virtually no native Catholic in Java.³⁷¹

It was in 1859 that the first Dutch Jesuit missionaries reached the shore of Java and began their arduous work among the Javanese natives.³⁷² It did not take long for them to come to terms with the question of alterity that appeared in a paradoxical way: they were surprised to see that next to Islam, the greatest hindrance to their work was their own fellow Europeans. For the Javanese were terrified of the Europeans whom they identified as the cruel officials of the colonial Cultivation System (*D. cultuurstelsel*).³⁷³ In response, these missionaries had to find ways to dissociate themselves from this colonial baggage. They found themselves working in a society that was undergoing a deep and painful transition, struggling to respond to different alternatives at the dawn of the 20th century.

In the framework of Javanese history in general, the *fin de siècle* and subsequent decades indeed occupied a very crucial role. For it was a time when all sorts of

³⁷¹ Jan Sihar Arintonang and Karel Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 139, 639. An indigenous Christian community (Protestant) was formed in East Java in 1840s.

³⁷² In the earliest period of the Catholic mission in the Indies, the Jesuit Order was in charge of the whole realm. Around 1900s the Jesuits began to focus their missionary work on Java while other religious orders started to work in different parts of the realm. On this, see Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia 1903-1942: A Documented History. Vol. 2 The Spectacular Growth of a Self-Confident Minority* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 540.

³⁷³ G. Vriens, S. J., *Honderd Jaar Jezuitenmissie in Indonesië* (Jogjakarta: Kanisius, ca. 1959), 637; based on the letter of Father Palinckx to his Jesuit superior in the Netherlands, October 26, 1862. The *cultuurstelsel* was enacted by the colonial government in the Indies from 1830 until 1870 in order to make Java and the Indies a profitable colony by creating plantations that would turn the Netherlands into one of the world's greatest producers of tropical products. Because it involved an oppressive tax system and obliged the native farmers to plant only certain kinds of crops (non-staple foods) for the government, this policy came to be identified as the most systematically cruel colonial policy that only brought suffering, famine and poverty to the natives, as described very movingly by Multatuli in his classic, *Max Havelaar* (1860). See Merle C. Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society*, 12-27.

alternatives were proposed to the Javanese society, when the old Javano-Islamic “mystic synthesis” was challenged on all sides, when a sense of divisiveness was very widespread in terms of how a Javanese identity should be forged over against the influx of different alternatives: Western modernity, different forms of Christianity, Islamic modernism (reformism and purification movement), communism, modern nationalism and so forth.³⁷⁴ It was a time when the ideas of “Java” and “Javaneseness” became highly contested, not only by some forces within the Javanese society itself as a result of their encounters with diverse foreign entities, but also by other ethnic and racial groups in the Netherlands East Indies. At this time, discourses on modernity (associated with progress), ancestral heritage, tradition, race, religions and identity were lively and highly divisive. It is in this historical context that the first Javanese Catholic community was born and had to forge its own complex and hybrid identity.

Before we treat this topic in the next section, it is important to see how other local religio-ethnic groups negotiated their identities during this period of time. This is crucial because, to a large degree, Dutch colonialism and Christianity were always implicated in one way or another, largely perceived as a menacing other, in the ways these local groups negotiated their identity.³⁷⁵ We will also see how each group defined itself in relation to other groups, either through opposition or imitation. In other words, we will see how each

³⁷⁴ This era was preceded by one of the most devastating crises in Javanese history, brought about by the defeat of the Javanese revolt against colonial rule in the Great Java War (1825-1830) and the subsequent policy of the Cultivation System (1830-1870). Fought under the command of a pious Javano-Muslim prince, Dipanegara, the Great Java War was an effort to envision a different and independent Java by eliminating the most threatening form of alterity, namely, the colonial power. As Ricklefs points out, Dipanegara represented a paradigmatic figure of the Javano-Islamic identity because he was deeply rooted in his local Javanese culture while also aware of his membership in the Muslim international community. Thus his defeat brought some serious self-questioning to the process of Javanese self-understanding. See his *Polarizing Javanese Society*, 8-13; also his *Mystic Synthesis*, 210-14.

³⁷⁵ This background will help us appreciate the specificity of the case of Javano-Catholic identity that, on the contrary, considered the Dutch (Catholics) as a beloved other.

proposed identity always presupposed alterity in this complex, changing and ambiguous framework.

For this purpose, I take the dynamics of the *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Association) as the first native socio-political movement to be quite revealing precisely in terms of the complexities and tensions involved in identity formation during these decades. For the eventual success of the Sarekat Islam as a mass anti-colonial organization in Java was anchored in the idea of forging a distinct identity over against the menacing other.³⁷⁶ In this case, Islam was used as a highly appealing ideological banner for the natives and as a signifier of native identity over against the Chinese and the Europeans.³⁷⁷ However, the unity under Islam in the Sarekat Islam was far from univocal, as the later secession of its socialist or communist faction showed. In this regard, the relation between politico-economic agenda and religious identity proved to be an intricate matter.³⁷⁸

In this context, the birth of the reformist Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta signaled yet another fissure in the Muslim community in Java as well as in the colonial dynamics. For in its quest for modernization and purification of Islam, it posed a serious challenge

³⁷⁶ In the history of the nationalist movement in Indonesia, the Sarekat Islam is considered as the first native organization with a real popular basis in Java. Shiraishi considers the founding of Sarekat Islam as marking the birth of the so-called “the age in motion” (I. *pergerakan*, the nationalist awakening of the natives) in the Indies. Started in 1912, it grew out of an association of Javanese Muslim traders in Surakarta (the *Rekso Rumekso*) whose initial goal was to protect their economic interests against the Chinese. But it quickly adopted Islam as a signifier for the native identity, thus separating them from the local Chinese and the Europeans. It introduced a variety of new strategies of boycotting, mass rallies, labor strikes, demonstrations and agitations, trade unionism etc. Its membership grew exponentially within the span of few years, creating a real political fever among the natives (see Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926* [Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990], esp. chapters 2 and 4). We will see later that Father van Lith, the Jesuit missionary, would also come to foster a rather warm friendship with the leadership of this organization.

³⁷⁷ Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 43.

³⁷⁸ In this regard, Eduard Schmutzer writes: “The religious elements were introduced in addition to the economic ones, especially for mass appeal and as a resistance against increased Christian missionary activities. The truly religious character, however, of the Sarekat Islam has always relegated to the background, due to the fact that even its political demands were rarely, if ever, inspired by Moslem ideals.” See Eduard J. M. Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 78.

both to the traditional Javano-Islamic framework and to the Christian mission whose association with modernity and colonial power was a major threat to their socio-religious agenda.³⁷⁹ In fact, at its earliest stage, the identity of this organization was conceived largely in terms of its historic fight against the dreadful collaboration of the Christian (mainly Protestant) mission and the Dutch colonial power. Paradoxically, the Muhammadiyah came to appropriate what they saw as the Christian mission's particular strength, namely its modern education and health care network.³⁸⁰ What we see here is a complex relationship of mimetic rivalry that was rather common in the Indies at the time.

In my view, the historical case of the Muhammadiyah and its mimetic rivalry with the Christian mission reveals the dynamic of the search for a modernity that was firmly based on a distinct religious identity (i.e. Islam), while making a case for the compatibility of the two.³⁸¹ The need for this type of search—the uneasy marriage of universalism and particularism—seemed to be shared by many groups in the Indies at the time, most notably the Chinese and the Hadrami Arabs, the two most important groups in the category of “foreign” Orientals under the colonial system. As we will examine later, this pattern was pursued by the Javanese Catholics as well. In the cases of the Chinese and the Hadrami Arabs, we see clearly how these two communities came to cultivate

³⁷⁹ Alwi Shihab, *The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1995), 241.

³⁸⁰ See Alwi Shihab, *The Muhammadiyah*, passim. At the 1924 annual congress of the Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, the anti-Christian mission sentiment was overwhelming. In this regard, Shihab categorically argues that Christianity failed to foster a good relationship with the Muslim communities in the Indies on account of its intimate connection with the Dutch colonial power. Again, interestingly, the Muhammadiyah came to adopt the modern strategies of the Christian mission in the fields of education, social welfare, and so forth, while denouncing Christian teachings as erroneous (252).

³⁸¹ In this dynamic, we have to take into account the reaction of the traditionalist Muslims, the Nahdlatul Ulama, whose synthesis of Islam and Javanese culture comes very close to the mystic synthesis that we talk about in this study (see Part One).

their distinct racial identity—thus, perhaps unintentionally, internalizing the colonial policy of racial separation—while trying to keep up with modernity.

In the particular case of the Chinese, their sense of belonging to a separate ethnic nation went hand in hand with a period of a rather intense Confucian revivalism, marked by emphasis on the knowledge of Chinese language and the practice of Confucian tradition and the creation of modern educational institutions. The 1911 Chinese revolution further bolstered this formation of a distinct self-identity.³⁸² In the wake of the Chinese revolution, rumors spread in the Indies that the Chinese arrogantly told the natives of the imminent take over of the Indies by the new Republic of China, driving out the Dutch and establishing themselves as the new colonial masters.³⁸³

Probably originating from the colonial policy of racial discrimination and further strengthened by the economic competition against the Muslim natives and the Chinese, the identity formation of Arab immigrants along racial lines became a self-acknowledged reality.³⁸⁴ However, despite this economic rivalry, Arab identity formation went through a process mirroring the Chinese efforts, especially in their emphasis on the importance of racial identity and the need to modernize themselves through modern organizations such as the *Jāmi'āt al-Khair* (Ar., Charitable Association) in 1905 and *al-Irshād* (the Arab Society for Reform and Guidance) in 1914.³⁸⁵ For the Arab Hadrami community in the Indies, the first decades of the 20th century were a period of intense awakening (Ar.

³⁸² Leo Suryadinata, "Pre-War Indonesian Nationalism and the Peranakan Chinese," *Indonesia* 11 (1971): 83-94. See also Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1999), 35. Around this time, many Chinese schools adopted modern, western-style, methods of teaching and learning.

³⁸³ Around the year 1912, anti-Chinese riots broke out in some cities in Java. See Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 37.

³⁸⁴ See Sumit K. Mandal, *Finding Their Place: A History of Arabs in Java under Dutch Rule, 1800-1924* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1994).

³⁸⁵ Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 35.

nahḍah), of experimentations with a range of different responses to the one central question of identity.³⁸⁶ It was during this period that a solely religious identity—their identity as Hadramis who belonged to an international Muslim community (Ar. *umma*)—did not seem to be adequate. For the categories of race and nationality had to be reckoned with as well. In this respect, it is revealing that the Hadrami Arabs felt the need to organize themselves separately in order to maintain their racial identity instead of blending themselves completely with Muslim organizations of the natives such as the Muhammadiyah or the Sarekat Islam.³⁸⁷

To make the situation more volatile, this period also witnessed a sizeable movement among the Javanese intellectuals to foster their Javanese identity through the revival and cultivation of Javanese culture.³⁸⁸ Of course this rather narrow ethnic aspiration created tensions with other intellectuals who had more universal aspirations. This aspiration and the tensions it created could already be detected in the Budi Utomo, a socio-cultural organization founded by a circle of Javanese elites in 1908.³⁸⁹ In light of

³⁸⁶ Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *The Hadrami Awakening*, 13.

³⁸⁷ This fact might be revealing about the complex nature of identity politics in the Indies during the first decades of the 20th century. The banner of Islam did seem to be able to unite the Arabs and the natives when it came to the question of protecting their economic interests against the Chinese. As Shiraishi shows, the Arabs in general supported the agenda of Sarekat Dagang Islamijah (the Islamic Trade Union), in safeguarding the economic interests of Muslim merchants against the Chinese (Shiraishi, *The Age in Motion*, 35). But, on the question of racial identity, the unifying power of religion, the so-called “solidarity through religion,” could be dramatically lessened in certain circumstances. In light of this, the relative absence at this period of racial rift between the Javanese Catholics and their Dutch co-religionists was perhaps rather unique.

³⁸⁸ Ki Hajar Dewantara (Suwardi Suryaningrat), “Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Jogjakarta,” *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 157. Here Dewantara spoke on the principle of returning to “national” heritage in building up the education curriculum, while lamenting the negative impacts of Western education, such as materialism, intellectualism, and individualism.

³⁸⁹ In contrast to the Sarekat Islam, Budi Utomo’s political agenda was rather narrow in its scope, since it only addressed the concerns of Javanese elites (the *priyayi*, namely, a Javanese with Dutch education or with bureaucratic positions). The aspiration of the younger members to open up Budi Utomo’s concerns as to include all the Netherlands East Indies was rejected. However, even Suwardi Suryaningrat, a staunch proponent of this universalism, could not eventually dissociate himself from his primary concern for the Javanese, as became apparent when he founded the Taman Siswa after a period of radicalism with the Sarekat Islam and the *Indische Partij*. See Savitri Prastiti Scherer, *Harmony and Dissonance: Early*

what is to come in our discussion on the rise of the first Javanese Catholic community, it is worth noting that the cultural ideal of the Budi Utomo as well as the Taman Siswa—an education movement founded by one of the prominent founders of Budi Utomo³⁹⁰—was very similar to the conception of the Dutch orientalist and certain elements in the Jesuit mission circle, namely, the cultural orientation toward the Hindu-Buddhist or pre-Islamic layers of Javanese cultural heritage. In fact, the Taman Siswa was at one point accused of being an anti-Islamic educational movement due to this cultural vision that was devoid of Islam. Rather clearly, it offered a secular (Jv. *abangan*) Javanese counterpart to the purist Muhammadiyah.³⁹¹

Along this line, it is crucial to note the existence at that time of yet another different stream within Javanese society that conceived their religio-cultural agenda of Javanese revivalism primarily against the foreignness of Islam. In their reconstruction of modern Javanese identity, this group came to regard the historical transition from the Hindu-Buddhist period to the Islamic one as a great loss: Islam was considered by them as an alien religion of the Arabs—thus fundamentally foreign to Javanese identity—whose arrival in Java was more of an intrusion than anything else.³⁹²

Nationalist Thought in Java (unpublished master's thesis, Cornell University, 1975), 67ff and passim. See also Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism: The Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972).

³⁹⁰ On the cultural philosophy of the Taman Siswa, see Ki Hajar Dewantara, "Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Jogjakarta," *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 150-68.

³⁹¹ Ruth T. McVey, "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening," *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 131ff.

³⁹² I speak of this group not as a well-organized one, but rather as a rather loose cultural movement based on a shared notion of Javanese cultural revival that was found in many texts from 19th century. All these texts, such as *Serat Darmagandul*, *Suluk Gatholoco*, *Babad Kediri* and *Serat Wedatama*, consider Islam as foreign to Java. These texts feature some detailed lists of the foreignness of Islam, in terms of its original relationship to the Arabs as well as the way it had been propagated in Java at the expense of the Hindu-Buddhist religion. The *Suluk Gatholoco* is a text from 1870s, but it angered the Muslim community in Java only in 1918, giving rise to the formation of "the Troops of the Prophet Muhammad" (Jv. *Laskar Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad*) whose goal was to defend the dignity of Islam against blasphemy. Paradoxically, although this text advocates the revival of Javanese culture, its gross sexual language disgusted the Javanese elite who championed a respectable Javanese culture (see Benedict Anderson, "The Suluk

This fact shows the depth of the fissures within Javanese society during that period. In light of the purpose of this chapter, those fissures serve as a crucial background for understanding the nature of the Catholic mission in Java and the religio-cultural policy that it came to adopt. For one thing, the Catholic mission was not alone in its concern for the revival of the earlier Javanese (the Hindu-Buddhist) culture alongside the pursuit of modern knowledge through Western school system. In fact, its uneasy relationship with Islam can also be explained in this framework of preferential cultural vision.³⁹³ Understood properly, this background would prevent us from isolating the case of the Catholic mission, its cultural preference for the Hindu-Buddhist element of Javanese culture as well as its tense relationship with Islam. It explains as well the affinity that the mission at that time naturally had with certain segments in the Javanese society.

To conclude, the fragility and volatility that marked the dynamics of Javanese colonial society at the turn of the 20th century did allow a room for the birth of the first Javanese Catholic community. But, as can be expected, it was not an easy birth, but rather a delicate and complicated negotiation. I will pursue this discussion of the

Gatoloco Part 1", *Indonesia* 32 [1981]: 110). *Serat Darmagandul* considers both Islam and the Chinese as menacing aliens. Originating from the second half of the 19th century (ca. 1870s), it caused outrage among the Muslim *santri* community in Yogyakarta in 1925. At the time, the Muhammadiyah, still reeling from the setback in their fight against the Christian mission and the colonial government, was having its congress and readily joined the street demonstrations against the publication of this text. As a text, the *Serat Darmagandul* displays some favorable views of Christianity. According to Drewes, the author of *Serat Darmagandul* expects the revival of Javanism, the ancestral religion of Java, alongside modern and Western development of knowledge among the natives. See G. Drewes, "The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the *Serat Dermagandul*," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122 (1966): 311-12.

³⁹³ So, when we later see that Frans van Lith, the great Jesuit missionary in central Java, adopted such a cultural vision, we should keep in mind that the reason for that was not only that such a vision was advocated solely by the Dutch orientalists to whom he was close. In this regard, it is curious to see how the educational system introduced by van Lith fitted rather nicely in Dewantara's basic idea of education, namely, the central role of the personality of the teacher and the role of the school complex as the indwelling place of the teacher (Jv. *per-guru-an*) where the relationship with the students was sustained.

formation of Javano-Catholic identity by paying attention mostly to the indigenous newspapers during the most formative years of this community (ca. 1920-1940).³⁹⁴

IV. 2. Dutch-Catholic Mission and Javano-Catholic Identity

IV. 2. 1. Memory of the Founder: Father Franciscus van Lith, S. J. (1863-1926)

“O Father, how could you forsake us, your children? Father, don’t you remember us, when we were young, we were so close to you, sitting around you?” This was how the former students of Father Franciscus Josephus van Lith expressed their sadness, bewilderment and loss over their beloved teacher’s death in 1926.³⁹⁵ As I see it, the unusual outpouring of grief over van Lith’s death on the part of his Javanese students, the backbone of the first Javanese Catholic community, is quite revealing about the dynamics of identity formation of this community and the extremely crucial role in that process of Dutch Jesuit paradigmatic figures like him. For this reason, I begin by looking at van Lith and the many ways in which he was, and continues to be, imagined in this Javanese Catholic community.

³⁹⁴ The role of the press in the identity formation of various groups in Java and the Indies during the first decades of the 20th century could not be underestimated. Every group had their own publication (*D. orgaan*) where they expressed their opinions, forming and reflecting their self-understanding vis-à-vis other groups. The discourse among these publications was at times tense and openly combative. The Javanese Catholic newspaper, the *Swara-Tama* (founded ca. 1921) was part of this dynamic. As we will see later, the *Swara-Tama* was often engaged in open debate with other newspapers, either Javanese-owned publications (such as *Djawi Kanda*, *Retnodhoemilah*, *Djawi Hiswara*), Chinese-owned publications (such as *Ik Po*, *Taman Pewarta*, and *Dharma Kanda*), as well as with the Sarekat Islam’s newspapers such as *Sinar Hindia*, *Oetoesan Hindia*, *Sinar Djawa*, etc. For more historical background on the native press from slightly earlier period, see Ahmat B. Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)* (Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995).

³⁹⁵ *Swara-Tama*, January 15, 1926. The *Swara-Tama* devoted many subsequent editions during the year of 1926 to the death of Fr. van Lith. For historical and biographical accounts of van Lith, see Hasto Rosariyanto, *Father Franciscus van Lith, S. J.: Turning Point of the Catholic Church’s Approach in the Pluralistic Indonesian Society* (Doctoral Dissertation, Gregorian University, Rome, 1997); Gerry van Klinken, “Power, symbol and the Catholic mission in Java: The Biography of Frans van Lith, S. J.” *Documentieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 1 (1997): 43-59.

Surely, the unusual outpouring of grief over the demise of van Lith could only be understood within the context of the affectionate relationship that this great Jesuit missionary of south central Java fostered with his native students. By his former students, van Lith was fondly remembered not only as an accomplished priest and teacher (Jv. *sang paramarta pandita*), but more importantly, also as their most beloved spiritual father.³⁹⁶ This was largely due to his self-sacrificing love for the Javanese. Always portrayed as a man of total detachment from worldly and self-pursuits (Jv. *sepen pamrih*), van Lith is also remembered as a white Catholic missionary whose life was devoted fully to accomplishing a lofty mission (Jv. *pakaryan luhur*), not only for the Javanese Catholics but also for the whole Indies.³⁹⁷ His former students who lived closely with him for some years in the mission school at Muntilan were moved by the quality of his personality: socially likable, simple, humble and entirely dedicated to the cause.³⁹⁸ They even fondly recalled the power of van Lith's smile.³⁹⁹ Many were eternally moved by his

³⁹⁶ Indeed, in the *Swara-Tama*, van Lith was affectionately called “Bapa”, connoting a biological father, alongside “Rama” (Jv., priest). While other Dutch priests were more often still called “*toewan Pastoer*” or “*ndara toewan Pastoer*”, especially before 1926—these two terms are Indonesian expressions, more or less equivalent to the English expression of “Reverend Father”, but with a heightened sense of a status gap and colonial baggage—van Lith, together with few other missionaries, was mostly called “*Rama*” or “*Rama Pastoer*” in Javanese publications by his students. “*Rama*” is originally a Javanese appellation for either a biological father among the aristocracy or a spiritual teacher. Only after 1926, almost all Dutch priests were called “*Rama Pastoer*”. As the *Swara-Tama* reported (September 3, 1926), the reasons were that by now Javanese were becoming so naturally close to these priests as if they were their own fathers, and vice versa. The *Swara-Tama* made it clear that the colonial appellation of “*toewan pastoer*” was common in the preceding era due to the fact that these priests were pure Europeans (Jv. *bangsa Walandi totok*) and the gap between the Javanese and these priests was still very noticeable.

³⁹⁷ Despite his apparent preferential love for the Javanese, van Lith's concerns went beyond the confines of Java. His friendship with Haji Agus Salim, a prominent Muslim figure of the Sarekat Islam, was due to their common concerns for the welfare of Indonesians in general. Agus Salim was known as a Muslim leader who was also very close to Dutch *ethici* (supporters of the Ethical policy) due to this kind of concern. Sukarno, a prominent nationalist activist who would eventually become the first Indonesian president, quoted van Lith's political views in his defense speech (during his 1929 trial, when he was accused of anti-colonial activities) and considered van Lith as a true saint due to his preferential love for cause of the natives. See Gerry van Klinken, “Power,” 55-56.

³⁹⁸ See the *Swara-Tama*, August 24, 1934.

³⁹⁹ Fr. van Lith's frugality is legendary. His first house in Muntilan did not have a typical colonial feature; it was a wooden house of the natives. His bedroom was very simple: a small bed without mosquito nets, a

heartfelt affection toward those under his care. When a group of Javanese Catholics from Kalibawang who belonged to the first group he baptized in 1904 had to immigrate to East Java for a better economic condition, van Lith tried to dissuade them from doing so; but when they insisted, he accompanied them to the train station, gave them some financial provision and was in tears as the train left.⁴⁰⁰

In the eyes of van Lith's former students, his "sanctity" ultimately stemmed from his identity as a priest, that is, his closeness with God.⁴⁰¹ However, his Javanese students also understood the paradigmatic role of his life in terms of the more familiar framework of Javanese culture, namely, the idea of saints as ancestor-founder of the community (Jv. *juru babad* or *cikal bakal*).⁴⁰² Van Lith's role was cast in the image of a founder-saint of the Javanese Catholic community. For when he first came to Muntilan, this area was a "forest", an area untouched by civilization, so to speak. It was he who then started a "civilized" community there.⁴⁰³ That is why he is portrayed as the beloved father (Jv. *binapa bapa*) of the Javanese Catholics.⁴⁰⁴

desk, and a simple cupboard for clothes. Sometimes when he visited distant villages, he would stay for two or three nights, and he would sleep on the communal bamboo bed, shared with the children who accompanied him. In fact, during the cold nights, he would give out his blanket or even his cassock to cover the boys. While visiting villages, he would share the simple food of the natives: boiled corn or plain rice with palm sugar. Due to the unavailability of the European spoon in those villages, he was served with rice balls so that it would be easier for him to eat with his bare hands. See *Swara Tama*, January 19, 1926; also *Van-Lith-Stichting*, 22.

⁴⁰⁰ The *Swara-Tama* published two very moving accounts of this event in the editions of September 21, 1928 and October 26, 1928.

⁴⁰¹ *Swara-Tama*, January 19, 1926.

⁴⁰² For a discussion of the application of this paradigm in the Javano-Islamic context in central Java, see the preceding chapter.

⁴⁰³ This view was of course rather oblivious of the fact that the Borobudur temple, considered the grandest monument of Buddhist civilization in Java, is just few miles away from Muntilan. However, what the Javanese former students of van Lith clearly wanted to convey was to portray their beloved teacher's role for the Javano-Catholic community in the image of the traditional Javanese understanding of founder-saint.

⁴⁰⁴ It is interesting that in the same publication, the Javanese called van Lith "the beloved Father" of the Javanese (Jv. *ingkang binapa bapa dening saderek Djawi Katholik sadaja*), while the Dutch tended to call him "the friend of the Javanese" (D. *de Javanenvriend*). See N. N., *Van Lith Fonds* (Jogjakarta: Kanisius Drukerij, 1927).

In this regard, the specific accomplishment of van Lith as a founder-saint became clearer in light of what happened in his new community at Muntilan: the unity between the whites and the browns in the framework of Christian love. Affectionately calling Muntilan “the Bethlehem van Java”, the birthplace of Catholicism in Java, Soegijapranata—without doubt the most illustrious of all van Lith’s former students—remarked:

[...] the Bethlehem of Java, where the Javanese for the first time learned to know God, their Master and Savior, and to love and serve Him; the glorious Muntilan, where the hearts of the Whites and the Browns love each other as father and children.⁴⁰⁵

These remarks by Soegijapranata, who eventually became the first Javanese bishop, are revealing, for they tell us about a rather profound transformation that van Lith brought about in his students, especially in light of the colonial dynamics of the time. Soegijapranata entered the mission school at Muntilan as a young Muslim boy with a rather intense anti-colonial resentment. It was van Lith, he proudly acknowledged, who gave him a Catholic framework for transforming this resentment into self-confidence and empowerment. He wrote:

⁴⁰⁵ A. Soegijapranata, “Santosa. Historisch Verhaal”, *St Claverbond* (1926): 134. In the original Dutch: “...dat Bethlehem van Java, waar de Javanen hun God, Heer en Verlosser voor ‘t eerst hebben leeren kennen, dienen en beminnen, aan dat heerlijke Moentilan, waar de harten van Blanken en Bruinen elkaar beminnen als vaders en kinderen.” The idea of the mission as an intimate, albeit paternal, encounter between the white Europeans and the brown-skinned natives was crucial during the first decades of the mission. For example, *Bruin en Blank in Zonneland* (“The Browns and the Whites in the Land of the Sun”]; Nijmegen: St Claverbond, 1925) is the title of a publication that was aimed to introduce the East Indies to the Dutch school children, using stories from the missionaries, but claiming that these stories actually reveal what the Javanese thought of the Dutch. Furthermore, the language of family in colonial discourse was also in use here: the population of the Indies was called “the brown brothers of the land of the sun” (D. *de bruine broeders in Zonneland*). As Frances Gouda points out, the Dutch were not alone in using familial vocabularies in their justification of colonial rule (see her “The Gendered Rhetoric of Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Twentieth-Century Indonesia” *Indonesia* 55 [1993]: 1-22). This language was part of the myth of colonial societies as a natural, organic whole. In light of this, however, it is also interesting to see how a Javanese Catholic youth like Soegijapranata seemed to genuinely appreciate the authenticity and warmth of that kind of “paternal” love, in contrast to the highly critical reaction of Dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, the anti-Dutch nationalist, with whom the Catholic *Swara-Tama* had some issues.

When he [van Lith] sat there among those boys with their open, free, joyous faces, he must have felt like a happy father in the midst of his happy children. By joking and teasing he often tried to evoke some opposition, some protest. When the boys began to defend themselves spiritedly, when in excitement they began to make telling remarks about the Europeans, that is when he experienced the greatest pleasure. .. In those relaxed conversations with Father van Lith we unconsciously learned courage and the realization of our own powers. Did he sense in them the same resentment he had felt as a Catholic young man in politically marginalized Noord-Brabant?⁴⁰⁶

For this reason, Soegijapranata called van Lith “our emancipator”, precisely in the sense of providing him with this framework of religio-cultural identity. For him and many other young Javanese Catholic intellectuals, it was van Lith’s particular practice of Catholicism that brought about a real breakthrough in the inter-racial dynamics of colonial society in Java. As we will examine later, they soon took up this accomplishment of racial unity as a weapon to defend the rightful place of Catholicism in Java.

Beyond the limits of the Javanese framework of founder-saint, however, there is also a noticeable universalizing motif in how van Lith’s role has been imagined and remembered by Javanese Catholics: for them, van Lith’s concerns were inclusive of all Javanese and the whole Indies. For his Javanese Catholics students, it was clear that van Lith’s foundational work was not only meant for them, but also for the entire Javanese society (Jv. *bangsa koela tijang Djawi*).⁴⁰⁷ It was reported that in his deathbed, van Lith exclaimed: “I will wholeheartedly offer my soul and all my life to God for the well-being (salvation) of the Javanese.”⁴⁰⁸ For those who knew him, his last words really sum up his lifelong and legendary love affair with the Javanese culture. Many of his former students

⁴⁰⁶ Quoted in Gerry van Klinken, “Power”, 53.

⁴⁰⁷ *Swara-Tama*, January 19, 1926.

⁴⁰⁸ *Swara-Tama*, January 19, 1926. In the original Javanese: “*Inggih, kalajan lega lila koela badhe ngatoeraken soekma saha gesang koela dateng ngarsaning Goesti, kangge wiloedjenging bangsa Djawi.*”

were so impressed by the intensity of van Lith's love for Javanese language and culture, a fascination and admiration probably exceeding that of the colonized Javanese themselves. More importantly, he revived the beauty and dignity of the language in the eyes of his Javanese students, its original proprietors.⁴⁰⁹ He is reported to have said: "Elegant is your clothing, beautiful and refined is your language, courteous is your manner, you the Javanese! (D. *Sierlijk is Uw kleeding, bloemrijk is Uw tal, hoffelijk is Uw omgang, Gij Javanen*).⁴¹⁰ And, explaining his love affair with the Javanese language in the framework of the crucial role of language for communal dignity and identity, he argues:

No nation could become great without its own language. Respect for the language means respect for culture and tradition. For it is in the language that the soul of the people speaks out.⁴¹¹

In the context of our probe into the identity formation of the first Javanese Catholic community, van Lith's lifetime love affair with the Javanese language and culture is extremely crucial, despite its unabashedly colonial framework. For, by showing a genuine admiration for and personal identification with the Javanese culture and language, he instilled an immense sense of self-confidence, a profound pride among his students in their own Javanese identity.⁴¹² A Javanese aristocrat, impressed by the depth

⁴⁰⁹ *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1926; under the title "Rama F van Lith lan Kemadjengan Djawi" ("Father van Lith and the Progress of the Javanese").

⁴¹⁰ *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1926. Fr. van Lith also remarked on his enthusiasm in studying Javanese thus: "*Ik studeerde zoals ik nog nooit in mijn leven gestudeerd had...*" ("I studied as if I had never studied in my life"). See *Berichten uit Java* 5 (1947): 108.

⁴¹¹ *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1926.

⁴¹² This might be a benign example of the dynamic of colonial mimicry. In this regard, van Lith, the white European towering figure, did not become an object of the native's desire. There was no sign that his disciples wanted to be European, as we will see later. Rather, van Lith became a channel through which they came to know themselves better. They admired van Lith, the man and his work, precisely because he brought a sense of completeness in their being Javanese. Of course, this situation is still very colonial: it took a white male Dutch figure for the natives to gain self-confidence. Furthermore, in van Lith's view, Javanese language should be "repaired" in order to be able to serve as an adequate receptacle of Western knowledge. Although this is a generally benign vision, there is a problematic element in this dynamic due

of van Lith's immersion into all things Javanese, exclaimed: "The only thing that set Father van Lith apart from the Javanese is that he did not put on a traditional Javanese head-dress!"⁴¹³

Indeed, van Lith's long sojourn in central Java—from 1896 to 1926 with just few years of absence—was marked by a personal and professional immersion into the Javanese world. He was an active member of the *Java Instituut* where he shared common concerns for reviving the Javanese culture of the classical age (understood as relatively devoid of Islam) with some prominent members of Javanese elite and Dutch orientalist.⁴¹⁴ He also contributed few articles to the scholarly discourse on the Hindu-Buddhist element of the Javanese culture.⁴¹⁵ This cultural vision, as van Klinken remarks, was intertwined with van Lith's educational vision:

In common with most "ethical" opinion, he envisaged a New Java's past. His educational effort was aimed at capturing that *priyayi* elite, giving them pre-Catholic sense of right and wrong to "ennoble" the splendid culture they already possessed.⁴¹⁶

to the dislocalization of Islam in the formation of that Javanese identity under the colonial influence, partly through van Lith as well.

⁴¹³ *Swara-Tama*, April 2, 1926. In the original Javanese: "*Pastoer v. Lith ikoe bedane karo wong Djawa moeng katjek dene ora iket-iketan.*" In the photographic images and paintings, van Lith never wore Javanese outfits but rather a priestly cassock (white or black). Thus his outward image was unabashedly that of a typical European priest.

⁴¹⁴ The *Java Instituut* was established in 1919 following the Congress for Javanese Cultural Development in Surakarta in 1918, for the revival of Javanese classical (Hindu-Buddhist) culture. The Institute published a journal, *Djawa* (see Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 242; also his *Polarizing Javanese Society*, 228; also Laurie Sears, *Shadows of Empire*, 145-46). In this context, van Lith came to foster deeper friendship, based on common cultural concerns, with Suwardi Suryaningrat, Suryopranoto, and Prince Sasraningrat, all proponents of Javanese culture from the Pakualaman royal house (the minor court) of Yogyakarta. This Institute also listed some prominent Dutch orientalist of the day among its members, such as Dr. Bosch and Dr. B. Schrieke (see Gerry van Klinken, "The Power", 50). The *Swara-Tama* was also proud of van Lith's involvement in this Institute (see the edition of July 15, 1921 etc).

⁴¹⁵ Two articles of van Lith on old-Javanese (Hindu-Buddhist) themes are: "Raden Larang en Raden Sumana", *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, 66 (1926): 435-446; "Het gebed van Ardjoena tot Ciwa," *Studiën*, 56/101 (1924): 362-375. Van Lith also wrote an article on Javanese grammars: "De Javaansche grammatica op Javaanschen grondslag" in *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java, Solo, 25 en 26, 1919* (Wetevreden: Albrecht, 1921), 273-85. For van Lith's role in the subsequent congresses of this institute, see also *Verslagen der Javaansche Cultuurcongressen 1918-1921* (Wetevreden: Uitgave van het Java-Instituut, ca. 1922), 318.

⁴¹⁶ Gerry van Klinken, "The Power," 50.

In a positive sense, van Lith's orientalist approach to Javanese culture belongs to, borrowing Frances Gouda's bipolar framework, the so-called "hyper-ethical" language of motherly affection and respect for local culture, in contra distinction to the stentorian masculine voice calling for discipline, rigor and so forth.⁴¹⁷ Van Lith's membership in the *Java Instituut* and his scholarly contribution might be arguably seen as an evidence of his orientalist tendency. However, this orientalist outlook was not without its negative ramifications when it comes to the question of Islam, as we will see later in this chapter.

As has been mentioned, van Lith is also remembered as having made some important contribution to the whole Indies. For our discussion, this aspect of his role is crucial due to its place in the wider identity formation of the Javanese Catholic community. Obviously, by remembering van Lith as a "national" or non-sectarian figure, this community tries to place itself as a dignified member in this larger framework of Indonesian society. In this respect, there are indeed many reasons to be proud of van Lith's achievements for the whole Indies. He was an outspoken member of the Review Commission (D. *Herzieningscommissie*), a constitutional committee set up by the ethical Governor General van Limburg-Stirum in 1918 that came to propose many democratic legal reforms in the Indies.⁴¹⁸ It is in this larger role that van Lith is portrayed as being in

⁴¹⁷ Frances Gouda, "The Gendered Rhetoric," 12

⁴¹⁸ L. J. M. Feber, "Pastoor van Lith, S. J." *St Claverbond* 2 (1926): 36; Feber was a fellow member of the same commission. He wrote that practical politics might not be van Lith's best talent, but he had played an important role in the design of state-building (D. *staatsconstructie*). As van Klinken noted, Feber was a rather controversial lay Catholic political figure in the Indies whose political views were frequently at odds with those of van Lith. In this commission, van Lith belonged to the left wing group that included the socialist D. Koch and Ch. G. Cramer, as well as two Sarekat Islam leaders, Haji Agus Salim and Hasan Jayadiningrat. See Gerry van Klinken, "Power," 52, 56; also van Lith, *De Politiek van Nederland ten opzichte van Nederlandsch-Indie* ('s-Hertogenbosch, Antwerpen, 1922), 35.

touch with other nationalist, mostly Muslim, figures such as Haji Agus Salim, Suwardi Suryaningrat and Husein Jayadiningrat.

Another realm of van Lith's most outstanding public service is education. He opened the mission school in 1904 in Muntilan. Starting off as a simple training school for native assistant teachers, the Kweekschool, it later developed into a variety of higher-level schools.⁴¹⁹ He initially planned to build a school for future native government officials due to his vision to mold a group of Javanese youth in character and for leadership. But the whole enterprise was turned into an educational ground for future Church leaders and lay apostles.⁴²⁰

Along this line, van Lith was also an active participant in the public discourse and theorizing on the question of education in the Indies, and he even embarked on a government-funded project of a study tour to the Philippines.⁴²¹ It was in this realm of public discourse on education that van Lith made a controversial proposal in 1924 during the Education Congress in Batavia (Jakarta). He proposed that the government establish a Javanese language institute that would accept the graduates of Kweekschool or Normaalschool whose Dutch was good enough; and that the Malay language—the precursor of modern “Indonesian”—be removed from lower Javanese school. This proposal provoked some uproar in the Muslim circles. He was accused of attempting to pit the Javanese language against Malay language that was more closely identified with Islamic identity in the Indies. In the eyes of many, this proposal was nothing other than a

⁴¹⁹ Gerry van Klinken, “The Power,” 47.

⁴²⁰ Initially, van Lith's vision was to build this school on the model of OSVIA (*Opleiding School Voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*, the Training School for Indigenous Government Officials). Within the span of few years (ca. 1911), some of van Lith's students expressed their wish to become priest. Thus, quite quickly, this school also functioned as training ground for future seminarians. Van Lith's response to the formation of native clergy clearly pre-dated Benedict XV's exhortation on the formation of native clergy in mission territories, *Maximum Illud* (1919).

⁴²¹ Gerry van Klinken, “The Power,” 47.

smart and tactical move of the Catholic mission to sideline Islam and strengthen its own presence. For, by separating the Javanese from Malay, the Catholic mission would have an easier time converting the Javanese.⁴²²

There seems to be no firm evidence in van Lith's writings for this sort of ulterior motive.⁴²³ Instead, his proposal can certainly be explained in terms of his love and admiration for, and personal immersion in, the local Javanese language and culture. Throughout his life in the Indies, van Lith had never been exposed to other non-Javanese cultures. Thus there had been some quite natural element of (colonial) favoritism toward the Javanese in van Lith's thoughts and concerns for Indonesia. In his speech at the aforementioned Congress, he made no secret of his high admiration and preference for the Javanese over other ethnic groups in Indonesia:

The people of the Netherlands East Indies (*Hindija*) must progress. But it would be very difficult to make progress together, given the differences in terms of capabilities and ethnicities. So, one group has to advance first, to serve as a model and leader. The Javanese who are already progressing now must be helped to make faster progress, through attention to their language and culture. The culture and language of the Javanese, the legacy of their forefathers from the period of King Hayam Wuruk and Gadjah Mada, has to be supported fully for their development.⁴²⁴

Again, as we can see, there is a certain degree of "orientalism" at work here in van Lith's cultural vision. And in this regard, the aforementioned polemics around his

⁴²² *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1926.

⁴²³ In this respect, van Lith seemed to be of the opinion that it was not their adherence to Islam *per se* that would prevent the Javanese from converting to Christianity, but rather their strong attachment or "slavery" to their customs. For him, Javanese did not have a fully developed sense of individual religious identity, and their collective identity was founded on the adherence to these communal customs. This is how he described the "religion" of the Javanese to his Dutch readers in Holland. Of course, this view is in line with the general notion of the Dutch Orientalists on the question of the religiosity of the Javanese vis-à-vis Islam. See Franciscus van Lith, "De Godsdienst der Javanen," *St Claverbond* (1922): 196.

⁴²⁴ *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1926; under the heading "Rama F van Lith lan Kemadjengan Djawi." Note also how the Islamic layer of the Javanese culture was absent in van Lith's account. See also his article "De Javaansche Grammatica op Javaanschen grondslag" in *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java*, 273-85.

school reform proposal pointed out precisely the troubling absence of Islam in this vision. In light of this, we can say that van Lith's contribution to the natives in general, beyond the Javanese Catholic community, was not without its drawbacks.

However, we should recall as well that in its own context, this vision was really a progressive and critical position. Van Lith is later called "a model colonialist" precisely due to his unswerving support for the Javanese or natives' cause, something that was perceived by most of his Dutch colleagues as an extreme political view.⁴²⁵ In van Lith, this love for the natives was coupled with a vehemently critical attitude toward the lifestyle and mentality of the Dutch communities in the Indies who were, for the most part, racially arrogant, driven solely by material pursuit, and religiously indifferent.⁴²⁶ Echoing Francis Xavier's complaints about the detriments that the decadent morality of the Portuguese brought in the mission territories, van Lith lamented the negative image of Christianity that resulted from this, given the fact that the natives thought that all the Dutch people were truly Christians.⁴²⁷

We will see below how tensions of this nature were inherent in the identity formation of the first Javanese Catholic community, the offshoot of van Lith's arduous

⁴²⁵ Gerry van Klinken, "Power", 57. Probably due to his unwavering and radical support for the natives, van Lith was accused of trying to maintain racial differences in the Indies. He denied this accusation, arguing that he always opposed racial discrimination in the public sphere, based on the Catholic principle of solidarity (D. *solidarisme*) and universal brotherhood that in turn were founded on the notion of Christian charity. He wanted to serve as a mediator between the Dutch and the natives, as his vocation as Catholic missionary demanded of him. But he made it very clear that if he had to make a choice, he would take the side of the natives. See his *De Politiek*, 21, 32, and 41.

⁴²⁶ Fr. van Lith strongly criticized the arrogance of the Dutch in the Indies, including the missionaries, in the way they dealt with the natives. And he told an example to illustrate how Javanese people could maintain their pride as a people. One student of his at Muntilan refused to speak to him in the high register of Javanese language as was customary for students when speaking with their teachers. Only after three years, this student spoke to van Lith in a proper Javanese, when he was convinced that van Lith was his real teacher. See *Frans van Lith S.J. mengenai Kyahi Sadrah* (MSS, no date, Indonesian translation of van Lith's original "Kjahi Sadrach: Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantsche zending van Midden-Java, ca. 1922), 25-26.

⁴²⁷ Van Lith, *De Politiek*, 9.

work in south central Java. But at this point, it is crucial to point out that it was van Lith's modern education as well as a collective memory of his persona that came to define the ways in which this community engaged the larger society and the diverse groups or associations, both cultural and religious, that we mentioned in the previous section.

In this regard, however, it is important to note that the case of Javanese Catholics was rather unique among other minority groups in the Dutch East Indies at the time, such as the Chinese and the Arabs. As we have seen, "modernity" was a category that came to be used by these communities as they struggled to renegotiate their self-understanding in the first decades of the 20th century. It was a question of re-adaptation to the dawn of a new age. But for most of the first generation of the Javanese Catholics, modernity came at the same time as they became Catholic, mostly via western education at van Lith's mission school.⁴²⁸ This is a rather different dynamic, obviously, since for this group of the first educated Javanese Catholics, being modern was already a constitutive part of their identity from the very start as they began the journey toward religious and intellectual maturity.

Having said this, however, the question as to how the local and traditional (Javanese) identity should be preserved alongside the other elements (Catholicism and modernity) still persisted, since it was related to the wider Javanese questions of alterity

⁴²⁸ Gerry van Klinken writes that the success of van Lith's mission largely stemmed from his ability to respond to the need of the Javanese for Western education (see Gerry van Klinken, "Power," 47). This is in a sharp contrast to the failure of Kyai Sadrach (d. 1924), a famous Javanese Christian who tried to create a Christian way of life that was deeply Javanese as well through, among others, minimizing the influence of European mission. As a Javanese traditional teacher, Sadrach could not respond to this demand, because the efficiency of his function as a mediator between two cultures, modern European and traditional Javanese, depended on the recognition of the European. Once he lost this recognition, he was done. Van Lith was different because he was not only a mediator but he actually provided modern education as a medium for his Javanese children's passage to modern Indonesia. On Sadrach, see C. Guillot, *Kiai Sadrach: Riwayat Kristenisasi di Jawa* (French original: *L'affaire Sadrach: Un essai de christianisation à Java au XIXe siècle*; Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1985), 200-201.

and compatibility. Again, in this regard, the Javanese Catholics were in a rather unique position because their connection to modernity went deeper into colonial dynamics, due to their more intimate association with the Dutch through Catholicism. As we will see below, they were guided throughout this process of negotiation, by the notion of “catholicity”, a socio-theological foundation for the universal brotherhood of all nations and races, a doctrine manifested in the life and work of van Lith.⁴²⁹

IV. 2. 2. Christianity as the Other: Some Confrontations

In the previous section, I have outlined some major elements in the complexities around van Lith’s life and works, which had so much bearing on the identity formation of the Javanese Catholic community. Having an outstanding missionary like van Lith definitely helped the community in terms of overcoming the problem of otherness, i.e., its acceptability by the wider society. However, as we have seen very clearly in the controversies provoked by van Lith’s views, by no means did the question of otherness disappear. This is so partly because this question of otherness did not only stem from Christianity *qua* Christianity, but especially from its relationship with the Dutch colonial power. In the eyes of the natives, there was a very intimate identification between Christianity and the Dutch as the menacing other.

It is curious to see how this question of alterity was concretely framed and imagined. For example, around the time of the Merapi volcano’s devastating eruption in 1930, a popular rumor had it that this eruption was God’s punishment for the Javanese because some of them had left the true religion (of Islam) and converted to Christianity. Father Prennthaler, an Austrian-born Jesuit missionary working in south central Java at

⁴²⁹ van Lith, *De Politiek*, 40; Gerry van Klinken, “Power”, 48.

the time, was rather indignant at this and assigned it to sheer ignorance when he reported this to his Dutch readers.⁴³⁰ However, the popular perception of conversion to Christianity as a process of becoming the other, in the sense of the alien, was real and widespread in Java. This point is well illustrated, for instance, in the argument put forward by certain Muslim fellow villagers of the new Catholic converts in the town of Ambarawa, north central Java. With outrage, these villagers pointed out that these converts had abandoned the faith of the Javanese, arguing vehemently that the Europeans were meant to be Christians, while Divine Providence had decreed that Javanese followed the Prophet Muḥammad. They lashed out:

As you become Christians, who will bury you? Who will put fragrant *cempaka* or *cambodja* flowers [frangipani] on your stretcher? We will not. Who will whisper a confession of faith in your ear, as men cover your flesh with the earth? Who will say for you: “Dear Lord, let me belong to the friends of your right hand, because the friends of your right hand are glorious?” We will not. And who will accompany your corpse under loud singing: “There is no god but God”? We will not.⁴³¹

As we can see, the tone of this tirade illustrates van Lith’s point about the particular grip of the Javanese collective identity. The real argument here was not that Christianity was a bad or inferior religion, but that it brought a different and foreign identity, which would disrupt the stability and continuum of the Javanese communal identity.

Around this time, a rather general and negative perception about Javanese Christians seems to have become widespread in certain areas. Typically they were

⁴³⁰ Fr. Prenthaler wrote: “*De menschen vertellen hier overal dat the uitbarstingen Gods straf zijn omdat er menschen zijn die den waren godsdienst verlaten en christen worden. Arme blinden!*” See *Brieven van Pater J. B. Prenthaler aan Pater Directeur van de St Claverbond (1922-1937)* ([“Letter of Fr Prenthaler to the Director of the St Claverbond Foundation”]), 248 (December 21, 1930).

⁴³¹ JAC. Schots, SJ, “Eerstelingen te Ambarawa!” *St Claverbond* (1923): 292. In some places in Java during this time, Muslims would refuse to bury their Christian neighbors. A Dutch missionary called this a “lonely death.” See Jos Gitsels, S. J., “‘N Eenzaam Afsterven,” *St Claverbond* (1923): 271-74.

accused of having sold their Javanese identity by becoming Western⁴³² and setting themselves apart from their compatriots.⁴³³ A Javanese writer, for instance, warned the public of the danger of sending their kids to the Catholic mission school at Muntilan on the ground that the mission was luring the students toward eventual conversion.⁴³⁴ Most of the time, Catholic mission was also attacked for approaching the poor villagers with material incentives.⁴³⁵ And among the most natural accusations was that the Christian communities were being favored by the Dutch colonial government.⁴³⁶

The first Javanese Catholic intelligentsia themselves were well aware of this difficult situation. Interestingly, they never seemed hesitant to engage in direct polemics with other groups. During the 1920s and 1930s, the *Swara-Tama* often featured some

⁴³² In their far away posts, the former students of mission school of Muntilan often were the only Catholics in the area. Before their arrival, the population was generally indifferent to any faith, but upon their arrival, they wanted to show that they were profound Muslims. The Javanese Catholics were interrogated as to why they had left the religion of their own people and chosen the religion of the foreigners. The extreme negative perception of Christians was illustrated in the saying: “It is much better to be a dog or a pig than to be a Christian” (*‘t is veel beter een hond of een swijn te zijn dan een Christen-mensch.*” See Kimmenade-Beekmans, *De Missie van de Jezuïeten op Midden-Java tijdens het Interbellum* (Tilburg, 1987), 79.

⁴³³ *Swara-Tama*, August 31, 1921. This edition featured an editorial response to an anti-Christian piece by a Javanese author (Soehardjo) published in *Darma-Kanda Djawi* 57 (1921). *Darma-Kanda* was a Javanese language newspaper devoted to Javanese cultures and values.

⁴³⁴ *Swara-Tama*, September 15, 1921; under the title “*Nglentjengaken ingkang bengkong*” (Polemics on mission school in Muntilan).

⁴³⁵ *Darma-Kanda* 63; *Swara-Tama*, September 15, 1921. Gerry van Klinken noted that Fr. van Lith would give small amount of money to the Javanese Catholics from Kalibawang when they attended the Sunday mass in the church mission in Muntilan. The *Swara-Tama* also reported that Fr. van Lith gave some financial provisions to a group of Catholics from Kalibawang as they boarded the train to East Java in their search for a better living condition.

⁴³⁶ *Swara-Tama*, December 15, 1921. This edition contained a response to *Darma Kanda*, a Javanese publication, on the question of the privileges given to the Javanese Christians by the colonial government. These Christians were among various groups whose identities and affairs were recorded in the *Burgerlijke Stand*, state record, although like other Javanese villagers, they did not deserve it because of their poverty and low status. Thus what made them privileged was their Christian religion. In this regard, it is interesting to see how this “privilege” was perceived by the Javanese Catholics themselves and the missionaries. In 1928, Fr. Prenthaler reported that some of the Javanese catechumens withdrew their names from the upcoming Easter baptism because they would have to report their baptisms in person, with two witnesses, to the government, a procedure that was quite a hassle and costly for poor Javanese (see his letter of April 15, 1928; *Brieven*, 72). Responding to this predicament, Fr. Prenthaler asked the bishop of Batavia, Mgr. A. van Velsen, S. J., to make some intervention with the government (see his letter of May 6, 1928; *Brieven*, 75). Apparently the *Darma Kanda* did not quite understand the complexities around this “privilege,” which was actually a burden for the native Catholics.

explicit discussions of this question, taking on other native newspapers more combatively on questions of religion, thus departing from their early principle of neutrality. A very interesting example is an article by a Javanese Catholic author entitled “Catholicism will always be demonized.”⁴³⁷ Overwhelmed by a feeling of being under attack, this Catholic author decided to respond to a piece written by a Muslim in another publication that discredited the Catholic mission for enticing the Javanese into conversion through some dishonest manner.⁴³⁸ The piece by the Muslim author revolved around a story of a man named Abdul Patah, described as the most eloquent Muslim preacher in the town of Cepu, northern central Java. In the pursuit of helping his children get the best education, Abdul Patah contacted a Protestant minister for help. His boy was then enrolled at the Catholic school in Muntilan and Abdul Patah became a Protestant missionary (D. *zendeling*) in the city of Surakarta. The Muslim author was apparently so concerned about Abdul Patah’s alleged conversion and warned that unless the leadership of the Muslim reformist organization, the Muhammadiyah, in Surakarta worked harder, they could lose the battle to this Muslim-turned-Christian missionary. After some crosschecking and fact-finding, the Catholic author at the *Swara-Tama* concluded that the mission school at Muntilan never enrolled Abdul Patah’s son and there was no Christian missionary by that name in Surakarta either. So, he concluded, the article was a scam concocted to discredit Catholicism, and apparently its author was ignorant of the distinction between Catholic mission (D. *missie*) and its Protestant counterpart (D. *zending*). But what made this Catholic author particularly furious was the accusation that the Catholic mission was implicated in a dishonest and gross method of missionary work,

⁴³⁷ *Swara-Tama*, October 18, 1929; under the heading: “Agami Kathoelik tansah bade dipoenawon-awon!”

⁴³⁸ “Bekas naib djadi zendeling kristen”, *Bintang Mataram* (Yogyakarta; October 7, 1929).

namely luring poor Javanese Muslims to the faith through promise of material and worldly gains. He argued that the Catholic mission was never engaged in this gross manner of proselytizing. More insightful in this regard is the level of anger that this Catholic author harbored, and his attempt to show the solidity and superiority of Catholicism:

My fellow Catholic brothers and sisters, we always become the easy target of hatred, attack and demonizing! However, the foundation of the Church is as firm as a hard stony ground (Jv. *wadas*) and as reliable as the Himalayas! Precisely because it is being demonized, our religion will blossom like a lotus flower! The whole world will witness the truth of this, the unfolding of [the glory and superiority] of our religion!⁴³⁹

Within the context of this polemics it is interesting to note the silence of the *Swara-Tama* on the so-called “Ten Berge Affairs” (1930-1941). Father Jan ten Berge was a Jesuit missionary working first in Muntilan and then as the editor of the Catholic newspaper *De Koerier* in Bandung. The eponymous affair was provoked by some of his deeply insensitive lines and conclusions in his two articles in the Dutch Jesuit journal *Studiën* (1931) on the Qur’ān and the Prophet Muḥammad. These articles caused some uproar among the Muslims in the Indies who accused him of blasphemy and subsequently demanded his trial.⁴⁴⁰ However, the colonial government and the Catholic hierarchy in the Indies defended him on the ground that his writing was academic in nature, written in the orientalist style as was common among European scholars at the

⁴³⁹ *Swara-Tama*, October 18, 1929; under the title “Tilas Naib Dados Zendeling” (“Former Muslim Preacher Becomes a Christian Missionary”). As if to give some proof to this conviction, this edition of the *Swara-Tama* mentioned the conversion of the former queen of Afghanistan to Catholicism.

⁴⁴⁰ The two articles of ten Berge in the journal, *Studiën: Tijdschrift voor Godsdienst, Wetenschap en Letteren*, are entitled “De Koran” and “Evangelie en Koran.” This affair caused some serious splits in the Dutch Catholic community in the Indies as well. On the history of this affair, see Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 51-54, 404-48.

time.⁴⁴¹ Ten Berge was never brought to trial, also because he published the article in the Netherlands, something that really irked the Muslim community and emboldened them in their view of Christianity as foreign and colonial. However, what this case reveals in the context of our discussion is the vagueness of the Catholic mission's basic standpoint toward Islam in colonial Java. While van Lith would never write such an article, the implicit orientalist intellectual framework of the day was always a blind spot. The involvement of the Catholic missionaries in this European colonial attitude became particularly troubling in Java precisely in light of the fact that the colonial government tended to be favorable to them. This Ten Berge case, surely, helped to bolster the image of Christianity as a double alterity: as both Western (colonial) and anti-Islamic.⁴⁴² In this regard, the silence of the Javanese Catholic intellectuals is telling: in their search for a distinctive identity, they ignored this ambiguity and decided to focus on the defense of the Catholic religion at all cost. In the last section of this chapter, we will explore further how the question of Islam as a double-alterity came to be tackled by the Catholic mission and the Javanese-Catholic intelligentsia. In the following sub-section, we will first focus on how the Javanese Catholic intelligentsia tried to resolve the question of "Christianity as the other" vis-à-vis the Javanese identity understood as devoid of Islam.

⁴⁴¹ In this regard, a comparison of Jan ten Berge's works with those of the earlier Dutch theologian Abraham Kuenen's is revealing. Deeply rooted in Oriental studies and based mainly on various Dutch missionary reports, including from the East Indies, Kuenen's major work, *National Religions and Universal Religions* (original: *Volksgodsdienst en wereldgodsdienst*; Hibbert Lectures, London, 1882) was nevertheless without any gross personal attack on the Prophet. Hendrik Kraemer, a great Protestant missionary in the Indies as well as a later professor of theology at the Leiden, roughly in the same period, had also refrained from such a polemic. He even criticized the impropriety of a missionary handbook on Islam in the Indies that was filled with incorrect data and flawed views (the so-called *Ulang hamu lilu* Affair in 1919). See his *From Missionfield to Independent Church* (London: SCM Press, 1958), 60-61.

⁴⁴² This is the core of the objection raised by the Islamist thinker, Muhammad Natsir, in his response to the Ten Berge affair in 1939 and 1941. See Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 406. See also Natsir's work, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia* (Bandung: Diponegoro, 1969).

IV. 2. 3. Overcoming Otherness: Catholic Mission and Javanese-ness

Our preceding examples indicate the magnitude of the problem of alterity that the nascent Catholic community had to face in the Indies. As pointed out previously, the rather intimate connection between Christianity and the Dutch colonial power aggravated the situation.⁴⁴³ This was indeed a very delicate and serious matter for the Javanese Catholics. For them, it pertained directly to the question of their identity. For not only was there no practical way for them to sever their connectedness to the Dutch missionaries and Church, but more importantly they really felt they were indebted and intimately connected to them. In their search for a solution, as we will see in the next subsection, they would adopt the idea of harmonious brotherhood between the Javanese and the Dutch, even while maintaining that Java and the whole Indies should be politically free from the yoke of Dutch colonialism. However, for this idea of reconciliation and intimate communion to be correctly understood by the wider public still deeply suspicious of their cultural and political loyalty, the Javanese Catholic intellectuals had, at the same time, to assure their compatriots of their basic standpoints with regard to the urgent political questions of the Javanese culture and identity, Indies nationalism, the role of Dutch language, and so forth.

Under this pressure, the negotiation of identity in the Javanese Catholic community quite quickly and naturally turned into a discourse on the relationship between Catholic mission, representing trans-local identity, and the Javanese culture representing their ethnic identity. In this respect, it is crucial to note that there was a general sentiment in this new Catholic community to be authentically Javanese as

⁴⁴³ As we have seen, this was the major reason for the Muhammadiyah's opposition to Christianity at this time.

opposed to becoming Western or Dutch—sometimes not primarily because Dutchness or Western culture was seen as something undesirable, but because they had to prevent the suspicion about the hidden agenda of the Catholic mission vis-à-vis the local identity. The following warning reflects this concern: “Don’t become a fake Dutch (Jv. *Walandi tetiron*), lest people say: ‘the [Catholic] mission destroys culture’ (D. *De Zending bederft de cultuur*).⁴⁴⁴

This basic standpoint is well reflected in many discourses, at times so overtly polemical, in the *Swara-Tama* throughout its existence. For example, in a dispute with those who accused the Catholic mission of destroying the identity and culture of the Javanese, RR. Mrih Oetami, a Catholic woman of Javanese minor aristocratic background, argued that instead, the mission enhanced ethnic or “national” identity by helping its progress in terms of language, morality, clothing, and arts (Jv. *kagoenan*). The Catholic mission, she continued, respects local languages, taking them as media for prayers, knowing full well that the most appropriate language, the one that the people can relate to in a deepest sense (Jv. *raos-roemaosing bangsa*), is the people’s own native language. Foreign language, including Dutch, could not go deeper into the realm of deepest feeling and cultural sensibility (Jv. *rasa*). This was the reason why Javanese

⁴⁴⁴ *Swara-Tama*, Februari 19, 1926. There is a bit of irony here. For despite the strong message to remain Javanese, the author, writing for a Javanese newspaper, could not help expressing himself partly in Dutch. It is also interesting to place this message of authenticity over against the background of the “modern” and hybrid mentality of the Western-educated Javanese youth (the *kaum muda*) at the time. As Shiraishi points out, the emblems of these educated youth “were the Dutch words sprinkled in their daily conversations in the vernacular, their wearing of Western style clothes and shoes, their habit of going to restaurants and drinking lemonade, seeing movies, enjoying music and not gamelan—in short, doing the modern things that the Dutch did” (Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 30). Along the same line, it is curious to see the fact that the debate between two Javanese leaders (Dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo and Sutatmo Suryokusumo) was also held in Dutch (see Shiraishi, “The Disputes between Cipto Mangunkusumo and Soetatmo Soeriokoesoemo: Satria vs. Pandita,” *Indonesia* 32 [1981], 93-108). It was ironic that in an event sponsored by the Budi Utomo in 1909, the prominent Dutch theosophist van Hinloopen Labberton delivered his speech in Javanese, in contrast to the consistent use of Dutch by native leaders of the Budi Utomo, such as Dr. Sutomo and Gunawan Mangunkusumo. See Akira Nagazumi, *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism*, 72.

language was used in the liturgical hymns in Catholic worship among the Javanese.⁴⁴⁵ This was a further proof that the Catholic Church did not only respect local language and culture, but actually elevated them. To support her argument, she proudly mentioned the example of Fr. van Lith who taught Old Javanese language to his students.⁴⁴⁶ Later on the Sacred Heart shrine in Ganjuran would also be mentioned as a living monument of the mission's respect for local culture (more on this in the next chapter).

Only on the basis of this fundamental standpoint of upholding Javanese identity did the Javanese Catholic intellectuals of the day explain some of the more controversial policies of the mission. The Catholic mission school at Muntilan, for instance, was conceived then as perfecting the Javanese character of the native pupils, instead of turning them into Dutch. The *Swara-Tama* argued that their character would remain authentically Javanese, but in a more perfect and firm way.⁴⁴⁷ In the same vein, the *Swara-Tama* defended its favorable view with regard to the promotion of the Dutch language among Javanese students. However, they had to argue forcefully that learning Dutch was by no means synonymous with becoming Western. Instead they insisted that it was for practical reasons, such as to equip the Javanese youth in their job search, and for

⁴⁴⁵ In this regard, the picture was not as bright as this writer seemed to assume. For not everybody in the Catholic hierarchy in the Indies agreed on the propriety of the usage of Javanese hymns in the liturgy. In 1916, Fr. van Lith was reprimanded by the bishop for using Javanese in hymns and readings in the Latin mass. Committed to his effort to create a more Javanese atmosphere during liturgy, Fr. van Lith harshly rebuked his own bishop for this unwise decision. As a result, the bishop then allowed Javanese hymns. See Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 481-82.

⁴⁴⁶ *Swara-Tama*, July 23, 1926.

⁴⁴⁷ *Swara-Tama*, September 15, 1921. In the original Javanese, the argument reads as follows: “*Gadahanipoen tijang Djawi rak katah ingkang sae, lah sampoen kawada, ingkang boten sae kemawon kasingkirna, kasantoenana ingkang sae oetawi ingkang kirang sae: kasaekna Djawi taksiha Djawi, nanging pengpengan.*” In connection to this, there is an interesting example: on the occasion of the visit of the Governor General to the Muntilan school in 1921, the Javanese students did not perform the traditional Javanese gesture of respect (the *sembah* and *laku dodok*) toward the high ranking government officials. Clearly this was a result of the Western education at this mission school, but the *Swara-Tama* argued that this was still a sincere Javanese show of respect for the governor (edition of September 30, 1921).

educational reason, such as for the advancement of knowledge for the Javanese.⁴⁴⁸ Rather clearly, this is the kind of argument that they had to frequently make to dispel the specter of alterity embedded in their connection with the Dutch through Christianity.

We will see shortly how the interplay between these two basic motives of communion and continuity—the need for affirming their Javaneseness while embracing Catholicism fully—continued to be pivotal for the identity formation of the first Javanese Catholic community. In what follows we will examine the significance of priestly ordination of the first Javanese seminarians (1926 and 1928) and the ordination of the first native bishop, Soegijapranata, in 1940. Clearly this ordination belonged to the most emotionally charged event and the most meaning-laden symbol in the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community. For this community, this ordination was crucial in two principal ways. First, it was interpreted as a remarkable manifestation of the dignity and achievement of the Javanese people and their culture. Secondly, it was also taken as a monumental proof of the universalism, that is, the very catholicity, of Roman Catholicism. By ordaining these natives, the Roman Catholic Church showed its commitment in respecting and uniting all peoples, something that was extraordinary under colonial conditions.

Within the first interpretive framework, the ordination of the first Javanese Jesuit seminarian, Fr. Satiman, on the feast of the Assumption of Virgin Mary (August 15, 1926) was immediately hailed as an elevation of the dignity of the Javanese in both spiritual and material realms (*Jv. ndjoendjoeng dradjad Djawi ing kalairan lan*

⁴⁴⁸ *Swara-Tama*, December 15, 1921.

kabatosan).⁴⁴⁹ Couched in the language of a colonized people that betrayed a rather desperate longing for some sort of collective recognition, the *Swara-Tama* wrote on the meaning of the event:

For those who look down on the Javanese people, this ordination is a counter-proof! For, it shows that the Javanese community could produce its own priest; and we know that to become priest, one has to have excellent intelligence, good personal quality, strong determination, and lofty virtues.⁴⁵⁰

Considered as the greatest manifestation of God's grace to the Javanese Catholic community, priesthood was also perceived as a sign of the community's maturity, capability and resilience, since it involved a long and arduous years of preparation. A Javanese author described the process of this priestly formation as akin to Bhima's journey toward enlightenment, and the priestly ordination as a moment of Bhima's enlightening encounter with Dewaruci.⁴⁵¹ Probably due to the ascetic nature of the priestly formation, the newly ordained priest was also described as an accomplished *yogi*.⁴⁵² It brought the first Javanese to the rank of Church's nobility (Jv. *priyayining Pasamuwan Suci*). In the framework of a war-like struggle, the *Swara-Tama* depicted the first Javanese priest as "the commander-in-chief of Christ's troops" (Jv. *senapatining wadyabala Dalem*).⁴⁵³ And interestingly, the *Swara-Tama* put this article next to a report on the growing nationalism among Asian people that went hand in hand with anti-

⁴⁴⁹ *Swara-Tama*, August 13, 1926. As the *Swara-Tama* wrote, this ordination would mean that a holy mass, a holy offering to God, was offered by Javanese hands for the first time. Apparently this religious and sacramental meaning was very significant for the Javanese Catholics as Catholics.

⁴⁵⁰ *Swara-Tama*, August 24, 1928. Although not written on the occasion of Satiman's ordination, but those of another two Javanese seminarians, the article reflected a general sentiment that already existed a couple of years earlier.

⁴⁵¹ *Swara-Tama*, August 13, 1926; on the role of Bhima's mystical journey and encounter with Déwaruci, his own self, see Chapter 1.

⁴⁵² *Swara-Tama*, August 27, 1926.

⁴⁵³ *Swara-Tama*, August 13, 1926.

Western sentiment as a result of the bloody image of the European civilization in the wake of World War I.⁴⁵⁴

In short, the divine grace of priestly ordination was a hard-fought accomplishment. Its significance went far beyond the realm of the spiritual-ecclesial life of the community, for it definitely confirmed and strengthened their hybrid identity, both as Javanese and Catholic, in the context of the volatile last decades of colonial Java.⁴⁵⁵ It was one of the most meaningful milestones in their remarkable journey of identity formation.

It was also pointed out that, by having a priest from their own kin, mutual understanding in the realm of deeper feelings and ways of perceiving (Jv. *raos-rumaos*) between the flocks and their shepherd would be smoothed.⁴⁵⁶ Thus, it was perceived as a moment of the community's self-becoming—that is, when their identity formation came full circle—though not in an exclusive sense, but rather in a “catholic” sense, as we will see. In this regard, the spatial context is insightful. For, while the ordination occurred thousands of miles away in Maastricht, the Netherlands (Fr. Satiman would return to Java only two years later), the Javanese Catholic community was already celebrating in Yogyakarta as if this spatial distance did not exist or matter.⁴⁵⁷ As reported in the *Swara Tama*, there were intense prayers of thanksgiving, amid so much tears, amazement and speechlessness at St. Joseph's Church in Yogyakarta, as the Javanese Catholics were

⁴⁵⁴ *Swara-Tama*, August 13, 1926.

⁴⁵⁵ *Swara-Tama*, August 27, 1926.

⁴⁵⁶ *Swara-Tama*, August 24, 1928. In the article “*Pastoor Djawi*” (“The Javanese Priest”), the Javanese author argued: “For the [Javanese] Catholics themselves, the ordination is so meaningful because they are given a priest from their own kin. This would help the process of mutual understanding, especially in the realm of deeper feeling, inner experience, traditional customs and cultural practices. Thus misunderstandings and other mishaps in communication could be avoided.”

⁴⁵⁷ *Swara-Tama*, August 27, 1926.

celebrating the event.⁴⁵⁸ Obviously, the ordination was imagined as much more than just a regular priestly ordination. Celebrated *in absentia*, it was understood as one of the most real and empowering events of the formation of the Javanese Catholic community.

Along this line of interpretation, this ordination was a proud event in the identity formation of the Javanese Catholics because it was a proof that a “*rasa Katholiek*”, a truly Catholic spirit and sensibility, had taken deeper roots among the Javanese.⁴⁵⁹ However, as the *Swara-Tama* understood it, this event was not read primarily as the accomplishment of the Javanese Catholics, but rather as the fruit of van Lith’s foundational work. Understood in this way, this crucial signpost connected the community back to its founder. This ordination was a confirmation of the validity of van Lith’s missionary vision. It was also a living continuation and memorialization of his persona.⁴⁶⁰

The *Swara-Tama* believed that Fr. van Lith and Fr. Mertens, the two legendary father-teachers of the Javanese students, would have been so proud if they had the chance to witness this ordination of their former student.⁴⁶¹ Soegijapranata himself, long before his historic ordination to the bishopric, wrote of van Lith’s dream and the significance of the ordination of native clergy thus:

“The white Host between brown fingers,” that is how the future Javanese people would remember the Divine bounty and love that has radiated in his faithful servant, Father van Lith. “Javanese priests on the altar,” that is

⁴⁵⁸ *Swara-Tama*, August 27, 1926.

⁴⁵⁹ Van Lith-Stichting, *10-Taoenipoen Van-Lith-Stichting Xaverius-College Moentilan N. I. S. 1929 – 15 Agustus 1939* (Djakarta: Drukkerij Canisius, 1939), 13.

⁴⁶⁰ Another form of memorialization would be his grave (Fig. 9.3) and the pilgrimage to it. In Chapter 6 we will see how the discourse on the architectural style of van Lith’s tomb was closely tied to the memory of him on the part of his former students, as well as their desire to memorialize his image for the generation to come.

⁴⁶¹ *Swara-Tama*, November 13, 1940.

the most beautiful monument that the Dutch Catholic Church will build in Java.⁴⁶²

Already in the case of Fr. Satiman's ordination we saw how the intimate communion between the Javanese and the Dutch Catholics was symbolically represented in the fact that, in the physical absence of his biological parents, Fr. Satiman was accompanied by a Dutch couple as his surrogate parents during his ordination in Maastricht.⁴⁶³ And the perceived insignificance of the spatial distance between Java and Maastricht is also telling about the spirit of communion inherent in the hybrid nature of Javano-Catholic identity of this nascent community.

This memorialization of van Lith, coupled with a sense of indebtedness to the Dutch Church, encouraged the movement toward self-responsibility as a step toward fuller maturity of the community. Right after the demise of van Lith, conversation began among his former students on the need for the Javanese Catholic community to be more independent and responsible for its own growth. Beyond the offerings of prayers and ascetic practices,⁴⁶⁴ Javanese Catholics were encouraged to participate in the van Lith

⁴⁶² Alb. Soegija, S.J., "Aan de Nagedachtenis van Onzen Vader Pater Franciscus van Lith," *St Claverbond*, (1926): 108. In the original Dutch, the quote runs as follows: "*De Blanke Hostie tussen de bruine vingeren*," dat zal Java's opkomende geslachten herinneren aan Gods goedheid en liefde, die uitgestraald heeft in zijn trouwen dienaar Pater van Lith. "*De Javaansche priester aan 't altaar*", dat is 't schoonste monument, dat Katholiek Nederland op Java zal gebouwd hebben."

⁴⁶³ *Swara-Tama*, October 1, 1926. In 1928, writing on the ordination of another two Javanese Jesuit seminarians the *Swara-Tama* pointed out: this ordination meant that the appreciation of the Dutch Catholics (30% of the whole Dutch population) toward the Javanese was not only a lip-service, but rather a sincere one, because they truly respected these Javanese the way they respected Dutch priests (*Swara-Tama*, August 24, 1928).

⁴⁶⁴ The *Swara-Tama* (October 1, 1926) featured an interesting story on the struggle of a small group of Javanese Catholics from Kalibawang (baptized by van Lith in 1904) who migrated to a new settlement in East Java for a better life. The living situation was far from conducive for these recent Catholic converts to uphold a Christian morality. After 20 years of no contact with any priest, they received the visitation of Fr. Prenthaler who renewed their Catholic practices. The author was proud of the fact that despite their difficulties and isolation, these Catholic families were holding steadfastly to their Catholic faith and identity. They bravely thwarted the government's effort to put them together with the larger Protestant community. He asked the readers to pray and do penance for this community, arguing that this community was very dear to van Lith.

Foundation (the van Lith-Stichting) whose main objective was to help finance the mission.⁴⁶⁵

This movement toward self-responsibility, maturity and independence of the community gained further crucial momentum when in 1940 Soegijapranata was appointed as the first Javanese bishop. As has been mentioned, Soegijapranata was perhaps the most gifted and articulate among van Lith's students. As the editor in chief of the *Swara-Tama* before he went to the Netherlands for his Jesuit formation, his views became influential in shaping the Javanese Catholic identity in the early years of its development. His ordination to the bishopric was another milestone for the whole community because, by having a Javanese bishop, the Javanese Catholic community would be able to maintain its distinctive identity as both Javanese and Catholic, due to the central role of a bishop in the ecclesial structure of the Church.⁴⁶⁶

Again, as previously happened around the ordination of the first Javanese priests, the tone of the *Swara-Tama*'s reading of the event betrayed the same intense need of the community to shake off the specter of alterity, strengthen its identity and forge unity. As the *Swara-Tama* argued, this appointment showed that "Catholicism is not the religion of the Dutch" (Jv. *Agami Katoelik sanes agami Wlandi*).⁴⁶⁷ Not only did this show that

⁴⁶⁵ The Van Lith Stichting (Van Lith Foundation) began as a modest fund raising movement among former students of Fr. van Lith for the project of building the grave in Javanese style for their late teacher. Upon the completion of the project, they agreed to use the leftover funds for the education of Javanese poor students (D. *van Lith fonds*). Later on, this idea was expanded and formalized in the founding of the van Lith Stichting (with the intention to help finance the Javanese mission, especially the education of Javanese seminarians). Each member was supposed to contribute 1% of their total monthly income to the foundation. See, *10-Taoenipoen Van-Lith-Stichting*, 28-29.

⁴⁶⁶ *Swara-Tama*, August 28, 1940. The linguistic aspect of the ordination was also emphasized: having a bishop from their own kin would make it easier for deeper communication between the flock and the shepherd. But this edition also mentioned the challenges faced by the new native bishop, such as challenges from the Muslim majority society where public life and the legal system might not always be in line with the teachings of the Church. There were also questions with regard to the financing of the mission in the wake of the World War II crisis.

⁴⁶⁷ *Swara-Tama*, August 21, 1940 and August 28, 1940.

Catholicism was universal in the sense of not privileging a certain race for leadership, but it was also a symbolically powerful manifestation of the dignity of the Javanese Catholic community.⁴⁶⁸ They took a special pride in the fact that within a less than a generation, the Javanese Catholics already had their native bishop who was a convert from Islam.⁴⁶⁹ Within a Javanese cultural framework, this appointment was also understood as the descent of a divine light shining forth in the whole realm of Java, like the royal omen (Jv. *wahyu widayat*) that was typically received by the would-be kings in Java.⁴⁷⁰

However, while the Javanese identity of Soegijapranata was a crucial element in bolstering the pride of the Javanese Catholic community and in breaking the shackle of foreignness of Catholicism, it also posed a question with regard to the supra-ethnic demand of the office of the bishop. In this regard, the *Swara-Tama* argued that although Soegijapranata was a Javanese, he was a bishop for all Catholics, including the Dutch, the Chinese, and so on.⁴⁷¹ The *Swara-Tama* was aware of the potential sectarianism that could result from the particularity of this ethnic identity and clearly did not want to use it as another source of alterity and disunity among Catholics in the Indies. This is why particularities were intentionally placed in the larger framework of communion and unity.

As mentioned earlier, this framework of communion and unity belongs to the second interpretive scheme on the ordination of the native seminarians. In turn, this desire to forge a communion while emphasizing particularities was fostered in two ways.

⁴⁶⁸ *Swara-Tama*, November 20, 1940. In this edition, comparison was made with the larger Indonesian reality where there had not been an indigenous parliament. The *Swara-Tama* believed that the achievement of the Catholic community was done through hard work and sacrifice, something the larger community needed to emulate.

⁴⁶⁹ *Swara-Tama*, November 13, 1940; see also G. Budi Subanar, *Soegija: Si Anak Betlehem van Java: Biografi Mgr Albertus Soegijapranata, SJ* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2003), 20; and Anhar Gonggong, *Mgr Albertus Soetijapranata SJ: Antara Gereja dan Negara* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1993), 8-10.

⁴⁷⁰ *Swara-Tama*, November 13, 1940.

⁴⁷¹ *Swara-Tama*, November 6, 1940.

First, we have seen the various ways in which this ordination was understood as a memorialization of the crucial role of the Dutch Church in Java, especially in the figure of Fr. van Lith. We have examined how this ordination confirmed and strengthened the Javanese identity of the community as well as their intimate bond with the Dutch Church.

Secondly, as we will see below, this ordination of the native seminarians was also taken as a prophetic sign of unity of all nations. Thus, in this regard, the Javanese Catholics went farther than just affirming and displaying the particular unity of the Javanese and the Dutch. For them, the priestly ordination of the natives was a proof that the Catholic Church had an extraordinary power in uniting all peoples and nations, and did not regard them along racial divides in a way that no secular power could accomplish.⁴⁷² Curiously, we also see here how the principle of catholicity was being utilized not only as a means to shed some universal light on the particular event of Javanese seminarians' ordination, but also as a reason of collective pride for being Catholics. This again shows the symbolic role of ordination in the formation of identity of this community. In the context of a colonial society beset by problematic inter-racial relations, this argument for the superiority of Catholicism over secular government gained a particular force, for it showed the potential ability of Catholicism in solving the racial question in the Indies. In particular, it revealed the fact that Catholic mission was radically different from the colonial government. This point had a potential to shift the terms and dynamic of the debate on the question of the otherness of Catholicism in the colonial society: for those who rejected the principles of communion, unity and equality—which would by definition include friendship with the Dutch colonialists and which were at the heart of the Catholic practice—were in fact adopting a tacit racism,

⁴⁷² *Swara-Tama*, August 24, 1928; under the heading “Pastoor Djawi.”

which was precisely the underlying principle of the colonial government. In short, to be anti-colonial was part of what it meant to be a Catholic, since to be anti-Catholic could imply endorsing the colonial mindset of discrimination. In this way, the limits of race-based nationalism were exposed, and the Catholic position of solidarity and communion was strengthened.

IV. 2. 4. Forging a Hybrid Javano-Catholic Identity

For the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals, the fact that the Catholic Church respected, appropriated and elevated local culture paved the way for the formation of their unique and hybrid Javano-Catholic identity. In the previous section, we have examined how this identity was governed by the discerning principles of communion, continuity and unity with the Dutch Church and Western Christianity.⁴⁷³

In making a case for the necessity and authenticity of this identity, a Javanese Catholic intellectual put forth his argument thus:

I have argued over and over again that if we want to become truly Catholic in the deepest sense, to the marrow, it is not sufficient for us to perfect our religious knowledge. We must baptize our morality and culture. This means, we transform our Javanese culture and morality into Javano-Catholic morality and culture. This is so on account of the fact that Javano-Catholic morality and culture are not the same as that of the Dutch, British, Chinese, Japanese and so forth.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ This is in distinct contrast to the identity formation of some other Javanese Christian (Protestant) communities during roughly the same period which tried to keep the contact with the Dutch missionaries and Western Christianity to a bare minimum while employing mostly their Javanese cultural idioms, such as the communities of Coolen in east Java and Kyai Sadrach in south central Java. Accounts of these communities can be found in Artonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 640ff. See also Sutarman Partonadi, *Sadrach's Community and Its Contextual Roots: A Nineteenth Century Javanese Expression of Christianity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988) and Th. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java, 1812-1936* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1993).

⁴⁷⁴ *Swara-Tama*, June 26, 1940. This discourse was extended to the next edition (*Swara-Tama*, July 3, 1940) which forcefully argued that European missionaries did not have the business of making other nations and peoples European or European Catholic, but rather, making them distinctively Catholic in terms of their own cultures.

As we see, the author points to two realities, namely, the universal phenomenon of the hybrid culture of Catholicism around the globe, and the particularity of the Javano-Catholic case.⁴⁷⁵ Explicit in his argument is the priority of the Catholic framework as the principle of appropriation of Javanese-ness. Thus it definitely was not the kind of hybrid identity where all elements could move around in relative fluidity, but rather a hybrid identity governed by the normativity of Catholicism. What these Javano-Catholic intellectuals denied was the normativity of the European or Dutch ways of being Catholic.⁴⁷⁶ This is surely a further step in their argumentation: Catholicism should be understood separately from Western colonialism, and, in principle, it should not be identified completely with the Western style and historical expressions of Catholicism either. Thus this also meant that while some aspects of this particular Western practice of Catholicism were not necessarily normative, appropriation of that practice in the Javanese context was not ruled out either.

In the words of the bishop Soegijapranata, the most articulate among the first group of Javanese Catholic intellectuals, the principle of this hybrid vision is formulated succinctly as follows: “We become Javanese Catholics, rather than Catholic Javanese” (Jv. *Djawi Katholiek, boten Katholiek Djawi*).⁴⁷⁷ It is for this reason that this community

⁴⁷⁵ *Swara-Tama*, July 3, 1940.

⁴⁷⁶ In case like this, the Javanese Catholic intellectuals always appealed to the principle of “catholicity” as an argument against the normative and exhaustive identification of Catholicism with certain nation or race. More specifically, they tried to show the non-identity between Catholicism and the Dutch (colonialism). For this purpose of dissociating Catholicism from the Dutch, they cited many examples in which Catholicism was part of the identity of other nations and the many particular ways in which Catholicism was practiced there. See *Swara-Tama*, June 22, 1934.

⁴⁷⁷ Soegijapranata argued that this kind of identity was the vision of van Lith for his students. The principle was to build a thoroughly Catholic Javanese, that is, a solid Catholic identity that preserves the good of the Javanese-ness or ennobles it. See his “Pastoor van Lith als onze opvoeder,” *Berichten uit Java* (1952): 101. See his extended discourse on this principle in *Swara-Tama*, June 26 and July 4, 1940, under the title

was very proud of the fact that the Pope himself praised their Catholic zeal and called them “the most ardent Catholics from Java” (*L. ardentissimi catholici Javanenses*).⁴⁷⁸ In the subsequent chapters we will see more fully how this hybrid identity was concretely negotiated in various spheres such as liturgy, architecture, social works, and so forth, a process of negotiation that was not without its ambiguities.

For now, it is worth recalling that this foundational idea of hybrid identity had been put forward and developed since the early years of the 1920s among the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals. During this tumultuous decade, the *Swara-Tama* as their mouthpiece took a rather bold and independent view on the burning issue of East-West relationship. For instance, in a response to an argument put forward by an anti-Western author who argued that “The East is the East, and it befits to develop in an Eastern way! (*Oost is Oost, en behoort Oostersch te worden geevolutioneerd*),” the *Swara-Tama* was of the opinion that taking in some features of Western culture, such as the better treatment of women, would not stand in the way of the development of Javanese culture.⁴⁷⁹ From the very beginning, even during the heat of this kind of debate, it was clearly in favor of a realistic degree of hybridity between the East and the West, between Javanese and Dutch and so forth.

The agenda of forming a hybrid Javano-Catholic identity also led the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals to a different and rather independent kind of reasoning on

“Missi kalijan Kaboedajan: Agami Katholiek saged mengkoe sadajaning kaboedajan” (“Mission and Culture: the Catholic Church embraces all cultures”).

⁴⁷⁸ *Swara-Tama*, August 21, 1940. This was how the Pope called the Javanese via Mgr. Soegijapranata when he presented a book filled with the names and signatures of Javanese Catholics, taken during the gathering of Catholics on the Catholic Day in 1934 in Yogyakarta. This was a celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Catholic mission in Indonesia since Francis Xavier, the 75th anniversary of the Dutch Jesuit mission in Indonesia, and the 40th anniversary of the Jesuit mission in Java. However the whole celebration was in fact centered on the legacy of van Lith.

⁴⁷⁹ *Swara-Tama*, July 23, 1926.

the question of nationalism and the independence of the Indies. Although forceful in its support for the cause of the Javanese natives, the *Swara-Tama* always tried to place this concern within the framework of harmonious relationship with the Dutch beyond the strictly political realm.⁴⁸⁰ It spoke categorically about the need for friendship between the natives and the Dutch, simply because they were also rightful inhabitants of Java. It was this friendship that was supposed to overcome the otherness and enmity between the two.⁴⁸¹ The *Swara-Tama* lamented the fact of mutual estrangement and deep-seated enmity between the Javanese and the Dutch, saying: “The Dutch refuse to mingle with the Javanese because they felt superior; however, the Javanese are no different: they refuse to make friendship with the Dutch, feeling that they are their real enemies.”⁴⁸²

While van Lith tended to fault his fellow countrymen for what went wrong in the Indies, the *Swara-Tama* could not afford such a harsh view of the Dutch and always attempted to cast a more “objective” view. However, this standpoint, for all its objectivity, was still very brave and risky when we recall that it was made by a tiny minority who had been under suspicion of being the scion of the colonialists, at a time

⁴⁸⁰ In general, the Catholic Javanese seemed to differentiate between the positive features of Western culture and Christianity on the one hand, and the colonial power on the other. Thus, while praising the Western culture, they could still say: “the Dutch should be aware that the time of the VOC is no more!” *Swara-Tama*, July 15, 1921.

⁴⁸¹ Here and elsewhere, the *Swara-Tama* followed the lead of their beloved teacher, Fr. van Lith who argued that the natives and the Dutch needed each other and thus should unite for common good, not in a colonial framework, but rather in the framework of brotherhood. For van Lith, this unification would only be possible through the “conversion” of the Dutch who resided in the Indies (*Indische Nederlanders*): they need to reform their colonial mentality and arrogance. He prophetically remarked that unless there was a fundamental change in this mentality among the Dutch, they would have to face the most tragic fate of “being thrown out to the sea” by the increasingly powerful native Indonesians. See his *De Politiek*, 28-29.

⁴⁸² *Swara-Tama*, December 31, 1921; under the title “*Unificatie van het Onderwijs*” [“Unification of Education”]. The original Javanese reads as follows: “*Walandi boten poeroen nepang tijang Djawi, awit roemaos langkoeng inggil; nanging tijang Djawi pijambak oegi makaten, roemaos jen Walandi poenika pantjen satroenipoen.*”

when the spirit of radical anti-colonialism (I. *pergerakan*) among the natives was a burning one and became the norm of the day.⁴⁸³

In this regard, the discourse in the *Swara-Tama* on the murder cases of native manual laborers at the hands of their Dutch capitalist masters in the plantations of Deli, north Sumatra, is very revealing. Responding to the widespread sentiment of the natives who faulted the Dutch in these incidents, the *Swara-Tama* tried to offer a more “objective” standpoint, arguing that both parties might have been at fault: the Dutch masters felt superior and looked down on the natives, while the native workers did not realize that they themselves often provoked such incidents.⁴⁸⁴ While acknowledging the dire fact of exploitation of native workers by the Dutch capitalists, the authors pointed out the need for the natives to perfect the quality of their inner life, i.e. their ability to control their passions to prevent such incidents from happening and to have a more joyful inner disposition. He also pointed out the need for them to have better money management, so that they would not feel always in need for more money, something that could easily incite strikes, and so on. For this to happen, he argued, the Dutch plantation owners had the responsibility to create a better life situation for the workers: reducing their working hours, increasing salaries, establishing labor unions (D. *vakvereeniging*)

⁴⁸³ The growing radicalism in Java during this decade was well illustrated by the developments within the nationalist, Islamic and communist movements. After the defeat of the communist rebellion in Java in 1926, Cipto Mangunkusumo (a prominent leader of the Sarekat Islam) called on all revolutionaries to form united front against the Dutch Indies state. Around the same time, Sukarno called for the unity of nationalist, Islamic, and communist parties against the colonial government (Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 341). This was a new development toward radicalization. For around 1914, the same Cipto Mangunkusumo had argued that on the basis of Islamic teaching, the Sarekat Islam was recognizing the legitimacy of the colonial government, and thus would work within this colonial framework, as opposed to the radical view of Suwardi Suryaningrat (Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*, 60-63). In this context, the position of the Catholic minority seemed to be quite unique, trying to strike a balance between the reality of colonialism and the struggle for independence.

⁴⁸⁴ *Swara-Tama*, August 23, 1929.

and so forth.⁴⁸⁵ Thus, we see how the *Swara-Tama* tried to strike a balanced and nuanced view.

Generally, on the question of nationalism, the *Swara-Tama* maintained its nuanced standpoint consistently, even at a time when the atmosphere in the colony was so tense in the wake of the communist rebellion in 1926-1927.⁴⁸⁶ While the *Swara-Tama* understood the need for nationalism—understood as a natural love for the homeland, its people, particular culture, language, history and so forth—among the natives of the Indies, it warned against extremism (D. *overdreven nationalisme*) and, inspired by the Catholic principle of solidarity and universal brotherhood, advocated moderate nationalism, one that took into account the need for loving other nations and peoples as well.⁴⁸⁷

Along this line, they came to recognize a kind of solution that reflected their deepest orientation of finding a workable framework of amicable relationship between the Javanese and the Dutch:

Indeed, the Dutch and the Javanese are very different from each other in terms of their culture. The meeting ground is in fact very insignificant.... That is why in order for both to have peaceful encounter, they need to foster harmony, restraining from criticizing each other, instead readily forgiving each other's faults. The Dutch should stop being arrogant, and the Javanese have to acknowledge the fact that at the present moment, they are indeed inferior to the Dutch. With this harmonious relationship between the Dutch and the Javanese, where a spirit of mutual help reigns,

⁴⁸⁵ *Swara-Tama*, August 23, 1929.

⁴⁸⁶ In the wake of this rebellion, the colonial government was more repressive toward native political organizations for fear of another rebellion. We could imagine the anti-colonial sentiment that was growing more intensely among the nationalist leaders of the natives. Thus, the *Swara-Tama*'s stand on this question was not necessarily suicidal, but still a very brave one. On this rebellion and its disastrous effect on political movements in the Indies, see Harry J. Benda and Ruth McVey, ed., *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia* (SEAP, Cornell University, 1969); also Ruth McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965).

⁴⁸⁷ *Swara-Tama*, May 31, 1929: under the heading "Pradja Rahajoe". Citing Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, the *Swara-Tama* argued: "Loving one's fatherland is a Christian duty... [but] we have to love all our fellow human beings if we want to be a dignified nation."

the land of Java would make progress and be freed from the rule of the Dutch.⁴⁸⁸

We see here that the tone of the argument echoes that of Fr. van Lith's. However, the *Swara-Tama* had more freedom in acknowledging the inferiority of the natives, as much as Fr. van Lith could afford to criticize his fellow Dutch harshly.

The legacy of van Lith, the founding father, was also made obvious when the *Swara-Tama* argued that the harmonious relationship between the colonialists and their subjects could not be fostered without mutual learning of languages. Thus they proposed that the Dutch learn Javanese and vice versa.⁴⁸⁹ This reflected van Lith's idea of the unification of races through education and through the mastery of common languages. For by mastering the Dutch, the indigenous students would be able to go to the same schools as the Dutch children would. In the long run, the school became a privileged place where otherness and mutual estrangement were turned into mutual understanding, even deeper communion.⁴⁹⁰

Thus the underlying problem was alterity, estrangement and the lack of communion between the two races, something that could not be remedied by a purely political solution. This is why this framework of personal and intimate encounters was

⁴⁸⁸ *Swara-Tama*, July 15, 1921; under the title "Pamanggih ingkang kosokwangsoel" ("Distorted Opinion"). This piece was a response to a discourse on the nature and characteristic of the Javanese, triggered by a very racist speech by Mr. van Gennep, a Dutchman and member of the People's Council (the *Volksraad*) in the Indies.

⁴⁸⁹ *Swara-Tama*, December 15, 1921.

⁴⁹⁰ *Swara-Tama*, December 31, 1921; under the heading "*Unificatie van het Onderwijs*" ("The Unification of Education"). Conceived this way, a common schooling would enable the Dutch and native children to get to know each other early in their lives. Dutch children would respect the Javanese children because they would witness that Javanese children were also intelligent and industrious. Vice versa, Javanese children would also see that their Dutch friends have many noble traits to emulate, that many of them did not hate the natives and so forth. The *Swara-Tama* hoped that this early friendship and mutual respect would lead to further cooperation later in life. Unfortunately, the colonial government rejected this vision. However, in the context of our study, this idea of school as a privileged space for a boundary-breaking encounter (to overcome alterity) is insightful. As we will see in the chapters that follow, some pilgrimage sites have become such schools of encounter and friendship between pilgrims of different religions.

taken up by the young Javano-Catholic intelligentsia as the very basis for a broader brotherhood between Java and the Netherlands, beyond the limited confines of colonial and political relationship.⁴⁹¹ For these first Javano-Catholic intellectuals, the cogency of this framework of friendship stemmed from a primordial aspect in the formation of their Javanese Catholic identity, that is, their affective and historical relationship with the Dutch Church.

To a certain degree, their Javano-Catholic community formed a test case for the feasibility and desirability of such a framework of friendship and communion. In other words, their hybrid identity was presented as some sort of living proof for the argument against alterity and mutual estrangement. However, in the eyes of other groups in colonial Java, the cogency of this proof was compromised by precisely the intimate relationship between the Javanese Catholics and the Dutch. The complex problems inherent in the proposal of a “harmonious and universal” relationship were only made clearer to the Javanese Catholics themselves during World War II. In response to the suffering of the Dutch under German occupation (1940), the *Swara-Tama* bravely took up this principle and asked their fellow Javanese to display solidarity toward the suffering Dutch:

For, every Javanese has Dutch friends, so we can say that the Javanese and the Dutch are one. Thus, when the Dutch suffer in the Netherlands, we also share their suffering [here in Java].⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ This is rather different from the position of the *Indische Katholiek Partij* (whose members were Dutch Catholics in the Indies) who adhered to the political framework of union, based on the fact that Java was part of the kingdom of the Netherlands. See Eduard Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931*, 120; originally taken from: Josef Schmutzer, “Het Algemeen Regeeringsbeleid en het Arbeidsvraagstuk in den Volksraad,” *Publikatie der Indische Katholieke Partij* (1929), Vol. I, xx-xxi.

⁴⁹² *Swara-Tama*, May 29, 1940. The Javanese Catholic community responded to the misfortune that befell the Netherlands during World War II in various ways. For example, a sense of sympathy overwhelmed the meeting of a Marian Congregation in Yogyakarta where Fr. Soegijapranata—who would be soon appointed bishop—expressed his concerns about the unknown fates of his friends and former students in Holland and

However, as it turned out, the Javanese Catholic intelligentsia were not only taken aback by the public indifference to this plea, but also shocked at the renewed attacks launched against the Church during this troubled period. Curiously, these Catholic intellectuals boldly responded to the attack and even took the occasion to bolster the sense of pride of the community:

The enemies of the Catholic mission are jubilant now because they know that the Netherlands is at war and the Dutch Catholics could not financially support the mission anymore. But they forget that we still exist!⁴⁹³

Apparently, around this time, certain indigenous groups with anti-Christian sentiment found new ammunition to attack and mock Christianity as a self-defeating religion, allegedly because it failed in keeping up with the centrality of Christ's teaching on charity and unconditional forgiveness toward the enemies. This was so because the Catholics in the Indies described Hitler as the most horrible embodiment of evil and defended the local Dutch government's ban on German instruction in schools after the German occupation of the Netherlands. In reply, the *Swara Tama* argued that the Catholic community did not hate the Germans, something that was indeed against the

Belgium. The Congregation decided to offer prayers for the wellbeing of the Kingdom of the Netherlands during the war and they were committed to sending one member to daily morning mass for this intention. On June 5, 1940, there was a big mass and gathering at St. Anthony's Church, in Yogyakarta, for the same intention. The same prayer movement was also held in Jakarta where members of the local Marian Congregation spent the whole Sunday, May 19, 1940 on prayers. See *Swara-Tama*, May 22, 1940.

⁴⁹³ *Swara-Tama*, October 23, 1940. Around this time, the Javanese Catholic community started talking more intensively about financial independence from the Netherlands ("Live not *from* the mission, but rather *for* the mission; Jv. *gesang kangge Missie*).

universal nature of Christian love. They explained that in this case, loving our enemies should be geared toward their betterment, a kind of tough love.⁴⁹⁴

This heated polemic clearly revealed the complexities in the societal dynamics of colonial Java, as well as the fragility of the position of the Javano-Catholic community within that complex society. Definitely, all the efforts on the part of this community to claim a rightful place in Javanese society have helped their case. Not only did they survive the storm, but also, and more importantly, they blossomed as a vibrant and self-confident minority with a distinctive hybrid identity. However, the specter of their wider perception as an “alien” other was still haunting and hard to dispel completely. This was so largely because it was part of the colonial baggage of the Javano-Catholic identity.

IV. 3. The Limit of Colonial Catholic-ism: Islam as the Other

As indicated in the previous section, Catholicism in Java still had to grapple with the question of alterity after almost four decades of its existence, when the “attack” from certain elements in the Muslim communities gained a particular historical momentum in the 1940s. Indeed, the question of Islam had been among the most delicate ones faced by the Dutch Jesuit missionaries and the Javanese Catholic community in the previous decades. In what follows I will identify the major ways in which the Javano-Catholic community came to terms with the question of Islam in their identity formation. As already noted in the previous sections, the two familiar elements in this engagement are the paradigmatic role of the Jesuit missionaries, particularly their views on Islam, and the

⁴⁹⁴ *Swara-Tama*, February 19, 1941. In the original Javanese, the attack reads: “*Saiki agama kang akon tresnaa marang moengsoheira wis ora pajoe, koedoe koekoet*” [“Now, the religion that commands people to love the enemies has gone bankrupt!].

ways in which the Javanese Catholic intellectuals engaged the issue creatively, while appropriating the views of their Dutch teachers into their own thinking.

In the eyes of the Dutch missionaries, Islam was generally perceived not only as the religious “other,” but also as the strongest rival and hindrance to mission. As we have examined, this double-alterity was also true the other way around since Christianity was viewed by many Javanese Muslims as both a foreign religion and a religion of the European colonialists. However, there was a whole range of attitudes toward Islam among the early Jesuit missionaries in the Indies: the orientalist yet prudent view of van Lith, the orientalist and combative view of Jan ten Berge, as well as the pragmatic view of Johannes Prenthaler.⁴⁹⁵

As we will see, the Javanese Catholic intellectuals, represented by the *Swara-Tama*, could not afford to have a simple and fixed view with regard to Islam and its complex relationship with Javanese identity, due to the sensitive discourse and polemics with other groups in which they were engaged. In short, they had to navigate between these three models in order to respond to the various challenges in relation with the Muslim public. Awareness of the presence of a wider Javanese Muslim audience was always in the mind of the *Swara-Tama*’s editors and writers. Many articles were written in such a way that strengthened the Catholic identity, where Islam served as a silent foil

⁴⁹⁵ As we have seen in the previous section, Jan ten Berge was a Jesuit missionary who wrote two rather egregious articles on Islamic themes that sparked a political imbroglio for the Dutch government in the Indies. Johannes Prenthaler, having no intellectual bent like that of van Lith or ten Berge, was nevertheless a great pioneering missionary in south central Java. He knew Arabic and worked for a number of years in the Middle East (being originally a member of the French Jesuit province), but his view of Islam was completely based on his day-to-day struggle to build his communities in competition with the Muhammadiyah movement. With no love for and exposure to the classical culture of Java and minimal orientalist influence, Prenthaler never exhibited any real inclination toward inculturation and even showed a bit of apprehension on the practicality of the Javano-Christian arts that the Schmutzer family and the Catholic architect Henri Maclaine Pont developed. In Chapters 5 and 6 we will see more of his role in the identity formation of Javanese Catholics in south central Java.

for the formation of this distinctive identity. At times the *Swara-Tama* had to be defensive when it published reports that had something to do with Islam. For example, it had to vigorously explain the objectivity of its report on the war in the Arabian peninsula between the Saudi king and his Yemeni foe in 1930s. This was so because by showing the fact that Muslim kings were at war with one another, the *Swara-Tama* could have been easily accused of furthering the colonial agenda of portraying the negative image (disunity) of the Islamic world. Thus it was compelled to show that the news about this war was not only reported by “white newspapers” (Jv. *koran petak*) but also by other media.⁴⁹⁶

Of course, in relation to the overwhelming presence of Islam in Java, one of the most challenging tasks of the first Javanese Catholic intelligentsia was to actually justify the presence of Christianity and its right to exist and grow, not as a foreign entity but rather as a constructive part of the Javanese society. In this regard, following van Lith’s foundational approach, they proposed the framework of religious liberty and religious pluralism. More specifically, they made a special appeal for the common welfare of the Javanese, unmistakably the hottest topic of the day, as the most acceptable reason for religious liberty. Thus, against the idea of enforcing adherence to just one religion for the sake of Javanese unity, as a more effective means in the Javanese struggle for independence and progress, the *Swara-Tama* made a case for mutual respect in the name of a common cause for “Javanese nationalism.” Upholding firmly the principle of religious liberty and the value of religious pluralism, and sharing the principle of

⁴⁹⁶ *Swara-Tama*, May 11, 1934. We have just seen that in the 1940s, in the wake of World War II, this kind of polemic took a new twist, as it was apparent that Christian nations in Europe were at war against one another. The underlying question behind this polemic was the question of the superiority and perfection of one religion over the other.

religious neutrality of such Javanese nationalist movements as the Budi Utomo, the *Swara-Tama* argued:

The truth of the matter is that even though the Javanese adhere to different religions, there would be no problem if they restrain from demonizing each other and instead, embark on the common project for the uplifting of the whole nation.⁴⁹⁷

In this regard, the *Swara-Tama* clearly followed van Lith's vision on the role of religions in nation building. However, while van Lith tended to be more idealistic, the *Swara-Tama* was more attentive to the reality of conflicts and tensions between religions in Java. To illustrate this difference in tone, we shall examine how van Lith formulated his vision with regard to religious liberty and the question of the place and role of Christianity in it.

As a sensitive missionary whose vision for political independence of the natives was anchored in the spiritual progress of these people, van Lith came to emphasize the pedagogical role of religion in the new political reality that was about to be born in the Netherlands East Indies (what he called “*nieuw Indische Rijk*”). He wrote:

Religion gives birth to a lofty ideal in us, that leads us to work as brothers for the freedom, progress and flourishing of Java and Indonesia [Indië]. Religion also gives us wisdom and power that will bring the Javanese people and the whole world to the moral level that is necessary for the creation of a truly good government, for initiating a golden era of this world, and for the establishment of heavenly kingdom on earth.⁴⁹⁸

In the same manner, when it came to the sensitive case of teaching Christianity to Javanese children, van Lith was quite astute, framing the question in the rational principle of the freedom of religion, rather than in a combative mode. He argued:

⁴⁹⁷ *Swara-Tama*, September 15, 1921.

⁴⁹⁸ Van Lith, *De Politiek*, 45.

It is important for the Javanese as well as for the world generally, to know, love and embrace the true religion. In this respect, I have my own belief and I understand that I can force my belief on no one. Neither can anybody force me to follow his belief. If he wants to convert me to his opinion (D. *zienswijze*), then there is no other way for him than to convince me. This is the only way that leads to the goal, not only for me but also for all men. [If] Islam is a true religion, it has to show us its truth and the truth will triumph. On our part, we ask nothing than that we could teach freely our own religion not only to adults but also to children whom the parents freely entrusted to us.⁴⁹⁹

As we see, van Lith envisioned the freedom of religion as the condition for the common search for the truth, something that needs to be respected by all parties in order to work for all.⁵⁰⁰ He presented his notion of religious freedom as a fair, reasonable and modern principle on which he then based his plea as a missionary to be granted the freedom to teach Christianity to Javanese children in his school, arguing that these children had been entrusted freely by their parents to the mission.

In this respect, it is very interesting to note how the *Swara-Tama* took up the same question. In a heated polemic with another native newspaper in 1921, the *Swara-Tama*

⁴⁹⁹ Van Lith, *De Politiek*, 44-45. In Dutch: “Het is evenzeer een Javaansch belang als een algemeen wereldbelang den waren godsdienst te kunnen kennen en te kunnen liefheben omhelzen. Heb ik zelf op dit punt mijn eigen overtuiging, ik begrijp, dat ik niemand tot mijn overtuiging dwingen kan. Evenmin kan een ander mij tot zijn eigen overtuiging dwingen. Wil hij mij tot zijn zienswijze bekeeren, dan is er geen andere weg, dan dat hij mij overtuige.”

⁵⁰⁰ In reality, this principle of searching for truth through discourse between different religions was hard to practice in Javanese society. In this regard, van Lith was puzzled by the all-inclusive yet relativistic view that the Javanese upheld toward all religions: “All religions are good!” (Jv. *sedaya agami sae*)” (See F. van Lith, S. J., “De Godsdienst der Javanen” [“The Religion of the Javanese”] in *St Claverbond* [1922]: 195). In this article van Lith expressed his frustration when a Javanese replied to his exposition of Christianity by saying: “It is good, Sir. Your religion is very good; all religions are equally good!” (D. “*Het is mooi geweest, mijnheer, de godsdienst is zeer mooi; alle godsdiensten zijn even mooi.*”) This attitude was puzzling to European missionaries. For how is it possible that all religions are all equally good? When the missionaries asked the Javanese back: “All religions certainly have some good elements, but one of them can be truer and best? And everyone must choose the best, right?” The Javanese would reply: “Yes, but what is the best for the Dutch is not the best for the Javanese. You are Dutch and we are Javanese!” In this regard, van Lith pointed out the fact that for most Javanese, their identity of being Javanese prevented them from embracing Christianity, even when they could see the superiority of Christianity over their own. He even said that the Javanese were slave to their customs (Jv. *adat*) and their religion was part of this *adat*. A Javanese was, van Lith believed, not in the first place an individual, but rather a member of the Javanese people. In short, collective identity was much more significant for Javanese.

defended the Catholic religious instruction at the mission school by boldly appealing to the Islamic principle:

The [Dutch] priests did not force their [Javanese] students to convert to Christianity. Instead, by teaching Christianity, they only want to show a path. For, when a person comes and says: “*Ihdina sirata al-mustaqim*” (Ar., meaning: show us the true path!), we have to respond by actually showing the path.⁵⁰¹

By employing an Islamic framework and literal Qur’ānic wording, this Catholic author presented the case of Christian mission as an answer to the search of the Muslims for the true path and thus also demanded an equal treatment with Islam. In the context of the volatile last decades of the colonial era, this direct and daring language was not so unusual, but it is still rather shocking to see that this formulation was made by the leader of a Catholic minority in search of acceptance among the wider society in Java. Generally, the early Javanese Catholic intellectuals’ voices tended to be more audacious in their attempt to display a distinctive Catholic identity undiluted by the presence of other religions, especially Islam. For example, a Javanese Catholic author argued against the participation of Catholics in the Muslim feast at the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān (Ar. *Īdu al-Fiṭr*) on the ground that people have to live according to their belief system and the Catholic belief system is very different from the Islamic one. Catholics

⁵⁰¹ *Swara-Tama*, September 15, 1921; under the heading “*Ngilentjengaken ingkang bengkong*” [“Clarifying Some Distorted Perceptions”]. This is a polemic on the mission school and its religious agenda of converting the Javanese students, in which the *Swara-Tama* clarified the issues raised by other native newspaper, the *Darma Kanda*. In the original Javanese, the quote reads thus: “*Para pastoor boten meksa lare kapoerih dados Kristen, namoeng minangka panoentoen nedahaken margi. Jen wonten tijang dateng sarta witjanten “Ihdi (nedahna) na (koela) ciratha (margi) ‘lmoestakim (ingkang leres)” temtoenipoen rak inggih ladjeng katedahaken marginipoen.*” This principle belongs to the preamble of the Muslim faith, part of the opening chapter (*al-Fātiḥa*) of the Qur’ān (Q 1:6).

should be encouraged to participate in the properly Catholic celebrations, to strengthen their Catholic identity.⁵⁰²

It is interesting to compare this rather exclusive idea of identity formation with the more nuanced one espoused by van Lith, the astute missionary and the father of the Javanese Catholics. With regard to Islamic practices in Java, van Lith differentiated between the truly Islamic practices and the Javanese ones.⁵⁰³ Although he suggested that an Islamized Javanese practice should be purged from its Islamic overt connections once taken into the Catholic realm, he nevertheless believed that the Arabic prayers uttered by Javanese Muslims during the communal meal (Jv. *slametan*) were offered to the true God; and that he could participate in this meal not by personally joining the Arabic prayers *qua* prayers, but rather by being there respectfully, because he would be then given the opportunity to invoke God's blessings in his own Catholic way.⁵⁰⁴

In this regard, within the context of our discussion, it is also crucial to note some subtle differences between van Lith and the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals on the questions of the nature of Javanese culture and of possible hybridity between this culture and Catholicism. As we have examined, the Dutch missionaries tended to operate within the orientalist, colonialist view of "Java", preferring the revival of the Hindu-Buddhist

⁵⁰² *Swara-Tama*, November 1, 1939; under the title "*Tanggap rijaja lebaran*" ["Celebrating the Muslim *Īdu al-Fiṭr*"]. Interestingly, the editor of *Swara-Tama* felt the need to write an addendum to this view: a certain degree of participation could be understood, since some Javanese Catholics would have to receive Muslim guests (that is, their own relatives), so they had to behave according to the Javano-Muslim etiquette on that occasion.

⁵⁰³ For example on the question of circumcision, van Lith was of the opinion that this practice was of pre-Islamic origin and then got Islamized, though not completely, after the coming of Islam. For him, Javanese Catholics could be circumcised insofar as this circumcision was done without its accompanying Islamic prayers. See "Frans van Lith SJ mengenai Kyahi Sadrah," 25.

⁵⁰⁴ See "Frans van Lith, S. J. mengenai Kyahi Sadrah," 23-25. It seems that van Lith's main objection to the *slametan* was its strong association with the spirits of the village (Jv. *dhanyang desa*) that made it a superstitious ritual. He did not see the other elements in it, such as the invocations of various Hebrew prophets, etc.

element over against that of Islam. Van Lith, for instance, showed a great admiration for the Javanese culture, more particularly its Hindu-Buddhist element, as his membership and scholarly participation in the *Java Instituut* indicated. In this regard, Gerry van Klinken remarks that van Lith regarded the indigenous (Hindu-Buddhist) layer of Javanese culture as more “authentic” than the Islamic one, which he viewed as pan-Islamic with a strong anti-Christian ideology.⁵⁰⁵ Thus he shared the widespread “orientalist” position of the Dutch scholarship on Java as well as the common view among his fellow Dutch missionaries.⁵⁰⁶ Obviously, this position allowed a rather spacious room for Catholic mission. However, van Lith also fully understood the role of Islam as the backbone of the identity of the Muslim leaders of the Sarekat Islam. It was Islam that became the rallying point for their nationalist sentiment against Dutch colonialism, van Lith argued.⁵⁰⁷ Obviously, he recognized the role and rightful place of Islam in the life of the natives, especially in politics. That is why van Lith was able to foster a very warm and genuine personal friendship with prominent leaders of Sarekat Islam, such as Haji Agus Salim and Hasan Jayadiningrat.⁵⁰⁸ For him, the ideological

⁵⁰⁵ Gerry van Klinken, “Power,” 50.

⁵⁰⁶ Even in the second half of the 20th century, the perception of the “non-Islamic” character of the Javanese was still in vogue in the scholarly world, beyond the confines of Dutch/Western cycle of scholars. Clifford Geertz’ *The Religion of Java* (1960) is by now a classical example in this, followed by Koentjaraningrat’s *Javanese Culture* (1984). Thus, it is not at all surprising to see the comment of Zoetmulder, the most accomplished Dutch Jesuit Javanologist: “For most of the Javanese, especially in Central Java which is the Javanese country par excellence, where the kingdom of Mataram, the heir (though not the immediate successor) of the Majapahit kingdom, had its capital, Islam is not an all-determining factor in their lives.” See P. J. Zoetmulder, “The Cultural Background of Indonesian Politics” (Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, 1967), 12.

⁵⁰⁷ Van Lith, *De Politiek*, 36.

⁵⁰⁸ Van Lith, *De Politiek*, 34-5. He also fostered a rather warm friendship with Suwardi Suryaningrat and his brother, Suryopranoto, the two nephews of Prince Sasraningrat (whose sons also became Catholics). Van Lith had a personal conversation with Suwardi before he was exiled to the Netherlands due to his fiercely anti-colonial brochure (“Als ik een Nederlander was” [“If I were a Dutchman”]). They both shared some deep common concerns, especially in their concerns for the cause of the natives. Later Suwardi launched his cultural-educational movement (the Taman Siswa) whose cultural vision of Javanese culture, as we have mentioned, was shared deeply by van Lith. On Suwardi’s family background see also Savitri Nastiti Scherer, *Harmony and Dissonance*, 60ff.

attacks by Muslim organizations on the Christian mission, largely propelled by its identity as a foreign religion of the oppressors, could be minimized if the Christian mission took the side of the natives.⁵⁰⁹

Before we move further, some notes on van Lith's theology of religions might be in order. Van Lith of course harbored some exclusivist theological views on Islam as religion, as it was customary among European missionaries. But, he respected the reality of Islam as a crucial part of the lives of the Javanese people that he came to love. This concrete and unwavering love for the people was the more important framework of his struggle to come to terms with Islam as a whole. As we have seen, he also placed the framework of the struggle for the common good as a proper context for cooperation between religions. In my view, it is in this framework of concrete and genuine love and concern for the well-being of the people that we have to understand van Lith's admiration for the Hindu-Buddhist layer, his plea for freedom of religion and his proposal for the employment of rational principle in dialogue between religions. Based on the complex reality of Islam and an acute awareness of the colonial conditions, van Lith's theology of religions, so to speak, was far from being idealized.

Now, to continue with our discussion, it is insightful to notice that the Javanese Catholics themselves spoke slightly differently about such a colonial and orientalist cultural vision. With the first Javanese Catholic intelligentsia, we get a sense that at times they voiced a rather different view. For instance, although this vision was more or less shared to a certain degree by the *Swara-Tama*, it did not really favor Hindu-Buddhism over Islam when it talked about the state of the common people, as opposed to the Javanese elite. They argued:

⁵⁰⁹ Gerry van Klinken, "Power," 50.

When the Hindus [from India] came to Java and brought their civilization, the ordinary Javanese people knew so little about the Hindu religion due to the fact that the encounter between the Hindus and the Javanese was not that close. The ordinary Javanese just blindly followed [their kings]. In the 13th and 14th centuries, some Arabs came to Java and spread Islam. The same thing happened because the Javanese only followed their kings in embracing Islam. Many of them were only nominally Muslims. They said they were Muslims, but inwardly they still kept their Javanist [blending of Hinduism and Buddhism] religion, as can be seen in their custom of making offerings. This is chaos.⁵¹⁰

Thus the *Swara-Tama* seems to say that the ordinary Javanese folks never became truly Hindus or Buddhists, but they kept the customary Hindu-Buddhist practices anyway when Islam came on the scene. For the Javanese Catholic intelligentsia, especially in the earliest phase, the core of Javanese culture was very valuable and something that they wanted to keep as they became Catholic, as we have examined. However, they did not have the same intensity of admiration for the Hindu-Buddhist past, and tended to conceive the core of Javanese culture not in these terms, at least initially. This might reflect their desire to emphasize their Catholic identity, for which any identification with religious frameworks of the past, whether Islamic or Hindu-Buddhist, would be rather troubling. Later on, as they matured in their interactions with certain elements in the Dutch mission in the Indies, they came to embrace as their own certain features of this earlier orientalist view, as we will see more fully in the next chapter. This distinctive cultural vision, together with the double alterity that Islam came take on the Javano-Catholic community, surely colored the strained relationship between this community and their Muslim surroundings.

IV. 4. Conclusion: Persisting Ambiguities and Limits of Hybridity

⁵¹⁰ *Swara-Tama*, July 31, 1921.

The troubling question of Islam within the dynamics of identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community is rather well illustrated in the following statement: “Our religion should not get mixed with others!” (Jv. *sampoen ngantos agami kita campuran!*) Curiously, this categorical formula of purification and othering was employed by a Javanese Catholic author to conclude his exposition on the famed Javanese history of skillfully appropriating foreign influences from Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Western culture. Cultural hybridity was perfectly fine for him on the ground that culture was man-made, but the possibility of a religious hybridity, especially with Islam, terrified him. “We have to keep the Catholic faith pure, because it is of divine origin, not human,” he argued categorically.⁵¹¹

Surely, this quotation sends us back to the sort of question we encountered at the beginning of this chapter where we cited the argument by a Javanese Catholic in defense of the propriety of learning Dutch for the Javanese: “Things pure are not necessarily more valuable than the mixed (hybrid) ones.” As we argued throughout this chapter, this underlying notion of hybridity lies at the heart of the so-called Javano-Catholic identity formation among the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals and their community. The proponents of this hybrid identity argued that their authenticity as Javanese was enhanced by their embrace of things hitherto considered foreign in Java, such as Christianity, Dutch language, modern and Western knowledge and so forth. As we have seen, they were proud of the fact that the Catholic mission took their local identity as Javanese very seriously by incorporating features of Javanese cultures into their Catholic practice and life, but also by treating the Javanese themselves as equals to the Europeans, as the

⁵¹¹ *Swara-Tama*, November 22, 1939; under the title: “*Kaboedajan Djawi tjampoer kalijan kaboedajan Eropah. Sampoen ngantos agami kita tjampoeran*” (“We mix Javanese culture and the European one; but we should not mix our Catholic religion with the other”)

ordination of the Javanese seminarians had convincingly shown. In many concrete ways, the longstanding principle of communion and continuity that was at the heart of the identity formation of Javano-Islamic tradition in south central Java, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, was also at work here.

In light of all this, the question of how to keep the purity of Catholic faith in Java surely became a complicated one. The Javanese author's appeal to the theological principle of Divine agency in matters pertaining to the Catholic religion indeed adds a new layer to this already very complex issue. However, the concern for this purity of religion is not only valid but also useful. For one thing, it points to a larger set of questions with regard to the tensions, ambiguities, and limits of hybridity, cultural or otherwise. For, if cultural hybridity is not only normal but also prized in its power to bring progress to each culture and to facilitate a deeper mutual understanding between them, how far can it go in the properly religious realm, knowing that some cultural features of the Javanese also have deep religious meanings and implications? The earlier chapters have shown us how the Javano-Muslim community in south central Java went about doing this sort of delicate negotiation. Now we can rightly ask: How did the Javano-Catholic community come to negotiate their hybrid religio-cultural identity in concrete terms when they built shrines, churches, or when they embarked on the project of creating Javano-Christian arts?

These questions lead us to the subject matter of the next chapter on the histories of the shrines under examination. It should be noted that the histories of these shrines are quite revealing in answering these questions, precisely because shrines and their histories are sites where we can see how the Javano-Catholics negotiated this complex identity.

This is a key cultural sphere where they endeavored to navigate the delicate tensions between their wholehearted acceptance of Catholicism and their pride as Javanese, with the concomitant desire to retain their Javanese identity. Here we also see how they attempted to define Javaneseness, its scope as well as concrete manifestations, in the context of their intimate relationship with the Dutch Jesuit missionaries who in turn were influenced by the prevalent European orientalist discourse on the Javanese culture. At this very juncture they had to deal with Islam, i.e., its role and significance in the religio-cultural identity of “Java.” The result is a highly charged drama of identity formation of a Javano-Catholic self in the face of an unavoidable question of otherness.

CHAPTER 5

IDENTITY AS MEMORY:

SACRED SPACE AND THE FORMATION OF JAVANO-CATHOLIC IDENTITY

This grotto is not only a source for the great joy of Catholics,
but also a very beautiful and suitable advertisement
for those who are not Catholic yet;
for the Virgin would be the missionary there.
J. B. Prenthaler, S. J. (1928)⁵¹²

As our previous chapter has explained, the complex formation of a hybrid Javano-Catholic identity was generally governed by the principle of communion and continuity. It was this principle that enabled the first Javanese Catholics to unabashedly embrace foreign elements—that is, the Dutch Church and the positive values of the Western culture brought by the Dutch—as well as to back the nationalist aspiration and remain true to their Javanese cultural identity. Thus on this level of cultural and political interaction, the principle of communion was translated as a middle way. In the realm of culture, the principle of continuity gave rise to hybridity, as this is the underlying law behind all cultural encounters in human history. Ambiguities and tensions do exist in this realm, but they are perceived to be manageable and not dangerous. However, on the question of encounters with other religions, especially Islam, we saw how the concern for protecting the purity of the Catholic faith came to the surface due to theological reasons. So as can be expected, there arose more tensions and ambiguities in this realm.

⁵¹² Letter of Father Prenthaler, March 24, 1928 in *Brieven van Pater J. B. Prenthaler aan Pater Directeur van de St Claverbond 1922-1937* (["Letters of Father Prenthaler to the Director of the Claverbond Foundation"]; henceforth *Brieven*), 65.

This chapter takes up where the previous chapter left off, namely, exploring the ways in which these tensions, ambiguities and limits of the Javano-Catholic identity formation have been dealt with and made fruitful by the community itself, especially in the history of the building of the three shrines under study, that is, the Sendangsono Marian grotto (1929), the Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran (1930), and the Mausoleum in Muntilan. So, while the previous chapter deals with the formation of Javano-Catholic identity as a discourse (represented mostly by its first intellectuals and thinkers), this chapter is concerned with the symbolic and material expressions of that identity formation. In this regard, the statement of Father Prennthaler quoted above is highly instructive. For he understood the significance of the newly built Marian grotto of Sendangsono precisely in terms of the symbolic and material dimension of the Catholic identify formation of the community, especially vis-à-vis the religious other. For him, the grotto was not only a source of joy for the community but also a beautiful and suitable advertisement for non-Catholics in the surrounding area due to the role of the Virgin as the missionary.

However, it is also clear that this conception is not without its ambiguities and tensions. For it raises different questions: what does it mean for the Virgin to be the missionary among the non-Catholic Javanese? How would she exactly accomplish her role as the missionary? Does it mean that Mary would draw these people into the Church through baptism, or also through some other ways that simply are beyond our immediate understanding? When non-Catholic pilgrims are drawn to the grotto and come to revere Mary in their own way without formal conversion to Catholicism, does it mean that Mary's role as the missionary fails? Or, does this show a different aspect of Mary's role

as the Mother of all nations (Luke 1:48)?⁵¹³ And, what are the roles of the Catholics themselves in this dynamic? This kind of questions could also be posed in the context of the role of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at the Ganjuran shrine.

Obviously, this set of questions can only be answered when we explore the ways in which the Javano-Catholic community itself has been grappling with them since its foundation. Thus, carrying forward the historical discourse of the previous chapter and responding to this set of new questions, the nature of this chapter is still “historical” in two senses. First, it is a historical account of the making of the three shrines under study in the larger framework of the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community in south central Java. We are especially interested in exploring how certain historical events and discourses in the Javano-Catholic community in its relationship with the larger society in Java (Chapter 4) gave rise to the specificities of the shrines as the material and symbolic expressions of this identity formation. I argue that the three shrines can be taken as crucial historical and material expressions of the tensions and ambiguities embedded in the identity making of this community. As we will explore, these shrines are privileged spaces where the Javano-Catholic self has been negotiated in the context of the encounter with different forms of alterity.

Secondly, this chapter is historical because it deals with the various ways in which the present Javano-Catholic community, in the context of the three shrines, understands history as a foundational and sacred past, a past that still has an overwhelming authority over the present, a past that invites deeper reconnection, communion as well as re-

⁵¹³ For an interesting analysis on this role of Mary in the context of medieval discourse on the participation of Muslims in the Marian veneration, see Alexandra Cuffel, “‘Henceforward all generations will call me blessed’: Medieval Christian Tales of Non-Christian Marian Veneration” *Mediterranean Studies* 12 (2003): 37-60.

interpretation. In other words, it is a past that guides the present in the march to the future. Paradigmatic in this past are the founders and founding moments or events that we have touched on in the previous chapter. This chapter is devoted to an extended analysis on the major ways in which this communion and connection to the sacred past represented by the three shrines work in terms of the whole community's self-understanding in the present. It has to be noted as well that a similar pattern has been at work among Javanese Muslims in south central Java (Chapter 1).

These two senses are intertwined, of course. The entire tradition of pilgrimage—understood in its broadest sense as precisely fostering this personal and communal connection to the sacred past in the context of the sacred sites with all its Divine and human elements—serves as a crucial hermeneutical moment of reinterpreting the history of the sites, including its tensions and ambiguities, for the sake of the life of the present community. In this sense, pilgrimage is really a privileged milieu of an ongoing negotiation of communal identity, a locus for a communal hermeneutic of identity. In the theological parlance, it is a moment of communal discernment of finding God's will for the community. As we will see, tensions and ambiguities are still present even in the current exercise of this communal discernment. But at least it becomes clearer that the general direction is toward a broader and deeper communion with the other. As we will see more clearly in Chapters 6 and 7, a major element in this hermeneutic is the ongoing discernment toward a more universal and inclusive understanding of the role of Mary as the missionary *par excellence* (the foundational message of the Sendangsono grotto) and the universal and inclusive mercy of the Sacred Heart as the patron and protector of the whole Java and Indonesia (the foundational message of the Ganjuran shrine). What is at

stake here, I would argue, is a theological and pneumatological hermeneutic of finding the scope of these Christological and Marian categories, which are in Catholic theology nothing other than categories of God's reaching out to humanity and the world.

Our way of proceeding in this chapter will be governed by our main objective of identifying major ways in which a hermeneutic of identity toward wider communion with the other is at work in each of the three shrines under study, mainly through renewed engagement with the foundational message (sacred history) of the shrine, that is, the founding moments and the founders. I take this hermeneutical process of returning to the founding sources (*resourcement*) as a crucial part of the negotiation of communal identity that makes possible the communion with the religious other. We are particularly interested in identifying how this process of reinterpretation of the founding moments and the message of the founders comes to constitute a contemporary hermeneutic framework that offers some directions to the potentialities, tensions and ambiguities inherent in the story of the shrines. Thus, the three major sections of this chapter correspond to how the same process happens in the three shrines.

Before we move to the first section, some basic information about the three shrines under study is in order. Our first shrine is the aforementioned Marian grotto of Sendangsono, the so-called "Lourdes of Java" (Figs. 7.1 and 7.2). Modeled after the famous Marian shrine in France, this is the most important as well as the oldest Marian shrine in Java. Most importantly, its consecration in 1929 memorializes the birth and foundation of the indigenous Javano-Catholic community. For, it was on this very site that in 1904 a large group of Javanese (171 persons) received their baptisms into the faith through Fr. Franciscus van Lith (1863-1926), the founder of the Java mission. This shrine

is located in the hamlet of Sendangsono that is part of the larger area called Kalibawang, on the hills of Menoreh, some twenty miles to the northwest of Yogyakarta and around seven miles away from the Borobudur temple (Map 1.3).⁵¹⁴ The shrine draws a stream of pilgrims every day but the months of May and October, the Marian months, are the busiest period.

Our second pilgrimage site is the Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran (Fig. 8.1), located some twenty miles to the southwest of the royal city of Yogyakarta, a few miles away from the Parangtritis coast in the south that is also the home to various Javanist and Muslim sacred sites (see Map 1.3). Built by the Schmutzer family, a prominent Dutch family whose role as laity in the Jesuit mission in Java was surpassed by none, the shrine is also considered to be the sister shrine of the Sendangsono grotto. It was consecrated in 1930, a year after the Sendangsono grotto. During the consecration, the island of Java as a symbol for the whole of Indonesia was placed under the protection of the Sacred Heart.⁵¹⁵ Thus the foundational spirit of this shrine is that the growing Javano-Catholic community in Java whose foundation is commemorated in Sendangsono is called now to become a blessing to all people and the whole nation. This shrine was from the very beginning known to be a model for Catholic inculturation into Javanese culture since it abundantly makes use of Hindu-Buddhist symbolisms and architectures. After a period of neglect and decline, the shrine experienced a spectacular revival since the late 1990s and it now draws a larger number of pilgrims than the other two. An important part of this revival is the growing presence of non-Catholic pilgrims, mostly Javanese Muslims.

⁵¹⁴ Originally, “Sendangsono” was the name of a spring (Jv. *sendang*) under a big tree (called in Jv. *sono*). This spring was considered potent by local Javanese population due to the presence of two founder-spirits (Jv. *pepundhen*), namely, Dewi Lantamsari and Den Baguse Samijo. During the Buddhist period, the site was a favorite place for the monks to rest en route to the Borobudur temple.

⁵¹⁵ Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 396.

Our third site is the mausoleum of Muntilan (Fig. 9.1). This mausoleum is located in the small town of Muntilan, some twenty miles north of the city of Yogyakarta. As we have seen, Muntilan is the original site of the Catholic mission center of the van Lith era. So, the place holds a very special significance in the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community. The mausoleum is in fact part of the large Catholic mission compound in the area. Sharing a geographical proximity to the world famous Borobudur temple, this small shrine is the mausoleum of some of the most prominent figures in the history of the Catholic Church in Java. It houses the tomb of Father Frans van Lith (Fig. 9.3), the founder of the Java mission, as well as that of Father Sanjaya (Fig. 9.1), the “first martyr” of the young Catholic community.⁵¹⁶ It also shares a geographical proximity with the sacred cemetery of Gunungpring, an important Muslim pilgrimage site that we discussed in Part One of this study. Traditionally, pilgrims would visit this mausoleum in tandem with the Sendangsono grotto. So, its busiest seasons would be in the months of May and October as well, although it draws small number of local pilgrims everyday, including students of the nearby Catholic schools.

The overall subject of this chapter reflects the dynamism of maturity of the Javano-Catholic community. We begin with the idea of the community being founded at Sendangsono (and Muntilan) with Mary as its protector, then we explore the meanings of the community being sent at Ganjuran with the Sacred Heart of Jesus as its theological and spiritual pillar and guiding principle, and finally we end the journey by examining the ways in which the same community was tested at Muntilan with the martyrdom of

⁵¹⁶ The site is also popularly known as the grave of Father Sanjaya (I. *makam Rama Sanjaya*) due to the fame that this slain priest holds among Catholics in the area. Although the grave of Father Sanjaya (Fig. 9.1) typically becomes the focus of the pilgrimage, more and more pilgrims also would also pay special visit to the grave of Father van Lith (Fig. 9.3) as well as other graves of prominent Church personnel there.

Father Sanjaya and the memory of van Lith as its beacon during this period of hardship. As we will see, different yet interrelated founders and founding moments or events will be dealt in the constancy of the spirit of inclusion of and communion with the other.

V. 1. At the Origin of the Community: the Lourdes of Java

V. 1. 1. Memory of and Communion with the Founding Moment and Founders

The year of 2004 was declared a “Year of Gratitude for the Gift of Faith” by the archdiocese of Semarang, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Marian grotto of Sendangsono falls. This “gift of faith” refers to nothing other than the foundational event that occurred a hundred years before at the site of what is now the Sendangsono grotto, namely, the aforementioned baptisms of the first largest group of Javanese by the Jesuit missionary Father van Lith in 1904.⁵¹⁷ Historically speaking, this baptism was not really the first among the Javanese, but it was considered to be singularly foundational because it saved the Java mission from utter failure during its most crucial juncture and thus marked the real and significant beginning of the Javanese Catholic community in central Java.

In words that have also become legendary in the history of the community, Father van Lith described the providential event thus:

The visit of the people from Kalibawang was for me an unexpected and inexplicable event. I have visited lots of places, treading miles of missionary path, but to no avail. But look, in a region with which I have never had anything to do, there arose suddenly a desire for our religion. This was a sign of providence that the Java mission would continue to exist. In and of itself, the conversion of this relatively small group was of

⁵¹⁷ Mgr. I. Suharyo, “In Gratitude for the Gift of Faith” (I. “*Syukur atas Karunia Iman*”), a pastoral letter on the occasion of the centenary of the Sendangsono baptism (2004), in *Kenangan atas 100 Tahun Sendangsono: Syukur atas Kurnia Iman* ([“Remembrance on the Centenary of the Sendangsono Grotto: Gratitude for the Gift of Faith”]), JCT Wismapranata Pr *et al.* (Yogyakarta, 2004), 8-10.

little meaning for the enormous mission work among millions of the inhabitants of Java. But it was very important, because now I can continue my already matured plans for the schools in Muntilan.⁵¹⁸

Here, we see how van Lith connects the Sendangsono event with the other foundational moment in the history of Javano-Catholic community in south central Java, namely, the establishment of the mission school, the Xaverius College, at Muntilan. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Javanese alumni of this school would become the backbone of the development of the Javano-Catholic community and its subsequent involvement in the larger Javanese and Indonesian society. Thus, in the mind of van Lith, the founder of the Java mission, the event of Sendangsono was intimately and architectonically related to Muntilan. In light of this connection, it is easy to see why a tradition of making pilgrimage to both places in one trip is rather popular among pilgrims today.

Historically, the Sendangsono baptism was a miracle needed to confirm the validity of the missionary method of Father van Lith. What the 2004 centenary celebration primarily shows is the continued significance of this foundational event in the present identity of the Catholic community in central Java. As this community understands it, the event has provided a solid theological foundation for its *raison d'être*. For the miracle of baptism was taken as a clear sign of Divine confirmation and protection of the community's existence and future. Its "spectacular" growth is a living testament to this foundational assurance.⁵¹⁹ In a proper theological and ecclesiological framework, the event marked the moment of the descent of the gift of "faith", the most defining aspect of the identity of the community.

⁵¹⁸ See the Jesuit newsletter, *Berichten uit Java* (1956): 100.

⁵¹⁹ The term "spectacular" here is used in reference to Karel Steenbrink's evaluation on the growth of the indigenous Catholic community in Indonesia, not only Java, from 1903 to 1942. See his *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, xii.

Thus it is no wonder that in the centenary celebration of the Sendangsono baptism, Father van Lith was remembered as the main channel through which the gift of faith had been passed down to the subsequent generations. As we will see later, there are two other figures who are remembered as paradigmatic figures, or founders of lesser degree, of both the Javanese Catholic community and the Sendangsono grotto. The first is a Javanese man named Barnabas Sarikrama (1874-1940). He was the first catechist, the right hand man of Father van Lith in the formation of the newly baptized Catholics in Kalibawang. The second is Father Johannes Prenthaler (1885-1946), an Austrian born Jesuit missionary who worked in the area for over fifteen years, under whose initiative and leadership the grotto came into being. In the context of this study, I would argue that the centenary celebration is paradigmatic in showing the community's theological hermeneutic with regard to its nature and its mission (thus, its identity) in light of the three significant realities: founding moment, founders, and sacred space with its concomitant act of pilgrimage. In all this, we see the elements of memorialization and communion (in the sense of re-connection) with the founding moment and founders, in ways that are connected to the grotto as the symbolic and material manifestation of the founding of the community, as its spiritual center, as well as its representation.⁵²⁰

The story of the foundation of the shrine—that is intimately connected with the whole story of the foundation of the community itself—is made available to and continually retold to the contemporary pilgrims and their communities in different ways.

⁵²⁰ To a certain degree, the shrine then becomes the source and origin (*fons et origo*) of the community. Pilgrimage to this shrine serves as a crucial way to return to the founding moment of the community, the sacred time that Mircea Eliade calls “the Great Time” (*in illo tempore, ab origine*). On the notions of *fons et origo* as well as “the Great Time” in world religions, see Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Sacred Cosmos and History* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2005; first published 1954).

The typical historical account of the foundation of the shrine would emphasize the paradigmatic role of the founder, Father Johannes Prenthaler (1885-1946), the crucial part played by the local community under the leadership of Barnabas Sarikrama (1879-1940), as well as the instrumental contribution of Catholic benefactors in the Netherlands. These three parties were described as working in unison under Divine guidance in the building of the shrine. The deeply personal anxieties and concerns of Father Prenthaler during the whole process that he expressed in his letters to his Dutch benefactors made the entire foundation story more meaningful. This is so precisely because these anxieties and concerns showed how the process of the shrine's foundation was clearly a struggle against all odds.

In this regard, there are two symbolic events that continue to be retold and remembered largely because of their iconic power. The first is the rather dramatic arrival of the statue of Our Lady, brought from Denmark to the Menoreh hills of central Java. Placed in a large wooden box, the statue was carried over by a group of young and sturdy Javanese to the top of the hills, the site of the grotto, in a journey that was deeply moving because it revealed the depth and intensity of the devotion of the Javanese Catholics to Mary and their determination to erect a grotto for her. It is also taken as a symbol of the pilgrimage and sojourn of Mary among these simple and poor Javanese. The second symbolic event is the no less dramatic journey of the twelve *angelus* bells from Europe to the grotto area. Placed in all the stations around the shrine, the bells were meant to be a sign of the adoption of the Javanese Catholics as Mary's children. The sounds of the bells were the greetings of these children to their beloved Mother who would be pleased and smiling to them in response. Furthermore, they were also meant as the apostle-

helpers of Mary in her role in the faith formation of the community, Mary's new adopted children.⁵²¹

After a rather long and arduous joint effort, the Sendangsono grotto was finally consecrated on December 8, 1929, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception and the 75th anniversary of the promulgation of the dogma, by the superior of the Jesuit mission in Java. In attendance were some 1,300 Catholics, in the very site where 25 years before, 171 Javanese were received into the Church by Father van Lith.⁵²² On this event, Father Prennthaler wrote that the food served was not European sweets, but rather plates of rice with *tempe* (a soybean cake, a simple delicacy for Javanese villagers), in response to the famine during the economic downturn.⁵²³

Within only a few years after its foundation, this shrine quickly became the major pilgrimage site among Catholics in Java, both European and Javanese. During its earliest phase, pilgrimage to this site was known also for its asceticism, due to the arduous journey, mostly on foot, through the rough terrain of the Menoreh hills—that could be really nightmarish during the rainy season—which pilgrims had to undertake.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ The bells carried an inscription in Javanese that read: “Our Lady, your Javanese children greet you with love and devotion as well!” (Jv. *Dewi Mariah, sembah baktinipoen Tanah Djawi oegi!*) On the story and significance of these bells, see L. Rood, S. J., “Angelus-Klokjes voor de Java-Missie” *St Claverbond* (1928): 280-3; also his subsequent article “De Angelus-Klokjes in Kalibawang” in *St Claverbond* (1930): 123-24.

⁵²² *Swara-Tama*, December 13, 1929. On the same occasion, Barnabas Sarikrama received the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal from Pius XI for his remarkable role in the mission for 25 years. On this event, see also the letter of Father Prennthaler, December 2, 1929; *Brieven*, 165. For a rather complete report on this event, including the presence of the Dutch Catholics, see G. Vriens, “O. L. Vrouw van Kalibawang en 25-Jarig Jubilé,” *St Claverbond* (1930): 97-113.

⁵²³ See the letter of Father Prennthaler, December 2, 1929; *Brieven*, 166.

⁵²⁴ During this phase, many groups of pilgrims would prefer doing the walking at night to avoid the heat of the day, but then they had to deal with the danger of wild beasts such tigers, beside the possibility of having to walk in total darkness. There was no food stall around the site at all during this period. Some lodging was available near the shrine. But pilgrims from the Yogyakarta area would also take the southern route to reach the site. Most of them would stay overnight at the parish church of Bara where they were hosted by the parish priest (among others, Father Prennthaler) and could attend mass and receive communion in the morning. Poor pilgrims were impressed by the generosity of the priest, who would give out pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. See *Swara-Tama*, January 16 and 26, 1935; also May 1, 1935.

Furthermore, the shrine has also become a popular site for communal and ecclesial events at the level of the local diocese.⁵²⁵ During these events, an important message was normally being retold, that is: “Don’t come to Sendangsono to ask for miracle, but rather focus your attention on your relationship with Mary!” More generally, the deeper and wider spiritual nature of the grotto is emphasized over against the popular proclivity to turn it into a place of magic. The grotto should become a privileged space for faith formation. For this purpose, a paradigmatic image of the first generation, represented especially by Barnabas Sarikrama, whose simple yet exemplary faith was formed around the shrine, is cast. Emphasizing the power of faith, love and service as well as pride in being Catholics, rather than the pursuit of material wealth and fame, the lives of these first Javanese Catholics are portrayed as being abundantly fruitful in Christian terms due to their intimate connection with the grotto.⁵²⁶

As the centenary celebration in 2004 testified, the Marian grotto at Sendangsono is a tangible and symbolic memorialization of this foundational miracle. Due to its Marian nature, it is a deeply Catholic memorialization of gratitude to God. In the previous chapter, we have seen how crucial was the “Catholic” element in the so-called

⁵²⁵ See, for instance, the solemn pilgrimage of the seminarians in May 1935 (*Swara-Tama*, May 29, 1935). Worth noting is also the celebration of the Marian Year of 1954 when an average of 1000 pilgrims visited this grotto during the month of May. This mass pilgrimage was described as a journey of penance (*D. boetetocht*), given the difficult terrain leading up to the grotto. In the same year, Mgr Soegijapranata presided over a Pentecost mass at the site on the occasion of the consecration of the new grotto (the old one was deteriorating for several years). No longer dependent on the funds from the Netherlands, this rebuilding of the grotto was a communal work of the local community in which different groups contributed. The stones and bricks were brought by school children and so forth. This was also the 50th anniversary celebration of the foundation of the Java mission since the foundational baptism on the site in 1904. Drawing some 5,000 Catholics, this consecration was also attended by the surviving members of the first Javanese Catholics baptized by van Lith here on December 14, 1904. See the article “Maria Koningin der Volkeren,” *Berichten uit Java* (1954): 97-99.

⁵²⁶ The exemplary image of the caretakers of the shrine (the descendants of Barnabas Sarikrama and his first companions) is always put forward to the attention of the pilgrims. These are simple Javanese Catholics whose devotion to Mary and dedication to the shrine result in the overwhelming sense of peacefulness rooted in spiritual well-being (*Jv. tentrem*).

Javano-Catholic identity. Intentionally built on the site of this baptism, the grotto is a space of memory, the memory of miraculous foundation, a source of communal identity. At present, a large panel depicting the 1904 baptism is placed in the center of the shrine.⁵²⁷ As has been mentioned, pilgrimage to Sendangsono, in tandem with Muntilan, is very often framed as an empowering reconnection with this common history and communal identity.

The grotto has undeniably become a privileged milieu vested with a vast range of symbolisms and deeper meanings. This is why the centenary celebration of the foundational baptism was centered on the shrine. The spirit of the whole celebration was intimately connected with the shrine, such as emphasizing the symbolic meanings of holy water of the grotto, of pilgrimage to the site, the role of Mary as an exemplar of Christian life, as well as the role of the shrine and its pilgrimage tradition in light of contemporary concerns for the preservation of local culture, environment, and interfaith dialogue.⁵²⁸ Thus, particularly in these communal celebrations, pilgrimage to Sendangsono is clearly understood as an act of communing with the sacred past, the founding moment of the whole community, not for the sake of communal nostalgia, but rather for a better understanding of its selfhood, its identity in the contemporary society. Pilgrimage, in this sense, is the moment of the community's returning to its spiritual source (*resourcement*).

Before tackling the question of the other that is intimately implicated in this foundational story of the Sendangsono grotto, we will first delve more into the communal memory of the two other founders of the community and the grotto (Father Prennthaler and Barnabas Sarikrama). For the ways in which these two personages are imagined

⁵²⁷ This image has Father van Lith in his clerical garb pouring water of baptism over the heads of the Javanese people who donned traditional Javanese attire.

⁵²⁸ See Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 19.

today are revelatory of the ongoing process of the identity formation of this community. As happens among Javanese Muslims, Javanese Catholics also understand shrines as being imbued with sacred history and as a living legacy of past authoritative events and paradigmatic founder-figures. In this framework, pilgrimage acquires the meanings of memory and communion, including communion with these founders with the purpose of, among others, re-interpreting or broadening their legacy in light of contemporary questions with regard to the relationship of the community with the religious other.

The Javano-Catholic community portrays Barnabas Sarikrama (1874-1940) as a pilgrim in the most fundamental sense of the word, that is, a person seeking to commune with God. He is seen as an important founder of the community because his relentless search for the Truth that originated from the depth of the spiritual world of the Javanese finally led him to the bosom of the Church. Thus his pilgrimage is a proto-type of the community's own journey. Sarikrama was a dedicated and accomplished layman whose life-changing transformation to a pilgrim-apostle was sparked off by the miraculous cure of his feet at the hands of Brother Kersten, a Jesuit nurse-missionary at Muntilan.⁵²⁹ Upon the cure, he used his feet to walk the rough road of mission in the Sendangsono area. He brought the first large group of Javanese to the Church in 1904 and since then continued his crucial role in the formation of this newly born congregation. Thus, as his biographer notes, the traces of his feet are also traces of Catholic faith in the area.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁹ In the biography of this figure, emphasis is placed on the specificity of his identity as a layman. See St S. Tartono, *Barnabas Sarikrama: Orang Indonesia Pertama Penerima Bintang Kepausan, Kenangan dan Teladan untuk Umat Beriman* (["Barnabas Sarikrama: The First Indonesian to Receive the Pontifical Honor, Memory and Exemplar for the Faithful"]; Museum Misi Muntilan, 2005), xii-xv.

⁵³⁰ St Tartono, *Barnabas Sarikrama*, xiv. Tartono conceives the biography of Sarikrama that he wrote as an effort to revive the memory of this great lay apostle of south central Java, in the sense of re-tracing his footsteps. Thus, the proper context of such a book is not historical discourse, but communion in and communication of faith between generations (I. *wawan iman*).

Perhaps more importantly, Sarikrama is also portrayed as a bridge between the Javanist religion and the Church. For it was his pilgrimage and meditation in the Javanist shrine of Den Baguse Samijo near the Borobudur temple, as part of his search for healing that eventually led him to the mission center of Muntilan.⁵³¹ He came to Muntilan as a wounded and disabled man, hardly capable of walking, but he came out of Muntilan as a sound and healthy man, both physically and spiritually. Therefore it is only apt that the community named the newly paved road that connects the parish church of Our Lady of Lourdes to the grotto after him: the Barnabas Sarikrama Street.⁵³² This is because Sarikrama was both a pilgrim *par excellence* and a bridge or road that connects the two spiritual worlds at the founding moment of the community.⁵³³ Here we see the frameworks of continuation and fulfillment between the two traditions. For Sarikrama took up the spiritual tradition of the Javanese (Jv. *ngelmu urip*) seriously as the necessary soil for the inculturation of the Catholic faith.⁵³⁴ Now he is buried in the shrine compound and his grave stands out amid the others, revealing the respectful status that the community assigns to him.⁵³⁵ The memory of him is continued today by the presence of

⁵³¹ Den Baguse Samijo is an ancestor-spirit (Jv. *pundhen*) who is believed to have had his abode in the Sendangsono spring before the arrival of Mary. To emphasize the depth of Sarikrama's locatedness in the Javanese spiritual world, it is mentioned that his father (Kyai Mertaleksana) was an accomplished Javanist *guru* and his grave continues to be a minor pilgrimage site for the locals until today. See St Tartono, *Barnabas Sarikrama*, 6-7.

⁵³² This pavement project was part of the centenary celebration of Sendangsono in 2004. See the video program by SAV Puskat, *Sendangsono: Mata Air Penyejuk Iman di Kaki Sang Ibu* (["Sendangsono: The Spring on the Feet of Our Mother that Refreshes Our Faith"]; Yogyakarta, 2004).

⁵³³ Tartono describes Sarikrama as a pilgrim *par excellence*—outwardly in his involvement with the grotto of Sendangsono, and inwardly with regard to the spiritual cultivation of his heart. See his *Barnabas Sarikrama*, 54.

⁵³⁴ This aspect of harmonization between the two traditions is emphasized in the historiography of the shrine. See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria: 100 Tahun Sendangsono* (["To Love Our Lady: the Centenary Celebration of the Sendangsono Grotto"]; Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2004), 40.

⁵³⁵ *Swara-Tama*, July 24, 1940; under the title "*Bapak Barnabas tilar donja*" (a report on Sarikrama's death). The memory of him here was centered around his fidelity in making the weekly visit to Muntilan with his flock from Kalibawang.

his descendants that live in proximity to the grotto, carrying the torch of faith of their forefather.⁵³⁶

The second founder of the grotto and its community is Father Johannes Prennthaler (1885-1946), the most outstanding Jesuit missionary in the area in the post van Lith era.⁵³⁷ Together with Barnabas Sarikrama, Father Prennthaler was not only instrumental in building the shrine in 1929, but he put a very personal stamp on it. Introducing himself as an idiosyncratic (D. *eigenaardige*) and “coarse” (D. *onbeschofte*) missionary from Tirol, Austria, he unabashedly pleaded with his Dutch benefactors to give funds and sundry items needed in his missionary work, ranging from such simple things as children toys and cloths to a fine Leica camera. His concerns over his destitute flock struck by the economic hardship of the great depression in 1930s would include: securing their crops, staple food, water supply and medicines, helping out with their debt, fighting against the liberal colonial regulation on opium use, and overseeing their spiritual wellbeing.⁵³⁸ In other words, he was concerned with the full flourishing of his

⁵³⁶ A similar phenomenon where the descendants of the “saints” serve as caretakers of the shrines is also observable in many Muslim saints in south central Java, such as Tembayat and Gunungpring.

⁵³⁷ Father Johannes Prennthaler was born on April 18, 1885, to a simple family of farmers in Tirol, Austria. He entered the Jesuit order of the French Province in 1904 and was initially destined to work as a missionary among Muslims in Syria or the Near East. He knew Arabic and worked in Beirut for three years (1914-1918). In the wake of the World War I, he could no longer stay in the Middle East. His love affair with the Java mission then began with an article on this mission that he read during his tertianship in Vienna. Captivated by the story of this mission, he asked the Jesuit general superior for transfer to the Dutch Province. He arrived in Java on September 25, 1920. Starting in 1921 he was assigned in the mission station of Mendut near Borobudur, few miles away from Kalibawang (Sendangsono), and he began his regular visits to this area around 1923. Apart from being a fulltime pastor of the Bara parish in Kalibawang area, he also taught Arabic to Jesuit scholastics in Yogyakarta. As noted in the previous chapter, Prennthaler did not seem to show a keen interest in things Islamic during his sojourn in Java, despite his mastery of Arabic language and three years of experience in the Middle East. In 1936 he was moved to the mission station of Rawaseneng in the regency of Temanggung, central Java. However, following the Japanese invasion that destroyed the mission compound in Rawaseneng, he was assigned back to Bara from 1942 until his death in 1946. For a sketch of his biography, see Robert Hardawirana, S. J., *Romo J. B. Prennthaler, S. J.: Perintis Misi di Perbukitan Menoreh* (“Father J. B. Prennthaler, S. J.: Founder of the Mission on the Hills of Menoreh”]; Yogyakarta, 2002), 49ff.

⁵³⁸ It was largely due to Prennthaler’s persistent requests to Father Keller, the Jesuit director of the Claverbond Foundation in the Netherlands, that the Catholics in Kalibawang received the most help from

little and destitute flock. He was certainly no deep thinker or progressive missionary-theologian, but his missionary work was so remarkable because of his total immersion in the social reality of his people.⁵³⁹ His personal effort to import the statue of Mary and the angelus bells from Europe was remarkable and has become a tale of love and devotion of a European missionary to his people. His heart was so attached to his flock around Sendangsono as well as to the grotto. And he was very proud of the quality in the moral and religious life of his Catholic folks that he said, was higher than the average Catholic in Europe.⁵⁴⁰

In the memory of the Javanese Catholic community, especially those in the Menoreh hills and its surrounding area, Father Prennthaler is fondly remembered as their great saintly founder.⁵⁴¹ The memory of his persona was made very clear in 2002 as the parish he founded in Bara celebrated their 75th anniversary. Representing the sentiment of the faithful, the local leader of the parish exclaims:

The future of the Church of Bara [that Father Prennthaler built] is now in our hands; but we never want to abandon the foundational spirit and idealism of our founder; that is why we feel the need to return to his spirit as we move forward.⁵⁴²

He was particularly remembered as a hardworking missionary, a man of prayer, totally dedicated to the divine cause, and completely abandoning his own worldly interest for the sake of the welfare of his flock. One of his former aides wrote: “Father Prennthaler was

this foundation compared to other areas in the mission. See Father Prennthaler’s letter of May 25, 1930; *Brieven*, 205.

⁵³⁹ Hardawiryana, *Romo Prennthaler*, 110.

⁵⁴⁰ Letter of Father Prennthaler, September 9, 1927; *Brieven*, 32

⁵⁴¹ By the end of his first tenure in the parish of Bara (1936), the local congregation had grown to more than 2,500 persons (2,000 of which he baptized). Father Prennthaler was personally moved and humbled by this. His farewell pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto was quite emotional. See his letter of July 26, 1936; *Brieven*, 258.

⁵⁴² See the foreword of the committee of the anniversary celebration in Hardawiryana, *Romo Prennthaler*, 4.

like a saint; he was no longer concerned with [his own] worldly needs.”⁵⁴³ His poverty and frugality is as legendary as that of van Lith.⁵⁴⁴ Highly interesting among his portrayals is his image as a pilgrim, a traveling missionary (*L. pedibus apostolorum*) who would cover a distance of almost a thousand miles (1,600 kilometers) annually.⁵⁴⁵ His collapses from fatigue that led to his eventual demise in 1946 reinforced his image as a thoroughly ascetic missionary, always on the move despite the setbacks and hardships that at times became unbearable.⁵⁴⁶

The lasting power of his memory among his people is made manifest in the fact that his tomb in the cemetery of the parish in Bara (Fig. 9.4), two miles to the east of the Sendangsono grotto, has become a site of local pilgrimage in recent years.⁵⁴⁷ The location of his tomb seems to have anticipated this new development. For when he died his Javanese flock pleaded to the Jesuit superior to have the body of their beloved missionary buried in their land, the land that he held dear in his heart. The 2007 novena in his name at his tomb (Fig. 9.4) was clearly an attempt by the community to not only remember him as the founder but also to commune with him as an intercessor.⁵⁴⁸ He himself promised to

⁵⁴³ This same person also narrates a story of miracle that Father Prenthaler performed during one of his missionary travels. See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 60.

⁵⁴⁴ Hardawirana, *Romo Prenthaler*, 110-111.

⁵⁴⁵ Letter of Father Prenthaler, January 24, 1928; *Brieven*, 55; see also F. Knooren, S. J., “Bijzonderheden over den Dood van Pater Prenthaler S.J. – RIP,” *St Claverbond* (1946), 93.

⁵⁴⁶ *Swara-Tama* (November 9, 1934) reported that Father Prenthaler had to take some rest in the Netherlands after his hardworking years in Java since 1920. In his letters, especially from 1929, Father Prenthaler was often quite frank about the hardships of being a missionary in this area: physical fatigue from the travels, psychological depression and stress from the financial difficulties as well as the competition with the Muhammadiyah etc. See his letters of February 15, March 27, and June 12, 1929; *Brieven*, 112-15, 117-20, and 131-135.

⁵⁴⁷ Although it is still in its initial phase, the grave of Father Prenthaler (Fig. 9.4) continuously draws Catholic pilgrims, especially on every Friday *Kliwon* in the Javanese calendar, the most propitious day for pilgrimage in Java. In 2007 a special novena in his name was undertaken at his grave, clearly putting him as an intercessor for the community and in memory of him as a saintly apostle. A special hymn was created in his memory and used in the ritual.

⁵⁴⁸ At the novena on Thursday, July 26, 2007, the presiding priest, Father Sukowalyono of the neighboring parish of Nanggulan, was urging the schoolchildren to ask the intercession of Father Prenthaler for the success of their studies. He also told the story of how a certain group of Catholics from his parish sought

pray for his little flock after his death, as well as assured them of the continued help of Our Lady of Lourdes in Sendangsono.⁵⁴⁹ Thus he is clearly remembered as an ancestor-saint (Jv. *cikal-bakal*) of the local Javano-Catholic community. The Jesuit theologian and Prennthaler's biographer, Robert Hardawiryana, puts this memory in the framework of Eucharistic *anamnesis* of Jesus. This way, what is emphasized is the sense of presence, communion and blessings involved in the connection between the community and its sacred history.⁵⁵⁰ What is also crucial to note in this development is the widening of the scope of Prennthaler's memory as to include all the peoples of the area, due to his concerns for the integral well-being of the people during his tenure as pastor.⁵⁵¹

As we see, there is yet another aspect of communion that has been implicated in the story of Prennthaler. It is the communion with the Dutch donors. This is a concrete example of how an intimate relationship with the Dutch Church was inherent in the identity of the Javano-Catholic community, as we have seen in the previous chapter. All the major monuments and pilgrimage sites that have become focal points in the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community are the manifestation of this spirit of communion. To a large degree, they are a living testament to the indelible presence of the Dutch Church in the identity of this community.⁵⁵² While Sarikrama is the bridge

Father Prennthaler's intercession and paid a visit to his grave for the success of their fund-raising for building their chapel, and his intercession was efficient.

⁵⁴⁹ See Prennthaler, "Het Testament van Pater Prennthaler," *St Claverbond* (1946): 203.

⁵⁵⁰ Hardawiryana, *Romo Prennthaler*, 191-92.

⁵⁵¹ During his tenure, Prennthaler paid great attention to the socio-economic development of his flock. His concern for environment got a new twist in the 2007 novena. The fact that he fought against the take over of the land by industrialists was seen as a fight for local community as well as natural environment. See his letter of June 26, 1930; *Brieven*, 211.

⁵⁵² On this question, it is insightful that the Jesuit Father G. Vriens emphasized the union and communion of all Catholics (both Javanese and Dutch) in the procession at the grotto in 1930, a feature that apparently had to be stressed in the colonial context. While the presence of the Javano-Catholic community was assumed, he stressed the presence of these European Catholics whose examples and contributions to the Java mission were extraordinary. See G. Vriens, "Nogmaals: De Processie van Kalibawang," *St Claverbond* (1930): 232-38.

between the spiritual world of the Javanese and the Church, Father Prennthaler has the image of a bridge between the Javano-Catholic community and their Dutch benefactors.

Writing to his benefactors in the Netherlands, Father Prennthaler described this sense of communion this way: “Once the statue of Mary was placed in the grotto, all those who were present were kneeling down at the feet of Mary and prayed, firstly thanking the Dutch benefactors for bringing this joy to the Javanese Catholics.”⁵⁵³ And, when the water of the grotto cured two local women who subsequently became Catholics, Father Prennthaler realized that this was no small consolation for himself and the benefactors of the grotto.⁵⁵⁴ These Dutch benefactors had become further channels of Mary’s favor to the Java mission.

V. 1. 2. Encounter with the Other: From Mimetic Rivalry to Communion

In the previous section, we see how the major dynamics of the memory of founders and founding moment, as well as their memorialization at the sacred site of Sendangsono, have been governed by the widening principle of communion. Thus the identity of the community is largely formed in the framework of fostering diverse forms of communion and interconnection. However, the concrete working out of this principle of embracing was not without “othering.” For inherent in this story is also the question of otherness that

⁵⁵³ Letter of Father Prennthaler of September 1, 1929; *Brieven*, 151. The entire cost for the grotto was fl. 1,243.25, a huge sum of money in colonial Java during the economic downturn; but Father Prennthaler thought it was well spent, for it brought the heavenly Mother to the midst of Her children. He was convinced that in due course the grotto would bring so much grace in this area. In a sense, the communion between the Dutch Catholic donors and the Javanese Catholic community resembled the pattern of *amicitia*, solidarity and gift giving among Christian communities brought about by the sharing of relics in late antiquity. For this insight, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 90ff.

⁵⁵⁴ Father Prennthaler wrote a letter to inform his benefactors about this miracle. See his letter of March 9, 1930; *Brieven*, 185-86.

manifests itself in different forms, but mainly through the categories of “other religion,” particularly the Javanist religion and Islam.

In the story of Sendangsono, this complex question of alterity has two major dimensions. The first dimension lies in the fact that the Marian grotto replaces a Javanist shrine. As we have seen, the statue of Our Lady of Lourdes at Sendangsono was intentionally placed at the site of the baptism of the Javanese in 1904. But we have also noted that this site used to be the abode of two ancestor/guardian spirits (Den Baguse Samijo and his mother, Dewi Lantamsari). This Javanist site was at the time still visited by local population, both “pagan” and Muslim, and had been formerly used by Buddhist monks as a resting place on their way to and from the Borobudur temple.⁵⁵⁵ For this reason, the building of the grotto, together with the baptism, was also meant as a story of triumph of Christianity over “paganism” or the religious other. In this regard, Father van Lith is reported to have said: “Because the spring is considered sacred by the locals and the Buddhist monks, let me baptize it also [together with the people].”⁵⁵⁶ After the Sendangsono grotto was built, this Christian triumph took a deeply Catholic form as it was Mary who occupied the central symbolic role. On this point, Father Prennthalder wrote categorically:

By virtue of being located at this site [of paganism], the grotto of Lourdes, with the statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, should always remind us that Mary is the woman who crushed the head of the snake, that

⁵⁵⁵ Letter of Father Prennthalder of March 24, 1928; *Brieven*, 65. Throughout Java, it is rather common to find a pair of ancestral spirits, either husband and wife, or mother and son. The *Serat Centhini*, for example, contains a story about two ancestral spirits, named Candikyudo and Dyah Rantamsari who lived in a spring (see Soewito Santoso, *The Centhini Story: The Javanese Journey of Life*, 92). Both the name of the female spirit and the spring as her abode are very reminiscent of the female spirit of Lantamsari who used to reside in the Sendangsono spring.

⁵⁵⁶ G. Vriens, *Seratus Tahun Misi* (“A Hundred Years of the Jesuit Mission in Indonesia”); Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1959), 77.

Mary has driven out these pagan evil ancestor/guardian spirits (J. *pepundhen*).⁵⁵⁷

Due to the significance of this location as the abode of the ancestor-guardian spirits (J. *pepundhen*), namely the founders of the local pagan community, the replacement of them through the building of the grotto also signals a different foundation of a new community. Again, this aspect of difference and newness is explained in the history of Sendangsono mostly through baptism and the installment of Mary. However, it is crucial not to overlook the subtle way of explaining the transition between these two religio-cultural frameworks in the foundational story of the grotto. For the two ancestral spirits were believed to have moved out before the arrival of Mary, as if preparing the site for Mary. And later, when Dewi Lantamsari, the mother, wanted to return to her former abode and found out that Mary was more potent, she voluntarily relinquished the site forever.⁵⁵⁸ Thus Mary is cast as the new and much more powerful female protector and founder of the community.

An interesting point in this story of transition is also the subtle suggestion that it might have been the pagan ancestral spirit of Den Baguse Samijo who led the Javanist Sarikrama to his eventual baptism. In his quest for healing, as we have mentioned before, Sarikrama was meditating at the site of Den Baguse Samijo near Borobudur temple area, and it was during this meditation that he received a supernatural omen to go to the direction of Muntilan where the Catholic mission was and where his initial meeting with

⁵⁵⁷ Letter of Father Prenthaler of May 23, 1929; *Brieven*, 130; In the original Dutch: “*De Lourdesgrot op deze plaats met het beeld van de Onbevleete Ontvangenis zal ons altijd herinneren dat Maria het is, de Vrouw die van de helsche slang den kop verpletterde, Maria heeft van dezen heldenschen pepoenden de booze geesten verdreven.*”

⁵⁵⁸ Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 16-17.

Father van Lith would lead to the healing of not only his feet but his soul.⁵⁵⁹ Thus there is some pattern in which the transition from Javanism to Catholicism is conceived in a more or less peaceful manner, rather than in a violently triumphant way.⁵⁶⁰ To a certain degree, there is a sense of continuation that leads to fulfillment in that transition. We have also mentioned that in order to present Catholicism to the Javanese in a more convincing way, Sarikrama would appeal to important facets of the Javanese spiritual tradition. His success has been attributed partly to this method of similarity and continuation.⁵⁶¹

The prevalence of the principle of continuity, rather than conflict, might also help explain the relative absence of demonization of the (Muslim) other in Sendangsono, compared to other contexts such as medieval Egypt or present day Sri Lanka. As David Frankfurter shows in the context of medieval Egypt, exorcism mostly at the shrines of the martyrs was the most important feature by which Christianity differentiated itself from the other religion to whose territory it came.⁵⁶² The fight against demons is the symbolism of the fight of Christianity as the true religion against the false ones. This is of course significant as demons are always regarded to be the evil other. The same logic is

⁵⁵⁹ The supernatural inner insight (Jv. *wisik*) that Sarikrama received during his meditation read as follows: “Go to the north east and you will receive the two unified as one” (Jv. *lungaa mengetan ngalor; kowe bakal entuk loro-lorone atunggal*).” For the story of Sarikrama’s conversion, see Tartono, *Barnabas Sarikrama*, 19; also Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 25. This same pattern of old religion leading the way for the new and the creation of a Marian grotto is also known in other context such as at the shrine of Our Lady of Le Puy, France. On this, see Sarah Jane Boss, *Mary* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), 75.

⁵⁶⁰ Thus, at Sendangsono, although Mary was presented as a slayer of the snake’s head, she was never imagined, at least explicitly, as Slayer of Muslims and heathens, in contrast to, for example, the metamorphosis of St. James into *Santiago Matamoros* (St. James, Slayer of the Muslims, then into *Santiago Mataindios* or *Matajudios*, St. James, Slayer of the Indian or Jews) in the formation of Catholic Iberian identity. See, Jerrylynn D. Dodds et al., *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (Yale University Press, 2008), 100-101.

⁵⁶¹ Tartono, *Barnabas Sarikrama*, 27, 30.

⁵⁶² David Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, 38.

still true in a Catholic Marian shrine in Sri Lanka.⁵⁶³ In contrast to that background, the relative absence of the demonization of the other and its subsequent exorcism in Catholic shrines in Java is striking.

In the history of the encounter between Christianity and Islam in Java, the demonization of the other has very rarely been conceived in terms of the fight between God and the demons belonging to the false religion. Even if there are some Muslims who regard Christians as ‘infidels’, as we saw in Chapter 4, these Christians are not imagined in terms of demons. And vice versa. Although he called the cult of ancestral spirit among the Javanese as “paganism,” Father Prennthaler never considered the Muslims as inspired by demons. In the context of Catholic shrine of Sendangsono, the question of the religious other is definitely engaged, but mostly in a subtler manner through the framework of continuity and fulfillment, rather than by imagining the religious other as simply demonic.⁵⁶⁴

The second dimension of the way in which the religious other was reckoned with in the Catholic self at the foundation of this grotto stems from its “missionary” nature as its founder conceived of it. Once it was built, the grotto was expected to serve as a beacon of self-identity, endowed not only with a dominant agenda of marking the existence of a self against the backdrop of the other, but also of turning and converting this other to the self, something that was all too normal in the missionary framework. In the vision of Father Prennthaler, its founder, the Sendangsono grotto was not only

⁵⁶³ The demonology of the Catholics at the Marian shrine of Kudagama, Sri Lanka, includes figures of the Hindu and Buddhist tradition such as Shiva, Kataragama, Kali, and Saman. On this, see Stirrat, “Demonic Possession in Roman Catholic Sri Lanka,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 33 (1977): 137

⁵⁶⁴ In Chapter 1 (Part One) we have seen how various ancestral spirits and goddesses in Java are incorporated in the spiritual cosmology of Javanese Islam. In this framework, these local spiritual forces still have the right to exist but they are obedient to God and the Prophet. The foremost historian of Java, Merle Ricklefs, argues that this incorporation of local spiritual forces constitutes one of the distinctive characteristics of the Javano-Islamic synthesis. See his *Polarizing Javanese Society*, 6-7.

conceived as a sign of a great joy and gratitude of the Javanese Catholics, but more importantly, as a proper advertisement (*D. passende reklame*) for the non-Catholic population, as the quote at the beginning of this chapter makes it clear. He declared with conviction: “Our Lady would be the missionary among these people.”⁵⁶⁵ In the mind of Father Prennthaler, the missionary, this was of course meant in the plain sense that Mary would not only subdue the local ancestral spirits but also convert the local Muslim and Javanist population. His hope was that this grotto, the “*Lourdes van Java*,” would eventually become a major pilgrimage site, the first in the land of the “heathens (*D. heidenen*).”⁵⁶⁶

This was how Father Prennthaler conceived this shrine as a sign of the existence of a Catholic self over against the other. It was designed as a particular sign, a potent advertisement, of a Catholic self in the ocean of the pagan and Muslim other. During his lifetime, the grotto did indeed attract a constant flow of non-Catholic Javanese pilgrims, including some local high-ranking government officials.⁵⁶⁷ The popularity of the grotto among the Muslim population was strongly indicated by the fact that at some point a local government official felt the need to tell his subjects that a visit by non-Christians to the grotto would only result in disaster and curse.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ Letter of Father Prennthaler, March 24, 1928; *Brieven*, 65.

⁵⁶⁶ Letter of Father Prennthaler, March 24, 1928; *Brieven*, 65.

⁵⁶⁷ In 1930 the regent of the neighboring area of Pengasih, a Muslim, planned to visit the grotto for the healing of his stroke. See the letter of Father Prennthaler of October 16, 1930; *Brieven*, 231; on the healing of certain local Muslim women at the shrine, see also his Letter of January 30, 1930; *Brieven*, 178.

⁵⁶⁸ Apparently, there was a practice that certain Muslims would send out their Muslim representatives to do the *ziarah* to the grotto. Father Prennthaler was rather disturbed by this development. He thought that the non-Catholic pilgrims might have been motivated to seek cure in this grotto just because they heard about the miraculous healing of a family that happened before, or because they saw many Europeans visit the grotto, pray, and drink the water etc. He was also worried that the Javanese Catholics would also treat the grotto as some kind of pagan shrine where a magic power would erupt. For this purpose, he warned his catechists of this danger. However, they assured him that there was no ground for this fear. For they knew that Mary was mediator of all grace, especially the grace of baptism for which they had been grateful; that Mary was their heavenly Mother; and that the grotto was a monument of this gratitude; that Mary was their

For most pilgrims at the Sendangsono grotto today, the mimetic relationship of this shrine with its mother shrine of Lourdes in France is made symbolically evident in the style of the statue of Mary as a young beautiful lady with folded hands, deep in prayer with eyes looking toward heaven. However, historically, the mimetic reason might have gone deeper. For in the aforementioned framework of intention, the Sendangsono shrine was meant to function like Lourdes due to its role in the battle of the Church against the menacing outside forces.⁵⁶⁹ As Our Lady of Lourdes has helped the Church to cope with the challenge of the increasingly secular society of France, Our Lady of Lourdes in Java was expected to be a missionary among the heathens and Muslims in south central Java, who in the eyes of Father Prennthaler posed the same challenge.

Surely, in the framework of such a vision, identity formation had to come to terms with alterity. Again, it is in the personal struggle of Prennthaler, the founding pastor of the area, that we can see how this element of dealing with the menacing other, mainly in the form of Muslim other, worked. We have noted in passing that competition with the Muhammadiyah had become a special source of anxiety and restlessness for Father Prennthaler.⁵⁷⁰ Almost daily he felt he had to race against them. For he observed that they

refuge for everything they would ask; that Mary's protection and love for them was steadfast, even when they did not obtain what they asked. Sure enough Father Prennthaler was very pleased with this assurance. See his letter of October 16, 1930; *Brieven*, 231.

⁵⁶⁹ Important aspects of the development of the Lourdes grotto in the context of French society in the 19th century can be found in Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Viking, 1999).

⁵⁷⁰ See his letters of September 9, 1927; May 13, 1928, June 1928, January 13 and 19, 1929, February 15, 1929, October 10 and 28, 1930; August 24 and September 8, 1936; also his letter, "Open Brief van Pater J. Prennthaler, S.J.", *St Claverbond* (1935): 171. Prennthaler called the Islamic leaders—generally called "haji" in Javanese, that is, those who have gone to the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca, thus not necessarily of the Muhammadiyah—as "white ravens" most probably due to the Middle-Eastern style and color of their outfit. At some point he wrote that the presence of these "haji" was a "stain" on the Javanese. This was related to the general image of "haji" as the most obvious symbol of the menacing other in some missionary accounts. Interestingly, the missionaries were also called derogatively as "black beetle" (Jv. *kutis*), due to the color of their clerical robe, or called dogs. Cfr. F. Dirks, S. J., "'N Christen onder

intentionally prevented the spread of the mission in various ways. They built up schools in places where the mission also planned to work. Although at times he felt confident that the Muhammadiyah would not win many souls in the area, Father Prennthaler was nevertheless still troubled by all this.⁵⁷¹ In this regard, his meticulous and rigorous Catholic formation program for his Javanese community, centered around the grotto and Mary—the regular communal pilgrimage under his leadership, the festivals and processions, the three-time-a-day *angelus* prayers and so forth—could not be separated also from his concern to lay a solid Catholic foundation of the local church, a community that had to be strongly visible in its Catholic identity, in light of the “aggressive” presence of the other, in particular the Muhammadiyah.⁵⁷² In the next chapter, we will also see how Father Prennthaler employed tangible symbols (*angelus* bells, *gamelan* music, etc) not only to bolster the identity of the Catholic self in the ocean of the other, but also to make a no less tangible statement of the public, lasting existence of this self.

Before we move to our second shrine, it is crucial to note that while much of Sendangsono’s sacred symbolisms was originally conceived in a rather narrow and

Mohammedanen,” *St Claverbond* (1937): 62; also H. Hagdorn, S. J., “Gebed van ‘n dessa-man tot Goesti-Allah,” *St Claverbond* (1936): 219-20.

⁵⁷¹ See the letter of Father Prennthaler, October 28, 1930; *Brieven*, 233-234. However, earlier in 1929, Father Prennthaler expressed his frustration: “All in all, I can say that the conversion work, from year to year, becomes tougher.” (D. *Alles samen zou ik zeggen, dat het bekeeringswerk van jaar tot jaar lastiger wordt.*) As for the causes, Father Prennthaler attributed them to the lack of funds, which he called “*nervus rerum*” (the nerve of the enterprise), the marching of the Muhammadiyah, as well as the indifference of the local government authority.

⁵⁷² In his letter of February 12, 1927 we find a rather detailed picture of Father Prennthaler’s program of Catholic formation for his Javanese flock. The major elements were the installments of five Javanese religious teachers (catechists) and a number of “custodian angels” (D. *Engelbewaarders*) who served as helpers of the missionary in each village, charged with some level of leadership and pastoral care for a smaller group of Catholic villagers living in the same area, such as visiting the sick, burying the dead and ensuring the undertaking of Catholic daily religious practices. In addition to medical service and charity works for the poor Javanese, the mission was also centered on pious communal activities such as procession and pilgrimage, reminiscent of the traditional Catholic life in the Tyrol, the birthplace of Prennthaler. With regard to the Muhammadiyah, it was rather common among the Dutch missionaries at the time to view this modernist movement as being strictly Muslim and thus fiercely anti-Catholic at the same time. These two characteristics went hand in hand. See, for instance, F. Dirks, S. J., “‘N Christen onder Mohammedanen,” 62.

exclusive framework for the identity formation of the Catholic community, the development of the shrine as it stands now is in fact geared toward offering hospitality to the other. The commemorative publication of its centenary celebration is filled with the stories of Muslim pilgrims to the shrine.⁵⁷³ This book ends with an interesting article on Mary that emphasizes her universal motherhood by Father Bernhard Kieser, a senior Jesuit theologian of the Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta and a regular pilgrim to the Sendangsono grotto himself. Father Kieser speaks of Mary as the mother of all, weaving a Mariology that is ecumenically sensitive as well as taking into account the role of Mary in Islam. Taking insight from the Qur'ān (21:91), he underlines the role of Mary and Jesus as sign of God's power, a powerful sign that gives rise to true faith.⁵⁷⁴

While formal conversion through baptism was a crucial part of the foundational story and master narrative of the shrine at the beginning, as we have explained, the contemporary local Catholic community—in the spirit of Vatican II and in response to the local signs of the time—put this concern in terms of the spread of the Kingdom of God. Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo, the then archbishop of Semarang, remarked during the centenary celebration of the foundational baptism at the Sendangsono grotto: “The perspective of the Church's mission now is the Kingdom of God, not primarily baptism, although it is good if God leads people to the Church through baptism.”⁵⁷⁵ In the next two chapters, we will see how the shrine has become very hospitable to the Muslim other,

⁵⁷³ This is the book edited by the Jesuit Father Sindhunata that we have cited few times in this chapter. See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*.

⁵⁷⁴ Bernhard Kieser, S. J., “Maria, Siapa Punya? Orang Kristiani dan Orang Muslim Menghormati Maria,” ([“Who Owns Mary? Christian and Muslim Devotion to Mary”]) in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 189-204.

⁵⁷⁵ See his remarks in the interview in the video program by SAV Puskat, *Sendangsono: Mata Air Penyeljuk Iman di Kaki Sang Ibu* (Yogyakarta: 2004).

especially in the realm of rituals, as well as providing a welcoming space for the Muslim pilgrims.

V. 2. The Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran: A Community Being Sent

In the historical dynamics of the Sendangsono grotto above, we have noted how the Javanese Catholic community, under the tutelage of European Jesuit missionaries, attempted to chart the first phase of their identity formation. As can be expected, this formative phase was marked by tensions as the community wobbled between security and insecurity, deep faith and self-doubt, as well as communion and exclusion. In what follows we will see how the community came to terms with these tensions in a rather different spirit in the context of the Sacred Heart shrine in Ganjuran, where the identity of the community was negotiated within the larger and more integral context of a Catholic existence anchored in structural charity and inculturation. As also happened at the Sendangsono grotto, we will see how the current communal discernment of the community has significantly broadened the underlying principle of communion. They have done so by going back to this foundational spirit to respond to the current challenges, thus creatively trying to find new ways to cope with today's tensions.

Both in terms of history and its role in the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community, the Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran—located some twenty miles to the southwest of Yogyakarta, a few miles away from the southern coast where some Javanese and Muslim sacred sites are found (see Map 1)—is intimately connected to the Lourdes grotto at Sendangsono. This only major Sacred Heart shrine in Java was consecrated on February 11, 1930, the feast day of our Lady of Lourdes. The shrine was

also expected to be like Lourdes: that is, to be blessed with miracles.⁵⁷⁶ Ganjuran was an important pilgrimage site since its foundation, although it experienced a period of decline before becoming very popular from the late 1990s until the present.⁵⁷⁷ Conceived and built chiefly by the Schmutzer family in their family estate, the shrine acquired an ecclesial significance since it was conceived as a monument or memorialization of the “apostolic” moment of the identity formation of the community: that is, when the whole community was being sent out on a mission to the larger society, after being founded, so to speak, at Sendangsono. At the dedication of the shrine, the whole realm of Java and Indonesia (the Dutch East Indies) was also consecrated to the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Christ the King. Therefore, the concerns obviously went beyond the narrow confines of the Javano-Catholic community in Java or the Catholic Church in the Indies, but rather to the whole “nation” (I. *Nusantara*).

Given this foundational spirit, the shrine was, to a large measure, meant to be a sign of the maturity of the Javanese Catholic community, its coming of age, marked by taking up more responsibility for the much wider society. In this respect, the symbolisms of the Sacred Heart and Christ the King are highly significant, for they represent the nature of the mission of this community: to embody the merciful and outpouring compassion of the Sacred Heart, the fountain of Divine Love, and to spread out this Love

⁵⁷⁶ *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930. The consecration of this shrine was more solemn than that of the Sendangsono grotto. Three bishops were present as well as other Dutch dignitaries, while some 2,500 Catholics were also in attendance (both Javanese and Dutch). A huge procession with banners of various Catholic organizations was also held.

⁵⁷⁷ The *Swara-Tama* of June 19, 1935 featured a story about a group of parishioners from Wates, some 20 miles away to the west, who journeyed to Ganjuran on foot to visit both the shrine and the local Catholics. In the edition of November 16, 1934 the *Swara-Tama* reported a pilgrimage to Ganjuran by a group from the neighboring area of Bantul. In 1930s the sodalities of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Jv. *Soenaring Tyas Dalem*) were also formed among Javanese Catholics (see *Swara-Tama*, May 22, 1935). For a tradition of early pilgrimage to Ganjuran, see also M. Soegita, “Sendangsono, Paroki Promasan, dan Panggilan Imamatku, [“The Sendangsono Grotto, the Promasan Parish and My Priestly Vocation]” in Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 49.

to the whole world, the realm of Christ's kingship. While at the Sendangsono shrine, the agency of the community was placed more on Mary as the true and most potent missionary, at the Ganjuran shrine the community and its members were expected to take up much more active role in the overall theological framework of God's unbounded grace.

This foundational spirit is of course subject to the same complex process of communal discernment that includes theological hermeneutic of self and otherness. However, from the outset one can say that the spirit of communion with the other—however it was meant originally—had been at the heart of this shrine since its foundation under the framework of channeling the Divine blessings, the merciful embrace of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to the larger Javanese or Indonesian society.⁵⁷⁸ The direction of this communal hermeneutic has been from the very start governed by the spirit of including and embracing the other, while immersing oneself more deeply into this reality of the other. More concretely, this foundational spirit of the Sacred Heart has been translated into a structured program of charity and education for all, as well as inculturation of Catholic faith in the local Javanese culture, as we will see below.

In what follows, our historical analysis of these dynamics at the Ganjuran shrine will be focused on three elements. Preceded by a brief account of the historical context of identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community in the 1920s and 1930s, we will examine the discourse against the other, namely, the argument that presented the

⁵⁷⁸ In its current formulation, this spirit is expressed thus: "Becoming a Blessing for All Creatures, Everyone and Everything" (I. *Menjadi Berkat Bagi Siapa dan Apa Saja*; or *Menjadi Berkat untuk Segala Mahkluk*). See the official brochure of the Sacred Heart shrine, *Gereja Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus Ganjuran: Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat* ("The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Ganjuran: Receiving God's blessings in order to become a blessing for others"; henceforth *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*; Yogyakarta: 2004), 5. We see here the echo of the Muslim notion of the Qur'ān and Muḥammad as the grace for the whole universe (Ar. *raḥmatan lil- 'ālamīn*).

Ganjuran shrine as a living proof of the Catholic appreciation of the Javanese culture, one of the manifestations of the goodness of the Catholic mission in colonial Java. Then, we will examine the role of the founders of the shrine—i.e., the Schmutzer family—in the formation of the identity of the community in the socio-political realm, as well as in the field of inculturation of the Catholic faith in Javanese culture.

The immediate context of the birth of the Ganjuran shrine was the first two or three tumultuous decades of the early decades of the 20th century. In Chapter 4 we have seen how during this time period the Javanese society and the whole Indies were experiencing deep fissures, not only in terms of differing religions but also conflicting political and economic ideologies. Particularly crucial for our account in this section is the ideological enmity between the socialist/communist groups and their enemies (Islamic, Christian, and nationalist groups) that came to be more pronounced in the 1920s, as shown by the communist rebellion of 1926-1927.

It was in this context of sectarian political struggle that the Ganjuran sugar factory, owned by a religiously pious and socially progressive Dutch Catholic family (the Schmutzers), was presented as an example of the goodness of Catholicism by the Javano-Catholic community which was under serious attack due to its connection with the local Dutch industrialists. In the socio-economic realm, the Javanese Catholic community was often accused of being the lapdog of Dutch capitalists (Jv. *dadi begondal para Walandi kapitalist*).⁵⁷⁹ Thus, against the backdrop of rampant capitalist exploitation of the

⁵⁷⁹ *Swara-Tama* (October 15 and November 30, 1921) reported a rather heated debate on this subject that came to the fore on the sensitive issue of the labor strike advocated by Cokroaminoto, a member of the Sugar Inquiry Commission (D. *Suiker Enquete-Commissie*) and the head of the Sarekat Islam, upon his pulling out from the Commission. The *Swara-Tama* opposed this strike. Naturally, the *Swara-Tama* was accused by the socialist newspaper *Sinar Hindia* (October 22, 1921) of being owned by the capitalists, of taking the view of the owners of the factories, not that of Cokroaminoto and Cramer. The *Swara-Tama* was also accused of neglecting the real factor behind Cokroaminoto's pulling out, i.e. that the commission was

Javanese populace by the sugar factories in Java in the late 19th century and early decades of the 20th century, and the specter of influential socialist and communist ideas, the first Javano-Catholic intellectuals proudly presented Ganjuran as a good exemplar of a factory that benefited the Javanese population, namely, bringing in a good irrigation system, sparing special funds for charity and education, and actively responding to social concerns of the surrounding society.⁵⁸⁰ To flesh out their argument, the reality of “solidarity”—as opposed to gross capitalism, socialism or communism—was taken up by the Catholic *Swara-Tama* as a distinctive marker of the Catholic socio-economic enterprise, its socio-political identity.⁵⁸¹ It was the Catholic principle of solidarity that turned the Schmutzer family’s estate in Ganjuran (Gondanglipura) into a space of integral Catholicism, where salvation of self was intimately connected to the wellbeing of the other.

In the story of the Ganjuran shrine, this practice of solidarity was rooted in the personal as well as professional lives of the Schmutzer family, a prominent Dutch Catholic family whose contribution to the Javanese (Indonesians) was expressed in the

dominated by the sugar factories’ establishment. Typical of its combative mode during this period, the *Swara-Tama* replied back with a rather personal attack on Cokroaminoto, questioning his sincerity and gentlemanliness. The *Swara-Tama* considered him a coward because the Commission was created precisely in response to his own pleas at the People’s Advisory Council (the *Volksraad*) but then he quit. Plus, only two members (out of seven) of the Commission actually belonged to the sugar industry establishment. Apparently, this debate continued as the *Swara-Tama* (November 30, 1921) reported. A socialist activist who might have been a local member of the socialist faction of the Sarekat Islam in Ganjuran challenged the Catholics for holding a public debate on the connection between the *Swara-Tama* and the capitalists. Wisely, the *Swara-Tama* editors chose not to respond to this. For the rather central role of the sugar industry in the socio-political fissures of the colonial society in Java during this period, see Ruth McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965).

⁵⁸⁰ The *Swara-Tama* (September 1920) highlighted the socially progressive elements of the Schmutzers’ sugar plantation and factory: favorable working hours, increase of wages, pension plan, also provision for the widows of the workers, sharing of the profit, payment during illness and holidays, and emergency funds for accidents in the work place. See Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol II*, 486.

⁵⁸¹ In the context of the Jesuit mission in colonial Java, plantation enterprise (*D. onderneming*) often functioned as a place of making fruitful contact with the Javanese natives. It was also a privileged avenue in which the laity and the missionaries were working hand in hand, united among others by the same concern against the spread of communism. See Kimmenade-Beekmans, *De Missie van de Jezuïten op Midden-Java tijdens het Interbellum*, 83.

realms of politics (public service), economy (sugar factory), religion and charity (parish church, hospitals, orphanage, and schools). We will delve a bit into the Schmutzer family because of their role as founders, not only of the shrine but also of the wider Javano-Catholic community, as well as their paradigmatic status as the most accomplished lay apostle in the history of the Catholic community in Java in colonial times. Surely their image as religiously pious and socially progressive founders continues to play a paradigmatic role in the ways in which the shrine understands itself and functions today, as we will see later.⁵⁸²

In the realm of socio-political thought, the Schmutzer family was influential in shaping the identity and outlook of the Javano-Catholic community in this period.⁵⁸³ Dr. Josef Schmutzer (1882-1946), one of the two prominent Schmutzer brothers and a longtime member of the People's Advisory Council (D. *Volksraad*), is remembered for his visionary views on the question of colonialism and the rights of the natives.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸² See the brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkah*, 13ff. This official publication of the shrine regards the Schmutzer family's socio-religious concerns, namely, their response to the call of Pope Leo XIII's social encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, as the embodiment of the Sacred Heart spirituality.

⁵⁸³ The *Swara-Tama* often featured the Schmutzer family, i.e., their public speeches, charity activities, but also their family affairs.

⁵⁸⁴ The two Schmutzer boys, Josef and Julius, were born in the Indies (Java) and only went to the Netherlands to pursue their university studies at the prestigious Polytechnic School in Delft. After graduation, the older Josef went on to Paris to pursue another course of studies in mineralogy at the *École Nationale Supérieure des Mines de Paris*, and then returned back to Delft for his doctorate. He then stayed at that school as a lecturer, before returning to the Indies with his younger brother, Julius. In the Indies, Josef was a member of the *Volksraad* (People's Advisory Council). As we saw in Chapter 4, the *Volksraad* was the first institution set up with an eye toward self-governance in the Indies; opened in 1918, it was the first significant initiative of the Dutch progressive politicians (the *ethici*) to enhance the conditions of the colony. However, among Indonesian radical activists, the *Volksraad* was considered an impotent institution. Josef was a prominent Catholic layman not only in the Indies where he was a leader in the Dutch Catholic Party in the Indies (D. *Indische Katholieke Partij*), but also in the Netherlands, where he was involved with the Catholic Party and held a brief ministerial post during World War II. He returned to Utrecht from the Indies in 1930 to become a professor in mineralogy (before assuming the ministerial post). An accomplished scholar and public servant, Josef was also interested in various aspects of Catholic theology, mission, arts and so forth. His relevant works in this area include: "Leekenarbeid in het Indische Missiegebied" ["The Role of the Laity in the Mission Territories"] in *Eerste Nederlandsche Missiecongres* (Leiden: Ars Catholica, 1921); *Un Art Javanais Chrétien* (1922); "Bezieling en Arbeid" ["Inspiration and Work"] in *Eerste Internationaal Missiecongres in Nederland* (Utrecht, September 25-29, 1922), 193-208;

Drawing insights from Thomas Aquinas, he defended the natural inclination and rights of the peoples to organize themselves in the pursuit of common good. He saw the common identity of the people as something more primordial and important—based on the natural love for and attachment to homeland—than government and state. Thus, he argued, duties to the homeland should take precedence over duties to the (colonial) government and state. Government was only a means for the common good and it should be changed in accordance with the choice of the peoples, even by force, if necessary. On the contrary, when a colonial government fulfilled its duties toward the native peoples, it could be justified, but only until the peoples themselves became ready to have their own government (*D. zelfbestuur*).⁵⁸⁵ Already in the late 1920s, Josef Schmutzer expressed his belief that the necessary maturity had been reached for the Indonesian people to decide on their own needs through the exercise of modern self-governance.⁵⁸⁶ As we saw in

“Javaansche Madonna’s” *St Claverbond* (1935): 214-22; “Het Apostolaat der Kunst” [“The Apostolate of Arts”], *St Claverbond* (1935): 53-68; “Irene Peltenburg en de Aangepaast Missiekunst” [“Irene Peltenburg and the Indigenized Arts of the Mission”], *St Claverbond* (1934): 65-68. His younger brother, Julius Schmutzer (1884-1954), was the one who practically ran the sugar plantation in Ganjuran while also being very involved in various ways with the Jesuit mission in south central Java, especially in the realm of social and charity works. For a brief sketch of Josef Schmutzer’s life and work, see also C. van der Deijl, SJ, “Geloof en Wetenschap,” *St Claverbond* (1930): 150-58. For a sketch of Julius Schmutzer’s life and work, see van Kalken, S. J., “Hunne Werken Immers Volgen Hen,” *St Claverbond* (1930): 142-49.

⁵⁸⁵ *Swara-Tama*, August 2, 9, and 16, 1929. This position was not without its detractors in colonial Java at the time. As the *Swara-Tama* reported (August 16, 1929), there was a suspicion that the Catholic mission, Dutch missionaries in particular, would be politically involved for the sake of the colonial government due to their blood ties to their country. In response, the *Swara-Tama* argued that the Catholic Church was for the spread of God’s kingdom, not the earthly one, although it would be beneficial also to the common good; and, citing Benedict XV’s exhortation *Maximum Illud*, that missionaries would not be attached to their homelands and their interests. On Josef Schmutzer’s speech at the *Volksraad*, see his “Het Algemeen Regeeringsbeleid en het Arbeidsvraagstuk in den Volksraad,” *Publikaties der Indische Katholieke Partij* (1929), v. I, p. 84; see also Eduard Schmutzer, *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia*, 102-104.

⁵⁸⁶ *Swara-Tama*, August 23, 1929. Josef Schmutzer had no doubt about the ability of the Indonesian people to be self-sufficient and to build a respected nation. But he warned that this would need hardwork, wholeheartedness, and unity among all the peoples, as well as between the people and the government. He was concerned about the danger of “communism” as a force that had the agenda of tearing down the government since they had no nationalist spirit. This concern illustrates very well the ideological wars at the time between diverse groups, even after the crushing of the communist rebellion in 1926-1927.

Chapter 4, this was also the vision that the young Javano-Catholic intellectuals came to embrace.

In Josef Schmutzer's thoughts, this down-to-earth and nuanced view of colonialism and native nationalism was coupled with an adherence to the Catholic principle of solidarity.⁵⁸⁷ The many activities and public service that he performed during his long sojourn in the Indies were nothing other than his attempts to apply this principle in the colonial context of the Dutch East Indies. In the context of Catholic mission in south central Java, this vision of solidarity was made much more concrete and far reaching by his younger brother and his wife, Julius Schmutzer and Caroline van Rickevorsel. Julius was a pious Catholic industrialist who managed the sugar factory in Gondanglipura (Ganjuran).⁵⁸⁸ Under his direction, the plantation and sugar factory of Ganjuran were guided by an integral practice of Catholicism, marked by concerns for the spiritual and material wellbeing of the whole community, including the Muslim population. It was a place of solidarity where the workers were treated humanely, and where a large part of the profit of the capital was returned to the community in the forms of education, health service and infrastructure development.⁵⁸⁹ Another aspect of this solidarity, understood in its broadest sense, is the Schmutzers' concerns for the preservation of Javanese culture as well as the inculturation of Catholic faith in Javanese soil. In the next chapter we will see how this vision of solidarity and inculturation, that is, the act of embracing the other, was translated into the creation of Javano-Christian art,

⁵⁸⁷ See J. Schmutzer, *Solidarisme in Indië* (Leiden, 1922). This is a publication of his speech delivered at Utrecht, the Netherlands, in 1921.

⁵⁸⁸ See van Kalken, S. J., "Hunne Werken Immers Volgen Hen," 142-49.

⁵⁸⁹ In terms of infrastructure and community development, the Schmutzer family built twelve schools in the area, two hospitals, one in the area and another in the city, and a water irrigation system. Due to his service to the community, he obtained a personal appreciation and favor from the Sultan of Yogyakarta.

made manifest especially in the hybrid (Hindu-Catholic) style of the temple-shrine of the Sacred Heart and its statuary at Ganjuran.

In the memory of the Javano-Catholic community in Ganjuran, all of these philanthropic activities have given rise to the image of the Schmutzer family as pious and hardworking Catholic pilgrims from the Netherlands whom God used in His salvific plan for the Javanese people. In the quasi-official narrative of “salvation history” around Ganjuran, the Schmutzer family was believed to be the first Catholics who settled in the area in the mid 19th century.⁵⁹⁰ A particular point is emphasized that God could use lay people and businessmen for the propagation of His kingdom on earth. In short, for Javanese Catholics, the Schmutzer family was a paradigm of what it meant to be a good Dutch Catholic layperson in colonial Java.⁵⁹¹ They felt forever indebted to this family as their founders.⁵⁹² This sentiment is expressed succinctly thus: “These white Europeans gave us, the Javanese, innumerable and sincere tokens out of their respect and selfless love for our people!”⁵⁹³

This quote that actually came from a Dutch priest reveals the principle of communion of the Javano-Catholic community, especially their full embrace of their

⁵⁹⁰ See the shrine brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkah*, 26. The title of the section “Salvation history in the Ganjuran Parish” (I. *Sejarah Keselamatan di Gereja Ganjuran*) reveals the effort on the part of the community to memorialize the founders in an explicitly theological scheme, placing the whole history of the shrine in the framework of God’s particular involvement in the world.

⁵⁹¹ The stature of the Schmutzer family became more paradigmatic as the Vatican honored Julius Schmutzer with a title of a knight in the Order of St. Gregory (D. *Ridder in de Orde van St. Gregorius*). See *Swara-Tama*, December 6, 1929. On the death of Julius Schmutzer, see B. Sondaal, S. J., “*Bij den dood van een groot lekenapostel*,” [“On the Death of a Great Lay Apostle”], *St Claverbond* (1946): 121-23.

⁵⁹² Therefore, it was a real blow to this community when the Schmutzer family (Julius and his wife) returned back to the Netherlands in 1934. The *Swara-Tama* (June 22, 1934) reported that the Javanese Catholic community held a farewell party at the Jesuit community of St. Ignatius in the city of Yogyakarta. As a token of gratitude, the community considered sharing a holy communion together with the Schmutzer family (the Eucharist) as more appropriate than giving a bouquet of flowers that can lose its freshness quickly, something that symbolized the weakening of the affection in the heart too.

⁵⁹³ B. Sondaal, S. J., “*Bij den dood van een groot lekenapostel*,” 121. In the original Dutch: “*Deze blanken, deze Europeaan gaf ons, Javanen, talloos vele ondubbelzinnige blijken van zijn hoogachting en onbaatzuchtig liefde voor ons volk.*”

Dutch coreligionists that we discussed in Chapter 4. However, we need to recall that Josef Schmutzer died in 1946, a year after the independence of Indonesia which the Dutch refused to acknowledge until 1949. Therefore, what this quote really tried to say, in the rather familiar colonial language of “white people helping out the browns,” is that there were deeper and beneficial connections between the Javanese and the Dutch, despite the bitter political tensions between Indonesia and the Netherlands at the time. The Dutch, in other words, had become part of the identity of the Javano-Catholic community. And in this respect, Josef Schmutzer is fondly remembered as a man whose most significant achievement for the mission was his grand and integral vision of harmony between Christianity and local culture, between the West and the East, so to speak.⁵⁹⁴

In the life and dynamics of the shrine today, this historical aspect in the sense of keeping the memory of the founders alive is quite pronounced. We will see in the next chapter how memory of the Schmutzer family features rather prominently in the prayer of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, one of the most distinctive rituals at the shrine.⁵⁹⁵ Beyond these rituals, it is crucial to notice that this memory of the founder is governed by the master narrative of the Sacred Heart’s spirituality, namely, the spirit of sharing the gift of God, of becoming the channel of God’s outpouring grace for all, the grace of reconciliation and universal harmony (*I. Menjadi Berkat Untuk Segala Mahkluk*). It is

⁵⁹⁴ B. Sondaal, S. J., “Bij den dood van een groot lekenapostel,” 122-23. This vision of harmony is conceived as Christological, i.e., it is really Christ who is the principle of this harmony and unity. This is the Christological underpinning of the spirituality and mission of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran.

⁵⁹⁵ As part of the effort toward reconnection with founders, a continuous contact between the shrine and the surviving descendants of the Schmutzer family in the Netherlands is intentionally fostered. Upon the death of one of the Schmutzer family members, the shrine was bequeathed a rather large amount of money (250 millions Indonesian *rupiah*).

this master narrative that gives rise to the continual widening of this foundational sharing of blessings (Jv. *berkat*), through the shrine, to pilgrims from all over the country.⁵⁹⁶

Thus, by employing this master narrative, the community is actually returning back to its history understood in terms of the foundational spirit, the spiritual and theological principle of communion through compassion and humble service based on the theo-logic of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.⁵⁹⁷ By doing so, they also attempt to express a deeper communion with the founders, believing that the spirit of the Sacred Heart was the deepest driving force of the Schmutzer family.⁵⁹⁸ Crucial in this *resourcement* movement is the role of Father Gregorius Utomo, the shrine's current pastor, whose quest for the so-called "Ganjuran legacy" has become the backbone of the identity formation and practice of the shrine today.⁵⁹⁹

To a large degree, the current self-understanding of the shrine and its community reflects the most recent illustration of the ongoing communal discernment and theological reflection on the legacy of the founding moment and the founders. Inherent in this continual negotiation of identity is how the founding vision has become enlarged in its scope, so much so that self and other are becoming closer to each other, although never

⁵⁹⁶ The shrine brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*, 7.

⁵⁹⁷ Values and virtues traditionally associated with the Sacred Heart of Jesus are suffering, love and solidarity (*kenosis*). At Ganjuran, the paradigm of being a servant is emphasized. Hence the creation of the Sodality of the Sacred Heart's Servants (Jv. *Paguyuban Abdi Dalem*), that is, an association of the shrine's caretakers and volunteers. For a theological account of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, see Karl Rahner "Behold this Heart!": Preliminaries to a Theology of Devotion to the Sacred Heart," and "Some Theses for a Theology of Devotion to the Sacred Heart," in *Theological Investigation*, Vol. 3 (Darton Longman & Todd, 1967), 321-352; also "The Theological Meaning of the Veneration of the Sacred Heart" and "Unity – Love – Mystery" in *Theological Investigation*, Vol. 8 (Darton Longman & Todd, 1971), 217-247.

⁵⁹⁸ The shrine brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*, 57.

⁵⁹⁹ This is the whole idea of "*menggali spiritualitas dasar*" (See *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*, 38ff). Father Gregorius Utomo began his tenure in Ganjuran in 1988 when the shrine had been dormant as a site of pilgrimage for some years. Part of Father Utomo's *resourcement* of the shrine, in the sense of reconnecting it with its foundational past, is to keep a personal connection with the surviving Schmutzer family.

become completely identical. What we see is a renewed practice of integral Catholicism around the shrine, in which nothing good for the full flourishing of the human person in the context of its relationship with God, the self (individual and communal), the neighbors, the local culture and the cosmos, should be excluded. In the ritual and communal realm of the shrine, this broad spirit of communion is anchored in the daily practice of the prayer to the Sacred Heart (solidarity through prayer), together with the creation of the National Sodality of the Sacred Heart (Jv. *Paguyuban Tyas Dalem se-Nusantara*).⁶⁰⁰ A rather loose association of the Sacred Heart devotees, this association embodies the underlying spirit of universal compassion and solidarity through prayers (more on this later).

Furthermore, true to the founding spirit of the Schmutzer family, one of the most dramatic features of the shrine is its highly influential effort at preserving Javanese culture in the realm of rituals and architecture, as we will see more fully in the next chapter. Obviously, the underlying spirit here is communion with and immersion in the local context. In traditional Catholic parlance, this is the spirit of inculturation of the faith into the indigenous culture of the people. However, the case of the Ganjuran shrine shows that this process of inculturation is done not for the sake of the development of local culture per se, but rather for providing a deeper and more inclusive space of shared culture among different religious communities in Java. Due to its mythical and historical location, the Ganjuran shrine plays a crucial role in maintaining this spiritual connection

⁶⁰⁰ This sodality was founded in 1999, with the blessing of the then archbishop of Semarang, central Java, Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo, on the 75th celebration of the parish. In terms of organization, this sodality is a loose association with open membership among the devotees of the Sacred Heart, many of whom are personally connected to the shrine through personal experience of pilgrimage to it, while others are connected to it through sending prayer requests to the shrine committee. The main goal of the sodality is centered on the whole idea of deepening, spreading and putting into practice the Sacred Heart spirituality through the practice of prayers and communion among devotees. See *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkah*, 43.

with that core mission as well as expressions of Javanese culture. In the words of Father Gregorius Utomo, different religious communities in Java will continue to foster a deeper degree of mutual understanding insofar as they preserve their Javanese-ness.⁶⁰¹ (More on this in the next chapter, where we deal with spatial, ritual and architectural dimensions of the shrine).

The unprecedented flourishing of the shrine that started to unfold in the late 1990s as the shrine became a very popular site has widened considerably the scope of the traditional charity work of the shrine, with the focus on the poor and the sick across religious boundaries.⁶⁰² However, beyond this particular focus on acts of charity, a new realization has arisen of the need to practice integral Catholicism where emphasis is placed on an integral human living in the harmonious relationship with the integrity of the whole cosmic reality. The shrine has associated itself with the larger movement of organic and sustainable farming.⁶⁰³ At the shrine, this whole ecological movement might be related as well to the importance of the holy water (*I. perwitasari*)—that is, the “water of life” that gushes forth from the earth beneath the shrine—as a symbol of more natural

⁶⁰¹ Personal communication, July 30, 2009. Part of the movement to revive and preserve the Javanese culture in the shrine is the choice of the Javanese style of the new parish church that was completed in 2009 (Fig. 8.9). As it stands now, this church resembles the traditional mosques in Java, most notably the first congregational Mosque of Demak (Fig. 1.1.), as well as the royal Javano-Muslim palaces of Java (Fig. 3.2), rather than the Javanese Hindu temple of the classical age.

⁶⁰² During the 2006 earthquakes that devastated much of south central Java, the shrine and the parish of Ganjuran became a center of humanitarian aid for the surrounding area. Beyond this emergency phase, the charity program for the poor and sick, regardless of religious affiliation, has continued, using the regular funds of the shrine. This is the so-called the Charity Funds of the Ganjuran Shrine (*I. Dana Sosial Candi Ganjuran*), that typically would provide funds for medication and hospitalization of the poor and sick. See the brochure of the shrine, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkah*, 69-70.

⁶⁰³ The rise of the shrine, following a period of decline, coincided with the celebration of the World Food Day (*I. Hari Pangan Sedunia*) in Ganjuran in 1990, featuring a seminar of Asian farmers that resulted in the Ganjuran Declaration, a manifesto of socially and ecologically sustainable practice of farming with special attention to the plight of the poor peasants and fishermen, as well as the preservation of local culture. This event was also sponsored by the Federation of the Asian Catholic Bishops' Conference (FABC). Following this, an association of organic farmers and fishers was created (*I. Paguyuban Tani Nelayan HPS*).

and integral healing. In light of its founding message, this cosmic or ecological aspect is not totally new, but definitely it is the fruit of a communal discernment of the community in response to the contemporary challenge, expanding the scope of communion that lies at the foundational spirit of the Sacred Heart and the Schmutzer family. In the same vein, the aspect of an interfaith communal bond has not only become more pronounced but also has taken on some qualitatively new dimension, such as the more significance presence and involvement of the religious other in the dynamics of the shrine, including its rituals, as we will examine in the next chapter. For the local Catholic community, the basis of this hermeneutic is that the spirit of compassion that forms the core of the Sacred Heart spirituality, and devotion knows no religious boundaries, since it goes to the heart of humanity.⁶⁰⁴

V. 3. The Shrines of the Martyr and the Founder: the Community Being Tested

Our previous section has hopefully made it rather clear that history, understood as the founding moment of the shrine and its community, is a lived reality of the present that continues to define the very identity and mission of both. While the Javano-Catholic community at the Ganjuran shrine seems to have no trouble finding the *resourcement* for their understanding of mission in today's world by expanding its foundational vision, the dynamics of the third shrine under study, the mausoleum of Muntilan, presents rather different dynamics. Although at the end of the process the principle of communion remains clearly the norm and direction of the community in its negotiation of identity in the face of otherness, the mausoleum represents a phase in the history of the community's

⁶⁰⁴ See the shrine's brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*, 25. The practical criteria adopted here is the inclusive spirit of Vatican II (particularly *Gaudium et Spes*), namely, cooperation with all persons of good will.

identity formation that was marked more by tensions and struggle that involved martyrdoms at the hands of the Muslim other. The mausoleum houses the tomb of the Javanese martyr, Father Sanjaya, who was murdered at the site by an Islamic militia group called the Hizbullah in 1948, as well as the tombs of other Dutch Jesuit missionaries who were killed during the tumultuous period following the independence of Indonesia in 1945.

Thus, on one level, as if sending us back to the earlier existential anxieties and fear of Father Prenthaler with regard to Islam, the mausoleum of Muntilan represented a quite complicated moment of self-reckoning on the part of the Javano-Catholic community precisely because it had to square its very identity with the rather acute sense of its own alterity at a time when the new, yet fragile identity of “Indonesia” as a nation-state had just come into being. In this way, the mausoleum of Muntilan that comes to be associated more strongly with the martyr Father Sanjaya represents a delicate question of alterity to the Javano-Catholic community, not the alterity of an other group, but rather its own in the context of Java and Indonesia. Here the endurance of the framework of communion that had become the backbone of the identity formation of the community (Chapter 4) was tested. We will see how the community came to terms with this rather troubling event.

However, on a second level, the mausoleum of Muntilan is also endowed with an aura of the great and sacred founding moment of the community. For, as we have seen in Chapter 4, Muntilan is “the Bethlehem of Java,” a site associated with the origin of the Javano-Catholic community. At the mausoleum, this idea of origin is closely related to the idea of development and struggle, due to the variety of the tombs found in this

cemetery. For besides the tombs of the martyrs mentioned above and those of Father van Lith and Father Mertens, the two great founders of the Java mission, it also houses other graves of important figures of the community, both European and Javanese.⁶⁰⁵ In this framework, then, the struggle of the community to come to terms with the question of alterity that this mausoleum represents also happens in the context of coming back, both spiritually and hermeneutically, to the founding moment and the founders. In my view, the community came to be able to cope very fruitfully with the question of alterity in the wake of the troubling event of Father Sanjaya's martyrdom—not only in the sense of strengthening their identity, but also of preventing them from withdrawing from the framework of communion—precisely because they did not lose sight of the sense of Divine assurance of the community's future that had become very clear at Sendangsono (and had been strengthened at Ganjuran), as we have seen in the preceding sections of this chapter.

We will deal with how the community came to terms with the question of its own alterity below. But at this point, it is crucial to note that the mausoleum of Muntilan is also intimately connected to the grotto of Sendangsono through the potent framework of sacred foundation of a community. Both belong to the core of the Javano-Catholic identity. This is why pilgrims nowadays visit Sendangsono and Muntilan in one journey. In this respect, it is worth noting that this symbolic connection probably goes back to the

⁶⁰⁵ Among the local Church luminaries buried here are Father Henricus van Driessche (the pioneering missionary who worked in Yogyakarta, and who opened the mission station of Ganjuran), Father Piet Zoetmulder (the most accomplished Jesuit Javanologist and Islamologist in Java), Father Matthias Jonkbloedt and Father Jan Weitjens (two saintly Jesuit missionaries) and Justinus Cardinal Darmoyuwono (the first Cardinal of Indonesia) more recently. Since the earliest phase, certain tombs like that of Father van Driessche were known and visited by many pilgrims. In 1935, the local Church authority forbade the plan of a group of Catholics from Yogyakarta to visit the grave of their former pastor, Father van Driessche, on the ground that the designation of a pilgrimage site should be decided by the Church, normally after a long process of deliberation, weighing on different proofs and witnesses and so forth, such as at Lourdes and Lisieux. See *Swara-Tama*, May 22, 1935.

foundational pilgrimage of the first Javanese Catholics under the guidance of Barnabas Sarikrama, the Javanese catechist whose crucial role we encountered in the first section of this chapter. Symbolically meaningful in our discourse on pilgrimage here is the transformation of Sarikrama's feet: from being paralyzed to being the strong feet of a pilgrim on the road of God.⁶⁰⁶ Under the leadership of Sarikrama, this nascent community would walk nine hours roundtrip from the hills of Menoreh to the center of the Java mission, Muntilan, every weekend to attend Sunday mass and religious instruction. To a large degree, this was a communal pilgrimage of identity, for it architectonically connected the new community at the periphery to the center. Given the hardships associated with rough mountainous terrain and the unfriendly tropical weather, this pilgrimage was definitely a practice of communal asceticism and purification, even a test of faith, pursued in the context of a robust formation of a nascent Catholic community.⁶⁰⁷

As mentioned previously, the murders of Father Sanjaya (a Javanese diocesan priest) and Herman Bouwens (a young Jesuit seminarian) in 1948 were a test for the endurance of the complex identity formation of the Javanese Catholic community, particularly the principle of communion with all its elements that we discussed in Chapter 4. The blow to the community was felt so much harder because just three years earlier several Dutch Jesuit priests in the neighboring town of Magelang were also murdered on All Saints Day.⁶⁰⁸ During the very tumultuous period of the revolutionary wars against

⁶⁰⁶ Sindhunata, S. J., *Mengasih Maria*, 176.

⁶⁰⁷ G. Vriens, *Seratus Tahun Misi*, 78. This group continued to do this weekly pilgrimage until 1929 when they got their own parish church in Bara.

⁶⁰⁸ In all, there were ten Church personnels who were murdered (the majority of whom were Dutch). Only on August 1950, in a solemn ceremony, their bodies were re-buried in the mausoleum in Muntilan, together with Sanjaya and Bouwens. See the article "Martelaren?" ["Martyrs?"] in *Missienieuws: Tijdschrift der Paters Jezuiten*, 71 (1963), 11; also J. Hadiwikarta Pr, ed. *Mengenal dan Mengenang Rama R. Sanjaya Pr*

the Dutch (1945-1949), the question of “foreignness” that stemmed from any kind of association with the colonial power became politically acute, largely due to the refusal of the Dutch to recognize the independent Indonesia (declared in 1945) and to their attempts to retake Indonesia by military force. Still quite fresh in the memory of the Indonesian people was Japan’s anti-Dutch and pro-Islamic campaign during the brief Japanese occupation (1942-1945).⁶⁰⁹ We also have examined in Chapter 4 the particular challenge of foreignness faced by the Javano-Catholic community in the early 1940s as the Second World War began. The community was attacked because of its intimate connection with the Christian Europe that, in the eyes of certain groups in the Indies, was on the brink of moral and religious bankruptcy because of the war among themselves, something that clearly went against the core of Christian teaching on love. Then, during the political chaos under the Japanese occupation, the Catholic Church found itself in a difficult situation in the Indies because most of Dutch missionaries were interned due to their Dutchness and their (presumed) connection to the Allies.⁶¹⁰

Around this time, Mgr. Soegijapranata, the first native bishop, spoke about the imminent dangers that the Catholic Church faced from the whole political chaos,

([“Getting to Know and Remembering Father R. Sanjaya”]; henceforth *Rama Sanjaya*; Jakarta: Obor, 1984), 23.

⁶⁰⁹ In this connection, Frances Gouda mentions a very illuminating example of the anti-Dutch campaign by the Japanese. In a cartoon called “*De Verleidster*” (the Temptress), the Dutch were represented as a beautiful and voluptuous lady but with a monstrous mask hidden behind her pretty face, tempting an Indonesian middle-aged man wearing a Muslim headdress. See Frances Gouda, “The Gendered Rhetoric of Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Twentieth-Century Indonesia” *Indonesia*, 55 (1993): 11.

⁶¹⁰ L. van Rijckevorsel *et al*, *Fransiskus Straeter, SJ, 2 April 1882-19 Juni 1944* (MSS, 1992, The Indonesian Jesuit Provincial Office, Semarang, Indonesia). Composed by five Dutch missionaries about their comrade (Father Straeter) who died in the Japanese prison in 1944, this piece contains some interesting information about how the Dutch missionaries were negatively perceived as the threatening other by the Japanese forces during the occupation, but also how these missionaries perceived the complex situation. In general, these Dutch missionaries had to suffer a rather widespread public suspicion that they were working for the victory of the Dutch Kingdom and the Allies. However, they also suspected that there was a more deeply seated anti-Catholic sentiment beyond the confines of Japanese propaganda, behind the arrests of all the key priests in Yogyakarta. They suspected an agenda to destroy the Catholic mission completely (p. 12). Thus, not only “Dutchness” provoked a problem of alterity, but also “Christianness.”

resulting particularly from the tension between the Dutch and the Muslim communities, brought about by the wrong colonial policy toward the Muslims. In a critical tone, he remarked:

The Catholic community in Indonesia realizes that there have been indeed some danger and threat for the Church, coming especially from the Muslim community. However, precisely in this connection, the international interest on Indonesia could prevent such threat. ...We have anxieties that in no small measure come from the Dutch-controlled areas [which are also heavily Muslim] because the Dutch government always wants to find (and control) thoroughly Muslim community. They consider what is now normal in the Republic of Indonesia [i.e. after its independence] as impossible, dangerous or untactical. The Dutch could attempt to make the Muslims favorable to them by promoting all the old conditions that have been introduced, but this attempt is in itself laden with guilt.⁶¹¹

Rather clearly, the event of martyrdom in Muntilan shows the fragility of the kind of hybrid identity that the Javano-Catholic community came to adopt during its formative years. As we have seen in Chapter 4, this principle basically argued that the community wanted to become truly Catholic, but also to stay authentically Javanese. Driven by the spirit of communion, it was also founded on the intimate relationship with the Dutch Church, trying hard under the colonial condition to make a case of differentiation between the generous and well-meaning Dutch Church and the self-preserving Dutch colonial government. What the martyrdom particularly revealed was the fragility of this differentiation, but perhaps also the kind of delicate struggle that the Dutch missionaries

⁶¹¹ G. Vriens, S. J., *De Javanen-Missie der Jezuiten in de Republiek* (no date), 18. Originally, this quote was part of the interview that Mgr. Soegijapranata gave with a Dutch journalist working for the newspaper, *Gelderlander-pers*, in the 1940s.

themselves had to undergo with regard to their personal political stance.⁶¹² Writing some years after the event, two Javanese priests argued:

The aggression of the Dutch in a bid to reclaim Indonesia provoked a rather intense anti-Dutch sentiment among the Indonesian population. The problem was that they did not differentiate between the Dutch as the colonial power and the Dutch in general: they became anti-Dutch without discrimination, rejecting all things that come to be associated with the Dutch. Therefore, the Catholic mission that was largely staffed by Dutch missionaries was viewed with so much suspicion, although there was really no reason for this because the Church's activity was universal (not bound by nationalities or race).⁶¹³

Under such conditions, the perception of Christianity's foreignness was becoming more intense. The old nasty slurs—that, among others, mocked Christians as pigs—were back in use in Muntilan around that time. Confrontations between Muslim youth from the neighborhood and the seminarians in the mission compound also took a turn for the worse. The mostly verbal confrontations over the use of the football field led to occasional open brawls. The seminarians were naturally accused of taking the side of the Dutch.⁶¹⁴ However, some believed that the seeds of the hatred actually hearkened back to the early days of the mission under van Lith, reflecting the anger and jealousy on the part

⁶¹² A natural tension between their “national” sensibility as Dutch citizens and their status as missionaries might have proved to be more difficult to navigate during these tumultuous years. In the account of the martyrdom, the conflict between the mission and its Muslim neighbors might have been aggravated by the emboldening sense of “Dutchness” among the missionaries, precisely at a time when they were the objects of hate. Under such a condition, it was harder for them to make a friendly compromise with the Muslims. The Dutch missionaries tried to frame the whole dispute about the football field solely in terms of their rights as owner of the property, rather than in terms of temporary compromise for the sake of peaceful coexistence (see the account of Willy Setiarja, “Kesaksian Kecil untuk ‘Calon Orang Besar’ [“Small Witness on behalf of the Future Great Figure, the Martyr”], in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 54). On the same question, however, a Dutch Jesuit argued forcefully that Herman Bouwens was murdered not because of his Dutchness but because of his Catholic faith. See A Busch, SJ, “De Nederlandse Missionaris in de Indonesische Republiek,” *Berichten uit Java* 57 (1949), 126-29.

⁶¹³ H. J. Kachmadi, O.Carm and J. Hadiwikarta, Pr, “Menjelang hari-hari terakhir [“The Last Days Leading to the Martyrdom”] in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 25.

⁶¹⁴ J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 24-25

of the Muslim community over the spectacular growth of the mission.⁶¹⁵ The neighborhood of Muntilan was identified as “Kauman,”—i.e., the bastion of a stricter Muslim community—as if to say that the religiously motivated antagonism with the mission was only natural. In addition, the mission compound had a history of prior incidents of vandalism in 1942.⁶¹⁶

In the standard historical account of the 1948 event, the murders of Sanjaya and Herman Bouwens were believed to have been perpetrated by the members of an Islamic militia group (I. *Laskar Hizbullah*), most probably with a rather strong element of anti-Dutch as well as anti-Christian sentiment, in the context of the political chaos surrounding the birth of the Indonesian state (1945) and the end of Dutch colonialism. Having refused to recognize the sovereignty of Indonesia, the Dutch returned with fresh military attacks, targeting among others the city of Yogyakarta. Following the instructions of the newly born Indonesian government, all the public buildings and other big structures had to be burned down, for fear of confiscation by the Dutch troops. In Muntilan, a town located twenty miles away to the north of Yogyakarta on the main road to the important city of Semarang, clashes broke out between the seminarians who tried to put out the fire in their building and the Hizbullah militia who attempted to stop them. Previously, this militia group had also asked to use the seminary building. This request was denied, making the tensions worse. Then, one fateful night, a group of these Muslim militiamen asked all the priest-staff at the seminary to attend a meeting at a local mosque

⁶¹⁵ J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 21. Related to this question is the tension between the Catholic mission and the anti-mission regent of Magelang (Mr. Danoesoegonda), under whose jurisdiction Muntilan fell in the 1930s. Feeling threatened, the Jesuit Father Spekle of Muntilan complained about the aggressiveness of this regent in building mosques in areas in which the adherence to Islam was so weak. On this, see Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 511-14.

⁶¹⁶ See, H. J. Kachmadi, O.Carm, “Pastor Paroki Muntilan” [“The Parish Priest of Muntilan”] in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 19-21.

and demanded especially that all the Dutch priests without exception be present at the meeting.

The Dutch missionaries became very suspicious of the meeting, partly because it would be held in a mosque. Father Sanjaya was the only Javanese priest on the seminary staff, and he had been the liaison between the seminary and the local neighborhood on the dispute over the football field. Thus, it was naturally expected that he would go to the meeting. He did and was accompanied by a Dutch Jesuit scholastic, Herman Bouwens, who himself had a personal history of confrontation with the local Muslim youth. A Javanese Jesuit lay brother, Kismadi, also joined the delegation. The hope was of course that the presence of a local Javanese priest would make a difference in such a precarious situation.⁶¹⁷ As it turned out, they were not escorted to the mosque but rather to an undisclosed site where Sanjaya and Bouwens were violently murdered. The immediate circumstances of the murder were not clear. However, the traces of the horrible violence were unmistakably displayed in the corpses of Sanjaya and Bouwens that were found in shallow graves by none other than Sanjaya's own father the next day. Apparently, they were tortured violently before being shot dead.⁶¹⁸

As has been mentioned, most sources attributed the cause of the murder to two factors, i.e., the political chaos as well as the longstanding antagonism between the Catholic community and their Muslim counterparts in Muntilan, aggravated by the wider public image of the menacing foreignness of Christianity due to its association with the

⁶¹⁷ See the article "Martelaren?" ["Martyrs"], 9

⁶¹⁸ J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 27, 58. During the incident Sanjaya and Bouwens were in their clerical habits, while Kismadi was not. In the middle of the journey, Kismadi was asked to return home. In retrospect, Kismadi felt that had he put on his religious outfit, he would have been among the murdered. Thus, in this case, we see some hints on the complex cause of the murder, i.e., the confluence of two foreign entities, Christianity and Dutchness, symbolically represented by the clerical garb of the Catholic priest. The 'Dutchness' of the Catholic mission became rather apparent as it was still trying hard to hang on during the political chaos by daring to oppose even the local group of Muslim natives.

Dutch as well as its missionary success in Java.⁶¹⁹ Quite naturally, the perception of otherness was mutual. For the Catholic sources of that time normally identified the Muslim militia as extremists and religious fanatics.⁶²⁰ And the majority of the local clergy thought that the murder was religiously motivated (*L. odium fidei*), while the lay members of the Javano-Catholic community were convinced immediately that they had their first “martyrs” and started to flock to their graves.⁶²¹

However, we can say that the general tone of the Javanese Catholic reaction to the incident was very careful and subdued, compared to the combative style of the *Swara-Tama* in the 1920s and 1930s. Surprisingly absent was the sense that the community was under serious and systematic attack from the Muslim community. Rather, a basic standpoint of acceptance of the unfortunate incident and forgiveness for the perpetrators was embraced. Attempts were made to grasp the complexity of the situation and what the fateful event meant for the long-term growth of the community. The martyrdom was then understood as part of a period of suffering that the community had been enduring since the Japanese occupation, a cross that it needed for its growth qua Christian community. A particularly troubling aspect of this cross was also recognized, namely, the antagonism between the East and the West, the “brown” (*D. bruin*) and the “white” (*D. blank*). They accepted this as a natural consequence of their identity as a Christian community built by

⁶¹⁹ Kardinal J. Darmojuwono, “Proses yang berhenti di tengah jalan” [“A Process Terminated Midway”] in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 61.

⁶²⁰ See *Voorzetting van het “Chronologisch Overzicht” van de werkzaamheid der Jesuiten in de Missio Bataviensis, 9 Juli 1934 – 12 Maart 1956* (Archive at the Jesuit Provincial Office, Semarang, Indonesia), 123. Here the chaotic situation is described in terms of the arrival of the Dutch troops and role of “a group of Muhammadans” (*D. een groep Mohamedanen*). In the article “Martelaran?”, the (Dutch) author called the Indonesian nationalists “the extremists” (9). In the book *Rama Sanjaya*, Father van Thiel called the Muslim militia men “a horde of religious bigots” (*I. segerombolan orang fanatik*; p. 34, 38). Some accounts of the event also identified the Hizbullah’s leader as a Muslim of Arab descent (See Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 58).

⁶²¹ J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, passim.

a European mission under colonialism. This cross was a real test for the vision of communion that the community had been fostering all along.⁶²²

Rather than focusing on the murky and politically sensitive circumstances of the murders, the communal memory of the event was quickly turned to the figure of the slain martyrs and the significance of their lives and deaths, especially Father Sanjaya. The hagiographical image of Father Sanjaya (1914-1948) was then quickly formed. In the eyes of the community, Father Sanjaya was a priest who obediently offered his life for the Church at a critical juncture on the land of his own birth, the land that had become the site of the birth of the Javano-Catholic community.⁶²³ Thus the seed of martyrdom fell down on the very soil of the foundation of the whole community.⁶²⁴ Echoing the Tertullian dictum on martyrdom and the growth of the Church, the Catholic community in south central Java hoped that the seed of Sanjaya's martyrdom at Muntilan would also fecundate the local church.⁶²⁵ It is interesting here to see how this community interpreted this whole idea of "fecundation." Again, it seems quite clear that the hermeneutic principle of communion with the other has been a constant governing principle, even when the community has to come to term with its most troubling period, that is, the legacy of its martyrs, as we will see below.

⁶²² W. Nijs, S.J., "Moentilan," *St Claverbond* (1946): 77.

⁶²³ For a sketch of his life, see P. C. Dwidjoesanta, "Rama Sanjaya zijn levensschets en roemvol einde: Het martelaarschap van de eerste Javaanse seculiere priester" ["Father Sanjaya, the sketch of his life and glorious death. The martyrdom of the first Javanese secular priest"], *Berichten uit Java* (1949): 54-58.

⁶²⁴ On this point, the author of the article "Martelaren? ["Martyrs"] wrote: "We placed our first martyrs of Java on the very location that the first pioneers of the Java mission, Father van Lith and Father Mertens, had chosen to be the soil of God, because it was there that the first seeds of the faith were planted. Here, on the same soil, we now entrusted the seeds of martyrdom. Thus, the abundant harvest came immediately to the soil." In the original Dutch: "*Wij hebben onze eerste martelaren van Java bijgezet op de plek, die de eerste pioniers der Java-missie, Pater van Lith en pater Mertens, zichkozen tot akker Gods, om er het eerste zaadje van het geloof op Java uit te strooien. Hier hadden wij nu martelaarszaad aan dezelfde bodem toevertrouwd. Straks komt de overvloedige oogst.*" (12)

⁶²⁵ Famous is the saying of Tertullian (c. 160-c.240) that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. See his *Apology*, chapter 50.

In the framework of a close connection between the idea of foundation and fecundation, it is crucial to note that Sanjaya was a native of Muntilan, the son of a first generation Catholic family in the area. His grandfather was described as a strict and pious Muslim who died in Mecca during the *hajj*, while his father, like Sanjaya himself, was baptized by Father van Lith and later worked at the mission. Sanjaya's father was remembered as a simple and ordinary man, yet possessing a deep spiritual life.⁶²⁶ The young Sanjaya was remembered as a brilliant and industrious student, yet very humble, with a sincere religious sensibility showed by his regular attendance at early morning mass and particularly by his strong devotion to Our Lady. From childhood, he forged a personal habit of making pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto during the school breaks, walking on foot for nine hours roundtrip undeterred by the worst tropical weather. As a priest, Sanjaya kept his simplicity and gentleness, his mild rigidity and shyness. People remembered him as bookish, negligent about his outward appearance and rather clumsy in practical and social affairs. Many people were struck by the rare combination of virtuous traits in his personality. For Sanjaya was definitely a man of reason and understanding (*L. lucerna lucens*) who also possessed a warm heart (*L. lucerna ardens*). He was also portrayed as a young and virtuous Javanese priest, simple in his lifestyle but very profound in his thinking; outwardly meek yet brave in spirit. In the eyes of the community, he is now "a shining light" (*D. een licht dat brandt*) due to his exemplary life.⁶²⁷

Quite clearly, the community was more interested in the role of this martyr for the faithful, rather than pursuing the murderers. Sanjaya's grave in Muntilan quickly became

⁶²⁶ H. J. Kachmadi, O.Carm., "Muntilan Tempat Bersejarah" ["Muntilan, a Historic Site"] in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 6.

⁶²⁷ See also the article "Martelaren?," 9.

a new central point of communal identity as well as of Divine succor and providence. His relics were rather popularly sought after.⁶²⁸ An author put this sentiment this way: “Our prayers for the martyrs are not ‘May they rest in peace!’ but rather, ‘Remember us in your glory with the Lord!’”⁶²⁹ Within the span of two decades, the process of possible beatification of Sanjaya was initiated, but then abandoned while the popular cult around him continued to grow.⁶³⁰ On this abortive attempt of beatification, Cardinal Darmojuwono, the former Archbishop of Semarang, remarked:

Personally, I prefer that we return to the spirit of the early Church. Let the faithful revere and ask the intercessions from those priests who were slain on December 20, 1948 without necessarily giving them the titles of saint or blessed. They earned the respect from the people who always say the name of “Father Sanjaya” with devotion and awe. So, let us go on a pilgrimage to Father Sanjaya, the holy man of the people! *Vox Populi Vox Dei*: the voice of the faithful is the voice of God.⁶³¹

Thus, in the framework of the traditional Christian hermeneutic on martyrdom, Sanjaya’s violent death did not represent a loss but rather a new addition to the already quite rich tapestry of the community’s founders and paradigmatic figures. To the local community, this addition makes the Catholic notion of *communio sanctorum* (communion of saints or

⁶²⁸ Stories about the power of his relics were circulated. See J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 45-47.

⁶²⁹ “Martelaren?”, 12.

⁶³⁰ The process of beatification of Father Sanjaya was begun in 1962 under the leadership of Father van Thiel, S. J. In the initial phase, the process consisted mainly of gathering all sorts of information from witnesses and devotees with regard to the many aspects of Father Sanjaya’s life, death and intercessory power. The process was aborted because of the many difficulties: to bestow him the glory of martyrdom, the Church required direct eye witnesses who could testify that the slain priest was murdered because of his Catholic faith and that he was faithful to the Catholic faith until his death. It was difficult to track down these eyewitnesses, and as we have seen, the immediate circumstances of the murder were both religious and political. The other road to sainthood, which required lengthy process of scrutiny over the virtuous life of the person as well as the miracles associated with his intercession, was considered too cumbersome. See the article “Martelaren?”, 9; also Kardinal J. Darmojuwono, “Proses yang berhenti di tengah jalan” [“A Process Terminated Midway”] in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 61-62.

⁶³¹ Kardinal J. Darmojuwono, “Proses yang berhenti di tengah jalan” [“A Process Terminated Midway”], in J. Hadiwikarta, *Rama Sanjaya*, 62.

sacred realities) much more real. Much more important is the living memory of the person and the significance of this paradigmatic figure for the community.

In this framework of the Catholic practice of *communio sanctorum*, we see the hermeneutic of communion at work, by which the community tries to keep alive the memory of their paradigmatic figures through pilgrimage to their tombs and other communal means of reappropriating the legacies of these figures. *Communio sanctorum* is a complex and rich framework for fecundating the life of faith of the community by making connections to different yet interrelated sets of sacred realities, among others, the grace of God through these paradigmatic figures and events.⁶³² It is in this context that the mausoleum of Muntilan plays a very crucial role for the Javano-Catholic community. As we have mentioned, it houses many tombs of these paradigmatic figures, especially Father van Lith. Long before the addition of Father Sanjaya, the tomb of Father van Lith (Fig. 9.3) had become an important site of pilgrimage. Only three years after van Lith's demise, one of his former students wrote a highly personal account of the intercessory role of this missionary. Finding himself in a deep trouble, he came to pay a visit to Father van Lith's tomb to plead for his help and his trouble was indeed lifted. So moved by the experience, he wanted to share this to his friends and urged them to join him in this movement of devotion to Father van Lith.⁶³³

For our discussion, the material-symbolic aspect of this memorialization of Father van Lith is also interesting. Right after his death, there were already some conversations

⁶³² For a renewed understanding of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* in Catholic theology, see Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (New York, London: Continuum, 2005), especially pp. 94-97. In Chapter 9, we will develop this idea of *communio sanctorum* as the fruit of our comparative (Muslim-Catholic) project.

⁶³³ This author (Hendrawasita) even asked the *Swara-Tama* to translate his testimony into Dutch so that it could be published in the Dutch speaking Catholic newspaper, *de Koerier*. *Swara-Tama*, March 29, 1929; under the title "*Atoer panoewoen doemateng pandjenenganipoen Rama P. v. Lith*" ["Gratitude to Father van Lith"].

about the different ways of keeping the memory of him alive, among others, by erecting a unique grave for him. In this process, the emphasis was laid on creating a hybrid design of Javano-Catholic style that befitted van Lith's lifelong love affair with the Javanese and his identity as a Catholic priest.⁶³⁴ In this regard, it is very telling to see the involvement of some non-Christian and even non-Javanese young people (I. *kaoem moeda Boemipoetra*) in raising funds for the grave of van Lith. The *Swara-Tama* took this participation as a sign of the universality of van Lith's work, well beyond the confines of the tiny Javano-Catholic community. For obviously these young people were not Christian, but they shared van Lith's ideas and wanted to remember him.⁶³⁵ As we have seen in Chapter 4, the universalism of van Lith's life and work was a source of pride and played an important role in the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community, especially in boosting their self-confidence as a group in the public sphere of colonial Java. This desire to remember van Lith was also displayed rather impressively on the occasion of the centennial celebration of van Lith's birth in 1963, where two thousand people gathered around his grave.⁶³⁶

In recent years the memorialization of the legacy of the founders in Muntilan took on an ecclesial level with the creation of the Muntilan Museum of Mission (I. *Museum*

⁶³⁴ Out of five designs, one was chosen, through a rather widespread consultation with priests and laymen on retreat in the mission compound of Muntilan. Due to his role as a pioneer in the creation of Javano-Catholic art, Dr. Josef Schmutzer was also consulted at the request of the bishop. Apparently still heavy with the Javanese (i.e. Hindu and Islamic) character, the design was deemed to be in need of revisions in order to reveal its Catholic character. The whole communal discernment over the style of the grave showed the symbolic significance of the physical appearance of the grave for the community. *Swara-Tama*, April 16, 1926; also March 26, 1926

⁶³⁵ This participation of non-Catholic youth was reported in the Chinese newspaper, *Sin Po* (no. 4218); Cf. *Swara Tama*, March 12, 1926. In connection to this public acknowledgment of van Lith's stature, it is interesting to see that a bronze statue of van Lith was up for sale in 1930s (sold next to those of Christ, the Surakartan king Mangkunegara, the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina, Mohandas Gandhi, and Prince Dipanagara). See *Swara-Tama*, May 4, 1934.

⁶³⁶ See the article commemorating the centenary of Father van Lith's birth, "Pastoor van Lith (1863-1963)" in *Missienieuws: Tijdschrift der Paters Jezuiten*, 71 (1963): 54-58.

Misi Muntilan; Fig. 9.2), whose vision is precisely returning to the foundational sources (*resourcement*), mainly in the sense of retrieving the spirit of the founders, communing with them in various possible ways.⁶³⁷ The archbishop wrote that the sheer memory of the founders and the sites that are connected to them “refreshes our faith.”⁶³⁸ Highly crucial among the initiatives of the Muntilan Museum of Mission is its attempt to embrace otherness, including the Muslim people and their tradition, for instance by incorporating the Islamic musical performance (*J. terbangan* or *slawatan*).⁶³⁹ Thus we see that the tomb of the martyr fecundates the church not by setting an opposition between this church and the religious other, but rather by becoming a site of identity formation where otherness is embraced in different ways. Although the very definition of martyrdom presupposes the idea of “hatred for the faith” (as the concept of *odium fidei* suggests), it is striking that we see no bitter memory of being persecuted, and no desire for exclusion and withdrawal, but rather a commitment to include the other and celebrate otherness.

Perhaps it is not accidental that at Muntilan, the grave of the martyr, Father Sanjaya, is located in the same space as that of the founder of the community, Father van Lith. This proximity can be taken as a sign that the struggle of Father van Lith and the earliest generation of Javanese Catholics to ground the Catholic faith in Javanese soil

⁶³⁷ See its website: <http://pusat-animasi-misioner.blogspot.com> (accessed June 2010). The Museum compound was also chosen as the venue for the solemn mass celebrating the 70th anniversary of the archdiocese of Semarang on June 27, 2010. The theme of the whole celebration was “*Terlibat Berbagi Berkat*” (sharing God’s gift and blessing to others by being fully immersed in the larger reality of the society).

⁶³⁸ See the foreword of Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo, the then archbishop of Semarang and now archbishop of Jakarta, in Robert Hardawiryana, *Romo Prenthaler*, 10.

⁶³⁹ This facet of including the Muslim other became apparent in the novena of van Lith held at the mausoleum in 2009 in which the *terbangan* was performed and a special session was devoted to the theme of interfaith dialogue. Held on the eve of Tuesday *Kliwon* (Jv. *Selasa Kliwon*; considered a night of supernatural and mystical import in the Javanese culture), the novena was called the “*Novena Misioner Malem Selasa Kliwon*.”

cannot be thought to have been completed. And the same sign seems to have a perpetual message that the community needs to engage the Muslim other in more appropriate and explicit ways if they want to remain faithful to the founding spirit and to their Javano-Catholic identity. The answer to this ongoing need is the whole movement of including and communion that lies at the heart of the communal and ecclesial discernment of the Javano-Catholic community, to the hermeneutic of self and otherness, that we have found manifested in each of the three shrines under study here.

V. 4. Concluding Remarks

As this chapter has shown, the three shrines under study now have become historically significant due to their crucial role in process of the negotiation of the Javano Catholic community's hybrid identity. The Sendangsono grotto represented the beginning stages where the tension between the particularity and universality of "Catholic" identity was taken up for the first time in the form of a material-symbolic monument, a Marian shrine. This shrine was meant both as a sign of the particularity of a Catholic identity (setting the community apart from its surrounding) as well as a sign of the universal mission of the Church among the people of Java. Naturally, the focus of the community was still largely inward. In this ongoing dynamic, the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran is a manifestation of the community's decision to take up the call toward the universalization of its mission. Framed in the language of Catholic piety and the integral practice of Christian charity as well as the inculturation of Christian faith, the shrine's mission was from the start understood as deeply outward looking, that is, to become a vehicle of God's blessings for all, as the Javanese Catholic community tries to negotiate its proper place and role in the wider Javanese society and beyond. In this dynamic, the mausoleum of Muntilan, that

commemorates both the idea of foundation (with the grave of van Lith) and martyrdom (the grave of Father Sanjaya), can be seen as the monument of the struggle of the community to maintain its creative fidelity to the mission.

As this chapter also makes clear, the history of these three shrines is the story of how the Javano-Catholic community has made sense of the tensions and ambiguities that were involved in the foundation of the shrines, as well as the history of the community. In this regard, the community has employed a hermeneutic principle that is based on the spirit of communing with founders, founding moment, and the benefactors. We see how the spirit of communion has become widened in today's practice and vision of the shrines and the surrounding community. Otherness is perceived differently now. While Father Prenthaler, the missionary, was taken aback by every move of the Muslim other, the Javano-Catholic community of today looks forward to having the presence and participation of their Muslim neighbors and others, not only in the shrines, but also in the larger dynamics of their community. Under the larger principle of communion, they rightfully act out their desire to include and embrace the other. In this very process, they come to know the fuller scope of the inclusiveness of Divine Grace, the grace of the Sacred Heart of Jesus that flows through Mary, the saints, and their own local pious ancestors such as Father van Lith and Father Sanjaya. As the next chapters will show, there is a growing awareness and practical recognition of the significance of the religious other at the shrines and the community.

Insofar as the shrines and pilgrimage tradition are concerned, this is how the Javano-Catholic community comes to negotiate their identity in the face of the other. In light of the tension between cultural hybridity and religious purity that seemed to be an

issue as the nascent Javano-Catholic community started to embark on its identity formation (Chapter 4), we have seen in this chapter how this initial concern shifts as the community matures and understands its nature and mission in the context of the wider society in Java and Indonesia today. For the community clearly has become more interested in how its existence becomes meaningful not only to itself, but also to the neighboring other as well. In this framework, reaching generously to the other is more crucial than maintaining the elusive idea of purity.

CHAPTER 6

THE TRACE OF THE OTHER IN THE JAVANO-CATHOLIC IDENTITY:

SACRED SPACE, ARCHITECTURE, AND RITUALS

In the luminous clarity of Revelation and through prayer and work,
the science of the Occident and the art of the Orient merge
to form a new culture, rich in living forces,
which will assure to the highly gifted Javanese people
an honorable place among the peoples in the world.
Josef Schmutzer (1882-1946)⁶⁴⁰

In the 1930s the Dutch missionary journal, *St Claverbond*, often featured a curious image that depicted differences among Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in terms of architectural symbolisms. This image had a large Western style church (with the words “*Lumen Gentium*” and a shining cross placed on top of it) flanked by a Javanese style mosque (with the word “Mohammed” written on top) on the left and a Hindu-Buddhist temple (with the word “Boeddha” placed on top) on the right.⁶⁴¹ This image would

⁶⁴⁰ Josef Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien* (Paris and Louvain: A Giraudon and De Vlaamsche Drukkerij, ca. 1929), 86; see also footnote number 29 of this chapter. The French text reads as follows: “*Dans la lumineuse clarté de la Révélation par la prière et le travail la science occidentale et l’art oriental se fondront pour former une nouvelle culture riche de forces vives, qui assurera au peuple javanais si merveilleusement doué, une place honorable parmi les peuples du monde.*”

⁶⁴¹ See *St Claverbond* (1937): 60.

normally be used as the main illustration and imaginative framework for articles written by Jesuit missionaries about other religions in Java.

Against the background of this evocative image, however, one could pose the following question: what happens when Catholic edifices, the material-symbolic manifestation of the “*Lumen Gentium*,” are built in style of the Hindu-Buddhist temple or the Islamic mosque, as had occurred in south central Java since the earliest Catholic missions? On a certain level, then, not only does the neat division between the three that seemed to lie at the heart of the *St Claverbond* symbolism disappear, but also the Church itself as the “light of nations” (L. *lumen gentium*) seems to be paradoxically invisible due to the unfamiliar local appearance that it took. Instead, what appears to be dominant on the visual surface of things is the face and trace of the religious other. In the eyes of the other, though, the Church becomes rather familiar. Thus, to a certain degree, the problem of Christianity’s otherness in Java that we discussed in Chapter 4 might be mitigated through this process of taking on the artistic and visual forms of the other.

Upon deeper examination, as we shall see below, a rather complex constellation of diverse intentions and elements was at work in this process of realizing the so-called “Javano-Catholic” identity in architectural forms. Genuine respect, humility, and a desire for closeness with the other existed together with a hidden agenda of moderate triumphalism, something that was not unusual in the encounters between different groups in colonial Java at the time (see Chapter 4). In some very particular ways, this new image surely represents complexities (ambiguities, tensions and promises) in the relation between the Church’s identity and the religious other. For one thing, the trace of the other becomes embedded in the self, whatever this might mean for the community as well as

other beholders. In this regard, what is probably more interesting is that the dynamics of this complex relationship lend themselves to new hermeneutics and could be taken in different directions by subsequent generations of the respective communities. For their part, the Javano-Catholic community in south central Java has been precisely doing this communal discernment through an ongoing process of hermeneutical engagement with the shrines and their meanings, responding to the stirrings of the Spirit and the signs of the times.

In the previous chapter, we have seen how this Javano-Catholic community today understands the sacred history of the shrines mainly in the sense of coming to terms with the foundational events, paradigmatic figures and their message for the whole community as it responds to the present and marches toward the future. The shrines and the tradition of pilgrimage to them then become highly communal and ecclesial, since they are understood as the memorialization of these key foundational historical events and figures. The story of the shrines is intertwined with the ongoing struggle of the community. What is born out of this particular understanding of and involvement with this sacred history, as we have seen, is a particular kind of hermeneutic whose dynamics are intentionally geared toward fuller self-understanding and the widening communion with the neighboring other at the same time. In this chapter, we will continue our exploration of this same hermeneutic of communion, the underlying principle of the formation of the Javano-Catholic identity in south central Java. Specifically, we will be identifying major ways in which this hermeneutics of identity is operative in the spatial, architectural and ritual dimensions of the shrines under study.

While in Chapter 4 we saw van Lith's vision of his new school as a space for fruitful encounter and lasting friendship between diverse groups in colonial Java, this chapter will show how the Catholic shrines of Sendangsono, Ganjuran and Muntilan could well serve and are in fact functioning as such a space of hospitality, friendship, and encounters with the other, including all the complexities and ambiguities this entails. What we see is nothing other than the realization of the spirit of communion as both including and embracing the other, while immersing oneself—perhaps even, to a certain degree also losing oneself—in the reality of the other.

In terms of organization, this chapter is divided into three main parts, corresponding to the three categories of analysis: namely sacred space, architecture, and ritual. We begin with a brief discussion of the spatial dimension of the shrines, that is, how the particular spatial location of the shrines is made meaningful in the overall process of self-understanding vis-à-vis the other.

In the second part, we will deal with the question of negotiation of Javano-Catholic identity as it occurred through the creation of hybrid (Javano-Catholic) architecture and religious arts, where the self takes the form of the other. Here we will focus our analysis on the unique architectural features of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, as well as its hybrid statuary. We will also delve deeper into the cultural and theological reasoning that has governed the creation of the hybrid architecture and religious arts at Ganjuran. Our analysis will be focused on the personal backgrounds and thoughts of Josef Schmutzer (1882-1946) and Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971), the two most influential Dutch Catholic pioneers of the movement. In particular, we will explore Schmutzer's theology of inculturation that is deeply pneumatological and Christological,

since it is centered on the role of the Holy Spirit in the dynamics of the Triune God as well as the paradigmatic significance of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. A brief assessment of the achievement of this hybrid art in the context of Catholic mission will also be offered.

The third part deals with the question of local hybrid rituals and festivals in these Catholic shrines. We will explore how these rituals and festivals incorporate various elements of the Javano-Islamic court culture, Islamic tradition, as well as the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, making these rituals and festivals more open to the other. Again, this dynamic should be seen as a symbolic manifestation of the hermeneutic of communion that this Javano-Catholic community has embraced; it is the fruit of the community's continual discernment on the complexities (tensions, ambiguities and promises) of the founding events and messages of the founders of the shrines and the community.

VI. 1. The Meanings of Spatial Location

Our previous chapter has indicated that the spatial locations of all the three shrines under study are meaningful and intentionally chosen, serving as meaningful sources for the hermeneutics of identity of the contemporary Javano-Catholic community in south central Java. The shrines and their locations are intimately connected to the foundation of the community in the case of the Sendangsono grotto and the Muntilan mausoleum, and to the eventful growth of the community in the context of Javanese culture in the case of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran. These spatial locations are also made meaningful in the encounter with other, that is, they reflect the idea of Christianity aligning itself with the spirit of the local culture, or absorbing and fulfilling the religious other. The element of replacement is rather evident in the Sendangsono grotto where Mary was conceived

mainly as replacing, in a rather peaceful way, the role of the local guardian spirits; while the complete dynamics of alignment between Christianity and Javanese culture were present at the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, as we will see in more detail below.

Since the case of Sendangsono has been dealt with rather intensively in the previous chapter, we now turn to the spatial dimension of the Sacred Heart temple-shrine of Ganjuran. From the very beginning, it was intentional that the Sacred Heart shrine should be built in Ganjuran (originally called “Gondang-Lipura”), due to its proximity with the Javanese sacred site of Lipura, now located a mile away from the Sacred Heart shrine. Dr. Josef Schmutzer, the founder of the shrine, made this point clear on the occasion of the consecration of the shrine, arguing that Lipura was the origin of the Javano-Islamic Mataram court, the precursor of the current sultanate of Yogyakarta.⁶⁴² As we have mentioned in Chapter 2, Lipura is a foundational place for the formation of Javano-Islamic identity represented by this court. During his early formative years, Panembahan Senapati (ca. 17th century), Mataram’s founder, underwent a series of ascetic meditations at the site during which he received a supernatural sign of kingship.⁶⁴³ Many subsequent kings of the Mataram dynasty as well as other prominent figures in south central Java down to the present would also visit this site for ascetic pilgrimage (Jv. *tirakat*).⁶⁴⁴ Josef Schmutzer mentioned the fact that the area has other sites connected to

⁶⁴² *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930.

⁶⁴³ According to *Babad Tanah Jawi* ([“The Sacred Chronicles of Java”]), a glittering star was falling on the head of Panembahan Senapati as he was sleeping on the sacred stone in Lipura. As he was conversing with this star, his future kingship over Java was revealed. See H. J. de Graff, *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram: Masa Pemerintahan Senapati* ([“The Rise of the Mataram Kingdom: The Rule of Senapati”]), 74.

⁶⁴⁴ The list of these figures includes the pious Sufi of Javanese nobility, Prince Dipanagara, who visited the site before he led the Java War (1825-1830) against the Dutch. On the relationship between this figure and Lipura, see Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy*, 127ff; see also M. Ricklefs, “Dipanagara’s Early Inspirational Experience,” 227-58. For the mythical and spiritual significance of Lipura and the southern coast of Yogyakarta in the formation of Javanese identity in general, see H. J. de Graaf, *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram*, 74ff.

foundational figures of the Mataram dynasty, such as Ki Ageng Pemanahan and Sultan Agung, two crucial figures we encountered in Chapter 1.⁶⁴⁵ It was also believed that the crown jewel of the Javano-Islamic Mataram kingdom was kept in the same area.

Moreover, the site is also endowed with a sense of continuity with the Hindu past. For since the Hindu times, this area has been a special territory, as shown by the presence of the various Hindu temples and so forth. In the present context of the Sacred Heart shrine, the memory of Lipura and its role in the hybrid Javano-Islamic identity formation of Mataram is made alive and more meaningful by the fact that the shrine is meant to carry on the religio-cultural spirit of Mataram, centered around the propagation of the Javanese culture and marked by inclusion of the other.⁶⁴⁶

In the same dynamic of inclusion, the whole compound of the shrine is now called “the *mandala* of the Sacred Heart”, understood as a sacred milieu of encounters between God and humans, in all its complexities.⁶⁴⁷ Of course the origin of *mandala* in South Asian and East Asian religions is very complex. As Bühnemann argues, *mandala* is an important ancient Hindu practice.⁶⁴⁸ It is also central in the Tantric or Vajrayana tradition of Buddhism.⁶⁴⁹ Furthermore, Tantrism was an important part of the religious life of the Javanese population under the Hindu and Buddhist dynasties; and it was a significant ritual background for the Hindu-Javanese temple (Jv. *candi*).⁶⁵⁰ For our discussion, this

⁶⁴⁵ The original site of Mataram’s first court was located not far from Ganjuran, in a place called “Kerto.”

⁶⁴⁶ See the interview with Fr. Gregorius Utomo in the documentary on the shrine by Komunitas Tusing Kandha, *Candi Hati Kudus Yesus Ganjuran: Tanah Para Terjanji* ([“The Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran: The Promised Land”]; Yogyakarta, 2005).

⁶⁴⁷ See the shrine’s official brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkah*, 8.

⁶⁴⁸ Gudrun Bühnemann, *Mandalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 1ff.

⁶⁴⁹ Martin Brauen, *The Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism* (Boston: Shambala, 1998), 61ff.

⁶⁵⁰ A brief yet useful overview of Hindu Tantrism or Vajrayana Buddhism in classical Java (ca. 5th-15th centuries) and their connection to sacred space (temples) can be found in Ann R. Kinney et al., eds.,

ritual background is crucial because, as we will see below, the Sacred Heart shrine in Ganjuran is also called “*candi*” (temple). Quite clearly, the use of the words “*mandala*” and “*candi*” are part of the effort of the shrine’s community to preserve the Javanese culture. It is an expression of connectedness to the spirit of the place.

In its Tantric framework, *mandala* is a plan of both macrocosm and microcosm and functions to bring the two together. It consists of a spatial or mental map of constellation of divinities in the sacred space, with a governing divinity in the center that should become the identity of the practitioner during the meditation or ritual.⁶⁵¹ Thus it has an integrative power. Apart from its spatial aspect, the *mandala* practice also has a deeply personal element in the sense that the human body (microcosm) can be imagined as a *mandala*, a constellation of diverse elements and realities that need to be integrated.

Furthermore, it is also crucial to note that one of the underlying principles in the practice of *mandala* is the reality of structural correlations and parallels among all things and in particular between the universe, the *mandala* and the human body.⁶⁵² So what interests us here with regard to this shrine is the rich and integral sense of communion embedded in the conception and practice of *mandala*, that is, communion with the Divine and true self, with paradigmatic figures or teachers, fellow human beings, as well as with the entire cosmic reality. It is also particularly crucial to note the interconnectedness of the ritual, spatial and meditative elements of the *mandala* practice.⁶⁵³ For, as we see,

Worshipping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 19-27.

⁶⁵¹ Kate O’Brien, trans., *Sutasoma: The Ancient Tale of a Buddha-Prince from 14th century Java by the Poet Mpu Tantular* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2008), 169-70. In Chapter 9, we will take up the insights of the *mandala* symbolism in relation to the doctrine of *communio sanctorum*.

⁶⁵² Martin Brauen, *The Mandala*, 51.

⁶⁵³ On these aspects of the *mandala*, see Martin Brauen, *The Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism*, passim. On the ritual contexts of the *mandala* practice in various schools of Hinduism, see Gudrun Bühnemann, *Mandalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions*, 57-118, 153-178.

these features constitute major aspects in the pilgrimage tradition in both Catholic and Muslim contexts in south central Java.

In the next chapter, we will explore the rich and inclusive meaning of the *mandala* symbolism through an analysis of the experience of the pilgrims. This is because at the Ganjuran shrine, the whole gamut of meanings of the *mandala* symbolism only becomes clearly integrated when the spatial and architectural elements are looked at from the existential framework, namely the experience of the pilgrims. For now, our attention will be focused on the hybrid Javano-Catholic architecture of the Ganjuran shrine, which includes the main temple (Fig. 8.1) as well as the various statues housed in the shrine and the adjacent parish church (Figs. 8.2, 8.3, 8.4).

VI. 2. Self and Other in Hybrid Architecture and Religious Arts of the Shrines

My central argument here is that hybridity in the architecture of the Ganjuran shrine is an expression of the spirit of forming the self that involves the acts of including and embracing the other, i.e., the whole dynamic of communion with self and other. We have seen in chapter 5 how this dimension was at work, on a smaller scale, in the process of designing van Lith's tomb. As it stands now, the architecture of the tomb is really unique, unlike the rest in the compound. For the hybrid design of van Lith's tomb (Fig. 9.3) has a rather thick Hindu-Javanese flavor. At first glance, the roofed edifice that houses the tombstone looks like a Hindu-Javanese *candi* (temple-mausoleum), decorated with many ornamental motifs taken from the same artistic tradition. The base of the tomb is three-

terraced, and it has few steps in the front, as if one has to ascend to commune with van Lith, just like ascending to the Hindu-Javanese mausoleum or temple.⁶⁵⁴

It is also due to its status as the architectural icon of Javano-Catholic identity in south central Java that we focus our analysis in this section on the richness and complexities of the hybrid architecture and religious arts of the Ganjuran shrine. As we have noted in the previous chapter, inculturation (D. *aanpassing*) of the Catholic faith in Javanese reality is one of the most important legacies of the Schmutzer family, the founders of the shrine. In Chapter 4, it has been mentioned as well that this shrine was taken up by the first generation of Javanese Catholic intellectuals as a proof of the goodness of the Catholic mission vis-à-vis local culture.

The shrine-temple is now called “*Candi Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus*,” the Sacred Heart Temple. Architecturally, it was built on the model of the Hindu Panataran temple (Jv. *candi Panataran*) in East Java.⁶⁵⁵ It is for this mimetic reason that the shrine is called *candi*. In ancient Java, a *candi* was built as a replica of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain; it functioned as a house of worship, an abode of a deity, or a mausoleum of deceased kings who were divinized in the edifice. So, it would normally have a statue of certain god or the monarch in the form of a god. When it served as a mausoleum, it would become a center of ancestor cults because the spirit of the king became the most important representative of all the ancestors. And here the ritual worship of a god (S.

⁶⁵⁴ This hybrid architecture of van Lith’s tomb has become the model for the grave of Mgr. Soegijapranata in the Heroes Cemetery of Giri Tunggol (I. *Taman Makam Pahlawan Giri Tunggol*), Semarang, north central Java. Soegijapranata’s grave is much more spacious, with no ascending stairs, and looks more modern.

⁶⁵⁵ The Panataran temple (Jv. *Candi Panataran*) was built circa 14th century by the Hindu Majapahit dynasty. Now located in the regency of Blitar, East Java, it is a Shivaitic temple and used to be quite important in the cultic life of the Majapahit court. Its small and lean shape resembles the popular Balinese courtyard temples. See Ann R. Kinney, *Worshipping Siva and Buddha*, 181; also R. Soekmono, “Notes on the Monuments of Ancient Indonesia,” in Jan Fontein et al., eds., *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese Periods* (The Asia Society Inc., 1971), 14.

puja) would be integrated with ancestor worship.⁶⁵⁶ To a certain degree, this dual function is replicated in the Ganjuran temple-shrine. For it houses a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the form of a Hindu-Javanese king in the inner sanctum. Another replica of the same statue is placed in the foundation of the shrine, a practice that was unknown in the Hindu-Javanese context. Its pinnacle is a cross. Thus it is obviously meant to be the abode of Christ, the Lord and the King. It also becomes a center for the development of a renewed rite of saint veneration in which the memory of ancestors and founders of the community also becomes an important part, as we will see later in this chapter.

As will become clearer below, the hybrid Javano-Catholic style of this temple and its statuary should be placed in the dynamics of a discerning quest for an identity of the community, a religio-cultural negotiation of self in the face of otherness. On the theological plane, it is part of the communal discernment of the Church as an *ecclesia* on what it means to be a Catholic community in the particularities of Java. In its initial phase, the complicated encounter between the West and the East under the colonial condition was a rather major theme in this whole dynamic. Our previous chapter has hopefully shown that the basic standpoint of embracing the reality of “Java” continues to be done in several ways in the context of the shrine and its community. On the part of the Javanese-Catholics, the decision to take up and develop further the Hindu-Javanese tradition of religious arts and architecture could be considered as an act of coming to self and other at the same time. This is so because for them the Javano-Hindu religious culture is part of who they are in terms of their traditional religio-cultural environment,

⁶⁵⁶ On this, see Natasha Reichle, *Violence and Serenity: Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 112-3; Ann R. Kinney, *Worshipping Siva and Buddha*, 25; W. F. Stutterheim, “The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51 (1931): 1-15; Nancy Dowling, “The Javanization of Indian Art,” *Indonesia* 54 (1992): 117-138; and R. Soekmono, “Notes on the Monuments of Ancient Indonesia,” 13-17.

but not completely either, due to their Catholic identity that has been rather intimately connected with the Western form of Catholicism. So even as a cultural artifact (as opposed to a religious one), a Hindu Javanese temple is still endowed with visible traces of otherness for Javanese Catholics qua Catholics. There is a naturally delicate tension between self and other involved in such an identity formation. It is an act of embracing a certain otherness, but this process becomes all the more complicated because this very otherness is rather stubbornly related to self.

On the part of the Schmutzers and the Dutch Catholic community, the whole process was no less complicated. There was a sense of embracing otherness and self-emptying in the fact that they refused to just impose the familiar European style of their own, and instead adopted indigenous cultural expressions. This process, however, also involved a subtle and complicated need for self-searching. In the previous chapter we have examined the cultural vision of Fr. van Lith and his fellow Dutch missionaries—that is, the Orientalist vision of the Javanese culture that favored the Hindu-Buddhist legacy to the relative exclusion of Islam.⁶⁵⁷ In the Dutch East Indies, this cultural vision was the framework of the archeological excavations of the Hindu-Buddhist remnants of Java's antiquity.⁶⁵⁸ This cultural movement in the colony was in turn part of the larger archeological project since 1900s in Europe and the Netherlands that could be viewed as

⁶⁵⁷ I call this a cultural vision, rather than religious, because the Dutch Jesuit missionaries did not wish to revive the Hindu-Buddhist religion of Java, in contrast to the agenda of the Dutch theosophists who were quite willing to embrace certain aspects of the religious and spiritual worldview of Hinduism and Buddhism in Java. For a historical analysis of the theosophist movement in colonial Indonesia, see for example H.A.O. de Tollenaere, *The Politics of Divine Wisdom: Theosophy and Labour, National, and Women's Movements in Indonesia and South Asia, 1875-1947* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1996).

⁶⁵⁸ The archeological side of the cultural vision was made clear in the articles on archeology in *Djawa*, the journal of the *Java Instituut*. See also the papers related to archeology presented at the first congress of the *Java Instituut* (i.e., the seminal article on the origin of the Hindu Javanese arts and architecture by F. Bosch, on Borobudur by the Javanese scholar Purbacaraka, on native architecture by the Dutch architect Thomas Karsten, in *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Java (Solo, 25 en 26 December 1919)* (Weltevreden, 1921).

an effort to come to better terms with the origin of Europe, a particular search for identity that cannot be separated from the archeological treasure hunts and excavations of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Babylonian and Mesopotamian sites. In this regard, the connection with the Hindu-Buddhist world came with the discovery of Sanskrit and the ancient Hindu civilization of India as “the primeval source of all these other civilizations.”⁶⁵⁹ On this point of self-searching, Marieke Bloembergen wrote:

Those engaged in both these types of research were chiefly concerned to discover more about the origins and ancient history of their own civilizations. So essentially they were conducting a form of self-examination.⁶⁶⁰

The significance of this archeological past in this search for civilizational origin and national representation became rather obvious at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1900. Here the Hindu-Javanese antiquity was chosen as the representation, not only of the grandeur of the civilization of the Dutch colony, but of the Netherlands itself.⁶⁶¹ A Dutch commentator, Molkenboer, made insightful remarks on the role of the Hindu Javanese antiquities in relation to the European (Dutch) identity:

They are new and unknown to us; for that reason, perhaps, they are doubly impressive [...] those decorations are majestic, those fragments of architecture, those temple pinnacles, those niches with unyielding figures

⁶⁵⁹ Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), 195-96; for an analysis on the ramifications of this search in the realm of the study of religions among European scholars in the 19th century, see Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁶⁶⁰ Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, 196

⁶⁶¹ Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, 195. The Dutch pavilion in Paris in 1900 represented a shift from ethnography to archeology, centered on Hindu-Javanese antiquity. This was a sign of appreciation and desire of *rapprochement* with this antiquity. There was also a nationalistic motif and international competition involved in this change, namely, to show the cultural dignity of the Netherlands over against its competitors such as France and Britain. In this framework, the more antique the archeological artifact was, the more valuable it would be. The Dutch took pride in the fact that Candi Sari is much older than the pagoda of Phnom-Penh that the French displayed in the same exhibit. On the question of the role of the Indies in the identity formation of the Netherlands as an imagined community, see also Paul van der Velde, *A Lifelong Passion: P. J. Veth (1814-1895) and the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006).

of gods. The entire picture will enchant you, and it is curious how these works from such an old culture, dating from some eight or nine centuries after Christ (to use our own calendar) often display forms, and reflect beliefs, *that did not appear in our Western civilization until centuries later, and then in almost identical fashion.*⁶⁶² (emphasis added)

In light of this historical data we can say that on the part of the Dutch, what happened in Ganjuran could be related, albeit very subtly, to this whole search for self-understanding. A crucial factor that might have played a rather direct role here is the personal friendship between Josef Schmutzer and Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971), an influential Catholic architect who was the pioneer of indigenous architecture in the Indies and who was also involved in the archeological excavations of Java's Hindu-Buddhist past (more on this figure later.) From this vantage point of identity quest, the inculturation at Ganjuran was a decision to recast the image of the self in the unfamiliar form of the other, a form which was then made intimately connected to that self through a process of discernment that was not completely free of ambiguities and tensions.

We will later delve into the hermeneutic process of this transformation, especially on the side of the Catholic theological hermeneutic of inculturation, through the thoughts of Josef Schmutzer (VI. 2. 1). For now, it is crucial to note once more that the Javanese Catholics in the 1930s took the hybrid Javano-Catholic arts at Ganjuran as icon of the larger Catholic appreciation of the Javanese culture. To the eyes of their enemies, they proudly presented Ganjuran as the evidence that they remained true to their Javanese identity to a large degree—that is, that they did not betray their Javaneseness and then

⁶⁶² Originally published in his article “Oude Indische Kunst,” *Het Centrum* (April 15, 1899); quoted in Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, 210.

become Dutch, a grave accusation launched against the Javanese Catholics during their formative years, as the previous two chapters have showed.⁶⁶³

The historical significance of the hybrid architecture at the Ganjuran shrine should also be placed in the context of colonial discourse on architecture in the Indies, particularly between the school that advocated European architecture in the Indies—arguing that there was no indigenous architectural tradition in the Indies, hence the need and propriety of building “a Tropical Netherlands”—and the school that advocated the hybrid Indies architecture. To a large degree, the Ganjuran shrine belonged to the latter, in which the local Hindu-Javanese tradition was blended with the “European” element, in this case the Catholic framework of representation and meaning.⁶⁶⁴ As has been pointed out, the influential Catholic architect Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971) was the proponent of the latter school, and he fostered a personal friendship with the Schmutzers.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ The *Swara-Tama* (May 11, 1934; under the title “Beschaving, Kunst lan Wetenschap” [“Civilization, Art and Science”]) argued that while culture, arts and science were not the most important things in the life of the people, they nevertheless served as an expression of the dignity of the people. So, the *Swara-Tama* tried to vehemently respond to the objection that Catholic mission was a hindrance to the fuller growth of local culture, arts, and science. Their basic argument was that the mission respected local cultures and strove to perfect them, and the Javanese Catholics (Jv. *poetraning misi*) would be the living proof of this. For this purpose, the *Swara-Tama* pointed out that among the four puppeteers who were called to perform at the Sultan’s palace in Yogyakarta, three were Catholics. The *Swara-Tama* took a special pride in the fact that there were many Javanese Catholic puppeteers and the fact that Javanese Catholics could compete with other native groups in the realm of Javanese culture. The hybrid statuary and shrine at Ganjuran were also taken as a proof of this.

⁶⁶⁴ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 29ff.

⁶⁶⁵ Since his student days in the Netherlands, Josef Schmutzer maintained a personal connection with Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971). Born in Batavia but trained as an architect at Utrecht in the Netherlands where the Schmutzer boys were educated as well, he was also involved in the archeological excavations (and reconstruction) of the capital of Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in Trowulan, East Java. Baptized a Catholic in the church of the Schmutzer family’s sugar plantation in Ganjuran in 1931, Maclaine Pont played an important role in the designs of some Catholic churches in Java, the most important of which is the church and Marian shrine of Puhsarang, Kediri regency, East Java. His concern for the restoration of Hindu-Javanese style of architecture was made very concrete in his design of the church in Wlingi, East Java (see Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 367-370). It is worth noting as well that Father van Lith also had a personal relationship with another proponent of this architectural school, Thomas

While Josef Schmutzer's vision of inculturation was more motivated by his Catholic tradition, Maclaine Pont seemed to be more influenced by the ethical movement among the Dutch colonialists in the first decades of the 20th century (see Chapter 4). In the realm of culture, this period was a time when "the colonizers reorganized their attitudes by courting what was identified as 'local' cultures and traditions," and a time when "architecture became profoundly political in its role in responding to the demand of the 'new age' and remolding an ideal colonial society based on 'ethical' principles."⁶⁶⁶ On the imperative of creating a hybrid architectural tradition, Maclaine Pont argued:

[...] The invading people ultimately have an eye for the culture of the conquered and may prove to be receptive to it... Then no clash, no demonstration of supremacy is necessary, and the peoples draw together... If there is a living architectural tradition, a new mighty architecture can arise, *heterogeneous and not pure* in style.⁶⁶⁷ (emphasis added)

As we can see, Maclaine Pont's insights were perfectly in line with the spirit of deeper and more comprehensive "unification" between the East and the West, the natives and the colonialists, espoused by the Javanese Catholic community, as we have examined in Chapter 4. However, this hybrid architecture movement as an appropriation of indigenous culture was of course still within the limits of colonialism. For one can argue that a crude colonial domination in the realm of material culture was here replaced by a kind of colonial ennoblement of the native culture.

Karsten, through the *Java-Instituut* in which both were members. On Maclaine Pont's vision of the church and shrine at Puhsarang, see Ben F. van Leerdam, *Architect Henri Maclaine Pont: Een speurtocht naar het wezenlijke van de Javaanse architectuur* ("The Architect Henri Maclaine Pont: An Exploration of the Essence of Javanese Architecture"), Den Haag: CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1995), 143-60. Maclaine Pont's own account of his conversion from Freemasonry to Catholicism can be found in Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia* Vol. II, 506-11.

⁶⁶⁶ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial*, 16.

⁶⁶⁷ Quoted in Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial*, 33. See also Helen Jessup, "Dutch Architectural Visions of the Indonesian Tradition," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 144.

As we will see in the following section, the language of ennoblement was also used by Catholics in the Indies in talking about inculturation of the faith. However, from within the dynamics of Catholic theology of inculturation, the emphasis would normally be placed on the truly “catholic” and incarnational dimension of the faith that allows for more genuine respect for the religio-cultural tradition of the other. In this theological framework, ennoblement becomes spiritual revivification. As the early Javano-Catholic community understood it, this was a rather iconic expression of the complex dynamic of “Christianization” of indigenous culture and “indigenization” of Catholic faith, with more emphasis on the former.⁶⁶⁸ In what follows we will delve a bit deeper into the logic, theological and otherwise, of this two-dimensional process of Christianization and indigenization by exploring the vision of Josef Schmutzer, the founder of the Ganjuran shrine.

VI. 2. 1. The Religio-Cultural Vision of Josef Schmutzer

In their effort to initiate the indigenous Christian art, Josef Schmutzer and his circle had to define first what constituted a proper “Javanese” culture. Again, as we have mentioned several times above, the orientalist vision of Java—centered around the project to retrieve and revive the Hindu-Javanese glory of the past—came to be the dominant framework among the Dutch literati in the Indies, including the missionaries and prominent laymen like the Schmutzers and Maclaine Pont. Due to his travels throughout Java as well as his friendships with the circle of Dutch Orientalists, Josef Schmutzer had a quite deep and wide exposure to the Hindu-Buddhist archeological remnants of Java. His personal

⁶⁶⁸ This is related to the principle “Javanese Catholics, not Catholic Javanese” (Jv. “*Djawi Kathoelik sanes Katholiek Djawi*”) that we discussed in Chapter 4. However, the indigenization part suggests that Javaneseness still matters.

admiration and love of this culture was remarkable. He lamented the fact that the Javanese people had forgotten the meanings of their great monuments of the past, due to the coming of Islam.⁶⁶⁹ Then he worked to align his artistic and cultural interest with a small number of Javanese princes who became the “promoters of modern Javanese art with classical inspiration.” Schmutzer was glad to see that there arose a generation with a nationalist sentiment who appreciated more and more the great works of the past era.

But Schmutzer rightly noticed that the nascent Javanese Catholic community did not seem to be part of this movement, at least initially. On the contrary, during their initial formative years, their religious artistic taste was largely satisfied with foreign religious arts of low quality.⁶⁷⁰ We have seen in Chapter 4 that a fascination with the high culture of the Hindu-Buddhist heritage was not really part of the mentality of the first Javanese Catholic community at the very beginning. But then, partly due to the influence of such great figures like van Lith, Josef Schmutzer and Maclaine Pont, they came to see that heritage as part of their identity. As we have seen, Schmutzer’s argument for an indigenous Christian art as well as his experiments in this area were embraced by the *Swara-Tama*, the mouthpiece of the Javano-Catholic intelligentsia, to boost their

⁶⁶⁹ Josef Schmutzer, “Christelijk-Javaansche Kunst” ([“Javanese Christian Art”]) in J. Schmutzer and J. Ten Berge, *Europeanisme of Katholicisme?* ([“Europeanism or Catholicism?”]; ca. 1929), 59. This text of Schmutzer on indigenous Christian art appeared the first time in the journal *Gemeenschap* 7-8 (1927): 230-51. Then, it was published separately as a book, *Europeanisme of Katholicisme?* (Utrecht, Leuven; no date) together with a long chapter by the Jesuit missionary J. J. ten Berge on indigenous Christian art in other mission territories, entitled “Christelijk-Inheemsche Kunst in de Missie.” Ten Berge’s article was originally published in the same journal, *De Gemeenschap* 7-8 (1927): 205-28; and 5-6 (1927): 145-54. This book was translated into French as *Europeanisme ou Catholicisme?* (Paris and Louvain: A Giraudon, De Vlaamsche Drukkerij, 1929). The French translation of Schmutzer’s article is entitled *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, which I use rather extensively in this chapter. A copy of this book was presented to the presiding bishop during the consecration of the Ganjuran shrine in 1930. In light of our discussion on Ten Berge’s orientalist view of Islam in Chapter 4, it is curious to see that in these articles, Ten Berge was so open regarding the general realm of Christian inculturation in other cultures. Thus his rather partial conception of Islam was telling about his vision of Javanese culture as devoid of Islamic elements.

⁶⁷⁰ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 61. He also laid out the task of the Javanese Catholics thus: “*Le jeune catholicisme javanais se trouve au point de vue artistique devant une tâche grandiose et fort étendue: mettre au service du Divin l’art qui jaillit de son sol.*” (87)

argument for cultural hybridity in the framework of the identity formation of the Javano-Catholic community.

We may ask, however: why did Schmutzer come to choose the Hindu-Javanese tradition as it was found in the Hindu and Buddhist archeological remnants of Java as a vehicle for his project of inculturation of the Christian faith in Javanese soil, rather than other available forms? While the orientalist framework certainly had its role, Schmutzer made it rather clear that the process of discernment was for him both natural and selective. It was natural because his extended stay in central and east Java had exposed him to a vast array of Hindu-Javanese architectures and arts. He was captivated by the remarkable and exquisite quality of these arts and by the way in which they helped to convey the presence of the “eternal.”⁶⁷¹ More particularly, he was touched by the power of these arts in representing eternity in an atmosphere of sacred peace.

For Schmutzer, the process was selective as well because he had tried, in collaboration with the local Javanese religious teacher (catechist), other avenues using other forms of Javanese arts, namely artistic designs taken from the world of the shadow puppet theatre which was still a living and popular tradition in Java; however, this initial experiment did not work out. For Schmutzer was looking for an appropriate artistic framework that could serve as a vehicle for Christian inspirations, rather than just an indigenous architectural tradition. Thus, understandably, the Islamic artistic tradition in Java did not naturally lend itself to him as an alternative means of religious expression because of its specificities in expressing the Divine. In this sense, the fact that Islamic art was not in the realm of possibility in his search for the “renaissance of the Javanese

⁶⁷¹ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 69.

artistic tradition” did not solely stem from the bias of a colonial discourse on Javanese culture.⁶⁷²

However, Hindu-Javanese art still retained too much trace of the religious other to be properly used in unchanged form in the Catholic context. To deal with this challenge, Schmutzer employed an interesting principle: “[Once we] take away the elements that were the reminders of the ideas and attributes of paganism, then artistic forms will lend themselves to Christian ideas.”⁶⁷³ Thus, it seems, what he considered most useful in the rich heritage of the Hindu-Javanese arts for his project was their forms that he thought could be severed from their original religious or theological settings. As we have seen, he was genuinely touched by the spiritual atmosphere that these arts exuded, but for some reasons he did not seem to connect this spiritual atmosphere with the particularities of Hinduism or Buddhism *qua* religion. He even used the word “paganism” in this context. Thus it is apparent that he did not want to explore the possibility of theological similarities as background for formal artistic appropriation.

As we will see below, Josef Schmutzer was very meticulous in choosing particular symbolic forms out of this vast world of the Hindu-Javanese arts, looking for the proper ones that could convey the particularities of the Christian message at stake. In reality, what he ignored or removed from the context of earlier Hindu Javanese temples were mostly the stupas of the Buddha, the statues of the Hindu gods and goddesses, the reliefs containing the stories of the Buddha or Vishnu’s avatars, the terrifying faces of the

⁶⁷² In relation to this question, Schmutzer argued that, although the Hindu artistic tradition was brought from a foreign land, it has secured an indigenous cultural patrimony for the Javanese. In his view, Islam had to destroy the Hindu-Javanese statues and architectural edifices, but this did not mean destroying all the links that connected the Javanese to their ancestral culture, as could broadly be seen in east and central Java. Thus, there was a good reason to revive the interest of contemporary Javanese people in the artistic dimensions of this culture. *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 70.

⁶⁷³ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 70.

ogres (Jv. *raseksa*) and so forth. In the realm of statuary, as we will see, Schmutzer also took away all the forms that appeared to be rather offensive or improper to his European Catholic sensibility, most notably the bare breasts of the goddesses. Rather obviously, this principle did not work without its ambiguities. For even the newly adapted artistic forms could still well preserve some traces of the (supposedly) vanished other in the eyes of the beholders.

In Schmutzer's conception, these purified forms should then be re-vivified by the spirit of Christian truth. He argued:

But, Christianity, which teaches the people the truth at the same time as its regeneration, necessarily makes new life bloom everywhere where it radiates its light and warmth. So, why could Christianity not accomplish in the East what it has realized in the West? Why could it not, to honor the truth, vivify through its spirit the pagan forms of art that were lost in error and that have been dead for centuries?⁶⁷⁴

As we see, Schmutzer talked about the appropriation of local culture and the inculturation of the Christian faith into it as a Christian revivification of the forms of the other. The term of rebirth or renaissance is key here. Although the whole logic could not be completely separated from the colonial mindset, it was clearly not meant to be a simple borrowing or plundering of the treasure of an actual Hindu community in Java, precisely because the Hindu religion *qua* religion was already dead in Java by the time this idea of renaissance was gaining ground among Catholics there.

On the contrary, the notion of revivification was forwarded as a noble idea of taking the dignity of the local culture to a higher level. It was seen as an act of ennoblement in the spiritual or religious realm. In Chapter 7, we will see how the pilgrims would testify to the effect of this revivification, how the presence of God's

⁶⁷⁴ Translated from Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 61-62.

blessings, the overflowing of the grace of the Sacred Heart through this shrine, effectively revivifies the sacredness of the Hindu-Javanese architectural forms and the whole spatial ground. In the preceding chapter, we saw how the contemporary community of the shrine also attempts to respond to the broadening horizon of the Sacred Heart's indiscriminating blessings by continuing this principle of revivification of the earlier Javanese culture. On the spiritual and existential levels, this revivification happens in different directions as various kinds of pilgrims come to be in contact with the Spirit of this new life. For the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim pilgrims come to the shrine for various reasons and go away with a set of different experiences.

To a certain degree then, Christianity is also being reborn, revivified in a new soil by new people with different religious sensibilities. Thus, as it turns out, the process of "renaissance" is a two-way street. This particular contemporary dynamic is something that Schmutzer might not have been much aware of when he founded the shrine. But on the theological plane, he anticipated this in a way when he emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit, the Uncreated Love and Grace, as the most crucial theological dimension in many of his experiments in Javano-Catholic religious arts.

In this regard, the Javano-Christian artistic panel of the Holy Trinity that Schmutzer designed, with the help of the Sundanese (West Javanese) Muslim sculptor Iko, offers a crucial pneumatological framework.⁶⁷⁵ Emphasizing the priority of Love in

⁶⁷⁵ Josef Schmutzer met with Iko, a talented Muslim sculptor who was familiar with Hindu-Buddhist artistic styles, in 1924. Iko's artistic genius had been by then known among a circle of Dutch art specialists and connoisseurs. He was already featured in the journal *Weekblad van Indië* in 1905 in an article by Th. Hilgers. While inspired initially by the tentative work of a Javanese Catholic catechist in Ganjuran (Purwodiwiryo), it was in Iko's works of indigenous art that Josef Schmutzer found the most promising platform for his project of the Christian renaissance of the Hindu-Javanese art. During the project, Iko was also helped by his son, Adi, and Yong Shoi Lin, a sculptor of Chinese descent (see his *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 69). On the role of indigenous artists like Iko and his colleagues, it is crucial to note the apparent invisibility of their personal identity in the outcome of the work. This is an example of what Carolyn Dean

the theological understanding of the Trinity, Schmutzer put the figure of the Holy Spirit in the middle, flanked by the Father and the Son. This type of artistic work is insightful in relation to the propriety of the word “vivify”, because, as Irenaeus of Lyons long ago argues, it is the Spirit who vivifies the body and gives it its true life beyond the biological. The Spirit is the Giver of life, and her work knows no fixed bounds.⁶⁷⁶

In Schmutzer’s conception, this pneumatological framework is also deeply christological. For the role of the Spirit is intimately connected to the wider spirituality of the Sacred Heart. He remarked:

It is to the Holy Spirit that we are indebted in the event of the Incarnation of the Word; for, although the Spirit does not have a power to send the Son from whom he proceeds, we can say that he is, as the uncreated love, the primordial cause of the divine act which gave us a Savior; and thus, he is also the cause of the effects of mercy that followed the divine mission of the Son. ... *It is the Holy Spirit who keeps the sacred heart of Jesus overflowing with mercy.*⁶⁷⁷ (emphasis added)

As we see, the pneumatological aspect of Schmutzer’s vision is anchored on the dynamics of Divine Love and Wisdom, because the Spirit is the love between the Father and the Son. In the context of the contemporary development of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, this intimate relationship between pneumatology and Christology is

and Dana Leibsohn call “the deception of visibility” in hybrid arts (see Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, “Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 12/1 [2003]: 15ff). For, after the image was finished, the presence of this Muslim sculptor and his friends disappeared and could not be recognized by ordinary beholders of the work due to the absence of proper Islamic traces in the work itself. Thus the visible appearance of the art is deceptive because it tricks us into thinking that unless we see the visible material and symbolical trace of the Muslim other, they are not really present.

⁶⁷⁶ On the idea of vivification by the Spirit in Irenaeus’s pneumatology, see John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), especially chapter 2. In this respect, it is telling that the Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences (FABC) has also developed a pneumatological theology of religions in response to the awareness of the Spirit’s overwhelming presence beyond the formal boundaries of the Church in the context of Asia where Christianity in all its forms constitutes a tiny minority. On this subject, see my licentiate thesis, *The Spirit at Work: Asian Pneumatology from Below and the Problem of Religious Pluralism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: the Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2005).

⁶⁷⁷ Translated from Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 75-76.

maintained. For at this shrine, it is the Sacred Heart of Jesus who is perceived to be the vehicle for the outpouring love of God to humanity and the whole cosmos.

It becomes rather clear that in this theological framework, the experiments in indigenous Christian arts that Josef Schmutzer undertook were not merely an inculturation of Christian arts simply as aesthetic forms, but also an occasion for deeper engagement with the presence of God through the categories of love and mercy. Therefore, the fuller meanings of these hybrid arts and architecture have to be found through deeper and wider engagements as well. That is why Schmutzer emphasized the importance of this art in inducing a meditative and prayerful atmosphere.⁶⁷⁸ To a large degree, it is the underlying force of love and mercy that really inculturates the Catholic faith into the local context, rather than just the artistic expressions of it. That is why we should be attentive to the wider and deeper dynamics of pilgrimage to this shrine, especially the experience of pilgrims from many backgrounds. For their experiences could serve as a better indicator that a true inculturation has taken place, namely, a process in which the Trinitarian reality of grace becomes rooted in the local people, their culture as well as their daily lives. As we will see in the next chapter, pilgrims at Ganjuran come to be in touch with the reality of the healing power of God's love in different ways. Also crucial in this regard is the role of the shrine as a center of charity works for the larger local community, through which God's grace becomes a reality to many people across religious boundaries. As Schmutzer himself seemed to have anticipated, this widening influence of Divine love is the work of the Spirit whose work knows no boundaries.

⁶⁷⁸ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 74.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, this pneumatological dynamic toward openness and inclusivity also occurs in the open architecture of the Sendangsono grotto in its current form, designed by the late Javanese priest-architect Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya (1929-1999). As it stands now, the shrine has open gates and no fences or walls that would separate it from its natural environment. Using local materials, these recent edifices were built on the natural contour of the landscape, keeping it intact, including the stream that bisects the compound.⁶⁷⁹ This vision of architectural openness enables the Spirit to blow, to pass through the shrine, without being retained in the structure, so to speak. Furthermore, in the framework of this ecologically friendly and hospitable architecture, communion with God is visibly understood as inclusive in the cosmic and social sense of the word. In light of the early narrower (exclusive) vision of Catholic identity represented by the grotto at its foundation (see Chapter 5), this new architectural vision could be taken as an important step in the effort of the community in their discernment on their identity vis-à-vis the other. It represents a decision to put forward a certain understanding of the role of Mary as the mediator of all grace and the primary “missionary” in the grotto.

Another crucial theological aspect of this revivification or rebirth movement is *kenosis*, a traditional trope in Christian theology that serves to explain the dynamic of the Incarnation of the second Person of the Trinity (Philippians 2:6-11). In short, it is the biblical message that to give a new life, one has to die. In the Ganjuran shrine, this spirit is intimately connected to the Sacred Heart spirituality, as we have mentioned. A religio-cultural *kenosis*, in the sense of taking the form of the other in order to commune with

⁶⁷⁹ In 1991 Father Y. B. Mangunwijaya won the Indonesian Institute of Architect Award for his design of the Sendangsono grotto; while in 1992 he received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture for his housing works with the slum dwellers on the banks of the Code river, Yogyakarta.

this other, is another dimension of the same movement. Gerry van Klinken has also noted how the principle of *kenosis* was at work in van Lith's mission of adaptation or inculturation. Van Lith exemplified the need for the Church to immerse itself deeply in the life of the Javanese; hence his harsh condemnation of racism.⁶⁸⁰ This theme of *kenosis* was also prominent in the subsequent discourse on inculturation in the Catholic mission in Java in the post-van Lith period.⁶⁸¹

For the subject matter of our study, this idea of *kenosis*, understood particularly in the context of the need to adapt to the local cultures, can be taken as part of the identity formation that takes alterity seriously. For *kenosis* helps minimize the gap between self and other. Following the example of Christ, *kenosis* is a principle that enables the subject to be truly himself, thus achieved an identity, only by "becoming" the other to a certain degree. What seems to be emphasized as the result of this adaptation is unification or harmony. We have seen in the previous chapter that the Schmutzers are still remembered as a bridge that connects the Occident and the Orient. Especially in the case of Josef Schmutzer, this aspect was also visible in his effort to develop a new tradition of indigenous Christian arts in Java. As a bridge, he obviously did not actually initiate the whole movement. For he only responded to the seminal experiments done by Javanese

⁶⁸⁰ Gerry van Klinken, "Power," 45.

⁶⁸¹ See for example J. Mulder, S. J., "Een schets over aanpassing: de positie van de missionaris in het beeld der huidige ontwikkeling van Indonesië ["An Overview of Adaptation: The Position of the Missionaries in Light of the Contemporary Development of Indonesia"], *Berichten Uit Java* 57 (1949): 25-31; M. van den Bercken, S.J., "Enkele Gedachten over Aanpassing" ["Some Ideas on Adaptation"] in *Het Missiewerk: Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Missiewetenschap* 30 (1952): 55-68. See also different responses to the question of adaptation that the Jesuit Superior General put forward to the Jesuits in Indonesia in the late 1950s. Copies of these personal responses from various Jesuits can be found in the Archives of the Office of the Jesuit Provincialate in Semarang, Indonesia. I thank Father Kristiono Purwadi for giving me access to this dossier.

Catholics.⁶⁸² His role was to take a good care of this seed and lead it to certain direction.⁶⁸³ The cooperation between Josef Schmutzer and Iko, the Sundanese Muslim artist, as well as another sculptor of a Chinese descent has also been viewed as a rather powerful symbol of brotherhood between different races, something that should not be taken for granted in colonial Java.⁶⁸⁴ In Chapter 9, we will come back to further explore the role of the Holy Spirit as well as of the Sacred Heart spirituality in our effort to develop a Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* as a result of our comparative journey through the richness of the Muslim and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage.

VI. 2. 2. The Expressions: Hybrid Religious Arts in Ganjuran

As concrete illustrations of Schmutzer's experiments in Christian indigenous arts, we will look more closely at three of the most iconic examples from his collections. They are also the most elaborate and rich in terms of theological insights. The first is the depiction of the Trinity (Fig. 8.5), the second the image of the Sacred Heart or Christ the King (Fig. 8.2), and the third the image of Madonna with Child (Figs. 8.3 and 8.4).

⁶⁸² As mentioned previously, the first initiative belonged to a Javanese catechist by the name of Yusuf Purwodiwiryō. The first impulse for the development of this Christian art was the practical need in the instruction of the faith to the Javanese. This Javanese catechist designed a rendition of the Trinity in the adapted style of the shadow theatre (Jv. *wayang*), particularly the figure of the hermit, Rsi Vsaya or Abyasa. In the epic Mahabharata, Abyasa was once a king of Astina and devoted himself to a life of spiritual practices and asceticism. After the bloody war, it was he who performed the solemn rituals of purification. But Schmutzer did not find this attempt satisfactory because, among others, it aesthetically failed to convey the sacredness of the Divine Mystery, perhaps due to its highly abstract and flat depiction of divine and human figures. See his *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 62ff.

⁶⁸³ In his articles on indigenous Christian arts, Schmutzer made it clear that there were other good and promising local artists who did not have a close connection to him personally. See his two articles on Javano-Christian arts: "Javaansche Madonna's," *St Cleverbond* (1935): 214-22; "Het Apostolaat der Kunst" ["The Apostolate of Arts"], *St Claverbond* (1935): 53-68

⁶⁸⁴ The Jesuit Father ten Berge remarked that this cooperation signified an encounter between the West and the East in the framework of God. This point was well illustrated in the photograph where Josef Schmutzer and Iko were standing, flanking their completed works of Javanese Christian arts, namely, the statues of two angels, the Virgin and the Child, the Trinity, and the Sacred Heart (Fig. 8. 7). Ten Berge argued that the result of this encounter was a new synthesis. He even talked about a new way of "*communio sanctorum*," because it brought all people together (see *Européanisme ou Catholicisme*, 8).

Josef Schmutzer's creation of the image of the Trinity was motivated by his concerns for expressing the Christian doctrine of Trinity in the particularities of Java, taking into account the overwhelming presence of Islam as well as the legacy of Javanese classical culture with its Hindu-Buddhist elements. Initially he was experimenting with a depiction of the three Divine Persons in the Hindu-Buddhist style that bore the resemblance of three Javanese kings (Fig. 8.5).⁶⁸⁵ In this proposed depiction the equality of power and dignity among the three Persons could be more easily recognized by the Javanese people than when only the Father and the Son were depicted in human likeness.⁶⁸⁶ However, in the context of an Islamic culture, this representation runs the risk of misconception that the Christians worship three different gods. Schmutzer argued that while this misconception could not simply be rectified by offering a more abstract

⁶⁸⁵ *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 71. This design (Fig. 8.5) is very delicate and rich in symbolism, combining Hindu-Javanese symbolisms and Christian ones to convey the major distinctive aspects of the theological understanding of the Trinity in the Western Church. The three Divine Figures were sitting on a royal throne, modeled after the throne of the Maitreya Buddha found in the temple of Plaosan near Prambanan, east of Yogyakarta. The Holy Spirit is placed in the middle because she was the Love of the Father and the Son. As Schmutzer conceived of it, the central position of the Spirit was also to emphasize love as the nature of the Trinity. The three Persons were sitting on the same level, suggesting that they have the same power and dignity. Clothed in royal robes and regalia, they wore a three-fold piece of cloth, diagonally across their busts, signifying that God is the Teacher who revealed Himself in unified three-ness. The crown, necklace and bracelets were classical but were not copies of the Hindu models. For aesthetic purpose, the crown was actually modeled after the one used in the shadow theatre (Jv. *wayang purwa*). The bracelets encircled their two arms at once, mutually supporting. This was to signify the unity of will and action of the Divine Persons. Each Person held in his hands the symbol of his respective attribute: the Father held a crown and sign of his supreme power, while the Spirit a dove and the Son a cross. Their feet rested on a lotus cushion that signified the holiness of God. The three halos were connected to one another by the stems of the lotus. The connecting points were actually made of which lotus buds. The Father and the Son were connected by this lotus bud signifying that the Son originated in the Father; while the Spirit was connected to the Father and the Son in such a way to signify that the Spirit originated in the Father and the Son, expressing the Trinitarian theology of the Western (Roman) Catholic church.

⁶⁸⁶ This design was never actually sculpted. But, Schmutzer defended his decision to portray the Holy Spirit in the human likeness since this was a rather unusual practice in Catholic arts. Although rare, there had been precedents for the depiction of the Holy Trinity in three human figures, such as in the Jesuit church at Nijmegen, the Netherlands, and the fresco of Gino Severini in the church of Semsales near Fribourg, Switzerland. See Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 73.

exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine, it was still possible to make a representation of the Trinity by taking this Muslim objection into account.⁶⁸⁷

Therefore he decided to experiment with a different representation of the Trinity by having just one human representation, the Son, the only Divine Person who became human (Fig. 8.6).⁶⁸⁸ Clothed in royal robe and seated on a royal throne, his right hand was making a blessing gesture, while his left hand held a sphere of the earth. The halo of Christ was connected, through stems of the lotus, with the halos of the Father and the Spirit that became distinctive because each contained, at its center, the respective symbol of their divinities, namely the crown and the dove. The halos were rested on a platter of the sun with its visible rays behind the head of Christ, signifying that the Son is the Light. Then, a crown of flames of love encircled the whole image. Thus what came to the fore was the image of Christ the King in his glory and in indissoluble connection with the Father and the Spirit. However, Schmutzer noted, these points will only be made clear in a meditative moment before the image.⁶⁸⁹ For certain reasons, Schmutzer did not try to depict the relationship among the three Persons of the Trinity by using more physically intimate Hindu depiction of the relationship between a god and his consort, for example.⁶⁹⁰

This same aesthetic-theological pattern was also applied in the depiction of the Sacred Heart, our second sample (see Fig. 8.2). Clothed in a Hindu-Javanese royal robe,

⁶⁸⁷ In this regard, Schmutzer cited chapter 112 of the Qur'ān as a basis for the deep-seated Muslim misconception of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 74.

⁶⁸⁸ Of course, this mode of representation would not be without problem for the Muslims, precisely because it employed a human image.

⁶⁸⁹ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 74.

⁶⁹⁰ In Java, statuary depicting the intimacy between Hindu god and his consort in terms of physicality abound, for example statue of divine couple modeled after the Indian *Alingana-murti* of Siva where Siva is represented seated in “royal ease” (S. *lalitasana*) with his consort Uma on his lap. See Jan Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, 30.

Christ is seated on his throne; his left hand holds the robe on the chest, opening it a little bit, to show the image of the Sacred Heart, while his right hand points to this image. The luminous image of the Sacred Heart is encircled by a crown of light. In Schmutzer's conception, this luminous crown of love is a symbolism of how a meditation of the love of Christ should be elevated to the contemplation of the Uncreated Love, the Holy Spirit, through which the Father and the Son love each other as well as humanity. Without the image of the Sacred Heart in the breast, this statue might only effuse the aura of a Hindu-Javanese king in all his glory and power. Obviously Schmutzer attempted to present a rather different image of kingship, one that is based solely on love. It is this statue that is now housed in the inner sanctum of the temple-shrine (Fig. 8.1).⁶⁹¹

Our third iconic sample is the statue of Madonna with Child (Figs. 8.3 and 8.4). Obviously employing the template of images of Prajnaparamita (or Laksmi), Mary is represented as a queen, clothed in classical royal robe with a shawl and long corsage, holding the Child on her lap.⁶⁹² The robe is made of two layers of cloth in the traditional Javanese *batik* (artistically patterned cloth design). The upper layer is in the pattern of overlapping circle called *kawung*, on top of the royal pattern of *parang rusak*, signifying that Mary's position is less elevated than that of Christ.⁶⁹³ But the shawl is ornamented

⁶⁹¹ For some unknown reasons, the above mentioned models of the Trinity were never realized at the Ganjuran shrine and parish church, while the Sacred Heart model was realized in three sculptures (one planted in the foundation of the shrine, another placed in the inner sanctum of the shrine, and the third put in the parish church).

⁶⁹² As Natasha Reichle points out, the statue of Prajnaparamita (ca. 13th century) has been called "arguably Java's greatest single stone sculpture" and has been replicated continuously. In present day Indonesia, this iconic Buddhist sculpture is used to reinforce notions of ancient history and contemporary statehood. In Java, statues of Prajnaparamita have also been associated with historical figures of queens such as Ken Dedes (ca. 13th century) of the Singasari dynasty, and queen Rajapatni of the Hindu Majapahit dynasty (ca. 14th century), who was known to be a Buddhist nun during her youth. See Natasha Reischle, *Violence and Serenity*, 69-70.

⁶⁹³ The styles of *parang-rusak* and *kawung* are the two most traditional and oldest patterns of Javanese cloth design (Jv. *batik*). The *parang-rusak* style (lit. broken knives) is a curved design that runs diagonally, divided by parallel lines with small ornaments; while the *kawung* is built up from circular or elliptical

with the royal pattern of *parang rusak* because the Virgin holds the Divine Son in her heart. Furthermore, the Child looks straight ahead with the aura of authority, while the Virgin keeps her eyes semi-close in a serene and meditative position. The Child has a streamlined halo and sacerdotal sash on his breast. The throne is ornamented with blossoming water lilies, symbols of purity.⁶⁹⁴

In this respect, the role of Prajnaparamita as the template for the image is noteworthy. Given its intrinsic quality as a work of art as well as its historical role in the religious history of Java, we could understand why Josef Schmutzer decided to employ this statue as a model for his depiction of Mary. Overwhelmed by the exquisite quality and power of this statue, one expert could not help but comparing it to Bellini's Madonna:

[The Prajnaparamita statue] deserves to be considered as one of the highest spiritual creations of all art: [She is] sitting on the lotus throne, the symbol of purity and divine birth. In the pose of the *yogini*—her face has the ineffable expression of heavenly grace, like the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini—Prajnaparamita, as the consort of the Adibuddha, would be seen as the mother of the universe.⁶⁹⁵

With regard to the motherhood of Prajnaparamita, Mahayana Buddhism does indeed consider her as the “spirit representing matter, from which everything in heaven and earth sprung, the supreme self-existent-power of nature, the universal mother, the first

shapes that touch or overlap. The provenance of the *kawung* dates back to the Hindu Majapahit era (1294-1478) when this style was worn by kings. The central Javanese courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (18th century to the present) reserve the use of the *parang-rusak* pattern only for the highest strata of the royal family, that is, the monarch, crown prince and their consorts. Thus, in this context, the *parang-rusak* style is considered more glorious and royal than the *kawung*. On this see Sylvia Fraser-Lu, *Indonesian Batik: Processes, Patterns and Places* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 34, 37 and 57; also Pepin van Roojen, *Batik Design* (Boston: Shambhala, 1997), 50 and 59.

⁶⁹⁴ This model has another variation where Mary is depicted as sitting on a throne crafted on the model of the seat of Prajnaparamita that was found in the Singasari temple in East Java (Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 76-77); on Prajnaparamita and the Singasari temple, see Natasha Reischle, *Violence and Serenity*, 51-53.

⁶⁹⁵ This is the remark that E. B. Havell made in 1911 as quoted in Natasha Reischle, *Violence and Serenity*, 51-52.

cause.”⁶⁹⁶ In Java, Prajnaparamita is also related to the Hindu goddess Laksmi or Bhagavati, the consort of Vishnu.⁶⁹⁷

On the Catholic side, although Schmutzer did not explicitly mention, this particular depiction of Mary is surely connected to the traditional image of Mary as the Seat of Wisdom or a Virgin of Majesty. In this image, the Virgin and Child are depicted in the same position of enthronement, a representation that has become common since the seventh and eighth centuries in the Christian West. Originally, this image was part of the traditional portrayal of the Adoration of the Magi; it then became a freestanding image, without the presence of the magi. In this regard, comparison with the image of the Virgin in Majesty, designed for the Clermont cathedral in France would be helpful.⁶⁹⁸ It is rather clear that this kind of image was the Catholic prototype for the Prajnaparamita Mary of Ganjuran.

For our purpose, it is crucial to notice that traditionally the magi represented a non-Jewish presence and acknowledgment of the authority of Jesus; thus theirs is the presence of the other. Matthew’s Gospel identifies them specifically as being from the East (Matthew 2:1). That is why in the traditional depiction of the scene, their images are cast as the images of the Eastern other, typically as an Arab, Persian or Indian. In this respect, then, the image of Prajnaparamita Mary at Ganjuran might represent a rather unique dynamic. For now it is the Virgin and Child who have become the other since they have assumed the forms of the other. This way, the difference between the adorers and the adored is less visible if we assume that the invisible adorers or “magi” here are

⁶⁹⁶ W. F. Stutterheim, “Note on Saktism in Java,” *Acta Orientalia* 17 (1938): 150; Nancy Dowling, “Javanization of Indian Art,” 20.

⁶⁹⁷ W. F. Stutterheim, “Note on Saktism in Java,” 148; Nancy Dowling, “Javanization of Indian Art,” 19.

⁶⁹⁸ In this portrayal, the Child is also depicted as having the royal authority, with his hand gesture of giving blessings. On the details and significance of this image, see Sarah Jane Boss, *Mary*, 107ff.

the Javanese themselves. So there is no need to describe the adorers as being from the East anymore, because Mary and the Child are now in the East, among these very people. Read against this background, the Hindu-Javanese image of the Seat of Wisdom at Ganjuran becomes an image of Mary and the Child's visit to the other, rather than the other way around. This is obviously an incarnational dynamic that forms the backbone of Christian theology in general as well as the theology of inculturation that Josef Schmutzer embraced.

It is also insightful for our study that this image of the Prajnaparamita Mary turns out to be a result of a pilgrimage, a visit to the other that results in a transformation. On the artistic plane, this transformation is visible when Mary takes the framework of beauty and wisdom of Prajnaparamita. However, this transformation seems to have deeper meaning. For, in the framework of the incarnational dynamic of Catholic theology, it is crucial to note that the seat of Mary and the Child is a lotus flower. This is significantly different from the traditional Catholic/Western image where the Child rests on the lap of Mary while his bare feet (signifying Christ's humanity) do not rest on another throne (that is why Mary is called the Seat of Wisdom), and where Mary sits on the Solomonic throne.⁶⁹⁹ So, in a general stroke, we can say that this unique feature of the Prajnaparamita Mary might signify the spirit of learning from the wisdom of the other.

Although Schmutzer spoke more about the role of Christianity in teaching the nations about the truth when it came to the topic of the theology of mission, this spirit of learning from the richness of the earlier Javanese culture has been very much at work in his works of Javano-Catholic arts. For his appreciation of the Hindu-Javanese arts went much deeper than mere aesthetic amazement. Although he did not take the time to delve

⁶⁹⁹ Sarah Jane Boss, *Mary*, 109.

into the richness of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions in terms of religious teaching and practice—which would have lent itself to fruitful comparisons with the Christian tradition—he was profoundly captivated by the spiritual atmosphere, the sense of being in touch with eternity, that these arts evoked. This spirit becomes more apparent in the development of the shrine.

Here we do not have enough space to do justice to the enormous potential of a comparative theological discourse on Prajnaparamita and Mary.⁷⁰⁰ It suffices to say that the image of the Prajnaparamita Mary at Ganjuran seems to invite a deeper meditation on the confluence of Prajnaparamita and Mary. Both are extolled as pure, and serve as a cosmic place of refuge. Both are protecting Mothers in their own rather distinctive ways. Prajnaparamita is the mother of all bodhisattvas due to her role in bringing enlightenment, while Mary is the Mother of God and all His children due to her radical openness and connection to God as well as her loving compassion and motherly care. It is insightful here to see how Prajnaparamita is described in the framework of Buddhist soteriology in the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* text:

Perfect Wisdom spreads her radiance... and is worthy of worship. Spotless, the whole world cannot stain her.... In her we find refuge; her works are most excellent, she brings us safely under the sheltering wings of enlightenment. She brings light to the blind, that all fears and calamities may be dispelled... and she scatters the gloom and darkness of delusion. She leads those who have gone astray to the right path. She is omniscience; without beginning or end is Perfect Wisdom, who has Emptiness as her characteristic mark; she is the mother of the bodhisattvas.... She cannot be struck down, the protector of the

⁷⁰⁰ Following the lead of Francis X. Clooney's insightful comparative theological study of the Hindu goddess tradition and the Catholic Marian tradition in his *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother* (Oxford University Press, 2005), a comparative theological treatment of Prajnaparamita and Mary is, I believe, not only possible, but also desirable. It would be interesting to see how Buddhist goddess tradition could enrich our Christian understanding of Mary, just as the Hindu goddess tradition does in Clooney's account. In the context of Indonesia, this kind of comparative project should also take into account the role of Mary in the Muslim tradition. This way, the comparative project will be more complicatedly rich, since it involves more than two traditions.

unprotected, ... the Perfect Wisdom of the Buddhas, she turns the Wheel of the Law.⁷⁰¹

With the presence of Prajnaparamita, detachment and enlightenment as aspects of true wisdom are added to the Marian compassionate protection and involvement in the messiness of human affairs. These combined attributes are of course appropriate for Mary who at Ganjuran is venerated together with the Sacred Heart of Jesus. A Buddhist detachment coming from a deep realization of the nature of reality through the mind is matched with a Christian spirit of compassionate involvement with the day-to-day plight of the world in fidelity with the dynamics of the overflowing love and grace from the Sacred Heart of Jesus. As we will see in the next chapter, enlightenment in the sense of finding the direction of life amidst confusions and the peacefulness that this enlightenment brings, constitute some of the most paradigmatic spiritual experiences of the pilgrims at the Ganjuran shrine.

Before we move to the next section, it is worth noting that this spirit of learning from the other at Ganjuran has been recently displayed by the local community in their decision to build the new parish church in the Javanese style, in place of the old one that was destroyed during the 2006 earthquake (Fig. 8.8). This architectural design allies the community once more with the religio-cultural spirit of the Javano-Muslim sultanate of Yogyakarta since the style of the church resembles its palace (Jv. *kraton*; Fig. 3.2). In fact, in the conception of Father Gregorius Utomo, the longtime pastor of the shrine and parish church, the style was the manifestation of a religio-cultural mission of retrieving the Javanese culture as a foundation of fostering brotherhood among diverse religious

⁷⁰¹ Wm. Theodore de Barry, ed., *The Buddhist Tradition* (New York: Modern Library, 1969), 103; quoted in Natasha Reischle, *Violence and Serenity*, 56.

communities in Java. This hybrid architecture is understood as a combination of a Javanese court palace (Jv. *kraton*) and the biblical symbolism of the vineyard. That is why many features of Javanese royal palaces are incorporated.⁷⁰² Furthermore, this design also helps resolve certain tensions in the earlier orientalist-colonial vision of Javanese culture that had affected the earlier self-understanding of the Javano-Catholic community in Java. For due to its terraced roof and open space inside, this church edifice now resembles the traditional mosque designs in Java, most notably the Demak Mosque (Fig. 1.1), the oldest mosque in Java that is also considered the most sacred (see Chapter 2 above).

VI. 2. 3. On the Hybridity of Jesuit Mission Art in Java

Earlier in this chapter, we touched on the question of the Dutch fascination with Hindu-Javanese antiquity in terms of their quest for national identity. As Marieke Bloembergen shows, this colonial fascination was rather complex. This complexity was rather well illustrated in the display of the replica of *Candi Sari* (the temple of Sari) at the Exhibition in Paris in 1900.⁷⁰³ Clearly there were some disparate elements involved in this decision.

⁷⁰² Here we do not have space to enumerate all the hybrid symbolisms in the new Ganjuran church. Basically, since the church is conceived both as a vineyard and a Javanese palace, the ornamental motifs on the canopy are floral patterns, featuring the three most ritually important flowers in the Javanese culture (Jv. *kembang telon*) as well as the Christian symbolisms of vines and wheat. The main color is green as in the Javanese palace. As we know, green is also a particular color associated with the Islamic tradition. On the bottom of the pillars that support the terraced roof, the symbolism of light is used. The chief artist, a Javanese Catholic, has a personal connection with the court of Yogyakarta where he was working. Because of this connection, he was also involved in the architectural and artistic designs of major mosques in Yogyakarta, something that he is very proud of. For it is very rare that a Catholic artist is invited to work in such setting.

⁷⁰³ *Candi Sari* is a small Buddhist temple located in the northern vicinity of Yogyakarta, a few miles away from the famous Hindu temple of Prambanan. Its provenance dates back to the 8th century. It was excavated by the Dutch archeologists toward the end of the 19th century and had never been exposed to the European gaze before. At the Paris Exhibition in 1900, however, the replica of Candi Sari was in fact made of a combination of different features from other Buddhist or Hindu temples found in Java; it also featured glass roofs, a modern addition to the ancient looking replica. At the exhibition, this mixed replica of an ancient

It showed that the Netherlands imagined the Netherlands East Indies, particularly Java, as part of its identity; they needed something ancient to display due to the competition with other European colonial powers, especially France and Britain. This decision might have also been motivated by a genuine respect for the high and ancient culture of the colony. As it turned out, this exhibition also drew some criticisms. Among the most serious ones was the criticism that it was a bastardization of the original, a vulgarization of a solemn sanctuary, a banal, demeaning and tasteless replica of an exquisite artistic work for mass consumption, something that was out of place with the surroundings at the Trocadéro Square in Paris.⁷⁰⁴

In my view, the same question of bastardization seems to be valid in the framework of Catholic mission art in Java, precisely due to the same dynamics involved. Are the Ganjuran shrine and its statuary there a bastardization of the Hindu Javanese original?⁷⁰⁵ Is it a tasteless replica for mass consumption of pilgrims? In my view, a crucial category to take into account here is the specifically religious nature and context of this hybrid art. For it is this religious dimension that gives a distinctive characteristic and quality to the Javano-Catholic hybrid art at Ganjuran. This religious aspect is none other than the Christian revivification of indigenous art that we have elaborated previously, in contrast to the fully secularized replica of the Buddhist temple of Sari in

temple was placed next to two replicas of contemporary Sumatran houses. See Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, 201-202.

⁷⁰⁴ A Dutch connoisseur of ancient Javanese art, J. F. Scheltema, bluntly remarked on the low quality of the replica: “To observers who know the original, it is as ridiculous as the grotesque spectacle of a dark-skinned beauty in the pearly-white dress in which she attends her first communion as a new convert.” See Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles*, 210.

⁷⁰⁵ Schmutzer tackled up the question of bastardization of Javanese art by taking the example of the depictions of Christian themes by Cajus Rahid, a local artist who also experimented with indigenous Christian arts. In one of his works, Jesus is portrayed as holding a chalice. This painting is totally Western including the face and the gesture of Jesus, except for the frame that employs a Javanese *batik* style. Thus, the Javanese element was relegated to just a minor decorative motif. Schmutzer argued that nothing like this happened at Ganjuran because of the prominence of the Hindu-Javanese motif over the Western one. See his *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 67.

the Paris Exhibition. The working principle of Schmutzer was such that the Christian revivification of the Javanese Hindu arts had to be done by allowing the forms and sacred context of the indigenous art to take precedence. That is why he wanted to put the Hindu-Javanese inspired statuary in its spatial framework of a Hindu-styled temple, located in its original location in the land of Java, among the Javanese people, its original proprietors.⁷⁰⁶ As we will see in the next chapter, pilgrims come to the Ganjuran shrine for deeper reasons than just looking at the statuary and temple with aesthetic admiration. For many pilgrims, it is the hybrid architecture of the shrine that helps create a particular ambiance of spiritual serenity and peace. Even in the Catholic context of a Sacred Heart shrine, these traditional local artistic forms retain their power. In the words of Schmutzer, it brings a deeply spiritual atmosphere.⁷⁰⁷ Thus in this framework of religious experience, the architecture is not really out of place.⁷⁰⁸ On the contrary, it renews the spiritual presence in the place. As we have seen, the Ganjuran shrine-temple is intentionally erected in Ganjuran because of the sacredness of the area, something that the experience of contemporary pilgrims from diverse backgrounds confirms.

⁷⁰⁶ Schmutzer wrote: “*Il paraît bien évident que les sculptures dont on vient de passer en revue quelques types caractéristiques ne prennent leur vraie valeur que dans un ensemble architectonique en harmonie de style avec elles. L’architecture religieuse devra donc elle aussi prendre son orientation des monuments hindous javanais.*” Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 79.

⁷⁰⁷ Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*, 70.

⁷⁰⁸ Although not in the context of the Ganjuran shrine, one major criticism of the project of hybrid architecture in Java was that it was elitist, impractical and costly. Thus it was definitely not criticized for being a cheap bastardization of the original. A case in point is the original design of the parish church in Bara, near Sendangsono in the late 1920s. Supported by the Schmutzer family, the Catholic architect Maclaine Pont designed an open church building in the Javanese traditional house style (the *joglo* style). However, this design drew a strong reaction from the Jesuit missionary Fr. Prenthaler, the then pastor of the parish. He raised a caveat: this kind of architecture might be satisfying to some European aficionados and connoisseurs of Javanese art, like the Schmutzer family and Maclaine Pont, but was not fitting and practical for the simple Javanese Catholics themselves. The project was later abandoned, although not primarily because of this criticism. See Letter of Fr. Prenthaler, February 15, 1929; *Brieven*, 113; Hardawirya, *Romo Prenthaler*, 123ff.

As a result of Schmutzer's commitment of giving formal space to the indigenous arts, the Javano-Catholic hybrid arts at Ganjuran subsumed the Western appearance under the indigenous canon. As Gauvin Bailey has shown, this same pattern has happened in different Jesuit mission territories such as Latin America.⁷⁰⁹ Thus in general, the initial aesthetic appearance of these Javano-Christian arts in Ganjuran is overwhelmingly Javano-Hindu. In this framework, Jesus and Mary are still visible of course, but their visibility is shrouded in their invisibility, due to the fact that they have here taken on the unfamiliar appearance of the other. This is part of the dynamics of visibility and invisibility that also happened in the course of the history of the Islamization of south central Java. In Part One of this study we have seen this dynamic in the hagiography of Javano-Muslim saints, which in turn is instructive as to the nature of the process of the Islamization in south central Java, i.e., the gradual formation of a distinctive Javano-Muslim identity.

VI. 3. Self and Other in Local Catholic Rituals and Festivals

In the previous section we have touched briefly on the open and nature-friendly architectural feature of the Sendangsono grotto. While architecturally the Sendangsono shrine does not offer eye-catching traces of the religious other, it boasts a rather unique appropriation of a form of Islamic musical performance called *terbangan* or *slawatan*. In Java, this genre is now considered a distinctively Islamic music. Although its origin was apparently external, it was gradually accepted in central Javanese Muslim courts and larger society around 18th and 19th centuries, even blended with the Javanese traditional

⁷⁰⁹ Gauvin Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773* (University of Toronto Press, 2001), 13.

music (Jv. *gamelan*) at times. Historically it may have come to Java in connection with Sufi *dhikr* sessions.⁷¹⁰ The core of the performance consists of the chanting of Arabic praises for the Prophet Muḥammad (Ar. *salawāt*) or of the Muslim credo (Ar. *shahādah*) with the sole accompaniment of tambourines. The *Serat Centhini* (18th/19th century) informs us that in certain areas people believed in the efficacious and sacred character of the *terbangan* performance.⁷¹¹

The Javanese Catholic community at Sendangsono appropriates the form of *terbangan* to perform the rhythmic chanting of verses from the Old and the New Testaments. In Sendangsono, the practice of this hybrid music—called the *Shalawat Katolik* (The Catholic *Shalawat*)—began since around 1935. The local Catholics are very proud of this hybrid music, largely because it is very rare that Catholics would adopt this music of the Muslim other. However, there is also a mimetic dynamic going on. For the local Catholics try to maintain this music because they have seen that the Muslims are able to preserve it from generation to generation.⁷¹²

A unique feature of the ritual life at the shrine for decades, it also undergoes an interesting development in recent years, as the Catholic group would collaborate with the Muslim one in performing the music.⁷¹³ This friendly collaboration signals that the

⁷¹⁰ See Sumarsam, *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1992), 22-23, 26.

⁷¹¹ The text *Serat Centhini* contains some important information about the role and popularity of *terbangan* in the 18th/19th century Java. It narrates that many Muslim students (Jv. *santri*) would perform the *terbangan* for their livelihood. The *terbangan* was both a religious activity performed during important occasions such as rites of passage (as prayers for protection as well as for thanksgiving) and a great public spectacle in rural Java at the time. Combined with magic show, it could lead the crowds to trance and disturbance at times. See Soewito Santoso, *The Centhini Story*, 175. For a rather similar phenomenon of the performance of this Islamic music among Balinese Muslims, see Fredrik Barth, *Balinese Worlds* (London and Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 59-60.

⁷¹² Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 73, 75. On the Catholic *terbangan*, see also *Swara-Tama*, April 24, 1940.

⁷¹³ On this point, Ien Courtens writes: “Bonds between Muslims and Christians are strengthened on these occasions, as Muslims are invited to accompany the Catholic players [of the *slawatan*]. The Muslim community welcomes these invitations, and during the Catholic *slawatans* Muslim people not only play the

Catholic appropriation of the Islamic music is not considered an illicit borrowing or plundering the “property” of the other. This distinctive hybrid music/recitation has also spread to a few other places in recent years including the mausoleum of Muntilan. In the 2007 novena at the mausoleum, for instance, the Catholic *terbangan* music was performed and it was explicitly meant also as a sign of openness and generosity toward the Muslim other.⁷¹⁴

When placed in its historical continuum, this development is remarkable. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this is of course part of the ever widening communal hermeneutic of openness to the other around the three shrines under study. However, it is particularly striking to see this development of this identity formation vis-à-vis the other in the realm of rituals, processions, feasts, and festivals in the shrines. At Sendangsono during its earliest phase, Catholic processions were performed not just as purely religious ceremonies for spiritual purpose, but also as a public display of a local Catholic existence, a statement of identity over against a rival group, usually the Muslim Muhammadiyah movement. In his letter to his Dutch benefactors in 1927, after mentioning that few villagers of the area around Sendangsono had gone to the big gathering of the Muhammadiyah, Fr. Prennthaler proudly reported that so far there had

instruments but also join in singing the lyrics. The people perceive the lyrics not as stemming from an entirely different religion but as beautiful religious stories. While performing them, they experience the similarities in their faith.” See Ien Courtens, “Mary, Mother of All,” in *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*, Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., eds. (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 113-14.

⁷¹⁴ One of the novena sessions, which I attended, was specially devoted to the theme of interfaith dialogue. The theme was “Following Christ, Respecting the Religious Other” (Jv. *Nderek Gusti Urmat Agama Liya*). This respect comes from the realization that God in Christ works in the world that consists of different religions. Thus it is grounded in a Christian theology of incarnation and the reality of religious pluralism. It is also insightful that the presiding priest (Father Bambang Sutrisno, the director of the Museum of Mission of Muntilan) based the practice of borrowing from the religious other at the shrine on the long standing Catholic tradition of openness to taking everything good from different places. He spoke of the principles of openness (Jv. *tinarbuko*) and willingness to borrow good things from the other (Jv. *kulakan*).

been four well-attended major Catholic processions in the area.⁷¹⁵ He took these processions as a good sign of stronger Catholic identity among the Javanese faithful and a brighter future for the mission.

In the preceding chapter we have seen how Fr. Prennthalder conceived the role of the Sendangsono grotto in the same terms. In fact, he had a similar vision with regard to the role of rituals and their material instruments in the identity formation of the community. Thus Fr. Prennthalder placed the symbolic role of the *angelus* bells that he brought from Europe to Sendangsono in the framework of mimetic competition with the Islamic forces in Java. He understood the need for the *angelus* bells as a counter for the Muslim mosque drum:

Yes, the Mohammedans have their mosque drum (Jv. *bedug*) that calls them to prayers five times a day, and they bow to the East [*qibla*] and mutter their: “Allah is great and there is only one God and Muhammad is his prophet.”⁷¹⁶

Then, in 1930, a year after the consecration of the grotto, Fr. Prennthalder wrote of his effort to counter the boisterous, provocative, and triumphant sound of the Javanese traditional music (Jv. *gamelan*) and songs from the Muhammadiyah camp: “Definitely

⁷¹⁵ Letter of Fr. Prennthalder, November 20, 1927; *Brieven*, 39.

⁷¹⁶ Prennthalder, “Open Brief van Pater J. Prennthalder, S. J.”, *St Claverbond* (1935), 171. In the original Dutch, the quote runs as follows: “Ja, de Mohammedaan hebben hun bedoeg, hun trom, die vijfmaal daags hen oproept tot het gebed, en zij buigen zich naar het Oosten en prevelen hun: “Allah is groot; er is slechts één God en Mohammed is zijn profeet.” While often disturbed by the sound of the mosque drum and the calls to prayers, Fr. Prennthalder was proud to report that Javanese Catholic villagers dutifully responded to the Catholic calls to prayers, the *angelus* bells, three times a day, wherever they found themselves to be. For him, this was a sign of the depth of their Catholic identity. He argued that these bells and prayers signified the true worship and consolation for the poor Javanese villagers. On this, see Hardawiryana, *Romo J. B. Prennthalder*, 45; see also his letter of September 9, 1927, *Brieven*, 33.

we must display our own music and songs against them and our music got to be so much louder, more provoking, intimidating, and triumphant!”⁷¹⁷

Thus, in light of this early mimetic rivalry, the gradual Catholic appropriation of the Islamic music and the ensuing recent collaboration with Muslim group is truly remarkable. In this new framework of amicable mimesis, the hybrid *terbangan* serves as a living memory of the other. In a sense, it still sounds rather “strange” in typical Catholic ears, but it is also becoming more and more familiar.⁷¹⁸ In the Catholic adoption of this music, otherness is recognized, that is, the fact that it is normally associated with Islam; however, a deeper connectedness is also becoming more important, as the reason for the adoption is formulated in terms of sincerity in praising God, rather than mimetic rivalry.⁷¹⁹

Among the three shrines under study, the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran is the richest in terms of rituals and festivals. In this shrine, the movement of inclusiveness toward the other becomes very visible in the entire inculturation of Catholic faith into the local culture. As we have seen in the previous chapter, inculturation is one of the foundational spirits of the Ganjuran shrine since its conception under Schmutzer. For our purpose in this chapter, we will focus our analysis on the particular ritual of saint veneration created at the shrine, as well as the annual festival of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

⁷¹⁷ In this same letter to his Dutch benefactors (October 10, 1930; *Brieven*, 228), he wrote that he could not sleep because of this loud music and asked for help to secure some funds to purchase a set of Javanese traditional musical instruments (Jv. *gamelan*). Earlier that year he had expressed his plan to purchase the *gamelan* for the Christmas celebration (his letter, July 17, 1930; *Brieven*, 219).

⁷¹⁸ During the 2007 novena at the Mausoleum of Muntilan where the Catholic *terbangan* music was performed, a pilgrim told the audience that he was drawn to the shrine because of the sound of Islamic music coming from a Catholic shrine, a very unusual phenomenon.

⁷¹⁹ Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 71-76.

VI. 3. 1. Inculturated Saints Veneration

Created in the late 1990s by Father Gregorious Utomo, the pastor who revived the shrine, this ritual is called “the Prayer of the National Sodality of the Sacred Heart” (I. *Doa Umat Hati Kudus se-Nusantara*). Motivated by the desire to forge wider and deeper solidarity and communion in and through prayer, the basic idea of this movement is to pray together and for each other at the same time (at seven in the morning), despite the physical distance. As we will see below, the complete form of this Sacred Heart prayer includes Marian devotion, veneration of saints, remembrance of founders and ancestors, as well as prayers for integral healing. That is why I call this prayer a ritual of saint veneration.

The simplified form of the prayer that the devotees are expected to say daily in their hectic schedule is very brief, yet loaded with Biblical and Eucharistic overtone: “The Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on me!” (I. *Hati Kudus Yesus, kasihanilah kami!*) As a kind of *mantra*, this prayer is supposed to become the focal point of the spiritual lives of the members of the National Sodality of the Sacred Heart. The complete ritual of this prayer is regularly performed at the shrine on the eve of every first Friday of the month and during the annual festival of the Sacred Heart in June.⁷²⁰ In both occasions, this special prayer forms an integral part of the Eucharistic celebration and lasts for approximately 30-45 minutes.

What is rather striking about the creation of this Sacred Heart prayer is its foundational spirit: “We ask for God’s blessings so that we become a blessing for others

⁷²⁰ There is another variation of this ritual at the shrine. On certain days, at 8 pm, a prayer session is led by a layman, normally one of the caretakers of the shrine. This is a regular prayer offered by the National Sodality of the Sacred Heart for sake of humanity. It consists of rosary, the invocations of the saints, and a prayer to the Sacred Heart.

in turn” (I. *Mohon berkat agar menjadi berkat bagi yang lain*).⁷²¹ This spirit of receiving and channeling divine blessings is symbolized in a particular position of hands during the prayer. The devotees would normally sit on the mats, with legs crisscrossed and right palm hand rested on the right knee, facing up, symbolizing the reception of God’s blessings, while left palm hand rested on the left knee, facing down, symbolizing communion and solidarity with all humanity and the transfer of divine blessings to all. In the ritual, this last point is understood as a heartfelt communion despite the distance (I. *kita jamaah dari jauh*). As we can see, this hands position is very similar to the Buddhist ritual hand position (S. *mudra*), particularly the *varada mudra* that signifies the gesture of giving whatever is necessary to bring all beings to enlightenment.⁷²² In light of the foundational spirit of the Ganjuran shrine as a Sacred Heart shrine that channels Divine blessing, the mercy of the Heart of Christ for the whole cosmos, this Buddhist connection signifies something deeper.⁷²³

In its complete form, this ritual starts with the blessing of the shrine’s water of life (Jv. *perwitasari*) taken from the earth beneath the temple-shrine. It should also be noted that the finding of this spring in 1998 was a rather important part of the founding moment of the shrine.⁷²⁴ After the blessing of the water, then begins the prayer to the Sacred Heart

⁷²¹ See the shrine’s official brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*.

⁷²² Kate O’Brien, *Sutasoma*, 171. It is worth noting that this position is also identical to the symbolism of hand positions in the famous Mevlevi *sama*.

⁷²³ It is also noteworthy that this particular *mudra* is intimately connected, in the framework of the cosmic buddha Ratnasambhava (one of the five *jina-buddhas* of tantric *mandala*), with the elements of water and earth and with the *skandha* of feelings. See Kate O’Brien, *Sutasoma*, 171.

⁷²⁴ See the shrine’s brochure, *Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*, 52. Although the shrine was consecrated in 1930, the spring was dug at the shrine only in 1998. It is an important part of the shrine’s revival. It cured a Javanese man by the name of Mr. Perwita. That is why the water is also named *perwitasari*. However, this naming could also be placed in the larger effort of the community to align itself with the spiritual world of the Javanese. For, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, the Dewaruci story narrates the journey of Bhima in search for the Water of Life (Jv. *perwitasari*) in his quest for mystical union and self-knowledge. Kalijaga’s spiritual formation as a Javanese Muslim saint, as we noted in the same chapter, was also understood in this framework. As we have seen as well, the element of sacred water is also crucial to the Sendangsono grotto.

of Jesus, followed by veneration of Mary, Joseph and a list of saints and guardian angels. Thus this form of the Sacred Heart prayer session can be seen as a revival of traditional Catholic ritual of saint veneration in the form of invoking the saints' intercessions, while combining it with contemporary concerns for integral well-being and other pressing needs of the community.⁷²⁵ One of the specificities of this ritual of saint veneration at the Ganjuran shrine is that the prayers for healing through the intercession of Mary and the saints are done in such a way that specific mentions of parts and metabolisms of the human body are made, reflecting the pilgrims' deep concerns over the complexities of modern illnesses, such as the various kinds of cancers and so forth. An important dimension of this ritual is also remembrance and memory of ancestors, founders and pioneers of the local community. In this category, the Schmutzer family occupies a central stage, followed by the deceased priests who were stationed in the parish, as well as some first local Javanese Catholic families. Remembrance and gratitude of the generosity of "the mother Church" in the Netherlands is also a constant feature, mostly in the form of praying for priestly and religious vocations that would turn around the crisis

In the area of Yogyakarta, other Marian shrines also feature this element of water in their foundation stories, such as the shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Sorrow (Jv. *Ibu Risang Sungkawa*) in Pakem, on the slope of Mount Merapi, north of Yogyakarta (Map 1.3). On this topic, see Sindhunata, *Mata Air Bulan* ([*"The Moonlight Spring"*]; Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1998). Beyond Java, the theme of water as a sign of God's presence and blessing in the foundational narratives of shrines is widely known. It lies at the revival of England's famous Walsingham shrine in 1930s. On this, see Simon Coleman, "Mary on the Margins?" in Anna-Karina Hermkens, *Moved by Mary*, 23.

⁷²⁵ As can be seen in the newly formulated roles of these saints below, the ritual is a renewed form of otherwise traditional Catholic veneration of saints. The list of saints and their roles includes: St. Peregrine, healer of cancer; St. Bernadette of Lourdes and St. Catherine Laboure, for healing in general; St. Benedict, for fighting the evil spirits; St. Scholastica, for good "weather", both in the physical and spiritual sense of the word, freed from natural disasters etc.; St. Jude, for the lost cause; St. Anthony, for the lost items, but also for those who lost their spouses due to infidelity; St. Francis of Assisi, for environment, for organic farmers etc; St. Francis Xavier and St. Therese of Lisieux, for the mission, understood as the spread of the Kingdom of God; St. Dina, for self-confidence, because doubt prevents the reception of blessing, and so forth.

in that church. There is an obvious desire to pay back what the community has received from this Church in the Netherlands.

Toward the end of the ritual, the devotees are expected to feel the reception of God's blessings through their whole body in some way. A period of silence is followed, allowing the participants to symbolically feel the blowing of the wind, a traditional Christian symbolism of the Spirit, as a sign of their personal and cosmic communion with God's presence. The ritual closes with hymns of the Sacred Heart and Mary in Javanese.

After the closing hymns, the Eucharist celebration would resume. What is noteworthy here is that toward the end of the Eucharist, after communion, a procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament is held. It circumambulates the temple-shrine three times as it also happens in Hindu rituals in Java and Bali.⁷²⁶ This procession is followed by the sprinkling of the blessed water of life over the pilgrims. This moment can be rather chaotic because many pilgrims will rush to the temple, trying to grab the flowers and other items that they believe retain particular blessings of God. However, a serene night vigil around the Blessed Sacrament would then ensue. A great number of pilgrims would stay longer in the shrine's compound after the mass, either for praying the novenas from small booklet or doing other spiritual practices (Jv. *tirakat*). Certain pilgrims would also take the occasion to seek the blessing and advice of the priests who are still around. Pilgrims from far away places would also stay overnight in vigil at the shrine.

⁷²⁶ All Hindu temples in Java have processional paths (S. *pradakshinapatha*); pilgrims or devotees would do the homage to the god by performing the rite of clockwise circumambulation (S. *pradakshina*) along this processional path before ascending to the central chamber where the image of the god has been placed. See R. Soekmono, "Notes on the Monuments of Ancient Indonesia," 15. The ritual of (individual) circumambulation is also popular in Muslim shrines in Egypt, but it is practically unknown in Java. For the Egyptian case, see Valerie J. Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern Egypt*, 333.

VI. 3. 2. Annual Festival of the Sacred Heart

The annual festival of the Sacred Heart is the largest religious feast at the Ganjuran shrine, held on a Sunday in June on the Solemnity of the Sacred Heart.⁷²⁷ Before we move to the contemporary particularities of this hybrid Javano-Catholic festival, we should explain briefly how this kind of festival has played an ongoing role in the identity formation of the community.

Historically, this relationship between the festival of Sacred Heart and the formation of Javano-Catholic identity in south central Java is rather well illustrated by the celebration of the “Catholic Day” (I. *Hari Kathoelik*) in 1930s. This was a celebration of identity centered around the Sacred Heart devotion and the role of Christ as King. On that day, Catholics would gather to give thanks to God, but also to show unity and strengthen their identity (Jv. *ngagengaken greget Katoelik*).⁷²⁸ The *Swara-Tama* wrote on the spirit of the celebration:

We celebrate the Catholic Day to solemnly celebrate, with great procession and festivities (Jv. *nggrebeg*), the kingship of Christ, our Mighty King. It is true that He is present among us all the time, but on this Catholic day He is revered in a special festival. Through this festival, we offer our gratitude to Him because of the abundant grace that our land has received through the mission. On this special day, the Sacred Heart should become the center of our hearts! The Sacred Heart will be gladdened when

⁷²⁷ In the Roman Catholic calendar, the Solemnity of the Sacred Heart occurs 19 days after the Pentecost on a Friday. However, the actual celebration would normally happen in the following Sunday, typically in June.

⁷²⁸ *Swara-Tama*, August 3, 1934; under the title “Nolehi Hari-Katholiek” [“Looking back at the Catholic Day Celebration”]. Father Satiman remarked that this occasion was like the annual Jewish festival in Jerusalem that brought the whole Jewish nation into unity. A sense of communal struggle and sacrifice was also evoked during this celebration. In the *Swara-Tama* of July 27, 1934, the Catholic Day celebration was understood in the mimetic framework of the royal festivals at the Mataram courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Jv. *Nggrebeg Maha Praboe Kristoes wonten ing Mataram*). The energy and enthusiasm of the Javanese Catholic community was described this way: “The world of the Javano-Catholic community is filled with tumults and energy, moving to different directions, ready to work and make sacrifice” (Jv. *Gotrah Katoelik Djawi horeg, ebah, toemandang, nggrengseng, wani koerban!*). This festival was also understood in terms of respect, devotion, and gratitude (Jv. *bekti soengkem sarta agenging atoer panoewoen*). It was a surprise that the fundraising was a success, amidst a worsening economic crisis in 1930s. This was taken as a sign of self-sacrifice and pride of being Catholics.

our hearts are purified, when we work hard for Him, and our hearts will be filled with pride and satisfaction too.⁷²⁹

By the 1930s, annual processions of the Sacred Heart in June were becoming very popular and well attended among Catholics in Java.⁷³⁰

Modeled after this festive celebration, the annual festival of the Sacred Heart at the Ganjuran shrine is basically a solemn and prolonged mass, attended by some two thousands people, in which the aforementioned prayer session of the Sacred Heart constitutes an important and distinctive part, making the connection between the veneration of the saints and its Christological framework more manifest. In the context of this festival, the veneration of saints include the memory of founders of the shrine or local paradigmatic figures. The festival is preceded by a communal pilgrimage to the graves of the priests who worked for the community in the past.⁷³¹

Other important aspects of this solemn mass include: (1) the reading of prayer requests or petitions before the mass;⁷³² (2) offerings of agrarian products and the likes in

⁷²⁹ *Swara-Tama*, July 20, 1934.

⁷³⁰ In 1935, throughout the month of June, the *Swara-Tama* featured various reports on the processions in central and east Java. In the area of Sedayu, in the vicinity of Yogyakarta, many Muslim locals also wanted to see the beauty of this procession. From these reports, it seems that the procession in Java was already established few years earlier, but in some places it used to be held only inside the church. The *Swara-Tama* (November 1, 1939) reported on the solemn procession at the shrine in Ganjuran in October 1939, celebrating its twelve and half years of existence.

⁷³¹ This would include pilgrimage to the tomb of Mgr. Soegijapranata, S. J., who as a young priest used to pay regular pastoral visit to the Ganjuran community from the city of Yogyakarta, long before he became the bishop in 1940. Because of his status as a national hero, Soegijapranata is buried in the national heroes cemetery in Semarang, north central Java.

⁷³² These prayer requests or intentions are sent to the shrine's committee. Every month, the committee would receive roughly between 800 to 1,000 letters, both via mail or presented in person. Many of the prayers are thanksgiving prayers. The first Friday ritual also features the reading of these petition prayers at the beginning. The intensity of the devotion and the scope of the community's membership are clearly reflected by the sheer number of the devotees who make these prayers as well as their geographical locations. For these letters come from all over Indonesia, as well as from Indonesian immigrants residing in foreign countries, effecting a certain degree of worldwide communion among devotees. Words like the Netherlands, Japan, New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles are becoming familiar to pilgrims at the shrines.

the forms of sacred mountain (Jv. *gunungan*; Fig. 8.8),⁷³³ (3) a procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament in the sacred space (Jv. *mandala*) of the temple compound that would include the threefold ritual circumambulation of the temple; (4) the blessings of the holy water (Jv. *perwitasari*).

Another special feature of the mass is the ritual role of a non-presiding priest in charge of the ritual incense; sitting cross-legged right in front of the temple during the whole ritual, this priest in a traditional Javanese outfit is performing a ritual duty that is clearly borrowed from the Javanese ritual world. In general, this festival is imbued with an overwhelming presence of Javanese culture. In terms of forms, it is very similar to the royal celebrations (Jv. *garebeg*) at the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.⁷³⁴ This is also reflected in the Javanese outfits worn by all the officials, including the priests, in the offerings in the shape of sacred mountain (Jv. *gunungan*; Fig. 8.8), in the way these offerings are distributed to those present, and in the use of the Javanese traditional music (Jv. *gamelan*).⁷³⁵ The shrine's volunteers at Ganjuran call themselves “*abdi dalem*” (lit. the servants of His Majesty) because they serve Christ the King; but it also shares the same term used to designate those who serve the Sultan, as well as the guardians at Muslim shrines under the patronage of the royal court. The connection to and influence of the Javanese spiritual tradition is also made clearer in the fact that the shrine's

⁷³³ These offerings are blessed by the presiding priest and the devotees will compete (Jv. *rebutan*) to grab part of it at the end of the mass, because it is believed to contain God's blessings, a feature reminiscent of the Garebeg celebration at the court of Yogyakarta.

⁷³⁴ On the celebrations of *garebegs* or *sekaten* as hybrid Javano-Islamic festivals in south central Java, see Chapter 2 (II. 2. 2; II. 2. 3).

⁷³⁵ In the Javanese court festivals, the offerings of crops or food in the shape of a mountain (Jv. *gunungan*) can be seen as a symbol of fertility and prosperity, with which the ruler expresses his thankfulness for the welfare and wellbeing of the realm. After the acceptance and blessings by the religious officials at the court mosque, the splendid *gunungans* are then distributed to the people. The religious symbolism of the *gunungan* dates back to Java's pre-Islamic times. See Sunan Pakubuwono XII, *Karaton Surakarta* [“The Surakarta Royal House”], 304.

volunteers at Ganjuran hold a special prayer session on the eve of Friday *Kliwon*, the most supernaturally potent night in Javanese belief. As we have seen in Chapter 2, Javanist and Muslim shrines are packed with pilgrims during this night.

Highly interesting as well in this regard is the communal meal (Jv. *kenduri* or *slametan*) that is held a day or two prior to the celebration. Staying true to the inclusive spirit of this communal meal, it is attended by peoples of different faiths, which is an ordinary practice in central Java.⁷³⁶ However, what is more specific here is that the prayers of thanksgiving are offered consecutively by officiants of other faiths too, including a Muslim officiant (praying in Arabic), something that is rather unusual in Java.⁷³⁷

During this annual festival, the foundational spirit of the shrine is renewed through the re-consecration of the whole country (I. *Nusantara*) to the protection of the Sacred Heart.⁷³⁸ The sense of universalism, beyond Java, of the festival and the re-consecration becomes apparent in the usage of Indonesian language (instead of Javanese) during some parts of the ceremony as well as in the widespread presence of the members

⁷³⁶ During the *kenduri* in 2009 that I attended, which also occurred on the occasion of the anniversary of the parish, the interfaith prayers were offered by Muslim, Protestant, and Catholic officiants, with a single intention that the church might become a blessing for others. In addition to fostering an interfaith brotherhood, this communal meal was also conceived as an effort to preserve the Javanese culture. More than three hundred people participated in this communal meal, and probably around a hundred of them were Muslims. The Muslim prayer was offered in Arabic.

⁷³⁷ In many places throughout Java, this inclusive communal meal is ordinarily led by a religious officiant of the respective religion of the host. Thus what happens at the Ganjuran shrine, where different religious officiants say their prayers consecutively, is rather unique. However, the spirit of such an interfaith prayer is not far from the series of interfaith prayers for peace led by Pope John Paul II at Assisi in 1986, 1993 and 2002. It is noteworthy that the event of 2002 was attended by the representatives of 12 religions, including Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Shintoists and followers of tribal religions. On the question of interreligious prayers, see Francis X. Clooney, "Christian Readers, Hindu Words: Toward Christian Commentary on Hindu Prayer," *Theology Digest* 53:4 (2006): 303-319; also Christian W. Troll, "Common Prayer of Christians and Muslims," *Theology Digest* 53:4 (2006): 321-330.

⁷³⁸ This feature is also known in other historical contexts, such as the annual re-consecration of the French city of Marseille to the Sacred Heart in the 18th century. The city was first consecrated to the Sacred Heart following the deadly plague in 1720. On the fascinating history of the Sacred Heart devotion in France, see Raymond Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart*.

of the Sacred Heart community from all over the country and beyond, including those who send their prayer requests from abroad, such as Europe and North America. The presence of Chinese Catholics is quite striking and the concelebrating priests normally include those from outside Java, as well as foreign missionaries.

VI. 4. Concluding Remarks

Our discussion in this chapter has shown how these three Catholic shrines have become privileged sites for the flourishing of the culture of devotion and identity formation of the local Javano-Catholic community, where the hybrid notion of a Javano-Catholic self is continually negotiated by engaging different forms of otherness, mainly the Hindu past and the Muslim present, in diverse ways that incorporate the other into the spatial, architectural and ritual dimensions of these shrines.

The community seems to be resolute in grounding this negotiation in an ever-widening hermeneutic of openness to and including the other. In this regard, we can identify the major elements of this hermeneutic by referring to the vision of Josef Schmutzer that we quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Schmutzer understood the purpose of this vision as the creation of a new hybrid Javano-Catholic culture that would be thriving and rich, something that would serve as a special contribution of the Javanese Catholics to the world. He anchored this whole conception in the basic framework of the clarity of Christian Revelation guided by the Holy Spirit, whom he understood as Love.

For him, however, this vision would only be fruitful if realized through the means of prayers and works, through the spirit of cooperation and hybridity between the science of the Occident and the art of the Orient. In connection with this point, our discussion has

shown that the level of interfaith cooperation has recently been increasing at the three shrines. His mention of prayer is also insightful, because it becomes the deepest arena in which the revelatory power of this hybrid culture of the shrine can be experienced.

Thus, through the wider and deeper application of the hermeneutic principle of communion, the trace of the other—especially in architecture and ritual of the shrines—would not be a dead trace, but rather a sign of a living embrace that needs to be extended continuously. Within this framework, taking this trace seriously marks the birth of the new and vibrant culture that Schmutzer envisioned. As the contemporary developments in the three shrines under study have shown, this new culture is marked more and more by cooperation in works, hybridity in arts where Christianity and Javanese-ness meet in a new artistic synthesis, openness in rituals, as well as solidarity, generosity and a wider other-orientedness in prayers. These are among various ways in which the Javano-Catholic community has been trying to understand the meanings of their Catholicism—or what Josef Schmutzer called the framework of “the luminous clarity of Revelation”—and they have come to illustrate the largely creative formation of their identity vis-à-vis the other amid the particularities of contemporary Javanese society in south central Java.

CHAPTER 7
CAUGHT IN THE WEB OF BLESSING AND COMMUNION:
THE EXPERIENTIAL WORLD OF THE PILGRIMS

In times of troubles and humiliations,
we become stronger because of Him,
despite the frailty of our human nature.
Albertus Soegijapranata, S. J.⁷³⁹

During the ceremony of the laying of the first stone of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran in 1927, a very unusual and surprising scene occurred. A crippled elderly Javanese woman with crutches suddenly emerged from the multitude, then climbed to the platform of the temple, and hobbled to the opening on the ground where the replica of the statue of Christ the King (the image of the Sacred Heart in the Javanese Hindu style) was

⁷³⁹ *Swara-Tama*, November 1, 1939. This quotation is taken from the homily of Soegijapranata on the occasion of the celebration of the Ganjuran Sacred Heart Shrine (October 29, 1939). The following year, Soegijapranata would be appointed the first native apostolic vicar (bishop) of Semarang, central Java. In the original Javanese, the quote runs as follows: “*Ing wekdal ribed, ing wekdal kawirangan kita ingkang sekeng, dados rosa, kijat margi saking Pandjenganipoen.*” I find another insightful notion in his homily, namely, the idea that the Catholic pilgrims were doing a kind of “atonement” and substitution for those who did not believe in Christ—a spirituality that is not far from Massignon’s *badaliyah* (Ar., substitution) sodality. For a discourse on Massignon’s substitution spirituality, see Christian S. Krokus, *Faith Seeking Understanding: Louis Massignon’s (1883-1962) Catholic Conversation with Islam* (Ph.D Diss., Boston College, 2009), 271-306.

being placed. Then, she in earnest fell to her knees to pay a homage (Jv. *sembah*) three times to Christ.⁷⁴⁰

What this episode reveals is not just the intensity and sincerity of a Javanese woman's devotion to the Sacred Heart. For what is more striking is probably the specific and tangible ways in which she expressed her devotion. Since her encounter with God (the Sacred Heart of Jesus) in that particular moment took on a distinctive quality. It was a highly personal experience of devotedness to Jesus that was also subject to the public gaze. And it was a spiritual moment that was also deeply sensuous and bodily. For her, the statue of Jesus was not just a religious symbol, but acquired a special power and meaning, so much so that she felt the spontaneous urge to rush, kneel down and pay homage, overcoming all the difficulties connected to her disability. Indeed this scene is even more dramatic than the audacity of the woman who approached Jesus from the crowd and tried to grab the hem of his cloak, believing that it would cure her (Matthew 9: 20-22).

For the spectators, such an episode might have left them not only with wonder but also with questions: What exactly happened to this woman? Why did she feel the need to do all the things she did? The Jesuit Father van Rijckevorsel, who was present at the ceremony at Ganjuran and wrote a report on the event, remarked that the scene was very unexpected and deeply moving, but he did not specify whether the woman was seeking a cure for her disability. If she was not motivated by cure, then what exactly was she looking for? In this respect, we should not take it for granted that this scene happened at a shrine. Scenes like this do occur so often at pilgrimage sites, and I would argue that the

⁷⁴⁰ L. van Rijckevorsel, "Eerste Steenlegging van een H. Hart-Monument op Java" ["The Laying of the First Stone of the Sacred Heart Shrine in Java"], *St Claverbond* (1928): 137.

logic of this event can be understood more fully if we delve deeper into the experiential world of the pilgrims, their personal experience, as well as their religio-cultural sensibility.

Along the same line, this chapter is an endeavor to delve deeper into the dynamics of pilgrimage tradition in the three Catholic shrines under study as experienced by pilgrims in the context of Javanese religious and cultural sensibilities. Our analysis here will focus on five salient categories or elements of the pilgrimage experience that also define the five main sections of the chapter. These categories include: (1) devotion as connectedness; (2) peacefulness as fundamental blessing; (3) the tangibility of sacramental blessings; (4) communion with self and others, and (5) the question of the pilgrims of other religious traditions.

In the first section we begin with the category of devotion, understood not as a sentimental religious habit, but rather as personal connectedness and communion to the Divine in all His manifestations. I take devotion as the most foundational framework of pilgrimage that underlines the personal motivation, and wider inner processes, as well as the outcomes of pilgrimage. In this respect, I would argue that pilgrimage is a habit of the heart that contributes to the formation of the pilgrims' identity. This framework also helps us understand the ongoing creation of wider milieus of devotion through the building of new shrines in connection to the old ones. Then, in the second section, we continue with the discussion of the desired "outcome" (blessings) of pilgrimage, centered on the experience of peacefulness as the most common, fundamental, inclusive and transforming form of pilgrimage blessing. There, we will explore the religio-cultural specificities of the ways in which Javanese pilgrims come to experience peacefulness at

the shrine and beyond. The third section deals with another aspect of the blessings of pilgrimage, that is, their tangibility. In this section we will examine the sacramental character of pilgrimage blessings. Often viewed as a distinctive category of Catholic theology, sacramentality or sacramental vision basically points to the presence of God experienced in concrete realities. It draws our attention to the visibility, tangibility and mediatedness of the invisible grace, God's self-communication. In pilgrimage, sacramentality is intimately connected to the idea of memory through things associated with the pilgrimage journey and shrines, such as holy water, architecture, statuary and souvenirs, and so forth. These tangible things make the blessings of pilgrimage both more visible and more durable. While this section deals more with the sacramentality of "things" connected to pilgrimage and sacred space, section four of this chapter deals with the communal aspect of this experience of grace, a dynamic that of course involves an engagement with self as well. For pilgrimage often serves as a privileged moment for the unveiling of one's spiritual self that becomes a foundation for a stronger communal sense among pilgrims. Then, in the last section, we will take up a rather crucial aspect of this community, that is, the experience of pilgrims from other religious traditions, mostly Muslims. We will also examine briefly how the pilgrimage experience helps the Javanese Catholic pilgrims deal with the question of alterity, that is, the presence of pilgrims of other traditions as well as the darker episode in the history of the relationship between the original Catholic mission and the surrounding Muslim community.

By taking into account these five features, this chapter will hopefully explain why the pilgrimage tradition in Catholic shrines in south central Java has the lasting appeal and power to become a milieu for a complex hybrid identity formation—what I call the

Javano-Catholic identity—in the sense of affirming and strengthening this hybrid identity while also taking serious and fruitful account of the other in diverse forms. The hermeneutics of including the other as a concrete framework of communion is what enables the community to negotiate its hybrid identity in a way that is fruitful and creative.

VII. 1. Foundational Experience: Devotion as Connectedness

Even to casual visitors, the display of devotion among pilgrims at the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran can seem rather unusual. And this occurs not only during the most popular visiting days and festivals, but rather daily, especially at night. It is obvious that so many pilgrims, young and old, come to the shrine to perform very seriously their personal devotions and prayer. After washing themselves in the water place on the right of the sanctuary, they take the holy water of the shrine (Jv. *perwitasari*) and put it in a bottle and then place the bottle on the terrace of the shrine. They then light candles in the candle boxes on the edges of the terrace. Most of them typically spend some moments of silent prayer in the courtyard of the shrine before ascending to the terrace (Fig. 8.1). During busy hours, they have to form a line there by sitting reverently to get to the inner sanctum where a Hindu Javanese image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus is enthroned. There in the inner sanctum, either kneeling or sitting cross-legged, they have some very serene and private moments with the Divine. During the busiest hours, each pilgrim only gets few minutes to spend in the inner sanctum, so most of them would spend much longer time afterward in prayer in the courtyard, facing the temple's inner sanctum that is very visible from the yard, as it is lit at night.

As I noticed during fieldwork, within a period of two hours, at least a hundred

people visited the shrine each night from around 6 to 11 pm. It is rather striking that most of these pilgrims are young students who come from the university city of Yogyakarta, some twenty miles away. While the majority of these pilgrims are Catholics, at times we would also spot Muslim pilgrims with their distinctive clothing and ritual gestures. As the night deepened, pilgrims still flow and some of them would stay overnight in the shrine compound.

Faced with this typical scene, one cannot think of the shrine other than as a privileged setting of devotion, filled with so much spiritual energy that comes from the countless prayers of the pilgrims, their unveiling of selves and intimate conversations with God, the hopes and cries of their hearts. Again, “devotion” here broadly refers to the religious and spiritual framework that describes the inner dynamics of the pilgrims’ hearts, thus the deepest layer of their motivation, as they make the visit to the shrine. At the heart of this dynamic of devotion is the experienced connectedness of pilgrims on the most personal level to God and His company of saints.

When I asked a group of university students who seemed to be very intense with their prayers at the shrine why they always wanted to go to the inner sanctum, they unanimously replied: “We don’t feel spiritually satisfied (*Jv. manteb*) unless we ascend to the sanctuary and pray in front of the statue of Jesus!”⁷⁴¹ This might have been the same motivation of the crippled woman at the foundation of the shrine that we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. This heartfelt desire for proximity can only be explained in the framework of devotion, understood as each pilgrim’s personal connectedness to God in the context of a loving relationship. In my view, devotion could also be considered the

⁷⁴¹ Interview, the Ganjuran shrine, June 30, 2009. In the original Javanese: “*Rasane ora manteb yen sowan Gusti ning ora munggah candi.*”

affective-spiritual side of the larger principle of communion, a principle that features prominently in this study. In general, devotion is of course directed to God and His heavenly court (Mary, the saints and angels), but as we will see, it has also some ramifications on how pilgrims come to consider the earthly realities and symbolisms that are intimately connected to this Divine realm. In this respect, devotion is the inner eye of love that enables the hearts of the pilgrims to see and experience much more.⁷⁴² For, when one is in a deep and loving relationship, one comes to see and feel so much more.

Along this line, I would argue more specifically that to a certain degree, devotion is the most personal and deepest dimension of the whole movement of including the other, of creating some space for the other, that happens around the shrines. In Chapters 5 and 6, we have examined several major elements of this communal hermeneutic of including that occurs at the three shrines under study. We have seen that it was the same devotion that inspired the Schmutzer family to build the shrine in the first place. Theologically, Josef Schmutzer anchored this dynamism in the centrality of Love in the Christian theology of the Trinity, as we have outlined in the previous chapter. In this framework, it is the Spirit who stirs the hearts of the pilgrims toward the movement of devotion and toward deeper and wider communion, as it is the Spirit who keeps the heart of Jesus overflowing with unbounded mercy and love.

In light of this pneumatological framework of love, then, pilgrimage is an act of love and devotion of the heart on the part of the pilgrims, as a Javanese writer in the *Swara-Tama* wrote in 1935: “As a sign of true love (Jv. *katresnan sedjatos*), pilgrims are

⁷⁴² This is the aspect of “seeing” in pilgrimage. See the experience of Paula before the relics of the true Cross, as St. Jerome reported: “she fell down and worshipped, as if she could see the Lord hanging on it.” See Jerome, *Epistola 108.9, Patrologia cursus completus* 22 (ed., J-P. Migne, Paris: 1884-80), 884.

eager to visit Our Lady.”⁷⁴³ This writer was deeply moved by the communal display of love and devotion to Mary by Javanese pilgrims, as he was witnessing their procession uphill to the Sendangsono grotto. It was a large group of pilgrims, both old and young, men and women, marching up to the grotto, passing through the rolling hills of Menoreh. The provisions were carried on long poles on the shoulders of the younger members of the group. He noticed that this scene was similar to the atmosphere of the Javano-Muslim festival (Jv. *sekaten*, *garebeg*) at the court of Yogyakarta where Javanese villagers would display their joy and affection for the monarch. He concluded in a Javanese rhyme: “true love knows no hardships” (J. *katresnan sedjatos sanadjan kanti rekaos, boten dipoenraos*).

In this regard, we should not fail to notice that there is a certain distinctive way in which this understanding of pilgrimage is experienced by Javanese Catholics in south central Java. This distinctiveness stems from the traditional Javanese religio-cultural categories of *sowan* (dutiful and loving visit), *sembah* (paying homage and respect), and *bekti* (loving devotion; from S. *bhakti*) that the pilgrims employ.

It is very common for Javanese Catholics to refer to the pilgrimage to Marian shrine as “*sowan Ibu Maria*”, that is, paying a dutiful, reverent and loving visit to Mary.⁷⁴⁴ The term “*sowan*” is a refined Javanese word, typically used to refer to the whole act of paying respectful and dutiful visit by a disciple to his master, or a child to his parents, or a subject to his king. In other words, it assumes an unequal relationship, a relationship of dependence. Although it connotes a sense of duty, the religious semantic field of the term *sowan* emphasizes the framework of a loving relationship. The visit is not motivated by

⁷⁴³ *Swara-Tama*, June 15, 1935; under the title “*Katresnan Sedjatos: Merlokaken Soedjarah Dateng Sendangsana (Bara)*” [“Pilgrimage to Sendangsono as a Sign of True Love”].

⁷⁴⁴ See, for example, the accounts of pilgrims to this shrine in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 149.

sheer duty but rather by affectionate and respectful connectedness or devotedness (Jv. *sembah bekti*).

This sense of devotion, loving relationship and dutiful respect is rather perfectly expressed in the Javanese translation of the Hail Mary, especially the first line. The Javanese translation of the line “Hail Mary, full of grace” reads as “*sembah bekti kawula Dewi Maria, kekasihing Allah*” which literally means: “O Mary, our reverence and devotion to you; you are the Beloved of God.” The Javanese sensibility of this translation is only made clearer when we compare it with the other alternatives. The Indonesian translation, for instance, is more literally faithful to the biblical version (Luke 1:28), employing the Arabic derived standard greeting of peace, *salam* (in Indonesian: “*Salam Maria!*”).⁷⁴⁵ So clearly the Javanese opt for a rather different semantic field that is closer to their religious sensibility. By using the words *sembah* and *bekti*, they attempt to emphasize their being devoted to Mary in a loving-respectful relationship. In Javanese, the words “*sembah-bekti*” are not words of common greeting among people. The greeting of Gabriel to Mary is not reproduced literally in Javanese probably because it did not express this semantic element of devotedness, love and dependence. The filial aspect of this translation is also rather remarkable, as Javanese would describe the affective attitude of children to their parents in terms of *bekti*.

Furthermore, there is surely an echo of the Hindu tradition of *bhakti* in this Javanese use of the word *bekti*. For it is derived from the Sanskrit word *bhakti*, a term that originally means to share in, to belong to, and to worship. Sometimes it is also used

⁷⁴⁵ In the Javanese translation, it is also interesting to note that the words “full of grace” are absent and replaced by the words “God’s beloved” (Jv. *kekasihing Allah*). Compared to the Javanese, the Indonesian version is a more literal translation of the traditional biblical version and does not contain any trace of local religious sensibilities.

in the sense of respect. In Hinduism, *bhakti* is understood in terms of personal relationship between the devotees and God, an intense feeling of love, that could lead up to union with God, albeit through a long and arduous journey of efforts, purification, and so forth; and it always involves the context of worship and rituals.⁷⁴⁶

So in terms of the personal (loving relationship) and ritual aspects of *bhakti*, the depth of the trace of this Hindu other is still very visible in the religious sensibility—as opposed to religious doctrine—of the Javanese Catholic pilgrims when they understand their pilgrimage in terms of *bekti*. The connection to the Hindu tradition is also made more interesting by the appellation of Mary as “*Dewi Maria*” in Javanese. The word “*dewi*” is of course derived from the Sanskrit “*devi*” that refers to the great goddess or simply goddess.⁷⁴⁷ As we have seen in the previous chapter, the shrine’s iconographic depiction of Mary as the new Prajnaparamita or Laksmi helps to make the association of Mary with the goddess tradition of Hinduism or Buddhism (whatever this may mean) more visible to the eyes of the pilgrims. Although the Javanese Catholics obviously do not consider Mary as a goddess, this appellation and association seem to make it even

⁷⁴⁶ As Raj Sing shows, the term *bhakti* is a synonym of *prema* (love), and its root *bhaj* means involvement, engagement, participation, pursuit, preference, service, adoration, devotion, and love. See his *Bhakti and Philosophy* (Lexington Books, 2006), 1. However, in the context of Hinduism the way of *bhakti* is not necessarily the right one for everybody at all times. For example, the Srivaishnava text of Tiruvaymoli by Satakopan, the Tamil saint, indicates that the way of total surrender (*prapatti*) is more preferable for him. On this notion of loving surrender and its relation to devotion, see Francis Clooney, *Seeing Through Texts: Doing Theology Among the Srivaishnavas of South India* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), 202; also his *Beyond Compare: St. Francis De Sales and Vedanta Desika on Loving Surrender to God* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009).

⁷⁴⁷ In Sanskrit, *devi* means simply a goddess. However, the Hindu tradition also identifies Devi as the great goddess; She is Shiva’s consort and the supreme Deity, the source of power of all deities. On major aspects of the portrayal of Devi in Sankara’s hymn *Saundarya Lahari*, see Francis Clooney, “Encountering the (Divine) Mother in Hindu and Christian Hymns,” *Religion and the Arts* 12 (2008): 230-43.

more proper to approach Mary with such deep reverence and dependence (Jv. *sembah*) and loving-devotion (Jv. *bekti*), as occurs in the Hindu *bhakti* context.⁷⁴⁸

Furthermore, in this framework of *bhakti*, a sense of absolute security, an overwhelming sense of being protected, that results from a loving surrender and taking refuge at the feet of Mary, can also be experienced more deeply.⁷⁴⁹ It is precisely this quality that lies at the heart of the most popular Javanese Marian hymn, *Ndherek Dewi Maria* (“In the Protection of Mary”).⁷⁵⁰ This hymn extols Mary as the loving and powerful protector against all dangers that are identified mainly in terms of the Evil one. The main message is that all those who surrender to Mary (Jv. *sumarah*) need not worry about these dangers anymore, even at the point when one feels powerless against the Evil one, because Mary will rescue and protect. So it seems that the religious sensibility of Javanese Catholic pilgrims combine aspects of both the Hindu sense of *bhakti* (loving devotedness) and *prapatti* (loving surrender).⁷⁵¹

At the Ganjuran shrine, these aspects of connectedness, reverence and dependence can become very visible outwardly as the pilgrims have to ascend to the temple to surrender at the feet of Christ the King. At Sendangsono, this dynamic is expressed in the ascent to the mountain to be in the loving and protective presence of Mary, the Queen. At the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran, as we have seen, pilgrims follow a certain etiquette

⁷⁴⁸ In Javanese, Mary is typically called “Ibu” (which means mother) or “Dewi” (from the Sanskrit *devi*), while Christ is called “Sri Yesus Kristus”. The word *sri* here denotes lordship or kingship, stemming from the use of this word in Sanskrit and Hinduism. Javanese kings, both Hindu and Muslim, are addressed by this honorific term. For example, the king of the Yogyakarta court is called “Sri Sultan”, a hybrid Sanskrit and Arabic term.

⁷⁴⁹ As Francis Clooney shows in his comparative theological study of Vedanta Desika and Francis de Sales, loving surrender and taking refuge (S. *prapatti*) to God can be considered the apex of the dynamic of devotion in Srivaishnava Hinduism and Catholicism. See his *Beyond Compare* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵⁰ Every Javanese Catholic knows this song by heart, due to its popularity. It is also used in the prayer of the Sacred Heart of Jesus that we mentioned in the previous chapter.

⁷⁵¹ On the importance of self-surrender to God (through Mary) in the experience of Catholic pilgrims at the Sendangsono grotto, see Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 62, 106 and passim.

as if they are in the presence of their monarch in terms of reverence and devotion. While waiting for their turn to ascend to the inner sanctum of the temple, they would not stand on their feet on the terrace of the temple. Instead, they would sit cross-legged, bowing the upper body down a bit. Then they slowly and reverently ascend the stairs of the temple toward the inner sanctum where they would do the Javanese gesture of homage, the *sembah*, before sitting at the feet of Christ the King.

Thus Javanese Catholics commonly use to describe their visit to shrines certain features of Javanese culture that in turn still bear much resemblance to the Hindu *bhakti* tradition. However, it should be added that this pilgrimage, especially to Marian shrine and the mausoleum of Muntilan, is also understood in terms of *nyekar* (derived from the word “*sekar*” that means flower in refined Javanese), that is, visiting the shrine or grave as a sign of respect, love and remembrance by, among others, putting flowers in the shrine or on the gravestone of the saints or ancestors.⁷⁵² In this sense, this practice is more closely connected to the near-universal Islamic tradition of *ziyāra*, which basically means a “visit,” but came to be defined mostly in terms of grave visitation (Ar. *ziyāra al-qubr*), both the graves of the holy dead and those of relatives or ancestors.⁷⁵³ In Chapter 3 we have already seen how the Muslim pilgrims in Java also understand their *ziyāra* to the tombs of the saints as *nyekar*, and how this tradition is deeply related to the memory of ancestors (Jv. *leluhur*).

In this respect, it should be noted as well that among Javanese Muslims and Catholics, this *ziarah* as a memory of ancestors is rather closely to the wider notion of “*bekti*” (loving devotion and reverence) toward deceased parents or ancestors, expressed

⁷⁵² It seems that this framework of *nyekar* is more common among older generation of Javanese Catholics. See the example of the use of this term by a Catholic pilgrim in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 79.

⁷⁵³ See Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, especially chapter 2.

among others by regularly visiting their graves. There is a widespread Javanese belief that *bekti* towards parents and ancestors is a potent source of blessings. In the previous chapter we saw how the community of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran created a tradition of making *ziarah* to the tombs of their deceased priests. Some pious Catholics in Java visit the tombs of the priests who baptized them or to whom they feel close. Many of the pilgrims to the tombs of Fr. van Lith and Fr. Sanjaya in Muntilan would also understand their visits in terms of *nyekar*. In 1926, a Javanese former student of van Lith wrote that he went to the retreat in Muntilan partly because he wanted to pay this *nyekar* visit to the grave of his former teacher.⁷⁵⁴

VII. 1. 1. Pilgrimage as a Habit of the Heart

In the framework of devotion understood as a loving relationship that grows over time, pilgrimage becomes a habit. It is not an isolated activity because it has become a rather crucial part of the religious sensibility of the pilgrims in the continuum of their life journeys. In this framework, pilgrimage becomes a particular religious act that is filled with a sense of personal memory and history. This is because what happened in the previous pilgrimage will affect the next (or vice versa), in the sense that the next pilgrimage carries the memory of the previous ones and also informs one's appreciation of their meaning. Often times the personal struggle and process of spiritual growth or purification occurs precisely when this series of pilgrimage is viewed as a longer unity.

This dynamic of pilgrimage, meaning and identity clearly places the tradition of

⁷⁵⁴ *Swara-Tama*, April 16, 1926. To a certain degree, this habit continues among many current students of the van Lith High School who would visit van Lith's grave in the afternoon or during its anniversary celebration. This custom is a sign that he is being treated as their founder-ancestor.

pilgrimage, as well as the shrines, in the most personal realm of pilgrims' lives. As many pilgrims themselves revealed, their particular pilgrimage could not be understood unless placed in this long term dynamic of personal devotion. They often have nostalgic memories of their past pilgrimages and how times have changed in terms of the particularities of doing pilgrimage to certain shrines, and so forth. In the case of pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto, a rather constant part of the memories of this past pilgrimage tradition was its particular hardship, its purifying asceticism. In the old days, before the arrival of asphalt roads and private cars, many pilgrims from the city of Yogyakarta would have to walk eight hours to reach the grotto, climbing hills and passing through thick woods at night to avoid the tropical heat and intense humidity. During the rainy season this journey became especially challenging. Most pilgrims, especially the older generations, would exhibit a sense of longing to return to this old way of doing pilgrimage, arguing that it was more satisfying personally and spiritually.⁷⁵⁵

This kind of longing expresses the dynamically unfolding relationship between pilgrimage as a habit of the heart (memory) and a journey of purification. This point is crucial because among Javanese of all religions, pilgrimage is always understood in its organic relationship with its ascetic and purifying aspects. As we have seen in the introductory chapter and will see later in this chapter, the Javanese understand pilgrimage as *tirakat* and *laku*, two terms that point to the extended and committed practice of asceticism and spiritual purification, both outward and inward, that becomes a pivotal part of a true pilgrimage. In this framework, many pilgrims experience that the outward

⁷⁵⁵ This pious nostalgia is a constant element in the memory of older pilgrims that I interviewed during my fieldwork. An older pilgrim even tried several times to locate the river that he used to cross when he visited the Sendangsono grotto during his youth. He was disappointed by the disappearance of this key feature of pilgrimage hardship, having to go up to the grotto by traversing the river.

hardship of the journey that presupposed stronger determination and commitment helped them to feel inwardly closer to God and Mary. “The experience is so much deeper! (Jv. *luwih rumesep*)”, a pilgrim exclaimed, trying to explain the logic of this purifying asceticism in pilgrimage.⁷⁵⁶

Furthermore, it is a rather common assumption among pilgrims that the quality of gratitude and devotion goes hand in hand with the hardship of the journey. A Javanese middle-aged man told me that he could not express his gratitude enough to God and Mary for the blessings he has received unless he walked to the grotto.⁷⁵⁷ However, in the case of this man, this type of pilgrimage also has a more personal dimension since it is connected to his earlier personal history with the shrine. For seven years he was visiting the shrine, asking for a child, but to no avail. At some point he gave up the visit and felt terribly upset toward God and Mary for not responding to his reasonable request. “I was really upset with God (Jv. *jengkel*),” he said. For he had been a faithful pilgrim to this shrine since his youth. He even took many Catholic youngsters from his parish in the inner city of Yogyakarta on group pilgrimages, on foot, to this shrine. Looking at how other pilgrims got an easier time with God made him even angrier. However, when he was tired of complaining and feeling bitter about all this, he came to a sense of surrender to God. To his surprise, God responded to his desire for a child precisely at that moment of his surrender. So, overwhelmed with enormous gratitude, he decided to respond to this by walking to the shrine again. There was no other way imaginable to him to do the pilgrimage in an appropriately thankful manner, precisely given his own personal history with God and the Sendangsono grotto. It was during this pilgrimage that all kinds of

⁷⁵⁶ Interview at the Sendangsono grotto, May 24, 2010.

⁷⁵⁷ Interview at the Sendangsono grotto, May 24, 2010.

memories of his past pilgrimages came up to him, including his temporary standoff with God; and for him personally, this kind of moment was one that particularly helped him reintegrate his life, due to his personal history.

Among Javanese Catholics, this kind of ascetic pilgrimage is typically done in a small group with close friends or family members. In this regard, the sense of bonding with the other pilgrims in the same group gets so much stronger and deeper under such a condition. All these three aspects—the asceticism of the pilgrimage, the deeper spiritual experience and the deeper bonding between fellow pilgrims—make pilgrimage more meaningful, memorable and durable as a habit of the heart.

Once we understand pilgrimage in this long-term context of personal devotion and habit of the heart, another crucial aspect comes to the surface. Under certain circumstances where practical arrangements or financial provisions could not be made for it, pilgrimage becomes a longing, a desire to be on the road and at the shrine that only becomes more intensive the longer it is postponed. This longing forms a crucial aspect of pilgrimage: it begins inside, with the longing and the desire, the stirrings of the hearts. During the period when an actual travel is not within the realm of possibility, pilgrimage already happens inside as a desire and longing. Even when it is completed with its physical dimension of traveling, pilgrimage begins and continues as a habit of the heart, to a large degree. For the deepest experience is stored in the heart, and it becomes the motivating factor for the next journey, as we have just noted.

The intensity of this desire and longing can be seen as a fairly common phenomenon among simple Javanese Catholics who have to save money for undertaking pilgrimage, especially to rather distant shrines. The Sendangsono grotto is probably the

most popular destination of this habitual desire for pilgrimage, due to its longtime role in the personal devotion and memory of so many Catholic pilgrims in Java. At this shrine, we would find many elderly pilgrims who would come in larger groups. Although they might want to visit other shrines once in a while, this particular shrine still holds a special place in their spiritual life due to the long-term relationship that has been built around it. Many of them actually come from some neighboring areas, but due to their financial situation, physical frailty, as well as other limitations, pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto could not always be taken for granted. It means so much for them and that is why they have to make a rather long preparation. Most of the time, they would save the money to visit the shrine during the Marian months of May or October.⁷⁵⁸

In the experience of many pilgrims, a particular shrine would take on a personal meaning because it is connected to their past history and pilgrimage experiences. In this respect, we should not fail to notice the common characteristic of pilgrimage as an intergenerational habit. For most pilgrims would learn the art of making pilgrimage from their parents or grandparents, or other elder members of the extended family, who would regularly take them to certain shrines when they were younger.⁷⁵⁹ To a certain degree, pilgrimage of this kind is also related to rites of passage. Javanese Catholic parents would go to a shrine to pray for their children as they are about to embark on a new and crucial

⁷⁵⁸ This point is rather well illustrated by a group of elderly pilgrims, mostly women, who traveled to visit the Sendangsono shrine from their hometown of Temanggung, central Java, some 30 miles away from the shrine. These simple women said that they had anticipated this May pilgrimage for long; they prepared the journey by saving the money that their grandchildren gave. They also remarked that the Sendangsono shrine was their favorite, but they would like to go to other more distant shrines too. Interview at the Sendangsono shrine, May 24, 2009.

⁷⁵⁹ A good example of this dynamic is the story of Mr. Sumidi, who as a small boy learned the pilgrimage tradition to the Sendangsono grotto from Fr. Prenthaler, the founder of the grotto. He became so convinced about the richness of the pilgrimage experience in his life and decided to pass on this pilgrimage tradition to all his children even when they grew up. Every time they returned home from their jobs in the capital city of Jakarta, he would take them to the shrine. See his story in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 62.

phase in their lives, such as going to college, getting a job, getting married, or entering religious life, and so forth. In this particular context, visits to the shrine go hand in hand with visits to the family tombs, believing that the heavenly support would also include their ancestors. This point is important in that it shows how Catholic veneration of saints in Java is still rather organically connected to the shared traditional framework of relationships with ancestors.

It is insightful also to see that this feature of pilgrimage creates a rather rich web of relationships where pilgrimage tradition becomes an intimate part of these rich familial and intergenerational connections. In many cases, pilgrimage also becomes inseparable from a memory of the parents or grandparents. Pilgrims want to return to certain shrines because these are places that connect them in a special way to the memory of their parents and grandparents. The personal side of this feature can be seen in the kinds of prayers that many pilgrims leave on the guest books of the shrines. Here we find the predominance of prayers for family members: parents pray for the wellbeing of the children, while the children for their living or deceased parents. Many parents make a special promise to visit the shrines again as a gratitude for the granted prayers.⁷⁶⁰ Thus, as parents bring their children, both physically and spiritually, to the shrine, these children would later bring their parents (as well as their own children) back to the shrine, and this dynamic continues generation after generation.⁷⁶¹ Family pilgrimage would include

⁷⁶⁰ This feature is of course related to the wider aspects of making vows (Ar. *nazr*) in the pilgrimage culture across religious traditions, including Islam.

⁷⁶¹ The trace of this feature of Marian devotion is still visible among the elderly Dutch pilgrims to Lourdes that Catrien Notermans has researched. For these pilgrims, pilgrimage is really about family and memory. Notermans remarked: "People's responses to the images show that Mary exists in kin relationships in various interconnected ways: in the relationship with the home ground, the relationship between adults and their mothers, between husbands and wives, and between mothers and children." See Catrien Notermans, "Connecting the Living and the Dead: Re-memorizing the Family through Marian Devotion," in Anna-Karina Hermkens, *Moved by Mary*, 140.

special prayers relating to the current situations of their families. Due to this deep web of memory and familiar connections, pilgrimage is often a rare moment when familial relationships take on a deeper quality. All of this reflects the characteristic of Javanese society in which family is the most immediate and real context of one's life, something that deeply affects one's experience of happiness and struggle as well. Therefore, it is only natural that pilgrimage is understood in this familial and intergenerational practice and memory.

This intergenerational feature of pilgrimage is still very much alive among pilgrims in our three shrines. In Java, it is also very common for grandparents to take their grandchildren to shrines. The tradition also gets passed on to the younger generation through Catholic schools and parishes that regularly sponsor group pilgrimages for students or youth.⁷⁶² For these youngsters, the fuller meaning of pilgrimage will only become clearer when they grow up. In light of this, pilgrimages later in life at times serves as an intentional effort to foster a reconnection to the past and to make this past more meaningful.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶² As can be seen in the many accounts of pilgrims, the art of pilgrimage that they learned for the first time from their parents and teachers continues to be a crucial aspect throughout their lives. They still have vivid memories of these early pilgrimages. On this feature, see Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, passim.

⁷⁶³ For some Javanese priests and nuns, pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto at times serves as a powerful memory and reiteration of their religious vocation. For, many pious Javanese Catholic families would still pray for the gift of priestly and religious vocations for their children, and family pilgrimage also serves as a milieu in which this kind of prayer occurs. Once the prayer is granted, these parents also go back to the shrine to offer gratitude to God for the vocations of their children and so forth. During their formation, many young seminarians and nuns would also continue to do this pilgrimage. In this sense, pilgrimage and shrine feature rather prominently in the history of many priestly and religious vocations. On this topic, see for example, M. Soegita, "Sendangsono, Paroki Promasan, dan Panggilan Imamatku, ["The Sendangsono Grotto, the Promasan Parish, and My Priestly Vocation]" in Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 48-51; also the account of Mgr. Pujasumarta on the role of Mary and the grotto in the life journey of his parents, "Maria, Teman Seperjalanan Hidup," ["Mary, Our Life Companion"], 41-47. See also the accounts of a Javanese nun and a seminarian on the role of the Sendangsono grotto in their religious vocations in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 89-93, 108; also the story of a parent who promised to offer his daughter for God at the shrine in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 102.

VII. 1. 2. The Spread of Devotion: Creation of Daughter Shrines

In the context of pilgrimage culture among Catholics in south central Java, devotion as connectedness has a special characteristic of mimesis and memorialization that becomes evident in phenomenon of building new grotto or shrine as a “daughter shrine” of the older one. It is a mimesis that is driven by an enormous energy of spiritual devotion. As a tangible memorialization of love and devotion, expectation of miracles would not normally be part of its motivation. But often times, as we will see below, previous miraculous events can serve as the catalyst for building new shrines.

Among Javanese Catholics, this penchant for building new shrine has begun quite early in their identity formation, sparked off by the foundation of the Sendangsono grotto in 1929. In 1935, for example, the *Swara-Tama* wrote on the significance of erecting a Marian grotto:

The grotto would be a token of our love and devoted reverence to our Lady, our Mother and Queen, our Protector. It is through the building of the grotto that we communally express our love and devotedness to our Mother, as well as our determination to be Her children. The grotto would be a testament to this forever.⁷⁶⁴

As this quotation shows, devotion often leads to the creation of new shrines, a process that at times involves a mimetic element. As we have seen in Chapter 5 the same logic was behind the initial creations of the Sendangsono grotto (as the Lourdes of Java) as well as the Ganjuran Sacred Heart shrine. In the case of the latter, it was a personal token of thanksgiving on the part of the Schmutzer family; but it was also an extension of the same pattern of devotion that was popular then among Catholics in the Netherlands or

⁷⁶⁴ *Swara-Tama*, June 5, 1935.

Europe.⁷⁶⁵ In a sense, the creation of the shrine was an expression of a desire to unite the land and people of Java (and Indonesia) to the Netherlands on a spiritual plane.⁷⁶⁶

The recent decades have seen the mushrooming of Marian shrines in many places in Java, a sign of the enormous energy of devotion among Catholics in the area. One major shrine begets other foundations with the creation of “daughter shrines” that at times are located in the private homes of devotees. In this regard, the Marian grotto of Marganingsih (in reference to Mary, “the mediator of all grace”) near the Muslim shrine of Tembayat is a good example. For this shrine began with the special devotion of a Javanese woman to Mary. In the 1930s she would go on countless pilgrimage trips on foot to the Sendangsono grotto. One of her intentions was to have a child, for she was childless for many years. She vowed that if God granted her prayers, she would offer the child for His cause. As it turned out, God granted her prayers generously. She would have twelve children in all and the eldest would become a prominent Jesuit priest. This was obviously a miracle. Then, as a token of gratitude, she built a small grotto in her home, a replica of the Lourdes shrine of Sendangsono.⁷⁶⁷ Overtime, this grotto became known outside of the family, and after her death it turned into a rather important pilgrimage site

⁷⁶⁵ *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930; see also its report on the Sacred Heart parish church of Pugeran, Yogyakarta (May 4, 1934).

⁷⁶⁶ In much more dramatic ways, both religiously and politically, this dynamic of unification or extension occurred in France with the creation of Basilique du Sacré-Cœur at Montmartre (1919), a symbol of national dedication of France to the Sacred Heart. As this basilica expressed, the whole country was united on this spiritual plane after the period of disunity following the Revolution. Prior to this, only certain towns like Marseille, Nantes and Luçon had been consecrated to the Sacred Heart. On this topic, see Raymond Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000).

⁷⁶⁷ This pious woman considered the religious vocation of her eldest son as a sign of further favor of God and Mary to the family, as well as the proper token of gratitude of the family. It was her Jesuit son who developed the shrine further. Interview with the caretaker of the Marganingsih grotto, Tembayat, June 28, 2009.

in south central Java.⁷⁶⁸

In this phenomenon, we see a very interesting dynamic of mimesis in pilgrimage culture. For the distant shrine is made closer to home through the creation of its replica, a mimesis and remembrance. Interestingly, this dynamic does not strip pilgrimage of its basic characteristic as a journey. For the journey is now more inwardly conceived, a process of becoming nearer to God and self, almost on daily basis, rather than a physical travel. The sense of personal commitment to Mary, in the case of Marian grotto, is also strengthened. The devotees feel more personally attached to the shrine without losing their habitual desire to visit far away sites from time to time (including the mother shrine) as well, as we have mentioned.

This phenomenon of proximity between shrine and home is quite striking. In a sense, the shrine becomes home by proximity or the home becomes a shrine by extension. Brought from a distant place, the shrine is now part of the devotee's intimate home. To a certain degree, this dynamic blurs the boundaries between private and public space. This is so because the shrine becomes a private sacred space of the family. But this privatization often does not last for long. For the "private" shrine can typically develop into public and ecclesial site through the blessing of the bishop as its fame spreads around. Thus, in this sense, the shrine transforms the private space of a home into a

⁷⁶⁸ Another good example of this phenomenon would be the Marian grotto of Our Lady of the Rosary in the town of Juwana, in the north central Java. This grotto was built in the late 1990s by a Chinese Catholic family in the backyard of their home, as a token of gratitude to Our Lady of Lourdes whose intercession has cured the matriarch of this family. The family also contributed funds for the renovation of the Lourdes grotto at the town of Ambarawa, north central Java. At first the grotto was private, but with the blessing of the bishop in 2006, it became quite an important pilgrimage site. Interview with Mr. Indro Ludiyo, May 15, 2009. See also the website of this shrine: <http://guamariajuwana.com> (accessed in August, 2010). For another example, see also the account of Mgr. Pujasumarta on the grotto that his parents built in their home, "Maria, Teman Seperjalanan Hidup," ["Mary, Our Life Companion"] in Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 46.

public or communitarian space of devotion. This way, the sanctity of the shrine can always be understood as essentially communal and ecclesial. For the shrine gains its share in the sanctity of God concretely through the connection with the sanctity of the community, the Church.

As Peter Brown has documented, the dynamic of private and public, family and community, in the care of holy graves and formation of shrines as houses of relics also happened in the late antique Christian cult of saints. In this context, he spoke about a rather problematic phenomenon of “privatization of the holy” by well-to-do Christian families who would obtain the dead body of the martyrs and treat them as their family’s property. The cult became communal (ecclesial) and public only through the more powerful trend of bishops patronizing the cult of saints in the name of the whole community.⁷⁶⁹

VII. 2. Peacefulness: Foundational Blessing of Pilgrimage

In the experience of many pilgrims, the quality and depth of devotion is closely related to the experience of being in touch with an overwhelming peacefulness during pilgrimage. Due to its prevalence and significance, I would argue that this experience of peacefulness constitutes the most foundational blessing of pilgrimage. It is foundational because it gives the pilgrims the most solid foundation for appreciating other more specific blessings. Since it connects pilgrims to a deeper sense of purpose and meaning, it has the power to help pilgrims reintegrate their lives on a more solid foundation and thus assists them in their dealing with smaller questions or problems.

⁷⁶⁹ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 34-35.

Seeking peacefulness in the simple sense of having peace of mind at the shrine is among the most common direct motives for making a pilgrimage. This is crucial to point out. Of course many of these pilgrims have many troubles in life, or crises of some sort, that contribute to their motivation for doing the pilgrimage, yet even if their pilgrimage does not result in “magical” solution to these problems, pilgrims do normally experience a profound peace at the shrine that has enduring effects beyond that moment at the shrine. In general we could say that this peacefulness is the result of a profound experience of being in more intense communion and connection with God. At the same time, the make-up of this peacefulness may also involve the right constellation of disparate elements that participate in this moment of communion.

In this regard, many pilgrims come seeking to be in touch with the therapeutic dimensions of the shrine as sacred space. More specifically, they mention its natural beauty, its location and other specificities, its distance from the monotony of daily life, and a stronger sense of Divine presence there.⁷⁷⁰ In this regard, quite often pilgrims desire to visit distant shrines for this therapy of place or distance. Among Javanese Catholics in south central Java, nearby or local shrines continue to be important because of their accessibility. They can visit these shrines relatively easily. But, they also need, once in a while, to go to farther places. This is not only due to a sheer human need for novelty and variation, although this motivation is not completely absent. Group pilgrimage among Catholics in Java is often called by its local acronym as *ziarek*—a combination of the first syllables of two Indonesian words *ziarah* (pilgrimage) and *rekreasi* (recreation)—

⁷⁷⁰ One pilgrim explains his experience at the Sendangsono grotto thus: “Upon arriving at the grotto, I was sitting in the shade of the big tree. Here I feel so much at peace. My burdens become lighter and a sense of true happiness overcomes me.” See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 90.

precisely due to its ability to accommodate such basic human needs.⁷⁷¹ In this type of pilgrimage, the aspect of a therapy of place, distance and journey is emphasized. For pilgrimage to a distant shrine quite often involves a more serious preparation of the heart and mind, a cultivation of longing that would deeply affect the actual experience of the journey. It is this preparedness and openness that very often render the other elements of the journey, including the beauty of the landscape and other specificities of the shrine and so forth, more meaningful in terms of bringing some experience of peace and joy. Some pilgrims already feel the taste of peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*) on the road to the shrine, due to the rather overwhelming sense of being protected, as a result of long and personal history of connectedness and relationship with God, Mary and his saints, that is, the framework of their habits of devotion. “My heart starts to be overwhelmed with a sense of peacefulness while I am still on the road to the grotto,” a Javanese pilgrim remarks.⁷⁷² In this respect, when the pilgrim’s heart is becoming habitually perceptive, even the sound of the church bells could give the effect of peacefulness.⁷⁷³

Many pilgrims speak about this experience of peacefulness in terms of being at home at the shrine. This also helps explain the relative length of time pilgrims would spend at the shrine. The shrine becomes a “home” because it is the place where one is at

⁷⁷¹ This type of pilgrimage would typically cover both pilgrimage sites proper and recreational sites. Contemporary scholarship has found that the rigid boundary between pilgrims and tourists (pilgrimage and tourism) is hard to maintain, confirming Victor Turner’s saying that “pilgrim is half tourist, while tourist is half pilgrim.” This is so because tourists also undergo personal transformation through their encounter with the Sacred in many different ways, especially through their quest of personal meanings of life. On this topic, see Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, eds., *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁷⁷² This pilgrim by the name of Sumidi remarks further about his personal habit of pilgrimage: “I do not normally bring any food provision during pilgrimage. When I feel hungry and thirsty, I just try to hold on, until I reach the grotto where I drink the holy water and wash my face with it. Then, I pray and the sense of peacefulness becomes more overwhelming.” See the account in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 61.

⁷⁷³ See the account of a pilgrim in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 54-5. The same pattern happens again when pilgrims feel this peace at home due to the presence of certain holy images they took from the shrines, such as statues. See David Morgan, “Aura and the Inversion of Marian Pilgrimage: Fatima and Her Statues,” in Anna-Karina Hermkens *et al.*, *Moved by Mary*, 56.

peace with his self with a deeper sense of identity. It is at this moment that the pilgrims regain self-confidence and self-integration, coming to a deeper sense of their identity in relation to God. This peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*) thus stems from the personal realization of being connected to the larger framework of life. This connection is especially crucial to pilgrims whose lives have been plagued by disorientations and confusions. In this regard, peacefulness heals indeed.

The healing quality of this peacefulness is probably more obviously appealing to many urban pilgrims who live in cramped housing with a hectic life-style and demanding professions.⁷⁷⁴ But, it is also attractive to many other pilgrims as well. Antonius Saputra, a 19 year old high school student, for example, is a rather avid pilgrim who would visit the Sendangsono grotto very often especially in the last year, sometimes with his friend, a shy female classmate of his. “It is so peaceful here,” he said, revealing his most enduring experience at the shrine. Although at that moment he had a special favor to ask God and the Virgin—namely, the success of his studies as the national exams were approaching—he said that he was always in need of spending time at this peaceful place to clear up his mind. His life has not been easy in the last few years. He was out of school for two years which explains why he was still in the final year of high school although he was 19. What happened was that he had some conflict with his teacher, while his cousin, together with four of his friends at the school, committed suicide. He descended into a serious depression and decided to stop attending school. After two years, he resumed his

⁷⁷⁴ The Ganjuran shrine attracts many pilgrims of this type; many of them come originally from central Java but work in the capital city of Jakarta. They would visit the shrine rather regularly as part of their home visit. They always tend to compare the inhumanly frenzied urban life in Jakarta with the peace, serenity and naturalness that they experience during pilgrimage at the shrine. A pilgrim of this category, Robertus Prasojo, remarked to me that this is the “rational” explanation of the blessing of pilgrimage. This experience of peacefulness makes him function better as a human being in general as well as a professional at his working place. Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, May 25, 2009.

education, transferring to his current school. When I asked him about how pilgrimage works in his life, he simply replied that problems seemed to disappear by themselves after he did the pilgrimage. He could get over his bitter break-up with his former girlfriend. Indeed he always feels at peace with himself during and after pilgrimage. “This place is very quiet, I like it coming here,” he would remark over and over again without trying to be too philosophical.⁷⁷⁵

In some cases, pilgrims would be made aware of this desire to seek peacefulness only after they got to the shrine. One young pilgrim from the city of Yogyakarta wrote in the guestbook of the Ganjuran shrine: “When I decided to visit this shrine, I was not too sure about my real intention; the only thing I know while I am at the shrine is that my mind is opened, cleared up.”⁷⁷⁶ And thus, he started realizing his existential condition, made more aware of his sinfulness. This kind of experience raises a crucial point because it shows that pilgrimage is a spiritual practice whose dynamic lies principally, though not solely, in the realm of the spirit. Victor Turner the anthropologist speaks about pilgrimage as an “exteriorized contemplation,” but it is still a contemplation whose ultimate meanings are largely governed by the dynamics of the spiritual (interior) life of the pilgrims.⁷⁷⁷ As can happen during any moment along the pilgrimage journey (that does not have to be always in the realm of one’s explicit intention), the human spirit is awakened toward deeper communion with God. This was exactly what happened to Thomas Merton in Rome, a realization that began his long conversion into a life of fuller

⁷⁷⁵ Interview at the Sendangsono shrine, May 21, 2009.

⁷⁷⁶ Guestbook, March 18, 2009.

⁷⁷⁷ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 33.

communion with God.⁷⁷⁸ Most pilgrims would define the effect of this communion in terms of peacefulness. The guestbook of the shrine at Ganjuran, for example, is filled with stories of such experiences. So many pilgrims who filled out the guest books of the shrines wrote about the quality of the shrine as being very peaceful and very conducive for personal prayer.

Among many Javanese pilgrims, striking is the employment of *rasa*—a rather delicate category in the Javanese culture that I have discussed previously in the context of the experience of Javanese Muslim pilgrims—to express the quality of this peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*).⁷⁷⁹ Andreas Handika, a 35 year old pilgrim at the Ganjuran shrine, for example, has no other way to describe the pervasive peace that he experiences every time he spends time at this shrine.⁷⁸⁰ He belongs to the type of urban pilgrims that we mentioned before. He would come regularly to the Ganjuran shrine every time he returns from his job in Jakarta to visit his family in Yogyakarta, and would stay overnight at the shrine. Around midnight he would ascend to the inner sanctum of the temple for a session of prayer during which the sense of peace is most overwhelming. “When I come to feel the peace through the *rasa*, I know that I have come to the true quality of peace,” explained Handika. In his case, his particular propensity to talk about his experience in terms of *rasa* might be related to his deeper exposure to some Javanese spiritual/mystical movements (Jv. *aliran kebatinan*) whose doctrine revolves around the presence of the

⁷⁷⁸ Thomas Merton, *Seven Storey Mountain: An Autobiography of Faith* (Harvest Book, 1999), 119-20. He wrote: “Thus, without knowing anything about it I became a pilgrim. I was unconsciously and unintentionally visiting all the great shrines of Rome, and seeking out their sanctuaries with some of the eagerness and avidity and desire of a true pilgrim, though not quite for the right reason. And yet it was not for a wrong reason either.” (120)

⁷⁷⁹ See Introduction (section IV) and Chapter 3 (III. 2. 2.).

⁷⁸⁰ Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, April 20, 2009. For a fine case study of this Javanese spiritual movement (Jv. *kebatinan*), see Paul Stange, *The Sumarah Movement in Javanese Mysticism* (Ph.D. Diss., the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1980).

divine spirit in the human person (Jv. *sukma*) that could be awakened through the cultivation of *rasa* during meditations. In Jakarta, he joins a kind of spiritual conversation held by a circle of Javanese adherents of this kind of spiritual movements.

By using the term *rasa*, Javanese pilgrims like Handika mean something very deep and real (almost immediate), yet hard to describe, precisely because it occurs in the complicated realm of the interaction between the inner and outer worlds. As has mentioned earlier in this study, *rasa* is originally a Sanskrit word which means taste, essence, delight and so forth. It can also mean the sap of a plant or more broadly the best or finest or prime part of anything, or the vital essence of a thing. It could also point to flavor, love, affection and desire.⁷⁸¹ In Javanese, much of this original meaning is retained. Particularly insightful for our discussion here is how in Javanese, this concept of *rasa* has been used as an important category of the inner life of the human person. In this regard, the Javanese understand *rasa* to point to “inner sensing” as a spiritual-epistemological category. Paul Stange argues that “*rasa* is at once the substance, vibration, or quality of what is apprehended and the tool or organ which apprehends it.”⁷⁸² As such, the cultivation of *rasa* connects a person with his world of experience in a deeper, personal, spiritual, and integral way. Through the cultivation of *rasa*, one is maximizing his inner openness and receptivity and thus able to absorb the external data of experience and knowledge into his inner spiritual world so as to process and transform them into his personally learned experience or wisdom.

In the Javanese practice of mysticism (Jv. *kebatinan*), *rasa* is a very important spiritual and epistemological category, if not the most important one. For, in this context, the

⁷⁸¹ Graham M. Schweig, *Dance of Divine Love: The Rasa Lila of Krishna from the Bhagavata Purana, India's Classic Sacred Love Story* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 99.

⁷⁸² Paul Stange, “The Logic of *Rasa* in Java,” *Indonesia* 38 (1984): 119.

ultimate goal of the cultivation of *rasa* is a mystical union with God.⁷⁸³ Obviously, in this regard, the Javanese have combined the original Sanskrit meanings associated with the words *rasa* and *rahasya* (secret or mystery).⁷⁸⁴ It is in this dynamic as well that the Javanese come to use the word *rasa* to translate the Arabic or Islamic concept of *sirr* (secret, mystery, the innermost core of human being). In the context of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, for example, as James Morris remarks, this concept of *sirr* refers the innermost being of human person where God communicates with the soul in the most intimate way through “immediate spiritual inspirations, as opposed to the more complex processes of ordinary spiritual understanding.”⁷⁸⁵ Ibn al-‘Arabī understands *sirr* as the realm in which the person, typically the prophets and saints, communes with the Holy Spirit in the most unmediated way, resulting in the highest form of certitude.⁷⁸⁶ It is this Islamic framework that seems to make it possible for the Javanese mystics to identify *rasa* more and more with the innermost core of the human person.⁷⁸⁷ For them, anyone who is completely in touch with his *rasa* is in contact with the unmediated presence of God as the Spirit.

The emphasis that the Javanese come to place on the deeper connection between *rasa* and God might also be related to the Hindu *bhakti* background as well. For in the *bhakti* tradition, God could be identified as *rasa* and God is the sole object of *rasa*.⁷⁸⁸ In the context of a theistic Vaishnava tradition, for example, *rasa* is also understood mainly

⁷⁸³ Paul Stange, “The Logic of *Rasa* in Java,” 121.

⁷⁸⁴ Paul Stange, “The Logic of *Rasa* in Java,” 127.

⁷⁸⁵ James Winston Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 220.

⁷⁸⁶ See Ibn al-‘Arabī, *The Meccan Revelations*, Vol. II, ed. Michel Chodkiewicz, trans. Cyrille Chodkiewicz and Denis Gril (New York: Pir Press, 2004), 21.

⁷⁸⁷ For a fuller treatment of *rasa* and its connection with Sanskrit and Arabic, see J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973), 256ff.

⁷⁸⁸ This idea is based on, among others, *Taittiriya Upanisad* 2.7.1; see Graham M. Schweig, *Dance of Divine Love*, 99.

in terms of the religious disposition of the heart or mind that results from a communion with God in devotion. Due to the prominent place of *rasa* in this dynamic of personal relationship to God, Hindu theologians develop a theology of *bhakti-rasa*.⁷⁸⁹

With this Hindu and Islamic backgrounds in mind, we could understand the fuller scope of the Javanese Catholic pilgrims' insistence on the primacy of the category of *rasa* in pilgrimage experience. By resorting to this category, they mean that their pilgrimage experience is deep and real, as opposed to banal and illusory, as well as authentic and personal. Sometimes, by using the term *rasa*, they want to say that the experience has reached the deepest layer of their being and they know this because they feel it in the realm of *rasa*. For, as we have mentioned, *rasa* is both the instrument of spiritual knowing as well as the theatre of deep communion with God and the whole reality, a communion that marks the true quality of human existence.

However, the cultivation of *rasa* that makes this deep experience of intimate communion with God (that results in peacefulness) possible in the context of pilgrimage could not be separated from two intertwined categories, that is, ascetic purification (Jv. *laku*) and the necessary silence or solitude. In the experience of many pilgrims, true peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*)—in the deepest sense of harmony and homeostasis both on the level of microcosm and macrocosm, that includes reconciliation with self and surrender to God—is hard to obtain except through inner struggle and spiritual purification that at times requires the help of ascetic practices. Ascetic purification (*via purgativa*) is of course a constant element in the experience of pilgrims in general. However, as we have seen, in the context of Javanese culture, pilgrimage is fundamentally understood as *laku* or *tirakat*, that is, a serious and focused period of

⁷⁸⁹ Graham M. Schweig, *Dance of Divine Love*, 98.

spiritual cultivation aided by intensive spiritual as well as ascetic practices. In Chapter 3 we have seen how this element is at work among Javanese Muslim pilgrims who seek the fundamental blessing of peacefulness (Jv. *nyai tentrem*) through ascetic and purifying practices.

Among the three Catholic shrines under study, the shrines at Ganjuran and Sendangsono are more closely associated with pilgrimage as *laku* or *tirakat*. Due to its rather difficult location, the Sendangsono grotto has been traditionally connected to this ascetic purification. Especially at the Ganjuran shrine in the last few years, there is a constant group of pilgrims who would stay overnight or longer at this shrine as part of their *laku*. Compared to its Muslim counterpart, it has to be said that the Catholic tradition of pilgrimage in Java knows very few wandering or ascetic pilgrims. But some try indeed to incorporate a more intense degree of asceticism in the pilgrimage, through walking on foot, biking to the shrine, and so forth.

In the context of pilgrimage, we should also notice that this ascetic purification is part of the whole logic of devotion since it is an expression of devotedness and also brings pilgrims much closer to God, Mary and the saints. In many cases, this practice among Javanese Catholics still retain the rather traditional idea of doing penitential pilgrimage as a fulfillment of a promise to God, Mary, and the saints. However, its role in the quest for peacefulness also remains central. For by driving away distractions of the mind and the heart, it puts pilgrims to a closer relationship with their selves and God.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁹⁰ See, for example, the account of two pilgrims to the Sendangsono grotto who felt so close to Jesus and to his own spiritual condition during the prayer of the cross, in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 89, 109-11; see also the account of a pilgrim from Jakarta at the Sacred Heart shrine who said that his closeness to the Sacred Heart occurred as he undertook purifying ascetic practices, such as staying up all night praying. He also said that self-introspection was a crucial element in the whole experience. See Obed Asmoditomo and Agust Sunarto, *Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus dari Ganjuran* ([“The Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran”], Yogyakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Nusatama, 2001), 42.

As we have mentioned previously, it helps the pilgrims to come to a deep and spiritual moment (Jv. *khusyuk*). For many pilgrims, this spiritual moment is difficult to obtain without this practice and when the shrine is so crowded. At the Sendangsono grotto, pilgrims of this type would undertake the more arduous stations of the Cross spread over the rolling hills, rather than the easier one in the main compound of the grotto.

This purifying asceticism helps the pilgrim arrive at silence and solitude at the shrine, and without it pilgrims would have a harder time reaching deeper into the depth of their selves, the world of *rasa*, where God resides. Frederick Wijaya, a Chinese young man from Yogyakarta who drove his shiny car to the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran, remarked that pilgrims often look for God in “buildings” like church, shrines and temples, but God resides in the hearts of the faithful and it is there that He could always be encountered.⁷⁹¹ He was thus making the point that unless pilgrims pay attention to this dimension, they would not come to this true experience of encountering God inside.

In this respect, Catholic shrines in Java are places where boisterous feasts and festivals are combined with peaceful serenity and deep solitude. In fact, the former archbishop of Semarang (Mgr. Ignatius Suharyo) has adopted the Javanese philosophy of tranquility, solitude and total self-awareness as a spiritual framework for another nearby Catholic pilgrimage site. As expressed at the Marian shrine of Sendang Jatiningsih, located seven miles to the west of Yogyakarta, this framework is stated thus:

At this shrine, we compose ourselves through maintaining solitude so that we achieve clarity of mind and conscience and thus come to terms with the core of our being and the spiritual state of our existence” (I. *Di tempat ini kita meneng agar wening dan dunung*).⁷⁹²

⁷⁹¹ Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, May 22, 2009.

⁷⁹² In the Sendang Sriningsih grotto in Klaten regency, few miles away from the Tembayat shrine, the sacramental value of the shrine’s water is also understood in terms of bringing this peace in life: it is called “*Tirto wening banyu panguripan*” (Jv., “water of mindfulness, water of life”). The Javanese culture has the

This archbishop would quote this principle often at different shrines as well.⁷⁹³ As we see, he enumerates the triad of spiritual principles of *meneng*, *wening*, and *dunung*. In the context of Javanese philosophy, the term *meneng* is associated with being in emotional equilibrium, unperturbed by the externals and trivialities in life; it represents the state of a soul purified from the gross temptations and confusions of material and worldly life and so forth. While the concept of *wening* refers to the state of having a clear vision or truth, good conscience and inner peace (mindfulness) that is a natural result of *meneng*. In turn, the exercise of these two principles will result in the achievement of *hanung*, that is, the state of knowing the deepest core of one's being, knowing the nature of self and personal mission in life. In the traditional rendering of it, these three principles will bring human being to true victory (Jv. *menang*), which is nothing other than overcoming the lower, illusionary or egotistical self, the *nafs* in the Islamic theological anthropology. These four principles are normally abbreviated as *neng-ning-nung-nang*, a combination of the last syllables of the four Javanese words. In the archbishop's message, the *hanung* is defined as *dunung* that refers to coming to terms with one's true place and mission in the world, one's spiritual state, and it ultimately points to the existential challenge to act out this awareness in daily life.

metaphor of searching for “*toya wening*” (“water of mindfulness”) to refer to the search for truth. This metaphor of course has been intimately related to the search for the elixir of life in the Dewaruci story that in Java also becomes the framework for the search for Truth (Ar. *al-Haqq*) among Muslim saints, especially Sunan Kalijaga, as we have seen in Chapter 1. This philosophy also lies at the heart of the influential Javanese text of *Centhini* which consists of the long wanderings and pilgrimages—understood as a search for the Truth in its various dimensions and manifestations—of young Javanese Muslim seekers. The same philosophy was also at work in the life of the Javano-Protestant leader, Kyai Sadrach. On this, see C. Guillot, *Kiai Sadrach, Riwayat Kristenisasi di Jawa*, 197.

⁷⁹³ Cf. His homily at the Marian shrine of Kerep, Ambarawa, north central Java, during the Eucharistic novena in 2007 with the theme “Mary, Mother of the Holy Eucharist” (June 10, 2007).

It is important to note that these four principles are considered the quintessence of the formation of human person in Javanese culture. They are intimately related to the indispensable ways in which the cultivation of *rasa* is undertaken. In fact, these principles have been taken up by none other than Ki Hajar Dewantara (Suwardi Suryaningrat)—an important Javanese thinker (d. 1959) we have encountered in Chapter 4, whose cultural and educational vision is very close to those of Fr. van Lith—as the core for the indigenous educational system that he founded in 1922 in Yogyakarta, the Taman Siswa.⁷⁹⁴

In my view, the whole dynamic of the attainment of the foundational experience of peacefulness through the exercise of these Javanese spiritual principles at the Catholic shrines is very insightful in light of the designation of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran as a *mandala*. For all the elements of the whole dynamic that we have just described constitute the experiential side of the *mandala* designation. At least in its Buddhist context, the *mandala* functions, among other things, as an inner map for attaining peacefulness that comes from reintegration. On this point, Kate O’Brien writes:

As a devotee meditates on a *sadhana* [sacred designs and figures of divinities], the *mandala* becomes his map for reintegrating the various components of his currently turbulent and misguided psyche back to its primordial state of serene ‘oneness,’ i.e. its original divinity.⁷⁹⁵

Understood in this framework, the shrine becomes a true *mandala* in both physical and spiritual senses. It is a space in which the pilgrims find the right physical atmosphere and spatial context to reintegrate pieces of their lives, especially in the cases of pilgrims with real “broken” lives, generating an inner sense of peacefulness. This experience of

⁷⁹⁴ Ki Priyo Dwiarto, “Problem Solving ala Ki Hadjar Dewantara,” *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily, April 3, 2008.

⁷⁹⁵ Kate O’Brien, *Sutasoma*, 160-70.

peacefulness and integration, as well as the transforming power that comes with it, is one of the ways in which God is experienced as the source of power for pilgrims, recalling the words of Soegijapranata that we cited at the beginning of this chapter: “In times of troubles and humiliations, we become stronger because of Him despite the frailty of our human nature.”

Indeed the words of Soegijapranata still ring true today as they did in 1939 when he uttered them. Many pilgrims today come to shrines driven by a sense of crisis, a sense of being helpless and so forth, and look for different kinds of favors and healings. However, even if their “problems” do not find immediate solutions during pilgrimage, many of them would come to a greater clarity about not only the nature of their problems but also what these problems reveal in terms of the larger context and direction of their lives. The experience of peacefulness during pilgrimage seems to put the pilgrims in a better term with their lives, to be more attuned to their inner or spiritual condition.⁷⁹⁶ This way, they indeed become stronger.

For many pilgrims, this experience of peacefulness, that is basically a deeper connectedness with God and reconciliation with their selves and their lives, also helps them cultivate virtues such as humility, faith, hope, perseverance, patience, and so forth.⁷⁹⁷ As pilgrims become more attuned to their inner lives, they also become increasingly receptive and open to the deeper meanings of realities, even the simple ones, which surround them. For example, upon seeing a simple middle-aged woman praying at the Sendangsono shrine at 3 am, a pilgrim felt he was being invited to ponder on his own

⁷⁹⁶ On this, see various accounts of the pilgrimage experience at the Sendangsono grotto in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 61, 80, 86, 89 etc; see also the accounts of pilgrims at the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran in Obed Asmoditomo and Agust Sunarto, *Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus dari Ganjuran* ([“The Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran”]), 43-45.

⁷⁹⁷ Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 92.

life, particularly the underlying reality and meaning of struggle and suffering that he had been going through.⁷⁹⁸ Another pilgrim told a story about how his group became acutely aware of the many surprising ways God guided them in pilgrimage. For a dog miraculously guided his group to the grotto in the total darkness of night when they were lost in the area.⁷⁹⁹ This openness toward different manifestations or signs of God's presence at times also occurs through the capability of communicating with animals, or at least being able to perceive a connection with them.⁸⁰⁰ In this regard, we should also note the sensitivity to dreams among pilgrims, both during pilgrimage and beyond.⁸⁰¹

VII. 3. The Tangibility of “Sacramental” Blessings

As the first section of this chapter has shown, the pilgrimage tradition among Catholics in south central Java is governed by a framework of devotion that makes the pilgrimage experience deeply spiritual yet also very sensuous and palpable. In the second section, we explored the fundamental blessing of peacefulness that is also very closely related to the

⁷⁹⁸ See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 140-41.

⁷⁹⁹ With another companion, this pilgrim walked from his home village, twenty-five miles away from the shrine, under the worst weather condition. The rain was pouring when he approached the area and the road was very slippery. He remarked that this kind of pilgrimage was suitable for him as a spiritual and mental preparation for an important undertaking that he was about to embark on. See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 143-47.

⁸⁰⁰ See, for example, the account of a pilgrim who trying to establish some kind of communication with a hen that approached him during his meditation at the Sendangsono grotto. He said that the hen seemed to be able to respond to him, staying with him until the end of his prayer. See Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 90.

⁸⁰¹ During fieldwork I heard many stories of how pilgrims use dreams as a rather privileged means of communicating with the invisible world. Also in this category is the Javanese concept of *wisik* (inner stirrings or movements of the heart) that pilgrims take seriously as signs from above. Some pilgrims also come to really believe in the sacredness of certain shrines because of the dreams. Mr. Sulono, for example, saw a cross awash in luminous light in the sky, in the direction of the Marian shrine of Tembayat. He felt so peaceful when he woke up. Due to this dream, he decided to devote his life to the shrine, becoming its caretaker. Since 2004, he has been holding a distinctive midnight prayer session in the shrine. Other pilgrims at this shrine also mentioned repeated dreams of meeting with Mary. I also came across a very rare case of a Muslim woman who claimed to have a series of encounters with Jesus. This woman would come to visit the Ganjuran Sacred Heart shrine, but most of these encounters occurred at her home. She even put these extended encounters into writing.

physical or material specificities of the shrines and the journey of pilgrimage. So, at this point, a discourse on the sacramental world of the pilgrims is in order.

It is striking to see that for most pilgrims, the spiritual or immaterial meaning of pilgrimage blessing is intimately connected to its physical manifestations. In fact, this is one of the most distinctive traits of pilgrimage and saints veneration in general. In the Sendangsono grotto and the Ganjuran shrine, for example, those pilgrims who prize the conduciveness of the shrine in terms of helping them cultivate their interior life to achieve peacefulness through silent prayers and meditations would still assign much meaning to the tangible things considered sacred in the shrines, such as the water, the flower petals, the vestments of the priest during procession, souvenirs and so forth. During certain nights in the Ganjuran shrine, many pilgrims including the young people would spend hours in spiritual exercises until the time comes for them to undertake the bath, believing that this brings the blessing of God. In this regard, it is rather curious to see the same pattern of devotion done by some Protestant pilgrims as well. As has been pointed out, upon arriving at the shrine, pilgrims wash themselves with the water and take some of it in bottles and put them on the base of the temple to get the blessings

During the procession of the Holy Sacrament, toward the end of the first Friday Eucharistic celebration that includes a complete Sacred Heart ritual as we mentioned in the previous chapter, many pilgrims would try to touch the vestments worn by the presiding priest who holds the monstrance as he circumambulates the shrine-temple. It is apparent that in this ritual, the spiritual *berkah* or blessing is sought in ways that are sensory as well. Pilgrims jostled one another as they tried to get some share in the material or sensory embodiment of the *berkah* (Ar. *baraka*), as in the forms of flowers

that have been blessed in the rituals through the sprinkling of the sacred water, the *perwitasari*.

In the case of the Sendangsono grotto and the Ganjuran shrine, the sacredness of the water has been part of the identity formation of the shrine. At Sendangsono, from the very beginning, the water has been perceived to be sacramentally powerful, bringing physical cure to sick pilgrims; and at times, this cure would lead people to the Church.⁸⁰² As mentioned above, the spring at the Ganjuran shrine was discovered with the revival of the shrine in the late 1990s. It is obvious that the belief on the efficacious power of the water at the Ganjuran shrine contributes to its renewed popularity.⁸⁰³ Many Muslim pilgrims are also being drawn to this shrine on account of this water. After all, the custom of ritual bathing is a rather common feature at Islamic shrines in Java.⁸⁰⁴ Catholic pilgrims also bring this water to their interested Muslim friends and neighbors. Stories about the cures of Muslims through this water circulate among pilgrims at the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran and the Sendangsono grotto.

Without being associated with any miraculous or healing power, the hybrid Javano-Catholic architecture of the Ganjuran shrine also holds a particular appeal, mainly for certain type of pilgrims who have more exposure to or admiration for the Hindu past of Java. For these pilgrims, apart from its aesthetic particularities, this architecture exudes

⁸⁰² Fr. Prenthaler wrote that a certain Javanese woman by the name of *Mbok Kramadimeja* was totally healed from her putrid mouth after she went to the grotto, drank the water and cleansed her mouth with the water. She had vowed that if she were cured, she would seek baptism. She indeed did this shortly after the healing. Fr. Prenthaler thought that this was no small consolation. For him, the conversion of this woman was more important than the miraculous cure itself. See his letter of March 9, 1930; *Brieven*, 185.

⁸⁰³ Many witness accounts in the aforementioned booklet by Obed Asmoditomo and Agust Sunarto, *Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus dari Ganjuran* ([“The Sacred Heart Shrine of Ganjuran”]) revolve around the miraculous power of the sacred water of the shrine.

⁸⁰⁴ In this regard, the best example would be the bathing rite at the shrine of Sunan Gunung Jati in the town of Cirebon, on the north coast of West Java, 150 miles to the east of Jakarta. This shrine and its nearby area have seven sacred wells where pilgrims would bath on certain propitious days. On this shrine, see Inajati Romli et al., *Jejak Para Wali dan Ziarah Spiritual*, 127-44. Night bathing is also part of the common ritual at the royal mausoleum of Kutagedhe in the city of Yogyakarta where two natural springs are found.

a distinctive spiritual aura and serenity to the whole space, thus helping create the sacredness of the space. In the framework of sacred space, pilgrims use two important concepts to describe this quality, namely beauty and uniqueness. Quite a number of pilgrims at Ganjuran wrote on the guestbook that they were impressed by the particularity of the Ganjuran shrine's architectural style. Naturally we can expect this from pilgrims who are also connoisseurs of Javanese culture. One of them, an expert in Javanese architecture, clearly assigned the "home"-like qualities of the shrine to its Hindu-Javanese architectural style.⁸⁰⁵

In Chapter 5, we have seen how this hybrid architecture was a special source of pride for the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals. However even today this role has not disappeared completely. Not knowing that Muslim shrines also take in certain Hindu-Javanese architectural or artistic features, a Javanese Catholic pilgrim declared: "As Catholics, we have to be able to take something good from anything and any religious tradition, unlike the Muslims who could not do that."⁸⁰⁶ As we have mentioned, the Ganjuran shrine also attracts Hindu Balinese who come both because of the sacredness connected to the water and because of its Hindu-Javanese architecture.⁸⁰⁷ These pilgrims consider their visit to this shrine as part of their *tirtha yatra*, their pilgrimage in quest for the holy water. They asked the Catholic priest of the shrine whether it was allowed for

⁸⁰⁵ Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, May 25, 2009.

⁸⁰⁶ Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, May 27, 2009.

⁸⁰⁷ It is common among Hindu Balinese to visit Hindu pilgrimage sites in Java, such as Tengger (a Hindu enclave in the area of Bromo mountain, East Java), the Cetho temple (on the slope of Mount Lawu, near Surakarta), the Prambanan temple (outside Yogyakarta) and so forth. To a certain degree, Balinese Hinduism still considers Javanese Hinduism as its ancestry. On Balinese religion, see C. Hooykaas, *Agama Tirtha: Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion* (Amsterdam: Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1964); also Frederick Barth, *Balinese Worlds*; Thomas Reuter, *The House of Our Ancestors: Precedence and Dualism in Highland Balinese Society* (University of Washington Press, 2003); on the Hindu-Muslim festival at Lingsar in the island of Lombok, see David Harnish, *Bridges to the Ancestors*. On the Hindu Tenggerese and their interaction with Islam, see Robert Hefner, *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

them to visit Jesus. In recognition of the shrine's sanctity but also to make it "their own," these Hindu pilgrims donated a yellow cloth that they normally use to mark their sacred temple to be placed around this Catholic shrine.⁸⁰⁸ These two cases are quite natural. However, it is rather striking that some non-Javanese or non-Balinese pilgrims are also taken by the beauty and uniqueness of the architecture.⁸⁰⁹

Mainly due to its unique and beautiful architecture, the local government now promotes the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran as a site of tourism. As we have explained in the previous section, the hybrid architecture and religious arts at this shrine are not a bastardization or pastiche of the originals. They are authentically beautiful, and the shrine has a particular history and so could well attract tourists. We have also touched on the religious nature of this hybrid art as the most defining aspect of its beauty and authenticity. In the context of pilgrimage, it has to be stated, beauty is understood mainly in terms of the religious categories of devotion, connectedness and communion between the pilgrims and the shrine. For this reason, the beauty of the shrine or its statues becomes distinctively deeper. A pilgrim describes his experience with the image of Our Lady of Lourdes at the Sendangsono grotto thus:

⁸⁰⁸ Interview with Fr. Gregorius Utomo, the Ganjuran shrine, June 8, 2009. Along this line, a somewhat reverse phenomenon in the Church of South India is interesting. For these Indian Protestants initiated a Christian pilgrimage tradition, modeled on the Hindu *tirtha yatra*. See Chilkuri Vasantha Rao, *Jathara: A Festival of Christian Witness* (The Liturgy and Literature Committee, 1997).

⁸⁰⁹ I was struck by a group of Batakese pilgrims from North Sumatra at the Ganjuran shrine who said they were so taken by the architecture of the shrine (interview June 10, 2009). However, this Hindu-Javanese style also poses a kind of otherness. For instance, a number of young pilgrims had a hard time understanding why Jesus looked like a Hindu-Javanese king at the Ganjuran shrine. One of these pilgrims was a Balinese Catholic. Apparently, exposure to Hindu-Balinese culture did not really help him understand the particularities and meanings of this Hindu-styled shrine (interview at the Ganjuran shrine, June 15, 2009).

I was so mesmerized by this tall statue of Mary. Her countenance is filled with beauty, while her eyes exude an aura of peace and surrender. I was so exuberant and taken by all this and brought to my knees.⁸¹⁰

Again this experience could not be separated from this pilgrim's longtime devotion to Mary. For another pilgrim, a nun in her early seventies, gazing at the simple statue of Our Lady of Perpetual Sorrow is crucial to her prayer. For this gaze is part of her personal and intimate communication with Our Lady. It helps her enter into the sense of total surrender to God in the face of suffering and helplessness, a quality that this particular statue exudes. This is the case because she herself has been struggling with helplessness as she battles her illnesses and aging.⁸¹¹ Thus, for this nun and other pilgrims, the meanings of religious arts, their beauty and quality, are to be found in the realm of the dynamics of relationship between these arts and their personal lives, a relationship that is built by pilgrimages, prayers and so forth.

Another important part of the tangibility of the sacramental blessings of pilgrimage is the role of souvenirs. As occurs in other places, souvenirs are associated with pilgrimages to Catholic sites in south central Java, such as images of Our Lady of Lourdes at the Sendangsono grotto; portraits of the martyred priest, Fr. Sanjaya, at the mausoleum of Muntilan, and replicas of the statues of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at the Ganjuran shrine. The first two images have been popular among Javanese pilgrims for many decades. Statues of Our Lady of Lourdes as well as portraits of the young Fr. Sanjaya in his white clerical garb adorn the living rooms of many Catholic homes in

⁸¹⁰ Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 150. Another pilgrim at the Sendangsono grotto remarks on the statue: "I was staring intently at the statue of Our Lady. She was smiling at me and I responded accordingly, smiling back at her. Then I murmured a prayer: 'Mother, You are the anchor of my life; You listen to me and understand me.' Then, I took the holy water of the grotto and felt the freshness of the water all over my body like a new force of life." (91).

⁸¹¹ The Catholic magazine *Utusan* 6/59 (2009): 17. The shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Sorrow (Jv. *Ibu Risang Sungkawa*) is located on the slope of Mount Merapi, some ten miles to the north of Yogyakarta.

south central Java. In the last decade, the image of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Javanese Hindu style is becoming a rather popular souvenir for pilgrims and is sold in the shrine compound.⁸¹²

These souvenirs are an important aspect of the sacramental memory of pilgrimage and its wider communal ramifications. Earlier in this chapter we examined how a particular journey of pilgrimage could not be separated from the previous and the next, because it carries the memory of past pilgrimages and becomes part of the next, and so on. In this framework, souvenirs serve as a tangible manifestation of pilgrimage as memory. It reminds the pilgrims and their family and friends about the pilgrimage and the shrine, but to a certain degree it is also perceived to carry a special blessing. An older Javanese pilgrim explains:

Wherever I travel or embark on new ventures, I would not feel secure without my old rosary in the pocket; I got this rosary during my first pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto in 1941, when I was still a schoolboy at the mission school in Muntilan. This rosary has been my faithful companion for many years, during the ups and downs of my life. Now, only the crucifix is left intact in the rosary.⁸¹³

Many pilgrims would have these religious items blessed by the priests before putting them to use for private devotion at home. Souvenirs could also serve as an extension of the blessings and memory of pilgrimage to family and friends. In this respect, the souvenirs can be rather generic such as small crucifixes, simple rosaries and so forth, and do not have to reflect the specificities of the shrine. This category of

⁸¹² In 2000 a local Catholic artist started to create distinctive statuaries for the Ganjuran shrine. As the shrine is becoming more popular, so are his artistic products. His enterprise now has 50 employees, mostly his neighbors around the shrine, including some Muslims. Thus, the spirit of cooperation with Muslims that has been started by Schmutzer and Iko is continued.

⁸¹³ Rudolphus Harijanto, “Berziarah ke Goa Maria Sendangsono” [“Pilgrimage to the Sendangsono Grotto”] in Wismapranata, *Kenangan*, 55.

memory is, in my view, very crucial in understanding the nature of the material or sacramental aspect of pilgrimage.⁸¹⁴

VII. 4. Wider Communion: Unveiling of Self and Community

A crucial wider aspect of pilgrimage is the creation of community marked by communion with fellow pilgrims, with the Divine and the cosmos as well. In the previous chapter, we have seen how a sense of wider community is created through the rituals of the Sacred Heart; a sense of communion with the cosmos through prayers of healing is also effected. Now, we will deal with another aspect of this communion and community, namely the creation of a special bond between pilgrims as a result of the unveiling of self among them during pilgrimage

In this regard, the Ganjuran Sacred Heart shrine seems to be a site that especially provides such a “liminal” space. Some pilgrims also stay for a longer period of time in Sendangsono, but they could rent a room at that shrine, minimizing their interaction with other pilgrims.⁸¹⁵ At the Ganjuran shrine, this dynamic of unveiling of self and communal bonding would normally happen among pilgrims who stay overnight at the shrine on a regular basis, for example after the monthly mass of the first Friday. Many pilgrims of this type would know each other quite well because of frequent encounters. Other pilgrims would also easily join their gathering and conversation. Since many of them come from far away places, they would bring food or snacks that they end up sharing

⁸¹⁴ This corresponds to the category of “material culture” in pilgrimage tradition, a topic that scholars have recently turned their attention to. See, for example, David Morgan, ed., *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁸¹⁵ For example, a man whose cancer was cured at Sendangsono stayed for a week at the shrine. On his story, see Ien Courtens, “Mary, Mother of All,” 110. See also the personal account of a pilgrim who stayed for three days at the shrine in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 109-12.

with the whole group. The topics of conversation range from mundane affairs to spiritual experiences. During conversation with a group of pilgrims at this shrine, while we were enjoying the snacks after a rather long celebration of the Eucharist, all of the sudden a pilgrim exclaimed in Javanese: “*Gusti Yesus kuwi konsekuen, yen dhawuhi mlaku mesti yo maringi sangu!*” (The Lord Jesus is dependable; for, when he invites us to do the pilgrimage, he gives us the means to do it).

This man was a middle-aged Javanese pilgrim by the name of Pak Andi. Since the year of 2000, he has a personal habit of making a pilgrimage to this shrine every first Friday of the month from his hometown of Pati on the north coast of Java, 100 miles away. Pak Andi is a poor pilgrim with no permanent job, due to his partial disability from an accident. So many times he did not have any money two or three days before monthly pilgrimage. However, many times he would get the needed money just one day prior to the trip. This is how he could say that true pilgrimage is an invitation from God and it is also He who makes it happen. He then shared his life struggle as well as his experience of coming to know the shrine to the whole group. His period of struggle began with his messy divorce. He also lost his job and his brother took him in. Then he had an accident that makes it hard for him to find a job. He fell down from a mango tree in a very mysterious way. For, instead of falling down directly on the ground below the tree, he was brought to the side, to the softer ground. His hip was injured quite severely, but he was thankful he did not die. He was sure that it was Jesus who saved him. When he decided to visit the Ganjuran shrine for healing, a miraculous thing did happen. For he did not feel the pain at all during the long (six hours) and rather gruesome bus trip from his hometown to the shrine. He believed that this was a sign from God that the Sacred

Heart shrine would play an important role in his healing. However, when he got off the bus at the last intersection leading to the shrine, he was too proud and sure of himself that God taught him a lesson. He was paralyzed and could not even get to the motorbike of a young man who offered him a ride to the shrine. He got that lesson, and he keeps coming to the shrine every month. Ever since he started coming to this shrine, the healing process has been steady. He is healed step by step, and has abandoned all medical treatment. His doctor once recommended him to undergo a surgery, replacing a bone in his hip with a prosthesis that would cost him around eight million Indonesian rupiah (roughly 800 US dollars).

When shared, stories like this would of course make the bonding between pilgrims stronger. It is a sign of a sincere self-unveiling. It could also deepen the pilgrimage experience of fellow pilgrims because it could well serve as an avenue of God's communication.

In connection to this creation of community, it should be noted that shrines like Sendangsono and Ganjuran have been functioning as spaces for such purposes for young people. These shrines and many others in Java are favorite places among Catholic youth for building up a deeper sense of friendship and group-identity.⁸¹⁶ Typically, they would come as a group, and their pilgrimage consists of a combination of traditional features of Catholic pilgrimage such as praying the stations of the Cross and the rosary and more contemporary group-oriented activities like simple games, faith sharing, conversations about their associations, and so forth. Among Catholic students at public universities, at times the aspect of their Catholic identity formation gets emphasized, and often times this

⁸¹⁶ Groups of Catholic students from the cities of Yogyakarta, Semarang, Surakarta and Salatiga would use these shrines as places for initiation of new members.

is one of the reasons why shrines are chosen as the space for such formation, as opposed to other venues. In this sense, shrines help create communities because the pilgrimage strengthens the bonds between the group members or pilgrims. Thus the sense of community being forged here is very much group oriented, though not necessarily in the Turnerian sense of *communitas* that is liminal in nature and assumes some suspension of larger societal structures.⁸¹⁷

This feature is also revealing of the pattern of pilgrimage among the youth. Although many of them would have learned the art of making pilgrimage the first time through their parents, networks of close friends are also instrumental in the maintenance of this tradition. Young pilgrims learn about certain shrines from their friends and would then visit those shrines together. Yogyakarta is the largest college town in Indonesia, and many students from other cities and islands flock to this town to get their education. A good number of Catholic students from other provinces would then learn about various pilgrimage sites in this area through networks of friends. Many Catholic students of Chinese descent from Kalimantan, for example, would also learn the specificities of the Javano-Catholic culture of devotion and come to be part of this culture during their studies. The same is true with regard to Catholic students from other ethnic groups, such as those who come from the island of Flores, a heavily Catholic area in eastern Indonesia, or from North Sumatra.

In general, the bonds among these young pilgrims do indeed get strengthened during pilgrimage.⁸¹⁸ But it is also important to note the fact that this kind of pilgrimage

⁸¹⁷ Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 250.

⁸¹⁸ However, I also heard a rather different take on this. An old man that I interviewed at the mausoleum of Muntilan (May 22, 2009) lamented the fact that the Marian shrine of Sriningsih in the Klaten regency, near the Musim shrine of Tembayat, has become a place for dating among Catholic youth. He suspected that this

becomes distinctive because it is situated in the day-to-day dynamics of their lives as a group. They want to make the pilgrimage together because they have more or less the same type of struggle. Common experience in terms of grappling with the various challenges of being students as well as trying to chart their futures beyond college put them in a similar situation. So it is natural that they come up with similar ways to deal with these common challenges. Pilgrimage is one of these ways. In certain cases, Protestant students would also join their Catholic friends on their pilgrimage due to the power of this bonding and networks of friends.

One highlight of the role of shrine and pilgrimage for the youth is the regular youth mass at the Sendangsono grotto and other shrines. This mass at the Sendangsono shrine in May 2009, for example, was attended by some two thousand Catholic youth and could well be called a celebration of identity. These young Catholics gathered to celebrate their faith with so much creativity at a Marian shrine during the month of May. They were extremely jubilant throughout the whole mass. They would sing the traditional Javanese Marian hymn—the *Nderek Dewi Maria* that we mentioned previously—to a rock music tune, making it particularly youthful. The level of energy and enthusiasm was enormous. The committee had to spend four nights in the shrine to prepare for this occasion. However, this celebration of identity was made intentionally inclusive. For this mass was done through a rather intensive collaboration with their Muslim friends who helped out with many things. Toward the end of the mass, gratitude and sincere acknowledgement of their contribution were displayed. The presence of the Muslim youth is rather indicative of the framework of creation of an inclusive community around the shrine. It shows that

was the reason as to why the Saturday night mass attracted so many youngsters, compared to the Sunday morning mass.

inclusivity is at work not only among the older generation with more wisdom, but it also animates the younger generation as they march toward the future together.

VII. 5. Pilgrimage Experience and the Question of the “Other”

What all of the four previous sections of this chapter have demonstrated, among others, is that pilgrimage among Catholics in south central Java makes a rich tapestry of personal and communal devotion. Really, it is very alive and thriving, attracting more and more pilgrims from all walks of life. Thus we can understand why the practice of pilgrimage could well serve as an important milieu for the identity formation of the pilgrims and their communities. In what follows we will see how a particular question of alterity occurs in the pilgrimage tradition in these Catholic shrines in south central Java. In particular, we will examine how Catholic pilgrims regard the religious “other” at the shrine and beyond, and how the pilgrims from the religious other experience their own pilgrimages at these Catholic shrines.

As far as the relation of this pilgrimage tradition to the question of identity formation is concerned, in general we can say that for Javanese Catholic pilgrims today, pilgrimage tends to be understood simply as part of their identity as being Catholics, not in comparison with or opposition to other Christians. It is extremely rare that Catholic pilgrims in Java would be motivated by religious debate about the veneration of saints or Marian veneration with local Protestants or Muslims.⁸¹⁹ They would just do it because it is the habit of devotion that has become an essential part of what makes them truly

⁸¹⁹ Occasional and minor conflicts have occurred between a Marian shrine and its Muslim neighbors, for example at the Marian grotto of Marganingsih in Tembayat. The shrine is located in a very close proximity to the tomb of Sunan Pandanarang, one of the three Muslim shrines under study. During its initial stages, tension with the Muslim neighbors flared up and the statues of Mary kept being stolen from the shrine. However, there was no sign that Catholic pilgrimage at this shrine was motivated by this conflict.

Catholic. This is why they would say there would be something missing when they failed to do that periodically, especially during the Marian months of May and October. They would be regretful (Jv. *gelo*) if they failed to do so.⁸²⁰ Thus, in this respect, pilgrimage is intimately connected to religious identity, although not always in a conscious manner. In this regard, the logic is not so much that they come to terms specifically with their Catholic identity during pilgrimage, but rather it is their Catholic identity—built through this habit of devotion from generation to generation and personal participation in that tradition—that leads them to do the pilgrimage.

More than an absence of religious rivalry, a pristine, conscious spirit of openness and inclusion of the other has become part of the self-understanding of the Catholic shrines in south central Java. We have seen how this element is at work in terms of history, architecture and rituals in the previous chapters. With regard to the presence of pilgrims of other faiths, the same pattern occurs. The following story is a rather moving account of a Muslim woman who was touched by the Divine grace at the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran. Mgr. Pujasumarta, the then vicar general of the archdiocese of Semarang, told this story to thousands of Catholic pilgrims at the annual festival of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in 2007.⁸²¹ The point he was trying to get across was the universality and inclusiveness of the grace of the Sacred Heart. This universality is real because it has been experienced not only by Catholic families but also for all families.

The story itself runs as follows. Deeply afflicted by the fact that her husband just took a second wife, a certain Muslim woman was thinking of taking her own life by

⁸²⁰ During my fieldwork interviews with group pilgrims in the Marian month of May, pilgrims were often taken aback by my basic question with regard to their motivation to go on a pilgrimage. For many of them, there is no “specific” motivation other than that it has become part of their identity.

⁸²¹ After briefly serving as the bishop of the diocese of Bandung, West Java, in 2009, Mgr. Pujasumarta was appointed archbishop of Semarang in 2010.

jumping off a bridge into the Progo river, a few miles away from the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran. She did not execute her suicidal thought only on account of her love for her son, who she felt was calling her home all the time. Although she was a Muslim, this woman has heard about the Sacred Heart shrine from her friends; and then, moved by an inner inspiration, she came to pay a visit to the this shrine and felt something different, some kind of peacefulness and assurance. She took the water from the temple, lingered for a while in the temple premises, and came into contact with the priest who was ready to offer help. Eventually the priest helped her to acquire a sewing machine. For her and her son, this sewing machine became a source of new life.

The fact that such a story was told at the annual festival of the Sacred Heart reveals an important facet of the particularities of the identity formation of the local community. For one thing, the presence of the “other” pilgrims has been embraced as a significant part of the identity of the shrine and its community.

Like their Catholic counterparts, non-Catholic pilgrims come to these shrines for diverse reasons. Various elements such as personal devotion and faith (in the sense of personal history of connectedness to God that might include Jesus or Mary), searching for peacefulness and particular blessings, networking of friends and family members and so forth, might be involved in a constellation that is subject to change and would differ from pilgrim to pilgrim. In this regard, a few examples might be in order.

Mbah Iman Suwongso, for example, is a simple and elderly Javanese food peddler who used to go to the Sendangsono grotto every month. She is a Muslim, albeit perhaps nominally, and frames her habit of pilgrimage in terms of *nyekar*, namely, visiting the tombs of deceased ancestors and paradigmatic figures. As we have mentioned, this

framework is rather common among older generation of Javanese across religious boundaries. But her habit raised eyebrows among her neighbors, not because she visited a Marian shrine, but rather because they questioned the sincerity of her intention. They accused her of looking for a talismanic source (Jv. *cekelan*) for the success of her business. But she explained the practice and the whole experience in terms of peacefulness (I. *ketenangan hidup*) that came from surrendering (Jv. *pasrah*) all the struggle and suffering of life to God through Mary. She explained her conviction in simple terms thus: “With *Dewi Maria* (Mary), I come to experience true peace and calmness; so, what is the point of messing around with your life?” She anchored her practice in the conviction of the universality of God’s blessing for those who are sincere: “I believe that God, the Author of life, is always pleased with those who are sincere and well-meaning.”⁸²² As a Javanese Muslim, she would pray her own way at the shrine. She also believes in the relative sacredness of holy things associated with Mary, such as the water, rosary, statues, and so forth. As we have seen, this elderly Javanese woman possesses a very personal and rather complex reasoning for her habit of making pilgrimage to a Marian shrine, a reasoning that involves devotion, personal faith conviction with regard to the nature of God and His mercy, as well as personal experience in terms of the propriety of her visit to Mary in relation to her own life.

Other cases would highlight other dimensions. A Muslim pilgrim who also has a personal habit of visiting the tombs of the Muslim saints in Java (the *Wali Songo*) would visit the Sendangsono shrine rather regularly, at times triggered by inner stirrings (Jv. *wisik*) that his wife received. Thus his visit has nothing to do with a sense of desperation for help. He said he liked visiting sacred places that would enhance his spiritual life.

⁸²² See her account in Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 80.

Interestingly, he called Mary “*Eyang Putri Maria*” (lit. Mary, the Grandmother), implying that Mary belongs to the category of pious ancestor. As a Muslim, he would not do the prayer of the Stations of the Cross and instead kept to his Muslim canonical prayers (Ar. *ṣalāt*) during his visit to the Sendangsono grotto. Ironically, during one of his pilgrimages to this shrine, his wife received an inner omen that his Catholic sister should not come directly to the grotto due to her improper spiritual state, while he and his wife (both Muslims) were allowed to come closer.⁸²³ The whole visit was so memorable because he experienced a profound peace and gratitude. In fact his prayers in the grotto was those of gratitude to God, not to Mary although he was aware of her presence and role. He argued that true pilgrimage to Mary has to be based on sincerity and purity of intention (Ar. *ikhlas*). As we see, like the elderly woman above, this pilgrim emphasizes peacefulness as a foundational blessing of pilgrimage as well as the role of spiritual sincerity. As a Javanese, he also seems to understand his pilgrimage to Mary in terms of *nyekar*. The element of family network in his case is also apparent. In many other cases, it is at times hard to really pinpoint the exact motivation of these pilgrims, for example a group of Muslims who visited a Marian shrine in northern central Java upon their arrival from their canonical pilgrimage to Mecca.⁸²⁴

As we have seen, an element of theological reasoning, no matter how basic it is, is also rather common among these pilgrims, and understandably so due to the status of

⁸²³ Sindhunata, *Mengasih Maria*, 117-19.

⁸²⁴ I heard this story from Mr. Andreas Mujimin, a Protestant who works at the Kerep Marian shrine in the town of Ambarawa, north central Java, some 10 miles to the south of the central Javanese provincial capital of Semarang. This Muslim group might have just wanted to see the grotto because it is located on their route to their hometown in Purworejo. However, it is still very curious to see this kind of occurrence. Mr. Mujimin also told me about a certain Muslim woman who would frequent this shrine because she follows her Catholic Chinese friends. This Muslim woman loves to visit this shrine because the place is more peaceful and comfortable than some Muslim shrines on the northern coast of Java where the air can be muggy and dusty.

these shrines in their religious traditions. Mr. Mujimin, a Protestant who belongs to the Javanese Christian Church (I. *Gereja Kristen Jawa*), mentioned that sometimes he would join the Catholics in their prayers at the Marian shrine, although he does not necessarily share their devotion to Mary. Trying to theologize as a Protestant, he said that Mary was not “mentioned” in the Bible (he meant that Mary’s role in the history of salvation was not central in the Bible, compared to that of Jesus). He argued that she was only a receptacle of the Spirit. So, while he respected the devotion of Catholic pilgrims he would see on daily basis, he emphasized the symbolic nature of sacred statuary. “We do not pray to these images, because we pray to God alone!” he muted.⁸²⁵

In general, the search for peacefulness and blessings seems to be one of the major motivations of the non-Catholic pilgrims in their visit to the Catholic shrines, as we have seen as well in the two cases above. Because of its theological neutrality, this framework in itself does not of course pose any major problem for non-Catholics. A Mennonite-Protestant university student in Yogyakarta, for example, would go up with so much ease to the inner chamber of the Ganjuran temple and prayed there in front of the Hindu-Javanese styled statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. She said she did not have any problem with the appearance of the statue of the Sacred Heart, insofar as she knew that it was Jesus and, more importantly, as she experienced so much peace there. She would frame her pilgrimage as a prayerful and meditative moment (I. *renungan*). That is why she prized the serenity and solitude that this shrine offered to her. This atmosphere helped her go deeper into her own self and her relationship with God. Thus, most of the time, she

⁸²⁵ It is rather surprising to see that the basic theological reasoning of this simple Javanese Protestant is shared by some contemporary American Protestant theologians as they grapple with the significance of Marian devotion among Protestants from Hispanic background. On this, see Maxwell E. Johnson, ed., *American Magnificat: Protestants on Mary of Guadalupe* (Liturgical Press, 1996).

would not necessarily have a more specific intention in visiting the shrine. This same pattern seems to be at work among Protestant pilgrims at the shrine of Our Lady of Annai Velankanni, in the outskirt of Medan, north Sumatra.⁸²⁶

In terms of rituals, these pilgrims of other faiths are given freedom to do their own, since there is no obligation for all pilgrims to follow certain set of rituals while at these Catholic shrines' premises. Some Chinese Buddhists or Confucians, who mostly visit the shrine together with their Catholic friends, would perform their distinctive ritual gestures of homage in front of the *candi* without inhibition; while some Muslim pilgrims do their personal prayers (Ar. *du'ā'*) in complete freedom in the same space. They normally would not go to the inner sanctum of the temple-shrine where the Sacred Heart statue is. Instead, they would go to the water area to do a kind of ablution and then take some water with them as they move to the courtyard of the shrine for personal prayers. Muslim pilgrims who would like to perform the canonical prayers (Ar. *ṣalāt*) tend to be much more cautious, and a very few would do it in the shrine compound at night when very few people are around. This atmosphere is in line with regard the principle adopted by the shrine: while every pilgrim is entitled to express his personal relationship with God in ways that he deems appropriate, mutual respect and sensitivity should be kept in mind.⁸²⁷

This institutional openness on the part of the shrine toward the other is without doubt an expression of the same standpoint on the part of most of the Catholic pilgrims

⁸²⁶ North Sumatra is a heavily Protestant area. Thus, it is not surprising that this major Marian shrine at the Catholic archdiocese of Medan is frequented by many Protestant pilgrims, mostly students. As reflected in the contents and styles of their prayers at the shrine, they would seek special blessings from God through Jesus, without having to mention the role of Mary in this economy of Divine grace.

⁸²⁷ See the shrine's brochure on rituals, *Doa-doa untuk Ziarah di Ganjuran: Mohon Berkat Menjadi Berkat* ([“Prayers for Pilgrimage to the Ganjuran Shrine: Asking for God's blessings in order to be vehicle of God's blessings”]), 12.

themselves. In this regard, the long history of peaceful interaction between different religious communities in south central Java might have served as a crucial factor. The role of the Javanese culture as a unifying factor should not be overlooked either. For, as we have seen in many instances throughout this study so far, Javanese becomes an important layer of common identity among Javanese Muslims as well as Javanese Catholics. The Javanese cultural emphases on communal, cosmic and personal harmony, moral refinement, cultivation of inner spirituality and so forth definitely help lay the ground for more meaningful engagement with all forms of otherness, religious and otherwise. This being said, I would also argue that in the context of pilgrimage experience, the overwhelming sense of peacefulness and integration that we have discussed in the previous sections plays its role as well in the formation of a favorable inner disposition of the pilgrims vis-à-vis the religious other.

An interesting case in point is the mausoleum of Muntilan where the memory of the slain priest, Fr. Sanjaya, is pivotal. As we recall, Fr. Sanjaya was murdered by a Muslim mob during the tumultuous period of confrontation between the Indonesian nationalist forces and the Dutch military (1948) following the independence of the Indonesian Republic. Thus, to a certain degree, this shrine commemorates a darker period in the relationship between the local Catholic community and its Muslim neighbors. However, there is a remarkable absence of bitterness or hard feelings on the part of Catholic pilgrims at this shrine toward the Muslims. “God has a unique plan for everyone of us; it was ultimately God who was behind what Father Sanjaya had to endure,” explained Mr. Hardono (45 years old), an avid pilgrim to the mausoleum of Muntilan. That is why he never harbored any hard feeling against the Muslims. He even refused to

specifically mention that it was a Muslim mob that killed Fr. Sanjaya, saying only that there was a little segment in the neighborhood who did not like the Church.⁸²⁸ Mr. Subandi (50 years old), another Javanese pilgrim, said he was well aware that Fr. Sanjaya was murdered by a Muslim mob, but he forgave them for their violence. “They did not exactly know what they did, and they are God’s children too,” he explained his reasoning with much confidence. Furthermore, he added, the motive might have been political, although he was sure that they also hated the Catholic mission there for religious reasons.⁸²⁹

The way these two Javanese pilgrims make sense of history is rather interesting. For they put it in the framework of the mystery or otherness of God. Of course, surrender to the mystery of God’s love and will is a common spiritual experience during pilgrimage. In the same framework, the question of the existence of different religions could well be engaged. The difference that pilgrimage experience makes in this regard is that this popular theology of religions is ultimately placed within the pilgrims’ own struggle in understanding their own lives, finding the directions, meanings and integration in a long process of discernment that involves God in different forms and degrees, in the continuum of their lives.

Furthermore, in light of the exclusive elements in the foundational stories of the Catholic shrines and the earlier bitter experience of being perceived as a foreign entity, this absence of triumphalism and bitterness on the part of the present day Javano-Catholic community can be striking. The presence of Muslim pilgrims, for example, could have been taken differently. For in some cases, certain Muslim pilgrims might come to the

⁸²⁸ Interview at the Muntilan mausoleum, May 29, 2009.

⁸²⁹ Interview at the Ganjuran shrine, May 25, 2009.

shrines at the final stage of their search, that is, at a most desperate moment, most probably after visiting other Muslim sites.⁸³⁰ However, this is not taken as a proof of the superiority of Catholicism or a superiority of Mary over Muslim saints, but rather as the overflowing of Divine blessings. This direction toward “including the other” seems to be the contemporary attempt to solve the tension between universalism of God’s blessings, as well as Mary’s role as “missionary” that was at the foundation of the shrine. The community seems to understand the “missionary” role of Mary in terms of the extension of God’s grace (Mary, the mediator of all grace) that lies at the heart of the spread of the Kingdom of God.

VII. 6. Concluding Remarks

During the liturgy of the consecration of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran in 1930, the Jesuit Father Henricus van Driessche led a prayer that still seems quite insightful. The final part of his consecration prayer runs as follows:

God, we pray that You deign to pour your love and grace to all of us, those of us who have faith in You and those who have not come to the faith (Jv. *kapir*), so that eventually all the people of Java would belong to the same stall (Jv. *sakandang*), joyfully praising You, the mighty King Jesus Christ, the Lord of all nations, and the eternal Protector of the Java mission. Amen.⁸³¹ (emphasis added)

In light of the ways in which this shrine has been developing in the last decade or so, we could pose a question as to whether this prayer has already been granted. In many ways, it surely has. For, as our analysis so far has clearly indicated, the temple-shrine of Ganjuran has become one “stable” (Jv. *kandhang*) where all sorts of sheep are gathered. In their own ways, the pilgrims of other faiths also praise God in response to their

⁸³⁰ Ien Courtens, “Mary, Mother of All,” 111.

⁸³¹ *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930; see also Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia Vol. II*, 494.

encounter with Him at the shrine. In certain cases, this experience possesses some Christian overtone in the inclusion of Jesus and Mary, although it very rarely results in baptism.⁸³² In the manners that are particularly appealing to the religio-cultural sensibilities of the current Javano-Catholic community in south central Java, the kingship of Christ is becoming a reality at the shrine of Ganjuran, most obviously through the outpouring mercy of the Sacred Heart. This development can be taken as the realization of the foundational message of the shrine as a vehicle of God's blessing to all.⁸³³

Thus we might even suggest that the prayer of consecration has been granted in all the Catholic shrines in south central Java, not just the Sacred Heart shrine. What is crucial to note here is the continuous communal discernment and hermeneutics of the community, their tireless effort to understand their identity and mission for all their contemporaries. In the spirit of *resourcement* and creative fidelity, they have tried to design effective solutions to the tensions embedded in the foundations of these shrines. This is the hermeneutic of communion that enables them to negotiate their Javano-Catholic identity in a way that takes seriously not only the trace but also the continued presence and significance of the other. And, as this chapter shows, the fruitfulness of this hermeneutic is confirmed as well by the actual experience of pilgrims from other religious traditions.

Due to its intensity, liveliness and popular participation, this hermeneutic of communion results in the creation of a rather distinctive “culture” around the shrines.

⁸³² A telling example here would be the experience of a Muslim woman who claimed to have a series of encounters with Jesus in the context of pilgrimage to this shrine and beyond. She said that Jesus wanted her to remain a Muslim with a special devotedness to him. See her accounts of the personal encounters, *Kesaksian* [“Witnesses”]; MSS, three volumes, no date).

⁸³³ *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930; under the title “Tjandi Gandjoeran Binerkahan” ([The Consecration of the Ganjuran Temple-Shrine])

Reporting on the consecration of the Ganjuran shrine, the Javanese Catholic newspaper *Swara-Tama* prophetically wrote that this shrine would serve as a symbol of a distinctive “Christian culture” (D. *Christelijk beschaving*).⁸³⁴ What we see in the development of the shrines represents the birth of this distinctive culture, a Christian culture that is also truly Javanese (or Indonesian) because of its response to the real needs and aspirations of the Javanese (or, to a certain degree, today’s larger Indonesian) society.

In connection to the creation of this kind of culture, it is insightful to note the remarks of a historian of religious arts in the Jesuit mission territories:

For it was one of the ironies of the Jesuits’ mission enterprise that their greatest successes were ultimately cultural, not spiritual, and that many of their most active proponents and supporters never entertained the faintest intention of converting to Catholicism.⁸³⁵

In the context of south central Java, this statement holds true to a certain degree. Catholic schools and institutions are highly respected and help contribute to the development of culture in general, despite the minority status of the Catholics. However, what our discourse on pilgrimage has shown so far is that such a clear-cut distinction between “spiritual” and “cultural” can be hard to maintain. For, as we have seen, the kind of culture that develops around the shrines is also deeply spiritual. It is a culture based on spiritual experiences as well as the Christian theological principle of love. Thus, I would argue that the success of the Catholic mission in south central Java—if the word “success” is at all applicable to such a loaded and complicated term—lies also in the

⁸³⁴ *Swara-Tama*, February 14, 1930.

⁸³⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*, 13-14. Bailey reasons that “the Mughal and Chinese emperors and the Japanese daimyos harnessed Catholic devotional art to glorify their own reigns, and how the Guarani of Paraguay indigenized Christianity by bringing its arts closer to their own canons. Although many members of these groups actually converted to Christianity, others remained for the most part firmly non-Christian.” (13)

spiritual realm. This is because Christian faith and the Christian community have been accepted, in the sense of being participated in by the people as a spiritual reality, a flowing of God's grace. The presence of the pilgrims from so many backgrounds in those shrines is a living testament of the fact that they could foster a deeper connection to the spiritual reality of the Church, the Christian community, in many different ways.

PART THREE

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT

CHAPTER 8
A DOUBLE VISITING:
COMPARATIVE INSIGHTS ON MUSLIM AND CATHOLIC
PILGRIMAGE TRADITIONS IN JAVA

Traveling (*safar*) is an intrinsically necessary state
for everything other than God,
Indeed for everything that can be said to exist!
And this (realization) is the journey of the greatest ones
among the people of God (*akābiru rijāl Allāh*).
Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*⁸³⁶

If we are to read the texts together,
our reading has to take on the characteristics of an agile dance,
as the texts are made to defer to one another,
each read for a moment before the other steps again into the foreground.
Francis X. Clooney, *Beyond Compare*⁸³⁷

This chapter is entitled “a double visiting” for two reasons. Firstly, it is reflective of the essence as well as the method of my comparative project. I move back and forth between my own tradition of Catholic Christianity and the tradition I visit, Islam. Gradually, the scope of this back and forth movement goes well beyond mere method. For, in line with the nature of the new comparative theology as a theological learning done through a close

⁸³⁶ Quoted in James Winston Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 32.

⁸³⁷ Francis Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 26-27.

study of the religious other, this dynamic of double visiting turns into a real religious pilgrimage to God and His saints where on various levels I learn more about God, my self and my religious tradition, from the richness, complexities as well as particularities of the Muslim tradition as it is found in the pilgrimage tradition in Java. As has been made clear in the previous chapters, so foundational in the dynamics of pilgrimage (Jv. *ziarah*, Ar. *ziyāra*) is the whole movement of getting nearer to God and His spiritual company of saints and paradigmatic figures. In this framework, pilgrimage is a journey to something intimate and dear. On the deepest level, pilgrimage has a lot to do with one's identity or self-understanding. However, it is also equally true that certain degree of otherness or alterity also belongs to the whole dynamics of pilgrimage experience. For one thing, pilgrimage is a process that by definition involves a journey, both physical and spiritual, that would very often also be marked by a sense of dislocation, confusion and the likes, on many levels, before the true integration or peacefulness (Jv. *slamet* or *tentrem*) is reached or granted. As we have seen as well, pilgrimage is a habit, a necessarily repetitive practice for the same reason, namely, to bring about a deeper awareness and knowledge of God, the self and the other. In the same manner, my pilgrimage as a movement of double visiting has provided me with these dynamics of multi-layered learning through what is familiar (identity), what is other (alterity), and the deeper connections between the two.

Secondly, since this project is conceived as an experiment in the new comparative theology, I intentionally use the term “double visiting” also as a way to situate my work within the discourse of this discipline of new comparative theology as proposed by

Francis X. Clooney, James Fredericks and others.⁸³⁸ I find this comparative theological framework highly appropriate to shed light on the major dynamics of the Catholic and Muslim pilgrimage traditions precisely because of its attentiveness to the properly religious and theological dimensions of the subject matter. It is theologically constructive, in the sense of striving to illuminate theological dimensions of one's home tradition through comparative journey to other religious tradition(s). In this process, the comparativist-cum-pilgrim pays extended and multiple visits to the religious world of the other and then returns home more refreshed both in terms of spiritual affect and theological understanding.⁸³⁹ In this respect, Francis Clooney's image of agile dance (quoted above) is particularly insightful. For this double visiting is akin to an agile dance that involves back-and-forth movements that eventually result in an extended form of encounters marked by depth and beauty.

In the context of the new comparative theology, this double reading and visiting is also intentionally embraced as a milieu for a cross-fertilization by which a comparative theology deeply rooted in one tradition becomes a theology indebted to one or more other theologies as well.⁸⁴⁰ However, it is important in this regard to see both the complexity and richness of double reading (or visiting) as Clooney argues further:

⁸³⁸ In terms of comparative theology in this study, I take the major inspirations from the proponents of the new comparative theology in the United States such as Francis Clooney, James Fredericks, David Burrell and the younger generation of comparative theologians. See Francis X. Clooney, ed., *The New Comparative Theology: Interreligious Insights from the Next Generation* (New York, London: Continuum, 2010). On the dynamics of double reading in comparative theology's method, Clooney writes: "As I have insisted from the beginning of this book, although these two reading experiences do not require each other, once both are read in proximity this doubled intensity deeply affects the reader twice over, such that each text intensifies and magnifies the other rather than diluting its impact. It is hard to imagine giving up one of these texts for the sake of the other once we have begun reading them and can see what is possible in the double reading." Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 183.

⁸³⁹ Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 186. See also Fredericks, *Buddhist and Christians*, 95.

⁸⁴⁰ Francis X. Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 38.

This double reading remains unsettling.... It unsettles us by its sheer abundance; such a reading dramatically *expands intellectual and affective possibilities*, as the reasons, images, and affective states proposed and promoted in each text enter into a most agile interplay with those of the other text; there are always more options available to us than we can manage to appropriate and reflect upon.⁸⁴¹ (emphasis added)

As has become clear in the context of this study, the “texts” are the pilgrimage traditions, understood as a particular mode and practice of piety and devotion founded on the larger framework of the Catholic and Islamic traditions, and the “reading” is the act of visiting, experiencing, being in touch with God, the self and other in precisely this dynamic of double visiting or pilgrimage (Ar. *ziyāra*). As Clooney has pointed out, the richness involved in this back-and-forth dynamic of visiting is real, especially in terms of expanding our theological horizon and affective possibilities. This is true in my case as well, as I will discuss in this chapter as well as the next chapter where I identify and further explore the major elements in the expansion of these theological and affective possibilities. My hands-on exposure to the richness of the Islamic pilgrimage tradition that includes a religious and affective experience of communing with God in this very context leads me to expand my Catholic theological horizon, more concretely identifying some ways in which the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* (“communion of the saints and the holy”) could be understood afresh through this comparative work. I consider this theological expansion a constructive fruit of my double visiting, a theological learning and deepening that is precisely born out of these encounters. Since it comes out of the reality of encounters between the two communities, this theology hopefully will be beneficial for the future interactions between these two communities as well.

⁸⁴¹ Francis Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 186.

While the more explicitly constructive dimension of this project has to be deferred until the next chapter, in what follows I will pursue a properly comparative act, namely, identifying the similarities (and to a lesser degree, differences) between the Muslim and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage as it is practiced in south central Java. These similarities constitute the major ways in which the Islamic and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java intersect, coalesce, and illuminate each other. In this regard, my analysis will be focused on identifying the shared religious, cultural and theological structures and logic of these pilgrimage traditions, including their role in the identity formation of the respective community, as well as the contents, such as the religious experience of the pilgrims.⁸⁴² To a large degree, this is a more focused reiteration of the previous analyses in Parts One and Two. This comparative step is in order because while Parts One and Two might appear as two separate entities that result from my back-and-forth visits to the other (Islamic tradition) and to the self (Catholic tradition), this Part Three (Chapters 8 and 9) is meant to be a systematization of this dynamic of double visiting.

Furthermore, this comparative method of double visiting is an inherent part of the whole process of this study. In a way, this is a highly particular example of my argument on the propriety of pilgrimage as a remarkably fruitful metaphor for comparative

⁸⁴² Here it is important to consider the theological nature of this comparative act, as Francis Clooney argues: “Making sense of similarities and differences is not a pretheological sorting of details but a theological enterprise that must be undertaken meticulously and with respect for the complexities of theological judgments.” (Francis Clooney, *Hindu God, Christian God*, 167). As this study has shown, each pilgrimage tradition (either Muslim or Catholic) is already very complex in its own terms, rendering any comparative study of this practice even more complex and delicate. In this chapter, I venture into identifying what I consider central elements in the two pilgrimage traditions under study always with a view of treating them as crucial theological pillars for a renewed understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* in Chapter 9.

theology that I have made elsewhere.⁸⁴³ However, while the backbone of this comparative chapter is largely based on the specificities of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java, some of its basic insights will be placed, when it is deemed helpful, in the wider context of the Christian and Muslim traditions of pilgrimage across historical periods and regional boundaries.

To serve this purpose, this chapter is divided into 5 sections. I will begin the comparative analysis by making some observation on the existence and role of a shared spiritual milieu and a common culture of devotion in south central Java (1), as well as the particular role of the Javanese culture as the common bond (2) in these dynamics of shared life and blessings. I consider this reality of shared life as foundational because it serves as the cultural and existential context and basis for the different forms of encounter between Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions. By the same dynamic, I show as well how the two communities come to embrace similar frameworks in appropriating the Javanese culture into their religious sensibility and traditions. After laying out these two more general features of the foundation of the encounters between Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java, I will discuss three major points of similarity between the two pilgrimage traditions, namely, the role of saints and paradigmatic figures as ancestors (3), the nature of pilgrimage as an occasion for spiritual renewal (4), and the deeply sacramental worldview that lies at the heart of these pilgrimage traditions (5). Hopefully, this comparative analysis will reveal the various ways in which pilgrimage tradition continues to serve as a milieu for the formation of hybrid identities in the two communities (Javano-Islamic and Javano-Catholic).

⁸⁴³ See my chapter “Comparative Theology: Between Identity and Alterity” in Francis Clooney, *The New Comparative Theology*, 1-20.

It is obvious that this comparative analysis is the natural step to be taken following the data outlined in the previous two Parts (One and Two). However, it has to be pointed out as well that the similarities that I identify should not be taken as exhaustive. There are other more specific features in the data that could be explored further in detail. In terms of differences, I will only mention certain striking differences between the two pilgrimage traditions. Again, my treatment here is not exhaustive. Perceptive readers might like to pay more attention to other more pertinent differences. In this respect I have to make it clear that my comparative interest lies more in the similarities for two reasons. First, I want to be attentive to what happens on the ground (Parts One and Two). Secondly, I believe that focusing on similarities will be more beneficial for the two communities as well as fruitful for comparative theology.⁸⁴⁴

VIII. 1. Shared Spiritual Milieu, Common Culture of Devotion

Before embarking on a comparative analysis on the specific points of similarity between the Muslim and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage in south central Java, one striking and fundamental framework of communion between the two communities has to be taken into account. For, due to the presence and proximities of its multitude of sacred shrines, including the ones under study here, south central Java forms a sacred space filled with spiritual energies emanating from the constancy of the prayers, the devotions, and the rituals of the people and pilgrims, both Muslims and Catholics. On a certain level, what is born in this milieu of communion is an inclusive *mandala*, understood simply as a space, both internal and external, of complex encounters with God, self and the other. Even

⁸⁴⁴ Here I follow Clooney's methodological preference. See his *Comparative Theology*, 75-76.

before we look more closely into the more direct interactions and encounters between pilgrims of different faith traditions, the level of energy that is there in this *mandala* is rather remarkable. As shown in Chapters 3 and 7, it is mostly on Thursday night (the eve of Friday) that this energy of devotion can be seen in its most striking manifestation. For during this night, shrines of all kinds (Muslim, Christian, and Javanist) in this area are packed with pilgrims, many of whom would stay well until the wee hours at the shrines. It is the night of devotion for all, a night filled with *berkah* (Ar. *baraka*), the blessings of God for all.

As can be seen in Map 1.3, many of these shrines are located outside the boundaries of the two big royal cities in the area, Yogyakarta and Surakarta. However, during this night, these shrines turn into small “cities” that shine in the darkness, cities that break the silence of the night by their unending praises and songs to God, cities that would warm the hearts of the pilgrims during the cold nights. Even on rainy nights, pilgrims still flock to these shrines.⁸⁴⁵ In my view, this geographical or physical proximity of these diverse shrines should be taken into account in a comparative theological study like this one. For, in different ways and on various levels, that proximity can serve as a deeper foundation for more explicit encounters between pilgrims of different faith traditions. In the case of south central Java, it is definitely not mere coincidence that almost each major Marian shrine has its Muslim counterpart nearby, and *vice versa*.⁸⁴⁶ The history behind this proximity could be rather complicated and has not

⁸⁴⁵ To a certain degree, this scenery reminds us of what was rather common in the late antiquity when Christian shrines, mostly the tombs of martyrs, practically functioned as centers of communal activities outside the city walls. The shrines became “cities” as they served as the focal points of the ecclesiastical life of the region. On this, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 3ff.

⁸⁴⁶ As Map 1.3 shows, the Sendangsono Marian shrine and the mausoleum of Muntilan share physical proximity with the Muslim shrine of Raden Santri at Gunungpring; while the Sacred Heart shrine of

always been marked by amicable intention and friendly interactions, as the foundational narrative of the Marian shrine of Sendangsono shows.⁸⁴⁷ However, this study has also shown that generally speaking, this physical or spatial proximity of Muslim and Catholic shrines come to be a sign of mutual respect, and at times it even makes possible a closer collaboration between the two communities in the common framework of devotion and connectedness to God through the saints or paradigmatic figures of the community. Through long communal discernment and dynamics, the communities are able to reinterpret these tensions and ambiguities through a complex and more inclusive framework of religio-cultural hermeneutics. For one thing, the fact that the respective communities decided not to put a physical and institutional barrier between these diverse shrines reveals their real and enduring quality as a common and inclusive space of encounter.

In this regard, it is rather crucial to examine the significance of the designation of this space in south central Java as a *mandala*. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the framework of *mandala* is used as the sacred cosmology of the Mataram court, the common ancestral kingdom of the present day Javano-Islamic sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. In this context, *mandala* is a sacred space marked by sacred (mythical) poles and figures.⁸⁴⁸ In turn, this sacred cosmology has a profound impact in the placement of the pilgrimage sites. As Map 1.3 shows, most of these shrines are clustered in the center, in the north pole of Mount Merapi, as well as in the southern pole of the

Ganjuran is not far from the tomb of Mawlana Maghribi and other Javanist sacred sites in the Parangtritis area, the south coast of Yogyakarta. The shrine of Tembayat is just few hundred meters away from the Marian shrine of Marganingsih. In the north of Yogyakarta, the origin of the Marian grotto of Our Lady of Perpetual Sorrow (Jv. Ibu Risang Sungkawa) inside the parish church of the Assumption is related also to the shrine of Jumadil al-Kubra on the hill of Turgo (on this shrine see Chapter 1).

⁸⁴⁷ See Chapter 5 (V. 1. 2).

⁸⁴⁸ On this sacred geography of Mataram, see Mark Woodward, *Islam in Java*, 199.

Parangtritis coast. For many traditional Javanese pilgrims, these sacred figures and the locations of the shrines naturally bring about a stronger sense of supernatural presence, precisely because they turn this area into a highly charged milieu. As examined in Chapter 6, the Catholic community of the Sacred Heart Shrine at Ganjuran also intentionally employs this language of inclusive sacred milieu of *mandala* to capture the complex spatial and spiritual dynamics of the encounters between pilgrims and God. What one sees here is the importance of the category of *mandala* as a particular way of envisioning the complex spiritual import of a place due to the presence of God, the blessings and memory of the righteous and paradigmatic figures or saints, as well as the spiritual effects of the continuing encounters between pilgrims and God in the site. In the story of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, the idea of placing the shrine in the sacred cosmology of Javano-Islamic kingdom of Mataram is quite foundational. It is intimately connected as well to the idea of Josef Schmutzer, the shrine's founder, to revivify the sacredness of the area through Christian spiritual force and presence.⁸⁴⁹ Revivication is of course qualitatively different from replacement. For in this framework, instead of simply replacing the other completely, Christianity revivifies the *mandala* through its spiritual presence, a long and complex religio-cultural process made possible in different ways, such as the celebrations of the sacraments, individual and communal prayer sessions, spiritual devotion, intentions and experience of the pilgrims, both Catholics and others, discernments of the community, reception by the wider Javanese community, and so forth.

⁸⁴⁹ See Chapter 6 (VI. 2. 1).

Highly crucial in this regard as well is the idea of history as collective memorialization of the sacred past that includes paradigmatic (founding) figures, events and places. In the case of south central Java, the role of sacred history of the community in the making of sacred sites could not be overemphasized. In many cases among both Javanese Muslims and Catholics, a particular space becomes sacred because it corresponds intimately to the sacred history of the community. In this framework, the significance of such a space surpasses its mere physicality since it has accumulated so much communal religio-cultural meaning. For it has become an important means for the wellbeing of the whole community; it has served as a concrete vehicle of God's blessings and providence for the community. In this dynamic, pilgrimage is basically an act of making present the sacred history of the community. As I have argued particularly in Chapters 1 and 5, pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java is practiced as a personal and communal participation in this dynamic of sacred space and sacred history as memory. And since the two communities share some common history by virtue of their Javanese identity, there is a natural predisposition toward shared shrines, or simply toward understanding their land as a very special place, a spiritual milieu or *mandala*.

The accumulation of spiritual energy in the sacred places is, in my view, significant when we talk about the cosmic framework of pilgrimage experience, a topic that will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter. Just as the Jesuit paleontologist Teilhard de Chardin became aware of the all-pervasive and all-penetrating reality of the energy of Love that he came to understand as the cosmic Christ—that forms *le milieu Divin*, the field of spiritual energy and the theatre of God's presence—through his deeper

immersion into the cosmic reality of energy: so likewise many pilgrims, as examined particularly in Chapters 3 and 8, believe that they are in heightened contact with the concentration of cosmic energy and the energy of Love at the shrine during their pilgrimages.⁸⁵⁰ This kind of spatial openness to one another that effects greater spiritual presence can be especially appreciated when compared to the exact opposite, something that could well happen, as contemporary cases in the Holy Land testify.⁸⁵¹

With regard to the unifying effect of sacred places in the encounters between peoples of diverse religions, it is insightful to note the point raised by Pope Benedict XVI in his address at the al-Hussein Bin Talal Mosque, Jordan, during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 2009. As a pilgrim to Jewish, Christian and Muslim sites himself, Pope Benedict XVI connected the role of places of worship and the sense of unity between Muslims and Christians, and remarked:

Places of worship, like this splendid Al-Hussein Bin Talal mosque named after the revered late King, stand out like jewels across the earth's surface. From the ancient to the modern, the magnificent to the humble, they all point to the divine, to the Transcendent One, to the Almighty. *And through the centuries these sanctuaries have drawn men and women into their sacred space to pause, to pray, to acknowledge the presence of the Almighty, and to recognize that we are all His creatures.*

[...] For this reason we cannot fail to be concerned that today, with increasing insistency, some maintain that religion fails in its claim to be, by nature, a builder of unity and harmony, an expression of communion between persons and with God.⁸⁵² (emphasis added)

⁸⁵⁰ On de Chardin's idea of cosmic life and the divine milieu, see Ursula King, *Spirit of Fire: The Life and Vision of Teilhard de Chardin* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), 53ff; 110ff.

⁸⁵¹ In this regard, it is insightful to note the plea of Benedict XVI during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 2009. The Pope lamented the building of the wall that has separated the Muslims and the Jews. Quite literally, this wall makes it harder for the two communities to visit each other. For the wall signifies the barrier between self and other. In this regard, it is worth noting that the Pope's plea was a result of his pilgrimage to the sites of the religious other, namely, Jewish and Muslim sites. (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090515_farewell-tel-aviv_en.html; accessed September 2010).

⁸⁵² Pope Benedict XVI's address at the meeting with Muslim religious leaders, members of the diplomatic corps and rectors of universities in Jordan at Mosque al-Hussein bin Talal, Amman, Saturday May 9, 2009. The complete text of this address can be found at the Vatican website:

In the framework of this study's discourse on common sacred space, Pope Benedict's statement is very insightful, especially since it was made in his pilgrimage journey to a Muslim site. For he recognized the power of sacred space in bringing human beings to an authentic experience with God and to a common awareness of their status as God's creatures. On this basis, the Pope talks about the role of religions to bring unity, harmony and communion between people and with God.

However, despite their profundity, the Pope's remarks are still rather general. In this respect, the case of the pilgrimage traditions among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java presents itself as a rather specific case of an overwhelming sense of spiritual and religio-cultural unity, given the mutual sharing and communion in all these diverse movements of devotion in the context of diverse shrines or sacred spaces. Equipped with the right ears, as many pilgrims are, one can listen to these diverse movements forming a beautiful symphony. Beneath all the differences that are still clearly visible and intentionally maintained to be so, there is a lead melody of praise to the same God, of sincere devotion, of the underlying desire for communion and blessings that at times take on a cosmic characteristic. All things considered, pilgrims can feel that this melody is still predominant, much more prevalent than the cacophonies, insincerities, rivalries, and forth. To a certain degree and on a deeper level, these prayers and devotions intersect in ways pilgrims themselves do not always know or anticipate. This is not only because they pray at exactly the same time, but also because they might end up praying for one another, due to the intersecting webs of familial relationships as well as the overlapping

http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090509_capi-musulmani_en.html (accessed September 2010).

networks of friendships that they share. Thus, the divine blessings that these pilgrims receive might have rippling effects on the larger society, well beyond the formal boundaries of any religious communities. Again, this foundational dynamic of God's blessings has to be taken into account in a comparative theological inquiry into the Muslim and Christian pilgrimage traditions in an area such as this one. In the following section, I examine one more shared foundation that makes these diverse movements a melodious harmony.

VIII. 2. Javanese Culture and the Hybrid Identity: A Common Bond

The preceding analyses of the Muslim and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage in south central Java (Parts One and Two) have showed how pilgrimage tradition as a whole—the shrines, the saints, the rituals, communal activities and so forth—has become a privileged milieu in which a distinctively hybrid religio-cultural identity formation and negotiation is forged among Javanese Muslims and Catholics. In particular, it has also become clear that in this identity formation, Javanese culture has served as an important unifying force between the two communities. In this respect, what these Muslim and Catholic shrines and the pilgrimage traditions reflect is the particular dynamics of Islamization and the formation of Catholic community in south central Java. Throughout this study, I present this identity formation as complex religio-cultural negotiations and interactions between different entities such as Islam and Christianity together with the cultures and societies of those who bring these religions to Java on the one hand, and the religio-cultural realities and the peoples of Java, on the other. In both Islamic and Catholic contexts, this process is far more complex than simply a transplantation of foreign religious practices and ideas.

Furthermore, what is rather striking is that this process has been guided largely by the principle of communion and continuity. However, it has to be noted that in this regard, both communities apply this principle rather selectively through complex cultural and communal discernment over a long period of time.⁸⁵³

Along this line, I would argue that Javanese culture has played a crucial role in these identity formations around shrines and pilgrimage traditions. For one thing, shrines and pilgrimages have proved to be a common space in which Javanese pilgrims of different religious traditions interact with each other, following the patterns of inclusion, connection and communion. Due to the influence of the Javanese culture, Muslims and Catholics in south central Java come to have many things in common that render various forms of encounters in the shrines not only possible, but also natural, desirable and more intimate. Precisely in this kind of context, one can see the role of the Javanese culture as a *mandala*, as a unifying religio-cultural force and a common religio-cultural milieu for mutual engagement between the two religious communities. In my view, this point is crucial. In light of the sacred geography of south central Java (Mataram) that we mentioned earlier, this category of cultural *mandala* explains how this common vision of

⁸⁵³ In a sense, this phenomenon is hardly unique to Java. In Egypt, as David Frankfurter shows, Christian sites are closely connected with the particularities of the Christianization of the area, especially in terms of its interaction with local culture. In this context, certain indigenous practices found their way into Christianity as the case of the cult at the shrine of St. Cyrus and St. John in Menouthis, near Alexandria, indicates; or at least, the impact of local culture explains the various aspects of Coptic Christian pilgrimage tradition. On this topic, see David Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, 6. On the case of Castile (Spain), see Jerrilynn D. Dodds et al. eds., *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. On the Muslim side, the same pattern can be found in (medieval) northwestern India where the Hindu other is incorporated in the architecture of the mosque. On this, see Finbarr B. Flood, ed., *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); see also his *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 61ff.

sacred geography comes to be concretely interpreted and enacted through a particular localized understanding of history, rituals, architecture, and so forth. In particular, this religio-cultural *mandala* provides a common framework for the hybrid Javano-Islamic and Javano-Catholic identity formations among pilgrims and their communities.

Along this line of thought, in many different ways in Parts One and Two of this study, I have attempted to show how Javanese, Indic, Arab, Persianate, and European religio-cultural traditions—which sometimes come to be associated more closely with the idea of indigenusness, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity respectively—encountered one another in the context of pilgrimage traditions and beyond. In the case of both the Muslim and Catholic communities in Java, the dynamics of encounter has been governed by the principle of appropriating the local Javanese culture and occurs in all its ambiguities and complexities, especially in the earlier stage. For example, the early attempt of the Dutch Jesuit missionaries to embrace the so-called “Javanese culture”, for all its noble effort at appropriating the culture of the natives, still smacked of a colonial project of “othering” or minimizing the Islamic presence; while the determination of the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals to forge a hybrid identity—that is, to become truly Javanese and truly Catholic—was not completely freed from ambiguity either (Chapter 4). For one thing, they were faced with a delicate and complex task of navigating their way into the intricate connections between religion and culture amid ongoing nationalistic political struggles. While they readily celebrated the hybridity of Javanese and Western cultures, they needed much more time to work out the proper relationship between their Catholicism and the traditional Javanese religious or spiritual traditions that have been under the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. On the Islamic side, the *walis* and

the Javano-Islamic courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in preceding centuries had been negotiating the same process of appropriation that was also marked by tensions over much longer historical continuum.⁸⁵⁴

However, as we have seen in the context of the self-understanding of the Muslim and Catholic communities in relation to pilgrimage traditions, the transformation effected by this religio-cultural process is quite real, despite or precisely due to these complex ambiguities and tensions. It is obvious that all parties involved have undergone a certain degree of transformation. The exact degree of this transformation might run the whole gamut and varies greatly from period to period, and is always open to further questions. But, as the previous chapters have hopefully shown, one can say that just as the practice of Islam in south central Java has been “Javanized” in a complex and subtle manner, so has the practice of Catholicism. It is based on this reality of transformation that one can talk about the realities of “Javano-Islamic” and “Javano-Catholic” identities. As I have attempted to show, these Javanese are arguably authentic Muslims and Catholics. However, they practice Islam and Catholicism respectively, to a large degree, through the lens of a shared Javanese religio-cultural sensibility, a rather deep layer in their selves.

In the context of south central Java, this religio-cultural framework is highly influenced and perpetuated by the Mataram court (since the 16th century), represented at present by the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, particularly in terms of traditional rituals and symbolism. And, in many respects, this practice of Islam is in line with the

⁸⁵⁴ For example, an early Sufi manuscript from the 16th century that advocated the “orthodox” framework of Islam still had to reckon with Javanese mysticism (Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java*, 21ff). Ambiguities are also found in the tensions between forms and spirits of the accommodation, such as the case of Maheso Lawung ritual (see Chapter 2 [II. 3]), or the heavily varied attitudes toward the supranatural powers of the goddess of the Southern Sea (Jv. Nyi Rara Kidul) and other figures from the invisible world. Some pilgrims consider the Parangtritis area sacred on account of this mythical connection, but they did not incorporate this goddess figure in their religious acts anymore.

spirit of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, especially in terms of the paradigmatic role of the *walis* or saints, the master-student relationship, the practice of mysticism, devotional and ritual treatment of the dead, and so forth. My argument throughout this study is that the presence of the Javanese culture has become particularly and dramatically visible in the whole pilgrimage tradition, including its religio-spiritual framework, its symbolic and material culture (distinctive rituals and architectures), and its communal significance. On the fundamental level of spiritual experience, the category of *rasa* comes to be crucial in the ways in which many Javanese pilgrims of all religious persuasions come to cultivate their spiritual life. As we have examined, *rasa* is the inner compass that many Javanese pilgrims naturally use to gauge the presence of God and the saints, the deeper reality of Divine blessings, as well as the corresponding discernment that ensues from this experience.⁸⁵⁵ In other words, *rasa* is an inner instrument and realm of communion; it is an experience of a deep and personal communion of the heart with its Lord. More importantly perhaps, *rasa* has served as a marker for a distinctively Javanese way of communing with the Divine and the true self. Due to its crucial role, *rasa* is also used in the ongoing discernment to obtain the true blessings (Ar. *baraka*) of pilgrimage, namely fundamental peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*) and integral wellbeing (Jv. *slamet*).

Furthermore, in order to obtain peacefulness and wellbeing, as this study has shown, pilgrimage in the two traditions comes to be understood and practiced in the Javanese framework of *laku* or *tirakat*, that is, an intense period of spiritual cultivation and discernment, done in tandem with the necessary process of ascetic purification of the self. In this regard, it should be noted as well that the category of *rasa* presents itself as a

⁸⁵⁵ On *rasa*, see Introductory Chapter (section IV), Chapter 3 (III. 2. 2), and Chapter 7 (VII. 2)

profoundly inclusive vision, due to its experiential and foundational character. Through the cultivation of *rasa*, Javanese pilgrims can feel being in touch with the Divine in many sacred sites across religious boundaries. In this respect, the exclusive dimension of religious identity has to be confronted with a more pervasive reality of common spiritual experience and communion. This results in not only a vision of inclusivity but also an experience of communing with God through diverse means and in different locations that might include the religious other. The cultivation of *rasa* is foundational because it deepens the spiritual experience of both Javanese Muslim and Catholics as they undergo their respective traditional spiritual practices that, at least on the surface, are not affected by Javanese culture, such as the *tahajjud*, the *munājāt*, various forms of meditation, rosary, prayers of the stations of the Cross and so forth. This is because what is emphasized in the framework of *rasa* is the deeper, non-discursive mode of encountering the Divine. It is about the experience of communion, its depth and subtleties.

In the realm of rituals, as we have seen, the pilgrimage traditions in both communities also come to be intimately related to the pan-Javanese ritual of communal meal (Jv. *slametan*), both as a communal ritual as well as a ritual related specifically to the remembrance of paradigmatic ancestors and founders (saints) of the community. Under the influence of court culture, pilgrimage tradition, especially among Javanese Muslims, also incorporates a certain degree of public veneration of the saints' relics (Jv. *pusaka*).⁸⁵⁶

So it is rather obvious that certain distinctive, common facets of Javanese culture play an important role in shaping the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in Java.

⁸⁵⁶ See Chapter 2 (II. 2. 2; II. 2. 3) and Chapter 6 (VI. 3).

However, in the same dynamics, I have also argued that the so-called “Javanese culture”—as it concretely comes to be understood by these Muslim and Catholic Javanese pilgrims—also undergoes certain degree of transformation along the way. In the context of culture of pilgrimage, the degree and forms of this transformation are visible in these Muslim and Catholic shrines. Under the influence of the wider Islamic tradition, for instance, Javanese Muslims utter a direct salutation for the dead when visiting their tombs. The Islamic *tahlīl* prayers that represent the monotheistic theological framework of *tawḥīd* are also incorporated into the communal meal (Jv. *slametan*), while this same ritual meal incorporates Muslim figures and saints in the list of the prophets, saints and ancestors of the community.

On the Catholic side, one can argue that the introduction of the model of kingship or power based on love represented by the identification of the theological symbolisms of Christ the King and the Sacred Heart might lead to a rather different emphasis and experience of kingship or power in general. As we have seen, traditional Javanese culture tends to understand kingship only in terms of “power.”⁸⁵⁷ This Christian enrichment of the understanding of kingship and power might also constitute a rather concrete yet more profound realization of the idea of a Christian revivification of Javanese culture that Josef Schmutzer proposed through his Sacred Heart shrine.⁸⁵⁸ Pilgrims at the Sacred Heart shrine in Ganjuran are reminded that Christ’s kingship is exercised through His self-sacrificing love that is nothing other than the outpouring of salvific grace from His Sacred Heart. As we have seen, the spirit of becoming the channel of this Divine

⁸⁵⁷ The identification of kingship and sacred “power” is quite paradigmatic in Javanese culture. On this, see Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java*; and Benedict Anderson, “The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture” in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: First Equinox Edition, 2007), 1-70.

⁸⁵⁸ See Chapter 6 (VI. 2. 1).

outpouring of love to all continues to serve as the overarching framework of the whole festival culture and devotion at this shrine of the Sacred Heart at Ganjuran.⁸⁵⁹ It should be noted in this regard that this blessing is intimately connected to the larger existential search for peacefulness and wellbeing among pilgrims that I will discuss more fully later in this chapter. In other words, this dynamic of enrichment occurs in the realm of experience, when pilgrims come to be in touch with deeper peace or undergo a certain degree of spiritual transformation in the context of pilgrimage to the shrine. They might understand this experience as *tentrem* (true peace), thus retaining certain degree of the Javanese quality, but they also know that this experience occurs in ways that include the Christian values and framework such as the role of the Sacred Heart, the specificity of the shrine and so forth. In this kind of context, pilgrims might be led to understand true peace in relation to the dynamic of self-sacrificing love, rather than power acquisition; they might come to understand spiritual or supernatural “power” (Jv. *kasekten*) as a means for spreading this love.

In the same dynamic, the Catholic pilgrimage culture in south central Java has introduced the figure of Mary in a rather distinctive way. With regard to the figure of Prajnaparamita Mary at Ganjuran, the Virgin is visually represented as a distinctively hybrid Javano-Christian figure, of course not identical with the Buddhist figure of Prajnaparamita, but similar enough. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 7, especially among Javanese Muslim pilgrims to the grotto of Sendangsono, the Qur’ānic figure of Maryam comes to be spiritually experienced partly through the encounter with the symbols and presence of Mary in the Catholic tradition. Here, however, it should also be

⁸⁵⁹ See Chapter 6 (VI. 3. 1).

pointed out that due the inclusive role of *rasa* as a spiritual intuition and tasting, Muslim pilgrims are able to experience the deeper spiritual presence and significance of Mary in this context of another tradition. This kind of encounter would also enable Javanese Muslim pilgrims to understand the deeper significance of Catholic symbolisms of Mary in the shrine mainly by way of spiritual experience with Mary, something that the Muslim tradition itself acknowledges.

In the larger context beyond the pilgrimage tradition, this process of acceptance of Catholicism into the religio-spiritual fabric of Javanese society could be seen as rather dramatic, given the rejection of Catholicism (as a “foreign” tradition) among a large segment in the Javanese society at the beginning of the 20th century (Chapter 4). The question of double alterity that I discussed in Chapter 4, namely, the image of Christianity as colonial and anti-Islamic, was so real then and at times seemed to be overwhelming. For in some cases during the earliest period, Javanese Catholics were considered “traitors” in the sense of embracing a foreign religio-cultural identity. During this time, among certain circles at least, the idea of Javaneseness seemed to allow next to no room for Christianity as a communal identity. So the fact that the Catholic pilgrimage culture in south central Java now includes a rather significant participation of some segments in the Muslim society should not be taken for granted.

Again, in this regard, the religio-cultural strategy of the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals to foster a hybrid Javano-Catholic identity—that is, embracing Catholicism while clinging rather stubbornly to the Javanese identity—proved to be quite creative, timely, and fruitful. This complex and long process of religio-cultural encounters has presented the richness of Catholicism, including its spiritual treasure, to the Javanese in

ways that are not intrusive because they have invited spiritual tasting and participation, not coercion. The deeper and more inclusive meaning of the “catholic” character of the Catholic tradition was taken as a principle of religio-cultural enrichment. Within the realm of culture and religion, this process has been smoothed out due to, among others, the fact that the Catholic community has aligned itself religio-culturally with the Javanese culture of the Mataram court. Surely, the deeper scriptural connection between Islam and Christianity—for example on the status of Jesus and Mary—plays a role in the meeting between Catholicism and the Islamic dimension of the Javanese culture. However, the fact that the Javanese Catholic community decide to build a Hindu-Javanese styled shrine, to employ a wide array of Javanese symbolisms and practices in worship and rituals, including the *slametan*, to genuinely care for the welfare of the surroundings in the spirit of channeling God’s blessings to others: all of this presents a fundamentally different picture about the “otherness” of Christianity in the Javano-Islamic milieu of south central Java.

In retrospect, this creative and amicable dynamics of identity formation is remarkable. And we can only start to appreciate this religio-cultural achievement when we recall that the process and result could have been starkly different. As we know from other historical cases in colonial and nationalistic contexts, despite or precisely because of, the common scriptural heritage, shrines could be sources of contention among religious communities. This is partly because the actual role of shrines in the identity formation of the respective community depends on many other things, such as culture, politics of identity, collective history, contemporary situation of the community and so

forth. Highly instructive in this regard are the dynamics found at the cults at the grave of Moses and tomb of Rachel in Palestine among the Jews, Christians and Muslims.⁸⁶⁰

To come back to the question of the transformation of Javanese culture brought about in its encounter with Muslim and Catholic communities, it has to be noted that in the historical perspective, this transformation is by no means a novelty. As the American anthropologist John Pemberton has shown rather convincingly, the many practices that came to be identified in later period as authentically “Javanese” actually came into being in the period when Java had to reckon its encounter with otherness during the tumultuous years of the colonial period.⁸⁶¹ Thus, to a large degree, its hybridity comes from this ongoing cultural dynamic of encounters.

In this respect, I would argue that the case of Java certainly shows the relative futility of the search for “pure originality” in the realm of culture. However, this does not mean that Javaneseness is something completely porous or fluid without substance or stable core. For as we have seen, at every crucial juncture of the Javaveneese historical

⁸⁶⁰ In this respect, the role of pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses during the Palestinian nationalist movement in the 1920s and 1930s is instructive in terms of how a pilgrimage to a supposedly shared shrine could function as an assertion of a rather sectarian identity, provoking conflicts with other religious group that also has a connection to the shrine. In this case, pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses became an occasion for asserting Palestinian identity by denouncing the other, i.e., the Zionist Jews. On this, see Roger Friedland and Richard D. Hecht, “The Nebi Musa Pilgrimage and the Origins of Palestinian Nationalism,” in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, eds. Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996), 89-118; see also Emma Aubin Boltanski, “Le *mawsim* de *Nabī Mūsā*: processions, espace en miettes et mémoire blessée. Territoires palestiniens (1998-2000),” in *Les pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*, eds. Sylvia Chiffoleau and Anna Madœuf (Damascus: IFPO, 2005), 59-80. Very similar dynamics occurred in the development of the cult around Rachel’s tomb in Bethlehem in 1940s among the Jews, when the tomb that used to be a minor site for the Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities became a rallying point for the Jewish struggle. On this, see Susan Starr Sered, “Rachel’s Tomb: Societal Liminality and the Revitalization of a Shrine,” *Religion* 19(1989): 27-40; see also her, “Rachel’s Tomb and the Milk Grotto of the Virgin Mary: Two Women’s Shrines in Bethlehem,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2 (1986): 7-22. On the development and significance of this shrine in general, see Fred Strickert, *Rachel Weeping: Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the Fortress Tomb* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2007).

⁸⁶¹ John Pemberton, *On the Subject of “Java”*, especially chapters 2 and 3. Pemberton shows that many “Javanese” customs and traditions created in the Javanese courts of Surakarta since the 19th century—such as the wedding ceremonies, ritual attire, linguistic expressions etc—are hybrid in nature, blending Javanese elements with the European (Dutch) ones.

encounter with the other—the fall of Majapahit in 15th century, the reign of Sultan Agung of Mataram (1613-1646), the 19th-century discourse on Islam and Javanese-ness, the rise of native consciousness in the last decades of the Dutch colonial era (early 20th century) and so forth—Javanese people continued to rely on the idea of the “essence” of Javanese-ness over against the foreign, or the idea of continuity in the process of change, development and progress. However, for good reasons, what this religio-cultural “essence” might actually look like has never been formulated in a clear-cut and unambiguous fashion. Rather, it tends to serve as a kind of “invisible” marker of identity that only becomes clearer at the moment when the community has to deal with the idea of otherness in the wider context of its complex negotiation of identity, that by definition includes tensions and ambiguities as well as evolving religio-cultural hermeneutics.

This is why the scope of what came to be defended as truly Javanese by a minority of Javanese Catholics in the last decades of the Dutch colonial period was rather significantly different from the idea of the “original” Javanese-ness put forward by some anti-Islamic Javanese writers in the 19th century. As we have seen in Chapter 4, these vehemently anti-Islamic writers put forward an argument in defense of the so-called “original” Javanese culture, or “the Javanist religion,” in order to dismiss the incursion of Islam that they perceived to be basically the religion of the Arabs, thus a deeply foreign entity. Their encounter with Islam led them to further imagine the essence of the Javanese culture as largely rooted in the older Hindu-Buddhist legacy in combination with certain indigenous Javanese practices and beliefs.⁸⁶² By contrast, the case of the Javano- Catholic hybrid identity represented a renewed argument that Christianity, in the form of

⁸⁶² See Chapter 4 (IV. 1)

Catholicism, rightly belonged to the scope of Javanese-ness, or that Javanese-ness, in principle, would have no trouble incorporating the true spirit of Catholicism, thus thwarting (albeit indirectly) the logic of these exclusivist Javanese writers. Among these early Javanese Catholic writers, the idea of Javanese culture was understood primarily in terms of a set of religious, ethical and cultural values that had defined the dignity of the Javanese people as a distinctive people, and thus had become part and parcel of the collective identity of the Javanese. As we have seen, they recognized the distinctiveness of the older legacy of the Hindu-Javanese system in those values, but they also emphasized the openness of these religio-cultural values toward further development through encounters with otherness, including Christianity and Western culture.

By arguing that they could be truly Catholic—not only in the deepest religious and spiritual sense, but also in the sense of embracing the particular European expressions of this Catholic identity—yet remain authentically Javanese, these intellectuals profoundly believed in the openness and adaptability of these values. As we have seen in Chapter 4, the first generation of Javanese Catholic intellectuals were also extremely proud of the nimbleness, versatility, and inclusivity of their “catholic” tradition in appropriating the Javanese culture and people. That is why the priestly ordination of the Javanese seminarians was proudly taken as an iconic proof of the dignity of the Javanese as a people with a distinctive culture, something that the Catholic Church deeply appreciated in fidelity to its catholic principle. It was through this ordination that the “catholic” character of Catholicism showed its genius in overcoming the narrowness of the prevalent colonial vision of racial segregation. On a different level, this ordination

was also seen as pointing to the deeper affinities between the spiritual ideals and values of Catholicism and those of the Javanese culture.⁸⁶³

As I have shown in Chapter 4, the idea of catholicity also served as a foundation for the Catholic idea of inculturation (D. *aanpassing*) in Java. Again, in this respect, the principle refers to the fundamental openness of Catholicism to local reality, that is, to the particularities of the people and their culture. It is in this framework of catholicity that one can understand the deepest inspiration behind Josef Schmutzer's idea of the Christian revivification of Javanese culture. As we have examined, this language might have begun primarily as a Christian project of turning the other into the self, but as it turns out, at the end of the day the "self" is also deeply transformed.

Thus, the argument from the principle of catholicity has been rather pivotal in the formation of the hybrid Javano-Catholic identity, particularly in its appropriation of the Javanese culture and people. However, as I examined in Chapter 4 as well, this argument of catholicity as it was put forward by early Javanese Catholic intellectuals had one rather serious lacuna, since it ignored the crucial role of Islam in the formation of the Javanese culture. Under the tutelage of the Dutch Jesuit missionaries who in turn were influenced by Orientalism under late colonial conditions, a large part of these Javanese Catholic intellectuals' religio-cultural vision was to revivify the past glory and goodness of the Javanese culture—identified rather exclusively in terms of the Hindu-Buddhist legacy—through Christian values, based on the openness and universalism of both religio-cultural systems. However, this discourse on Javanese culture failed to take into account the complex role of Islam both as a crucial contributor to the development of this culture as

⁸⁶³ As examined in Chapter 4, the priestly formation was described as a yogic education involving spiritual cultivation and asceticism; it was also akin to Bhima's mystical journey, involving spiritual enlightenment.

well as its beneficiary. Precisely in this regard, the more Islam-friendly culture of the contemporary Catholic pilgrimage tradition in south central Java presents itself as an antidote: it is a creative and timely response on the part of the contemporary Javanese Catholic community vis-à-vis the tensions and ambiguities embedded in the earlier interpretation of the hybrid Javano-Catholic identity.

In this regard, it is particularly worth noting how an awareness of the unifying power of Javanese culture—understood in such a way that the contribution of Islam is also recognized—has served as the background of the contemporary revival of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran.⁸⁶⁴ As if to rectify the drawbacks embedded in the Orientalist and colonial view of the Javanese culture that has influenced the view of the Javanese Catholic community in south central Java, the new parish church of this shrine compound is built in the traditional Javanese style as a sign of cultural alignment with the wider Javano-Muslim milieu rather than with the “Hindu” past that had been singularly favored by the Dutch Orientalists.⁸⁶⁵ In this regard, this common cultural heritage makes it possible even for Catholic shrines, a relatively newcomer in the long history of the Javanese, to place themselves in the larger development and dynamisms of Javanese culture and thus gain some wider religio-cultural significance.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁴ See Chapter 6 (VI. 1. and VI. 2. 2).

⁸⁶⁵ As shown in Chapter 2, the oldest mosque in Java, the Demak Grand Mosque, is also built in this Javanese style, with tiered roof (Fig. 1.1). In the case of this new parish church of Ganjuran (Fig. 8.9), its architectural style also incorporates features of the Sultan’s palace (Jv. *kraton*; Fig. 3.2). Again, the idea is that the local Catholic community understands itself as on the one hand, related profoundly to the Javanese culture formed by Islam and the Javano-Islamic court of Yogyakarta, and on the other hand, contributing in various ways to the flourishing of this culture.

⁸⁶⁶ In this regard, one might recall that the idea of Java that the *Serat Centhini* (19th century) envisages through the wanderings and pilgrimages of its heroes, does not include the presence of the Dutch European at all. Apparently the Dutch were considered not really part of the reality of “Java.” However, as examined in Chapters 3 and 7, we witness today that many Catholic shrines that historically are related to the Europeans have become part of the sacred landscape of Java.

In light of this rather interesting dynamic among Javanese Catholics, it is interesting to observe how Islam in Java, especially through the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, has also been negotiating its role and vision vis-à-vis the formation of the Javanese culture and the possible ways of appropriating this culture into its self-understanding and practice, roughly from the same time period as the Javanese Catholic intellectuals (ca. 1920s).⁸⁶⁷ For the purpose of our discourse on the formation of a distinct religio-cultural identity, it is extremely important to see that the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama has always been understood by its members and scholars primarily as a religio-cultural identity, anchored in the idea of a “tradition” that consists of a creative synthesis between Islamic principles and certain degree of appropriation of local culture and customs (Ar. *‘ādāt*), founded on the principles of tolerance (Ar. *tasāmuḥ*) and moderation (Ar. *tawassuṭ*) that include both the ideas of equity or harmony (Ar. *i’tidāl*) and balance (Ar. *tawāzun*).⁸⁶⁸ On this point, the remarks by K. H. Achmad Siddiq (d. 1991), a prominent Javanese Muslim scholar and former chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama, are highly insightful:

At-tawassuṭ (including *al-i’tidāl* and *at-tawāzun*) or moderation does not mean complete compromise and does not mean the blending together of a range of elements (syncretism). Nor is it a matter of excluding oneself from rejecting certain combination of elements. The characteristics of *at-*

⁸⁶⁷ The Nahdlatul Ulama—popularly called by its abbreviation, the *NU*—is the biggest traditionalist Muslim organization in Indonesia. Founded in 1926 largely as a reaction to the rise of the modernist Muhammadiyah (founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta) with its reformist and purificationist agenda, the demise of the Ottoman empire after World War I and the take-over of the Hejaz by the Wahhabis in 1924, the NU claims to have more than sixty millions followers who mostly become members through some strong connections with the wide networks of Islamic boarding schools (Jv. *pesantren*) owned by the traditionalist leaders (Jv. *kyai*) in villages and the country side of Java (see their official website: www.nu.or.id). As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, most pilgrims in south central Java are associated in some ways with this group, albeit only culturally at times. However, some of them identify themselves rather surprisingly as the followers of the modernist Muhammadiyah organization that in general tends to dismiss the practice of pilgrimage to sacred tombs as a “dangerous innovation.”

⁸⁶⁸ See Martin van Bruinessen, “Traditions for the Future: The Reconstruction of Traditionalist Discourse within NU,” 163-89.

tawassuth begin with the fact that *God placed within Islam all manner of good things*, and it is definitely the case that all those good things are to be found between the two limits of *tatharruf*, or the tendency to go to extremes.

[...] Consequently, it is logical that Islam acknowledges that positive values can be found to have already developed in individuals, or groups of people, prior to their accepting the teaching of Islam. *Islam does not adopt an attitude of rejecting, destroying, or eliminating, a priori, these 'old' values, but rather seeks to accommodate them, in a selective and balanced fashion.*⁸⁶⁹ (emphasis added)

As we can see, a crucial framework for Achmad Siddiq's vision is the notion of Islam as God's blessings for the entire universe (Ar. *rahmatan lil- 'ālamīn*).⁸⁷⁰ This theological perspective is remarkable in that it puts the whole identity and *raison d'être* of Islam on the cosmic level. Within this framework, the practice of pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints and the ancestors that traditionally marks the socio-religious identity of traditionalist Muslims in Java, then takes on a deeply cosmic dimension as well.⁸⁷¹ In this regard, this principle of adaptation to or appropriation of local culture, as a concrete and decisive step in bringing the blessings of Islam to the real life of the people, is also regarded as one of the most distinctive elements in the legacy of the *walis* of Islam in Java (Jv. *Wali Songo*, the Nine Saints), in whose image the Nahdlatul Ulama understands itself.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ Greg Barton, "Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of *Tawassuth*: the Thought of Achmad Siddiq," in Greg Barton and Greg Fealy, *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, 118. A brief explanation of these principles can also be found in the official website of the Nahdlatul Ulama: "[Tawasuth, tawazun, i'tidal and tasamuh in the perspective of Aswaja.](http://www.nu.or.id/page/en/dinamic_detil/25/29689/Syariah/Tawasuth_tawazun_i_tidal_and_tasamuh_i_n_the_perspective_of_Aswaja.html)" http://www.nu.or.id/page/en/dinamic_detil/25/29689/Syariah/Tawasuth_tawazun_i_tidal_and_tasamuh_i_n_the_perspective_of_Aswaja.html (accessed September 2010).

⁸⁷⁰ Greg Barton, "Islam, Pancasila and the Middle Path of *Tawassuth*: the Thought of Achmad Siddiq," 118.

⁸⁷¹ H. Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU* ([*"The Tradition of the Nahdlatul Ulama"*], Yogyakarta: Pusaka Pesantren, 2006), xii, xix.

⁸⁷² In this respect, Alwi Shihab goes even further by saying that due to the work of the early *walis* in Java, Islam was able to assimilate itself to the Javanese reality to such a degree that its Arab identity became invisible. See his *Islam Sufistik: "Islam Pertama" and Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini di Indonesia* ([*"Sufi*

Here, we should also recall in particular the paradigmatic role of Sunan Kalijaga, who as the *wali* par excellence was able to align the recalcitrant Mosque of Java in Demak to the Ka'ba in Mecca, symbolizing the foundation of a distinctive Javano-Islamic identity, an authentic practice of Islam that is deeply grounded in the particularities of Javanese society and culture.⁸⁷³ Quite foundational as well in this regard is the story of Sunan Kalijaga asking his protégé, Sunan Pandanarang, the saint of Tembayat, to remove his mosque from the top of the hill to lower ground, signifying the need for a humble posture of Islam as a new religious force and its immersion into local reality in Java.⁸⁷⁴ This pattern of religio-cultural accommodation has of course helped overcome the binary opposition between the center and periphery. Thus, in this framework, for the traditionalist Javanese Muslims, Islamic identity is in principle bound to local realities, under the overarching theological principle of spreading God's indiscriminating mercy (Ar. *rahma*) to the whole creation.

At this point, it is extremely crucial to note these similar patterns of how these two communities, the traditionalist Muslim and the Catholics in Java, have negotiated their identity vis-à-vis the Javanese culture as the intimate other. For, in light of this comparative insight, one can speak of a shared or common paradigm of inculturation or appropriation of local culture, expressed in the arts, architectures, rituals, and festivals of the shrines. In this respect, one sees the many ways in which the principle of communion and continuity has been continually at work in both communities in their respective

Islam: 'The Primordial Islam' and Its Current Impacts in Indonesia"], Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 24. In this regard, it is also worth noting that the Nahdlatul Ulama understands itself as a religio-cultural force that formally embraces the legacy of the Nine Saints of Java, represented symbolically in their official emblem as the nine stars.

⁸⁷³ See Chapter 1 (I. 2. 2).

⁸⁷⁴ See Chapter 1 (I. 2. 4).

identity formation. As I have argued, a highly important element of this socio-religious hermeneutic of the self is the reconstruction or re-imagination of the personalities and roles of the saints or paradigmatic figures of the respective communities—Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Pandanarang, Father Frans van Lith, the Schmutzers, Father Sanjaya, and so forth—as well as their founding moments. Again, a genuine and long term appropriation of Javanese identity and culture seems to be quite crucial in this process.

As I have just mentioned, Sunan Kalijaga has been hailed as the Javanese *wali* par excellence, especially due to his overall religious sensibility and religio-cultural role. Particularly important in the context of the formation of Javano-Islamic identity in south central Java is his role as the spiritual advisor to the early kings and founders of the Mataram dynasty. As examined in Chapter 1, all the Muslim saints whose cults are popular in south central Java were related to the Mataram dynasty—thus to Kalijaga as well—and to the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. In south central Java, this model of creative and hybrid religio-cultural identity formation continues up to the present. Recently, for instance, we witness the retrieval of the so-called “Kalijagan” way, that is, the idea of the genius of Sunan Kalijaga as a Muslim *wali* in creating a distinctive Islamic culture in Java. In Yogyakarta, this highly prized Kalijagan model and legacy is associated with the mission of the Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁵ In certain circle among contemporary Muslim scholars in Java, there has been a discourse on the need of Muslim leaders and scholars to assume the role of a “steward or broker of culture” (I. *pawang budaya*), historically exemplified by the early Muslim saints of Java as well as the great traditionalist Muslim leaders and scholars (Jv. *kyai*). This concern was expressed, for instance, in the speech by the president of the Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University on the occasion of the granting of the honorary degree to Mustofa Bisri, a prominent Muslim scholar and poet-artist (I. *budayawan*). See the website: http://www.uin-suka.ac.id/detail_kabar.php?id=134 (accessed September 2010). On the role of Muslim leaders and scholars as “cultural brokers” in reference to Clifford Geertz’s coinage, see Chapter 2 (II. 3) of this study.

On the Catholic side, the Dutch Jesuit missionary, Father Frans van Lith, has been portrayed as not only the “founder of the Java mission”, but more specifically and affectionately as the “father of the Javanese Catholics” (Chapter 4). This is because he was a Dutch missionary who, almost miraculously, had become thoroughly “Javanese”. The same pattern occurs with regard to the stature of the Schmutzers with regard to the Catholic appropriation of Javanese culture in the post-van Lith era. Among Javanese Catholics in south central Java, inculturation of the Catholic faith in Javanese soil has also been conceived as one of the most distinctive legacies of the Schmutzers, due to their various crucial roles in this realm.⁸⁷⁶ Along the same line, the Austrian-born Jesuit Fr. Johannes Prennthaler is portrayed as a missionary whose total immersion into the social reality of his poor Javanese flock superseded his overt dislike of the modernist Muhammadiyah organization.⁸⁷⁷

On a personal note, I have to admit that my religio-cultural sensibility as a Javanese has helped me considerably in the back-and-forth movement between Muslim and Catholic shrines. It minimized the sense of alterity when I visit Muslim shrines. For, due to this sensibility, I could relate rather easily to the overall religio-cultural framework of meanings in these shrines, represented in their spatial and architectural arrangements as well as in their rituals and festivals. Not surprisingly, I was never asked of my formal religious identity while spending time at Muslim shrines.⁸⁷⁸ For Javanese pilgrims know that communing with the Divine is at the heart of what it means to be human; and thus can occur in many different ways and contexts that somehow intersect on deeper levels.

⁸⁷⁶ On the role of the Schmutzers, see Chapter 5 (V. 2) and Chapter 6 (VI. 2. 1).

⁸⁷⁷ See Chapter 5 (V. 1. 1).

⁸⁷⁸ In south central Java, all Muslim shrines are open to non-Muslims. Only certain shrines in East Java, such as the shrines of Sunan Bonang and Sunan Ampel put certain limitations to non-Muslim visitors.

In their profound openness, it is rather obvious that these Javanese pilgrims recognize the overwhelming energy for communion of all sorts. Ultimately, this recognition might be related to centrality of harmony, understood precisely as the fruit of the right relationships with the Divine, self, other people across religious boundaries, society at large, and the entire cosmic reality.

For this reason, it was natural for me as a member of this culture to join the pilgrims' conversations on the deeper meanings of life. On this level, my encounters with the Javanese Muslim pilgrims were helped considerably by my Javanese identity that has provided me with common spiritual framework, sensibility and vocabularies. As a Javanese, it is natural for me to join their practice of pilgrimage as *tirakat*—i.e., staying with them all night while doing various spiritual and ascetic practices in the shrine—or to participate in ritual communal meal (Jv. *kenduri*) and other rituals and festivals. My earlier study of Islam, that includes both academic study of foundational texts and history as well as immersion into the wider Islamicate culture outside of Java or Indonesia, definitely contributed to this personal dynamic. However, the overwhelming presence of a shared spiritual epistemology and cosmology creates a much more significant ambience of intimacy and familiarity. Within the Javanese spiritual epistemology and cosmology, the macrocosm and microcosm are always in interaction with each other in search for harmony. In the Javanese sensibility shared by Muslims and Catholics alike, communion with the Divine is always understood in the framework of web of interrelationships, including with paradigmatic figures in the context of sacred places.

Since I grew up in this atmosphere of communion, my participation at the Muslim shrine became quite effortless. As examined in Chapters 3 and 7, Javanese pilgrims in

general tend to employ the same basic spiritual and cultural vocabularies when talking about their experience. For example, as I have mentioned few times, pilgrimage is understood as a *tirakat*, an intensive and intentional journey of self-purification; and the blessing of pilgrimage is understood as profound and lasting peace (Jv. *tentrem*). When Javanese pilgrims, both Muslims and Catholics, use the category of *tentrem* or *slamet* to talk to one another, there is no need for further clarification or argument. They readily understand not only the truth of it as an experience, but also the existential bond implicated in this common search for the underlying peacefulness of human existence. In this regard, the role of the fundamentally inclusive language of *rasa* that I mentioned earlier is also remarkably real in this context, precisely because it makes possible this kind of deeper communication between pilgrims. Due to this framework, I feel I was already living in a comparative theological context, so to speak, where a common language is in place, and where encounters and conversations between peoples of different religions can occur using a third language that does not obliterate these traditions, but rather enriches them on many different levels, including the level of affective connections.

In a way, this common language points to a framework of inclusive comparative learning where Muslims and Catholics find a concrete common ground to talk about their spiritual practices and theological underpinnings. To just continue with the example mentioned earlier, the category of true peace and wellbeing (Jv. *tentrem* or *slamet*) has actually served as a common framework of soteriology, because it points to the notion of “salvation” that people concretely seek. In neither tradition is theological concept of salvation explicitly understood in terms of peacefulness, but this idea makes perfect sense

in both traditions. If the “salvation” of human being (Ar. *insān*) in the Islamic tradition comes full circle when s/he returns to God (Ar. *ma‘ād*), then the deepest sense of peacefulness that people experience when they are communing with God and His spiritual company of saints is of course a crucial existential part of the fullness of salvation as a meeting with God. In this framework, *dhikr* retains its fundamental valence as a constant remembering of God, a central message of the Qur’ān, which also brings about peacefulness through purification of the lower self (Ar. *nafs*) to attain more fully the experiential awareness of God’s unicity (Ar. *tawḥīd*). The same can be said with regard to the practice of *ṣalāt*, *munājāt* and other spiritual practices, both compulsory and supererogatory. The attainment of peacefulness also makes sense for Catholics when salvation is understood as a deeper and overwhelming communion with God through Christ in the Spirit, a communion that results in the freedom from the trappings of the narrowness of human self, and that is realized in a beatific vision (L. *visio beatifica*) when life becomes what it should be, filled with beauty of God.

VIII. 3. Communion with Saints as Ancestors (Devotion, Memory, and History)

As the preceding chapters (Parts One and Two) have all made clear, keeping the memory of the community’s ancestors has served as a larger context for the pilgrimage tradition in both Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java. In fact it is one of the most salient and important similarities between the two. Along this line, what I have attempted to show as well is the shared nexus between culture and religion. As examined in Chapter 1, Javanese culture considers the past as having a real authority and bearing over the present, and the ancestors belong to this category of sacred and authoritative past. In this

framework, we can understand the importance of memory among the Javanese as fundamentally a category of presence and communion. Thus, in this framework, history is by no means a matter of collective nostalgia of the past, but rather a communal habit of keeping the memory of the sacred past alive, celebrating the presence of and connection with this sacred past—which includes paradigmatic figures, ancestors and founders as well as founding events—in various festivals, rituals, communal meals, grave visitation, and so forth.

A crucial element in this framework is the inclusivity of the category of ancestors. In general, the Javanese understand their ancestors not individually, but rather as an inclusive company of paradigmatic figures. In this framework, the idea of sainthood takes on a deeply communal character in the sense that these saints and paradigmatic figures achieve their “sainthood,” so to speak, due to their role and location in the history of the community, that is, in the very process of the becoming of the community. This is why the category of “venerable founders” (Jv. *cikal bakal, pundhen*) becomes of utmost spiritual importance. Here sainthood is not solely a matter of personal piety and moral excellence. The piety and excellence of the saints are of course still quite crucial, but the more important criterion is whether these moral and spiritual categories play a concrete role in the wellbeing of the community.⁸⁷⁹ Such an organic and intimate relationship between sainthood and community helps explain the characteristic of sainthood and saint

⁸⁷⁹ For instance, as we have seen in Chapter 4, in the communal imagination of the Javanese Catholic community, the moral and spiritual excellence of Fr. van Lith, Fr. Prenthaler, Fr. Sanjaya and so forth are always placed in the larger framework of their various roles in the birth, struggle and flourishing of the community. Along the same line, pilgrims to the shrine of Tembayat also treat the saint, Sunan Pandanarang, as the founder and ancestor (Jv. *pundhen*) of the community. It also has to be mentioned that the category of ancestor-saint also explains the exalted position of kings in the religio-cultural sensibility of the Javanese pilgrims.

as a living reality and figure in the community, as well as the need of this community to keep the memory of these founding and paradigmatic figures alive.

In the next chapter, I will delve into the more theological aspect of the memory of ancestors and its relationship with the larger religious traditions of Islam and Catholicism. In this section I just want to reiterate the principal ways in which the category of respecting and keeping memory of the saint-ancestors has continued to play a crucial role in the pilgrimage traditions both among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java.

On the Islamic side, it has to be mentioned that respectful devotion (Jv. *bekti*) to the dead ancestors is part of the traditional Muslim piety in Java—represented largely, but not exclusively, by the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama—through the tradition of the *tahlīl* prayers as well as the ritual communal meal (Jv. *kenduri*).⁸⁸⁰ This explains the prevalence of these rituals in Muslim shrine such as at the grave of Tembayat where the buried saint, Sunan Pandanarang, is considered the founding ancestor (Jv. *pundhen*) of the local community.⁸⁸¹ Many Javanese Muslim pilgrims to this shrine understand their pilgrimage as a respectful visit to their own ancestor (Jv. *nyekar, sowan*). During this visit, pilgrims combine the traditional Javanese etiquette of tomb visitation (such as putting certain kind of flowers on the gravestone and holding a communal ritual meal) with the Islamic etiquette of visiting sacred tombs that includes specific prayers and vows related to the saint.

⁸⁸⁰ These practices are still considered religio-cultural markers of traditional Islam in Java, as has been made clear by the recent defense of the practices among the traditionalist Muslim scholars. See, for instance, H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri*; also H. Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU*.

⁸⁸¹ See Chapter 3 (III. 1).

In this regard, it is important to see the larger relationship between the *tahlīl* prayers for the dead and the spirit of the ritual communal meal. Among traditionalist Muslims in Java, the *tahlīl* prayer is considered as a special prayer for the dead and it basically consists of chanting a combination of certain *sūras* of the Qur'ān and some *dhikr* formulas, especially the formula “There is no god but God” (Ar. *lā ilāha illā Allāh*). It typically begins with the opening chapter of the Qur'ān (Ar. *al-Fātiḥa*) and closes with the declaration of the intention (Ar. *du'ā*). It is crucial to note that this prayer is directed not only for certain dead members of the host family (Ar. *ṣāḥib al-ḥajāṭ*), but rather for all the Muslim dead and ancestors. In most cases, this *tahlīl* prayer is part of the communal meal (Jv. *kenduri*, *slametan*) where food is shared after being blessed. In fact, this Islamized ritual-communal meal is also popularly called *tahlilan*, and the sharing of food is also considered a sharing of God's blessings.⁸⁸² It is also crucial to note that Muslims consider the food to be shared during this communal meal as voluntary alms (Ar. *ṣadaqa*). The semantic field of the Arabic verbal root Ṣ-D-Q includes the notion of *ṣidq* (honest, sincere, authentic) as well as *ṣadīq* (friend). Thus, this sharing is part of solidarity among friends; or better still, this sharing is something that defines the authenticity and sincerity of each person as a friend of others, including the dead members of the community.⁸⁸³

As we have seen, many traditionalist Muslims in Java would also go to certain shrines and holy tombs to do these prayers for the deceased family members at least on

⁸⁸² The various *ḥadīths* that become the foundation of this practice revolve around the idea of the relationship between communal sharing of food and the blessing of God. It is also crucial to see that the idea of doing the *ṣadaqa* for the dead is part of the foundation of the communal ritual meal (Jv. *slametan*) among traditionalist Muslims in Java. On these questions, see H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri*, 5.; also H. Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU*, 232-34; Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa*, 286-90.

⁸⁸³ H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri*, 5.

the anniversary of their deaths. Most prevalent in this regard is holding prayers for them in the shrines of the saints. This is why we find in many sacred tombs or shrines abundant copies of prayer booklets composed in commemoration of the dead, especially deceased parents. Among Javanese Muslims, devotion to the parents is spoken of as *bekti*, to translate the Arabic expression *birr al-wālidain* (filial piety).⁸⁸⁴ In this dynamic, one sees an expansion of the circle of communion in the community of Muslims. For the dead members of the family are placed in the secure protection of God and His company of the righteous dead, the *walis*, who are also considered the community's paradigmatic ancestors. This feature is also organically related to the deeply communal characteristic of saint and sainthood discussed earlier in this chapter.

The remarkable sense of communion with the entire community that includes not only the living and the dead members (ancestors) but also the future members is also expressed in the ritual etiquette of tomb visitation, especially in the greeting to the dead: "May God bless our predecessors as well as those who come after us; and God willing, we will join you in the intermediate world (Ar. *barzakh*)."⁸⁸⁵ Thus, there is the sense that the living members of the Muslim community are not only praying for the dead, but also for the new generation of Muslims. Furthermore, the communion between the living and the dead is greatly enhanced by the realization that the pilgrims will eventually be joining the community of the dead as well. In all this, the intergenerational aspect of communion is quite remarkable, as well as its universalism or inclusivity. For while special categories

⁸⁸⁴ H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri*, 96-97.

⁸⁸⁵ Based on a *ḥadīth* on the authority of 'A'isha; in *Sahīh Muslim*, I/388.

of the dead are also acknowledged such as particular saints and one's parents, all the dead (Muslim) are also addressed.⁸⁸⁶

In the preceding paragraph, I have attempted to show how in the context of pilgrimage to shrines of the saints and the tombs of the ancestors and family members, certain Islamic practices and rituals around the dead have been combined with the Javanese framework of respecting the ancestors and keeping their memory alive. In this regard, there is another important feature of the Islamic tradition that is quite pivotal in this dynamic. It is the notion of *isnād* or *silsila*, that is, the chain of relationship between teachers and students. In the early Islamic tradition, the *isnād* is of course crucial to the legitimacy of the *ḥadīth* transmission. However, it is important to note here as well the function of *isnād* as a means of placing oneself in the dynamic continuity of Islam as a prophetic tradition, as the great Sufi, al-Sha'rānī (d. 1565) exclaimed: "Someone with an *isnād* is like a link in the chain, whenever he moves on any matter the whole chain, up to our master the Messenger of God, moves with him."⁸⁸⁷ Furthermore, the Islamic tradition also understands the *isnād* as a medium of special blessings precisely because it brings the person to a closer connection with or proximity to the Prophet, great teachers, and saints.⁸⁸⁸

Along the same line, among the traditionalist Muslims in Java, this concept of *isnād* and *silsila* refers to the relationship between a master and a student that goes

⁸⁸⁶ H. M. Madchan Anies, *Tahlil dan Kenduri*, 96-97.

⁸⁸⁷ Quoted in Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), 46.

⁸⁸⁸ Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith*, 49, 273.

beyond the technical sense of knowledge transmission.⁸⁸⁹ For this relationship is highly personal as well as intergenerational. It is personal because the students would keep the spiritual remembrance of the teacher(s) throughout their lives. These teachers have become their ancestors in faith. In a real sense, their relationship with the teachers defines their religious identity. To a certain degree, they are also known by others in the community in terms of their association with these teachers. Perhaps more importantly for this study's discourse on the dynamics of sainthood and pilgrimage, this relationship also places them in the wider networks of relationships with other masters and students. Thus, they also regard the teachers of their teacher as their own teachers, and the other students of their master as their brothers, and so forth. This way, the *isnād* or *silsila* relationship becomes wider and deeply intergenerational. This explains the popular phenomenon of pilgrimage done by the *pesantren* students to the tombs of their former teachers and other tombs and sacred sites associated with their teachers. In particular, we see this phenomenon in the Gunungpring shrine where the students of Gus Miek regularly visit the tomb of *Mbah Dalhar*, their former teacher's master.⁸⁹⁰

Without doubt, this phenomenon reveals one of the distinctive characteristics of pilgrimage culture as a culture of communion with an ever widening dynamic. This *isnād*-type relationship presents itself as a way of preserving the memory of the masters and saints and maintaining a sense of communion with them. In the next chapter, we will take up this insight in our effort at understanding anew the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* in light of our comparative visit to the Islamic tradition.

⁸⁸⁹ In this regard, the tradition of *mu'jam al-shuyūkh* is highly interesting. It is a *ḥadīth* collection (Ar. *mu'jam*) where the author provided one *ḥadīth* with a full *isnād* through each of his teachers (Ar. *al-shuyūkh*); it also includes travels. See Jonathan A. C. Brown, *Hadith*, 50.

⁸⁹⁰ See Chapter 1 (I. 3. 3) and Chapter 3 (III. 2. 2).

At this point, however, we should not fail to notice that among Catholics in Java the same logic is also at work, as we have seen in Part Two of this study. For instance, the tomb of Fr. van Lith in Muntilan continues to be a favorite place of pilgrimage among his former students and their families. To a certain degree, we can say that this is a Catholic version of the Muslim *isnād* relationship. Although the great majority of Javanese Catholics would feel connected to Fr. van Lith as the founder of their community, this *isnād* relationship was particularly strong among Javanese Catholics who went to the mission school of Fr. van Lith, something that to a certain extent gets passed on to their children. Students from the adjacent Catholic High School named after this great missionary also pay regular visits. In the same line, we also see that other great missionaries receive the same affective treatment, such as Fr. Prennthaler and Fr. Henricus van Driessche.⁸⁹¹ This affection for former teachers in the faith becomes much more widespread in the community precisely because they have become the founders, the ancestors of the whole community.⁸⁹²

In many different ways, this feature is at work in all the three Catholic shrines under study (Chapter 5). The identity of the Marian shrine of Sendangsono would never be separated from the memory of Father van Lith and Father Prennthaler, as well as Barnabas Sarikrama. In the same way, the mausoleum of Muntilan has become so significant for the entire community, not only due to the memory of Father van Lith and Father Sanjaya, the martyr, but also due to the memory of other founders and ancestors of the community who are buried here. We also see how the memory of the Schmutzer

⁸⁹¹ See Chapter 5 (V. 1. 1; V. 3)

⁸⁹² In this framework, the mausoleum of Muntilan becomes a focal point of pilgrimage for Catholics in south central Java precisely because it houses the tombs of many paradigmatic figures of the community, from the earliest time to the most recent one. See Chapter 5 (V. 3).

family features rather prominently in the Sacred Heart prayer session at the Sacred Heart shrine of Ganjuran.

This intergenerational dynamic of the *isnād* relationship, to a lesser degree, has also been at work in the mushrooming spread of Marian shrines.⁸⁹³ In this dynamic, as has been examined in this study, a particular shrine is connected to its mother shrine through its ‘founder’, i.e., the pilgrim who built it, and who in turn passes it on to his or her children and the larger local community. Thus this kind of shrine becomes a complex memory of founders or ancestors, both communal and familial. In all these, one sees how the *isnād* type of relationship, so to speak, becomes an important pillar in the Javano-Catholic identity. One should notice as well the element of universalism at work, especially in the case of the memory of van Lith: for while he is the founder of the Javano-Catholic community, in many ways his life and work has also been portrayed as beneficial to the larger Javanese or Indonesian society.⁸⁹⁴

In the preceding paragraphs, I have discussed the role of the ritual-communal meal of *slametan* among traditional Muslims in Java in relation to the role of saints as the community’s paradigmatic ancestors. Along the same line, through the practice of *slametan*, Javanese Catholics also appropriate this larger framework of connection with the ancestors as understood in the Javanese culture. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the *slametan* is held regularly in both Islamic and Catholic shrines.⁸⁹⁵ This should be not be surprising given the role of the *slametan* as a pan-Javanese ritual that

⁸⁹³ See Chapter 7 (VII. 1. 2).

⁸⁹⁴ See Chapter 4 (IV. 2. 1).

⁸⁹⁵ See especially Chapter 2 (II. 2. 2) and Chapter 6 (VI. 3).

lies at the heart of Javanese religion.⁸⁹⁶ On this point, the anthropologist Andrew Beatty argues:

The enduring quality of the *slametan* no doubt derives partly from its appeal to basic Javanese values, which transcend local and sectarian differences. It brings together neighbors as fellow men and women, not as fellow Muslims or Hindus. But its form—symbolically dense and comprehensive but at the same time flexible and ambiguous—has also helped it to survive.⁸⁹⁷

The origin of the *slametan* ritual in Java might date back to pre-Islamic times, but its spirit is of course consistent with the larger Islamic tradition in general as well as its saint veneration, as I have just discussed in the previous paragraphs in relation to the practice of the *tahlil* prayer and voluntary alms giving (Ar. *ṣadaqa*). On this point, the American anthropologist Mark Woodward further explains: “the textual notion of charity, and particularly the distribution of food, informs ritual practice in many Muslim societies and is associated with the veneration of saints and Prophet Muḥammad.”⁸⁹⁸ In light of this, one can understand why traditionalist Muslims in Java fervently defend the *slametan* (*tahlilan*, *kenduri*) as one of their most distinctive religio-cultural practices.

Although Javanese Catholics have never had to defend their appropriation of the *slametan*, it is perhaps worth noting that in early Christianity the pagan practice of ritual

⁸⁹⁶ Affirming what Clifford Geertz has argued several decades ago, the British anthropologist Andrew Beatty remarks on the *slametan*: “As a ritual frame adaptable to diverse faiths and ideologies it remains at the heart of Javanese religion. As an example of religious syncretism, it shows how—and with what inventive grace—people can come to terms with their differences.” Andrew Beatty, “Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese *Slametan*,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (1996): 286.

⁸⁹⁷ Andrew Beatty, “Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese *Slametan*,” 286.

⁸⁹⁸ Woodward, “The *Slametan*,” 64. Referring to various sources, Woodward shows how it was customary to offer feasts at the Prophet’s tomb and these meals were understood as both alms and source of blessing; imperial distribution of food during *mawlid* was also known. Furthermore, the ritual use of food is also common in the practice of contemporary Egyptian Sufi orders.

of dining with the dead was transformed into Eucharist in the cemetery.⁸⁹⁹ In this connection, it is also crucial to see that in contemporary south central Java, a rather curious development occurs on the similar ways in which the Muslim and Catholic communities continue to appropriate this ritual-communal meal of *slametan* into their respective traditions of saint veneration and pilgrimage.⁹⁰⁰ In my view, due to this kind of common practice, the two communities get closer to each other, and this practice also reveals the adaptation of similar religio-cultural strategies to respond to the need of the contemporary Javanese society.

To conclude, in this section I have shown how the category of ancestral relationship that is prominent in the Javanese culture connects the Muslim and Catholic communities with their paradigmatic figures in some distinctive ways⁹⁰¹; and how

⁸⁹⁹ On this question, Robin M. Jensen remarks: “Gradually, the tradition of eating a meal with the dead was also transformed into the practice of celebrating a Eucharist at an ‘ordinary’ funeral. First at the tomb, then at the altar, the church family gathered to hear the tales of heroism and to eat a meal—celebrating the lives of their spiritual as well as blood ancestors. Funerals and food, then as now, are a natural combination.” Robin M. Jensen, “Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity,” in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, eds. Laurie Brink, O. P. and Deborah Green (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 107.

⁹⁰⁰ As examined throughout this study, the ritual and communal meal, the *slametan*, has been an integral part of saint veneration among Javanese Muslims in south central Java. However, it is very interesting to see a new development in this regard, also in connection with the new inculturated Catholic practice of saint veneration at the Ganjuran shrine. As we have seen in Chapter 6 (VI. 3.1), this Catholic practice is marked by thanksgiving as well as requests for all sorts of blessings. Pilgrims from all over Indonesia send their prayer intentions that are then read aloud at the beginning of the ritual. It is rather surprising to find that a very similar practice is now becoming more and more popular among Javanese Muslim pilgrims at the royal mausoleum of Kotagedhe, combining the Islamic *tahlil* prayer with the Javanese *slametan* in which a large number of petitions from pilgrims are also read out loud. Led by the custodians of the mausoleum who dress in the Javanese traditional outfit (the Surakarta style), this regular ritual is done in Arabic and Javanese. In the particular session that I attended on May 14, 2009, two Javanese monarchs of the Mataram dynasty (Panembahan Senapati and Pakubuwono XIII) were remembered and prayed for in a special way. In the prayers, Panembahan Senapati and his families buried here were addressed as pious and powerful ancestors.

⁹⁰¹ In this respect, it is interesting to see a similar phenomenon in Egypt where the prevalence of the cult of saints among Coptic Christians and Muslims is also based on certain features of the ancient Egyptian belief with regard to the dead and their interaction with the living. For instance, as Valerie Hoffman has shown, the popularity of the tradition of writing letters addressed to the Muslim jurist al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 820) at his tomb in the famous al-Qarafa cemetery in Cairo, is actually an Islamic borrowing from the ancient

through the framework of ancestral relationship, sainthood and the pilgrimage tradition take on a strongly communal and intergenerational character. This way, pilgrimage is still very deeply personal, though never solely individualistic. It is also an expression of a deep sense of belonging to the community with its sacred history. In both communities, this process results in the stronger sense of communal identity due to the participation and integration of the members of the respective communities. However, this sense of belonging, while rather firm and distinctive, never becomes exclusive, precisely because of the shared Javanese cultural symbols and sensibilities as well as more direct encounters between the two communities in this framework of ancestral relationship. Due to their common cultural background, they foster respect, in various ways, for Javanese paradigmatic figures of the past.⁹⁰² As this study shows, both communities also appropriate the ancestral framework of the Javanese culture through the filters of their own tradition, a crucial point that I will explore further in the next chapter.

VIII. 4. Pilgrimage as Devotion and Spiritual Quest for Peace and Wellbeing

As Chapters 3 and 7 have shown, the desire to achieve integral wellbeing and peacefulness is among the most common motivational frameworks for both Muslim and Catholic pilgrims. We have seen in Chapter 3 how the category of *tentrem*—the Javanese

Egyptian custom of writing letters to the dead. See Valerie J. Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern Egypt*, 354.

⁹⁰² Although this respect is expressed differently, many Javanese across religious affiliations would have respect for paradigmatic figures such as Panembahan Senapati (r. 1588-1601), the legendary founder of the Mataram dynasty, Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1646), the greatest monarch of this dynasty, Prince Dipanagara (1785-1855), the Sufi prince who fought against the Dutch in the Java War (1825-1830), Ranggawarsita (1802-1873), the Sufi poet of the Surakarta court, and so forth. Pilgrimage as *laku* or *tirakat* is part of the communal remembrance of these figures. This is why the places that are associated with them during their pilgrimage journey become sites of pilgrimage as well. As we have seen in different parts of this study, the Parangtritis area (Map 1.3) is associated with Senapati's journey, while the shrine of Tembayat is associated as well with the visit of Sultan Agung. Dipanagara's formative pilgrimage included some of the sites visited by Senapati and Sultan Agung.

understanding of peacefulness in its most fundamental and comprehensive sense—is also understood as the true blessings of God (Jv. *berkah*, Ar. *baraka*) by Javanese Muslim pilgrims. A rather typical Javanese pilgrim insightfully identifies his pilgrimage solely in terms of searching for fundamental peacefulness and integral wellbeing, using Javanese concepts of *Nyai Tentrem* and *Kyai Slamet*. In Javanese, *Kyai* and *Nyai* are titles of high respect for male and female respectively. Typically used for persons of high religious and social status, these terms would also be used for things believed to possess supernatural power, such as sacred heirlooms left behind by kings or saints. Thus, by designating wellbeing as *Kyai Slamet* and true peace as *Nyai Tentrem*, this Javanese pilgrim holds them as personified sacred pillars of true human existence.

This phenomenon is highly revealing in terms of the Javanese spiritual sensibility, expressing a deepest longing for the full flourishing of life marked by depth, balance and integration. It is in this larger framework of searching for the true meaning of life that Muslim pilgrims at the Tembayat shrine make the distinction between worldly and ambiguous boon (Jv. *perolehan*) and true blessings of God (Jv. *berkah*). For pilgrims in crisis, both Muslim and Catholic, this search for true peace might take a more arduous path. Many of them would stay for a longer period in the shrine, or do the visits repeatedly, to go through a rather intense process of self-questioning and soul-searching in the context of their relationship to God so that they are able to come to terms with the “problematic” aspects of their own lives. Among Muslim ascetic wandering pilgrims, this search of true peace takes the form of an even longer and more arduous journey, moving from one shrine to the next during a more extended period of time. Their daily spiritual regimens of Qur’ānic recitations, canonical prayer (Ar. *ṣalāt*), intimate conversations

with God (Ar. *munājāt*), fasting, and so forth, are meant to serve such a purpose. In this highly personal context of pilgrimage, true peace could not be achieved without purification of the heart.

Among Javanese Catholic pilgrims, this framework of peacefulness is also remarkable, functioning as the framework for understanding other more specific blessings of pilgrimage. Even among young pilgrims, the search for peace is quite striking. In this regard, we also see how the Javanese spiritual method of attaining deep peace (the *ning-nang-nung* philosophy) is appropriated by Javanese Catholics precisely because it has been the traditional Javanese way of achieving a deeper sense of peacefulness that results from coming deeper into oneself—that is, purifying the self or the heart from all sorts of distractions caused by egoism and other distorted desire—as well as communing with God through spiritual practices.⁹⁰³ As one can see, this process is nothing other than the formation of a holistic person whose wholeness comes from the right relationships with the self, God, and others. The core of this philosophy of life is still quite prevalent among Javanese in general, to such a degree that it serves as a common framework to describe the dynamics of pilgrimage as an intense period of purification of the heart (Jv. *laku, tirakat*). Although no Muslim shrine in south central Java formally adopts this philosophy, the spirit of this practice lies at the heart of many Muslim pilgrims' spiritual experience during pilgrimage. For, as we have noted throughout our study, crucial in the practice of pilgrimage among many Javanese Muslims is the process of purifying the *nafs* and spiritual intentions through ascetic and

⁹⁰³ See Chapter 7 (VII. 2)

spiritual practices, in order to achieve the true *baraka* of peacefulness and wellbeing (Jv. *tentrem, slamet*).

In all this, we see how the spiritual means employed might be specific to Islam and Catholicism (such as the *dhikr*, the *munājāt*, the station of the cross etc) as well as Javanese spirituality (meditation, fasting, the spiritual framework of *ning nang nung*, and so forth). However, the underlying framework is the same: namely, cultivating the spiritual self in order to achieve a deeper sense of communion and harmony with God, the Real, the self, the other, and the surroundings, both social and cosmic.

It is also crucial to see that for both Muslim and Catholic pilgrims, this experience of peacefulness serves as the deepest, most personal and long lasting blessing and fruit of pilgrimage. For this experience involves a deeply personal and spiritual process of discernment, openness, clarity, and balance in communing with the Divine presence. On the personal level, this search for peacefulness makes the relationship between pilgrimage and the “self” overwhelmingly evident. I have argued that among Muslim and Catholic pilgrims, this feature is intimately related to the general notion of devotion in pilgrimage as deeper and dynamic connectedness to God and His spiritual company of saints. We have seen that this devotion is highly personal and that it develops over time. It is also intergenerational in the way it gets passed on from generation to generation. That is why I argue that devotion and the search for true peace and wellbeing should be taken as more fundamental factor in the pilgrimage experience understood in its experiential and contextual complexities, rather than a short-term quests for some worldly boon.

It also crucial to note that the inner experience of peacefulness serves as an important criterion that pilgrims use to gauge the deeper and personal meanings of the

shrines, i.e., whether the shrine is filled with Divine presence. Due to this characteristic, peacefulness is an inclusive experience and criterion in the context of pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java. The fact that peacefulness (Jv. *tentrem*, *slamet*) is at the heart of Javanese philosophy of life is of course crucial with regard to its inclusiveness. In the framework of the *ning-nang-nung* philosophy that I discussed at greater length earlier, this inclusiveness stems also from its basic spiritual dynamism toward *hanung* and *dunung*.⁹⁰⁴ These two Javanese words are normally employed to explain the last part of the philosophy (the *nung* part). The semantic field of these loaded Javanese words includes magnanimity, generosity, wisdom, loving-kindness, balance, open-mindedness, forgiveness, avoiding fanaticism or extremism, and so forth.⁹⁰⁵ In the Javanese concept of *dunung*, there is a dynamic of knowing the existential state of the self in relation to the whole reality. Thus it involves the process of coming to deeper terms with the true self, the true nature of reality and life, and then acting accordingly. At the end of the day, one would obtain a spiritual mastery over the self (Jv. *wenang*, being in control of one's self) that amounts to true wisdom.⁹⁰⁶ As examined in this study, this very dynamic is pivotal in the Javanese understanding of pilgrimage as *laku* and *tirakat*. This is why the custodian of the Tembayat shrine remarks that life without *laku*, including *ziarah*, will be very hard; for, it is extremely difficult to achieve the state of peace and surrender (Jv. *tentrem*, *sumeleh*) without this practice.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁴ See Chapter 7 (VII. 2).

⁹⁰⁵ See Ki Priyo Dwiarto, "Problem Solving a la Ki Hadjar Dewantara," *The Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily, April 3, 2008.

⁹⁰⁶ Other possibility suggested by the word *nang* here is "me-*nang*", which means victory, understood more spiritually or internally in this context (like the key Qur'ānic terms *fath*/*futāḥ* and *naṣr* in Arabic).

⁹⁰⁷ Interview, May 18, 2009.

As this study has shown, the dynamism of devotion among both Muslim and Catholic pilgrims leads to more fundamental and longer lasting peacefulness, a deeper sense of integration with the whole reality, God, the self and the other. At this point, it has to be noted as well that true peacefulness includes and is manifested in the dynamism toward an act of loving surrender to God. The Javanese word for this stage is *sumeleh*, as opposed to the rather fatalistic sense of *pasrah*. In the experience of many pilgrims, the move from resigning to a difficult reality or crisis in life (Jv. *pasrah*) to true comprehensive self-surrender to God (Jv. *sumeleh*) is never easy and it takes an arduous path. However, as many pilgrims would testify, it is this very process—realizing the crisis, struggling to understand its major factors and directions, then finding the deeper meanings and educational purposes of the crisis through an act of faith in the providential care of God—that forms the core of spiritual renewal. Again, one can say that the peak of the process is attainment of the spiritual virtue of *sumeleh*, surrendering one's whole self to God. This virtue is deeply related to the Javanese ideal of serenity, as well as to Islamic spirituality's notion of the culminating spiritual station of the soul at peace with God (Ar. *nafs al-muṭma'inna*, Qur'ān 89:27). In *Serat Cabolèk*, a Javano-Islamic mystical treatise from 18th century, this idea is described in terms of a profound experience of peace that occurs when the seeker, the Mahabharata hero Bhima, enters into the womb of Dewaruci, the spiritual figure that represents both his master and true self. The text says: "Bhima's heart is now peaceful and tranquil, in complete surrender, no longer troubled by anything."⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁸ *Serat Cabolèk*, Canto VIII. 53.40; Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 126.

Many traditional Javanese Muslim and Catholic pilgrims alike would talk about the quality of this peacefulness in connection with the category of *rasa*. As examined in chapter I, this central category in Javanese spirituality is quite pivotal in the attainment of spiritual liberation by Javanese Muslim saints, like King Brawijaya or Sunan Kalijaga, as many Javanese texts describe it. In Javanese religiosity, the notion of *rasa* is intimately connected with the mystical doctrine of the true origin and destination of human life (Jv. *sangkan paran*).⁹⁰⁹ As I have shown, *rasa* is also understood in connection to the Islamic idea of the heart as the abode of the deepest “secrets” or mysteries (Ar. *sirr*), the core of the self. In this framework, it is in the realm of *rasa* that the Javanese make the inner journey to the self and God. Thus, cultivated through the spiritual practice of pilgrimage as *laku* and *tirakat* with its emphasis on the attainment of the various spiritual virtues of inner peace, tranquility and self-control (represented by the Javanese philosophy of *ning nang nung*), the most authentic sense of the surrender (Jv. *sumeleh*) should be experienced in the realm of *rasa*.⁹¹⁰ In all this, one understands the common framework of ways in which the Javanese Muslim and Catholic pilgrims experience the depth and quality of the spiritual communion with God, the saint, the self and various forms of otherness.

Finally, at this point it has to be noted as well that for the Javanese, the dynamic of pilgrimage always includes an emphasis on the return journey to ordinary life. In the

⁹⁰⁹ See Chapter 1 (I. 2. 3).

⁹¹⁰ It is important to note in this connection that the sense of humility before God—that can be driven by a sense of total helplessness of the pilgrims in the face of the major crises of life—can lead to a different way of coping with the alterity of the strangers. This is because it puts God as the sole horizon, in which all kinds of otherness will find a rightful place and reconciliation. For a treatment of the virtue of humility in interfaith dialogue, see Catherine Cornille, *The Im-possibility of Interreligious Dialogue* (Herder and Herder/Crossroad, 2008), chapter 1. Here, the idea of Bernard of Clairvaux that humility leads to “apophatic” experience of God is very insightful, for it reflects the kind of experience that many pilgrims have.

story of Dewaruci or Sèh Malaya (Sunan Kalijaga), the relationship between pilgrimage and this mystical journey is made stronger by the return journey of Bhima (or Kalijaga) from the peak of mystical moment to his ordinary self and ordinary duty as a warrior. Like Bima or Kalijaga, the pilgrims have to complete the pilgrimage journey by returning to ordinary life where the power of the mystical encounter should be made real.⁹¹¹

VIII. 5. The Sacredness of Space, Things and Time (Sacramentality)

Earlier in this chapter, we have seen the *mandala* as a cosmic framework for sacred space, that is, as a space of supernatural presence and communion. In the context of south central Java, this framework is Javano-Muslim, used by the court of Yogyakarta to understand its geographical territory as supernaturally charged. The Catholic shrine of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Ganjuran takes up the *mandala* symbolism to also emphasize the inner or deeper aspect of the encounter between pilgrims and God in the spatial context of the shrine. Both Catholic and Muslim pilgrims find the geographical—or rather, “cosmic”—location of the shrines very instrumental in rendering these shrines special as a space for encountering and communing with the Divine. In a sense, I argue that both Catholic and Muslim pilgrims see this sacred cosmic dimension of the shrines in deeply sacramental terms because in many different ways it conveys the presence of God and it helps them commune with this presence.

I will explore more fully the notion of sacramentality or sacramental vision later in Chapter 9. In a nutshell, I understand the sacramental vision as a vision that basically

⁹¹¹ See Chapter 1 (I. 2. 3). In this regard, Nancy Florida’s further comment on the “material spirituality” of the Javanese is insightful. She writes: “Rather, I mean to emphasize that, historically, spirituality in Java has not necessarily, or even ideally, meant a quietistic turning away from the world. Ideally, Javanese spiritual practices instead imply an activism, an interest—in nonderogatory sense—in the transformation of the world.” Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 262.

understands the dynamics of our deeper communion with God as always occurring in the larger context of God's presence and manifestation in the world, both the natural and social worlds.⁹¹² I argue that in this respect one sees an overwhelming similarity between Javanese Muslim and Catholic pilgrims. In the next chapter I will delve into the more theological foundations of this question from both Islamic and Catholic perspectives. Now, my focus is to show that it is in the actual practice of pilgrimage that this affinity and similarity becomes overwhelmingly manifest. To a certain degree, this tells us something important about the attractiveness and richness of pilgrimage. For, as examined in this study, while the more spiritual or inner meaning or blessing of pilgrimage as a journey of self to God through purification into lasting peacefulness becomes more and more crucial for pilgrims in the continuum of their spiritual journey, this overarching spiritual framework also translates into a myriad of more tangible ways in which communion with God is concretely experienced, and then reflected in the pilgrim's life. Again, I argue that it is this distinctive aspect of pilgrimage that renders it appealing to pilgrims. It also explains why pilgrimage can become a rich and integral framework for religious formation.

In what follows, I will reiterate the many tangible ways of communion with God, self and others, that happen in the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions and

⁹¹² Thus, I do not understand the word "sacramental" in its specific relation to the institution of the Church as a mediation of this sacramental encounter with God, as Avery Dulles seems to emphasize (see his *The Catholicity of the Church* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985], chapter 6). My understanding and emphasis are related to the more fundamental sense of "catholicity" of the grace of God and the nature of the Church, that is, the universality of God's true grace, providence and presence in the whole created reality, making it sacramentally instrumental in the communion between humans and God. In this respect, I draw fundamental insights from the "sacramental ontology" developed by various Catholic theologians in the so-called *nouvelle théologie* school prior to Vatican II, such as Henri de Lubac, Marie-Dominique Chenu, Yves Congar, Hans Urs von Balthasar and others. On the sacramental ontology of these theologians, see Hans Boersma, *Nouvelle Théologie and Sacramental Ontology: A Return to Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

experience. In this respect, the first thing to note is that the very structure of the presentation of this comparative theological study is governed by the breadth of the sacramental vision as a vision of communion. This is why the structure of this study on the dynamics of communion with God in pilgrimage is founded on three major elements, namely history; sacred space, arts, architecture and rituals; and the experiential world of the pilgrims. Since I have just discussed the third element in the preceding section, the rest of this section will be devoted to the discussion on how a sacramental logic works in the context of the first two major elements.

Within this sacramental view of reality, history is understood as a sacred past that has become a pivotal instrument of God's providential care for the community. In this particular understanding of history, the memory of the founding moment of the community, as well as the role of the saints as the founding figures, become distinctively crucial. As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Javanese Muslim saint Sunan Kalijaga and the Dutch Jesuit missionary Father Frans van Lith are considered important religiously for the Javanese Muslim and Javanese Catholic communities respectively, not only because of their spiritual virtues, feats and miracles, but also because of their special location in the community's sacred history. In this regard, as I have argued, pilgrimage is also driven by a desire to commune with the sacred past, something that plays an ongoing role in the identity formation of the community. In this sense, identity formation is deeply religious in the sacramental sense as understood here. Or, stated differently, sacramental vision of the past—that is, the ability to see the past as sacred, as revealing God's loving providence and care for the community—becomes one of the concrete ways in which complex identities such as Javano-Islamic and Javano-Catholic are creatively

forged. This is the religious logic underlying what I call “the principle of continuity with the past” that has been embraced by both communities in south central Java in their hybrid identity formation. As examined in many different occasions in this study, both communities always strive to not sever their connection with the past, a shared characteristic that is noticeable in their aversion to the notion of rupture or radical break.⁹¹³ This principle is at work in the conversion story of the Muslim saint, Sunan Kalijaga, as well as in the foundational story of the Sendangsono Marian shrine.⁹¹⁴

The second major aspect in this sacramental vision concerns its more concrete spatial, artistic, architectural and ritual dimensions. In the context of pilgrimage, as I have tried to show in Parts One and Two, the continuing presence of God, the sacred past, the collective identity of the community, as well as the discernment of the current community in negotiating this complex identity are also understood as intimately related in different ways to the sacred spaces like sacred shrines and tombs of the saints, together with their distinctive architectural features and rituals. Again, in this context, spiritual experience has a deeply sensuous aspect to it.

In terms of architectural styles, we have seen the distinctive way that the particular stylistic forms of the Grand Mosque of Java (the Demak Mosque) and the shrine of Tembayat were governed by a principle of respecting local reality, the Javanese culture. As I have mentioned, quite memorable in this respect is the story of Kalijaga’s feat in negotiating the ongoing place of the Javanese culture in the formation of the

⁹¹³ On the principle of continuity with the past—that includes Hindu-Buddhist religio-cultural tradition as well as paradigmatic figures such as the last Hindu king, Brawijaya V—in the Islamic context in Java, see Chapter 1.

⁹¹⁴ In particular, note the smooth replacement (from within) of the local guardian spirits by the Christian figures of Mary and Jesus in the founding narratives of this Marian grotto. See Chapter 5 (V. 1. 2).

Muslim community in Java.⁹¹⁵ In this regard, sacramental vision is a vision of respecting particular realities including local culture as ultimately related to the concreteness of God's communication and grace to the people. By the same token, the formation of a hybrid identity (such as Javano-Islamic identity) could also be understood in this dynamic of respecting local reality that has become part and parcel of the collective self-identity of the people themselves. As we have examined, this is the religio-cultural vision embraced by the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama, whose wide and deep rooted presence in rural Java has helped shape the distinctive Javano-Islamic pilgrimage culture. As I argue, the concrete and longer lasting result of this sacramental vision is the so-called Javano-Islamic identity.

In terms of architecture and rituals, this sacramental principle of communion has enabled the Javano-Islamic community to embrace the religious "other," not only in terms of its outward forms (whether ritual, architectural or artistic) but also its deeper significance. The process has of course been selective, as I have tried to show, but it is crucial to see this selectiveness as a concrete expression of a broader communal discernment, a religio-cultural hermeneutic on identity formation vis-à-vis forms of alterity. At this point in this study, there is no need to reiterate the various pre-Islamic (Hindu-Javanese) artistic symbolisms that have been embraced by different Islamic shrines and their communities in Java. In general, this inclusion of the other signals an acknowledgement of the continuing validity of the older legacy, a crucial point whose meanings could only be identified or known through a complex religio-cultural process that includes, among others, the corresponding religious and spiritual experience of the

⁹¹⁵ See the second section of this chapter; also Chapter 1 (I. 2. 1; I. 2. 2).

community itself. Again, this accomplished inclusion reveals the underlying cultural desire to preserve continuity with the past that, due to certain historical dynamics, has assumed a certain degree of alterity, as in the case of the Hindu-Buddhist legacy among Muslims and Catholics in Java. This inclusion turns these sacred spaces into more inclusive sites, but it also requires an ongoing discernment that can be complex and fragile. I have attempted to offer in Chapter 2 some pertinent interpretation on the possible meanings of Javano-Islamic hybrid art in the Tembayat shrine.⁹¹⁶ However, it is crucial to note here that this kind of interpretation is plausible and makes sense if it is placed within the larger framework of pilgrimage as an integral practice where pilgrims are made to realize and undergo the purification of intentions in their unending process of making sense of the whole experience.⁹¹⁷

On the Catholic side, this complex discernment is well illustrated in Josef Schmutzer's agenda of inculturating the universality of Christian faith in the particularities of Javanese people and culture. For Schmutzer, the founder of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran, the particular Hindu-Javanese style of the shrine was instrumental in expressing the concreteness of God's love in Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit for the Javanese people. Responding to these particularities, the universality of God's love needs to be made concrete and particular, also in terms of artistic and architectural symbolism. In his Catholic imagination, the universal divine Love—which he always understood in terms of Christ's outpouring of mercy and the Spirit's work—

⁹¹⁶ For example, the deeper meanings of the various images of meditating Buddhas, Hindu temples or Hindu-Javanese crown (flanked by lions, crocodiles etc) in the shrine of Tembayat might have to be put in the framework of the corresponding experience of pilgrimage as a journey of self-purification. See Chapter 2 (II. 1).

⁹¹⁷ On this point, see Chapter 3 (II. 3. 1.) and Chapter 7 (VII. 2.)

meant profound respect for the particularities of local realities and peoples.⁹¹⁸ In this framework, as I have mentioned previously, while Christianity was initially conceived of as a reviver of the Javanese culture, as it turns out in the process, Christianity itself, in concrete and subtle ways, is revived, reinvigorated by the particularities of the Javanese reality and culture. For the whole idea of revivification could not possibly work without the response of the people, who are the living embodiment of the culture.

As I have examined in Chapter 4, this logic of sacramentality was also at work in the agenda of the Javanese Catholic intellectuals at formative points during the past century for preserving their Javaneseness within their Catholic identity. Their Javano-Catholic hybrid identity was profoundly sacramental in its stubborn belief that the goodness of Javanese culture was a blessing, a concrete manifestation of the catholicity of God's grace that should not be dismissed *in toto*. As Chapter 4 shows, this ultimately successful negotiation of hybrid identity was historically rather dramatic. The racial tensions in a late colonial society turned this sacramental vision into a truly prophetic vision of unity. For, being rooted in the primordial understanding of catholicity, it refused to adopt the much easier dichotomous framework of either Javanese native culture or the European component of Catholicism. Instead, this vision opted for the much more complex yet inclusive framework that preserved both. Among other things, this vision clearly exposed the limits of oppressive colonialism and narrow nationalism that were both driven by racism, either tacit or manifest.⁹¹⁹

In the context of pilgrimage, any discourse on sacramentality of course has to take into account the nature of sacred things or items used in the rituals, or otherwise

⁹¹⁸ Chapter 5 (V. 2) and Chapter 6 (VI. 2. 1).

⁹¹⁹ See Chapter 4 (IV. 2. 3).

connected to the shrines and their saints. Again, pilgrimage is at its foundation a habit of the heart, but it is also a very tangible experience, involving a rich material culture and driven by the principle of finding ways to commune with the blessings of God. Among the most tangible manifestation of God's blessing is the holy water that is very popular in Catholic shrines, but also not completely absent in the Muslim shrines. In this regard, the blessings that the holy water contains also unite Muslims and Catholics, as the case of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran shows.⁹²⁰ In the same dynamics of connecting people to one another in the framework of devotion to God and the saints, souvenirs play an interesting ongoing role as well. For they connect pilgrims with shrines through tangible memorabilia, sharing the tangible *baraka* of pilgrimage to family and friends, thus forming a network of horizontal, socialized communion. In this regard, as I mentioned in Chapter 5, it is very interesting to see the development in the discernment of the Javanese Catholic community on the sacramental principle of communion with regard to the holy water of the Marian shrine at Sendangsono. For this water with a power to cure was used first as a sign of superiority of Christianity over paganism and Islam, but it is now taken as truly sacramental sign of God's grace that brings about an ever widening communion between people across religious traditions.⁹²¹

It is also interesting to note the degree to which Muslim and Catholic pilgrims in Java share the understanding of the sacramentality of time. Influenced by a constellation of their respective religious tradition and common Javanese culture, they have come to regard certain times as more propitious for visiting the shrines. For example, Thursday night (Friday eve) in general is considered to be propitious, most likely due to the

⁹²⁰ See Chapter 7 (VII. 3).

⁹²¹ See Chapter 5 (V. 1).

influence of the Islamic tradition. However, the Javanese also consider the eve of the Friday *Kliwon* that occurs every 35 days in the hybrid lunar Javano-Islamic calendar particularly propitious, unmistakably showing the influence of the Javanese local culture. On the Catholic side, the popularity of Friday largely stems from the tradition that the first Friday is devoted to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. However, in this regard, the influence of the Javanese culture can be seen in the fact that it is the eve of Friday (as opposed to the day of Friday) that is particularly viewed as propitious. For as a comparison, it is the day (instead of the eve) of Friday that is considered propitious both by Muslims and Christians in many Middle Eastern countries.⁹²² Furthermore, due to a common Javanese influence, the eves of Tuesday and Friday *Kliwon* are considered particularly favorable among Javanese Muslims and Catholics, despite the absence of scriptural or more widespread traditional bases in their respective traditions. In my view, what this similarity achieves or signifies is the creation of a dramatic moment of common devotion. For this common sacred time creates a shared framework of sacramental time. During this sacred moment, the two traditions merge on a uniquely spiritual level, together emanating that common energy of devotion that I described at the beginning of this chapter.

By way of conclusion and before proceeding to the next section, let me reiterate that one of the basic theological arguments in this comparative study is that the whole

⁹²² In Syria, for example, many Muslim families foster a habit of doing the tomb visitation on Friday morning. Typically they spend quite a bit of time in the cemetery, cleaning the graves and then reading Qur'ānic verses and offering prayers for the deceased family members. These Muslims would also visit shrines of the saints, such as the shrine of Shaykh Arslan just outside of the Christian quarter (Bab Touma) and the shrines of various Muslim figures in the Bab al-Saghir cemetery in Damascus. Curiously, the Christians (mostly Eastern) have a similar habit of visiting various shrines on Friday morning. The most popular Christian pilgrimage sites are the shrine of Our Lady of Seidnayya and the shrine of St. Thecla in Ma'alula that also attract Muslim pilgrims. During my stay in Syria in the fall and winter of 2008, I divided my Fridays between Muslim cemeteries and Christian shrines, a dynamic of double visiting that I discussed earlier in this chapter.

practice of saint veneration in Islam and Catholic Christianity presupposes a sacramental worldview. Stated broadly, this sacramental worldview holds that God's presence can be encountered in the very reality of our personal, interpersonal, natural (cosmic) and social world; that this reality has the capability to make God's glory, wisdom and providential care and grace manifest, and thus to become sacred in relation to God; that our world and community are connected to God in various ways, including through paradigmatic figures, saints and founders of the community. I argue that the spirit of integral and comprehensive communion with God in the sacramental worldview and traditional cosmology—such as found among traditional Javanese today—lies at the very foundation of the understanding and practice of sainthood and saint veneration in both traditions.⁹²³

VIII. 6. Observable Particularities

So far the focus of our comparative analysis is on the overwhelming similarities, the meeting points between Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions as they are practiced in south central Java. Of course, this preferred way of proceeding does not mean that particularities or differences among the two are non-existent. In this regard, it has to be made clear that even the points of similarities that I have identified so far occur in the context of particularities. In different ways and to various degrees, I have also tried to make this aspect rather clear in my presentation. For example, while the blessing of peace is strikingly common to both Muslim and Catholic pilgrims, and while this blessing is often understood and achieved in and through shared Javanese cultural frameworks, it is still to a large degree connected to the specificities of Islam and Catholic traditions. In the

⁹²³ The major aspects of this insight will be explored in Chapter 9.

religious sensibility of most Catholic pilgrims, the grace of this peace is ultimately bestowed by God through Christ, while the experience of praising and being in spiritual communion with the Prophet Muḥammad could not be separated from the pilgrimage ritual and experience of many Muslim pilgrims. Many traditional Muslims strongly believe that *salawāt*, the special prayers for the Prophet that have become part of the standard ritual etiquette of Muslim pilgrimage, bring God's abundant blessings to them, including peacefulness in the heart. One can also say that the role of Mary in this dynamic of communion and blessing is in general much more central and affectionate among Catholic pilgrims, compared to Muslim pilgrims, although they might visit the same Marian shrine.

In this section I can only briefly identify two observable differences in these Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions, particularly with regard to the profile of the venerated paradigmatic saintly figures as well as the nature of the spread of the shrines. In this regard, as various chapters in this study have shown, Islamic pilgrimage sites in Java are originated in historical and "local" saintly persons, that is, the *wali* (Ar. *walī*) or the charismatic religious leaders who lived or are buried there. Among other things, this fact reveals that Islam has over time been rooted more deeply in the history and fabric of Javanese society. It is true that none of the Muslim saints that we have studied here is widely known beyond Southeast Asia, but this fact of regionalism might point to the different notion of oikumene in Islam. In a rather stark contrast to Roman Catholicism, Sunni Islam has no official list of saints (Ar. *awliyā'*) to be venerated worldwide, thus

providing a spacious room for the inclusion of local paradigmatic and saintly figures.⁹²⁴ In fact, the inclusion of local paradigmatic figures or saints has been one of the distinctively local characteristics of Islam in Java that ultimately contributes to the richness of universal Islam.

As I argue throughout this study, the practice of Catholic Christianity in south central Java has taken a distinctively local flavor as well, again due to its hybrid Javano-Catholic identity. This feature is visible in the profiles of its shrines. As we have examined, the most important Catholic shrines in Java are related to foundational events of the community, or built in the model of international Catholic shrines such as Lourdes, or a combination of both. To commemorate the founding of the local Catholic community, the Sendangsono Marian shrine is intentionally modeled after the famous mother shrine of Lourdes in southern France; while the provenance of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran that marked the coming of age of this local Catholic community could not be separated from the popularity of that devotion in Europe, the Netherlands in particular, since the 19th century. This combination of local history and international connection has without doubt played a major role in the popular appeal of these shrines. Apart from its more obvious connection to Catholic internationalism and relative uniformity in saint veneration, this fact is no doubt related as well to the comparatively recent historical presence of the Catholic Church in Java. It is very telling to see that the

⁹²⁴ This does not mean that no “international” Muslim saints are known in Java, or south central Java in particular. As we have seen, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādirīyah Sufi order, is still the most popular international saint in Java. His life story or deeds (Ar. *manāqib*) is well known in Java. The ritual of *manakiban*, a gathering in praise and commemoration of al-Jīlānī based on his *manāqib*, is rather widespread in Java among traditionalist Muslims. On the *manakiban* ritual among the members of the Nahdlatul Ulama, see Ronald Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York and Hampshire, U. K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 75-77; on the veneration of al-Jīlānī in West Java, see Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saint*. On the *manakiban* ritual in the Suryalaya Islamic School (*pesantren*) in West Java, see Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Adat and Ibadat among Javanese Muslims* (Ph.D. Thesis, the Australian National University, Canberra, 1995).

list of the paradigmatic figures or founders of the community is still predominantly European. However, in this regard, the figure of the martyred priest, Fr. Sanjaya, represents the presence of thoroughly local saintly figure in Roman Catholicism in Java.⁹²⁵ In general, one can say that in the context of south central Java the combination of internationalism and local history seems to be much more prominent in the Catholic pilgrimage tradition than the Muslim one.

Also worth noting here is the related pattern of the creation of daughter-shrines among Catholics in south central Java. As we have seen in Chapter 7, the mushrooming of Marian pilgrimage sites in this area reflects the pattern of building a daughter shrine in memory of the mother shrine. This pattern is born out of devotion and particular experience with the mother shrine. In some cases, it is also an expression of the deeply intergenerational character of pilgrimage, that is, when children decide to build a Marian shrine in memory of their deceased parents with their particular devotion to Mary and in gratitude for the blessings of God given to them through pilgrimage. In most cases, we see a movement from the Marian shrine as a private sacred space at home to a sacred space open to the local community and beyond.⁹²⁶

In light of this, one can say that this feature is a rather distinctive feature of Catholic pilgrimage culture that is largely not known in the Muslim context. However, it should be noted that the movement from private to public also occurs in the Muslim pilgrimage tradition as the tombs of prominent local charismatic Muslim leaders (Jv. *kyai*) that begin mostly as a private or family place turn into popular pilgrimage sites.

⁹²⁵ In this regard, it should also be noted that Fr. Mangunwijaya's tomb is also becoming more popular for pilgrimage devotions among Catholics in south central Java. As we recall, Mangunwijaya was the architect of the Sendangsono Marian shrine compound in its current form.

⁹²⁶ See Chapter 7 (VII. 1. 2).

Here, an excellent example is the grave of Kyai Haji Hasyim Asyari (1875-1947), the founding father of the Nahdlatul Ulama, in the compound of the Tebu Ireng *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Jombang, East Java, which has become a major pilgrimage site.⁹²⁷ A similar development has also occurred at the grave of Kyai Haji Ali Maksum (d. 1989) in the outskirt of the city of Yogyakarta. As throughout the Islamic world, Muslim sacred tombs or shrines do not normally require the sanction from an institution to become public. At this initial stage the process largely depends on the stature and effective spiritual presence of the saintly persons being buried there, as well as their networks of families, former students and so forth. This is of course rather different from the Catholic case in which a shrine typically requires some form of local ecclesial approval to become a public space of veneration and worship.

VIII. 7. Conclusion: Some Comparative Insights

By way of tentatively concluding this comparative chapter, it might be useful to simply identify the most important comparative insights that have we observed so far. The following are five comparative insights that I consider to be the most important, both in view of the preceding chapters of this study as well as the following constructive theological chapter.

The first major comparative insight has to do with the crucial and complex role played by pilgrimage and the larger tradition of saint veneration in the formation of the

⁹²⁷ Due to his prominence among traditionalist Muslims in Indonesia, Hasyim Ashari is called the “*hadrat al-shaikh*.” His grandson, Abdurrahman Wahid, not only was the president of Indonesia (1999-2001), but is also considered to be a *wali*. About 80% of the total visitors to this famous religious school (Jv. *pesantren*) came for religious pilgrimage to the tomb of Hasyim Ashari. In a typical month, an average of 3,000 pilgrims came to pay pious visits to this great Muslim leader and saint, while during the month of Muharram, as many as 3,000 pilgrims per day would do the same. See Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 28.

distinctive, hybrid identity of the Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java. As we have seen in both Muslim and Catholic cases, these hybrid identities become quite distinctive in their richness, with the potential to contribute to their larger traditions of Islam and Catholic Christianity. Perhaps more importantly, these identities each constitute robust and authentic religious traditions that not only have survived the storms of changing times, but also have resulted in quite remarkable and dynamic religious communities. For, in both cases, this hybrid identity is marked by a remarkable degree of creativity and inclusivity that stems, to a certain extent, from its rootedness in the common local Javanese culture that enables both to interact on many different levels.

The significance of this phenomenon, in my view, should not be taken for granted, and it serves as a comparative fruit of our study. For as has been shown in the Introduction, the nature, propriety and role of pilgrimage or saint veneration in general in both Christian and Muslim traditions was disputed in certain historical periods in the past, and still is in some influential circles in both traditions. So, although these practices are grounded in theology and continue to inspire robust theological reflections, they are not traditionally associated with areas in which fundamental theological reflection occurs in either religious tradition; they are practiced, not studied; performed, not learned. This present study shows how pilgrimage traditions turn out to be crucial in the actual identity formation of the Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java.⁹²⁸ The practice is embedded quite deeply in the communal structure and shared habits of their piety and religious lives, a fact that in turns invites deeper theological reflection. This insight is a

⁹²⁸ Throughout this study, of course, distinction has been made in the Islamic tradition between the prescribed pilgrimage to Mecca (the *hajj*) and pious visits to the tombs of saints or sacred places (Ar. *ziyāra*). On the relation between the two, see our Introductory Chapter.

rather significant finding in this study, and it can only be fully appreciated through a comparative enterprise.

Viewed from the Catholic perspective, this finding might not appear to be particularly novel, since pilgrimage has been one of the most distinctive hallmarks of Catholicism.⁹²⁹ However, given the background of the more recent fading away of the phenomenon in much of the Western world, this finding could be crucial. My argument in this respect is that if the principles of sacramentality (finding God in all things), mediation (the always specifically, concretely mediated nature of God's grace) and communion (that Christian faith is always communal or ecclesial) constitute the truly distinctive pillars of the Catholic theological vision as many theologians have argued, then the entire pilgrimage tradition can serve as a natural milieu for an integral realization of this expansive and deep Catholic vision.⁹³⁰ This is so precisely because all these aspects—namely, sacramentality, mediation, and communion—are at the heart of the Catholic practice of pilgrimage and saint veneration. In addition, pilgrimage and saint veneration has the capability to anchor these aspects in highly personal and lastingly influential spiritual experience. In concrete ways, the entire tradition of pilgrimage has served as a remarkably rich practice where the notion of growth and dynamism of Christian life on the road to God is enacted.

This first insight gives rise to the second insight regarding the shared human commonality of the pilgrimage tradition or saint veneration as a communal practice that is popularly associated—in Java and elsewhere—equally with Catholicism and Islam. For

⁹²⁹ Hence the statement of Avery Dulles: “Hardly any practice is so distinctively Catholic as the cult of the saints.” Dulles, *The Catholicity of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 85.

⁹³⁰ On these principles, see Richard P. McBrien, *Catholicism* (HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 9-14; also 1196-1200.

our comparative finding has showed that pilgrimage tradition or saint veneration is by no means a uniquely Catholic practice, given the abundant similarities that we find in the Muslim tradition. Or, stated more positively, the Catholic saint veneration as it has been practiced at least in south central Java is not an isolated Catholic phenomenon. In this regard, I want to argue that the larger spirit, practice and understanding of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* could also be found within the Islamic tradition. I will develop this crucial comparative theological idea more fully in the next chapter. At this point, we need to recall that the Islamic tradition of pilgrimage (Ar. *ziyāra*) and the larger tradition of saint veneration, is surprisingly crucial—indeed, almost universal—in the real lives of many Muslim believers and their communities throughout history, despite the absence of an explicit doctrinal formalization of those practices in the creedal formulae of the *mutakallimūn* or Kalam theologians.

It is in light of this fact that the practice of saint veneration could well be a rich locus for Muslim-Catholic encounters.⁹³¹ As I have attempted to show in the context of south central Java, the common dimensions of these practices among Muslims and Catholics, helped considerably by the shared Javanese culture, has been quite instrumental not only in supporting the preservation and flourishing of pilgrimage practices in both traditions but also in enabling deeper and closer encounters with each other. In this respect, I believe that the encounters between the two religious traditions on the experiential level—that in the case of this study includes religio-cultural frameworks of a particular society—could well be the basis for a distinctive theology that owes its

⁹³¹ On the wider phenomenon of pilgrimage tradition and shrines as a milieu for fruitful encounters between Muslims, Christians and people of other faiths, see Introduction.

crucial insights not only to both traditions *qua* religious tradition, but also to their concrete historical and cultural interactions.

In connection to this point, it is worth noting that in Egypt during the latter Middle Ages, Christians were accused of trying to encourage the Muslims to engage in veneration of their saints, allegedly in order to blur the distinction between the two communities.⁹³² In contemporary south central Java, as we have seen, the dynamics of encounters between the two traditions stem from a quite different logic of openness on both sides. However, it has to be recalled that this openness has also been negotiated and discerned by the respective communities in the longer period of history through a very complex process of religio-cultural hermeneutics. It did not just happen overnight. In this regard, this comparative study has hopefully shown the deeper theological reasons for this openness, such as the similarities in the religious and theological dimensions involved between the two communities with regard to pilgrimage tradition. In this respect, I have attempted to show that this vision of deep and expansive inclusivity could be based comparatively on the two traditions's insistence on the theological notion of the universality of God's grace, its sacramentality, the role of God's Friends (saints) in this dynamic of the outpouring of Divine grace, and so forth.

The third comparative insight concerns the underlying role of a culture such as the Javanese in the flourishing of the pilgrimage practice in both traditions, as well as in the encounters between the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions. In broad strokes, I argue that Javanese culture is extremely conducive in the flourishing of the pilgrimage culture in both religious traditions, not the least due to the nature of this culture as a

⁹³² See Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 184-85.

living representation of the traditional cosmological synthesis where God, human beings, and the cosmos are related to each other in an organic whole. In particular, one can identify certain salient features of the Javanese culture that have lent themselves to the flourishing of the pilgrimage culture in both Muslim and Catholic traditions. The first of these features is a shared understanding of history as participatory memory of the sacred past, and the conception of the past as having an authority over the present, including but not exclusively through the role and continued presence of paradigmatic saintly figures of the ancestors. Secondly, they have in common a profoundly communal understanding of the individual self. And third, they share a theological anthropology that understands the human journey as a pilgrimage to the Divine and the true self through a process that includes cultivation of spiritual and purifying practices which can typically occur in the context of pilgrimage or visiting to sacred places and spiritual figures deeply connected with the sacred past of the community.

Of course, there are different ways of interpreting the significance of this phenomenon. However, it is interesting to see the promise of this whole phenomenon over against the breakdown, at least in the modern West, of the traditional synthesis in which the three components (God, the cosmos, and the humans) used to be understood in an integral whole. As the Catholic philosopher Louis Dupré has argued, the breakdown of this synthesis since the high Middle Ages, initiated by nominalist philosophy, has led to the development of a “modern” worldview in which the three components are detached from each other—God is detached from nature, while humans become independent

subjects with a tendency to exploit nature.⁹³³ In this dynamic, the Weberian thesis of the “disenchantment of the world” is just the latest phase of this modern development. Over against this background, the whole phenomenon of the flourishing of pilgrimage and saint veneration does offer a promising avenue toward a re-enchantment of the world. It has the potential to heal the breakdown since it advocates an integral worldview in which God, the world and humans interact intimately in an integral whole.

The fourth fruitful insight pursues this idea of cosmological synthesis further in the context of the method of the emerging discipline of the new comparative theology. For we notice that in both Islamic and Catholic traditions, pilgrimage has many characteristics—such as personal, inclusive, cosmic, intergenerational, and so forth—that can be summed up under the governing principle of communion. Based on my comparative study as well as personal experience as “comparative pilgrim,” I argue that the fuller and deeper scope and richness of this pilgrimage tradition as a complex practice of communion would only become more real and personally transforming if we actually do the back-and-forth visiting between the two traditions, which also means immersing ourselves into the sensory, experiential world of the other. Thus arises the need for a comparative act and reflection to deepen our experience and knowledge with regard to the fuller scope, premises, and deeper consequences of this pilgrimage tradition.

Learning from my own experience, this process would bring pilgrims to the different yet familiar territory of the other, a step that means being inundated by both new and familiar images at the same time. As a Javanese native from south central Java, I can say I was quite familiar with the figure of Sunan Kalijaga since childhood, for example,

⁹³³ Louis Dupré, *Passage to Modernity: An Essay in the Hermeneutics of Nature and Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

since he is the most popular Muslim saint in the area. However, my deeper appropriation of this figure and his role in the formation of Javano-Islamic identity became much more appealing to me as a Javanese Catholic only as I immersed myself deeper into the real dynamics of the Javano-Muslim community whose life has been inspired by this saint as he has been “imagined” in that community. This is the case because only then could I recognize the real impact of the “catholicity” of this saint, namely, his religio-cultural vision of universalism, appropriating everything good in the other. In the back-and-forth visits, this catholicity was transformed from vague abstraction into a very sensory experience. My Catholic prayers of devotion became diversified and richer (thus, becoming more “catholic”) due to my transfigured religious sensibility as a result of these double visits. The scope of my communion with God, the saints, the community and so forth does not stay the same because of the qualitative presence of the Muslim saints and their communities in my transfigured religious sensibility.

At this point, I need to emphasize the sensory experience of being in the vicinity of the other precisely because of its power to make us not only open but also vulnerable to the world of the other, not primarily on the level of religious language, but rather on deeper experiential levels. I am referring here to the more concrete step in this dynamic movement of comparative theology, that is, the stage when one actually “senses” the other. For the power of sensory experience in forging a religious identity could not be overestimated. In late antiquity, for instance, the Church prohibited mixed marriage between Christian wife and pagan husband for similar reasons, i.e., to ensure that the

Christian wife's religious identity was not diluted by the exposure to the pagan religion through sensory experiences in daily life through rituals.⁹³⁴

In the flowering of pilgrimage or the cult of saints in general, the undeniable power of this sensory exposure to the other seems to be quite real, as we have seen in many ways throughout this study as well. My experience in going back-and-forth between Catholic and Muslim sites both confirms and defies this kind of fear. This exposure definitely opened up the reality of the world of the other to me, a delicate process that has eventually led me to understand and to perceive my identity rather differently. But this transformation of my understanding of my own identity does not blur my sense of firm identity, but rather deepens it in a real and remarkable sense. For in this very process I have come to understand better both the Javanese and Catholic elements of my personal identity, the wideness and depth of both elements, as well as the particularity of the Islamic tradition that has become an inherent part of the Javanese culture to which I belong. This is why I was drawn to the back-and-forth visits, because what is at stake is the question of deepening my complex identity. Through these back-and-forth visits, I become more and more aware of the complexity and richness of my identity, due to its many elements and connections to different cultural realities and religious traditions. And as a student of comparative theology, I would like to show how a particular Catholic theology, when done comparatively with the Islamic tradition, could serve as a framework to account for such a complexity.

⁹³⁴ Susan Ashbrook-Harvey, "Locating the Sensing Body: Perception and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity," in *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, eds. David Brakke et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 140-62.

This fourth insight leads directly to the fifth insight regarding the kind of contemporary religio-cultural reality that grounds comparative theology's non-effacing language. As I have shown in this study, there is a degree to which Islamic and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage have come together to form a religio-cultural common field of practice under the influence or in the larger context of the ambient Javanese culture. In my view, this common practice and its logic could be called "the third pilgrimage tradition."⁹³⁵ In my view, this common field might be the kind of practice whose very logic, structures and contents, if pursued further, lend themselves to a vast array of comparative theological reflections. For, due to the existence of this "third pilgrimage tradition," Islam and Christianity as distinctive religious traditions do not obliterate each other. In the context of this study, my argument is that this sort of comparative theological logic has already been found in the dynamics of common understanding and practice among Muslim and Catholic pilgrims, especially in terms of the understanding of sacred history with its paradigmatic figures and saints, the spatial, architectural and ritual expressions of religiosity, as well as the structure and contents of pilgrimage as a spiritual experience. This dynamic toward forming a third pilgrimage tradition can become more explicit and deeper when pilgrims visit the shrine of the other, or when pilgrims of one faith encounter pilgrims of other faiths in their own shrines.

In this dynamic, then, the role of comparative theology is precisely to bring these common expressions, understanding, and experience into the realm of a proper

⁹³⁵ By stating this, I am aware of the complexities surrounding the question of "the originality" of each of the parties involved here ("Javaneseness", "Islam", and "Catholicism"). As I have stated earlier, all the parties get transformed in the process of encounters, so it is even harder to pinpoint the original starting point of each before the encounter. But, on the other hand, it is also clear that just as Islam brings its distinctive (and more universal) concepts to the table, so does Catholicism. Thus, we can of course talk about the birth of a new reality out of these encounters.

theological reflection. In this particular case, comparative theology is at its core an enterprise of retrieval and systematization that owes its life to more than one theological traditions. However, as I argue and attempt to exemplify in this study, it should ideally have a constructive aspect as well, that is, identifying some new theological meanings that the reality of these commonalities and multilevel encounters might point to. Working from a Catholic perspective, I identify the comparative enrichment of the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* (“communion of the saints and the holy”) as a theologically constructive framework that these commonalities point to. Again, in this study, this constructive aspect is based on the already existing dynamics of common understanding—cultural, spiritual and theological—and experience. Placed in this theological framework of *communio sanctorum*, these common understanding and practice get strengthened on a theological plane. Hopefully, this theological grounding, once becomes more widespread, could help the communities understand each other better on a spiritual and theological level, as well as socio-cultural level, thus creating a deeper mutual understanding that would prevent the sense of narrow rivalry that at times could still happen in this type of communal interactions under certain circumstances as the case in the Holy Lands and others have testified. It is to this constructive dimension of the study that I turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9
BECOMING TRANSFIGURED:
TOWARD A RENEWED THEOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF
COMMUNIO SANCTORUM

I contemplated all the prophets, from Adam to Muhammad,
and God made contemplate also all those who believe in them,
so that there is no one whom I did not see of those who have lived
or will live until the Day of the Resurrection, whether they belong to the elite
or to the common body of believers. And I observed the degrees of this assembly
and knew the rank of all who were in it.
Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*⁹³⁶

I come as a pilgrim who is anxious to obtain not just information,
not just “facts” about other monastic traditions,
but to drink from ancient sources of monastic vision and experience.
I seek not only to learn more about religion and about monastic life,
but to become a better and more enlightened monk myself.
Thomas Merton, *Asian Journal*⁹³⁷

Quite early in his journey on the spiritual path, Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 1240), an Andalusian Muslim mystic who would eventually be known as “the greatest master” (Ar. *shaykh al-akhbar*), had an extraordinary vision of the spiritual reality of the saints, as the quotation above reveals. Highly remarkable in his vision in Cordoba is its universality and

⁹³⁶ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, III (Būlāq, 1329 AH), 323; quoted in Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 17.

⁹³⁷ Thomas Merton, *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton* (New York: New Directions Book, 1973), 312-13.

inclusivism. For in his vision, he saw all the prophets, the saints and their followers, including the future followers as forming a kind of spiritual unity. Clearly, his vision is a transformed or transfigured vision of a wider spiritual reality of communion. And what is also highly interesting is that in the case of Ibn al-‘Arabī, this vision was confirmed and enriched during his long wandering—and phenomenally prolific—journey (pilgrimage) in the Muslim West (Andalusia and the Maghreb) and in the Muslim East, a journey that included intense spiritual practices in graveyards, tombs of the saints, mosques, Sufi lodges, and other sacred places. Pivotal and formative in this process were his visions of and encounters with a plethora of prophets, as well as saints of the past and present. In a metaphorical but also concrete way, the American Trappist monk Thomas Merton speaks of his pilgrimage to the other precisely in the framework of forging a universal communion. He saw himself as a pilgrim seeking to “become a better and more enlightened monk” by learning from an “other” (Buddhist) monastic tradition.⁹³⁸ Along the same line, as I mentioned earlier, I found myself turned into this type of pilgrim during the process of this comparative study.

This chapter is a theological reflection about the kind of transfiguration that in various degrees happens in pilgrimage, as we have seen. It is one of this study’s central arguments that pilgrimage to the other, including dealing with forms of otherness in the pilgrimage journey, effects a certain degree of transformation of the self, resulting in an enriched and deepened understanding of one’s identity. As mentioned previously, this dynamic of transformation lies at the heart of the new comparative theology as a

⁹³⁸ Although in the above quotation Merton referred specifically to the Buddhist monastic tradition, he actually learned quite a bit from the Islamic mystical tradition as well. On this topic, see Rob Baker and Gray Henry, eds., *Merton & Sufism: The Untold Story* (Lexington, K.Y.: Fons Vitae: 1999).

theological discipline that takes the other seriously in the very formation of the self. That is why elsewhere I have proposed the idea of pilgrimage, understood as a journey to God through the other and the self, as a fruitful metaphor for describing the dynamics of this new comparative theology as a theological discipline.⁹³⁹ This chapter seeks to flesh out the kind of transformation that would result from a comparative theological journey to the self (one's home religious tradition) and to the other (the other religious tradition visited). More specifically within the framework of comparative theology, I understand this transformation in terms of learning something from the other in order to understand the self and God better, thereby coming to a renewed and deeper understanding of and commitment to one's faith and religious tradition.⁹⁴⁰

In light of that understanding, this chapter seeks to articulate theologically both the logic (the how) and the particular shape (the what) of this renewed understanding of the self as a result of this particular comparative study, itself a pilgrimage to the other and the self. For this purpose, I will be drawing together insights from four intertwined sources, always guided by the method of the new comparative theology that advocates the back-and-forth process—what I call “double visiting”—as a medium in which this transformation occurs. The first source is the real dynamics of pilgrimage that leads to a transfiguration of the pilgrims' life, both on the personal and communal levels, which I have described in the previous chapters of this study and summarized in Chapter 8. In this chapter, that source will be backed up by the relevant theological insights from the wider Islamic and Catholic traditions (our second source). The third source is my personal role

⁹³⁹ See my chapter “Comparative Theology: Between Identity and Alterity” in Francis Clooney, ed., *The New Comparative Theology: Interreligious Insights from the Next Generation*, 1-20.

⁹⁴⁰ On this characteristic of the new comparative theology, see Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 111 and *passim*.

as a comparativist pilgrim, which includes my religio-cultural identity and experience in the comparative work through which I come to be in touch with the spiritual world of Islam and feel renewed in my understanding of my own Catholic faith and identity.

The fourth source, connected intimately with the third, is the various aspects of my Catholic religious tradition. Since this comparative theological project is undertaken from a Catholic point of view, its fruits should be manifested in a renewed understanding of certain aspects of Catholic theological tradition. As will become clearer in what follows, the theo-logical and experiential structure of Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions as well as my personal experience as a comparativist pilgrim led me to develop a deeper understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. Faithful to these dynamics, I attempt to make a case for this renewal by focusing on the pneumatological aspect of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*, while drawing pertinent theological insights from the Muslim tradition of saint veneration and pilgrimage culture.

To serve this purpose, this chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, I will outline some key insights regarding the intersections between a pneumatological understanding of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* and the distinctive role and contribution of comparative theology to the renewal and enrichment of this particular doctrine and practice. I consider this section as a necessary background, given the fact that the contribution of this study mainly falls at the intersections in Catholic theology between pneumatology, *communio sanctorum*, and comparative theology. In the second and third sections, I will lay out the specific ways in which my comparative theological learning, drawn from the Islamic doctrine and practice

of saint veneration and pilgrimage can help to renew the Catholic theology and practice of *communio sanctorum*. Under the overarching pneumatological category of communion, the second section deals with the depth (or the personal aspect) of the communion, while the third covers its breadth (the sacramental, cosmic, communal, intergenerational aspects).

IX. 1. Comparative Theology, Pneumatology and *Communio Sanctorum*

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, a central element in the discipline of the new comparative theology is the process of self-transformation that occurs through learning from religious other (s). That is why I have proposed the whole idea of pilgrimage as a suitable metaphor for envisioning this comparative theological dynamic. So, it is proper to talk about this kind of transfiguration or transformation effected by pilgrimage. In this regard, it is illuminating to see how Pope Benedict XVI sums up his experience during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, a personal and official pilgrimage that included visits to Muslim sites as well. There he remarked:

Dear friends, I have come to Jerusalem on *a journey of faith*. I thank God for this occasion to meet you as the Bishop of Rome and Successor of the Apostle Peter, but also as a child of Abraham, by whom “all the families of the earth find blessing” (Gen 12:3; cf. Rom 4:16-17). I assure you of the Church’s ardent desire to cooperate for the wellbeing of the human family. She firmly believes that the fulfillment of the promise made to Abraham is universal in scope, embracing all men and women regardless of provenance or social status. As Muslims and Christians further the respectful dialogue they have already begun, I pray that they will explore how the Oneness of God is inextricably tied to the unity of the human family. *In submitting to his loving plan for creation, in studying the law inscribed in the cosmos and implanted in the human heart, in reflecting upon the mysterious gift of God’s self-revelation, may all his followers continue to keep their gaze fixed on his absolute goodness, never losing sight of the way it is reflected in the*

*faces of others.*⁹⁴¹ (emphases added)

As one can see, quite central in Pope Benedict's reflection is God's involvement and presence in the cosmos (macrocosm) and human heart (microcosm), as the point of unity between Muslims and Christians. His point about the faces of the other as reflecting God's goodness and beauty is particularly remarkable as this statement was made literally in the face of the Muslim others in the context of a visit or pilgrimage to them. This context seems to say that there is no way that one could see these divine reflections in the faces of the others without actually getting near them or being in touch with them.⁹⁴² As countless other pilgrims throughout history, the Pope was precisely doing this during his pilgrimage, that is, forging a more heartfelt communion with God and the other.⁹⁴³ Likewise, as seen throughout this study, the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java have gone further by actually providing an open religio-cultural space

⁹⁴¹ Pope Benedict XVI's address during his courtesy visit to the grand mufti, Mount of the Temple, Jerusalem, Tuesday, May 12, 2009. The complete version of this address can be found in the Vatican website: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090512_gran-mufti_en.html (accessed September 2010).

⁹⁴² In an interview with Fr. Frederico Lombardi, the Vatican press secretary, during the flight to the Holy Land, the Pope also speaks about "semantic cosmos" that separates the Christian and the Jews. And he urges: "We must each do all we can to learn the language of the other, and it seems to me that we are making great progress here." And he exhorts on the need to learn from the other in general: "Let us learn from one another and let us go forward along the path of true dialogue, let us each learn from the other, and I am sure and convinced that we will make progress. And this will also help peace, indeed it will help mutual love." For the full text of this interview, see the Vatican website: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090508_terra-santa-interview_en.html (accessed September 2010). See also my op-ed, "Pope Benedict's Path to Peace", *The Jakarta Post*, May 12, 2009 (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/05/12/pope-benedict039s-path-peace.html>; accessed December 2010).

⁹⁴³ At the end of the pilgrimage, the Pope made an insightful reflection: "I came as a pilgrim of peace. Pilgrimage is an essential element of many religions and also of Islam, of the Jewish religion and of Christianity. It is also the image of our existence that is moving forward towards God and hence towards the communion of humanity. I came as a pilgrim and I hope that many will follow in my footsteps and by so doing encourage the unity of the people of this Holy Land and in turn become their messenger of peace." (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090515_ritorno-interview_en.html; accessed September 2010).

so that Muslims and Catholics can gaze on the reflections of God's goodness in the faces of each other. To certain degree, this process of communion involves taking the face of the other and making it one's own, as can be seen quite literally in our discussion of the appropriation of the architectural and artistic features of the other. And as I argued at the end of the previous chapter, this gazing at the faces of God in the other needs means an immersion into the sensory world of the other where one becomes open and vulnerable to God's beauty in the other, a step that might lead the sensitive pilgrim to allow a space for incorporating this beauty in his own religious sensibility. In my view, this dynamic of communion with and learning from the other might constitute a particular realization of what Cardinal Walter Kasper, the former prefect for the Vatican Ecumenical Office, calls "a new spirituality of communion." He argues:

We need a new spirituality of communion which Pope John Paul II described as "*the ability to see what is positive in others, to welcome it and prize it as a gift of God; not only as a gift for the brother or sister who has received it directly, but also as a gift for me.*" A spirituality of communion means, Pope John Paul went on, "to know how to 'make room' for our brothers and sisters bearing each other's burdens." (Gal 6:2).⁹⁴⁴ (emphasis added)

Throughout this study I have argued that the theological principle of communion lies at the heart of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java. In this respect, pilgrimage tradition has become a privileged milieu to forge deeper and longer lasting communion with God and the self through diverse and rich engagements with the past events and figures (the whole edifice of sacred history) that have become part and parcel of the particular identity of the respective communities, precisely because

⁹⁴⁴ *The Tablet*, May 17, 2003; cited in Jean Vanier, *Drawn into the Mystery of Jesus through the Gospel of John* (Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 2004), 217.

this sacred history has concretely served as the manifestation of God's loving providence for the community. Throughout this study, the inclusivity of this vision of communion in pilgrimage has been made clear, especially its inter-communal as well as cosmic and trans-historical aspects. I have attempted to show that in many ways both communities have made some room for each other, a dynamic that is helped by the ambient Javanese culture that constitutes their common bond.

On this topic of transformation through communion and learning from the other, some words about my own experience are in order, since comparative theology is also autobiographical, as Clooney has shown.⁹⁴⁵ For, to a large degree, comparative theology is a particular theologian's search for a refreshed and enriched understanding of his faith-commitment. In my case, this personal autobiographical aspect of comparative theological work has been involved on many levels, as I mentioned in the Introductory Chapter as well as Chapter 8. The first level concerns my identity as a Javanese Catholic who grew up in south central Java, the very location of the primary field research for this study. In this respect, the choice of this subject matter has of course been colored by my personal identity and background, both cultural and religious. Although this personal background is not always explicitly apparent in the discussion in Parts One and Two, clearly my personal location in relation to the subject matter of this comparative study has been instrumental in the whole process. It has affected the various ways in which I have come to relate to the whole phenomena of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions, including their underlying religio-cultural assumptions. Due to my Javanese

⁹⁴⁵ Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 16; see also his *Theology After Vedānta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1993), 198-99.

identity, I could readily see not only the apparent similarities between the two traditions on the level of outward phenomenon, but also the deeper reasons behind them: namely, the existential and cultural motives and rationales for both communities to embark on these devotional journeys. For example, I could readily see the reasons why Javanese Muslims and Catholics alike need to foster a certain degree of hybrid identity in terms of religion and culture.⁹⁴⁶ This does not mean that it has always been easy for me to explain these similarities in a comparative scholarly project like this one. But it does give some firmer footing and foundation for this research, as well as a more personal basis for the description.

In this regard, I should also say something about my Jesuit identity. For this identity also puts me in a rather intimate connection with a major part of this study, namely, the identity formation of the nascent Javanese Catholic community under the tutelage of the founding Jesuit missionaries. My belonging to the Javanese Catholic community, as well as to the Jesuit Order, renders my discourse on this identity formation doubly personal.⁹⁴⁷ In many ways, it is really a process of coming back to explore fundamental aspects of who I am. To a certain degree, the arguments in this study—its style, contents and cogency—are also expressions of my personal identity, with all its complexities, tensions and struggles. For instance, the question of the encounter with Islam that the early Jesuit

⁹⁴⁶ As a Javanese who wants to remain “Javanese” (as this concept has been understood in south central Java), I also understand the natural complexities and tensions involved in this type of identity; but, in the same vein, I also share the Javanese framework of keeping the tensions fruitful on deeper level, namely, the willingness to seek for the deeper connections between apparent diversities.

⁹⁴⁷ In this respect, a brief history of my family is in order. I am a third generation Catholic. Growing up in the parish of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Ganjuran, the Sacred Heart shrine was always familiar to me. During childhood, I always looked forward to participating in the annual celebration there. I was also familiar with many Dutch Jesuit missionaries who worked in this parish, as well as many Javanese diocesan priests who staffed the parish later. Upon joining the Society of Jesus, my exposure to these dynamics that I describe in Part Two becomes qualitatively deeper and more personal as well.

missionaries faced and that I described in various chapters in Part One, is also my own unavoidable question today. For one thing, I decided to take up this particular question in this study partly because I had been grappling with the same question as it pertains to my identity as a Javanese Jesuit, but also as it relates to the future of this Jesuit presence in Javanese society of which I am part, and beyond. Thus on the most personal level, I could say that I have been an active participant in almost all the very dynamics that I describe in this study. This point brings me to the second level of my personal connection with this comparative project.

This second level has to do with the more personal learning that occurs while undertaking this type of comparative study. Over a period of time during the project, Muslim saints have gradually become part of my Catholic identity. To a large degree, this is a natural result of my countless visits to the various Muslim shrines, the many hours, both during the day and the night, which I spent there. Very often during these visits, I found myself rather intensely immersed in meditative prayers, and to my surprise, I felt as though I could connect to these Muslim saints in deeply ineffable ways. Definitively, this visiting evokes an aspect of spiritual presence of these saints and a personal connection to them. For sure, I still pray as a Catholic, because I could not do otherwise. However, particularly at these moments, my spiritual world ceased to be the earlier familiar “Catholic” one. Instead, while maintaining all traditional “Catholic” spiritual practices and sensibility, it is becoming more “catholic” in the original sense of the word: that is, becoming more universal, inclusive and expansive, without being necessarily fuzzy or indiscriminately porous.

As a Javanese, I would say that during that kind of moment there is a rather vivid

sense of spiritual intimacy with these Muslim saints on the deeper level of *rasa*, a qualitative something that does not lend itself to being expressed in words. I began to have a rather different affective vision of the *communio sanctorum*, again understood as an expansive and spatio-temporal “communion of saints and the holy”. In turn, this new experience also leads to some new “images” and imagination with regard to these saints and the possible connections between them and the Catholic ones. Again, given my Javanese and Catholic sensibility, this kind of dynamic seems to be natural, although it only comes through a faithful and active practice of “double visiting.”

The expansion of my Catholic theological and spiritual sensibility became more real when, mostly during the fieldwork, I returned to the Catholic shrines after visits to the neighboring Muslim ones. Over time I naturally developed this back-and-forth visit precisely for the reason of deepening my own faith and Catholic sensibility through this more explicitly comparative milieu and method. Given the spatial proximities of these shrines to each other (see Map 1.3), this method was not hard to execute. It can even be considered the most natural way of proceeding for this type of study. In the previous chapter, I have talked about the deeper significance of this proximity in terms of the sharing of spiritual energy among religious communities in that area, as suggested by the *mandala* framework.

To come back to my moments of comparative insight, it is important to note that my visit to the Muslim shrine was typically followed by a heart-felt longing to commune with God and His spiritual company of saints in the familiar Catholic universe of mine. This is why I readily returned to my habitual spiritual world. However, this homecoming was never simply a return to the familiar. For I brought with me my spiritual experience

with God through multi-faceted and complex encounters with Muslim saints and paradigmatic figures; my familiarity with and immersion into their shrines and rituals (including the prayers to which I have adjusted my spiritual sensibility); my quite personal encounters with the Muslim pilgrims, and so forth. This manifold realization often led me to a profound sense of gratitude to God for sending to the world these Muslim saints. As a Javanese, it is rather natural for me to see Javano-Muslim saints, such as Sunan Kalijaga, as paradigmatic ancestors whose religio-cultural legacy has become in many ways, both subtle and obvious, part and parcel of my own identity; their legacy is something that I consciously cherish, together with the legacy of the European Jesuit missionaries and other paradigmatic figures of the local Catholic church to which I belong.

Earlier I mentioned the crucial role of the combined Javanese and Catholic sensibility. What I mean in particular is the deeply sacramental vision of this shared sensibility. As I have already alluded to and will explain more later, sacramental vision is basically a vision of communion, the open readiness and willingness not only to see and acknowledge the manifestations of God in everything, including things connected to other religions, but also to forge a deeper communion with God through these things. This is exactly what Cardinal Walter Kasper, following the insights of Pope John Paul II, calls “the spirituality of communion” mentioned earlier in this section. This is also the underlying spirit of the pilgrimage to the Buddhist tradition that Thomas Merton talked about in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter. I believe that Pope Benedict’s above-mentioned remarks are also born out of this vision, at least to a certain degree. Due to this vision, it is naturally easier for me not only to enter into the religious world of the

Islamic tradition but also to integrate aspects of that tradition. In particular, the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* that I see as the most integral and pertinent articulation of Catholic sacramental vision has been instrumental precisely in appreciating and articulating this complex dynamic.

Armed with these relevant theological frameworks, I became more and more receptive to the many similar dynamics in the Islamic tradition of pilgrimage. I was easily drawn to appreciate these similarities and deeper connections. For example, from a theological point of view, I could see that these saints are also persons who have been touched by the Spirit of God in many different ways. They are paradigmatic figures whose struggle I have personally benefited from, a crucial point raised by the Catholic theologian Elizabeth Johnson in her understanding of *communio sanctorum*. It is becoming so much clearer that the cosmic blessings of the Spirit are also manifested through these saints and their communities. This expressed the Islamic idea of cosmic blessings (Ar. *rahmatan lil-‘ālamīn*), and this cosmic vision could not be undermined. For it brought me to a deeper realization of the fundamental fact that Muslims and Christians live in the same cosmos, the same *mandala*, that is blessed with our prayers and common devotion to God through his saints. To a large extent, we draw our lives from the same sources. This vision also belongs to the Muslim notion of *rahma*, that is, of God’s absolute creative and salvific Love for the whole cosmos. All these insights and questions that arose from my double visiting and my comparative method helped lead me to a renewed understanding of the traditional Catholic teaching of *communio sanctorum*. In this context, it is “the communion of saints and the holy” in the deepest Catholic sense that I find most appropriate to frame my enriched awareness of the spiritual world.

On this logic of fostering communion with the other in comparative theology, it is very insightful to see Francis Clooney's remarks on the comparative theological dynamics of reading. He writes:

Our reading becomes an agile dance, each text taken with utter seriousness, each deferring to the other, each read by itself for a moment just before the other steps again into the foreground. When read together, each tradition's case for abandonment into the hands of God is purified and intensified by acknowledgment of the case made in the other tradition.

Through this disciplined reading, extended over a longer period of time, the comparative theologian can acquire something at least of the psychological and spiritual freedom needed to accept what she is learning, and *to grow spiritually* in accord with it. [...] The endless, intensifying spiral of reading is clearly more than the reader can master; the reality of surrender becomes *all the more vivid* as the theologian herself loses control of her own project.⁹⁴⁸

In the framework advocated here by Clooney—that very aptly touches on the particular question of surrendering to God in the Hindu and Catholic texts—comparative theology is founded on the premise of the possibility of deeper communion with the religious other. More concretely Clooney talks about spiritual growth and freedom, as well as greater degree of vividness that result from the comparative pilgrimage to the other. In his particular work, *Beyond Compare*, from which the above quotation is taken, this sense of communion is heightened on two levels. First, the Hindu and Catholic texts he compares are about loving surrender to God, thus it is about a real religious experience of deep communion with God that often times is also part of the pilgrimage experience examined in Chapters 3 and 7 in this study. Secondly, since this discourse on loving surrender to God that presupposes the corresponding experience occurs in the course of a

⁹⁴⁸ Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 126.

comparative journey, this communion with God has the aspect of forging communion with God in the context of the religious other.

The kind of dynamic described here is exactly what I experienced during my double visit or pilgrimage in Muslim and Catholic shrines. To a large extent, my experience exemplifies the kind of experiential basis for my argument about the propriety of pilgrimage as an illuminating metaphor for comparative theology.⁹⁴⁹ In my view, this feature is intimately related as well to the participatory nature of comparative theological method. For, as Clooney remarks, comparative theology's "engagement in the truth/s of religions is participatory, a practical inquiry that traverses the path from the truth of one's own tradition through the other, most often ending in a return home."⁹⁵⁰

At this point, it is crucial to note the two aspects of the new comparative theology's dynamics, that is, the dynamic of going broad to the world of the others, and the dynamic of going deeper into the world of one's own faith commitment. This two-fold movement of communion in comparative theology is at the heart of this study. In this respect, I find particularly insightful Francis Clooney's formulation of this two-fold movement in terms of the nature of "comparative" and "theological." He argues:

As I understand it, "comparative theology" favors experiments, instances of learning. Practicing it cultivates a tension that is felt in practice: "comparative" pushes us toward wider knowledge, emphasizing a freedom that is more tolerant and objective, less rooted in personal and communal views, while "theology" drives us deeper, into the world of commitment, faith, and encounter with God. Together, "comparative" and "theology" are untidy but in the long run fruitful: *by going broad, out to our others, we end up learning deeply across religious borders, in a journey that*

⁹⁴⁹ See my chapter, "Comparative Theology: Between Identity and Alterity" in Francis Clooney, *The New Comparative Theology*, 1-20.

⁹⁵⁰ Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 15.

*makes us forego utter clarity and precise answers, that faith may again be at the center of our theology.*⁹⁵¹ (emphasis added)

In many different ways, these two aspects of “comparative” and “theology” are intertwined in this chapter. For in the context of this comparative theological study, this chapter is about re-envisioning certain aspects of Catholic theology, my home tradition to which I always return in comparative journey, in light of the encounters with the “other” tradition, that is, here the Islamic tradition of saint veneration and pilgrimage in south central Java with all its complexities that also involves other religio-cultural traditions such as Hinduism and Buddhism.

To a large degree, then, this chapter is my attempt to take seriously a crucial step in comparative theological method, namely, to make sense of “the inundation of new images, ideas, practices, words, themes, and affective possibilities” that my visit to the other has brought.⁹⁵² As Clooney has further remarked, the possibilities of this kind of endeavor after comparison are endless. Thus arises the practical need to focus on certain themes that the comparativist deems most urgent, fruitful, relevant and doable, both in terms of comparative theological method and as part of the larger response to the challenge of religious pluralism in today’s world. On this point, Clooney argues:

[...] Comparing is a particular activity that theologians can undertake in this new situation, where theology’s common, interreligious features are recognized. One has to know which theological ideas, questions, and claims related to which texts (or practices or images) one should compare, and one has to decide how to speak of them in a way that highlights the interesting similarities and differences involved without allowing extraneous features to confuse the comparisons. *One must be able to use the comparisons, with theological good sense, in order to draw*

⁹⁵¹ Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 57.

⁹⁵² Francis Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 206.

*conclusions that illuminate the traditions and the theological issues at stake.*⁹⁵³ (emphasis added)

Precisely in light of the need “to illuminate the traditions and the theological issues at stake,” I have decided to focus here on the Catholic theological framework of *communio sanctorum*, which I translate as “communion of the saints and the holy” rather than simply as “communion of saints” (more on this later). For this reason, I leave this Latin term largely untranslated in order to preserve the fullest scope of the term “*sanctorum*.” For in Latin, *sanctorum* could be the genitive forms of both *sanctus* (saint) and *sanctum* (the holy).

In this regard, my decision to take the framework of *communio sanctorum* as my primary comparative perspective—while necessitated by the dynamics of communion in the actual comparative data and by my personal involvement in it, as well as the nature of the method of new comparative theology—is also grounded in the Catholic theological tradition. In the context of Catholic theology, the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* offers one of the richest and most comprehensive theological frameworks of communion. This theology also originally stems from the common experience of being graced by God, a spiritual reality that lies at the very foundation of the pilgrimage tradition. For what is meant by the doctrine of *communio sanctorum*, as Elizabeth Johnson puts it, is a multifaceted communion with God in all His diverse manifestations. It includes communion with paradigmatic figures or “saints” (L. *sanctus*), with all the members of the whole community graced by the Spirit of God, including the deceased ones, and those

⁹⁵³ Francis Clooney, *Hindu God, Christian God: How Reason Helps Break Down the Boundaries between Religions* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 167.

persons outside the boundaries of our religious tradition who have also been touched by the same Spirit of God. Furthermore, *communio sanctorum* also refers to communion with the holy things (L. *sanctum*) such as things used in liturgy, holy places, religious arts, sacred time, and so forth.⁹⁵⁴ I will take up these elements of *communio sanctorum* later. Again, at this point I want to emphasize that these elements are prominent features in the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions that I presented in the previous chapters of this study. So my choice for a specific comparative theme to pursue theologically here is not random, since it is in fidelity with both the underlying and overarching dynamics of the actual practice of pilgrimage in both traditions, especially in south central Java; and since it intimately reflects my own experience doing the back-and-forth visits, particularly the overwhelming sense of ever widening and deepening communion with God, self and other. This is why I find this framework of *communio sanctorum* to be profoundly theological, because what is at stake is how the mystery of God is encountered in these real dynamics of communion.

Furthermore, since I am a Catholic comparativist and thus working primarily from the particularity of this faith tradition, this choice has much to do with my Catholic identity. In this regard, it should be noted that this theological doctrine of *communio sanctorum* has been traditionally understood as one of the hallmarks of the Catholic tradition. My hope is that the comparative theological perspectives that I pursue here will help to renew, enrich and expand the understanding of this otherwise very traditional Catholic doctrine and practice by myself and others. However, a caveat is in order on this point. For what I mean by renewing and enriching this doctrine and practice of

⁹⁵⁴ Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 220.

communio sanctorum is nothing comprehensive, but rather an attempt at deepening our understanding of certain aspects of this Catholic doctrine and practice on a smaller scale. More particularly, I will outline the different ways to achieve a better grasp of the depth and extent of this communion through comparative method.⁹⁵⁵ This also means that while the contribution of this comparative study will hopefully be real and distinctive due to its comparative component, it should at the same time be considered preliminary, modest, and provisional.

As I stated earlier, my comparative visit with the (Javanese) Muslim tradition of pilgrimage has made me much more aware, in a specific way, of the need to develop the pneumatological aspect of *communio sanctorum*. Coming from a Catholic background, I understand that the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* is an inherent part of the Church's understanding of the Holy Spirit, as the Creed shows.⁹⁵⁶ However, my awareness of this pneumatological framework becomes more intensive and expansive due to my exposure to the other in the world of the Javanese Muslim tradition. For during these double-visits, I often came to be in touch with the various works of the Spirit. This is largely due to the fact that the Muslim pilgrimage tradition as it is practiced in south central Java and beyond is imbued with a holistic and rich sense of communion with God as Spirit and the human self (or heart) as the receptacle of the Spirit, as well as the community and the cosmos as filled with the presence of God as the Spirit. In all this, God is understood as Spirit, and His presence is perceived as very real in His diverse

⁹⁵⁵ Here I follow Francis Clooney's practice of doing comparative theology on a smaller and focused scale. On this, see his *Comparative Theology*, 67-9; also his *Hindu God, Christian God*, 166.

⁹⁵⁶ In the context of the Apostles' Creed, *communio sanctorum* belongs to the third part that is centered on the Holy Spirit: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."

manifestations in all the complexity of human life. It is through these double-visits that, together with other pilgrims, I come to realize in a rather existential way the theological point raised in the papal encyclical on the Holy Spirit, *Dominum et Vivicantem* (1986):

In this way the Church is also responding to certain deep desires which she believes she can discern in people's hearts today: a fresh discovery of God in his transcendent reality as the infinite Spirit, just as Jesus presents him to the Samaritan woman; the need to adore him "in spirit and truth"; the hope of finding in him the secret love and the power of a "new creation" (Cf. Rom 8:22; Gal 6:15): yes, precisely the giver of life.⁹⁵⁷

To a certain degree, our emphasis here on pneumatology is also a response to the seminal ideas of Josef Schmutzer, the founder of the Sacred Heart shrine at Ganjuran. As we have observed in Chapter 5, Schmutzer's emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit as the power of Love, the fruit and manifestation of the communion between the Father and the Son, was also placed in the context of the Catholic response to the dynamics of encounters with the Javanese culture and the wider reality of Java. In this framework, the grace and presence of Christ is experienced by the Christian community in and through the works of the Spirit.⁹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Schmutzer's seminal ideas on pneumatology were taken up, his horizon widened, by the Javano-Catholic community in their identity formation around the shrines, particularly in how they have come to understand the nature of their community and their mission in today's world, responding to the signs of

⁹⁵⁷ John Paul II, *Dominum et Vivicantem: On the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church and the World* (1986), paragraph # 2. It is noteworthy that the tone of this encyclical is formulated as follows: "the Church feels herself called to this mission of proclaiming the Spirit, while *together with the human family* she approaches the end of the second Millenium after Christ." (paragraph #2). Furthermore, while stressing the fundamental and special connection between the Spirit—that is always understood as the Spirit of the Father and the Son who is sent by Christ after his Paschal mystery of redemption—and the Church, the encyclical also connects this Spirit as the giver of existence to all things through creation and grace in the whole economy of salvation (paragraph #10).

⁹⁵⁸ On this question, Pope John Paul II in the encyclical *Dominum et Vivicantem* argues: "The 'departure' of Christ through the Cross has the power of the Redemption, and this also means a new presence of the Spirit of God in creation: the new beginning of God's self-communication to man in the Holy Spirit." (par. #14).

the times and the call of the same Spirit. Quite appropriately, this dynamic is understood in terms of sharing the blessing of God to the others, in the vision of forming wider networks of people touched by this grace of God. This is one of the ways in which the fruits of Christ's Redemption are made concrete and alive.

It should be noted that in the Biblical framework, the Spirit is the principle of the identity formation of the Christian community after the Pentecost: it is the Spirit who teaches the Christians to pray, that is, to be in connection with the source and core of their identity as Christians (that is, God in Christ); it is the Spirit who helps us understand the role and teachings of Jesus (John 14:26); it is the Spirit who founds the Church as God's community on earth. Thus, since its beginning, Christian identity formation is a discerning process under the guidance of the Spirit who is also understood as the Spirit of the Father, sent by Christ. In relation to the formation of Christian identity, Yves Congar's idea of the Holy Spirit as the principle of the Church's catholicity is very insightful. This French theologian distinguished between quantitative and qualitative catholicity. The former refers to the global spread of Christianity while the latter points to the incorporation of local cultures and customs of peoples into rites, prayers, languages and theologies of Christianity. With regard to the latter, Congar's understanding of the catholic principle is particularly relevant to our study. In the words of his commentator, Congar:

[regarded] missionary work as an effort driven by the Spirit to bring all into the *pleroma* of Jesus Christ and noted that Christianity needed to learn to encounter, recognize, and welcome different religions and cultures in a new way; Catholicity requires attentiveness to the presence of the Spirit

beyond the borders of the institutional churches, openness to the signs of the times, receptivity to the new, and vigilance for the future.⁹⁵⁹

This pneumatological framework of catholicity is highly crucial in this study because, as I have shown especially in Chapter 4, one of the basic arguments of the first Javanese Catholic intellectuals was that the principle of “catholicity” should serve as the very foundation of the rootedness of the Catholic Church in the particular realities of Java or Indonesia. In fact, it is this principle that has enabled them to foster a distinctive Javano-Catholic hybrid identity.

Thus, in light of this vision, the rest of this chapter is an attempt to understand anew the old and venerable Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. As mentioned previously, this renewal of understanding will be done by drawing insights from the Islamic tradition and the Catholic tradition as well: namely, those that are pertinent to the features of Javanese pilgrimage traditions explored in the previous chapters. In some cases, it happens that the Islamic tradition offers some specific insights or practices that are enriching to the Catholic understanding and practice of *communio sanctorum*. In other cases, similarities between these two traditions are striking enough, so that further connections can be pursued in order to shed light, or serve as a foundation, for the already existing patterns of encounters between these two communities on the ground, that is, in shrines and beyond. At the end of this process, the shape of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* after this comparative work will look rather different in some concrete ways from the one proposed by Elizabeth Johnson and

⁹⁵⁹ See Elizabeth Groppe, *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 110.

others, although it also shares a lot in common with these proposals and new directions in Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum*.⁹⁶⁰

To help us better understand the comprehensiveness of the *communio sanctorum* in the pneumatological framework involved in the dynamics of pilgrimage described in all previous chapters, I divide the rest of this chapter into two further sections. In the first section, I delve into what I call “the depth of communion”, that is the deeper and personal realm of communion, more specifically the role of the “heart” in forging such a communion. In the second section, I move to what I call the “breadth of the communion.” This category includes three aspects of communion: cosmic communion, communion with the saints or paradigmatic figures, as well as the ancestral or intergenerational communion. As mentioned earlier and in fidelity with my comparative method, I will take up various pertinent insights from the wider Islamic tradition, in order to arrive at a refreshed understanding of the pneumatological aspects of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*.

To a large degree, the particular organization and way of proceeding of the rest of this chapter—i.e., personal, communal, and cosmic dimensions of the work of the Spirit—of course corresponds to the traditional conception of the role of the Holy Spirit in traditional Christian pneumatology. For instance, Yves Congar developed a

⁹⁶⁰ For example, while quite attentive to the role of the Spirit beyond the Church and baptized Christians in her pneumatology, Elizabeth Johnson however never went beyond stating some general theological insights in this regard (see her, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* [New York: Crossroad, 2002], 139) In the same way, while her renewal of the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* is not overtly informed by specific relevant teachings or practice of other religious traditions, she believes that this doctrine is in need of comparative theology’s specific contribution. In Catholic circles, Donald Georgen’s work, *Fire of Love: Encountering the Holy Spirit* (New York and Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 2006), has ventured a little bit further in terms of incorporating other religious traditions, but this work is not a full-fledged comparative work.

pneumatological anthropology anchored on the indwelling of the Spirit in the human person that corresponds to the role of the Holy Spirit in the sanctification or deification of the person. However, in his theology, this pneumatological anthropology is not separable from pneumatological ecclesiology that corresponds to the work of the Holy Spirit in the communion of human persons in ecclesial communities.⁹⁶¹ Congar's contribution to the renewal of Catholic pneumatology is enormous, but the cosmic aspect is largely missing or underdeveloped in his theology. Precisely in this regard, one can clearly appreciate the particular contribution of Jürgen Moltmann and others.⁹⁶²

However, it has to be pointed out that in this chapter, these pneumatological insights will not be pursued on their own terms but rather will be taken up as a necessary background for the more specific purpose of this study, namely, the appropriate renewal of the Catholic framework of *communio sanctorum*.⁹⁶³ As will become clearer later, many of these insights are intimately related in many ways to the Catholic idea of

⁹⁶¹ Elizabeth Groppe, *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 112ff and passim. Congar's usage of the term "deification" here is a manifestation of his learning from the Orthodox tradition, most notably via theologians Nikos Nissiotis and Alexander Schmemmann. The relevant works of Congar include: *The Word and the Spirit*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986; *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 3 Vols. (London and New York: Geoffrey Chapman and the Seabury Press, 1983); *The Wide World, My Parish: Salvation and its Problems*, trans. Donald Attwater (Baltimore: Helicon, 1961).

⁹⁶² Moltmann's relevant works include: *The Source of Life: The Holy Spirit and the Theology of Life*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Fortress Press, 1997); *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation* (Fortress Press, 1992); *God in Creation: A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God* (HarperSanFrancisco, 1991). Other important works on the cosmic aspect of pneumatology include, for example, Jacques Dupuis, "L'Esprit Saint répandu sur le monde: Fondement du dialogue interreligieux" *Lumen Vitae* 1 (1998): 57-66; see also his "The Cosmic Influence of the Holy Spirit and the Gospel Message" in *God's Word Among Men* G. Gilpert-Sauch, ed. (Delhi: Vidyajyoti Institute of Religious Studies, 1973), 117-38. Also Kilian McDonnell, *The Other Hand of God: The Holy Spirit as the Universal Touch and Goal* (Liturgical Press, 2003); Kirsteen Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation* (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 2007); Molly T. Marshall, *Joining the Dance: A Theology of the Spirit* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2003).

⁹⁶³ In my licentiate thesis, I attempted to take into account these various pneumatological insights in the framework of a Catholic pneumatological theology of religions that is attentive to the living pneumatology in Asia. See my *The Spirit at Work: Asian Pneumatology from Below and the Problem of Religious Pluralism* (Cambridge, MA: Weston Jesuit School of Theology, 2005).

communio sanctorum, but these theologians did not attempt to develop a properly pneumatological understanding of *communio sanctorum*. It is mainly for this reason that I take as a focus of my comparison here Elizabeth Johnson's works in which she incorporates insights of traditional Christian pneumatology to the specific renewal of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum*.⁹⁶⁴

According to Johnson, paramount in the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* is the fundamental idea of wholeness and comprehensiveness, both spatial and temporal, of the communion under the guidance of the Spirit.⁹⁶⁵ Johnson takes seriously the fact that the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* belongs to the third article of the Apostles' Creed that specifically professes belief in the Holy Spirit. In this credal and pneumatological framework, the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* refers to a comprehensive web of relationships and communions that include individual human beings (both living and dead), communities of humankind here on earth and in heaven, including the paradigmatic figures and saints, the past and the future human family, cosmic and earthly realities as well as the richness of human life in general, and so forth.⁹⁶⁶ As one can see, the temporal and spatial scope involved in this doctrine refers to the very milieu where the Spirit of God is at work.

⁹⁶⁴ Another reason I take Elizabeth Johnson is that she is perhaps the foremost Catholic theologian in the English speaking world who has been contributing significantly to the discourse on the various aspects of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*, especially on the intersections between this doctrine and pneumatology. So, in this chapter, I will focus primarily on Johnson's principal works that pertain to the questions of *communio sanctorum* and pneumatology. These works include: *Truly Our Sister: A Theology of Mary in the Communion of Saints* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006); *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (Continuum, 1998); *Women, Earth, and Creator Spirit* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993).

⁹⁶⁵ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 7.

⁹⁶⁶ Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 102; *Friends of God and Prophets*, 1-2 and passim.

Furthermore, as Johnson understands it, the category of *communio sanctorum* also points to the heartfelt relationship of friendship with saints (canonized or otherwise) or other spiritually paradigmatic figures of the community. However, much more than just “veneration of saints,” it is about inclusive networks of friends and friendships, as well as a community built by solidarity under the principle of the work of the grace of God in all. In this respect, the reality that the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* points to is a community of grace-filled friends of God, thus echoing the Islamic notion of *walāya* (sainthood) as friendship and proximity.⁹⁶⁷ In particular Johnson grounds this communion on the idea of inclusive solidarity that is built among people in the common struggle for life and in the face of human suffering. She attempts to highlight the view of the grace-filled nature of ordinary human life and struggle as the ordinary milieu for *communio sanctorum*. However, this solidarity extends beyond the present as to include the past and the future. She argues:

By emphasizing the common character of human destiny and its unfulfilled promise, solidarity stretches backward through time to affirm that the dead, even the most insignificant and wiped out, are important in their lives, which thereby encourages the living who are still struggling to bring about a more beneficial future.”⁹⁶⁸

In this framework, *communio sanctorum* is about the struggle in this life but it extends beyond time to the past and the future. The past generation is crucial for the present community because “they struggled to be faithful, leaving an imprint in the heritage of

⁹⁶⁷ On the role of Mary, she argues that: “the primary angle of vision will be pneumatological, seeing Mary as a graced woman. Since she is embraced by and responsive to Spirit-Sophia, she is a sister to all who partner with the Spirit in the struggle for the coming of the reign of God.” Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 104.

⁹⁶⁸ Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 105.

life in the Spirit that we inhabit.”⁹⁶⁹ In the context of this study, this intergenerational aspect of the communion could not be emphasized enough since, as we have seen, communion with sacred history of the community that is filled with the presence of paradigmatic figures (“saints”) and ancestors, is crucial in the pilgrimage tradition among both Javanese Muslims and Catholics in south central Java and their identity formation. For both communities, the Spirit of God has been working throughout history in very concrete ways through these key spiritual figures.

As Elizabeth Johnson argues, this integral understanding of *communio sanctorum* does include prophets and saints (or paradigmatic figures), but it necessarily embraces ordinary believers as well. Again, the main criterion here is how human persons respond to the invitation of the Spirit, that is, each person’s participation in the work of the Spirit. It is on this ground that Mary is called “a woman of the Spirit.” In this way Mary becomes a sister or friend to all who respond to the gift of the Spirit. In this regard, Johnson conceives of the work of the Spirit in terms of “the utterly gracious reality of the transcendent God ever-present to vivify, renew, and make holy the world.”⁹⁷⁰

This universal and cosmic framework makes possible the inclusion of peoples beyond the narrow boundaries of ecclesial communities, an insight that is crucial to this study. On this point, Johnson writes:

While the phrase “communion of saints” itself arises in a Christian context and often functions as shorthand for Christians themselves, the Spirit does not limit divine blessings to any one group. Within human cultures everywhere God calls every human being to fidelity and love, awakening knowledge of the truth and inspiring deeds of compassion and justice....

⁹⁶⁹ Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 313.

⁹⁷⁰ On this point, Elizabeth Johnson writes: “The inmost depth and outermost horizon of this community of holy ones remains God’s Holy Spirit who vivifies creation, weaves interconnections, saves what is lost, and makes holy the world.” Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 308.

At its most elemental, then, *the communion of saints does not refer to Christians alone but affirms a link between all women and men who have been brushed with the fire of divine love and who seek the living God in their lives.*⁹⁷¹ (emphasis added)

It is in this inclusive and cosmic framework of the work of the Spirit that other earthly realities gain their meaning. For *communio sanctorum* is not just about communion among persons, living and dead, but also communion with the sacred realities and things, “a communion of holy things,” a crucial category that will be dealt with later.⁹⁷²

To conclude, the theologian Elizabeth Johnson understands the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* as a rich tapestry of communion in the framework of the Spirit of God. This communion is integral, interpersonal, intergenerational, cosmic, and supra-temporal. In what follows, I will explore how these major insights get enriched as we expand the horizon of our communion in order to include the Muslim tradition and peoples, a move that Johnson’s renewal of *communio sanctorum* demands.⁹⁷³ At certain points, I will return to these guiding theological insights as this comparative analysis moves forward.

IX. 2. The Spirit and the Depth of Communion: Exploring the Heart

As stated earlier, my comparative theological attempt at renewing the pneumatological aspects of the Catholic understanding and practice of *communio sanctorum* covers both the depth and breadth of the communion brought about by the Spirit of God. This sub-

⁹⁷¹ Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 306. On the cosmic dimension of this doctrine, Johnson remarks: “the communion of saints is one of the abiding creations of Spirit-Sophia’s artistry. Somewhat abstract in itself, this community comes to birth in a river of holy lives, a great intergenerational company of persons in the matrix of the natural world, itself the original sacred community of life.” (306).

⁹⁷² Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 8.

⁹⁷³ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 11.

section is about the former, so to serve this specific purpose, I will take up the role of the heart as the principle of communion at its depth, that is, at the most personal level of communion. As I will show later, Muslim and Catholic traditions agree that the heart is the deepest and most personal part of the human constitution in which the Spirit of God dwells in the most profound, real, yet still mysterious way.

In the framework of this exploration of the role of the heart in communion, we need to recall that one of the most important features of the pilgrimage traditions among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java is that it serves as a privileged moment for pilgrims to be in touch with a profound sense of peacefulness. Pilgrimage also provides a milieu where pilgrims come to know the deeper layer of their lives and being, their ultimate existential identity, so to speak.⁹⁷⁴ Intimately connected to this idea is the practice of intense ascetic purification (Jv. *laku*, *tirakat*) as well as other spiritual practices during pilgrimage, such as meditative prayers and contemplation.⁹⁷⁵ In this framework, the attainment of peace and love is considered to be the most foundational blessing of pilgrimage, something that could not be attained without the serious cultivation of the heart. Thus, on its deepest and most personal level, pilgrimage is a habit of the heart. As we have seen, this cultivation of the heart occurs in the wider context of loving devotion, understood as deeper connectedness to God through His friends, the saints, in the sacred spaces.

It has to be pointed out that this characteristic of pilgrimage corresponds to the fundamental notion of Islamic *ziyāra* as an external and internal journey, driven by love

⁹⁷⁴ I have examined this common feature in various places in this study, especially in Chapters 3 and 7 on the experiential world of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrims, as well as in Chapter 8 (section 4) on the similarity between Muslim and Catholic pilgrims in this regard.

⁹⁷⁵ See Introduction (section 4), Chapter 3 (III. 2), Chapter 7 (VII. 1.1), and Chapter 8 (VIII. 2).

and spiritual desire for proximity (Ar. *walāya*) to God and His spiritual company of saints.⁹⁷⁶ In the context of the Islamic spiritual tradition, these are precisely the dynamics of journeying, listening, seeing, discerning, and returning that James W. Morris has laid out in his exposition of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s idea of spiritual intelligence.⁹⁷⁷ These are the dynamics of spiritual quest and the most fundamental sense of pilgrimage that is nothing other than the deepening and widening of communion with God, the self, the other and the whole reality of the cosmos. In the context of this study, it is worth noting that Ibn al-‘Arabī’s understanding of this journeying is anchored in the Qur’ānic vision of seeing God’s Signs and presence: “so that God can cause [us] to see His Signs” (Qur’ān 31:31). In the framework of this vision that shares basic characteristics of the Catholic sacramental vision as well, God’s Signs have always been there, in the cosmos and the soul (that includes the idea of the self and the heart), as well as in the verses of the Qur’ān as divine revelation.

In this framework, the perennial challenge for any spiritual traveler or pilgrim is to discern what these signs mean in each phase of his journey.⁹⁷⁸ Given the arduous and

⁹⁷⁶ Partly in response to some outside attacks, some traditionalist Javanese Muslim scholars come to emphasize the role of “love” as the most fundamental *raison d’être* of pilgrimage to shrines. They argue that love is the most appropriate framework in which the many seemingly “extravagant” features of pilgrimage tradition among the traditionalist Muslims (such as members of the Nahdlatul Ulama) should be understood. In other words, as I have argued in Part One, love or devotion is considered the underlying rationale of *ziyāra*. On this see, for example, H. Munawir Abdul Fattah, *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU*, xxiv-xxv. Insightful as well here is the Prophet Muḥammad’s reaction to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s anger over the women who wept during the visit to the cemetery of the victims of the Badr battle. The Prophet famously replied to ‘Umar’s indignation: “Umar, let them weep! What cometh from the heart and from the eye, that is from God and His Mercy, but what cometh from the hand and from the tongue, that is from Satan.” See Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources* (Rochester, V.T.: Inner Traditions, 1987), 162.

⁹⁷⁷ On this point, James Morris remarks: “Those themes can be seen as highlighting successive steps or essential phases in a cyclical process of spiritual realization and self-discovery.” James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 7.

⁹⁷⁸ In Ibn al-‘Arabī as well as other Muslim mystics, this spiritual journey is understood in the archetypal night journey and ascension of the Prophet. On the corresponding journey of the saints as the heirs of the

complex nature of this journey, it is crucial to pay attention to the categories of purification and transformations of the heart (Ar. *taqallubāt*) through refinement of spiritual listening and inspiration, so that the pilgrim can be in touch with the awakened love and awareness of divine beauty all around.⁹⁷⁹ Of course, in the Islamic tradition, the manifestations of this love and spiritual awareness should be found in the larger framework of right and beautiful action, that is, the virtue of *ihsān*, which is nothing other than the realization of Divine Names in the spiritual travelers. Ultimately, the beatific vision of God that is profoundly a vision of communion with God is the culmination of this process of spiritual realization (Ar. *taḥqīq*). I will pursue these diverse notions further later. At this juncture, it has to be pointed out that the role of the heart is extremely crucial in the whole process of this communion. That is why in what follows I will explore the heart as the principle for deepening the communion through the process of spiritual realization.

At this point, one should recall that in the context of Javanese spiritual sensibility, the deepest core of the pilgrimage experience is understood in terms of the inner and spiritual sensing (Jv. *rasa*).⁹⁸⁰ In this connection, the Javanese culture also understands the heart as the realm of *rasa*. This is in connection with the Arabic notion of *sirr*, the innermost mystery or secret. So Javanese religious sensibility agrees with the Islamic tradition on the essential inner connection between spiritual traveling and the inner perceptions of the human heart (Ar. *qalb*) as the locus of the movement toward a deeper

Prophet, Ibn al-‘Arabī remarks: “Thus, the ascensions (*ma’arīj*) of the saints are the ascensions of [their] spirits and the vision of [their] hearts, [the vision] of forms in the intermediate world and of embodied spiritual realities.” Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, III 342; quoted in *The Meccan Revelations*, Vol. II, trans. James W. Morris (New York: Pir Press, 2002), 212.

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, chapter 12; *The Meccan Revelations* Vol. II, 328.

⁹⁸⁰ On *rasa*, see Introduction (section IV), Chapter 3 (II. 3. 2. 2.), and Chapter 7 (VII. 2.)

awareness of God as the Ground or Source of life. With regard to the Islamic tradition, one only need to recall the Qur'ānic emphasis on the role of the heart as the site of our awareness of the Divine Presence, the locus of our remembrance of and communion with God (Ar. *dhikr Allāh*; Qur'ān 13:28). In the Qur'ān, this basic condition of the human heart is intimately related to its role as the locus of people's innermost intentions and desires. In this respect, the heart is nothing other than the enduring individual self, the seat of human authenticity as well as moral and spiritual responsibility (Qur'ān 2:225).⁹⁸¹ However, it is important to note that the Qur'ān alludes to the forgetfulness of the heart as well.⁹⁸² In light of this, what becomes really at stake in the human journey is to always strive to commune with God in many different ways and at every moment. It is in this very process that purification of the heart means overcoming the forgetful nature of the carnal self (Ar. *nafs*). As I have argued, pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in Java has functioned precisely as a privileged moment of purification of the hearts and intentions.

While the challenge is enormous, as many pilgrim-seekers testify, it is in the states of the heart that human beings can be most transparently in touch with the ongoing Divine Activity. When properly purified and filled with Divine grace, this fragile human heart could well become the very locus of the grace of peace and tranquility, as well as the receptacle for the sending down of the Spirit. For this reason, Ibn al-'Arabī argues that the heart is *insān*, that is, the very inner reality of fully realized human being.⁹⁸³ He calls the saints "people of the hearts" (Ar. *aṣḥāb al-qulūb*), precisely due to their

⁹⁸¹ James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 47-48.

⁹⁸² The word *qalb* occurs 132 times in the Qur'ān, much more frequently than the other closely related terms such as *fu'ād*, *lubb*, *ṣadr* etc. See James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 48.

⁹⁸³ James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 54; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, opening sections.

extraordinary capacity to discern the signs and epiphanies (Ar. *tajallī*) of God and commune with God on that deepest level of existence.⁹⁸⁴ In this respect, the accomplished saints are those whose experience of the beatific vision is constant, although not necessarily without struggle. In connection to the experience of ordinary pilgrims analyzed in the previous chapters, it is crucial to note that for Ibn al-‘Arabī, there is a great affinity between simple believers and the saints on account of their personal experience of God. Although different in degree and intensity, they are both “eye-witnesses” of God through the vision of the heart (Ar. *shuhūd bi’l-qalb*).⁹⁸⁵

In the same vein, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111) conceives of the heart as “the essence of man’s spirit which is the seat of the knowledge of God.”⁹⁸⁶ Al-Ghazālī further argues: “It is the heart which knows God, which draws near to God, which strives for God, which speeds toward God and which discloses what is in and with God.”⁹⁸⁷ For al-Ghazālī, to know the heart is to know God and the self. In this sense, the heart becomes the seat of the identity of human person in relation to God as well. Echoing the famous *ḥadīth* (“He who knows himself knows his Lord”), al-Ghazālī argues:

The heart is which, if a man knows it, he indeed knows himself: and if he knows not himself, he indeed knows not his Lord—and one who knows not his heart is even more ignorant of other things.⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁴ Henri Corbin, *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn ‘Arabī* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 230. On Ibn al-‘Arabī’s conception of the wisdom of the heart in the prophet Shu‘ayb, see his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, trans. Caner K. Dagli (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 2004), 125-38; see also Ronald L. Nettler, *Sufi Metaphysics and Qur’anic Prophets: Ibn ‘Arabī’s Thought and Method in the Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 2003), 114-36.

⁹⁸⁵ Henri Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 232; Cf. Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* I, 89; II, 148.

⁹⁸⁶ Al-Ghazālī, *Deliverance From Error*, translated and annotated by R. J. McCarthy (Louisville, K. Y.: Fons Vitae, 2004), 87. See Appendix V (309-25) for a translation of the major parts of al-Ghazālī’s work, *The Marvels of the Heart* (*Kitāb Sharḥ ‘ajā’ib al-Qalb*). A full English translation of this work (book 21 of al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*) has recently been made available by Walter James Skellie, *The Marvels of the Heart* (Fons Vitae, 2010).

⁹⁸⁷ Al-Ghazālī, *The Marvels of the Heart* (*Kitāb Sharḥ ‘Aja’ib al-Qalb*), paragraph # 2.

⁹⁸⁸ Al-Ghazālī, *The Marvels of the Heart* (*Kitāb Sharḥ ‘Aja’ib al-Qalb*), paragraph # 4.

It is crucial to note here as well that for al-Ghazālī, the “heart” is always understood in connection with the “spirit” (Ar. *rūḥ*), which he sees as the subtle human faculty for knowledge and perception.

Furthermore, there is another important aspect of the heart that is connected to the foundational experience of peace and tranquility mentioned above, namely, the idea of equilibrium (Ar. *i‘tidāl*) of the heart. This idea is central, for example, in Sa‘īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī (d. ca. 1300), a Muslim mystic who belonged to Ibn al-‘Arabī’s school. In the words of Sachiko Murata, al-Farghānī points out that “the perfect heart is only realized when all the qualities present in the microcosm are fully actualized in proper balance and harmony.”⁹⁸⁹ Again, in the context of this study, this quality of the perfect heart is akin to the personal side of the idea of true peace (Jv. *tentrem*) that many Javanese pilgrims, both Muslim and Catholic, seek to achieve. However, as these pilgrims testify, this harmony and balance are not static, precisely because the notion of growth of the heart is essential in the process. In this regard, pilgrimage actually becomes a milieu in which the heart is transformed, from its obsession with lower desires (Ar. *nafs*, Jv. *nepsu*) and sensory gratifications to a more purified state in which it can be more in tune with the world of the Spirit.⁹⁹⁰ Describing this very process al-Farghānī further remarks: “then there is born from the placenta of the spirit the child/heart, receptive to the self-disclosure of

⁹⁸⁹ Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, 311.

⁹⁹⁰ Al-Farghānī discusses five levels of the heart pertaining to five major stages in the path to human perfection (see Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, 311). In the framework of Javano-Islamic spirituality, especially in the story of Dewaruci found in the *Serat Cabolèk* (18th century), the growth of the heart corresponds to the overcoming of the heart’s bad qualities, symbolically represented by three colors, black, red, and yellow. See Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 49.

Nonmanifest Being.”⁹⁹¹ Insightful here as well is ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī’s notion of human journey as “giving birth to the heart”.⁹⁹²

In connection to this process of giving birth to the heart, or the idea of deeper transformation or purification of the heart, Mansūr al-Hallāj (d. 922) speaks about the virgin heart (*le point vierge*) thus: “God can only relate to the virginal found deep in the heart of every human soul.”⁹⁹³ On the purity of this human heart, al-Hallāj exclaims:

Our hearts are one single Virgin, which the dream of no dreamer can penetrate ... which only the presence of the Lord penetrates in order to be conceived therein.”⁹⁹⁴

For Louis Massignon, this Hallajian notion of *le point vierge* corresponds to the archetypal virginity of Mary, that is, the archetype of the “inviolable virginity begetting us to life.”⁹⁹⁵ Like many Muslim mystics, the Catholic thinker Massignon thus envisions the human soul as feminine, and God as a Stranger like the angel Gabriel who broke into Mary’s heart. In light of the experience of the pilgrims described in this study, one should not lose sight of this process of giving birth to the heart or the whole process of purification of the heart precisely because at its core, pilgrimage journey is nothing other than this process. This is perhaps the deepest reason as to why pilgrimage is called a habit of the heart.

⁹⁹¹ Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, 312.

⁹⁹² Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam*, 313.

⁹⁹³ Dorothy C. Buck, *Dialogues with Saints and Mystics in the Spirit of Louis Massignon* (London, New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 2002), 186.

⁹⁹⁴ Louis Massignon, *Testimonies and Reflections: Essays of Louis Massignon*, selected and introduced by Herbert Mason (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1989), 133; quoted in Dorothy C. Buck, *Dialogues*, 206.

⁹⁹⁵ Dorothy C. Buck, *Dialogues*, 205.

Furthermore, this process of giving birth to the heart is also related to the Islamic idea of the heart as a mirror that is in need of polishing in order to function. On this crucial point, Ibn al-‘Arabī writes:

So know that the heart is a polished mirror—*all* of it is a face—that does not (itself) ever “rust.” So if someone should say about it that it rusts—as in the (Prophet’s) saying: “Certainly hearts tarnish like iron,” in the hadith that concludes “the polishing of the heart is through remembrance of God and recitation of the Qur’an...”—that is because the heart has become preoccupied with knowing the secondary causes (*al-asbāb*), the apparent workings of this world, instead of with knowing God. So its attachment to what is other than God has “rusted over” the face of the heart, in that it blocks the Self-manifestation (*tajalli*) of the Truly Real in that heart.⁹⁹⁶

In light of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s remarks, one can better understand why, despite the ambiguity, the heart is so central in the understanding of human person (Ar. *insān*) in the Islamic tradition. It is because the heart has the enduring quality of being open to transformation (Ar. *inqilāb*, from the same root as *qalb*, the heart).⁹⁹⁷ In the Islamic tradition, this process is ultimately related to the Name of God as the Transformer of the Hearts (Ar. *muqallib al-qulūb*). In this respect, purification of the heart is not only the work of the human person because it involves the grace of God, the Transformer of the Hearts.

In the Islamic tradition, this openness or transformable quality of the heart can also be spoken of in terms of its receptivity.⁹⁹⁸ This point is extremely crucial in this study. For, in this respect, the heart does indeed function as the principle of communion with God in the depth of its being. What is perhaps more important to note here is the

⁹⁹⁶ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 2 (II, 82-83); James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 131.

⁹⁹⁷ See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Heart of the Faithful is the Throne of the All-Merciful,” in James S. Cutsinger (ed.), *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and The Christian East* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom/Fons Vitae, 2002), 34.

⁹⁹⁸ On this point, Seyyed Hossein Nasr writes: “the *qalb* is receiving evermore the theophanies which reach it from above and within, and it possesses not only the power of transformation or *taqallub*, but also receptivity, that is *qabul* or *qabil*.” Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Heart of the Faithful,” 35.

capability of the heart to be in this communion with God in the context of otherness or unfamiliarity, precisely due to its openness and receptivity, as Ibn al-‘Arabī exclaims: “My heart is capable of taking on any form.”⁹⁹⁹ In the context of Javano-Islamic spirituality, one finds an echo of this Akhbarian saying in the mystical teaching of Dewaruci to the Mahabharata hero, Bhima:

It is this pure heart alone that can accept indications of the Reality of all forms; it is the place on which the favor is bestowed which leads to eternal union with the Hidden one.¹⁰⁰⁰

This quality of the heart corresponds to what Henri Corbin calls the heart’s “theandric function.”¹⁰⁰¹ More specifically, Corbin speaks about the power of the heart in terms of *himma*—that is, spiritual intention, the act of imagining and ardently desiring and so forth—and *dhawq* (inner or intimate taste or experience), two categories that connect human being (Ar. *insān*) with the wider reality as basically nothing other than the multilayered manifestations of the Face of God. In this dynamic, prayer turns itself into “the paradoxical vision of the ‘Form of God.’”¹⁰⁰² It is in this kind of framework as well that one can understand the role of intimate conversation with God or the heart-to-heart prayer (Ar. *munājāt*) in the spiritual life of the pilgrims (see Chapter 3).¹⁰⁰³ In larger context of this study, these categories of *himma* and *dhawq* can explain the dynamics of

⁹⁹⁹ This line is found in Ibn al-‘Arabī’s famous collection of poems, *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*; quoted in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, “The Heart of the Faithful,” 35.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Serat Cabolèk*, VIII: 26; Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolèk*, 48.

¹⁰⁰¹ Henri Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 221.

¹⁰⁰² Henri Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 224.

¹⁰⁰³ On this point, R. A. Nicholson wrote some years ago: “In Mohammedan mysticism, it is prayer that supplies the best evidence of personality – not the ritual prayer (*salat*) but the free prayer (*du‘a*) and in particular the loving converse with God (*munajat*) when the mystic speaks out of the depths of his heart.” See R. A. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970), 36. For a good example of the *munājāt*, see Kwaja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī, *Intimate Conversations*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr (New York, Ramsey, Toronto: Paulist Press, 1978); also A.G. Ravan Farhadi, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 1996).

loving devotion and search for the true and lasting peace as the foundational motivation of Muslim and Catholic pilgrims (Chapters 3 and 7).

What I have attempted in the preceding paragraphs is just outlining some pertinent strands of thoughts on the heart in the Islamic tradition. Of course, one can readily see different ways and levels of connection between these insights and their Christian counterparts. For example, the Islamic notion of the heart as the inviolate, innermost core of our being where God resides is obviously deeply in line with the Christian tradition.¹⁰⁰⁴ In the context of Christian tradition itself, this rich connection can be pursued comparatively in different ways in the areas of biblical, patristic, mystical, and modern theology.¹⁰⁰⁵ So this theme is of course worthy of a full-fledged Muslim-Christian comparative theological reflection. However, given the nature and focus of this study, as well as the limited space in this chapter, I will not pursue this specific direction of comparative research. Instead, my response in this chapter is more modest and specific. Responding to the particular features of Catholic pilgrimage in south central Java—especially, the role of the Sacred Heart shrine and its foundational spirituality to become an embodiment of God’s Love by becoming a blessing for others, as well as the pilgrims’ experience of peacefulness—I will pursue the comparative connection here by

¹⁰⁰⁴ For example, the Vatican II document, *Gaudium et Spes* (GS), contains the following statement: “When [man] is drawn to think about his real self he turns to those deep recesses of his being where God who probes the heart awaits him, and where he himself decides his own destiny in the sight of God... His conscience is man’s most secret core, and his sanctuary. There he is alone with God whose voice echoes in his depths” (GS 14, 16). See Austin P. Flannery, ed. and trans., *Documents of Vatican II* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 915-56.

¹⁰⁰⁵ On the connection between the Islamic idea of the heart and the Greek patristic tradition, see Kallistos Ware, “How Do We Enter the Heart?” in James S. Cutsinger, ed., *Paths to the Heart*, 2-23. There is also an interesting similarity between these Muslim insights and Meister Eckhart’s idea of the ground of the soul (the inmost person, the soul’s essence) wherein God is present. On Eckhart’s idea, see Donald J. Georgen, *Fire of Love*, 8-9. For a comparative work on Eckhart and Ibn al-‘Arabī, see Reza-Shah Kashemi, *Paths to Transcendence according to Shankara, Ibn Arabi, and Meister Eckhart* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2006).

exploring the Catholic reflection on the heart in relation to the Sacred Heart devotion in the thoughts of the German Jesuit theologian, Karl Rahner (1904-1984). Again, this is a response to the particular sense of communion that is already there on the ground. The function of such a connection in this study is to show the more particular yet deeper connection between the Christian and Islamic traditions that could serve as a further foundation for the existing encounters on the ground, such as at the shrines. This is why toward the end of this section I will also discuss the question of prayer as a privileged moment of communion with God, which in the pilgrimage context, often times includes prayers of the other, or praying with the other. It should also be mentioned that in the Catholic context, the emphasis on the heart and love is perfectly in line with the Vatican II document of *Lumen Gentium* (on the Constitution on the Church) that advocates the spirit of charity and love in the practice of Catholic saint veneration.¹⁰⁰⁶

In Karl Rahner's theology, one sees the two features of the understanding of the heart in the Islamic tradition and among Muslim thinkers and mystics, that is, the heart as the seat of individual identity and the principle of dealing with non-self (alterity). In terms of identity, Rahner emphasizes the unity (primordially) of the heart as representing the whole human person before God as Mystery, thus also representing the fundamental connection of human being to God.¹⁰⁰⁷ Describing the central yet ambiguous role of the heart in the human dynamism toward the Mystery of God, Rahner argues:

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, paragraphs # 50-51. See Austin P. Flannery, *The Documents of Vatican II*, 410-13.

¹⁰⁰⁷ In terms of the principle of unity or wholeness represented in the Sacred Heart devotion, Joseph Ratzinger argues that we need to give an emphasis on the corporeality of the human existence. For Ratzinger, the Sacred Heart devotion should be marked by the unity between the heart and the senses. This is so because Christian piety must involve the senses; and piety of the senses is basically a piety of the heart since the heart is the comprehensive ground of the senses, the place for the encounter and interpenetration

This unity of man, original, originating and holding together what it originates, is a personal unity, that is to say, one which knows itself, ventures forth and freely makes its own choice, which answers and—in love—affirms itself or denies itself. *It is the point where man borders on the mystery of God*, the point where man, whose own origin is from God, as God’s partner either leaves himself and gives himself back to God in his original unity, or else blasphemously refusing himself to Him and turning himself downward, plunges into the void of his own damnation.¹⁰⁰⁸ (emphasis added)

So, for Rahner, the heart is the principle of personal unity and the deepest identity of every person qua person. It is the *fons et origo*, source and origin, of human person’s existence.¹⁰⁰⁹ For him, the word “heart” is a properly human primordial word (*urwort*) that signifies the fundamental unity and authenticity of human existence.¹⁰¹⁰

However, like many Muslim thinkers, Rahner sees the ambiguity and complexity of the human heart. He speaks of the heart’s capability of giving itself back to God, or turning itself away from Him. Human being finds itself in the tension between unity and multiplicity. For Rahner, only in Jesus Christ does the “Heart” truly become a principle of unity and fullness; and this is why the word “Sacred Heart” is the only one that according to Rahner “could name Christ himself as the unifier.”¹⁰¹¹ However, it is crucial to note that for Rahner, the heart is the only locus in the human constitution that “borders the mystery of God”. To a certain degree, the human heart is also a mystery. Crucial as

of the senses and the spirit, which unite the heart. For this reason, Ratzinger emphasizes the theology of corporeality as the basis for the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. See Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, “The Paschal Mystery as Core and Foundation of Devotion to the Sacred Heart,” in *Towards a Civilization of Love: A Symposium on the Scriptural and Theological Foundations of the Devotion to the Heart of Jesus*, Mario Luigi Ciappi et al. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985), 151-53.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Karl Rahner, “Behold This Heart!” *Theological Investigation III*, 323.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Karl Rahner, “The Theological Meaning of the Veneration of the Sacred Heart,” *Theological Investigation VIII*, 218, 226.

¹⁰¹⁰ On this concept in Rahner, see Annice Callahan, R. S. C. J., *Karl Rahner’s Spirituality of the Pierced Heart: A Reinterpretation of Devotion to the Sacred Heart* (University Press of America, 1985), 34ff.

¹⁰¹¹ Karl Rahner, “The Theological Meaning of the Veneration of the Sacred Heart,” *Theological Investigation VIII*, 218, 221.

well in this regard is Rahner's insistence that in Jesus Christ, this Heart represents the principle of the divine Love.

For Rahner, while the heart is the principle of unity and identity of the human person, it is also a principle of authentic otherness because it has the inherent dynamism of extending the self to the other, of becoming an other in order to understand himself better. On this point, Rahner argues:

But man goes out and away from himself, he must realize himself in something other that he has done and suffered, and can only in this way, in this other, looking away from himself, become conscious of the well-spring and the unity of his being. And *such a well-spring, from which the alien other really flows and which possesses itself only in the other, is called the heart.*¹⁰¹² (emphasis added)

In the context of our discourse on the question of *communio sanctorum*, understood in its most comprehensive and integral meaning, this particular insight of Rahner is crucial. For it shows that by definition, the heart has an inherent capability to foster a genuine and authentic, even necessary, communion with otherness that is intimately related to the self, forming a unity. On the most personal level, it is the heart that connects the self and the other in a way that goes well beyond superficial boundaries. Throughout this study, I have showed that the personal side of the pilgrimage experience renders the collective identity formation among Javanese Muslims and Catholics in south central Java more authentic and deeper, precisely because it involves the persons in their depth of being, not just the socio-cultural mechanisms.

It is in the context of this reflection on the role of the heart in the encounter with otherness that a brief consideration on the nature of prayer as a milieu of encounters with

¹⁰¹² Karl Rahner, "Behold This Heart!", *Theological Investigation III*, 324.

the other is in order. This is so because prayer is the most personal conversation of the heart with God. Furthermore, as shown in the previous chapters, shrines are places where peoples of different faith traditions could truly pray, individually as well as together as a community. In light of this reality, any discussion on the inclusiveness of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum*, in my view, has to be connected to prayer. For this inclusivity becomes qualitatively deeper in prayer. On the logic of the encounters between peoples of different religious traditions in prayer, Christian Troll, the Jesuit expert on Muslim-Christian relations, muses:

For my part, what is primary may not seem important, but is a part of daily life: being self-aware and inwardly acknowledging that we stand ‘together before God.’ Such a recognition is an invisible but effective first step to peaceful coexistence. It means an inner interchange with each other and an openness to God. *Each individual’s own prayer can, as it were, carry the other ‘before God’ during the regular ritual or liturgical prayer.*¹⁰¹³ (emphasis added)

Here, Troll does not identify the heart explicitly, but he does talk about self-awareness before God and the corresponding capability to “carry the other before God.”

In this respect, the Jesuit comparative theologian, Francis Clooney, goes a bit further in envisioning the possible appropriation of the prayer traditions of the other. He exemplifies the possibility for Christians to learn from the Srivaishnava tradition of *mantra* by formulating a parallel Christian *mantra*.¹⁰¹⁴ He also speaks about the possibility for a

¹⁰¹³ Christian W. Troll, “Common Prayer of Christians and Muslims,” 328.

¹⁰¹⁴ Francis Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 181. After reading the Hindu theologian, Desika, Clooney rereads Francis de Sales with a new eye and suggests a *mantra*-like formulation that represents de Sales’ point of self-surrender: “Into your hands I commend my spirit.”

Catholic religious sensibility to incorporate the spirit of the Hindu *mantra* of self-surrender.¹⁰¹⁵ On this point, he argues:

Rather, I suggest that we, Catholic and Srivaisnava, can take to heart the fact that as we learn, we become connected to another tradition, even in prayer, and cannot forget the other tradition, even when praying.¹⁰¹⁶

And, as a result of this remembrance of the other in prayer (after the comparative work), as a sort of new community based on spiritual *communio* in prayer is born. On this point Clooney argues further, “This prayerful conversation will draw members of both communities into a secondary but real community beholden to both traditions, reducible to neither.”¹⁰¹⁷ In this dynamic, the dynamics of the hearts and prayers become the locus for deeper communion with the other. This way, the depth of the communion is enhanced in a way that is inclusive of others.

In a broad stroke, this is also my personal experience that comes as a result of the double visiting that I alluded to earlier in this chapter: whether in a Catholic or Muslim sacred space, I still pray as a Catholic, but I bring the Muslim other in my prayers, at times in a very vivid and intentional way. So, in ways that are deeply personal, these two traditions remember each other in my being, so to speak. This type of encounter through prayers, however it is understood and realized, could be widely significant for pilgrims. Again, due to their openness, shrines and pilgrimages have become a privileged place for encountering the spiritual world of the other. Through memorable experience in the

¹⁰¹⁵ On the possible appropriation of the other’s prayer tradition, Clooney writes: “There is no reason that a Srivaisnava cannot be deeply affected by the passionate intensity of de Sales’ narrative of deep pleasure, conformity, and abandonment. Nor is there any reason that a Catholic cannot find herself deeply appreciative of the image of Narayana and Sri as refuge and goal, even to the extent that she utters the Dvaya Mantra as her own spiritual utterance, closely consonant with, if not identical to, the Srivaisnava appropriation of the mantra.” Francis Clooney, *Beyond Compare*, 186.

¹⁰¹⁶ Francis X. Clooney, “Christian Readers, Hindu Words,” 316.

¹⁰¹⁷ Francis X. Clooney, “Christian Readers, Hindu Words,” 317.

shrine of the other, pilgrims carry the other in a rather profound way. They might never have the chance to formulate or systematize this experience of encounter in a proper comparative theological discourse, but at least they have the sensitivity and experience necessary for such a discourse. With regard to comparative theology, it is precisely in this type of experience that its systematic comparative discourse finds its experiential context.

In a different setting yet imbued with the same spirit, Louis Massignon's *badaliya* sodality is a good example of responding to such an experience of deep encounters with the religious other, especially Islam in this case. Due to his deep "comparative" immersion into the world of Islam and Catholicism, Massignon was able to respond to that experience by creating a movement of Christian prayers that incorporates aspects of the Muslim other. In this case, the prayers in the *badaliya* sodality make use of the examples of Sufi saints as a spiritual means of entering into deeper understanding of the Christian teachings about Jesus and into communion with Christ himself.¹⁰¹⁸ Again, this kind of deeper engagement with the other is possible due to a pilgrimage, an extended visit, to the other. To a certain degree, the logic of this practice actually explains the possible spiritual experience of Catholic pilgrims at Muslim shrines. It comes down to an experience of communion with Christ in the Spirit, through deeper immersion into the spiritual world of the other that involves a certain degree of communion with the spiritual figures of this tradition too.

In this connection, in my view, it is also crucial to point out that the pneumatological framework presents itself as a fruitful theological framework for

¹⁰¹⁸ Louis Massignon, *Badaliya Annual Letters* 1:3; cited in Christian S. Krokus, *Faith Seeking Understanding*, 276.

Christians to understand the Spirit's presence in the complexity of their religious experience at the shrine. On this framework, Pope John Paul II remarks:

In fact, we should believe that every true prayer is inspired by the Holy Spirit, who is present in mysterious ways in the hearts of all people. We saw this in Assisi, where unity was motivated by the fact that every man and woman was able to pray, which means being totally subject to God, as well as acknowledging the poor before him.¹⁰¹⁹

In this regard, my earlier exposition of the Muslim understanding of the heart hopefully helps us understand more fully the presence of the Spirit of God in the hearts of Muslims and the authenticity of their prayers, as Pope John Paul II points out. In relation to this, one can understand Massignon's notion of the possibility of Muslims to get access to the "soul of the Church", i.e., to be in a state of grace, without formal conversion to the Catholic faith, as he argues: "it is God alone who converts the other when He reconciles him, from within, in the solitude of his heart."¹⁰²⁰ It is perhaps in this kind of framework that Catholics can also understand the complexity and significance of the spiritual experience of Muslim pilgrims in the Catholic shrines.

Before moving to the next section on the cosmic dimension of communion, it should be noted that this personal dimension—what I call the "depth" of the communion—is relatively missing in the renewal of the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* proposed by Elizabeth Johnson. For the most part, her project engages pneumatology and *communio sanctorum* in a way that fails to take into account this truly spiritual foundation, i.e., the presence of the Spirit in the hearts of persons as well as the

¹⁰¹⁹ John Paul II on prayers at Assisi; quoted in Christian Troll, "Common Prayer," 327.

¹⁰²⁰ Louis Massignon, *Badaliya Annual Letters* 1:6; cited in Christian S. Krokus, *Faith Seeking Understanding*, 279.

spirit-ual dynamics caused by the stirrings of this Spirit.¹⁰²¹ However, if this comparative study of Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java has anything to say about this, it would be that the deepest foundation of this communion is each human being in the depth of their being, identified in both traditions in terms of “the heart”.

IX. 3. The Spirit and the Breadth of Communion

The preceding comparative exploration on the heart as a pneumatological principle that brings about the depth of communion with God naturally leads to the question of the wideness, scope, or breadth of this communion. This move is necessary in this study precisely because pilgrimage experience is also about forging a wide-ranging communion with God and His spiritual company of saints and paradigmatic figures in and through different realities such as sacred space and architecture, rituals, sacred items, and so forth. In traditional Catholic pneumatology, these realms are also considered to be the very field of the work of the Spirit.

To pursue this comparative theological analysis, this section is divided into three sub-sections, each dealing with a major aspect of the full breadth of this communion. The first (1) sub-section deals with the cosmic dimension of the communion, which I argue, should be grounded in the theological principle of sacramentality; while the second (2) takes up the crucial idea of communion with God through His spiritual company of

¹⁰²¹ In my view, this is most probably because her theology is based on a different set of experiences and social agenda, namely, the establishment of equality in the context of a worldwide women’s movement in the modern (Western) world. She describes the doctrine of the communion of saints thus: “A symbol so pneumatological, so relational, so intrinsically inclusive and egalitarian, so respectful of persons who are defeated and praising of those who succeed against all odds, so hope-filled and so pragmatic, has the potential to empower all those who struggle for human dignity in the name of God.” Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 9.

friends and saints. Lastly the third (3) sub-section delves into the communal, ancestral and intergenerational aspect of *communio sanctorum*, that is, the trans-spatiotemporal aspect of *communio sanctorum* which consists in the communion between the dead and living in the context of the community's dynamic journey from the past into the future. Although each one of these categories is meant to be rather distinctive, they are also intertwined. For instance, the principle of sacramentality that I emphasize particularly in the first sub-section runs through the other two sections as well. This is because, to a certain degree, the paradigmatic figures or saints make manifest God's presence and grace; and when the saints or paradigmatic figures are considered to be the ancestors of the community, they form the backbone of the sacred history of the community that is basically perceived as a concrete framework of God's grace to the community in its journey toward the future. So here the idea of sacred history of the community becomes profoundly sacramental as well.

In discussing these three categories of the inclusive breadth of this communion, I will continue applying the comparative theological method I have used thus far. Taking into account the pertinent insights from the practice of pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java, I will resort to some theological or spiritual insights from the wider Islamic and Catholic traditions to bring more explicit correlations between the two to the fore with a view to illuminate the comparative data from the ground. This way, I hope, one will see that the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* gets refreshed comparatively on some levels, albeit in a very modest and tentative fashion.

IX. 3. 1. The Spirit and Cosmic Communion: Sacramentality

In this sub-section, I will pursue the broad topic of sacramentality in a Muslim-Catholic comparative perspective. In the dynamics of this study, this topic of sacramentality presents itself as a crucial comparative topic for several reasons. First, in general it is one of the underlying theological dynamics of Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions as I have showed in the previous chapters. More specifically in Chapter 8, I have dealt with the question of sacramentality as a vision of communion with God through the sacredness of space, time (and history) and things, a framework that arises from the realities of pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java.¹⁰²² In this chapter, I attempt to broaden this comparative discourse by placing these insights from the ground in the framework of the wider spiritual and theological traditions of Islam and Catholicism, particularly the sacramentality of the cosmic realities, the communal and cosmic function of the saints, and so forth. Secondly, since sacramentality is an important theological category in Catholic theology in general but more particularly in the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*, any attempt at its renewal should deal with this question of sacramentality. What I consider a crucial comparative insight in this regard is that although sacramentality is ordinarily associated with Catholic Christianity, it turns out that it is shared in many different ways and on different levels by the Islamic tradition as well through its own spiritual and theological categories. The word “sacramental” might have never been used as a theological category by Muslims, but I argue that based on the richness of their own practice and religious tradition, they surely understand the logic of the sacramental principle.

¹⁰²² Chapter 8 (VIII. 5).

Both among Muslims and Catholics, as I have described in the previous chapters of this study, the entire tradition of pilgrimage has enabled pilgrims to forge more intimate, meaningful and wide ranging communion with God, through his myriad manifestations in the universe—what the Qur’ān calls the signs of God “on the horizons” (41:53). In this regard, I argue that the worldview of the Qur’ān is profoundly “sacramental”, understood in its most basic meaning that the cosmos can serve as a place to encounter God on many levels. This is so because according to the Qur’ān, the cosmos is filled with Divine Signs (Ar. *ayāt*) and these Signs are invitations for humans to be in touch with God, the Creator and Sustainer of the universe (Ar. *rabb al-‘ālamīn*). For this very reason, in the Islamic tradition, the cosmos is considered as one of the three “Books” containing truly revelatory *ayāt* (signs or “verses” of God) to be deciphered; the other two “Books” are the Qur’ān and the human soul (the heart) that we just discussed in the previous section. In this regard, the deepest spiritual dynamics of pilgrimage journey could also be seen as “unveiling”, not in the sense of coming to see God in an unmediated fashion, but precisely in the sense of coming to know more clearly the deeper meanings of every reality vis-à-vis God as the ultimate reference of life. Again, in the Qur’ānic framework, this journey corresponds to the overarching need for humans to commune with (“to know”) God by way of understanding the deeper meanings of God’s Signs:

We shall continue to show them (“cause them to see”) Our Signs on the horizons and in their souls until it becomes clear (“shines forth”) to them that *Hū* is the truly Real (*al-Ḥaqq*).” (Qur’ān 41:53).¹⁰²³

¹⁰²³ Here I use the translation of James W. Morris, *Orientations*, 13.

In this framework, more specifically in relation to the nature of God as the Manifest—that can be known, as opposed to His Essence/Nonmanifest that cannot be known—the universe is the manifestation of God’s Divine Names or Attributes. In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, for example, the theological status of the cosmos vis-à-vis God is also placed in the tension between *tanzīh* (disimilarity, transcendence of God) and *tashbīh* (similarity, immanence of God).¹⁰²⁴ Only in the framework of *tashbīh* and the manifestness of God could one speak of God’s presence in the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is in this dynamic that the cosmos has the traces and properties of God’s names. Ibn al-‘Arabī exclaims: “The universe is nothing other than His display, his self-disclosure or His locus of manifestation.”¹⁰²⁵

In this theophanic or sacramental view, the cosmos should serve as one of the ways through which one encounters or communes with God. In relation to the previous section on the role of the heart (human soul), this capacity for communion should also be understood as a result of the purification of the heart, the most profound and transformative grace of pilgrimage. To a certain degree, this grace of communion is nothing other than the capability to behold more clearly the beauty of reality, both inner and outer, as reflections and manifestations of the omnipresent beauty of God’s Face, the constancy of the Divine Presence, as the Qur’ān insists: “Everywhere you turn, there is God’s Face” (Qur’ān 2:115). Thus the Qur’an talks about the Face of God to refer to the deeper meaning of every phenomenon that one encounters in life. It is in this framework

¹⁰²⁴ On this topic, see William Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, xxi-xxii and passim.

¹⁰²⁵ William C. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, xiii. To a certain degree, this tension between *tanzīh* and *tashbīh* is not unlike the nature of “analogical imagination” in Catholic theology. On this, see David Tracy, “Analogy and Dialectic: God-Language,” in *Talking about God: Doing Theology in the Context of Modern Pluralism*, eds. David Tracy and John Cobb (New York: Seabury, 1983), 29-34; see also Thomas G. Guarino, *Foundations of Systematic Theology* (London, and New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 239-68.

of seeing God's Face that one comes to understand the underlying Reality and Essence of everything, turning every experience into a meaningful and transformative experience (Ar. *tahqīq*).¹⁰²⁶ In a concrete way, as Ibn al-ʿArabī argues, one can speak of the core of such experience as the beatific vision of God.¹⁰²⁷

As the previous section has showed, the role of the heart is fundamental in the experience of pilgrimage as moment of deeper communion and unveiling of God and the self. While in the previous section I focused on the depth of communion, this section takes up the question of the breadth of the communion, particularly the cosmic scope of this communion. The two are of course intertwined, as countless pilgrims and spiritual travelers also testify. Take the case of Ibn al-ʿArabī, a Muslim mystic and pilgrim whose insights I have explored in the previous section. As Seyyed Hossein Nasr shows, Ibn al-ʿArabī conceives of the heart as the locus for the direct manifestations (Ar. *tajallīyāt*) of God's Names and Qualities after being polished.¹⁰²⁸ More specifically, the heart becomes capable of receiving divine peace (Ar. *sakīna*).¹⁰²⁹ In the context of this study, this divine peace is nothing other than the true peace that pilgrims uphold as the most foundational blessing of pilgrimage. However, the further effect of the *tajallīyāt* in the

¹⁰²⁶ James W. Morris, *Orientations*, 9.

¹⁰²⁷ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 102ff; cf. also the following Qur'ānic verse: "Those who had faith and whose hearts are at peace through the remembrance of God—for surely hearts find peace in the remembrance of God! Those who had faith and did the appropriate things: joyful bliss for them, and a beautiful returning." (Qur'ān 13: 288-9).

¹⁰²⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Heart of the Faithful," 37. Here, Nasr also draws a parallelism with Jesus' saying: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." (Mt 5:8). For the idea of theophany in al-Tustarī as interpreted by Kalābādi, see Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Šūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 174-5.

¹⁰²⁹ Corresponding to the Qur'ānic verse: "He it is who sends down peace of reassurance (*as-sakīna*) into the hearts of believers" (Qur'ān 48:4). Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Heart of the Faithful," 37.

heart is the capability of the heart itself to see more clearly the wider reality of the cosmos as indirect manifestations of God's Names and Qualities, as the Qur'ān says:

Certainly in the creation of the heavens and the earth...are Signs for the people of Hearts, who remember God while standing, and sitting, and (lying) on their sides, and who reflect deeply on the creation of the heavens and the earth..." (Qur'ān 33:190-191).

In this regard, it has to be pointed out that the fundamental message of the Qur'ān is constant remembrance of God that has always been happening on the cosmic level. On this point, James Morris remarks:

Within that metaphysical context [of cosmic *dhikr*, singing praise to God], the ultimate purpose of the Koran—as with all the earlier divine revelations, and with all the later artistic attempts to further that same purpose—is simply to help ‘remind’ or awaken human beings to an active realization of their unique role and special responsibility in that larger cosmic chorus.¹⁰³⁰

As examined in the previous section, Ibn al-‘Arabī emphasizes the role of the heart as the true inner face and spiritual reality of each person.¹⁰³¹ In his conception, the heart is also the instrument by which human beings come to be able to see, in the sense of witnessing and communing with, the beautiful faces of God everywhere. Drawing from his own experience as a wandering pilgrim, Ibn al-‘Arabī offers an extremely profound insight on the major dynamics and elements of the cosmic nature of communing with God:

Still others (have sought) isolation through wandering in the mountains and gorges, seashores and canyons. There God relieves and comforts them with His Name *the All-Compassionate* in various ways of intimate communion with Him that are granted to them by this ‘Breath of the All-Compassionate’ (*nafas al-Rahman*). So he causes them to hear the

¹⁰³⁰ James W. Morris, “Remembrance and Repetition: Spiritual Foundations of Islamic Art,” *Sufi* (Autumn 2000): 17.

¹⁰³¹ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 130.

spiritual invocations (*dhikr*) of the rocks and stones, the murmurs of the rippling waters, the whistling of the stormy winds, the conversations of the birds, the praises and glorifications of each community among the creatures, and their greetings and conversations among them. Thus these wanderers do find companionship with (those creatures), instead of their (original) loneliness, and they return to community and other creatures.¹⁰³²

So, in the context of purifying journey, Ibn al-‘Arabī categorically mentions the crucial elements of communion with the cosmic prayer (Ar. *dhikr*) of God’s non-human creatures, something that results in a real sense of companionship with those creatures.¹⁰³³ At this point one need to recall that for Ibn al-‘Arabī, the intensive prayer of the heart has the power to bring ultimate closeness to God and the unveiling of reality (i.e. cosmos), such as the secrets of the vegetal and animal world:

And if you do not stop [doing the *dhikr*], He will reveal the animal world to you. [The animals] will greet you and acquaint you with their harmful and beneficial qualities. Every sort of creature will acquaint you with its proclamation of majesty and praise.¹⁰³⁴

For our purpose in this study, Ibn al-‘Arabī is also important because of his conception of the many forms of “Divine Presence” in sacred places. Here Ibn al-‘Arabī talks about the role of the sensitive heart in forging this communion, immersing oneself into a web of communion with God. I will come back to this important insight later. At this point, it is crucial to note that in Ibn al-‘Arabī, the relationship between the sensitive heart and the Divine Presence is understood in terms of the foundational virtue of *iḥsān*,

¹⁰³² Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 51; James Morris, *Reflective Heart*, 25.

¹⁰³³ This Qur’ānic vision of communion is illustrated, for example, in the following verses: “God is always encompassing every thing” (4:126; cf. 2:255, 6:59, 17:60 etc); “The seven heavens and the earth and (all) those who are in them are praising Him, and there is no thing but that sings His praise; but you all do not understand their praise....” (17:44).

¹⁰³⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Journey to the Lord of Power: A Sufi Manual on Retreat*, trans. Rabia Terry Harris (Inner Traditions, 1981), 39. In my view, this dynamic of *dhikr* as an ascent to God is very similar to the dynamic of Ignatius of Loyola’s “Contemplation to Attain Love” (L. *contemplatio ad amorem Dei*) in his *Spiritual Exercises*. In this concluding meditation of the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius draws the retreatants to a wide-ranging communion with God that includes God’s presence in the cosmos.

that is, the right-and-beautiful action that is anchored in the underlying capability of “seeing” and communing with God in and through all things.¹⁰³⁵

In this framework, what is at stake in the virtue of *ihsān* is maintaining a constant awareness of God, and this includes the ability to see goodness, beauty and wisdom in everything. It is extremely crucial to note that the famous *Ḥadīth* Gabriel talks about *ihsān* in terms of “seeing” God, in the sense of being spiritually aware of Him, as the true foundation of worship (Ar. *‘ibāda*) that is also intimately connected to the theological notion of *‘ubūdīya*, the fundamental status of human being as God’s servant (Ar. *‘abd*).¹⁰³⁶ What one sees in this framework is the foundational characteristic of the virtue of *ihsān* in the spiritual economy of Islam. At this point, it is also crucial to recall that the virtue of *ihsān* belongs to the pillars of Islamic sainthood as one of the most foundational divine sayings (Ar. *ḥadīth qudsī*) on sainthood (Ar. *walāya*) indicates:

For Me, the most blessed of My Friends (*awliyā’i*) is the person of faith who is unburdened (by attachments), who takes pleasure in prayer, who has truly realized the state of *ihsān* in devotion to his Lord and eagerly served Him both in secret and openly.¹⁰³⁷

In connection to sainthood, one has to remember as well that in Ibn al-‘Arabī, the dynamics of this state of *ihsān* include the stage of losing oneself in God.¹⁰³⁸

Furthermore, describing this state of *ihsān*, Ibn al-‘Arabī remarks:

¹⁰³⁵ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 88, 134-9.

¹⁰³⁶ A crucial aspect of the *Ḥadīth* Gabriel is on the virtue of *ihsān*: “Then he [Gabriel] asked: ‘What is *ihsān*?’ He [Muḥammad] replied: ‘To worship God as though you see Him. And even if you don’t see Him, surely He sees you.’” James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 166.

¹⁰³⁷ This part is quoted in Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 23 (III, 154-55); James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 136.

¹⁰³⁸ As James Morris points out, Ibn al-‘Arabī interprets the last sentence of the *Ḥadīth* Gabriel on *ihsān* as “And if you are not, you see Him; and surely He sees you.” James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 134, 166.

When I had arrived with Him through faith and had settled down with Him in the spiritual Presence of *iḥsān*, He brought me to rest in His sacred places and acquainted me with His innermost sanctuaries.¹⁰³⁹

In the context of this study, it is important to see the organic relationship between the state of *iḥsān* and the capability of the heart and its spiritual intelligence to see and commune with God in all realities, including cosmic realities. In this respect, Ibn al-‘Arabī talks about the need for the seeker to perceive everything, even the most ordinary one, as a subject of wonder that would lead to further awareness of God:

The spiritual waystation also includes the knowing of what God has placed in the world as (a subject of) wonder—and the ‘wondrous’ (as people ordinarily understand it) is only what breaks with their habitual perception of reality. But for those who comprehend things from divine perspective, *everything in this habitual course of things is itself a subject of wonder*—whereas the people of habits only marvel at what departs from that habitual course.¹⁰⁴⁰

In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thoughts on the dynamics of spiritual journeying, this awareness of the fundamentally wondrous nature of all realities as signs of God should also be connected to the interaction between the humans’ spiritual intention and the sacredness of places. In this respect, due to its comprehensiveness in terms of the aspects of communion conveyed through a spatial place, it is insightful to see how Ibn al-‘Arabī formulates his view:

Now my friend knows that this power of spiritual places is due to those who inhabit that place, either in the present, such as some of the noble angels or the pious spirits (*jinn*), or else through the spiritual intentions (*himma*) of those who used to inhabit them and have passed on, such as... (the house of Abu Yazid al-Bastami, the prayer-room of al-Junayd, etc) and the places of the Righteous (the *Salihin*) who have left behind this

¹⁰³⁹ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 1 (I, 222-23); James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 127.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 366; James Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 180 (emphasis in the translation).

abode, but whose influences have remained behind them, so that sensitive hearts are influenced by them.¹⁰⁴¹

Clearly, here Ibn al-‘Arabī explains the depth and comprehensiveness of the communion with God. In the context of sacred places, the sensitive heart comes to commune with the Divine Presence that has been effected by the visible and invisible, present and past inhabitants of the places. In this context, as James Morris has pointed out, he talks about “cities” as “spiritual communities of human hearts.”¹⁰⁴² More concretely, in Ibn al-‘Arabī, the power of the place is connected to the spiritual intentions of people, that is, their fundamental connectedness with God, which, among others, occur through prayers, intimate conversations with God (Ar. *munājāt*), prayerful contemplation (Ar. *murāqaba*) and other spiritual practices, the very practices that pilgrims do in shrines as this study shows.

Here, on the question of spiritual intentions and aspirations, it is also important to note Ibn al-‘Arabī’s point on the role of companionship or connectedness between persons, as he goes on to argue:

Indeed your intensity of presence (*wujūd*) is according to your companions (*julasa*), for the spiritual aspirations (*himam*) of one’s companions have a tremendous influence on the heart of the one who is there with them—and their intentions are according to their spiritual ranks.¹⁰⁴³

By companions, Ibn al-‘Arabī of course mean both the living and the dead, ordinary pilgrims as well as paradigmatic Friends of God (Ar. *awliyā’*), humans and spirits and so

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, chapter 4 (II, 120-24); James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 67.

¹⁰⁴² James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 66. Ibn al-‘Arabī had a preference to undergo a retreat at a particular place in a cemetery of Tunis because this place helped him foster a closer communion with the presence of al-Khaḍir, his initiatic master from the invisible world.

¹⁰⁴³ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 67.

forth. In light of this complex web of relationships, one can also understand the nature of blessings (Ar. *baraka*) in pilgrimage sites, namely, the many forms of contacts or communion that result in the enhancement and dissemination of blessings. In particular, the category of friendship or companionship among pilgrims that I discussed in Chapters 3 and 7 seems to be brought to light.

The aforementioned vision of Ibn al-‘Arabī on sacred places surely connects the presence of the saints in particular with the larger cosmic realities in general. In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, the connection between saints and the cosmos is highly pivotal. He argues, for example, that the hidden saints have always been recognized by God, angels, prophets, as well as “by the animals and plants and minerals and everything that sings God’s praises”.¹⁰⁴⁴ On the more systematic level, Ibn al-‘Arabī is one of the foremost Muslim mystics whose spiritual experience and saintly status have led them to reflect on the cosmic role of saints, more specifically the existence of a community of saints that supports the cosmos.¹⁰⁴⁵ Rather central in Ibn al-‘Arabī’s conception of sainthood (Ar. *walāya*) is his reflection of the scattered information about the hierarchy of saints who seem to inhabit a lively spiritual community. It is even more interesting to notice that with Ibn al-‘Arabī, this reflection did not come out of a theological speculation, but rather through his own communication and meeting, in the larger framework of his spiritual

¹⁰⁴⁴ James W. Morris, *The Reflective Heart*, 76.

¹⁰⁴⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, a localized version of this hierarchy of saints is also found in Javano-Muslim texts, for example in the *Babad Jaka Tingkir*. According to this text, the council of the Nine Muslim Saints of Java (the *Wali Songo*) was composed of nine ranks of saints. The axial saint (Jv. *wali kutub*) is the supreme saint; followed by “the pious pillar of axial saints (Jv. *wali kutub rabbani awtad*), “the alternate axial saints” (Jv. *wali kutub ngukba*), “chief among axial saints” (Jv. *wali kutub nukba*), “the preeminent axial saint” (Jv. *kutub rabbani nujba*), “the substitute axial saint” (Jv. *kutub abdal*), “the dutiful pious axial saint” (Jv. *kutubur rabbani abwar*), “the chosen pious axial saint” (Jv. *kutub rabaniyah akyar*), and “the princely saint” (Jv. *wali ngumran*). See Nancy Florida, *Writing the Past*, 9, 156-7.

journey that involved intensive pilgrimages and wanderings, with the most important members of the hierarchy or community of the prophets and saints, such as the Pole or axial saint (Ar. *quṭb*), the “pillars” (Ar. *awṭād*) and the “substitutes (Ar. *abdāl*).¹⁰⁴⁶ Thus, to a large extent, this reflection is built on the spiritual authority of Ibn al-‘Arabī as a pilgrim-seeker par excellence.¹⁰⁴⁷

It has to be pointed out that Ibn al-‘Arabī’s reflection on the hierarchy of saints is quite complex and multi-layered.¹⁰⁴⁸ For the sake of brevity, I will not present this system in its entirety, but rather only its most important elements. On the top of this hierarchy are the four Pillars (Ar. *awṭād*), with first of all the Pole (Ar. *quṭb*), followed by the “Imām of the Left” and the “Imām of the Right” and finally the fourth Pillar. The true holders of these functions are the four prophets, who are believed in the Islamic tradition to be always living: Idrīs, Elijah, Jesus, and al-Khaḍir. For Ibn al-‘Arabī, the world is never without a living *rasūl* (messenger) who also serves as its pole (Ar. *quṭb*).¹⁰⁴⁹ This pole is

¹⁰⁴⁶ Among the saints that Ibn al-‘Arabī encountered spiritually during his journey are: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 1021) who appeared to him in Marrakesh in 1200, and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874); see Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 58. On Ibn al-‘Arabī’s pilgrimages and wanderings as well as meetings with various saints, see Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn ‘Arabī*, trans. Peter Kingsley (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), 66, 126 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ As James Morris has argued, Ibn al-‘Arabī holds the view that the *awliyā’* possess a kind of spiritual and religious authority precisely because they are always guided by God and have a kind of more direct access to the source of Revelation. Ibn al-‘Arabī remarks: “Now you must know that if a human being (*al-insan*) renounces his (own personal) aims, takes a loathing to his carnal soul (*nafs*) and instead prefers his Lord, then God (*al-Haqq*) will give him a form of divine guidance in exchange for the form of his *nafs*...so that he walks in garments of Light; and (this form) is the *shar’ia* of his prophet and the Message of his (prophetic) Messenger. Thus, he receives from his Lord what contains his happiness—and some people see (this divine guidance) in the form of their prophet, while some see it in the form of their (spiritual) state.” See James Morris, “Ibn ‘Arabī’s “Esotericism”: the Problem of Spiritual Authority,” *Studia Islamica* 71 (1990): 62.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For a fuller treatment of this aspect of Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, see Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, especially chapter 7.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 136-37.

normally identified as Idrīs, while Elijah and Jesus are the two Imāms, and al-Khaḍīr is the fourth Pillar.¹⁰⁵⁰ With regard to the function of these Pillars, Ibn al-‘Arabī argues that:

[through] one of them God protects faith, through another sainthood, through another prophecy, through the fourth the messengership (Ar. *risāla*), and through all of them He protects the purity of religion.”¹⁰⁵¹

Furthermore, each of these Pillars has a deputy (Ar. *nā‘ib*) on earth, that is, a living saint who fulfills the function in question. There are also “men of God” (Ar. *rijāl Allāh*) among whom are “poles”, understood now as the sum of all the states and all the stations, the pivots of a certain spiritual station and those in full possession of it at any given moment.¹⁰⁵²

Although Ibn al-‘Arabī’s systematization of the hierarchy of the fellowship of the saints is not necessarily followed in its entirety by the subsequent tradition,¹⁰⁵³ it is important to note in the context of this study that his various terminologies concerning the variety of functions and characteristics of *walāya* and *awliyā’* show not merely the existence of saints and sainthood but also their function in the more universal and cosmic

¹⁰⁵⁰ Describing the nature of the *imām* of the Left whom he encountered in the spiritual realm, Ibn al-‘Arabī writes: “This *imām* showers created beings with benefits and blessings without their being aware of the fact.” Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 65.

¹⁰⁵¹ Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 93. In different part of the *Futūḥāt* (I, p. 151), Ibn al-‘Arabī argues that “as for the one and only Pole, it is the spirit of Muhammad (*Ruh Muhammad*), by which all the Messengers and all the Prophets are sustained.” (94).

¹⁰⁵² In Ibn al-‘Arabī, this hierarchy does not stop here but include other categories such as the *abdāl*, substitute saints who leave their spiritual forms to other saints upon their departure from a place and through whom God preserves the seven climes; the *nuqabā* (seekers), the *nujabā* (the Nobles), the *ḥawāriyyūn* (defenders of religion), the *rajabiyyūn* (men of Rajab), the *afrād* (the solitaires) or the *muqarrabūn* (those who are close to God), and the *malāmiyya* (the men of blame). In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s thought, some of these terms overlap. For example, the Pole (Ar. *quṭb*) also belongs to the *afrād*: he is *primus inter pares* among the *afrād*. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, chapter 7.

¹⁰⁵³ For example, some Muslim mystics believe that it was Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, who was the *quṭb*, the spiritual head of this fellowship. See Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 300; also Margaret Smith, *Muslim Women Mystics* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001), 26. Ibn al-‘Arabī’s conception of the hierarchy of saints is followed to a certain degree by Sufi orders such as the Ni’matullahi Order. On this see Ian Richard Netton, *Sufi Ritual: The Parallel Universe* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 21-47.

framework. In my view, especially in the context of our discourse on the inclusivity of *communio sanctorum*, Ibn al-‘Arabī’s notion of the community of the saints marked by unity and hierarchy is of course remarkable.

At this point, Ibn al-‘Arabī’s idea of the saints as the heirs of the prophets (Ar. *wirātha*) is also insightful. He said:

If you are a *walī*, you are the heir of a prophet; and if you have inherited knowledge from Moses or Jesus or from any prophet in between, all you have actually inherited is Muhammadan knowledge.¹⁰⁵⁴

As we see, in the framework of *wirātha*, saints are intimately connected to particular prophets as well as to the underlying unity that he identified with Muhammadan knowledge. This framework is surely very Islamic, but in Ibn al-‘Arabī, there is always a sense of universalism involved. As the quotation from his *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* at the beginning of this chapter shows, Ibn al-‘Arabī’s contemplation of these highest ranked saints could not be separated from his more inclusive communion with all the prophets and believers; thus, giving rise to the most comprehensive vision of a community of the prophets, saints and believers of all ages.¹⁰⁵⁵

In this respect, it is also insightful to see how Ibn al-‘Arabī’s conception of the hierarchy of saints includes “other saints”, namely, those saints who have lived in periods or places without direct contact with the revealed religious paths (Ar. *awliyā’ al-fatarāt*).¹⁰⁵⁶ These are saints who received their inspiration directly from God or the “people of rational inquiry” (Ar. *ahl al-nazar*) whose speculation becomes the source of their religious insight. Here, under this category, one might be able to put the saints of

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, IV, 398; quoted in Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 59.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cf. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 17.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. Ibn al-‘Arabī, *The Meccan Revelations Vol. I*, 118-21.

other religious traditions as well. Highly interesting is also the role of the saint for all groups in the Day of the Visit. For, during this eschatological point, the true friends of God or the saints are perceived as essentially belonging to all groups of people. However, as Ibn al-‘Arabī remarked, this inclusive role of the saints is not only eschatological because “it was already that way in this world.”¹⁰⁵⁷ In other words, the vision of the inclusivity of the communion of saints before God in heaven is already at work in the world despite the ordinary people’s inability to see it.

Anybody familiar with the Christian tradition will readily find echoes of these insights from the Islamic tradition. As I mentioned earlier, the cosmic pneumatology in general might be an area that rather closely parallels this Muslim view. Again, this topic is worthy of comparative treatment of its own, but in what follows some remarks about sacramentality would be sufficient. As I argue, this sacramental view seems to be the underlying framework of the above Islamic insights and, as I have shown especially in Chapter 7, sacramental principle is crucial in the pilgrimage tradition among Muslims and Catholics. To a certain degree, these Islamic insights should make Catholic theology, especially with regard to sacramentality and saint veneration, more aware of the deep interplays between the inner aspect (represented by the heart and the spirit) and the outward aspect (the various signs and manifestations of God in the cosmos). For these outward signs would fail to exercise their sacramental power without the corresponding dispositions of the heart.¹⁰⁵⁸ In particular, the cosmic role of the saints and the role of the

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cf. Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, III 85. 1-22; *The Meccan Revelations Vol. 1*, 120.

¹⁰⁵⁸ And *vice versa*: a purely subjective religiosity (the pure religion of the heart) has the danger of falling into an unhealthy acosmism, treating the self as an independent center of meaning and conceiving holiness as a purely subjective enterprise. Referring to this tendency in Lutheranism, Louis Dupré writes: “The religion of the heart often suffers from the acosmism characteristic of devout humanism. Although it

saints in bringing certain sacredness to certain places, that is, the breadth of the communion of saints that Ibn al-‘Arabī talks about, is also worthy of consideration.

Sacramental vision is really about the mediation of the Divine Presence in the realities of the cosmos as well as the human reality, both personal and social. As it is understood in the tradition of Roman Catholic theology, the theological principle of sacramentality presents itself as probably the most fruitful framework for our effort to appreciate the theological contribution of pilgrimage tradition and veneration of saints in general. In our time, the specific contribution of this sacramental vision becomes particularly apparent when it is placed in the larger and more urgent plea to revive the traditional spiritual cosmology in which we find an integral synthesis where God, the cosmos and the humans interact in an integrated whole.¹⁰⁵⁹ At the heart of this distinctive Catholic theological category is the theological vision of earthly realities as capable of carrying, mediating, embodying, and revealing the supernatural, universal, absolute reality.¹⁰⁶⁰ In other words, implicit in this vision is the refusal to see the whole created reality as “homogenous”, that is, as empty and isolated. Rather, sacramental vision is a vision of communion, relationship and presence. Within this vision, nothing stands on its own in isolation. In this theological language, the meaningfulness and significance of each particular reality should be found in its capability to make present and real the universality of God’s self-communication and grace. Or, borrowing the words of Stephen Schloesser, in the sacramental worldview, “the created things are a visible ‘sign’ which

supports no monasticism, it strongly encourages inner withdrawal.” Louis Dupré, *Passage to Modernity*, 233-34.

¹⁰⁵⁹ On this, see Louis Dupré, *Passage to Modernity*, especially chapters 1 and 9. On the significance of this traditional cosmology for Catholic theology, see Roberto Goizueta, “The Symbolic Realism of U.S. Latino/a Popular Catholicism” *Theological Studies* 65 (2004): 255-74.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos Con Jesus*, 48.

both bears within itself and simultaneously points beyond itself to an invisible ‘reality’ which is, in the final analysis, the Creator.”¹⁰⁶¹

However, over against the danger of losing sight of the meaning of the particularity of each reality in this sacramental worldview, Roberto Goizueta argues:

Implicit in the definition of sacrament is the presupposition that the concrete, particular object or entity that embodies the universal reality is in fact historically concrete and particular. Consequently, an indispensable prerequisite of any sacramental relationship with a particular entity, i.e., a relationship in which the supernatural Absolute is revealed, is that one affirms both the particularity and the historical concreteness of that particular entity.¹⁰⁶²

In the case of saint veneration, the saints as particular human reality are precisely mediations and bearers of God’s universal and cosmic presence.¹⁰⁶³ This is one of the features of Islamic sainthood that I will examine later. Along this line of thought, one should recall that the spatial and cosmic (material) aspects are also important facets of pilgrimage and saints veneration in Islam and Catholicism. As examined in the previous comparative chapter, the spatial and cosmic location of the shrines is a crucial element in the sacramental worldview of the pilgrims.¹⁰⁶⁴ Furthermore, as can be observed in the practice of preservation of relics, the sanctity of the saints is never located only in their

¹⁰⁶¹ Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6.

¹⁰⁶² Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos Con Jesus*, 48. Along the same line, Philip Sheldrake argues that the Incarnation requires the view that God is committed to particularities. But this commitment to particularities is accompanied by a sense that God is not bound or limited by such particularities. Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred*, 30; also Peter Scott, “A Theology of Eucharistic Place: Pilgrimage as Sacramental,” in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, eds. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 152-3.

¹⁰⁶³ In the Catholic context, similar insights can be found, for instance, in Hans Urs von Balthasar. See his “Theology and Sanctity” in *Exploration in Theology v. 1 The Word Made Flesh* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989), 181, 195 and *passim*. Furthermore, for Balthasar, sanctity is identical with the love that prefers both God and human being before itself and therefore lives for the community of the Church. See his *Two Sisters in the Spirit: Therese of Lisieux and Elizabeth of the Trinity* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1992), 20.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Chapter 8 (VIII. 5).

moral and virtuous lives, but also in their bodily existence together with many earthly realities that became the immediate context of their lives. To a certain degree, these earthly realities still function as mediation of God's presence after the deaths of the saints.¹⁰⁶⁵ However, when speaking about the sacramental character of these realities, one should keep in mind that their sacramentality is fragile, precisely because it is complex, not fixed or absolute.¹⁰⁶⁶

So far, my line of comparative inquiry has been governed by the framework of showing how the Islamic understanding of the cosmic dimension of communion that includes all created reality reminds Catholic theology of its own principle of sacramentality, especially in view of the renewal of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. In this regard, the multiple affinities with the Islamic tradition give a more intimate affect in the communion between these two traditions. In my view, there is yet another important aspect in this comparative dynamic that is organically related to the Catholic understanding of sacramentality and *communio sanctorum*. This is the idea of *communio sanctorum* as “communion of holy things” or “participation in the holy.” As Elizabeth Johnson points out, the earliest sense of the word *sanctorum* was actually the genitive plural of the grammatically neuter noun of the Latin word *sancta*, or holy things, as opposed to the genitive form of *sancti* (holy persons), an interpretation that would be preferred in later generations to the detriment of the earliest.¹⁰⁶⁷ According to J.N.D. Kelly, a scholar of early Christianity, the Greek equivalent of *communio sanctorum* was *koinonia ton hagion*, a concept that was “firmly established in the East and bore the clear-

¹⁰⁶⁵ On this feature in the Javano-Muslim pilgrimage tradition, see Chapter 2 (II. 2. 3).

¹⁰⁶⁶ On this idea, see James Corkery, “The Communion of Saints,” *The Way* 36:4 (1996): 285-93.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 95.

cut sense of participation in the holy things, especially the Eucharistic elements.”¹⁰⁶⁸

Thus, in this framework, the concept of *communio sanctorum* does not primarily or exclusively refer to the communion with saintly persons or to the sanctity of individual persons. Rather, the sanctity of individuals is really part of a much bigger reality of sacredness that is found in cosmic reality.

In my view, this retrieval of the earliest meaning of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* would enable us to understand theologically the logic of the sensuous and earthly symbolisms that the faithful continue to employ in their practice of saint veneration. As this study endeavors to show, we would do better here as well with regard to the salient feature of the pilgrimage culture among Muslims. In fact, my argument is that our exposure to this sacramental worldview of Islam—the aforementioned insights as well as the corresponding characters of the pilgrimage practice in south central Java examined in Part One—invites Catholic theology to return to this neglected aspect of *communio sanctorum*, to retrieve the cosmic framework of pneumatology. Furthermore, as some theologians have argued, this avenue can be extremely crucial for our time. In the words of John Chryssavgis, an Orthodox theologian:

Indeed, if there exists today a vision able to transcend and transform all national and denominational tensions, it may well be that of *our world understood as sacrament*.¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁸ J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd edition (London: Longman, 1972), 389-90; quoted in Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 95.

¹⁰⁶⁹ John Chryssavgis, “The World as Sacrament: Insights into an Orthodox Worldview,” *Pacifica* 10 (1997), 1. Similar insights could be found in other theologians. See, for example, Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity* (1991); John Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place* (2003); David Brown, *God and Enchantment of Place: Reclaiming Christian Experience* (2004); Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes (eds.), *Explorations in the Christian Theology of Pilgrimage* (2004).

This avenue also reminds Catholics of the centrality of the theology of incarnation and redemption in affirming the inherent goodness as well as the redeemed character of creation.¹⁰⁷⁰

In light of the Muslim and Christian experience in pilgrimage taken up in this study, sacramental vision is a vision of communion that is based on a religio-cultural worldview that is actually shared by the two communities. However, this study's comparative data also demands the integration of the sacramental view of the cosmos with the sacramental view of "communal history", another inclusive category. For one has to take into account the overwhelming fact that different religious communities living in the same region have interacted in many direct and indirect, harmonious and conflictive, ways—thus forming a complex yet real sense of connection to each other in a historical continuum. This is a theme that corresponds to the category of identity formation, marked by the principles of communion and continuity that I take up throughout this study. In this respect, one also has to be attentive to the fact that these communities continue to benefit from this historical dynamic in terms of the richness of the particular religio-cultural reality in which they continue to live. As mentioned in Chapter 8 and at the beginning of this section, this shared religio-cultural reality and common history lead these communities to share some sacred spaces in the larger framework of *mandala* as a cosmic milieu of communion.¹⁰⁷¹ This is precisely the kind of integration of culture and nature (Gr. *kosmos*) in a holistic worldview that takes the

¹⁰⁷⁰ In this regard, see also David Tracy's plea for Christian theology to revise its anthropocentric tendency by attending to the question of cosmology (that is, the theology of nature) in his article, "Cosmology and Christian Hope" in *On Naming the Present: God, Hermeneutics, and Church* (Orbis Books and SCM Press, 1994), 73-80.

¹⁰⁷¹ To a certain degree, this framework helps us to the common phenomenon that a former holy site of a particular religious tradition can easily be maintained as a holy shrine of a different religious tradition.

theological meaning of both seriously, a worldview that is similar to the medieval synthesis that Louis Dupré talks about.¹⁰⁷² In the following section, I take up this framework by focusing on the role of saints as the paradigmatic figures in the communal history of the community.

IX. 3. 2. The Spirit and Communion with Paradigmatic Figures or Saints

An important aspect of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* is of course the role of paradigmatic figures or saints. In some cases, this aspect becomes the most important one, overshadowing the others. It is in response to this tendency that Elizabeth Johnson suggested a more egalitarian and communitarian understanding of “communion of saints”, that is, an understanding of communion with all graced persons, that is, all persons that have been touched by the Spirit of God, not just the paradigmatic or saintly ones.¹⁰⁷³ In terms of paradigmatic sainthood, what the case in south central Java shows is the role of saints or paradigmatic figures as religio-cultural models, founders or ancestors of the communities. Thus these figures are not simply viewed as moral-religious virtuosos. In this conception, the intermediary power of these paradigmatic

¹⁰⁷² In a sense, this point is related to retrieving the richer Greek understanding of *kosmos*, instead of *physis*. On this point, Louis Dupré argues: “The more comprehensive term *kosmos* constitutes the ordered totality of being that coordinates those processes as well as the laws that rule them. *Kosmos* includes, next to the *physis* of organic being, the *ethos* of personal conduct and social structures, the *nomos* of normative custom and law, and the *logos*, the rational foundation that normatively rules all aspects of the cosmic development.” As Dupré argues further, early Christian theologians came to integrate this Greek concept to the doctrine of creation where nature was understood as dependent on God for its existence and essence, thus maintaining an intrinsic connection between God and creation. This traditional synthesis only broke down with the nominalist philosophers and theologians in the Middle Ages who understood the relationship between God and creation in a very extrinsic way (the idea of pure nature), privileging the human mind as the center of the connection. Later on, this nominalist insight was taken up in modernity (i.e., in the modern turn to the subject, where the subject becomes the ultimate source of meanings and values). Louis Dupré, *Passage to Modernity*, 17, 30-41, 112ff.

¹⁰⁷³ Elizabeth Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 131-4 and *passim*; *Friends of God and Prophets*, 132-8 and *passim*.

figures for the community and their saintly status could not be separated from these diverse roles. In the next section, the ancestral or intergenerational aspect of this Muslim and Catholic saint veneration will be dealt with more closely. In what follows I will pursue this comparative chapter further by identifying major aspects of the Islamic theology of sainthood (Ar. *walāya*), such as friendship with God, participation in the authority of God, and the theophanic (or “sacramental”) nature of the saints as manifestations of God. This step is deemed necessary because this distinctive Islamic theological conception of sainthood has serious ramifications on the characteristics which Islamic saint veneration in south central Java has taken on. This way, I hope, we will be able to see how this theological notion and its various concrete manifestations in practice can contribute to the renewal of the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum*, especially on the question of the role of paradigmatic figures or saints.

As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, Islamic sainthood is generally understood in terms of either *walāya* or *wilāya* in Arabic. These are two verbal nouns of the same root W-L-Y. The verbal root W-L-Y in Arabic can convey two main sets of semantic meanings: to be near (proximity, contiguity, or to be friends) and to be in charge (to have authority). Without necessarily entering into a rather delicate discussion as to which term, *walāya* or *wilāya*, is the proper one to designate the Islamic idea of sainthood, we can say that both semantic fields are to be taken into account.¹⁰⁷⁴ Thus a Muslim *walī* is someone who is proximate to God and only then he is given certain kind

¹⁰⁷⁴ As Chodkiewicz has pointed out, *wilāya* is constructed on the *fi ‘āla* pattern, conveying the execution of a function. Thus, in the case of *wilāya*, it expresses the function of a *walī* and by extension his realm of competence. *Walāya* is, on the other hand, modeled on the *fa ‘āla* pattern, expressing a state of being. For Chodkiewicz, the preference for *walāya* comes from the fact that it is used in the Qur’ān twice. See Michel Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of the Saints*, 22.

of authority (L. *auctoritas*) from God, the Protector of all.¹⁰⁷⁵ In terms of authority, there is also the sense here that a *walī* is somebody whose affair is taken care of by God—the idea that God is fully in charge of his life.¹⁰⁷⁶ This is so because one can properly execute the authority granted by God only if he takes God as the sole principle of his life. On this point, it is crucial to note that the term “*walī*” is also one of God’s names, thus being a *walī* is one aspect of God’s being (Qur’ān 2:257, 4:45, 7:196, 42:9,28, 45:19).¹⁰⁷⁷ As Elmore has pointed out, these Qur’ānic verses refer to the quality of God as the true *walī* both in Himself and in relation to His creature. God is the Friend of the *mu’minūn* (those who have faith), the pious *muttaqiyūn*, and the *ṣāliḥūn*, He will lead them to the light.¹⁰⁷⁸ Thus, in this framework, a *walī* can be true to his vocation only by participating in the unfolding of God’s grace, or by letting his life to be governed totally by God as the true *walī*. Understood this way, this term makes clear the specificity of the role of saint and sainthood in Islamic economy of religious life.

In the Islamic tradition, the more particular qualities of the *awliyā’* are described in the *ḥadīth* literature. One particular *ḥadīth qudsī* (divine saying) speaks about the basic qualities of the *awliyā’*: the idea of poverty (freedom from earthly possessions), pleasure

¹⁰⁷⁵ Discussing the significance of the Qur’ānic verse 4:172, Elmore argues that: “When we consider that *waly* and *qurb* are close synonyms—so that, in some sense, *walayah* and *qarabah*, *qurbah* can be viewed as equivalent—it would seem justifiable to regard the *muqarrabun* as *awliyā’* in a precise sense.” See Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, 116.

¹⁰⁷⁶ For Chodkiewicz, this insight comes from the fact that the *fa’īl* pattern in Arabic is both active and passive. Thus, “the *walī* is simultaneously one who is close, the beloved, he who is protected, taken in charge, and the protector, the patron (in the Roman sense), the governor (*al-walī*, the active participle constructed on the *fa’īl* paradigm).” See his, *Seal of the Saints*, 24. This idea is so central to Qushayrī (d. 1073) who defines *awliyā’* as those of whose affairs God takes charge, and, those who take charge of the service of God and the obedience due to Him (p. 38).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, 263. In this regard, it has to be noted as well the two of the divine “Names”, *al-walī* and *al-wālī* that are cited in the classic lists of the “Most Beautiful Names” and in corresponding litany practices (Ar. *dhikr*, *wird*).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, 115-16.

in prayer, intimate yet “secret” devotion and service to God and so forth. This particular *ḥadīth* seems to emphasize both the inner qualities as well as the concealment of the true *awliyā’*.¹⁰⁷⁹ The second relevant *ḥadīth* is the celebrated “*ḥadīth* of envy” (Ar. *ḥadīth al-ghibtah*) that identifies the *awliyā’* of God as God’s servants who are neither prophets nor martyrs but who are envied by the prophets and martyrs for their special position and intimate nearness to God.¹⁰⁸⁰ According to this *ḥadīth*, these saints will be blessed with the thrones of light and their faces will be of light when they see God face to face. This *ḥadīth* seems to be extraordinary in its description of the graces that would be bestowed on these specially exalted saints: they will participate more fully in the *walāya* of God by partaking more intimately in God’s glory as light. In the words of the *ḥadīth*, their faces will be of light, their throne is the throne of light.

Precisely in this framework of the lofty theological status of the saints as God’s intimate friends who share His guardianship over the whole creation, one can understand many different powers and marvel as “signs of grace” (Ar. *karāmāt*) that God grants the saints. Theologically speaking, one can say that the saints become, to a certain degree, the vehicles of God’s loving care and mercy. In short, they participate in the unfolding of God’s gracious self-revelation or manifestation. In Christian theological parlance, the

¹⁰⁷⁹ This *ḥadīth qudsī* reads as follows: “For Me, the most blessed of My friends is the person of faith who is unburdened (by possessions), who takes pleasure in prayer, who carries out well his devotion to his Lord and eagerly serves Him in secret. He is concealed among the people; no one points him out. His sustenance is barely sufficient, and he is content with that... His death comes quickly, there are few mourners, and his estate is small.” As James Morris points out, this *ḥadīth* is included, with minor variations, in the canonical collections of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Majā, and Ibn Ḥanbal; quoted in James W. Morris, “Situating Islamic ‘Mysticism,’ 293.

¹⁰⁸⁰ This *ḥadīth* of envy reads as follows: “Know that God has servants who are neither prophets nor martyrs and who are envied by the prophets and martyrs for their position and their nearness to God... on the Day of Resurrection thrones of light will be placed at their disposal. Their faces will be of light... These are the *awliyā’* of God.” This *ḥadīth* is found in Bukhari, *Riḥāq*, 38; Ibn Majā, *Fitan*, 16; Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Miskhāt*, no. 91; quoted in Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 25 and Gerald Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, 129-30.

saints have a sacramental role. In this regard, it is crucial to see how Muslim mystics describe the logic of this participation. Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 777), for example, says that in their journey the saints should reach the point where God becomes their hearing by which they hear, their sight by which they see, their speech by which they speak, and their hearts by which they perceive and understand.¹⁰⁸¹ For him, all the spiritual practices such as asceticism, renunciation, poverty and so forth only serve as a means to help the saints in their quest for this goal to be manifestation of God's presence, that is, to strive to cultivate a theophanic existence.¹⁰⁸²

Many Muslim mystics agree that the basis for the authority of the saints as well as their theophanic or sacramental existence is to be founded on the fact of their proximity (Ar. *qurba*) to God as the ultimate source of the revelation itself, as well as to the Prophet Muḥammad. In this respect, the saints' mystical achievements can be viewed as a proof of their closeness with God. Many Muslim mystics emphasize the foundational nature of this proximity in the understanding of *walāya*, and Ibn al-ʿArabī even argues that without doubt the station of proximity (Ar. *maqām al-qurba*) is the highest spiritual station of the saints precisely because at this stage the saint's only desire, being stripped of his own ego, is to strictly follow God's will.¹⁰⁸³ In this respect, it is this proximity that gives rise

¹⁰⁸¹ Thus echoing a famous *ḥadīth qudsī*: "...My servant continues to come nearer Me through the acts of piety, until I love him. And when I love him, I am his hearing with which he hears, his sight with which he sees, his tongue with which he speaks, his hand with which he grasps, and his foot on which he walks." Ibn al-ʿArabī includes this *ḥadīth* in his collection of *ḥadīth qudsī*, *Mishkāt al-Anwār*. See the translation of this work by Stephen Hirstenstein and Martin Notcutt, *Divine Sayings* (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2004), 88.

¹⁰⁸² Gerald T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, 128.

¹⁰⁸³ Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 71. Explaining the state of the *malāmiyya* saint as a pure yet hidden servant of God, Ibn al-ʿArabī writes: "The *malāmiyya* are spiritual men (*al-rijāl*) who have assumed the highest degree of sainthood (*walāya*). There is nothing higher than them except the station of prophecy. [Their station] is the one referred to as the Station of Proximity (*maqām al-qurba*). ... No miracles (*kharq ʿādat*) are ascribed to them. They are not admired, because in the eyes of men they are not distinguished by

to other elements of sainthood: the saint's ability to see God's presence, to have love for God, to be "preserved" (Ar. *maḥfūz*) from sins, and to obtain God's help for others. This way, God shares his glory (Ar. *makramat ilahiyyah*) to the saints. For Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 905–912), saints are the vehicles of God's theophanic presence, in accordance with the *ḥadīth*: "The *awliyā'* among you are those whom one cannot see without remembering Allah."¹⁰⁸⁴ Thus, in this respect, the essential feature of the *awliyā'* is the transparency, which makes them the privileged vehicles of theophany, the fact that God is in charge of their lives. The saints are also granted the mystical understanding of the Qur'ān, something that they cannot achieve on their own. In the same vein, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 859) remarks that the Qur'ān has mingled with the saints' flesh and blood.

Other Sufī writers like Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896) elaborate on this theophanic existence of the saints. The dignity and special status of the saints starts from their being chosen by God, thus stressing the agency of God. Again, one sees here the fundamental idea of participation of the saints in God. A similar insight is offered by Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 910). For al-Tustarī, this participation is made possible by the initiative of God's, i.e. His gifts of *karāmāt* to the saints. God gives them power, favor and mercy. More importantly, al-Tustarī points out that God gives the saints His pure love (Ar. *maḥabba*) so that they can become sharers in the divine intimacy, echoing the central teaching of Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 801), the foremost woman saint of early Islam.¹⁰⁸⁵ Although the saints' love for God is remarkable, as al-Tustarī argues, God's love and longing for them is even stronger. It is clear that for al-Tustarī, the saints have a

behaviour which is ostensibly virtuous. ... They are the hidden ones, the pure ones, the ones in this world who are sure and sound, concealed among men. ... They are the solitary ones (*al-afrād*)."

¹⁰⁸⁴ Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 29.

¹⁰⁸⁵ On this remarkable female saint of early Islam, see Margaret Smith, *Muslim Women Mystics*.

revelatory and intercessory role for the community precisely because God has made their hearts the treasure-troves of the Qur'ān and they serve as the instruments of God's forgiveness for sinners since He is so pleased with them.

Given these major features of sainthood, that is, closeness to God and its concomitant grace of theophanic or sacramental existence, one can understand the persistence of the special role of the saints or paradigmatic figures in the saint veneration, pilgrimage culture as well as identity formation among Javanese Muslim in south central Java. While Islamic theology of sainthood also emphasizes the idea of sainthood for all, this does rule out the particular role that certain saints or paradigmatic figures have to play in the unfolding of God's grace for the whole creation. There is an acute sense among these Muslims that these figures have a privileged role in helping them achieve deeper communion with God.

In fact, there is a rather distinctive practice among Javanese Muslims that echoes the particular functions and characteristics of Islamic sainthood and the role of saints (that include prophets and messengers) and paradigmatic figures discussed above.¹⁰⁸⁶ I have not mentioned this practice in any of the previous chapters, but this practice is particularly instructive in terms of the whole dynamic of communion with God through the saints that Javanese Muslims strive for. This is the custom of chanting a particular spiritual song, called in Javanese, *Kidung Rumeksa ing Wengi* ("A Song of Nightly

¹⁰⁸⁶ On the relationship between sainthood and prophethood in Islam, it is crucial to note that in general sainthood is always understood as a shadow of prophethood. However, many Muslim writers such as al-Tirmidhī, believe that all prophets are saints, and not vice versa. This is because prophethood (Ar. *nubuwwa*) and messengerhood (Ar. *risāla*) have an end, which coincides with the end of the world. In this sense, sainthood is the more hidden and enduring aspect of their being. For al-Tirmidhī, sainthood (Ar. *walāya*) is in a sense superior to prophethood (Ar. *nubuwwa*) and messengerhood (Ar. *risāla*) only in the persons of the prophets (Ar. *nabī*) and the messengers (Ar. *rasūl*). On this topic, see Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 30.

Protection”).¹⁰⁸⁷ Traditionally, this song is attributed to the founding saintly figure of Sunan Kalijaga, and is also very popular among Javanese in general. It is also generally perceived to be part of the purifying practice (Jv. *tirakat*) that might imply the particular practice of pilgrimage (Jv. *ziarah*), but not necessarily. Many Javanese believe that this psalm has a mystical power of bringing peace (Jv. *slamet*) if recited at midnight in the framework of spiritual purification. It should be chanted around midnight because it is the time when a person is alone with God, freed from the hustle and bustle of daily life that can be suffocating. What is distinctive about this song is that its spirit is the most personal communion with God and his prophets in a way that involves a certain degree of personal and mystical identification with the prophets. The progression of the song is also highly interesting. The first part is about the special power of the song as a praiseful prayer to God in bringing forth peace, in the sense of the absence of troubles, evils and external disturbances. Then it moves to the presence of peace as a harmonious relationship in the cosmos, that is, the restoration of things to the overarching framework of goodness. At this point, the song turns to the self that is now in deep and comprehensive communion with all the divine messengers, prophets, saints, and paradigmatic figures. The most interesting part runs as follows:

My heart is that of Adam's; my brain that of Seth's,
 My breath is that of Jesus' and my eyes those of Jacob's,
 My face is that of Joseph's and my voice that of David's
 My wisdom-power is that of Solomon's, and my soul is that of Abraham's
 Enoch (Idrīs) is in my hair, while my skin is that of 'Alī's
 My flesh and blood are those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar's,
 While my bones are those of 'Uthmān's.

¹⁰⁸⁷ This song is contained in a Javanese text of the same name from the 19th century. See Nancy Florida, *Javanese Literature* Vol. 1, 260.

My bone marrow is that of the venerable Fāṭima,
 While Āmina is my bodily strength,
 Prophet Job is in my bowels, while Noah in my heart;
 Jonah is in my muscles,
 My eyes are those of the Prophet Muḥammad's,
 My face is that of the Messenger's,
 Protected by the way of Adam, all these prophets are unified in my body.¹⁰⁸⁸

It has to be pointed out here as well that the last part of the song touches on the talismanic power of this song, but it also keeps its self-purifying framework as the larger perspective.¹⁰⁸⁹

All these insights from the Muslim tradition are of course quite rich. Again, in terms of comparative theology, they can be taken in different ways in the framework of Catholic theology of sainthood. For instance, anyone familiar with Catholic conception of saint and sainthood can readily see that in both Islam and Catholicism, saints and sainthood serve a sacramental function in the sense that due to their participation in the holiness of God, they are capable, to a certain degree, of manifesting aspects of God's saving presence, not only to the humans but to the whole world (Ar. *rahmatan lil-ālamīn*).

Furthermore, I also want to point out that one of the most crucial comparative insights in this regard is that the Islamic notion of sainthood reminds the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* to return to the aspect of friendship (proximity) of sainthood. As Elizabeth Johnson points out, friendship with Christ was the norm in the

¹⁰⁸⁸ This is my translation of the song's version found in Purwadi, *Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga: Penyebaran Agama Islam di Jawa Berbasis Kultural* ["The *Da'wa* of Sunan Kalijaga: The Cultural Islamization of Java"]; Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), 250-55.

¹⁰⁸⁹ It advocates the purifying practice of the 40-day fasting (the Javanese style), accompanied by the habit of waking up before dawn to pray. In many ways, this vision is an extension of the celebrated divine saying that was mentioned earlier on the attainment of proximity to God through supererogatory worship and piety.

lives of early Christian martyrs; where the role of intimacy with Christ as the norm of martyrdom.¹⁰⁹⁰ To a large degree, the idea of intimate friendship with Christ continues to be true in many cases among Catholic saints throughout the centuries.¹⁰⁹¹ This feature of sainthood is still important in the canonization process although it might not be singularly prominent, but it gets lost in the more widespread understanding of Catholic saints as moral virtuosos and models.¹⁰⁹² As some scholars have rightly pointed out, it is theologically significant that in the Islamic tradition, the Arabic verbal roots Q-D-S and Ḥ-R-M were not chosen in the discourse on sainthood. These two terms convey the sense of sanctity as moral purity and inviolability, and thus make each of them perfectly translatable to any European languages.¹⁰⁹³ Again, in light of this comparative insight, Catholic theology of sainthood is reminded of its own largely forgotten or marginalized aspect. Furthermore, the Islamic notion of the hiddenness of sainthood is also in line with the spirit of retrieving forgotten saints in Elizabeth Johnson's renewal, and invites Catholic theology of sainthood to be mindful of this fact even if the practice of canonizing saints is maintained.

However, what is rather striking as well in this comparative context is that the framework of companionship and equality between the saints and the people that Elizabeth Johnson advocates turns out to be not quite predominant in the Muslim

¹⁰⁹⁰ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 79ff.

¹⁰⁹¹ A good example in this regard would be the experience of intimate friendship with Christ found in Christian women mystics, such as Teresa of Avila, Gertrude of Helfta, Catherine of Siena, Beatrice of Nazareth, Hadewijch of Antwerp, Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marquerite Porete, Angela of Foligno, and so forth. On this topic, see Grace M. Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); also Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁹² This kind of view is noticeable, for example, in the work of Edith Wyschogrod, *Saints and Postmodernism: Revisioning Moral Philosophy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁹³ Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 21; Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood*, 111.

conception, even if sainthood is understood fundamentally as friendship with God. For, as mentioned earlier, this particular friendship of the saints with God turns the saints into rather privileged vehicles of God's grace. Among Javanese Muslims and Catholic pilgrims, a certain degree of friendship with the saints of course exists, as the framework of loving devotion indicates, but a hierarchical relationship also prevails.¹⁰⁹⁴ Paradigmatic figures or saints—whether known, canonized, or hidden—are still crucial in their whole practice of pilgrimage and saint veneration in general. In this regard, I argue that this comparative data represent a rather different cosmology at work among Javanese Muslims and Catholics. As discussed previously, this cosmology is still largely traditional, where the notion of mediation is still quite prominent and where paradigmatic figures are central in the collective idea of sacred history of the community, resembling the medieval integral synthesis that some Christian theologians and philosophers have identified as a fertile ground for saint veneration.¹⁰⁹⁵ But, in this regard too, one has to be attentive as well to the different mode of companionship, understood more in terms of respectful devotion and connection that still retains the traditional values of respect, hierarchy and a bit of patronage.¹⁰⁹⁶ Despite its rather hierarchical nature, this kind of

¹⁰⁹⁴ Even in modernity, paradigmatic sainthood (as opposed to the common holiness of Christians) is theologically crucial for the Church. The saints are proof of God's work (grace) in the Church. Canonical saints should be venerated not because of their heroic virtues, but rather because of their special task and mission. On this see Karl Rahner, "Why and How Can We Venerate Saints?" and "All Saints" in *Theological Investigations* Vol. 8 (London, New York: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1971), 3-32. In this regard, Hans Urs von Balthasar's remarks are also worth noting: "[T]he saints are the authentic interpreters of theo-drama. Their knowledge, lived out in dramatic existence, must be regarded as setting a standard of interpretation not only for the life-dramas of individuals but ultimately for the 'history of freedom' of all the nations and of all mankind." Balthasar, *Theo-Drama* Vol. II (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990), 14.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cf. Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos*; also his "The Symbolic Realism of U.S. Latino/a Popular Catholicism"; see also Louis Dupré, *Passage to Modernity*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cf. the importance of the category of devotion (Jv. *bekti*) in both Islamic and Catholic pilgrimage discussed particularly in Chapters 3 and 7. In this respect, it is also worth noting that the predominance of

connection can still be profoundly personal and empowering. It is to this topic that I turn in the following section.

IX. 3. 3. The Communal, Ancestral, and Intergenerational Aspects of Communion

So far, I have examined the personal and cosmic dimensions of *communio sanctorum* in the comparative context. In the framework of pneumatology, these aspects of course correspond to the works of the Spirit in the individual persons, the cosmos and the deeper interactions between the two. Now, in this section, I attempt to show, in a Muslim and Catholic comparative context, how these personal and cosmic dynamics are further enriched by the rather particular ways in which the idea of *communio sanctorum* takes on a deeply inclusive, communal and intergenerational character as the saints are conceived as paradigmatic ancestors who become the pillars of the sacred past and whose legacy and presence continue to shape the community of the present.¹⁰⁹⁷

At this point, it has to be recalled once again that in Catholic theology and practice, what is meant by *communio sanctorum* is a wide-ranging and multilayered communion with God, the Holy. It is by no means limited to communion with holy persons (living and dead saints and paradigmatic figures), but also extended to the whole created realities in general as well as “holy things” in particular, for example, the bread and wine in the Eucharist. And when it refers to human beings, the idea of *communio sanctorum* does not primarily point to our communion with canonical saints in heaven—although this aspect is extremely important as examined in the previous section—but

the patronage paradigm in the Christian cult of saints in late antiquity actually stemmed from the prevailing cultural features of the Roman empire. On this, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 60-62.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See Chapter 8 (VIII. 3).

rather to our companionship, communion and relationship with all holy or graced people, our brothers and sisters, of all ages, “including the whole company in heaven, which is anticipated and partially realized in the community of the church on earth.”¹⁰⁹⁸ In this kind of understanding, the Catholic theologian Elizabeth Johnson advocates this companionship model as the most suitable model for our time. In this framework, the deeply communal and intergenerational (supra-temporal) logic of the entire practice becomes much more visible.

In my view, it is in this framework of companionship, then, that the distinctive feature of saints as paradigmatic ancestors in the pilgrimage culture among Javanese Muslims, shared by Catholics alike, can contribute something crucial to our attempt at revitalizing the Catholic idea of *communio sanctorum*. For, if what this companionship model brings is a lively sense of being in communion and solidarity with all our brothers and sisters (not only canonical saints) as companions (rather than “patrons”) in our common journey, as Johnson argues, then certainly what is emphasized in the ancestral and intergenerational relationship is quite close to this.¹⁰⁹⁹ Furthermore, this feature is also related to the idea of “dangerous memory” that Johnson proposes as a community-empowering framework of keeping memory of the dead.¹¹⁰⁰ In her conception, this dangerous memory stems from our indebtedness to the previous generations, and it leads to a need to fight for the idea of justice and equality for all. In this regard, an ancestral and intergenerational approach to the role and identity of the “saints” corresponds to the wider concern to preserve the memory of all the dead in the community. It is an

¹⁰⁹⁸ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 95.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 79-85.

¹¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 163-80; *Truly Our Sister*, 43.

expression of the community's indebtedness and continued connection to them.¹¹⁰¹ In the case of south central Java, as this study shows, the memory of ancestors and founders of the community also becomes "dangerous," in the sense of becoming more authoritatively empowering for the community in the present, including their concrete negotiation of identity vis-à-vis the other.

In light of this, I argue that in the effort to renew and revitalize our understanding and practice of the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum*, we will do better if we take this feature seriously, including the connection between this feature in the Javano-Islamic culture of pilgrimage and the wider Islamic tradition. In this regard, the Islamic communal understanding of individual self and the corresponding idea of community that includes those who have died, including the paradigmatic figures but not exclusively, seems to lend itself to this renewal.¹¹⁰² Furthermore, as has been examined in various parts of this study, there is a certain sense of "sacredness" or sacramentality in the Javanese notion of community, concretely understood to include a heartfelt communion and connection with the past that consists of paradigmatic ancestors and their legacy. Under the influence of the wider Islamic tradition, this kind of communion with saints and ancestors during pilgrimage takes on a very lively fashion. For one thing, the ritual etiquette of this pilgrimage includes direct salutations or greetings for the dead as

¹¹⁰¹ Interestingly this idea has been used by theologians such as Helmut Peukert to appropriate as well as to show the inadequacy of, Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative action which in itself is a critique of the foundation of modern philosophy. For Peukert, the inclusivity and universality of this theory of communicative action becomes illusory if it is still unable to include the victims who have been annihilated in the historical progress of our humanity and to whom we owe our current existence. In this connection, it is insightful to find out that the idea of *communio sanctorum* can be taken as an antidote to the narrowness of modern philosophy. See Helmut Peukert, *Science, Action, and Fundamental Theology: Toward a Theology of Communicative Action*, trans. James Bohman (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

¹¹⁰² See our discussion in Chapter 8 (VIII. 3).

common in the wider Islamic tradition.¹¹⁰³ For the Muslim jurist Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), what is at stake in the tomb visitation or pilgrimage (Ar. *ziyāra*) is the idea of *qurba* precisely because it is a pious activity that brings one closer to God in many different ways.¹¹⁰⁴

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, for al-Subkī, pilgrimage to the tombs of the dead, apart from serving as an occasion to remember death and thus to have a deeper understanding of life's origin and destination, is the summation of loving reverence to the dead. Taking as an example the Prophet's visit to the grave of his mother, al-Subkī understand tomb visitation as an act of getting closer to the dead in the framework of respect, a continuation of the respect that these dead received in the community during their lifetime. Based on a particular *ḥadīth*, al-Subkī believes that the dead will be much comforted by the visits of those who were close to them during their lifetime.¹¹⁰⁵ In this framework, pilgrimage is basically an act of mercy, kindness, or companionship toward the dead. These aspects are exactly categories that point to the dynamics of communion that, I argue, are so central in the pilgrimage tradition among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java. Again in my view, our attentiveness to these features will help us considerably in our effort toward a renewed understanding and practice of *communio*

¹¹⁰³ See Chapter 2 (II. 2. 1) and Chapter 8 (VIII. 3). In this regard, it is interesting to note the “debate” on the questions surrounding this theme (for example as to whether the dead hear the greetings of the pilgrims) in the early and medieval Islamic tradition. As Christopher Taylor shows, Ibn Taymīya took issues with philosophers and theologians such as Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī on the possibility of interaction between the souls or spirits of the dead with the pilgrims at the graves. But, for many Muslim theologians and jurists, including al-Subkī, this communication is possible, at least in the case of the Prophet Muḥammad, based on the following *ḥadīth*: “No sooner does one greet me than God sends back my soul so that I can return the greeting.” (195).

¹¹⁰⁴ Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 201.

¹¹⁰⁵ Another *ḥadīth* encourages Muslims to greet fellow Muslims whom they know when passing their graves. According to this *ḥadīth*, the dead would be aware of such greeting and would respond to it. See Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 202.

sanctorum that Elizabeth Johnson envisions, that is, a lively and inclusive sense of communion with our brothers and sisters, here and in heaven.

As I have attempted to show in the context of Muslim and Catholic saint veneration in Java, the sacramental character of the saints or paradigmatic figures is deeply communal as well, precisely because of the location of these paradigmatic figures in the community and its history. To a large degree, they attained “sainthood”, so to speak, primarily because of their foundational role in the community. This communal aspect of sainthood in Java is line with the communal emphasis of the Javanese culture where individual self finds its identity in an intimate relationship with the whole community, understood not just in terms of the present but also its inherent relation to the past. This particular cultural trait helps to explain why the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in Java takes on a deeply intergenerational or communal characteristic, connecting parents with children, with deceased ancestors, distant and near, paradigmatic and ordinary.

At this point it is also important to recall that in the earliest phase of Islamic history, relationship with one’s ancestors as well as with the larger community of Muslim had played a crucial role as a marker of the Muslim communal identity. As Leor Halevi shows, late eighth-century Islamic tombstones frequently memorialize three and even four generations of male links.¹¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, in this regard, the experience of the death of a family member was also connected to the foundational experience of the larger Muslim *umma* with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad; and in later periods, Muslim

¹¹⁰⁶ Leor Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 17.

tombstones would bear Qur'ānic inscriptions as markers of communal identity.¹¹⁰⁷ These Qur'ānic inscriptions also suggested the beginning of the rituals of visiting and praying for the dead, because these inscriptions were supposed to be read out loud by the visitors of the grave. Halevi remarks further:

This ceremony of seeking God's forgiveness for the sins of another individual was perhaps one of the central aspects of Muslim piety during the first century of Islam, though it was not original to Islam."¹¹⁰⁸

It is in the framework of this deeply communal and intergenerational understanding of the relationship between the living and the dead that that one should understand the widespread pious desire of Muslim families to bury their dead in the vicinity of the tombs of the saints.¹¹⁰⁹

For our discussion in this section, this communal dimension of the communion with the dead in Islam—i.e., connection between the living and the dead in one community as well as connection between the dead in general and the righteous dead—is highly crucial. This is because the paradigm of ancestral relationship cannot be understood without this larger communal and intergenerational linkage. Again, my argument is that this insight can be instrumental in the renewal of the Catholic understanding and practice of *communio sanctorum*. Islamic and Catholic pilgrimage traditions, as it turns out, are based on a trans-spatiotemporal understanding of community that consists in the intergenerational and ancestral relations across time and

¹¹⁰⁷ Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, 21, 27ff.

¹¹⁰⁸ Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, 27.

¹¹⁰⁹ On this pious habit among Muslims in Medieval Egypt, see Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 1-2.

space. In this respect, the two communities seem to militate against an overly narrow and atomistic understanding of community that only consists of the living.

As mentioned earlier, however, this trans-spatiotemporal understanding of community is not possible without an anthropology that is community-oriented and governed by the principle of communion. In other words, an individually oriented anthropology—that typically defines what it means to be a “modern” person—cannot be the underlying anthropology for the whole practice of saints veneration both in Islam or Catholicism. For, as this study shows, this practice in its richness will only flourish in the context of an anthropology that defines human identity in terms of both individuality and communion. In this chapter, we have already seen how the category of the heart is used precisely to refer to the principle of individuality. However, central to the dynamics of pilgrimage is that the heart achieves peacefulness only through realizing its deep and intimate communion with God through different sacramental realities such as God’s spiritual company of saints and paradigmatic ancestors, the cosmic realities, the community and so forth.

In a different context, such as the U. S. Hispanic sub-culture, this kind of organic anthropology has continued to serve as the very foundation of the lively practices of popular religiosity, including saint veneration, as Roberto Goizueta has shown.¹¹¹⁰ In this framework of organic anthropology, there is no human person apart from community, that is, apart from companionship and communion with other human persons. Being a member of a community is a constitutive part of who we are as human persons. In this

¹¹¹⁰ Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos*, 50; see also his article “The Symbolic Realism of U.S. Latino/a Popular Catholicism,” 255-74.

framework, as Roberto Goizueta has argued, “To be isolated, autonomous individual is, literally, to have no humanity, no identity, no self, it is to be no-thing, a no-body.”¹¹¹¹ Goizueta remarks further that this organic anthropology has a strong connection with the sacramental view, a major point in my proposal for renewing the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* in this study. He writes:

The assertion that personal identity is intrinsically relational, or given by others from “outside” is thus the corollary of a sacramental worldview which asserts that the identity of every concrete, particular entity is relational, or given by an Other from “outside”. In both cases, the particular is the place where and the material through which the universal is encountered.¹¹¹²

Along this line of thought, what the practice of saint veneration both in Muslim and Catholic contexts has to say is that the “communal” aspect of our identity as human beings cannot be restricted to our close relatives or friends who are still living. Precisely because of the fact that during their lives they were so instrumental in bringing about our identity as human persons, both personal and communal, this deep and existential relationship cannot be severed by mere physical death. What the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* points to here is the very reality of our communion and relatedness to a bigger community of God’s people, both living and dead, including those whom we never get to know in our earthly life. In the context of Catholic liturgy, this point is well illustrated, for example in the Eucharistic Prayer IV in the Roman Missal. Here, the particular celebrating community is not only connected to the entire people of God (the Church, the baptized believers), but also to “all who seek God with a sincere heart.”¹¹¹³ In this

¹¹¹¹ Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos*, 50.

¹¹¹² Roberto Goizueta, *Caminemos*, 50.

¹¹¹³ Eucharistic Prayer IV; new English translation (2011).

Eucharistic prayer, it should be pointed out, this universal communion includes all the dead as well, as it says: “Remember also those who have died in the peace of your Christ and all the dead, whose faith you alone have known.”¹¹¹⁴

From a Catholic perspective, I argue that we need to take much more seriously this trans-spatiotemporal and inclusive understanding of communion. For if this vision of is fully understood and experienced as one of the most defining features of a Catholic conception of communion, then there arises the need find ways in which we could foster forms of communion with “all who seek God with a sincere heart” and “whose faith God alone has known.” These two categories obviously refer to our companions in the journey toward God, including those who happen to belong to different religious traditions. In this regard, the theological principle of this communion cannot be other than the unifying and sanctifying presence of the Holy Spirit who fills up the whole cosmos, the hearts of the people, and the desire of people to commune with God and with each other.¹¹¹⁵ However, a universal, cosmic and inclusive pneumatology like this will never work existentially without the kind of concrete, historical, affective experience of being bonded to a real community that includes peoples of different religious traditions. As I have presented in this study, this is precisely what happens in the dynamics of encounter between Muslim and Catholic pilgrims and their communities in south central Java. In many ways, their dynamics of encounter show a kind of shared “living pneumatology”

¹¹¹⁴ Eucharistic Prayer IV; new English translation (2011).

¹¹¹⁵ On these three traditional aspects of Christian pneumatology and their relation to pneumatological theology of religion, see my licentiate thesis, *The Spirit at Work*, especially chapter 4.

that Yves Congar speaks about and that this Eucharistic vision of communion points to.¹¹¹⁶

To continue this discourse on the inclusive Eucharistic communion further, it is also insightful to return to Thomas Aquinas's idea of *communio sanctorum* as *communio bonorum*. In his short essay on the Apostle's Creed, Aquinas argues that:

Because all the faithful form one body, the benefits belonging to one are communicated to the others. There is thus a sharing of benefits (*communio bonorum*) in the church, and this is what we mean by *communio sanctorum*.¹¹¹⁷

This idea is of course reminiscent of the idea of *communio sanctorum* as communion of the holy, as I have examined in previous section. However, in this context, Aquinas' idea is a little bit more specific because it points to the communion between people through the mutual sharing of goods, a communion that does not necessarily end with death either. In my view, this idea is important in this study precisely because it can throw some light on the framework of communal sharing, more particularly the communal meal (Jv. *slametan*). As examined previously, this communal meal is a shared and distinctive feature of pilgrimage culture among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java;¹¹¹⁸ and it consists of inclusive communal sharing of God's blessings in the form of food in the company of the prophets, saints, and ancestors.¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁶ On Congar's idea of living pneumatology, see Elizabeth Groppe, *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 3.

¹¹¹⁷ Cited in J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 391; quoted in Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 96.

¹¹¹⁸ See Chapter 6 (VI. 3. 2).

¹¹¹⁹ See Chapter 2 (II. 2. 2) and 6 (VI. 3. 2). See Chapter 2 (II. 2. 3) for a discussion on the monthly celebration at the shrine of Tembayat. In this regard, mention should be made about a highly interesting practice of saint veneration among Javanese Muslims, namely the practice of the recitation of the saints' lives (the *manakiban*). This ritual practice is interesting because it occurs in the context of sharing food in a communal meal (Jv. *slametan*). Due to the centrality of this communal meal, this ritual of *manakiban* goes by the name of *slametan*. As Lukens-Bull shows, this *manakiban* ritual that consists of reading the lives of

Furthermore, this idea of *communio sanctorum* as *communio bonorum* is also in line with the previous point I raised on the inclusive aspect of the Eucharistic celebration, especially in the prayer for the dead. This is precisely the point that our renewed pneumatology makes, that is, stretching the horizon of the Spirit's work further as to include those people we never know in our immediate communities and to put our common journey in an eschatological direction.¹¹²⁰ In the context of the Eucharistic Prayer mentioned earlier, this logic of universalization should be placed ultimately in the *communio sanctorum*'s eschatological and biblical framework, i.e., the final consummation of all things by God in Christ (Acts 3:21; Eph 1:10; Col 1:20).¹¹²¹ In this respect, pilgrimage has also been understood in its eschatological dimension, as the Vatican document remarks: "The Word of God and the Eucharist accompany us in this pilgrimage towards the heavenly Jerusalem, of which shrines are a visible and living sign."¹¹²²

IX. 4. Conclusion: What Have We Learned?

prophets and saints, especially that of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, has become a rather important part of the distinctive identity of the traditionalist Muslims, many of whom are members of the Nahdlatul Ulama. See Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad*, 75. On the general inclusivity of the *slametan* beyond the context of Muslim and Catholic shrines, see Chapter 8 (VIII. 3).

¹¹²⁰ In our time, the difficulty that might be encountered by a pneumatological point of view in theological circle is the modern rejection of the reality of the world of the "spirits." As Patrick Sherry has argued, in this regard Rudolf Bultmann's demythologizing project in theology has led people to "simplify their ontology by rejecting belief in angel, devils and other such spirits as part of an outmoded view of the world." See his *Spirit, Saints and Immortality* (Albany, N. Y.: SUNY Press, 1984), 10.

¹¹²¹ A line of prayer in the Eucharistic Prayer IV runs as follows: "To all of us, your children, grant, O merciful Father, that we may enter into a heavenly inheritance with the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and with your Apostles and Saints in your kingdom. There, *with the whole creation, freed from the corruption of sin and death*, may we glorify you through Christ our Lord, through whom you bestow on the world all that is good."

¹¹²² The Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, "The Pilgrimage in the Great Jubilee" (1998), par # 44. A complete English text of this document can be found in: www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/documents/rc_pc_migrants_doc_19980425_pilgrimage_en.htm (accessed September 2010).

At the end of this constructive theological section of this comparative study, it would be useful to summarize in broad strokes what we actually have learned in the process. As we have seen here, this process of comparative learning has resulted in a revitalization and enrichment of the Catholic understanding and practice of *communio sanctorum*. The process of this enrichment is distinctive due to the comparative theological learning rooted in a close study of the particular cases of the Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in south central Java (Part One and Part Two) as well as the larger religious traditions of Islam and Catholicism (Part Three, especially this chapter). So, in the following paragraphs, I will highlight the major steps and insights of this comparative study against the background of Elizabeth Johnson's proposal for a renewal of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*.

First, the comparative data on the pertinent features of pilgrimage among Muslims and Catholics in south central Java naturally lead Catholic thinkers to an exploration of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*. This move is necessitated by the fact that the principle of communion is the underlying framework of the pilgrimage culture in the two traditions. In light of this, *communio sanctorum* presents itself as one of the most relevant and comprehensive aspect of the Catholic tradition and self-understanding that is at the same time open to comparative enrichment from what the Islamic tradition has to offer.

Secondly, in the process of comparative theological probing into the larger contexts of both traditions, I came to realize the need to explore the role of the heart, the center of the human existence and the principle of every religious act. As we have just seen, this move is perfectly faithful to the logic of the depth of the communion in the

reality of pilgrimage. There I have attempted to show that the role of the heart is strikingly crucial in both Islamic and Catholic traditions, especially with regard to the logic of communion related to the pilgrimage tradition and its corresponding religious devotion. On the Catholic side, in this regard, we are invited to be more aware of the fuller reality of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, in the human person, something that is also central in the Christian theology of the Holy Spirit but largely missing in Elizabeth Johnson's pneumatological renewal of *communio sanctorum*. In my view, the role of the heart gives rise to the most personal element in the dynamic of communion, and this particular feature is centrally prominent in the experience of pilgrims, both Muslim and Catholic. In light of this data from the experience of the pilgrims themselves, as well as from the wider and authoritative sources of the respective traditions, a renewal of the doctrine of *communio sanctorum* that is born out of this comparative study could not afford to neglect this crucial element.

Thirdly, faithful response to both the actual dynamics of pilgrimage in the two traditions and to the salient features of the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* also demands that we emphasize its cosmic, sacramental, and communal (at once ancestral, intergenerational, and supra-temporal) dimensions. These aspects have also been attended to in Elizabeth Johnson's recent theological proposal. However, this study's comparative approach and foundation makes these cosmic, sacramental, and intergenerational aspects distinctive in their particularities, since they are drawn from the concreteness of a contemporary case (south central Java) and its interreligious dynamics. The comparative learning of this study is informed not only by the fact that Muslims and Catholics share similar theological structures of communion in this regard, but also by the fact that this

theological framework has become instrumental in bringing the two communities closer to each other in many ways and on many different levels.

In terms of culture, this study has also shown that each culture has a certain distinctive impact on the practice of saint veneration. Contemporary Javanese culture brings a different sense of community—a lively sense of communion with different elements of life and the cosmic realities, including the invisible figures such as the ancestors—and the sacramentality of life in general including sacred history and paradigmatic figures and the sacred places associated with them and their enduring spiritual presence. Obviously, the emphasis on egalitarian companionship that Elizabeth Johnson advocates—that perfectly makes sense in contemporary Western society—is not to be found there. Both Javanese Catholic and Muslim pilgrims foster a certain degree of egalitarian friendship in the shrines during pilgrimage, but the idea of equal companionship with the saints or paradigmatic figures is quite foreign to them. In this regard, this study shows its deeper reason, namely, that it is the framework of loving and respectful devotion that largely becomes the context of their meaningful relationship with God, the saints, and paradigmatic figures. There is a hierarchy involved, but the one that brings a heartfelt unity to the living community.

Fourthly, as a result of this comparative theological study the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* takes on a deeply pneumatological and sacramental character. In this regard, the contribution of this comparative theological study is twofold. On one level, it places the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* into an organic relationship with other important elements in Catholic theology, such as pneumatology and the principle of sacramentality. I argue that these two frameworks need to be taken

into account if we want to respond theologically to the overwhelming reality of communion that lies at the heart of the pilgrimage tradition and saint veneration in general. On the other level, the specific contribution of this study comes from the fact that this enrichment of pneumatology and sacramentality is based on the highly distinctive reality of constant encounters between communities of different faiths under the stirrings of the Spirit of God. This is a rich and complex spiritual reality whose theological significance for Catholic theology can only be fully appreciated through such a comparative approach.

Furthermore, insofar as the comparative theological method is concerned, what this study contributes specifically to this retrieval and enrichment of these elements of Catholic theology came directly from comparative engagement with the Islamic tradition. In the context of this study, this comparative engagement—understood as a real and multilayered pilgrimage to the other—became a necessary component for understanding the dynamics of communion that lie at the heart of the Catholic doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*, pneumatology and sacramentality. As all of our study has illustrated, these three theological categories have an inherent dynamics of openness toward the other. In that framework, this study also indicates that similar dynamics are also at work in many different ways in the Muslim tradition, particularly in the universalizing presence of God as Spirit, in the logic of communion and sacramentality in their pilgrimage tradition, and in the theological reflections on sainthood. Based on this enriching encounter, I argue, one can envision a Muslim-Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* that is both creative—in the sense that it responds to the concrete realities of communion in the two pilgrimage traditions—and traditional, in the sense of being

faithful to the larger traditions of Islam and Catholicism. However, since this particular study is written largely from a Catholic perspective, this Muslim-Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum* is really more about the enrichment of the Catholic theology from the encounter with Islam.

As a Catholic comparativist, I would argue as well that this distinctive renewal and revitalization of the Catholic doctrine of *communio sanctorum* through comparative learning is necessitated by the “catholic” logic itself: that is, by the fundamental characteristic of Catholicism as a profoundly inclusive and expansive vision. In this study, I have endeavored to show how this catholicity becomes more inclusive and distinctive in its breadth and depth when it is anchored theologically on a pneumatological basis that lends itself to being enriched through comparative learning from the resources of the Islamic and other traditions. As a result of comparative engagement, the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum* has the potential to become simultaneously more “catholic” and “Catholic.” In this perspective, it can truly become one of the most defining features of Catholic identity precisely because it connects this identity with the other in a profoundly and authentically “catholic” fashion.

CONCLUSION:
GOING HOME, AND SETTING OFF AGAIN!

The world changed, as he returned to the one he knew.
*Serat Cabolèk*¹¹²³

In every pilgrimage the return journey is no less important than the preparation, the journey to the shrine, as well as the time spent there. Pilgrims return to their quotidian and ordinary live with a certain degree of newness. In the words of the *Serat Cabolèk* quoted above, we can say that pilgrims return to a changed world, even though its familiarity might still be overwhelming. In the same spirit and to conclude this inquiry, I shall identify some of the most crucial insights of this study, as well as some promising avenues for future research. This study on pilgrimage has surely been a pilgrimage as well. So we can say that these insights are the blessings of the pilgrimage so far and provisions for the next journey.

¹¹²³ Canto VIII, 54:41. In the original Javanese: “*Wus salin alamipun, angulihi alamé lami.*” See Soebardi, *The Book of Serat Cabolèk*, 126.

I. Important Insights, Findings, and Contributions

Since the most important and specific comparative theological insights and findings of this study have already been discussed in various places above (Introduction, Chapter 8, and Chapter 9), there is no need to repeat them here. At this point, some more general concluding points may suffice. First of all, as this study has made clear, Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions can be viewed as a privileged milieu in which the pilgrims and their respective local communities continue to negotiate their religio-cultural identity in ways that are creative, authentic, and historically sustainable. This process is creative because it opens up new avenues for the growth of self-understanding, on both the individual and communal levels. It is authentic because despite occasional ambiguities, pilgrimage typically helps pilgrims strengthen their religious identity from within, in terms of the personal dimension of their lives and in the context of their respective religious traditions. For their respective religious community, this process of identity formation in the context of pilgrimage occurs to such a degree that this often creative and hybrid identity becomes a concrete historical embodiment of the wider framework of their religious tradition, in this case, Catholic Christianity or Islam. And this identity formation is also historically sustainable due to the fact that, at least in the context of south central Java, pilgrimage tradition has become a collective religio-cultural phenomenon of inclusive communal encounter that draws persons of all walks of life and faiths for centuries, a process that has been able to help pilgrims and their communities navigate their complex and intersecting journeys in many fruitful ways.

In this regard, one of the most crucial insights of this study has to do with the integral approach employed here. Given its characteristics mentioned above, pilgrimage

is a very rich and complex religious and cultural practice that cannot be studied in a reductionist mode. Thus this study intentionally avoided the common polemical, two-tier approach that typically explains away the entire phenomenon of pilgrimage as a “popular” religion of the “uneducated” masses with no serious theological foundations and import.¹¹²⁴ As mentioned in the Introduction, we can still find such reductive and often polemical approaches being used to discuss this practice in various Muslim and Christian contexts (including Indonesia) today. However, contrary to those narrowly reductionist approaches, this study has been devoted to treating the Javanese Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage traditions in its wholeness and richness, not as an isolated form of popular piety, but rather as a deeply religious, spiritual, and cultural practice that occurs in complex historical and local contexts in which the respective religious traditions interact with each other, as well as with diverse local religio-cultural traditions.

In this regard, the terms “identity” and “alterity” are used precisely to situate the wider significance of this practice. This study has taken seriously—and it richly illustrates—the crucial and complex role played by pilgrimage and the larger tradition of saint veneration in the formation of the distinctive hybrid identity of the Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java. As we have seen in both Muslim and Catholic cases, these local hybrid identities are quite distinctive in their richness, with a potential to contribute to the wider tradition of Islam and Catholic Christianity. These robust authentic religious identities have not only survived the storms of changing times over the past century, but have resulted today in quite remarkable and dynamic religious communities. For in both cases, these hybrid identities have been marked by a remarkable degree of creativity and inclusivity—ultimately based on the underlying

¹¹²⁴ For criticisms of this two-tier approach, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, ix, 12-22.

desire for communion—that stems from their rootedness in the common local Javanese culture that has enabled both communities to fruitfully interact with each other on many different levels.

With regard to the crucial and multi-faceted role of shared local religio-cultural traditions, this study has hopefully indicated the many ways in which these local traditions have been instrumental in shaping the distinctive Javanese practices of Islam and Catholicism. In this study, we have seen repeated concrete illustrations of the genius of both Islam and Catholic Christianity in combining universalism with local particularities in a necessarily ongoing process toward the kind of synthesis that is responsive to both the dynamics of the local context and the richness of the wider religious tradition. In light of the familiar ideological agenda of sectarian identity formation in Indonesia and elsewhere—which typically demonizes the “other”, both outside and within the respective religious tradition, and which thus tends to be violent—we are reminded that this successful creativity and synthesis should by no means be taken for granted.

Along these lines of thought, it is interesting to note how Pope Benedict XVI saw the challenge for religions to contribute to the creation of a culture of “communion” in this era of globalization marked by often violent ideological fragmentations. He remarked:

The question naturally arises then as to what contribution religion makes to the cultures of the world against the backdrop of rapid globalization. Since many are quick to point out the readily apparent differences between religions, as believers or religious persons we are presented with the challenge to proclaim with clarity what we share in common.¹¹²⁵

¹¹²⁵ This quote is taken from Pope Benedict’s address at the meeting with organizations for interreligious

Especially in light of the various major conflicts in our contemporary world in which religions and religious communities have played a role, Pope Benedict's point about the potential contribution of religious traditions to the formation of an authentic culture of communion and mutual understanding that is based on the commonalities between these traditions is quite insightful. It is in that kind of framework that this study's major findings and directions should also be understood. For the richness of the entire pilgrimage tradition cannot be separated from its particular cultural contexts. In fact, the various crucial elements in the ongoing practice of saint veneration among Muslims and Catholics in Java have their roots in the common local cultural features. In this regard, this study has also attempted to understand the deeper dynamics of the formation and significance of local Muslim and Catholic traditions of pilgrimage within the context of the complexities and characteristic developments of Javanese culture. Furthermore, as this study has showed, the encounters between the Javanese Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java around the practice of saint veneration have created a common culture of inclusive communion that in turn becomes a privileged milieu where we witness the many concrete and unique contributions of Islam and Christianity as distinctive religious traditions. From the perspective of the new comparative theology, this study hopefully serves, in a modest manner, as a constructive scholarly and theological response to the reality of religious diversity and interfaith encounters that mark our contemporary world.

Finally, this study has focused, in our concluding chapters, on the theological aspect of the pilgrimage tradition and the whole process of the creation of a distinctive

dialogue, at the auditorium of Notre Dame Center, Jerusalem, Monday, May 11, 2009. The complete text can be found in: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20090511_dialogo-interreligioso_en.html (accessed September 2011).

culture of communion and devotion. In fact, it is in response to this theological dimension that the approach of comparative theology was employed in this study. As shown particularly in the last two chapters, this method has helped us further illuminate the deeper theological significance of the various facets of pilgrimage traditions among Muslims and Catholics, including the actual religio-cultural interactions among these communities that are centered around these practices. This theological exploration has been pursued for the sake of a possible enrichment of the Catholic understanding and practice of *communio sanctorum* as the fruit of deeper consideration of the theological foundations of the culture of communion that is so memorably found around these Javanese pilgrimage traditions.

II. Some Directions for Further Research

As has become clear, this comparative theological endeavor with its major elements—namely, the larger pilgrimage traditions in Islam and Catholicism, with a particular focus on the dynamic of real encounters between the two communities in the particular religio-cultural context of Java, which are further illuminated by the relevant insights of the larger traditions of Islam and Catholic Christianity—constitutes the most distinctive contribution of this study. However, it has to be pointed out that this study, due to its focus and limited length, has not done full justice to some important aspects of that comparison. In what follows I shall mention some of these underdeveloped aspects of comparison that point to the need for further research.

On the theological side, there are at least two identifiable elements in this study that, in my view, call for further research. First, there is a need to develop a full-fledged

theology of sacramentality in connection with the material and ritual culture of pilgrimage tradition, including the arts and architecture, as a step toward possibly envisioning a deeper and more comprehensive Muslim-Catholic theology of aesthetics. The second element has to do with the pneumatological aspect of this study, with its potential contributions to a fuller theology of the Holy Spirit. While pneumatology has been used as an overarching Catholic theological framework for the possible enrichment of the doctrine and practice of *communio sanctorum*, this study has not been able to delve into the specifics of that vast topic—for example the various theological insights on the nature and role of the Holy Spirit in Catholic theology—as well as their possible connections with cognate themes in other religious traditions such as Islam. So, in this regard, this study invites other comparative theologians to embark on a more detailed comparative analysis of pneumatology in a number of relevant domains. Such research is of course intimately related to the inherently expansive nature of pneumatology as a theological discipline. This comparative endeavor would also respond to the growing interest among Christian theologians in expanding the scope of pneumatological study so as to include deeper engagement with other religions.¹¹²⁶

As this study has made clear as well, the comparative study of pilgrimage is rather organically related to the broader spiritual theme of sainthood, especially from Muslim and Christian/Catholic perspectives. In addition to the general theme of sainthood, different particular aspects of sainthood encountered in this study can be pursued further, including the complex and evolving role of each particular paradigmatic saintly figure (saint) as he or she continues to be imagined by the community (local hagiography). This

¹¹²⁶ This concern is expressed, for example, by Kirsteen Kim, *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation* (SPCK and Orbis Books, 2007).

study obviously has only touched on this theme to a limited degree, mainly with the discussion of the various roles of the local Muslim and Catholic founding figures in the hybrid identity formation (and historical development of shrines and pilgrimages) of the Javanese Muslim and Catholic communities in south central Java. However, this topic merits a separate full-blown treatment.¹¹²⁷

On the religio-cultural side, this study has shown that the whole Javanese tradition of pilgrimage has also become a milieu of identity formation that allows for each community to understand itself through serious and wide-ranging engagements with various forms of religious otherness. In this regard, the contribution of this study, as mentioned, has to do with analyzing the underlying theological foundation of this religio-cultural practice in a way that fully incorporates all the various religio-cultural phenomena related to this practice. In this study, the complex theological notion of communion has been emphasized as the underlying religio-cultural hermeneutic principle that the two respective communities have come to employ as they negotiate their hybrid identities. In that respect, further research that focuses on similar or different hermeneutic principles regarding the identity formation of local religious communities could be undertaken with regard to other localities, including in particular areas that are under-represented in contemporary scholarship.¹¹²⁸

¹¹²⁷ A fine example of a historical approach to the distinctive role of Muslim saints in the formation of a local hybrid Muslim identity is Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

¹¹²⁸ In this regard, Lamin Sanneh's various works on the intersections between Christianity, Islam, and native religions in West Africa are quite remarkable. See especially his *The Crown and the Turban: Muslims and West African Pluralism* (Westview Press, 1997); *Piety and Power: Muslims and Christians in West Africa* (Orbis Books, 1996). While researching for this project, I also became more aware of the potential contribution of the remarkable dynamics of encounter among Hindus, Muslims and Catholics in the context of pilgrimage traditions on the island of Bali—a subject that I hope to pursue in later publications.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the dynamic of pilgrimage always involves a return journey, both as a period of integration and preparation for the next journey or visit. The importance of the return journey and the integration of pilgrimage experience into the fabric of the pilgrim's normal life is parallel to the new comparative theology's emphasis on the confessional nature of such comparison, as well as its rootedness in one's home tradition. In this dynamic, every comparison involves a deepening of one's understanding of one's own religious tradition, a process that naturally leads to the next round of comparison. In my case, equipped with a renewed understanding of the Catholic theology of *communio sanctorum*, I am longing to set off again, perhaps to less familiar places.

III. Concluding Story

In this framework of going home and setting off again, I would like to close this study with a personal story. This story is about my grandmother's experience of a life-changing pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto some years before her eventual baptism into the Catholic Church. At that point she had been struggling with pregnancies. She had lost her first four of them, and according to the standard story in the family, my grandfather was thinking of divorcing her because of this. This led her into a rather severe life crisis, and she decided to undertake a pilgrimage to the Sendangsono grotto. This pilgrimage must have occurred in the mid 1930s, only a few years after the foundation of the grotto. This journey proved to be perilous yet singularly crucial for her life. It was raining very hard when she arrived at grotto. She was obviously a very brave woman. For she didn't know the route to the shrine. It was her first time visit, and the conditions of the road were

extremely bad. Despite all this, she finally found the place. She prayed earnestly in the grotto. But it was too late for her to return home, for the night was falling when she was done with her visit. Luckily, a local family offered her a shelter for the night. This was an act of hospitality that she never forgot throughout her life. She would visit this family as part of her numerous subsequent pilgrimages to the grotto. In the following years my grandma would give birth to seven children, including my father.

This story is so moving and personal for me, not only because I am her grandson, but also because I was her companion during many of her pilgrimages to the mission mausoleum of Muntilan. I still vividly recall the kind of earnest prayers that she would utter for her family and children. She never took me to the Sendangsono grotto because in those days the journey would have been too arduous for a young boy like me who had a terrible problem with carsickness.

After her baptism, my grandma stopped going to Javano-Muslim sites such as the shrines of Mawlana Maghribi and Sèh Bela-Belu (Map 1.3). So she never took me to those shrines either. My uncles, though, kept reminding me that grandma was an avid pilgrim to this type of shrines during her youth. I am sure that her experiences at these shrines prepared her well to savor the blessings of pilgrimage in the Catholic sites. I am also sure that she kept the memories of these previous pilgrimages in different ways as well. After all her Catholic baptism did not strip her of her Javanese identity. During my own pilgrimages to both Muslim and Catholic shrines, her memory was always very alive for me in a very particular way. Personally, I have found that pilgrimage has indeed been a privileged milieu for fostering a more heartfelt and integral sense of being in the *communio sanctorum* (“communion with the saints and the Holy”) in all its aspects. The

depth and breadth of this communion has been made more vividly real for me when I did the kind of pilgrimage that included the intentional search for God in less familiar places such as the shrines of the religious other, and in the company of the “other”, such as pilgrims of different faith traditions. It is through such visits that the “other” has become part of myself, and that their shrines have become my home as well.

APPENDIX A:
FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS



FIG. 1.1. THE DEMAK GRAND MOSQUE, NORTH CENTRAL JAVA (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 2.1. TRADITIONAL RENDERING OF THE NINE SAINTS OF JAVA (*Wali Songo*) WITH ONLY KALIJAGA (IN THE CENTER) IN JAVANESE OUTFIT (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 2.2. PILGRIMS AT THE ENTRANCE TO SUNAN KALIJAGA'S TOMB, KADILANGU, DEMAK, CENTRAL JAVA (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 2.3. PILGRIMS AT PRAYER BEFORE SUNAN KALIJAGA'S TOMB (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG 3.1. JAVANESE TRADITIONAL ORNAMENTS AT THE GRAND MOSQUE OF THE YOGYAKARTA PALACE



FIG 3. 2. THE MAIN HALL OF YOGYAKARTA PALACE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG 3. 3. THE HINDU JAVANESE GATE AT THE ROYAL MAUSOLEUM OF KOTAGEDHE, YOGYAKARTA
(PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.1. A HINDU JAVANESE GATE AT TEMBAYAT SHRINE, KLATEN, CENTRAL JAVA
(PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.2. OBELISK WITH MAKARA, TEMBAYAT SHRINE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.3. THE IMAGE OF TWO BEASTS GUARDING A HINDU TEMPLE, TEMBAYAT SHRINE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.4. THE IMAGE OF TWO DRAGONS GUARDING A ROYAL CROWN FILLED WITH LOTUS FLOWERS, FLANKED BY TWO BUDDHA-LIKE FIGURES IN DEEP MEDITATION, TEMBAYAT SHRINE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.5. PILGRIMS AT PRAYER AT THE GRAVE OF SUNAN PANDANARANG, TEMBAYAT
(PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 4.6. PILGRIMAGE LEAFLETS ON THE DOOR OF TEMBAYAT SHRINE'S MOSQUE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 5. 1. MAWLANA MAGHRIBI SHRINE, PARANGTRITIS, YOGYAKARTA (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 6.1. PILGRIMS RECITING THE QUR'AN AT THE GRAVE OF *MBAH* DALHAR, GUNUNGPRING, MUNTILAN (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 6.2. THE GRAVE OF RADEN SANTRI, GUNUNGPRING, MUNTILAN (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 7.1. PILGRIMS AT THE SENDANGSONO MARIAN SHRINE (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 7.2. PILGRIMS AT SENDANGSONO SHRINE DURING MAY FESTIVAL (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG 8.1. THE SACRED HEART SHRINE, GANJURAN, WITH THE SACRED HEART STATUE IN THE INNER SANCTUM (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG 8.2. THE IMAGE OF THE SACRED HEART/
CHRIST THE KING IN HINDU JAVANESE STYLE
AT THE GANJURAN SHRINE
(Source: Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*)



FIG 8.3. THE PRAJNAPARAMITA MARY OF GANJURAN
(Source: Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*)



FIG 8.4. THE PRAJNAPARAMITA MARY OF GANJURAN (FULL VIEW)
(Source: Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*)



FIG. 8. 5 THE IMAGE OF THE TRINITY WITH THE FIGURE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE MIDDLE
(Source: Josef Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*)



FIG. 8.6. THE IMAGE OF THE TRINITY (REPRESENTED IN ONE PERSON)
(Source: Josef Schmutzer, *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*)

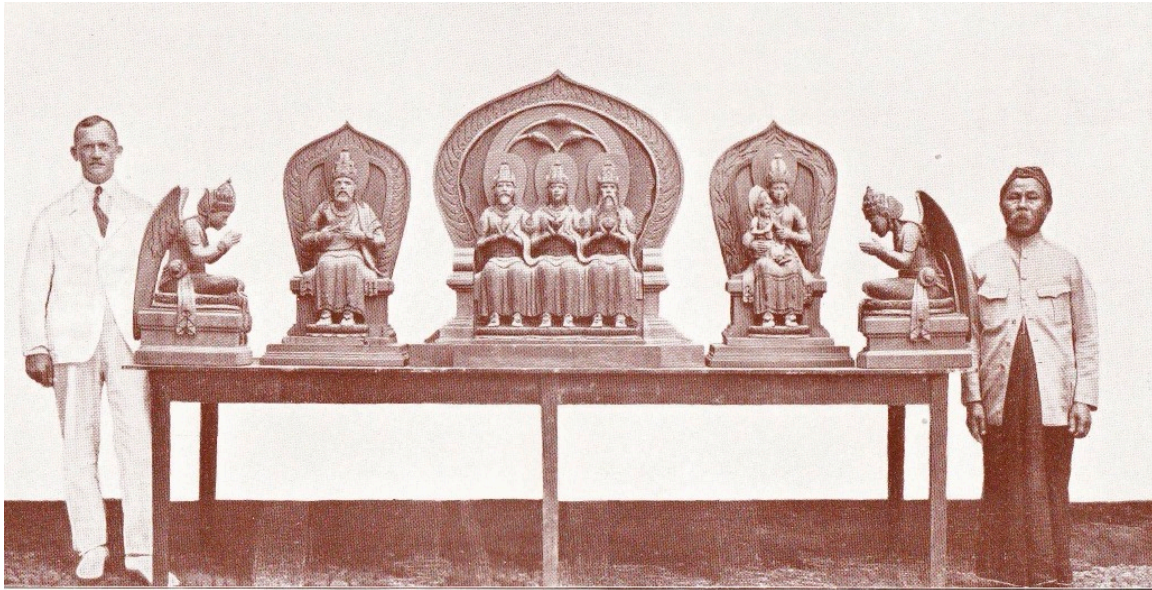


FIG. 8. 7. JOSEF SCHMUTZER AND IKO FLANKING THEIR COLLABORATIVE WORKS
(Source: J. J. Ten Berge, *L'Art Chrétien Indigène*)



FIG 8.8. TRADITIONAL OFFERING (*GUNUNGAN*) AT THE ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE SACRED HEART (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 8.9. THE NEW PARISH CHURCH IN THE STYLE OF JAVANESE PALACE, GANJURAN (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 9.1. PILGRIMS AT THE GRAVE OF FR. SANJAYA, MUNTILAN (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 9.2. VAN LITH STATUE IN FRONT OF THE CATHOLIC MISSION MUSEUM, MUNTILAN
(PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 9.3. THE GRAVE OF FR. VAN LITH, MUNTILAN (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIG. 9.4. PILGRIMS DURING MASS AND VIGIL AT THE GRAVE OF FR. PRENNTHALER, IN THE PARISH COMPOUND OF BARA, YOGYAKARTA (PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY

Adab al-ziyāra (Ar.): Islamic ritual etiquette to be followed during pious visitation to tombs.

Sultan Agung (r. 1624-1645): the greatest monarch of the Mataram dynasty; often portrayed as a Sufi-type of Muslim, he is particularly known in Indonesian historiography for his attempts to drive the Dutch out of Batavia in 1628-1629.

Babad: sacred historical account or chronicles produced in Javanese courts.

Berkah (Jv; Ar. *baraka*): God's blessings obtained through various means and in various forms.

Bhima (Dewaruci): a central figure in the Mahabharata epic; in Java, his mystical journey has been used as a template for Kalijaga's initiation to sainthood.

Brawijaya V (ca. late 15th-early 16th century): the last monarch of the Javano-Hindu Majapahit kingdom in East Java.

Mbah Dalhar (d. 1959): a prominent Javanese Muslim saint in south central Java, buried in the Gunungpring shrine; a distant descendant of a Mataram king, Amangkurat III (d. 1734), he was mainly associated with the Darussalam Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) near Gunungpring, Muntilan.

Garebeg: large public festivals held annually in the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta for the celebration of major Islamic feasts; an important part of court culture, certain elements of *garebegs* are featured in the pilgrimage culture in various Muslim and Catholic shrines.

Haul: commemorative celebration of the death days of Muslim saints. In many Muslim shrines in Java, the *haul* celebration includes recitation of the Qur'ān, the reading of the al-Barzanjī text and a short biography of the saint, communal *dhikr*, traditional Islamic musical performance (Jv. *terbangan*), circumcision of boys, and so forth.

Sunan Kalijaga (late 15th-16th century): a Javanese Muslim saint, most popular in south central Java where he is considered a personification of the Javano-Islamic identity.

Kraton: palace of the sultans, together with all its power, prestige and distinctive religio-cultural traditions. In south central Java, the *kraton* culture is associated with the Javano-Muslim Sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Kyai and **Nyai** (Jv.): high titles of respect for males and females respectively. Kyai is also used for inanimate objects and plants that are highly esteemed, such as sacred heirlooms and some ancient trees around the palace. In the context of traditional Islam in Java, the title *Kyai* is normally reserved for the founder, master, or leader of the community or school (Jv. *pesantren*).

Laku: purifying practices of prayers, extended meditation, and asceticism; associated with the practice of pilgrimage (see *tirakat*).

Franciscus van Lith (d. 1926): a prominent Dutch Jesuit missionary and founder of the Catholic mission in central Java.

Majapahit (1294-1478): the last Hindu kingdom on Java, which during its heyday extended its control to southern Philippines, the Malacca straits, and the Malay peninsula; succeeded by the Demak Sultanate (first Islamic kingdom on the north coast of Java).

Mataram: a Javano-Muslim dynasty; founded in the late 16th century by Panembahan Senapati in south central Java, it claims a lineage to Majapahit; this dynasty is now represented mainly by the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

Masjid Demak (Demak Mosque): the oldest congregational mosque on Java; founded by the Muslim saints early in the 16th century.

Mbah or **Eyang:** originally titles of genealogical seniority (grandfather or grandmother). In the communal usage, they also denote respect for persons considered to be ancestors (both historical or mythical) of villages or communities. Paradigmatic figures would normally called *mbah* (simbah) or *eyang* due to their role as leaders or champions of the communities' cause.

Muhammadiyah: the largest reformist and modernist Muslim organization in Indonesia; founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta by K. H. Achmad Dahlan.

Nahdlatul Ulama (the NU): the biggest traditionalist Muslim organization in Indonesia, founded in 1926, partly as a response to the Muhammadiyah. The NU has a large network of *pesantren*, and it is associated traditionally with the various practices of traditional Islam, such as traditional religious learning, mysticism, saint veneration, pilgrimage culture, and so forth.

Nyekar (Jv., from the word *sekar*, “flowers”): pious and respectful visitation to the tombs of ancestors that includes putting the flowers on the graves; this Javanese tradition influences the Muslim practice of *ziyara*.

Sunan Pandanarang (ca. 16th century): a prominent Javanese Muslim saint in central Java, buried in the Tembayat shrine. Sometimes considered to be a member of the venerable council of the Nine Saints (*Wali Songo*), he was one of the most prominent students of Sunan Kalijaga.

Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971): a prominent Dutch Catholic architect, pioneer of indigenous architecture (hybrid architecture) in the Dutch East Indies; he was also involved in the archeological excavations of Java's Hindu-Buddhist sites.

Panembahan Senapati (r. 1582-1601): founder of the Mataram dynasty.

Pesantren: Belonging to one of the central religio-cultural pillars of Islam in Java (especially among traditionalists Muslims in the Nahdlatul Ulama organization), the *pesantrens* are Islamic religious boarding schools that also become, in most cases, centers of spiritual learning and practice, associated with local and international Muslim spiritual orders (Ar. *ṭarīqa*).

Pradnyaparamita: a goddess figure associated with wisdom in Buddhism; taken up by Josef Schmutzer as a model for the image of Mary at the Sacred Heart shrine/parish in Ganjuran.

Johannes Prenthaler (1885-1946): an Austrian-born Jesuit missionary who worked in the Sendangsono area for many years (1921-1936; 1942-1946), under whose initiative and leadership the Marian grotto of Sendangsono came into being in 1929.

Rasa (S.): the inner or spiritual realm in the human constitution, as well as the means to get to touch with this realm. In Javanese spirituality, the term *rasa* refers to the deepest spiritual or inner experience or knowledge that could not be acquired or explained through discursive reasoning or concepts. Also related to the Arabic and Islamic concept of *sirr*, which, among others, refers to the most subtle and most hidden recess in the human heart in which God is believed to reside intimately, the spot where God and the soul are intimately in contact.

Father Richardus Sanjaya (d. 1948): a Javanese diocesan priest slain by an Islamic militia group in the mission town of Muntilan during the revolutionary war between the Dutch and Indonesian forces in the period following the independence of Indonesia in 1948; popularly considered as a martyr of the faith by Javanese Catholics in central Java.

Raden Santri (aka. Pangeran Singasari); ca. late 16th-17th century): a Javanese Muslim saint of the Mataram dynasty (a brother of Panembahan Senapati), buried in the shrine of Gunungpring, Muntilan, south central Java.

Barnabas Sarikrama (1874-1940): a Javanese Catholic catechist, the right hand man of Father van Lith in the formation of the newly baptized Catholics in the Sendangsono area, south central Java.

Josef Schmutzer (1882-1946) and **Julius Schmutzer** (1884-1954): two prominent brothers of the Schmutzer family, the founders of the Sacred Heart Shrine in Ganjuran, Yogyakarta. Josef was also a pioneer of Javano-Catholic religious arts; while Julius is remembered especially for his service in the Catholic mission's social welfare program for the Javanese natives.

Sembah (Jv.): a ritual hand-gesture of respect, devotion and adoration made by holding the hands before the face, palms together, thumbs touching the nose, and bowing the head slightly; part of the Javanese ritual etiquette for *ziyāra* to tombs of the saints.

Slamet (Jv., from Ar. *salāma*): Javanese holistic notion of well-being that is personal, communal, and cosmic. (see *tentrem*)

Slametan (Jv.): the pan-Javanese ritual communal meal offered to God, the prophets, saints and ancestors, for thanksgiving and the wellbeing (Jv. *slamet*) of the community.

Tentrem (Jv.): a profound, true, serene, and integral sense of peacefulness.

Tirakat: vigil, or pilgrimage as an intentional and intensive period of purification involving a series of ascetic practices such as fasting, prolonged meditation and so forth at the shrines. (see *laku*)

Wali (Ar. *walī*, pl. *awliyā*): friend of God or saint in Islam.

Wayang (Jv.): popular shadow theatre performance in Java, taking up the stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana epics and combining them with Islamic themes.

Wilāya/Walāya (Ar.): Islamic conception of “sainthood”, emphasizing spiritual proximity or intimate friendship with God that also results in the bestowal of authority.

Ziarah (Jv; Ar. *ziyāra*): pious visit to shrines or tombs.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

ARCHIVAL, PRIMARY HISTORICAL SOURCES

Brieven van Pater J. B. Prenthaler aan Pater Directeur van de St Claverbond (1922-1937). Archive at the Jesuit Provincial Office, Semarang, Indonesia.

Voorzetting van het "Chronologisch Overzicht" van de werkzaamheid der Jesuiten in de Missio Bataviensis, 9 Juli 1934 – 12 Maart 1956. Archive at the Jesuit Provincial Office, Semarang, Indonesia.

Swara-Tama. Javanese Catholic newspaper, 1921-1940s. Microfilm. The KITLV Library, Leiden, the Netherlands.

St Claverbond. Dutch Jesuit missionary journal, ca. 1900s-mid 1940s.

Berichten Uit Java. Dutch Jesuit missionary journal, ca. mid 1940s-1960s.

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Kompas Daily (Jakarta)

Suara Merdeka Daily (Semarang)

The Republika Daily (Jakarta)

Jakarta Post (Jakarta)

Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily (Yogyakarta).

Utusan (Catholic Spirituality Magazine, Yogyakarta)

Hidup (Catholic Weekly Magazine, Jakarta)

WEBSITES AND VIDEO-AUDIO RECORDINGS

al-Hasani, Muhammad Wafa. "Waliyullah Mbah Kyai Dalhar Watucongol." <http://al-kahfi.net/tarikh-wa-tsaqafah/waliyullah-mbah-kyai-dalhar-watucongol/> (accessed September 2009).

Edi Psw Blog. "Ziarah Wali Songo 2008." (An entry on a Pilgrimage to the Nine Saints of Java). www.edipsw.com/opini/ziarah-wali-songo-2008/ (accessed July 2010).

The Vatican. "Interview of the Holy Father Benedict XVI during the Flight from the Holy Land to Rome." Papal Flight, May 15, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090515_ritorno-interview_en.html (accessed December 2010).

The Vatican. "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI during the Farewell Ceremony." Ben Gurion International Airport, Tel Aviv. May 15, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090515_farewell-tel-aviv_en.html (accessed September 2010)

The Vatican. "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI during the Meeting with Muslim Religious Leaders, Members of the Diplomatic Corps and Rectors of Universities in Jordan." Mosque al-Hussein bin Talal, Amman. May 9, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090509_capi-musulmani_en.html (accessed September 2010).

The Vatican. "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI during the Courtesy Visit to the Gran Mufti of Jerusalem." Mount of the Temple, Jerusalem, May 12, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090512_gran-mufti_en.html (accessed September 2010).

The Vatican. "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI during the Meeting with Organizations for Interreligious Dialogue." Auditorium of Notre Dame Center, Jerusalem. May 11, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20090511_dialogo-interreligioso_en.html (accessed September 2010)

The Vatican. "Interview of the Holy Father Benedict XVI During the Flight to the Holy Land." Papal Flight, May 8, 2009. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2009/may/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20090508_terra-santa-interview_en.html (accessed September 2010).

The Pontifical Councils for Migrants. "The Pilgrimage in the Great Jubilee." April 1998. www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/documents/rc_pc_migrants_doc_19980425_pilgrimage_en.htm (accessed September 2010).

The Marian Grotto of Juwana. History. <http://guamariajuwana.com> (accessed in August, 2010).

The Nahdlatul Ulama. "Tawasuth, tawazun, i'tidal and tasamuh in the perspective of Aswaja." http://www.nu.or.id/page/en/dinamic_detil/25/29689/Syariah/Tawasuth_tawazun_i_tidal_and_tasamuh_in_the_perspective_of_Aswaja.html (accessed September 2010).

Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University, Yogyakarta. "Report on Ceremony of the Granting of the Honorary Degree to Mustofa Bisri." http://www.uin-suka.ac.id/detail_kabar.php?id=134 (accessed September 2010).

The Muntilan Museum of Catholic Mission. "Museum Misi Muntilan Pusat Animasi Misioner (MMM PAM)." <http://pusat-animasi-misioner.blogspot.com> (accessed June 2010).

Komunitas Tusing Kandha. *Candi Hati Kudus Yesus Ganjuran: Tanah Para Terjanji*. Yogyakarta, 2005. (Video Program)

SAV Puskat, *Sendangsono: Mata Air Penyejuk Iman di Kaki Sang Ibu*. Yogyakarta, 2004. (Video Program)

I. ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN JAVA AND INDONESIA

Anies, H. M. Madchan. *Tahlil dan Kenduri: Tradisi Santri dan Kiai*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2009.

Baidhawiy, Zakiyuddin, and Mutohharun Jinan. *Agama dan Pluralitas Budaya Lokal*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2002.

Barton, Greg. "Islam, *Pancasila* and the Middle Path of *Tawassuth*: the Thought of Achmad Siddiq." In *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy. Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, 1996.

Beatty, Andrew. "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese *Slametan*." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2 (1996): 271-288.

Bennet, James. *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilization in Southeast Asia*. Adelaide and Canberra: Art Gallery of South Australia and National Gallery of Australia, 2005.

Bizawie, Zainul Milal. "The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin: The Struggle of Javanese Islam 1645-1740." *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 9 (2002): 27-62.

van Bruinessen, Martin. "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in early Indonesian Islam." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150 (1994): 305-329.

_____. "Traditions for the Future: The Reconstruction of Traditionalist Discourse within NU." In *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*. Edited by Greg Barton and Greg Fealy, 163-189. Clayton, Victoria: Monash Asia Institute, 1996.

_____. "Sūfīs and Sultāns in Southeast Asia and Kurdistan: A Comparative Survey." *Studia Islamika: An Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 3 (1996): 1-20.

Christomy, Tommy. *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites of Pamijahan, West Java*. Canberra: the ANU E Press, 2008.

_____. "Shattariyyah Tradition in West Java: the Case of Pamijahan." *Studia Islamika* 8 (2001): 55-82.

Daniels, Timothy. *Islamic Spectrum in Java*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.

Darban, Ahmad Adaby. "Ulama Jawa Bagian dari Warisan Budaya Islam di Indonesia: Dinamika Perkembangan dan Perjuangannya." Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta, Museum Benteng Yogyakarta, November 9, 1995.

Dhofier, Zamaksari. *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Canberra, Australian National University, 1980.

van Dijk, Kees. "Dakwah and Indigenous Culture: the Dissemination of Islam." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 154 (1998): 218-235.

van Dorn-Harder, Nelly, and Kees de Jong. "The Pilgrimage to Tembayat: Tradition and Revival in Indonesian Islam." *The Muslim World* 91 (2001): 325-354.

Drewes, G. W. J., ed. and trans. *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978.

_____. "The Struggle between Javanism and Islam as Illustrated by the *Serat Dermagandul*." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 122 (1966): 309-365.

Fattah, H. Munawir Abdul. *Tradisi Orang-Orang NU*. Yogyakarta: Pusaka Pesantren, 2006.

Fox, James J. "Sunan Kalijaga and the Rise of Mataram: A Reading of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* as a Genealogical Narrative." In *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*. Edited by Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street, 187-218. Leiden, New York, Koeln: Brill, 1997.

_____. "Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the *Wali*, the Founders of Islam on Java." In *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*. Edited by M. C. Ricklefs, 19-36. Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991.

Fuhrmann, Klaus. *Formen der javanischen Pilgerschaft zu Heiligenschreinen*. Ph. D. Dissertation. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2000.

Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

_____. "The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1960): 228-249.

_____. "Religious Belief and Economic Behavior in a Central Javanese Town: Some Preliminary Considerations." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 4 (1956): 134-159.

Hadiwijono, Harun. *Man in the Present Javanese Mysticism*. Doctoral Dissertation. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1967.

Haryadi, Sugeng. *Sejarah Berdirinya Masjid Agung Demak dan Grebeg Besar*. Jakarta: CV Mega Berlian, 2003.

Hasabu, Ahmad Murtadlo. *Sekilas Kisah Simbah Kyai Raden Santri dan Tata Cara Ziarah Kubur*. Muntilan: Yayasan KR Santri Puroloyo Gunungpring. No Date.

Headley, Stephen. *Durga's Mosque: Cosmology, Conversion and Community in Central Javanese Islam*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.

_____. "Sembah/Salat: The Javanisation of Islamic Prayer, the Islamisation of Javanese Prayer." In *Islamic Prayer Across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque*. Edited by David Parkin and Stephen C. Headly, 169-211. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000.

Ibad, Muhamad Nurul. *Perjalanan dan Ajaran Gus Miek*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2007.

Jamhari. "The Meaning Interpreted: The Concept of *Barakah* in *Ziarah*." *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 8 (2001): 87-128.

_____. "In the Center of Meaning: *Ziarah* Tradition in Java." *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Studies* 7 (2000): 51-90.

_____. *Popular Voices of Islam: Discourse on Muslim Orientations in South Central Java*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Australian National University, Canberra, 2000.

_____. *To Visit a Sacred Tomb: The Practice of Ziarah to Sunan Tembayad's Resting Place in Klaten*. Unpublished MA thesis. Australian National University, Canberra, 1995.

Jaiz, Hartono Ahmad. *Tarekat, Tasawuf, Tahlilan, Mawlidan*. Solo: Wacana Ilmiah Press, 2006.

_____. *Mendudukkan Tasawuf: Gus Dur*. Jakarta: Darul Falah, 1999.

_____. *Bila Kyai Menjadi Tuhan*. Pustaka al-Kautsar, 2001.

de Jonge, Huub. "Heiligen, middelen en doel: ontwikkeling en betekenis van twee islamitische bedevaartsoorten op Java." In *Islamische Pelgrimstochten*. Edited by Willy Jansen and H de Jonge, 89-95. Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1991.

Kalus, Ludvik, and Claude Guillot. "La Jérusalem javanaise et sa mosquée al-Aqsâ: Texte de foundation de la mosquée de Kudus daté 956/1549." *Archipel: Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien* 63 (2002): 27-56.

Kumar, Ann. *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim: Politics and the Pesantren 1883-1886*. Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs, 1985.

Labib, M. Z. *Tuntunan Ziarah Walisongo*. Surabaya: Bintang Usaha Jaya, 2000.

Laksana, Albertus Bagus. "Ziarah Kasiyo Sarkub." *Basis* 56 (2007): 14-19.

Latief, Hilman. "Cosmopolitan Muslims: Urban vs Rural Phenomenon." *The Jakarta Post*. August 29, 2009.

Lukens-Bull, Ronald. *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*. New York and Hampshire, U. K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Madjid, Nurcholish. *Islam Doktrin and Peradaban*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992.

Mas'ud, Abdurrahman. "The Religion of the *Pesantren*." In *Religious Harmony: Problems, Practice, and Education: Proceedings of the Regional Conference of the International Association for the History of Religions*. Edited by Michael Pye et al., 221-230. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.

Millie, Julian Patrick. *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*. Ph. D. Dissertation. The University of Leiden, the Netherlands, 2006.

Millie, Julian, and Syihabuddin. "Addendum to Drewes: The Burda of Al-Busiri and the Miracles of Abdulqadir al-Jaelani in West Java." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161 (2005): 98-126.

Milner, A. C. "Islam and the Muslim State." In *Islam in South-East Asia*. Edited by M. Hooker, 23-49. Leiden: Brill, 1983.

Miksic, John. "The Art of Cirebon and the Image of the Ascetic in Early Javanese Islam." In *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilisation in Southeast Asia*. Edited by James Bennett, 120-138. Adelaide and Canberra: Art Gallery of South Australia and National Gallery of Australia, 2007.

Moertono, Soemarsaid. *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Centuries*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968.

Muhaimin. *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Adat and Ibadat among Javanese Muslims*. Ph. D. Dissertation. The Australian National University, Canberra, 1995.

Mulkhan, Abdul Munir. *Islam Murni dalam Masyarakat Petani*. Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 2000.

Munjid, Achmad. "Thick Islam and Deep Islam." *The Jakarta Post*. August 18, 2009.

Muttaqin, Ahmad. "Between Islam, the Market and Spiritual Revolution." *The Jakarta Post*. September 16, 2009.

Natsir, Muhammad. *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*. Bandung: Diponegoro, 1969.

NN. "Silsilah Kyai Raden Santri (Eyang Pangeran Singasari) Puroloyo Gunungpring Muntilan." Published by Paguyuban Abdi Dalem Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. Ca. 2004.

O'Neill, Hugh. "Islamic Architecture under the New Order." In *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*. Edited by Virginia Matheson Hooker, 151-165. Oxford, Singapore, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Parkin, David, and Stephen Headley, eds. *Islamic Prayer Across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000.

Pranowo, Bambang M. *Memahami Islam Jawa*. Ciputat, Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet and Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment (INSEP), 2009.

_____. "Traditional Islam in Contemporary Rural Java: The Case of Tegal Rejo Pesantren." In *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context*. Edited by M. C. Ricklefs, 39-55. Victoria: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991.

_____. *Creating Islamic Tradition in Rural Java* Ph. D. Dissertation. Monash University, 1991.

_____. "Islam Faktual: Antara Tradisi dan Relasi Kuasa." Adicita Karya Nusa, without year.

Purwadi. *Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga: Penyebaran Agama Islam di Jawa Berbasis Kultural*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004.

Quinn, George. "Local Pilgrimage in Java and Madura: Why is it booming?" *IJAS Newsletter* 35 (2004): 16.

Ricklefs, M. C. *Polarizing Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830-1930)*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

_____. *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2006.

Rinkes, D. A. *The Nine Saints of Java*. Translated by H. M. Froger. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1996.

Robson, Stuart. "Kjahi Raden Santri." *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 121 (1965): 259-264.

Romli, Inajati A., et al., eds. *Jejak Para Wali dan Ziarah Spiritual*. Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas, 2006.

Ruslan. *Ziarah Wali: Wisata Spiritual Sepanjang Masa*. Pustaka Timur, 2007.

Shihab, Alwi. *Islam Sufistik: "Islam Pertama" and Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 2001.

_____. *The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1995.

Sholeh, Muhammad. *Terapi Shalat Tahajud*. Jakarta: Mizan Publika, 2007.

Simon, Hasanu. *Misteri Syekh Siti Jenar*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2008.

Soeratno, Siti Chamamah. "Tokoh Khidhir dan Tradisinya pada Masyarakat Jawa: Tinjauan atas Dampak Penyebaran Islam di Jawa." Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta, Museum Benteng Yogyakarta, November 9, 1995.

Thoyibi, M., Yayah Khisbiyah, and Abdullah Aly. *Sinergi Agama dan Budaya Lokal: Dialektika Muhammadiyah dan Budaya Lokal*. Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2003.

Wieringa, Edwin. "The Mystical Figure of Haji Ahmad Mutamakin from the Village of Cabolèk." *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 5 (1998): 25-40.

Woodward, Mark. *Java, Indonesia and Islam*. Springer, 2010.

_____. "Resisting Wahhabi Colonialism in Yogyakarta." *COMPS Journal: Analysis, Commentary and News from the World of Strategic Communications* (2008): 1-8.

_____. *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.

_____. "The 'Slametan': Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam." *History of Religions* 28 (1988): 54-89.

Zoetmulder, P. J. *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.

II. CHRISTIANITY AND CATHOLICISM IN JAVA AND INDONESIA (HISTORY AND PILGRIMAGE TRADITIONS)

Aritonang, Jan Sihar, and Karel Steenbrink, eds. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008.

Asmoditomo, Obed, and Agust Sunarto. *Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus dari Ganjuran*. Yogyakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Nusantara, 2001.

van den Bercken, M., S.J. "Enkele Gedachten over Aanpassing." *Het Missiewerk: Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Missiewetenschap* 30 (1952): 55-68.

Ten Berge, J. J. "Christelijk-Inheemsche Kunst in de Missie." *De Gemeenschap* 7-8 (1927): 205-228; and 5-6 (1927): 145-154.

Busch, A., S. J. "De Nederlandse Missionaris in de Indonesische Republiek." *Berichten uit Java* 57 (1949): 126-129.

Courtens, Ien. "Mary, Mother of All: Finding Faith at the Sacred Source of Sendangsono, Indonesia." In *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. Edited by Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., 101-116. Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.

van der Deijl, S. J. "Geloof en Wetenschap." *St Claverbond* (1930): 150-158.

Dirks, F., S. J. "'N Christen onder Mohammedanen." *St Claverbond* (1937): 60-63.

Dwidjatoesanta, P. C. "Rama Sanjaya zijn levensschets en roemvol einde: Het martelaarschap van de eerste Javaanse seculiere priester." *Berichten uit Java* (1949): 54-58.

Feber, L. J. M. "Pastoor van Lith, S. J." *St Claverbond* 2 (1926): 35-39.

Gitsels, Jos, S. J. "'N Eenzaam Afsterven." *St Claverbond* (1923): 271-274.

Gonggong, Anhar. *Mgr Albertus Soetijapranata SJ: Antara Gereja dan Negara*. Jakarta: Grasindo, 1993.

Guillot, C. *Kiai Sadrach: Riwayat Kristenisasi di Jawa* (French original: *L'affaire Sadrach: Un essai de christianisation à Java au XIXe siècle*). Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1985.

Hadiwikarta, J., Pr., ed. *Mengenal dan Mengenang Rama R. Sanjaya Pr.* Jakarta: Obor, 1984.

Hagdorn, H., S. J. "Gebed van 'n dessa-man tot Goesti-Allah." *St Claverbond* (1936): 219-220.

Hardawiryana, Robert. *Romo J. B. Prenthaler, S. J.: Perintis Misi di Perbukitan Menoreh*. Yogyakarta, 2002.

Java-Instituut. *Verslagen der Javaansche Cultuurcongressen 1918-1921*. Weltevreden: Uitgave van het Java-Instituut, ca. 1922.

van Kalken, S. J. "Hunne Werken Immers Volgen Hen." *St Claverbond* (1930): 142-149.

Kieser, Bernhard, S. J. "Maria, Siapa Punya? Orang Kristiani dan Orang Muslim Menghormati Maria." In *Mengasih Maria: 100 Tahun Sendangsono*. Edited by Sindhunata, 189-204. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2004.

Kimmenade-Beekmans, J. M. v. d. *De Missie van de Jezuïten op Midden-Java tijdens het Interbellum*. Tilburg: Katholieke Leergangen Tilburg, 1987.

van Klinken, Gerry. "Power, symbol and the Catholic mission in Java: The Biography of Frans van Lith, S. J." *Documentieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 1 (1997): 43-59.

Knooren, F., S. J. "Bijzonderheden over den Dood van Pater Prenthaler S.J. – RIP." *St Claverbond* (1946): 93-96.

Kraemer, Hendrik. *From Missionfield to Independent Church*. London: SCM Press, 1958

van Lith, Franciscus. "Raden Larang en Raden Sumana." *Tijdschrift voor 'Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 66 (1926): 435-446.

_____. "Het gebed van Ardjoena tot Ciwa." *Studiën: Tijdschrift Voor Godsdienst, Wetenschap en Letteren* 56/101 (1924): 362-375.

_____. "De Javaansche grammatica op Javaanschen grondslag." In *Handelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java, Solo, 25 en 26, 1919*. Weltevreden: Albrecht, 1921. Pp. 273-285.

_____. *De Politiek van Nederland ten opzichte van Nederlandsch-Indie*. 's-Hertogenbosch, Antwerpen, 1922.

_____. "De Godsdienst der Javanen." *St Claverbond* (1922): 193-201.

_____. *Kjahi Sadrach: Eene les voor ons uit de Protestantsche zending van Midden-Java*. Manuscript. ca. 1922. Indonesian translation: *Frans van Lith S.J. mengenai Kyahi Sadrach*.

Mulder, J., S. J. "Een schets over aanpassing: de positie van de missionaris in het beeld der huidige ontwikkeling van Indonesië." *Berichten Uit Java* 57 (1949): 25-31.

- Nijs, W., S. J. "Moentilan." *St Claverbond* (1946): 52-78.
- NN. *Gereja Hati Kudus Tuhan Yesus Ganjuran: Rahmat Yang Menjadi Berkat*. The official Brochure of the Sacred Heart shrine, Ganjuran, Yogyakarta. 2008.
- NN. *Doa-doa untuk Ziarah di Ganjuran: Mohon Berkat Menjadi Berkat*. Ganjuran shrine's brochure on rituals.
- NN. *Van Lith Fonds*. Jogjakarta: Kanisius Drukerij, 1927.
- NN. "Maria Koningin der Volkeren." *Berichten uit Java* (1954): 97-99.
- NN. "Martelaren?" *Missienieuws: Tijdschrift der Paters Jezuïeten* 71 (1963): 11-17.
- NN. "Pastoor van Lith (1863-1963)." *Missienieuws: Tijdschrift der Paters Jezuïeten* 71 (1963): 54-58.
- Partonadi, Sutarman. *Sadrach's Community and Its Contextual Roots: A Nineteenth Century Javanese Expression of Christianity*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988.
- Prennthalder, J. "Het Testament van Pater Prennthalder." *St Claverbond* (1946): 203-205.
- _____. "Open Brief van Pater J. Prennthalder, S. J." *St Claverbond* (1935): 169-172.
- van Rijckevorsel, L., et al. *Fransiskus Straeter, SJ, 2 April 1882-19 Juni 1944*. MSS, 1992. The Indonesian Jesuit Provincial Office, Semarang, Indonesia.
- van Rijckevorsel, L. "Eerste Steenlegging van een H. Hart-Monument op Java." *St Claverbond* (1928): 129-137.
- Rood, L., S. J. "Angelus-Klokjes voor de Java-Missie." *St Claverbond* (1928): 280-283, and (1930): 123-124.
- Rosariyanto, Hasto. *Father Franciscus van Lith, S. J.: Turning Point of the Catholic Church's Approach in the Pluralistic Indonesian Society*. Doctoral Dissertation. Gregorian University, Rome, 1997.
- Schmutzer, Josef. "Het Algemeen Regeeringsbeleid en het Arbeidsvraagstuk in den Volksraad." In *Publikatie der Indische Katholieke Partij* (1929). Vol. 1.
- _____. "Leekenarbeid in het Indische Missiegebied." In *Eerste Nederlandsche Missiecongres*. Leiden: Ars Catholica, 1921.

_____. *Un Art Javanais Chrétien*. Paris and Louvain: A Giraudon and De Vlaamsche Drukkerij, ca. 1929.

_____. "Christelijk-Javaansche Kunst." *De Gemeenschap* 7-8 (1927): 230-51.

_____. "Bezieling en Arbeid." In *Eerste Internationaal Missiecongres in Nederland*. Utrecht, September 25-29, 1922. Pp. 193-208.

_____. "Javaansche Madonna's." *St Claverbond* (1935): 214-222

_____. "Het Apostolaat der Kunst." *St Claverbond* (1935): 53-68

_____. "Irene Peltenburg en de Aangepaast Missiekunst." *St Claverbond* (1934): 65-68.

_____. *Solidarisme in Indië*. Leiden, 1922.

Schmutzer, Josef, and J. J. Ten Berge, S. J. *Europeanisme ou Catholicisme?* Paris and Louvain: A Giraudon, De Vlaamsche Drukkerij, 1929.

Schots, JAC. S. J. "Eerstelingen te Ambarawa!" *St Claverbond* (1923): 289-297.

Sindhunata, ed. *Mengasih Maria: 100 Tahun Sendangsono*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2004.

_____. *Mata Air Bulan*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1998.

Steenbrink, Karel. *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documented History, 1808-1900*. Vol. 1. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003.

_____. *Catholics in Indonesia 1903-1942: A Documented History*. Vol. 2. *The Spectacular Growth of a Self-Confident Minority*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.

Soegijapranata, Alb., "Pastoor van Lith als onze opvoeder." *Berichten uit Java* (1952): 101-105.

_____. "Santosa. Historisch Verhaal." *St Claverbond* (1926): 4-11; 40-45; 66-72; 117-120; 129-134.

_____. "Aan de Nagedachtenis van Onzen Vader Pater Franciscus van Lith." *St Claverbond* (1926): 97-106.

Sondaal, B., S. J. "Bij den dood van een groot lekenapostel." *St Claverbond* (1946): 121-23.

Sumartana, Th. *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java, 1812-1936*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1993.

Subanar, G. Budi. *Soegija: Si Anak Betlehem van Java: Biografi Mgr Albertus Soegijapranata, SJ*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2003.

Tartono, St S. *Barnabas Sarikrama: Orang Indonesia Pertama Penerima Bintang Kepausan, Kenangan dan Teladan untuk Umat Beriman*. Museum Misi Muntilan, 2005.

Van Lith-Stichting. *10-Taoenipoen Van-Lith-Stichting Xaverius-College Moentilan N. I. S. 1929 – 15 Agustus 1939*. Djokjakarta: Drukkerij Canisius, 1939.

Vriens, G., S. J. *Honderd Jaar Jezuitenmissie in Indonesië*. Jogjakarta: Kanisius, ca. 1959.

_____. *Seratus Tahun Misi*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1959.

_____. "De Javanen-Missie der Jezuiten in de Republiek." *Missiewerk*, ca. 1950. Pp. 1-22.

_____. "O. L. Vrouw van Kalibawang en 25-Jarig Jubilé." *St Claverbond* (1930): 97-113.

_____. "Nogmaals: De Processie van Kalibawang." *St Claverbond* (1930): 232-238.

Wismapranata, et al. *Kenangan atas 100 Tahun Sendangsono: Syukur atas Kurnia Iman*. Yogyakarta, 2004.

III. ETHNOGRAPHIC, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES OF JAVA, INDONESIA, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA (AND ASIAN RELIGIONS)

Adam, Ahmat B. *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness (1855-1913)*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1995.

Ali, Zakaria. *Islamic Art in Southeast Asia 830 A.D. – 1570 A.D.* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Ministry of Education, 1994.

Anderson, Benedict. "The Suluk Gatoloco, Part One." *Indonesia* 32 (1981): 109-150.

_____. "The Suluk Gatoloco, Part Two." *Indonesia* 33 (1982): 31-88.

_____. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture." In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*. Edited by Claire Holt, 1-70. Singapore: First Equinox Edition, 2007.

Barth, Fredrik. *Balinese Worlds*. London and Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Beatty, Andrew. "Adam and Eve and Vishnu: Syncretism in the Javanese *Slametan*." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (1996): 271-288.

Behrend, T. E., and Titik Pudjiastuti, eds. *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2003.

Benda, Harry J., and Ruth McVey, eds. *The Communist Uprisings of 1926-1927 in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N. Y.: SEAP, Cornell University, 1969.

Bloembergen, Marieke. *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Translated by Beverley Jackson. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006.

Bertrand, Jacques. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Bonneff, Marcel. *Pérégrinations javanaises: les voyages de R.M.A. Purwa Lelana: une vision de Java au XIXe siècle (c. 1860-1875)*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1986.

Brauen, Martin. *The Mandala: Sacred Circle in Tibetan Buddhism*. Boston: Shambala, 1998.

Brenner, Suzzane. *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Bühnemann, Gudrun. *Mandalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

Carey, Peter. *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008.

Chambert-Loir, Henri, and Anthony Reid, eds. *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*. Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Dahles, Heidi. *Tourism, Heritage and National Culture in Java: Dilemmas of a Local Community*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

DeBernardi, Jean. *Rites of Belonging: Memory, Modernity, and Identity in a Malaysian Chinese Community*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Dewantara, Ki Hajar. "Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Jogjakarta." *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 150-68.

Dowling, Nancy. "The Javanization of Indian Art." *Indonesia* 54 (1992): 117-138.

Dumarcay, Jacques. *Borobudur*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Dwiarso, Ki Priyo. "Problem Solving ala Ki Hadjar Dewantara." *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily, April 3, 2008.

Florida, Nancy K. *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995.

_____. *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*. Vol. 1. Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1993.

_____. *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*. Vol. 2. Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2000.

_____. "Reading the Unread in Traditional Javanese Literature." *Indonesia* 44 (1987): 1-15.

Fraser-Lu, Sylvia. *Indonesian Batik: Processes, Patterns and Places*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

de Graaf, H. J. *Awal Kebangkitan Mataram: Masa Pemerintahan Senapati*. Jakarta: Grafiti Press and KITLV, 1985.

_____. *De regeering van Panembahan Sénapati Ingalaga*. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954.

de Graaf, H. J., and Th. G. Pigeaud. *De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java, Studiën over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw*. Leiden: KITLV, 1974.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. University of Chicago Press, 1976. First published 1960.

Gifford, Julie. *Buddhist Practice and Visual Culture: The Visual Rhetoric of Borobudur*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Gomez, Luis O., and Hiram W. Woodward, eds. *Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*. Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 2, 1981.

Gonda, J. *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973.

Gouda, Frances. "The Gendered Rhetoric of Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Twentieth-Century Indonesia." *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 1-22.

Hefner, Robert. *Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Hamengkubuwono X. *Kraton Jogja: The History and Cultural Heritage*. Yogyakarta: Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 2002.

Harnish, David D. *Bridges to the Ancestors: Music, Myth, and Cultural Politics at an Indonesian Festival*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Hooykaas. *Agama Tirtha: Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion*. Amsterdam: Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1964.

Jaques, R. Kevin. "Sajarah Leluhur: Hindu Cosmology and the Construction of Javanese Muslim Genealogical Authority." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17 (2006): 129-157.

Jessup, Helen. "Dutch Architectural Visions of the Indonesian Tradition." *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 138-161.

Johns, Anthony H. "From Buddhism to Islam: An Interpretation of the Javanese Literature of the Transition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9 (1966): 40-50.

Joordan, Roy, ed. *In Praise of Prambanan*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996.

Kinney, Ann R., et al. *Worshipping Siva and Buddha: The Temple Art of East Java*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

Kumar, Ann. "Pancasila Plus, Pancasila Minus." In *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society*. Edited by Peter G. Riddell and Tony Street, 253-276. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

_____. *Java and Modern Europe: Ambiguous Encounters*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997.

Kusno, Abidin. *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

van Leerdaam, Ben F. *Architect Henri Maclaine Pont: Een speurtocht naar het wezenlijke van de Javaanse architectuur*. Den Haag: CIP-Gegevens Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1995.

Mabbett, I. W. "The Symbolism of Mount Meru." *History of Religions* 23 (1983): 64-83.

Magnis-Suseno, Franz. *Pijar-Pijar Filsafat*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005.

Mandal, Sumit K. *Finding Their Place: A History of Arabs in Java under Dutch Rule, 1800-1924*. Ph. D. Dissertation. Columbia University, 1994.

McVey, Ruth. *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965.

_____. "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening." *Indonesia* 4 (1967): 128-149.

Mobini-Kesheh, Natalie. *The Hadrami Awakening: Community and Identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942*. Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1999.

Nagazumi, Akira. *The Dawn of Indonesian Nationalism: The Early Years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918*. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1972.

O'Brien, Kate. Trans. *Sutasoma: The Ancient Tale of a Buddha-Prince from 14th century Java by the Poet Mpu Tantular*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2008.

Pakubuwana XII. *Karaton Surakarta: A Look into the Court of Surakarta Hadiningrat, Central Java*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2006.

Pemberton, John. *On the Subject of "Java."* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Pigeaud, Th. *Literature of Java*. Vol. 2. The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1968.

Quinn, George. "The Role of a Javanese burial ground in local government." In *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*. Edited by Henri Chambert-Loir and Anthony Reid. 173-182. Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.

Ras, J. "The genesis of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*: Origin and function of the Javanese court chronicle." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143 (1987): 343-356.

Reichle, Natasha. *Violence and Serenity: Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.

Reuter, Thomas. *The House of Our Ancestors: Precedence and Dualism in Highland Balinese Society*. University of Washington Press, 2003.

Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

_____. *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II, 1726-1749*. Allen and Unwin, and University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

_____. "Dipanagara's Early Inspirational Experience." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130 (1974): 227-258.

Robson, Stuart, and Singgih Wibisono. *Javanese-English Dictionary*. Periplus, 2002.

van Roojen, Pepin. *Batik Design*. Boston: Shambhala, 1997.

Santoso, Soewito, trans. and ed. *The Centhini Story: The Javanese Journey of Life*. Singapore: Marshal Cavendish International, 2006.

Scheltema, J. F. *Monumental Java*. London: Macmillan, 1912.

Scherer, Savitri Prastiti. *Harmony and Dissonance: Early Nationalist Thought in Java*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Cornell University, 1975.

Schmutzer, Eduard J. M. *Dutch Colonial Policy and the Search for Identity in Indonesia 1920-1931*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

Sears, Laurie. *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996.

Shiraishi, Takashi. *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java 1912-1926*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

_____. "The Disputes between Cipto Mangunkusumo and Soetatmo Soeriokoesoemo: Satria vs. Pandita." *Indonesia* 32 (1981): 93-108.

Sidel, John T. *Riots Pogroms Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Sing, Raj. *Bhakti and Philosophy*. Lexington Books, 2006.

Soebardi. *The Book of Cabolèk*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.

Soekmono, R. "Notes on the Monuments of Ancient Indonesia." In *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese Periods*. Edited by Jan Fontein et al., 13-17. The Asia Society Inc., 1971.

Stange, Paul. "The Logic of Rasa in Java." *Indonesia* 38 (1984): 113-134.

_____. *The Sumarah Movement in Javanese Mysticism*. Ph. D. Dissertation. The University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1980.

Stutterheim, W. F. "Note on Saktism in Java." *Acta Orientalia* 17 (1938): 144-152.

_____. "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51 (1931): 1-15.

Sumarsam. *Gamelan: Cultural Interaction and Musical Development in Central Java*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Sumukti, Sumastuti. *Gunungan: The Javanese Cosmic Mountain*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. University of Hawaii, 1997.

Suryadinata, Leo. "Pre-War Indonesian Nationalism and the Peranakan Chinese." *Indonesia* 11 (1971): 83-94.

Suyami. *Upacara Ritual di Kraton Yogyakarta: Refleksi Mithologi dalam Budaya Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Kepel Press, 2008.

Taylor, Phillip. *Goddess on the Rise: Pilgrimage and Popular Religion in Vietnam*. University of Hawaii Press, 2004.

de Tollenaere, H. A. O. *The Politics of Divine Wisdom: Theosophy and Labour, National, and Women's Movements in Indonesia and South Asia, 1875-1947*. Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1996.

van der Velde, Paul. *A Lifelong Passion: P. J. Veth (1814-1895) and the Dutch East Indies*. Translated by Beverley Jackson. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006.

Wieringa, E. "An Old Text Brought to Life Again: A Reconsideration of the 'Final Version' of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999): 244-263.

Wilson, Chris. *Ethno-religious Violence in Indonesia: From Soil To God*. Routledge, 2008.

Wood, Michael. *Official History in Modern Indonesia: New Order Perceptions and Counterviews*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005.

Zoetmulder, P. J. "The Cultural Background of Indonesian Politics." Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, 1967.

IV. CHRISTIAN, ISLAMIC, AND OTHER PILGRIMAGE TRADITIONS

Albera, Dionigi. "Pèlerinages mixtes et sanctuaries 'ambigus' en Méditerranée." In *Les pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*. Edited by Sylvia Chiffoleau and Anna Madoeuf, 347-378. Beyrouth: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2005.

Ashbrok-Harvey, Susan. "Locating the Sensing Body: Perception and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity." In *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*. Edited by David Brakke et al., 140-62. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Ayoub, Mahmoud. "Cult and Culture: Common Saints and Shrines in Middle Eastern Popular Piety." In *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*. Edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh, 103-115. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Badone, Ellen, and Sharon R. Roseman, eds. *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Bartholomew, Craig, and Fred Hughes, eds. *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Bayly, Susan. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Ben Ami, Issachar. *Saint Veneration among the Jews in Morocco*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998.

Bigelow, Anna. *Sharing the Sacred: Practicing Religious Pluralism in Muslim North India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Bitton-Ashkelony, Bruria. *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005.

Boltanski, Emma Aubin. "Le *mawsim* de *Nabī Mūsā*: processions, espace en miettes et mémoire blessée. Territoires palestiniens (1998-2000)." In *Les pèlerinages au Maghreb et au Moyen-Orient*. Edited by Sylvia Chiffoleau and Anna Madoeuf, 59-80. Beyrouth: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2005.

Bowman, Glenn. "Orthodox-Muslim Interactions at 'Mixed Shrines' in Macedonia." In *Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective*. Edited by Chris Hann and Hermann Goltz, 195-219. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Chambert-Loir, Henri, and Claude Guillot. *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995.

Coleman, Simon. "Mary on the Margins? The Modulation of Marian Imagery in Place, Memory, and Performance." In *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. Edited by Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., 17-32. London: Ashgate, 2009.

Cornell, Vincent J. *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998.

Cuffel, Alexandra. "From Practice to Polemic: shared saints and festivals as 'women's religion' in the medieval Mediterranean." *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 401-419.

_____. "Henceforward all generations will call me blessed': Medieval Christian Tales of Non-Christian Marian Veneration." *Mediterranean Studies* 12 (2003): 37-60.

Dempsey, Corrine. *Kerala Christian Sainthood: Collisions of Culture and Worldview in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Dodds, Jerrylynn D., et al. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Dubisch, Jill. *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender and Politics of a Greek Island Shrine*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Duquoc, Christian, and Sean Freyne, eds. *Pilgrimage*. London: SCM Press, 1996.

Finbarr B. Flood, ed. *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

_____. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Frank, Georgia. *Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Friedland, Roger, and Richard D. Hecht. "The Nebi Musa Pilgrimage and the Origins of Palestinian Nationalism." In *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*. Edited by Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor, 89-118. Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996.

von Grunebaum, G. E. *Muhammadan Festivals*. London and Totowa: Curzon Press and Rowman and Littlefield, 1976. First published 1951.

al-Harawī, 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr. *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*. Translated by Josef W. Meri (Original: *Kitāb al-ishārāt ilā Ma'rifat al-Ziyārāt*). Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004.

Hasluck, Fredrick. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Edited by Margaret Hasluck. Hasluck Press, 2007. First published 1929.

Hermkens, Anna-Karina, et al., eds. *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. London: Ashgate, 2009.

Hoffman, Valerie. *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Kerkeling, Hape. *I'm Off Then: Losing and Finding Myself on the Camino de Santiago*. New York: Free Press, 2009.

Lincoln, Andrew T. "Pilgrimage and the New Testament." In *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*. Edited by Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 29-49. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Meibohm, Margaret. *Cultural Complexity in South India: Hindu and Catholic in Marian Pilgrimage*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

Meri, Josef W. *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Memon, Muhammad Umar. *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973.

Morgan, David, ed. *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Morgan, David. "Aura and the Inversion of Marian Pilgrimage: Fatima and Her Statues." In *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. Edited by Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., 49-68. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

Motyer, Steve. "Paul and Pilgrimage." In *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*. Edited by Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 50-69. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Notermans, Catrien. "Connecting the Living and the Dead: Re-membering the Family through Marian Devotion." In *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*. Edited by Anna-Karina Hermkens et al., 135-148. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

Post, Paul, et al., eds. *The Modern Pilgrim: Multidisciplinary Explorations of Christian Pilgrimage*. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.

Raj, Selva, and Corrine Dempsey, eds. *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002.

Rogers, Stephanie Stidham. *Inventing the Holy Land: American Protestant Pilgrimage to Palestine, 1865-1941*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011.

Schweig, Graham M. *Dance of Divine Love: The Rasa Lila of Krishna from the Bhagavata Purana, India's Classic Sacred Love Story*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Scott, Peter. "A Theology of Eucharistic Place: Pilgrimage as Sacramental." In *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*. Edited by Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 151-169. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Sered, Susan Starr. "Rachel's Tomb: Societal Liminality and the Revitalization of a Shrine." *Religion* 19 (1989): 27-40.

_____. "Rachel's Tomb and the Milk Grotto of the Virgin Mary: Two Women's Shrines in Bethlehem." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2 (1986): 7-22.

Shahid, Irfan. "Arab Christian Pilgrimages in the Proto-Byzantine Period (V-VII Centuries)." In *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. Edited by David Frankfurter, 373-392. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Stirrat, R. L. "Demonic Possession in Roman Catholic Sri Lanka." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 33 (1977): 133-157.

Strickert, Fred. *Rachel Weeping: Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the Fortress Tomb*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2007.

Taylor, Christopher S. *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*. Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 1999.

Turner, Victor and Edith. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Walker, Peter. "Pilgrimage in the Early Church." In *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*. Edited by Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 73-91.

Webb, Diana. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999.

_____. *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C. 700-1500*. Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

_____. *Saints and Cities in Medieval Italy*. Manchester University Press, 2007.

Wright, N. T. *The Way of the Lord*. London: SPCK, 1999.

V. ISLAMIC THEOLOGY, MYSTICISM, SAINTHOOD, AND ARTS

Addas, Claude. *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn 'Arabī*. Translated by Peter Kingsley. Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993.

Anṣārī, Kwaja 'Abdullāh. *Intimate Conversations*. Translated by W. M. Thackston. New York, Ramsey, Toronto: Paulist Press, 1978.

Ibn al-'Arabī. *The Meccan Revelations*. Vol. 1. Translated by James W. Morris and William C. Chittick. New York: Pir Press, 2002.

_____. *The Meccan Revelations*. Vol. 2. Edited by Michel Chodkiewicz. Translated by Cyrille Chodkiewicz and Denis Gril. New York: Pir Press, 2004.

_____. *Journey to the Lord of Power: A Sufi Manual on Retreat*. Translated by Rabia Terry Harris. Inner Traditions, 1981.

_____. *Ringstones of Wisdom (Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam)*. Translated by Caner K. Dagli. Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 2004.

_____. *Divine Sayings (Mishkāṭ al-Anwār)*. Translated by Stephen Hirstenstein and Martin Notcutt. Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2004.

Attar, Farid ud-Din. *The Conference of the Birds*. Translated by Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis. Penguin Classics, 2009.

Böwering, Gerhard. *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980.

Brown, Jonathan A. C. *Hadith: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2009.

Burckhardt, Titus. *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*. Commemorative Edition. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2009.

Cammann, Schuyler V. R. "Religious Symbolism in Persian Art." *History of Religions* 15 (1976): 193-208.

Chittick, William C. *The Heart of Islamic Philosophy: The Quest for Self-Knowledge in the Teachings of Afdal al-Dīn Kāshānī*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.

_____. *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-'Arabī's Cosmology*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1998.

Chodkiewicz, Michel. *The Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi*. Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993.

Corbin, Henri. *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Daneshvari, Abbas. "The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam." In *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*. Edited by Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst, 16-25. Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993.

_____. "Cup, Branch, Bird and Fish: An Iconographical Study of the Figure Holding a Cup and a Branch Flanked by a Bird and a Fish." In *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*. Edited by Bernard O'Kane, 103-125. Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

DeWeese, Devin. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Elahi, Ostad. *Knowing the Spirit*. Translation and Introduction by James W. Morris. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007.

Elmore, Gerald T. *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-'Arabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999.

Ernst, Carl. *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992.

Esack, Farid. *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity Against Oppression*. Oxford: Oneworld, 1997.

Farhadi, A.G. Ravan. *Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 1996.

Fehérvári, Géza. "Islamic Incense-burners and the Influence of Buddhist Art." In *The Iconography of Islamic Art*. Edited by Bernard O'Kane, 127-141. Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

al-Ghazālī. *Deliverance From Error*. Translated and annotated by R. J. McCarthy. Louisville, K. Y.: Fons Vitae, 2004.

_____. *The Marvels of the Heart*. Translated by Walter James Skellie. Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2010.

Goldziher, Ignaz. "The Veneration of Saints in Islam." *Muslim Studies* 2 (1971): 255-341.

_____. *Muhammedanische Studien*. Halle a. S., Max Niemeyer, 1889.

Grabar, Oleg. *Islamic Art and Beyond: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*. Vol. 3. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.

_____. *Early Islamic Art, 650-1100: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*. Vol. I. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.

Halevi, Leor. *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Izutsu, Toshihiko. *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: the University of California Press, 1983.

_____. *The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology: A Semantic Analysis of Īmān and Islām*. Tokyo: The Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, 1965.

Katz, Marion Holmes. *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Levtzion, N. and J. F. P. Hopkins, eds. *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers Edition, 2000.

Lings, Martin. *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*. Rochester, V.T.: Inner Traditions, 1987.

Makdisi, George. "Ibn Taimīya: A Ṣūfī of the Qādiriya Order." *American Journal of Arabic Studies* 1 (1973): 118-29.

McAullife, J. D., ed. *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*. Vol. 3. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.

Mirakhor, Abbas, and Hossein Askari, *Islam and the Path to Human and Economic Development*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Morris, James W. *The Reflective Heart: Discovering Spiritual Intelligence in Ibn 'Arabī's 'Meccan Illuminations.'* Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2005.

_____. *Orientations: Islamic Thought in a World Civilisation*. Cambridge: Archetype, 2004.

_____. "Remembrance and Repetition: Spiritual Foundations of Islamic Art." *Sufi* 47 (2000): 15-23.

_____. "Situating Islamic 'Mysticism': Between Written Traditions and Popular Spirituality." In *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics, and Typologies*. Edited by R. Herrera, 293-334. New York, Berlin: Peter Lang, 1993.

_____. "Reading 'Aṭṭār's 'Conference of the Birds'". In *Approaches to the Asian Classics*. Edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, 77-85. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

_____. "Ibn 'Arabi's 'Esotericism': the Problem of Spiritual Authority." *Studia Islamica* 71 (1990): 37-64.

_____. *The Wisdom of the Throne (al-Hikmat al'Arshiya): An Introduction to the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Murata, Sachiko. *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. "The Heart of the Faithful is the Throne of the All-Merciful." In *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and The Christian East*. Edited by James S. Cutsinger, 32-47. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom/Fons Vitae, 2002.

Nettler, Ronald L. *Sufi Metaphysics and Qur'anic Prophets: Ibn 'Arabi's Thought and Method in the Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 2003.

Netton, Ian Richard. *Sufi Ritual: The Parallel Universe*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000.

Nicholson, R. A. *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*. Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970.

Norris, H. T. *Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe: Sufi Brotherhoods and the Dialogue with Christianity and 'Heterodoxy'*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

al-Rāzī, Najm al-Dīn. *The Path of God's Bondsmen: From Origin to Return*. Translated by Hamid Algar. North Haledon, New Jersey: Islamic Publications International, 1980.

Renard, John. *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California, 2008.

Renard, John, ed. *Tales of God's Friends: Islamic Hagiographies in Translation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009.

Sanneh, Lamin. *The Crown and the Turban: Muslims and West African Pluralism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Schimmel, Annemarie. *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam*. Albany, N. Y.: SUNY, 1994.

_____. *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

_____. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill, NC: the University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

Sindawi, Khalid. "The Image of 'Ali b. Abi Talib in the Dreams of Visitors to His Tomb." In *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*. Edited by Louise Marlow, 179-201. Boston: Ilex Foundation, 2008.

Smith, Margaret. *Muslim Women Mystics*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2001.

Wehr, Hans. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Edited by Milton Cowan. 4th edition. Spoken Language Services. 1994

Wheeler, Brannon. *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam*. Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 2006.

VI. CHRISTIAN AND CATHOLIC STUDIES (AND OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS)

Ahearne, Jeremy. *Michel de Certeau: Interpretation and Its Other*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Bailey, Gauvin. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

von Balthasar, Hans Urs. "Theology and Sanctity." In *Exploration in Theology v. 1 The Word Made Flesh*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989.

_____. *Theo-Drama* Vol. II. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990.

_____. *Two Sisters in the Spirit: Therese of Lisieux and Elizabeth of the Trinity*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1992.

Bauman, Chad M. *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 2008.

Behr, John. *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Boersma, Hans. *Nouvelle Théologie and Sacramental Ontology: A Return to Mystery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Boss, Sarah Jane. *Mary*. London and New York: Continuum, 2003.

Brown, David. *God and Enchantment of Place: Reclaiming Human Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Buck, Dorothy C. *Dialogues with Saints and Mystics in the Spirit of Louis Massignon*. London, New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 2002.

Callahan, Annice, R. S. C. J. *Karl Rahner's Spirituality of the Pierced Heart: A Reinterpretation of Devotion to the Sacred Heart*. University Press of America, 1985.

Chryssavgis, John. "The World as Sacrament: Insights into an Orthodox Worldview." *Pacifica* 10 (1997): 1-24.

Congar, Yves. *The Word and the Spirit*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986.

_____. *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*. 3 Vols. London and New York: Geoffrey Chapman and the Seabury Press, 1983.

_____. *The Wide World, My Parish: Salvation and its Problems*. Translated by Donald Attwater. Baltimore: Helicon, 1961.

Corkery, James. "The Communion of Saints." *The Way* 36 (1996): 285-93.

Dean, Carolyn, and Dana Leibsohn. "Hybridity and its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America." *Colonial Latin American Review* 12 (2003): 15ff

Dulles, Avery. *The Catholicity of the Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Dupré, Louis. *Passage to Modernity: An Essay in the Hermeneutics of Nature and Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

Dupuis, Jacques. "L'Esprit Saint répandu sur le monde: Fondement du dialogue interreligieux." *Lumen Vitae* 1 (1998): 57-66.

_____. "The Cosmic Influence of the Holy Spirit and the Gospel Message." In *God's Word Among Men*. Edited by G. Gilpert-Sauch, 117-38. Delhi: Vidyajyoti Institute of Religious Studies, 1973.

Elizondo, Virgilio. *The Future Is Mestizo: Life Where Cultures Meet*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2000.

Flannery, Austin P., ed. and trans. *Documents of Vatican II*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1987.

Georgen, Donald. *Fire of Love: Encountering the Holy Spirit*. New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2006.

_____. *Guadalupe: Mother of the New Creation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997.

Goizueta, Roberto. *Caminemos con Jesus: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005.

_____. "The Symbolic Realism of U.S. Latino/a Popular Catholicism." *Theological Studies* 65 (2004): 255-274.

_____. "Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Heart of Mexican Identity." In *Religion and the Creation of Race and Identity*. Edited by Craig R. Prentiss, 140-151. New York and London: New York University Press, 2003.

Groppe, Elizabeth. *Yves Congar's Theology of the Holy Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Guarino, Thomas G. *Foundations of Systematic Theology*. London and New York: T&T Clark, 2005.

Harris, Ruth. *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age*. New York: Viking, 1999.

Hollywood, Amy. *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Inge, John. *A Christian Theology of Place*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Jantzen, Grace M. *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Jensen, Robin M. "Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity." In *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*. Edited by Laurie Brink, O. P. and Deborah Green, 107-144. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

John Paul II. *Dominum et Vivicantem: On the Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church and the World*. 1986.

Johnson, Elizabeth A. *Truly Our Sister: A Theology of Mary in the Communion of Saints*. London and New York: Continuum, 2006.

_____. *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints*. New York, London: Continuum, 2005.

_____. *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse*. New York: Crossroad, 2002.

_____. *Women, Earth, and Creator Spirit*. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.

Johnson, Maxwell E., ed. *American Magnificat: Protestants on Mary of Guadalupe*. Liturgical Press, 1996.

Jonas, Raymond. *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2000.

Kim, Kirsteen. *The Holy Spirit in the World: A Global Conversation*. Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 2007.

King, Ursula. *Spirit of Fire: The Life and Vision of Teilhard de Chardin*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996.

Krokus, Christian S. *Faith Seeking Understanding: Louis Massignon's (1883-1962) Catholic Conversation with Islam*. Ph. D. Dissertation. Boston College, 2009.

Laksana, Albertus Bagus. *The Spirit at Work: Asian Pneumatology from Below and the Problem of Religious Pluralism*. Licenciata Thesis. Weston Jesuit School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 2005.

_____. "Pope Benedict's Path to Peace." *The Jakarta Post*. May 12, 2009.

Marshall, Molly T. *Joining the Dance: A Theology of the Spirit*. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2003.

Massignon, Louis. *Testimonies and Reflections: Essays of Louis Massignon*. Selected and introduced by Herbert Mason. South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1989.

Matovina, Timothy, ed. *Beyond Borders: Writings of Virgilio Elizondo and Friends*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2000.

McBrien, Richard P. *Catholicism*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994.

McDonnel, Kilian. *The Other Hand of God: The Holy Spirit as the Universal Touch and Goal*. Liturgical Press, 2003.

Merton, Thomas. *Seven Storey Mountain: An Autobiography of Faith*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1999.

_____. *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton*. New York: New Directions Book, 1973.

Moltmann, Jürgen. *The Source of Life: The Holy Spirit and the Theology of Life*. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997.

_____. *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.

_____. *God in Creation: A New Theology of Creation and the Spirit of God*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991.

Peukert, Helmut. *Science, Action, and Fundamental Theology: Toward a Theology of Communicative Action*. Translated by James Bohman. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984.

Rahner, Karl. “Behold this Heart!': Preliminaries to a Theology of Devotion to the Sacred Heart,” and “Some Theses for a Theology of Devotion to the Sacred Heart.” In *Theological Investigation*. Vol. 3. Darton Longman & Todd, 1967. Pp. 321-352.

_____. “The Theological Meaning of the Veneration of the Sacred Heart” and “Unity – Love – Mystery.” In *Theological Investigation*. Vol. 8. Darton Longman & Todd, 1971. Pp. 217-247.

_____. “Why and How Can We Venerate Saints?” and “All Saints.” *Theological Investigations* Vol. 8. London, New York: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1971. Pp. 3-32.

Rao, Chilkuri Vasantha. *Jathara: A Festival of Christian Witness*. Secunderabad: The Liturgy and Literature Committee, 1997.

Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal. “The Paschal Mystery as Core and Foundation of Devotion to the Sacred Heart.” In *Towards a Civilization of Love: A Symposium on the Scriptural and Theological Foundations of the Devotion to the Heart of Jesus*. Mario Luigi Ciappi et al., 145-165. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985.

Schloesser, Stephen. *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Sen, Amartya. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*. London, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006.

Sheldrake, Philip. *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity*. London: SCM Press, 2001.

Sherry, Patrick. *Spirit, Saints and Immortality*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1984.

Tracy, David. *On Naming the Present: God, Hermeneutics, and Church*. Orbis Books and SCM Press, 1994.

_____. "Analogy and Dialectic: God-Language." In *Talking about God: Doing Theology in the Context of Modern Pluralism*. Edited by David Tracy and John Cobb. New York: Seabury, 1983.

Vanier, Jean. *Drawn into the Mystery of Jesus through the Gospel of John*. Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 2004.

Wyschogrod, Edith. *Saints and Postmodernism: Revisioning Moral Philosophy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

VII. COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY, THEOLOGY OF RELIGIONS, AND COMPARATIVE RELIGIONS

Baker, Rob, and Gray Henry, eds., *Merton & Sufism: The Untold Story*. Lexington, KY: Fons Vitae, 1999.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. First edition 1949.

Clooney, Francis X., ed. *The New Comparative Theology: Interreligious Insights from the Next Generation*. New York: T&T Clark, 2010.

Clooney, Francis X. *Comparative Theology: Deep Learning across Religious Borders*. Willey-Blackwell, 2010.

_____. *Beyond Compare: St. Francis De Sales and Vedanta Desika on Loving Surrender to God*. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 2009.

_____. "Encountering the (Divine) Mother in Hindu and Christian Hymns." *Religion and the Arts* 12 (2008): 230-243.

_____. "Christian Readers, Hindu Words: Toward Christian Commentary on Hindu Prayer." *Theology Digest* 53:4 (2006): 303-319.

_____. *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother: Hindu Goddesses and the Virgin Mary*. Oxford: OUP, 2005.

_____. *Hindu God, Christian God: How Reason Helps Break Down the Boundaries between Religions*. Oxford University Press, 2001. Oxford: OUP, 2001.

_____. *Seeing Through Texts: Doing Theology Among the Srivaishnavas of South India*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.

_____. *Theology After Vedānta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*. Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1993.

Cornille, Catherine. *The Im-Possibility of Interreligious Dialogue*. New York: Herder and Herder, 2008.

Fredericks, James. *Buddhists and Christians: Through Comparative Theology to Solidarity*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2004.

Kashemi, Reza-Shah. *Paths to Transcendence according to Shankara, Ibn Arabi, and Meister Eckhart*. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2006.

Laksana, Albertus Bagus. "Comparative Theology: Between Identity and Alterity." In *New Comparative Theology: Interreligious Insights from the Next Generation*. Edited by Francis X. Clooney, 1-20. New York: T&T Clark, 2010.

Masuzawa, Tomoko. *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Sanneh, Lamin. *Piety and Power: Muslims and Christians in West Africa*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996.

Troll, Christian W. "Common Prayer of Christians and Muslims." *Theology Digest* 53:4 (2006): 321-330.