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# The Imaginary Pilgrimage: The Narrative of Going Home in the Javanese-Moslems Migrant' *Slametan* Ritual in Maluku

**Joberth Tupan**

*Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Indonesia*

*joberthtupan@gmail.com*

**Izak Y. M. Lattu**

*Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey*

*ilattu@fulbrightmail.org*

**Wilson M.A. Therik**

*Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Indonesia*

*wilson.therik@uksw.edu*

## Abstrak

Migrasi tidak hanya proses perpindahan penduduk untuk menetap di tempat lain, akan tetapi juga termasuk perpindahan budaya. Penelitian ini mengungkap tradisi Muslim di kalangan pendatang dari Jawa Tengah di Waihatu, Maluku. Adapun Pendekatan penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan jenis penelitiannya adalah netnografi. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui dokumentasi, observasi dan wawancara virtual. Subjek penelitian ini adalah generasi muda Moslems Jawa yang rentan terkontaminasi radikalisme dan ekstremisme dan atau mengabaikan esensi budaya Jawa. Hasil penelitian ini adalah Ritual slametan desa di Wahatu merupakan manifestasi masyarakat dan gerakan budayanya. Meski perayaan budaya menjadi vakum karena terputusnya kearifan lokal antar generasi, dan tergenang oleh hambatan karena situasi sosial politik lokal, perayaan tersebut kemudian direvitalisasi. Setelah direvitalisasi, ritual *slametan* desa muncul dengan nuansa barunya yang sakral diperkuat dengan narasi tentang ziarah spiritual yang digelar melalui deteritorialisasi-spasial dan up-to-date tanpa mengabaikan dimensi *Kejawen* dan pluralism. ritual slametan yang

dilakukan pendatang di desa di Waihatu Maluku, meliputi; 1) *Pendem wedhus kendit*; 2) *Kungkum*; dan 3) Kirab budaya. Perayaan ini merupakan satu-satunya narasi mudik dan sebagai teater spiritual bagi pendatang muslim. Generasi muda pendatang muslim diharapkan menjadi aktor moderat dalam mencapai kesejahteraan di Desa melalui peningkatan ekonomi dan solidaritas sosial tanpa mengabaikan budaya Jawa dan mengakui kehidupan sosial mereka di Maluku.

**Katakunci:** Kejawen, pendatang muslim, *slametan*, teater sosial, ziarah spiritual

## Abstract

Migration is not only the movement of people to settle elsewhere, but also cultural displacement. This study reveals the Moslemss tradition among migrants from Central Java in Waihatu, Maluku. The approach of this research is qualitative with the type of research is netnography. Data collection techniques were carried out through documentation, observation and virtual interviews. The subject of this research is the young generation of Javanese Moslemss who are vulnerable to being contaminated by radicalism and extremism and or the essence of Javanese culture. The results of this study are the village *slametan* ritual in Wahatu is a manifestation of society and its cultural movement. Even though the culture became vacuum due to the disconnection of local wisdom between generations, and was inundated by obstacles due to the local socio-political situation, the event was then revitalized. After being revitalized, the village *slametan* ritual emerged with its new nuances related to the narrative of an imaginary pilgrimage that was held through spatial and current deterritorialization without *Kejawen* dimensions and pluralism. The *slametan* ritual performed by migrants Moslemss in the village in Waihatu, Maluku, includes; 1) *Pendem wedhus kendit*; 2) *Kungkum*; and 3) Cultural carnival. This celebration is the only narrative of going home and as a spiritual theater for Moslemss immigrants. The younger generation of Moslemss immigrants are expected to be moderate actors in achieving prosperity in the village through increasing economic and social solidarity without Javanese culture and recognizing their social life in Maluku.

**Keywords:** Imaginary pilgrimage, kejawen, moslems migrant, social imaginary, slametan,

## Introduction

Migration and identity have been central issues in social studies in Indonesia and beyond. Relationship between migration and identity become a pivotal aspect of social engagements between migrant and host communities. Indonesian context, migration creates a third space for negotiation identity in the land of others. Hybridity serves as a new space for encounter between host and migrant identities (Dawis, 2010; Lohanda, 2002; Tan, 2008; Vlekke, 2019). Javanese migrant in Maluku experience the form of negotiation and the construction of third space when two communities with different religious identities create a peaceful room for all.

*Slametan* ritual functioned as an imaginer folk rite of returning homeland by Moslems migrant from Central Java that migrated to Molucca Islands. So far, studies on *slametan* ritual shows that the rite prevails on events related to the sacred considered moments, such as; birth, wedding, harvest, death (Beatty, 1999; Geertz, 1960; Woodward, 2011). The holy *slametan* ritual brought controversy between the reformed Moslems group and *Kejawen* – ethnic religion group in Java – along urban area in Java (Guinness, 1986). Despite the the controversy, Hilmy (1999), Ricklefs (2006), dan Stange (2008), noted that *slametan* ritual is the manifestation of society balanced vibrant between Moslems and *Kejawen* folowers as a blended society. This argument is in align with Beatty (1996) study that highlighted prayer purpose of Moslems that also protected *Kejawen* essence during the celebration of *slametan* rite. Therefore, it is undeniable that in today’s context, *slametan* rite has been transforming to be an entity of solidarity that enable Moslems followers of Javanese accept pluralism inlcusively which is manifested through coccollective-banquet meal while praying for each other group’s safety and welfare (Beatty, 1999; Hakam, 2017; Newberry, 2007; Schweizer, Klemm, & Schweizer, 1993; van den Boogert, 2017).

Various previous research described that *slametan* ritual was manifested not only through thanks giving event but also through purification procedure. In addition, the *slametan* ritual was not merely a thanks giving event but also a sacred pilgrimage occasion. Acknowledging the previous research, comprehending the *slametan* rite is still restricted. Therefore, rare other reseaches on *slametan* ritual emphasized on imaginative pilgrimage prevails on Javaneese Moslems. Through Khusen (2005) and Muftukhin (2016) study on immigrants of Javaneese Moslems descended in Suriname, these researchers found out that *slametan* rite was commemorated as a merely family inherit tradition – praying and having meal together – not manifested to real pilgrimage. On the other hand, the pilgrimage elements in *slametan* ritual shown by Geerts (1960), constitutes nekromance practices – calling spirit in real pratices – in which the practitioners believe that there exist concurrently the real soul or spirit and practitioners while delivering *slametan*. In addition, in the context of Javaneese Moslems, the pilgrimage is believed as the real visitation prayer to the burial site called *punden* of the considered sacred late figures by meditating and/ negotiating with the departed spirit of the late figures (Quinn, 2019).

Contrary to the Asia migrants' context, pilgrimage is an itinerary religious-tour which emphasizes merely on going back homeland and remembering home of origin (Griffin, Raj, & Yasuda, 2018; Hartfield, 2010). Through those researches, we come to the conclusion that the pilgrimage constitutes an activity occurs physically, comprises action of going back homeland, especially in the context of migration understanding.

Focusing on the migration among Moslems of Central Java, especially those under young generation in the village of Waihatu, Maluku, this article explains *slametan* ritual among these people as an imaginary pilgrimage. Since the year of 2017, the *slametan* ritual has been revitalizing after it was ever in vacuum existence for a span of one period. The vacuum situation was caused by various social-political influences in the Western Seram regency. In addition, the vacuum was caused by breakdown of transferred knowledge of local knowledge across generations – almost all of traditional figures in the village among first generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java, had passed away. The cut off local knowledge pushed the young generation among Javanese Moslems to arrange the pilgrimage program to Java Island, in the form of imaginative manner not in the real one, by utilizing virtual devices as the process to learn more about *Kejawen*. Imaginary pilgrimage term articulates the concept that *slametan* ritual in Waihatu village eliminates physical space and relation (mendeteritorialisasi) among Javanese migrants in Maluku to be more *Kejawen*-value at that period.

The main arguments in this article are on imaginary pilgrimage which is commemorated through the *slametan* ritual in Waihatu where the ritual constitutes the processes of physical space and relation omission in the pilgrimage. The processes elaborate several interdisciplinary approaches; multivocality (Beatty, 1999), transformally (Schechner, 2003), mediation (Low, 2016), mystical-sintetic (Ricklefs, 2006), liminality, and hierofany (Eliade, 1958). Grounded on these approaches, elimination of physical space and relation in pilgrimage is also understood as purity of village *slametan* ritual that makes opportunity of profanity to occur can be omitted. The omission of profanity makes the periodic performance of *Kejawen* is in align with imaginative multivocality (assorted interpretation) of migrants among young generation of Moslems originated from Central Java.

This article spotlights three segments of village *slametan* ritual in Waihahu which covers; *pendem wedus kendit* (burying head of black and stomach-circled white goat), *kungkum*(water soaking or immersion), and cultural parade. This article was made and grounded on direct observation in Waihatu and direct interview toward 22 informants among Moslems migrants from Central Java living in Waihatu, Maluku. Besides, several collected data, use netnography method through virtual interview (Kozinets, 2010).

### **Slametan Ritual as Social Imaginary Practice among Javanese Moslems Migrants**

Social imaginary is defined as process of interpretation on individual's whole experience, in which imagination is considered as personal contemplation and then becoming public issues (Mills, 1959). Dealing with this social imaginary, the migrants' existence in the destination area, by local society (indigenous society), the migrants are frequently imagined through racism image (contemplation), or even Islamophobia stereotype (Gorak-Sosnowska, 2013). This social imaginary demands migrants creating other aftermath social imaginaries that exceeds nationality concept, and all at once, conserves ethnicity relations. The migrants also present strategic building in interrelated ethnics in a society (Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2014). One of migrants' act is taking away with them their traditions from their place of origin to the migrants' destination. The take away tradition metamorphoses to be multiculturalism value in the migrants' destination area (Caglar & Schiller, 2018). The migrants' effort in bringing with them their tradition, is the endeavour to equip them with place, opportunity, and origin-like community in their social contact, or something Appadurai (1996) calles as *ethnoscape*. In align with Appadurai, the world migrants also practice *ethnoscape* in the form of; *foodscape*, football tournament (Muller, 2015), or even perform virtually ethnic music (Jung, 2014).

Apart from the migrants' endeavour explained above, their effort of exceeding nationalities is shadowed by imagination of exclusivism and particularism, like what Javanese Moslems migrants in Suriname and Nederland in perpetuating their social imaginary through *slametan* ritual (Khusen, 2005; Maftukhin, 2016; Malefijt, 1963). *Slametan* ritual which is celebrated by the Javanese Moslems migrants implicitly contains cohesive and segregative form of social imaginary.

As a result, the celebration of *slametan* ritual is understood as merely thanks giving agenda in the private occasion, and it is not rationalized as public ritual in obtaining ethnicity sovereignty for empowering Javanese culture in the context of going back homeland in imaginary way.

A study done by De Waal-Malefijt (1963) explains that the *slametan* ritual is a communal or folk rite for Javanese migrants in Suriname, although there exist controversies between shaman-*dukun* (Javanese spriritual expert-pratitioner) and religious leaders-*imam* (Moslems figures) on the ideal celebration of *slametan*. The research done by Khusen (2005) on Javanese-Suriname in Nederland describes that *slametan* ritual which uses *Kejawen* symbols is often criticized by moderate-Moslems reformists, in which the reformists consider *Kejawen-slametan* celebration in that kind of way, as mistic, necromansive, and un-Islamic modernistic. Still on Javanese-Suriname migrants, Maftukhin (2016) found out the resistance of *slametan* ritual by local society in Nederland caused by various motives, but weirdly, the *campur sari* songs (Javanese traditional songs-music) are acceptable for British, and even marketable in Netherlands.

Regardles of various tensions emerged from researches mentioned previously, *slametan* ritual contains social imaginary substance which is related to the personal problem and public issue. Therefore, *slametan* ritual is celebrated if an individual, family group, group of people, or even whole villagers, are overwhelmed by both multiple problems and when they achieve certain level of welfare (Geertz, 1960). The social imaginary also emerges through acceptance of *slametan* ritual in the form of multivocality or something related to the interpretation toward symbols in forming social harmony (Beatty, 1999). Comprehending from a point of view, multivocality in *slametan* ritual which is understood from view point of Ricklefs (2006), states that Javanese Moslems are various in their mystical-sintetic, or they tend to ignore Javanese spiritual reality in Moslems (Kroef, 1955) . On the other hand, multivocality of *slametan* ritual is also manifested through wayang (puppet shadow play) performance while comprehending Javanese philosophy; harmony and respect (Anderson, 2000; Magnis-Suseno, 1984; Mardimin, 2016). Therefore, it is not an amazement anymore if we encounter Javanese Moslems followers believe and adhere the superiority of soul spirit, and at the same time, they are also pious in upholding their religious Moslems duties and applying Javanese philosophy in daily life (Endraswara, 2018; Peacock, 1968).

This explanation constitutes social imaginary which implicitly appears through *slametan* ritual celebration. Question emerges when the Javanese social imaginary in *slametan* ritual consists of returning back homeland. As described previously, *slametan* ritual is sensed in the imaginary pilgrimage context. The imaginary pilgrimage in this article explains the omission of physical space and relation concept, or unaware action which eliminates profanity chances for Javanese in Maluku to be sacred in *Kejawen* teaching. Therefore, migrants of Moslems from Central Java, especially among young generation, do not have to visit burial site, the coast of southern of Java Island, or climbing sacred mountains in Java putting worship meal-tribute sacrifices (*sajen*), but having pilgrimage in the imaginative way while celebrating *slametan* ritual.

### **Village Slametan Ritual in Waihatu**

Waihatu is a village name that became transmigration destination in the western part of Seram regency (municipal government) in Maluku, Indonesia. Almost all Waihatu inhabitants were the migrants from several places in Indonesia although this place had been inhabited by rare indigenous. However, majority of the migrants from Central Java, were also called “indigenous” (which were actually the early migrants). The early migrants that consisted of mixed Moslems and Christian followers, came to Seram Island in 1973. They were transmigrated by Indonesian government (New Order regime) and their places of origin were from Central Java, such as; Banyumas, Blora, Grobogan, Jepara, Kebumen, Pati, Wonogiri, and Wonosobo. Nearly half or as approximately as 2.300 out of 2.689 of these migrants relocated in Waihatu, were Moslems followers. The Moslems inhabited rural areas and lived together with local (indigineous) Mollucans who were Christian followers. It was noted that the Moslems migrants then lived harmoniously with the indigenous people who were Christian followers, especially those in Hatusua, Waisamu, and Lohiatala. On top of that, despite religion of migrants and local people were different, local (indigenous) people in Hatusua and Waisamu, considered the migrants as part of their kinship (*ana piara* – traditional kinship system of Moluccans).

In Waihatu, one of the elements of *Kejawen* (genuine religion of Javanese) tradition that until now is still perpetuated by Javanese Moslems from Central Java, is a ritual called *slametan desa* (*slametan* village, *slametan* isreaching prosperity, welfare, happiness). The village *Slametan* ritual in Waihatu is similar to Geertz (1963, 1973) studies on a ritual called *bersih desa*

(village clearance). The *bersih desa* (village clearance) purpose, was to make the villagers avoided themselves from bad luck, especially natural disaster, epidemy, plant diseases, and spiritual wicked derangement. However, the interesting thing of village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu nowadays, is that migration has mobilized assorted views of *Kejawen*. Then *Kejawen* that is taken away to Seram Island by Moslems, is viewed based on the different experiences from different places of origin from Java Island (Central Java). Therefore, until now in Waihatu, the village *slametan* ritual is always ordained with *Kejawen* tradition where this tradition is valued as sacred (holy) ritual but it is valued as necromansive by non-Javanese society. Since 1975, the village *slametan* ritual has become annual celebration which is welcome in an enliven way, not only by migrants (Moslems and Christian), but also by local Christian followers of Mollucans and other sources of migrants in Waihatu. More attractively, the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu has become an occasion (chance) of social consort of inter-religion and inter ethnics in the society's effort in encouraging everlasting peace in Maluku.

Historically, the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu is disengaged from a mystical event experienced by women of first-generation migrant Moslems from Central Java in 1975. At that time, she was told to be obsessed by spirit soul. According to Geertz (1960), the Javanese called this spirit pervaded to someone as *lelembut* (trouble-making invisible spirit). On the other hand, migrant Moslems from Central Java has another term for *lelembut* to be *Mbah Purbowono* (Purbowono is mystical calling name for spirit of great grandparent). The alteration of *lelembut* to be *Mbah Purbowono* is influenced by imaginative experience of an extended family members of migrant Moslems from Wonosobo regency, Central Java who were obsessed by spirit soul. This religious experience of Wonosobo migrants was then taken as the basic terminology and became social-mistical bases for all Moslems migrants who now residing in Waihatu. Addressing *Mbah Purbowono* is actually a terminology of spirit soul that residing forest area because at that time, Waihatu was still a landscape of sago palm forest (*dusung* or *dati sago*). Therefore, *Mbah Purbowono* is defined as great grandparents' spirit (*danyang*) of Mollucans that taking care of local natural resources.

In addition to the previous explanation, stated by Geertz (1960), *lelembut* is considered as perilous creature for someone and if someone has been absorbed by wicked spirit, this causes sicknes, spiritual psychic derangement, or even makes someone to die. Pertaining to Waihatu village, even if spiritual



derangement was not seriously contemplated at the beginning by all early Moslems migrants, but because it occurred many times in one month, these occurrences were then considered dangerous for spririt derangement sufferers. The situation urged communal initiative efforts, among the first-generation Moslems migrants to hold village *slametan* ritual as their endeavour to keep them away from worst possibility incidents in Waihatu.

Interpretation over *Kejawen* then appeared during the celebration of village *slametan* ritual at that time. For those migrants originated from different places in Central Java, the ritual celebration is held based on each knowledge of different places. In general, the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual should be equipped with ritual supply (*uborampe*) as meal menu for *Mbah Purbowono*. *Uborampe* consists of *wedhus kendit*, *pitik jago* (rooster), and *sajen* (ritual offering) from white rice, fish and meat, and cooked vegetables, put in a big container made from braid banana leaves (*takir*). The migrants should slaughter *wedhus kendit* (dangled goat) and *pitik jago* (rooster), then those are buried with *sajen* in the middle of settlement. The village *slametan* ritual should be done on Friday *kliwon* (holy day for Javanese) in the month of *apit* (between eleventh and twelfth month), and people perform *wayang kulit* (puppet show) accompanied by the rhythm of *gamelan* (traditional orchestra) music. On top of that, the banquet of all first-generation migrants of blended religion followers (Moslems-Christian) was held.

During the early era, dealing with the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu, the celebration nuance was overwhelmed by *Kejawen* atmosphere. This situation was influenced by territorial identity of different places of origin from Central Java. On Lombard (2005) study, it is explained that the typical of origin is based on the territorial; along the northern coast and the southern coast. Lombard describes that those who live northern Java Island were well-known as modernist and exclusive people, but on the other way, in the southern coast of Java Island, the Javanese tended to be mystical and exclusive (less friendly). Therefore, in this Lombard study, surely the first-generation migrants came from these two territorial groups, but more of them came from the southern coast. In the context of Waihatu, Maluku, although those in the southern coastal (in Java) tended to be mystical, in Maluku, they are more moderate in their social, inter religious, and inter-ethnic intercourse, especially when they celebrated the village *slametan* ritual that constituted medium of socializing.

For the first-generation migrants, *slametan* ritual has direct value with migrants' imagination about *jagad alit* (entire world – human relation as cosmology centrum), and *jagad ageng* (entire universe-completion of physical-*bawana*), which is often comprehended as meta-physical world.

Eventhough the village *slametan* ritual had been celebrated since 1975, but in the era of 2000, the celebration became dormant. The vacuum existence was influenced by forming cadres discontinuous (regeneration cut off) of *wayang* narrator. Since 1975 upto 1990's, the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu always performed *wayang kulit* (shadow play with leather puppet). When the *Dalang* (*wayang* leaders) wearing *surjan* (clothes) and *blangkon-hat* (both are traditional apparel), they played their role in the back of *kelir* (white cloth shade) illuminated by *petromak* (oil lamp). The theme of *wayang* based on the narration and the story of *Ramayana* (the great Hindu epic) story. Unfortunately, all the first-generation narrators had passed away. This situation then contributed to the vacuum of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu.

Based on Mulder (1983) study, the *wayang* performance during the village *slametan* ritual was considered vital agenda because the *wayang* was believed as the power of avoiding plant diseases of agriculture (Geertz, 1963, 1973). Aligning with Mulder, the shadow puppets (*wayang kulit*) performance for Javanese migrant were meaningful during the village *slametan* ritual because they believed that this effort was to perpetuate and protect their agriculture; avoiding natural disaster because of climate change, evil spirit attack, and epidemy on the agriculture plantation. The vacuum of the village *slametan* ritual encouraged the Moslems migrants from Central Java to hold *sedekah bumi* (feeding the earth) and *sedekah laut* (feeding the sea), but the procedures of these events was done exclusively by the farmers and local fishermen; not all community members implemented these events. Besides that, the regeneration of narrators on the *wayang* (puppet show) was not inherited toward young generation caused the village *slametan* ritual was not celebrated. In nowadays, the migrants become aware and begin learn again technic and narration of puppet show through technology media like YouTube. More interestingly, they buy the script of puppet show from the online platform created in Java – though they don't perform all the elements in Waihatu.

Image 1 One of Puppet Show Story that Now become Wall Decoration among Moslems Migrants from Central Java in Waihatu



(Source: Research doc. 2020)

For the second situation, inexistence of *Dalang* leader triggered Moslems migrants from Central Java to hold the village *slametan* ritual in Islamic manner. The celebration in Moslems way was considered to be less difficult because it was more efficient and less expence. On the inception agenda, people began with assembling prayer in the mosque followed by having meal together, ended by Javanese art performance. However, since communal conflict outbroke in 1999 until 2004, which was caused by inter-religious conflict, the celebration style of village *slametan* ritual in Islamic manner was then terminated by the people. People were worry to hold Islamic manner celebration, because they were afraid of provocators who appraised this celebration as religious (Moslems) agenda, and not deemed as cultural agenda. This appraisal was easy to be politicized which could trigger extended conflict.

For the third situation, the vacuum of the village *slametan* ritual was also caused by estrangement of political relation between Moslems migrants from Central Java and the influencing leaders in the government of Western Seram regency at that time. The new government which was newly divided administratively in 2004 to be a new regency, had a new regent from Democrat party (political party). On the other hand, more than a half of the Moslems migrants from Central Java became the constituents and many of them were the cadres of *Golkar* Party. This opposite political choise made the Moslems migrants as the political opposition of the ruling party which of course protection over the migrants' culture and value were ignored. In addition, the regent tended to have stronger kinship relation with the migrants from Buton (Southeastern Celebes) which certainly this head regency considered the migrants from Buton were more productive economically than the Moslems

migrants from Central Java. This political nuance made the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu were not safely guaranteed. One of the informants explained that since 2004 or after the Western Seram regency became a self-autonomy, the village *slametan* ritual were not celebrated anymore. As a result, it caused bad implication toward productivity in economy among people in Waihatu. The Moslems migrants' freedom from Central Java in commemorating the village *slametan* ritual were ignored by regency government. In contrast, this ritual was closely related to the society's religious conviction that the celebration brings human wellbeing and boosts economy level of society.

Thirdly, the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu were not commemorated because the instability of economy for dum as the farmer source water were damaged which of course brought reduction of farming productivity. The breakage of the dum in 2008 were not repaired by the regency government. Therefore, Waihatu were violently attacked by long standing farm harvest crisis. The crisis was convinced as the impact of the vacuum of the village *slametan* ritual. If the *slametan* had to be celebrated, the Moslems migrants did not have *uborampe* (offering material) which the offering materials were certainly from the farm products. During the crisis, the community emphasized more on the sago farming. This means that offering materials needed and local knowledge in the *slametan* procession were in scarcity.

Idea of revitalizing the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu began in 2017. At that time economy activity of the village began reaching the stability; the dum was repaired and the harvest was increasing. Furthermore, the Regency head had been succeeded by another Regent. This new era grew new hope for Moslems migrants, especially the effort of the young generation to ignite the village *slametan* ritual. Initially, the idea of revitalizing the *slametan* was the manifestation of supporting Maluku as the laboratory of the world reconciliation by the Moslems migrants so that the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu was expected to unite diversities after communal conflict. After municipal election in Western Seram Regency followed by official inauguration of new regent and its deputy regent in the mid of 2017, the young generation of Moslems migrant from Central Java initiated assembly meeting in the village hall of Waihatu. The occasion succeeded to present the government members and public figures from Waihatu village cogitating and planning the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual which was deemed has lost its existence and its *Kejawen* values in Maluku.

The effort of revitalizing the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu was then also responded warmly by the non-Javanese communities; by both the government of newly Western Seram regency and local (Christian followers) communities in Maluku. Following the communities' approval, the regency government of Western Seram permitted the young generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java utilizing public facilities like roads to celebrate *slametan*. Complementary, Maluku's People (Christian) participating in securing (guarding) the ongoing *slametan* agenda. Until now, or after revitalizing effort, the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual has been held three times; in 2017 held concurrently with Indonesian Independence Day, in 2018, concurrently with the celebration of *satu suro* (Moslems holiday), and in 2019 concurrently with *apitan* (Moslems holiday) celebration.

### **The Village *Slametan* Ritual in Waihatu as Medium of Imaginary Pilgrimage**

Unintentionally, the idea of revitalizing the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu has created imaginary pilgrimages for the young generation of Moslems migrants from Java Island. In the migrants' context, pilgrimage purpose is delivering religious trip where the migrants need to directly (physically) visit their place/s of origin (Hartfield, 2010). However, in the Moslems migrants' context in Waihatu, the young generation are not physically returning home land (place of origin). The imaginary pilgrimage terminology for the migrants prevails situationally. The young generation are restricted by their local comprehension thoroughly toward the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual. This limitation ability to comprehend thoroughly was caused by the cut off oral information inter-generation, especially when the first-generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java who mastered how the celebration should be imposed, had all passed away. Besides, the young generation has lost their direct interaction experience with the Javanese culture in Java Island.

Through Khusen (2005) study on migrants among Javanese-Suriname in Netherlands, he discovered partial transplantation. In the partial transplantation, the Javanese-Suriname tried to present *Kejawen* partially, but did not cover all the recipient area. This Khusen study among Javanese-Suriname is different from the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu where the one in Waihatu prevails spatial-deteritorialisation. By elaborating multivocality (Beatty, 1999) mediation (Low, 2016), transformance (Schechner, 2003),

mystical-sintetic (Ricklefs, 2006), liminality (Turner, 1977) and hierofane (Eliade, 1958) approaches, it can be explained that spatial-deteritorialisation process constitutes the endeavour of Javanese Moslems migrants of young generation to rationalize profane medium of Mollucans which is considered constraining the Javanese cultural activities to be more sacred based on *Kejawen* way.

On Beatty (1996) explanation, the *slametan* ritual contains multivocality dimension. Therefore, there it emerges multi-interpretation and multi-orientation toward the symbols although these implications only prevail in spatial-physical in Java and not among the migrants. The multivocality that is experienced by the young generation of Javanese Moslems migrants in Waihatu is totally different with the one in Java. In Waihatu, the effective face to face speech is not produced anymore because of the local transferred knowledge among the inter-generations has been on the breakage. As a result, the spoken model among the young generation of the Javanese Moslems migrants has changed to face to screen model by the assistance of virtual medium devices. Low (2016) also described that mediatation by utilizing communication technology then creates virtual medium where the distance places changes to be social medium. *Kejawen* vocality among the young generation of the Javanese Moslems migrants is supported by other vocalities which is found through Facebook and You Tube media. These social appliances help them to provide *Kejawen* virtually in Maluku in learning processes which at once they enable them interpreting *Kejawen* symbols through social media postings about the village *slametan* ritual from various places in Java.

When the local knowledge on *slametan* ritual has been produced in the face-to-face manner, the young generation then determine Waihatu as a kind of theatre performance. By Schechner (2003), theatre converts the ritual to be entertainment medium that aims to stage social performances (*drama*), that in the end successes to dig transformative sense to be utilized as spiritual orientation. On the contrary, spirituality which is performed in the form of social dramas that appears in the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu are undetachable from identity of Javanese Moslems like Ricklefs (2006) calls as mystical sintetic. It is explained that, the young generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java in Waihatu intertwines with their commitment toward Moslems teaching and *Kejawen* when at the same situation they acknowledge their life environment is as Maluku's society. Other elements that make situation to be nuance sacred when celebrating the village *slametan* ritual

are; *pendem wedus kendit* (burying head of black and stomach-circled white goat), *kungkum* (water soaking), and *kirab budaya* (cultural parade). During the ritual, several segments in it perform social dramas which are already rebooted, and are in mutual accord with new *Kejawen* era. These segments create daily life of Mollucans as the life stage performance.

The fact that the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu which has been revitalized and has been in the new era of *Kejawen* are undetachable from the era of liminality and hierofane. According to Turner (1977), the purpose of liminality is to deconstruct social status, and at the same time to reconstruct anti-structure domain. The anti-structure plays role as actors in bringing the virtues of life, and rationalizes the ritual as the social drama (Turner, 1977). Hierofany is the sacred nuance which is manifested itself into the profane sites like; big tree, river, and other holy places (Eliade, 1958). What these meant, are the processes of spatial-deteritorialisazion do not deduct the life value of Mollucans, but the processes are converted so that they become more *Kejawen* in order to make the continuous local transferred to be up to date. When the daily life of Mollucans are manifested, the sense of solidarity will emerge multiculturally. Even, the young generation of Javanese Moslems migrants will easily place themselves as the imaginary pilgrimages by creating sacred nuances in Waihatu based on *Kejawen* identity as diasphores – *Kejawen* which has adapted itself with Mollucans territorially.

### ***Pendem Wedhus Kendit (Burying Head of Black and Stomach-Circled White Goat)***

Representation of mystical-historic narration in a ritual are unattached from sacrificing materials and commodities (Frazer, 2009). In the context of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu, the representation of material sarifices are manifested through *uborampe* (meal menu), one of them is *pendem wedhus kendit* (burying head of black and stomach-circled white goat). This ritual is held two days before the main celebration of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu. This ritual is done by slaughtering black head and stomemach-cirled white goat to feed *Mbah Purbowono* (*Purbowono* is a mystical calling name for spirit of great grandparent). The *pendem wedhus kendit* ritual is convinced by the young generation of Moslems migrants from Banyumas, Kebumen, and Wonosobo because this local knowledge on this ritual is still inherited among inter-generations in their community. Holding in rice field, the *pendem wedhus kendit* ritual presents the custom figures wearing *surjan* (headscarf) and

*blangkon* (Javanese heat), and then the figures slaughter the goats and burying the goats with *sajen* (offering food). The goat head which is buried is considered as the peace symbol because the goat is deemed as neutral animal and lovable for the spirit soul.

The goat taken as the symbol constitutes the representation of mystical-historic narration. This act is almost similar to (Harris, 1974; M. Harris, 1979) study on the symbol of cow in India and pig in Papua New Guinea. The different is that the holiness of the cow in India is not deemed as the insult manifestation when it is slaughtered. On the contrary to the pig in Papua New Guinea, though the pig is considered as local kinship community and treated specially, still the pig is sacrificed for the certain ritual. In Waihatu context, the kendit goat is not specially treated and not sacred value in the daily life. Believing that the kendit goat does not produce milk and does not contain high protein, the goat can be slaughtered to fulfill daily meal whenever people need it, especially on the Moslems holiday celebration. The goat is considered as *ubarampe* (offering material) and idolized by certain people of the young generation of Moslems migrants in the context of representative of mystic-historical narration through the celebration of the village *slametan* ritual.

On the explanation above, the *pendem wedus kendit* ritual is sensed as a part of nekromantism. The term nekromantism refers to nekromance tradition of sacrificing kendit goat to mbah purbowono (spirit soul) in bulding collective romance among Javanese Moslems Migrants as their efforts to protect and smoothly run their imaginary trip of going back home (origin). During the *pendem wedus kendit* ritual, the researcher found the narration of village tranquility which is simultaneously emerges when celebrating the imaginary of going back home without dismaying the troubles from meta-physical world. The Javanese Moslems migrants are sure that when someone will have the trip to their place of origin, they need vow by sacrificing so that they can avoid unlucky experience during their trip. It means thought these Javanese migrants are religious, they still practice mystical tradition in order that they connect themselves to the past experience in Java, and they can weave ethnic group harmony in Maluku.

### *Kungkum (Water Soaking)*

The Javanese Moslems from Central Java do the *kungkum* (submersion is soaking) a day before the main village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu. Usually, the *kungkum* ritual is done along the Seram sea coastal or along Waihatu beach. The



meaning of *kungkum* ritual in Waihatu is a self purification before self involvement in the *kirab budaya* (cultural parade or carnival) procession. The purification is closely related to the refusal of *santet* (black magic), wicked spirit; and healthily blessed. In the origin place in Java Island, the *kungkum* ritual is held in the midnight of first of *suromonth* (first date of Moslems calender), then the water that the people submerge in it has them mystic-historic narration. On the contrary, *kungkum* ritual in Waihatu which is nearly resemble to picnic activity, is done in the afternoon, and no traditional procession is implemented. The water used in the self bathing does not have mystical-historic narration toward *Kejawen* or something related to Javanese.

Interestingly, several of these Moslems migrants expressed that through the *kungkum* ritual, they got *wangsit* (invisible mandate) from *Nyai Ratu Kidul* (the Goddess's name of Javanese). This finding is interesting and ambiguous, because it is hard to believe when the imagination of *Seram sea* in *Maluku* which is different and far from *Java Island*, is believed to be the residence of mystic figure of *Java Island*. This imagination is the *Kejawen* tradition and taken away (mobilized) to *Maluku*. This kind of religious trust is the interpretation of the first-generation of Moslems migrants from *Central Java* and inherited among them until now.

The nowadays fact is that *kungkum* ritual has been the annual celebration in *Waihatu*. The *Javanese Moslems migrants* will be in collective festivity visiting coastal area and taking bath along with their relatives. This situation also builds the intimacy among kinship relationship and among their community as *Javanese* while imaging themselves of returning home to *Java Island* and considered the *Seram sea* as the mystic venue and deem their social mystic based on *Kejawen* value. On *Appadurai (1996)* approach about ethnscape, we can classify that the *Moslems migrants from Central Java* has created *kungkum* ritual in *Waihatu* as the ethnic social cohesion that is closely related to the sacred *Kejawen* landscape. The similarity of the *Seram sea* and the southern coastal of *Java*, in hierofane imagination, is both of these situses deemed the source of livelihood (subsistence) for the fishermen, where on the other hand, the source of fishermen calamity, especially when this site is prone to happen the earthquake.

### *Kirab Budaya (Cultural Parade)*

The core part of celebration of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu is cultural parade (*kirab budaya*). According to Schelehe (2016), this cultural parade constitutes Javanese cultural parade which has digressed from religious practices although there is inter-penetration between three teaching values; Moslems and Christian; and *Kejawen*. The inter-penetration religion appears here because the prayers are delivered by Moslems and Christian and are accompanied by the usage of Islamic fashion and the play of Moslems Music. Before celebrating the cultural parade, the Moslems migrants in congregation, go to the mosque having *sholat* (Moslems prayer) in the morning. Then, when they are having communal banquet, the pastor or church chamber in Waihatu, leads them in prayer. The Moslems wears *hijab* (women headscarf), *peci* (Moslems hat), and *sarong* when they are having parade in the surrounding village. In the mosque also, people turn on the Moslems nuance music through loud speaker for approximately one hour. However, everything they represent symbolically, is not neglectful to the life medium in Maluku. They dish out *papeda* (traditional food of Maluku) and perform Maluku arth. The elements of the Javaneese traditions they perform as the narration of returning home of origin in this cultural parade are *gunungan* (mountain like figure), *jaranan* (horse performance), and *gamelan* (Javanesese orchestra).

Firstly, cultural parade in Waihatu always involve four mature men wearing traditional Javaneese clothes while carrying on the shoulders the *gulungan* (mountain like figure) placed on two metres sedan chairs made from bambos. This tradition describes that *gunungan* is the manifestation of social class among Moslems migrants from Central Java. As what Goody (1982) explains that sharing food practices between them, shows the symbol of governing dynamic toward the workers. *Gunungan* carried on the shoulders symbolizes governing relations of Moslems migrants as the patronage where the farmers are those who process the farming harvest to be shared among them. This shows liminality that makes the equal; jointly carrying the farm harvest to be shared in Waihatu community and the local community.

*Gunungan* is the thanksgiving symbol to God Almighty. In this context, we can say that *gulungan* performs *Kejawen* as other dimension through the celebration of *slametan* ritual. What is meant to be other dimension is that spriritual value of local food constitutes cosmology manifestation of Javaneese in Maluku. For Moslems migrants from Central Java, the cosmology formed in

the *gulungan* refers to the mountain as the highest place which is near to God Almighty so that their prayers are easily accepted by God. The migrants do not have to arrive on the sacred mountain in Java to deliver their prayer, but they deliver through *gunungan* they are having in Seram Island.

In *gunungan*, the migrants believe that it contains natural crops or harvest products which they will distribute to the whole community in Waihatu and to the local Christian society of Maluku's people; and to the regency government of Western Seram. Previously, *gunungan* was made to feed the spirit soul, but now the interpretation is emphasized more on sharing tradition or bestowal prize. The bestowal prize in this ritual shows generosity, hidden power relation building, in order for the recipients feel they are kind-heartedly endowed from the bestowers (Bell, 1997). However, because the bestow is based on the thanksgiving sense, the *gunungan* is not deemed as food politics, but it is pure generosity over solidarity. This is what Poulain (2017) calls social food medium which is grounded in empathy and sharing nutrient.

Secondly, the stage performance of *jaranan* is also called *kuda kepeng* (encircled horses). Literally, the word *kepeng* means surround, encircle (Zoetmulder, 1955). Historically, *jaranan* in Java means encirlement of troop horses toward threatening attack toward human attack or wild animals (Zoetmulder, 1955). The horses are used as the symbol as they are sensed as the combatant strength. However, in the context of the village *slametan* ritual in Waihatu, the show of *jaranan* is interpreted as a merely art performance. The *Kejawen* performers consider *jaranan* as substitution of puppet show (*wayang kulit*) performance where in all at once, it is considered repellent of the wicked spirit in Waihatu. *Jaranan* formation consists of five dancer's unit; one is the leader, and four are the dancers. The leader who has a magic power always wield whip while whiplashing the ground and moving around four other dancers. During the time, the dancers are not considered to be obsessed by spirit while eating *beling* (fragments of glasses and bottles) as what usually happens for the dancers in Java. The *jaranan* performance in Waihatu is only used as the reference of remembrance about Moslems migrants from Central Java so it arises romanticism of togetherness in the narration of going back home (place of origin).

Thirdly, *Gamelan* is unique Javanese orchestra that is often performed during certain celebration. In Waihatu context, the *gamelan* is also performed when people are having cultural parade. *Wijaya* (beaker) of *gamelan* are the second generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java. These beakers are

not only expert in how to hit gamelan in harmonious way, but also, they are competent in understanding the social-spiritual narration in each of musical instrument of gamelan. It means that each of gamelan elements has the norm that is able to create social capital bonding in parallel of imaginary of going home. The social capital bonding is much influenced by norm and sanction (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). The norm and sanction are closely related to the gamelan rhythm that enable to Javanize Maluku (make Maluku to be Java nuance). Therefore, this nuance makes the social capital bonding are emerged among the Moslems migrants from Central Java that contains imaginary narration of going homeland (Java). The norms consisted in each *gamelan* instrument are; *kendang* (drum) rhythm delivers belief meaning; *gambang* (kind of xylophone) rhythm delivers equality meaning; *bonang* (bronze bowls) rhythm delivers inner attitude meaning; *saron* (metallophone) rhythm delivers honesty meaning; *gendher* (cords) rhythm delivers sensitiviv meaning; *ketuk* (knocking) rhythm delivers mutual relation meaning; and *gong* (barking sound) rhythm delivers belief perfection of life. Each instrument telling imaginary going homeland narration also contains institutional dimension as the representative of collective hope about intimacy of social relation in order to reach mutuall welfare as diasphoric community. The narrations are taboo to be breached because if it violated the violator will get the unluck in their life.

## Conclusion

Migration is not only the process of people movement to recide in another place, but it is also cultural movement. Village *slametan* ritual in Wahatu constitutes the manifestation of people and their cultural movement. Eventhough celebration of culture became vacuum because of the cut off the local knowledge among inter-generations, and inundated by obstacles because of local social-political situation, the celebration then is revitalized until now. The revitalisation processes has begun since 2017 and these processes is the landmark of *Kejawen* new era among the diasphores in Seram Island. After being revitalized, the village *slametan* ritual emerges with its new nuance which is sacred and up-to-date without ignoring *Kejawen* and pluralism dimensions. The sacred nuance is strengthened by narration about imaginary pilgrimage which held through deterritorialisation-spacial. It means that the young generation of Moslems migrants from Central Java succeed to “Javanize” Maluku in their existence of performing social imagination (social drama and

migrants' sovereignty in symbolic way). This kind of celebration is the only narration of going back homeland and because of the limitation they experience, they motivate themselves to express their origin culture in Seram Island. This celebration becomes spiritual theatre for them.

Through the study on *slametan* ritual, this research reveals Moslems tradition among migrants from Central Java in Waihatu. Therefore, this study hopefully becomes recommendation to the advanced research toward other variants of Javaneese Moslems migrants. This study object focuses its observation on the young generation Javaneese Moslems that is prone to be contaminated radicalism and extremism and or ignoring the essence of Javaneese culture. On the opposite way, the young generation of migrants are hoped to be moderate actors who play roles in reaching welfare in the village through increasing economy and social solidarity without ignoring their Javaneese culture and in acknowledging their social life in Maluku. These young generation are expected to have the ability of initiating pluralism vision among Javanesese Moslems variants in Maluku.

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