Tomb of Sunan Bonang, Tuban, East Java/Bonang Village Lasem Subdistrict, Central Java (disputed)

also known as "Makam Raden Makhdum Ibrahim"

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Entry tags: Religious Group, Islamic Traditions, Southeast Asian Religions, Religious Place, Sufi, Tomb

Sunan Bonang, also known as Raden Makhdum Ibrahim (1465-1525), the younger son of Sunan Ampel and Nyi Ageng Manila, was a member of the legendary Wali Songo, the nine founders of Islam on Java (Fox 2004). The life of Sunan Bonang is obscure. There is a lack of agreement among primary sources related to events associated with the saint’s life as he was celibate according to most sources and did not have descendants to recount his biography. There is general agreement among primary historical sources that Sunan Ampel mentored his son Raden Makhdum Ibrahim and Raden Paku (the future Sunan Giri) on Islam for a decade. Soon after both students completed their education under Sunan Ampel, they undertook a peregrination to Mecca. On their way to Mecca, they encountered Maulana Ishak at the port city of Malacca (Raden Paku’s father) who dissuaded both students from traveling further. Soon after, as Raden Makhdum Ibrahim and Raden Paku returned to Java, Sunan Ampel commanded the former to travel across Java. For years Raden Makhdum Ibrahim wandered and was eventually guided by the prophet Khidr who showed him the way to the orange jasmine (Javanese: kemuning) grove at a place in Bonang (Quinn 2019). Raden Makhdum Ibrahim settled here and acquired fame as Sunan Bonang. There are several Javanese legends that attest to Sunan Bonang's contribution to the furtherance of dakwah (the act of inviting people to embrace Islam) across interior Java. His challenge was to reconcile Javanese monism with the dualistic doctrines of Islamic orthodoxy (Quinn 2019). In his dakwah, he deployed Gamelan (the traditional ensemble music of the Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese), consisting chiefly of percussive instruments. There is a lack of consensus, apparent in Indonesian and Dutch primary sources, related to the location of the mausoleum of Sunan Bonang. But it is plausible that Sunan Bonang was buried at Tuban, given Schrieke's research of Javanese legends (1916). Upon Sunan Bonang’s death at Bonang village, the saint’s followers wanted to conduct the saint’s last rites at Ngampel (in today’s Surabaya). As the saint’s mortal remains were shipped by prahu to Ngampel, strong winds blew the vessel towards Tuban. The sixteenth century Pangeran Bonang Javanese manuscript identifies Tuban as the location of Sunan Bonang’s grave. The tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban—reflecting similarities between the Javanese and Chinese architectural styles—is one of the busiest pilgrimage sites in Indonesia, annually hosting more than one million visitors.

Date Range: 1525 CE - 2022 CE
Region: Tuban, East Java; Bonang Village, Lasem Subdistrict (Central Java)
Region tags: Indonesia, Java

The shaded regions on the map indicate: (a) Tomb of Sunan Bonang, Tuban (East Java), (b) Tomb of Sunan Bonang, Bonang Village, Lasem Subdistrict (Central Java, disputed). Note: Both sites are located 79.7 kilometers apart from each other and are linked by Jalan Raya Pantura. The dotted line represents the provincial border between East and Central Java.
Status of Participants:
✓ Elite  ✓ Religious Specialists  ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

General Variables

Sources and Excavations

Print Sources
Print sources used for understanding this subject:

— Source 1: W.L. Olthof, Babad Tanah Jawi Wiwit Saking Nabi Adam Doemoegi ing Tahoen 1647 (M. Nijhoff: Gravenhage, 1941).

  Notes: Olthof's version of the Babad Tanah Jawi chronicle notes that Sunan Bonang was the son of Ampel Denta, more popularly known as Sunan Ampel. Trained under Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang (then known as Raden Makhdum Ibrahim) and his classmate Raden Paku (the future Sunan Giri) proposed to travel to Mecca. While at Malacca, both were urged by Maulana Ishaq (also known as Maulana Wali Lanang, Raden Paku's father) not to travel to Mecca but continue with dakwah (invite people to embrace Islam) on the island of Java. The chronicle also highlights the encounter between Sunan Bonang and Raden Said (the future Sunan Kalijaga).

— Source 1: George Quinn, Bandit Saints of Java: How Java's Eccentric Saints are Challenging Fundamentalist Islam in Modern Indonesia (Burrough on the Hill: Monsoon Books, 2019).


— Source 1: P.J. Veth, Java: Geographisch, Ethnologisch en Historisch (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1912).

  Notes: Veth highlights the reasons why Sunan Bonang was buried in Tuban. According to a local folklore, the Madurese followers of Sunan Bonang wanted to inter the remains of the saint at Ampeldenta (now part of Surabaya). But the saint was “destined” to be buried at Tuban, despite the most pressing efforts of his followers to transfer the remains of Sunan Bonang to Surabaya. Due to strong winds and current, the vessel containing the mortal remains of Sunan Bonang was driven ashore to Tuban.


  Notes: The Babad Tjerbon chronicle notes that Sunan Bonang was also known as Mahdoem Ibrahim. Episodes from Sunan Bonang’s life such as his meeting with the future Sunan Kalijaga is mentioned.


— Source 3: W.B. Bergsma, Eindresume van het bij Gouvernements besluit van 10 Juni 1867 N°. 2 bevolen Onderzoek Naar Ded Rechten van den Inlander op den Grond op Java en Madoera (Batavia:
van den Berg notes that the grave of Sunan Bonang is located in Bonang wetan in the regency of Rembang whilst another tomb for the saint of the same name is located in Tuban. Koesoman Atmaja indicates that in the desa (village) of Bonang wetan, some tax-free sawahs (fields) were set apart for the maintenance of the tomb of the son of Sunan Ampel, also known as Bonang. These sawah lands were given as reward (Javanese Gandja Ran) to caretakers of the tomb. Bergsma notes the location of the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang, Rembang district. Bonang was a perdikan (tax-exempt village). At the close of the nineteenth century, the sawahs were in the hereditary possession of the grave caretakers (juru kunci).

Source 1: Naar Het Graf van Soenan Bonang, De Locomotief, September 26, 1930 [Dutch newspaper].

Notes: The 1930 article in Dutch newspaper De Locomotief, published from Semarang, mentions that the tomb of Sunan Bonang is located in Tuban. The article notes conspicuous Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit influence on the architecture of the Gapura (entrance to the tomb). C.F. Winter's monograph notes that Sunan Bonang's grave is located in Tuban. His visits to Java's mountainous region and debates with Javanese ascetics was a part of the dakwah strategy (invitation to the people to embrace Islam). Warnaar and Ardja's book for schoolchildren highlights the legend of Soemoer Sroemboeng, a freshwater spring on the Tuban shore, attributed to the performance of a miracle by Sunan Bonang. The well is believed to possess healing properties and not far from the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban.

Source 1: H.J. de Graf, Gescheidenis van Indonesie (Gravenhage and Bandung: N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1949)

Notes: The book notes that Sunan Bonang's tomb is located in Tuban. After the saint's death, his followers wanted to inter the mortal remains at Surabaya, not far from the grave of Sunan Ampel. As the mortal remains were transported by prahu across the Java sea, the vessel capsized at Tuban due to stormy weather. Soon after Raden Paku (future Sunan Giri) and Raden Makhdum Ibrahim (Sunan Bonang as he was known in his youth), completed their training in Islam under Sunan Ampel, both began a peregrination to Mecca. On reaching Malacca, they met with Maulana Ishak, Raden Paku's father who instructed his son and Raden Makhdum in mysticism but dissuaded both from traveling to Mecca. Soon after completing their training under Maulana Ishak, Raden Paku earned the appellation of Prabu Satmata. Both returned to Java to continue dakwah. Raden Makhdum Ibrahim established himself in Tuban and was popularly known as Sunan Bonang whilst Prabu Satmata or Sunan Giri established himself at Gresik.

Source 1: https://mojok.co/susul/berharap-berkah-bende-becak-peninggalan-sunan-bonang/

Notes: According to Lasem folklore, when Sunan Bonang died at Bonang village, his followers planned the funeral at Ampeldenta, Surabaya near his father's grave. But when the mortal remains of the saint were shipped by prahu across the Java sea, due to turbulence, the vessel was diverted to Tuban. The Lasem folklore contends that it was the will of God that the saint be interred at Tuban. The first online article illustrates the ritual of Bende Becak that coincides with the Idul Adha festivities at Bonang village. On the eve of Idul Fitr festivities, the Majapahit monarch Raja Brawijaya sent his messenger Bende to Bonang village to indicate that he was not embracing Islam. The arrival of the king's messenger coincided with Sunan Bonang's announcement of evening prayers. The messenger's voice sounded similar to a gong, according to Sunan Bonang's disciples. Sunan Bonang indicated that if the...
students heard the sound of a Javanese musical instrument, they were meditating. Bende becak is a small gong from Bonang village and is placed at the shrine of Sunan Bonang in Bonang village. The Bende Becak festivities are held in conjunction with Idul Adha festivities. The festivities at the (contested?) tomb of Sunan Bonang in Bonang village commemorate the saint's teachings. The Juru Kunci or the Keykeeper of the shrine organizes the rituals at his residence. Prior to conducting rituals, participants read Al-Fatihah, the first chapter of the Quran. Al-Fathihah is a prayer for Allah’s mercy. After the completion of dhikr (contemplation on the name of Allah), a Kyai from Bonang village leads the recitation of prayers. The Bende is cleaned of any stains with perfumed water that indicates saving the soul from sin. Furthermore, the juru kunci prepares to place yellow glutinous rice on a banana platter. The platter in turn, is placed on split bamboo pieces. The yellow rice is placed in the form of a tumpeng (cone). Glutinous rice, according to the juru kunci, was the saint's favorite dish and symbolizes social harmony. The split bamboo pieces used to hold the banana platter together symbolizes steadfastness of faith. The white cloth used to wrap the Bende epitomizes sustenance. The perfumed water used to clean the Bende is believed to possess healing properties and is much sought by pilgrims. Munawaroh's thesis examines the lack of consensus with respect to the location of the Tomb of Sunan Bonang. Through a close examination of local folklore, the student notes that when Raden Makhdum Ibrahim was young, his father Sunan Ampel sent him to Bonang. During Dhikr (Islamic meditation involving contemplation of Allah), Sunan Bonang would stand on a wide stone with one feet. The stone has footprints of the saint. The student observes that the tomb of Sunan Bonang in Bonang village does not have a tombstone nor is it protected by a cupola. From an interview with the Juru Kunci of the shrine at Bonang, the student notes that Sunan Bonang died amidst the people. Soon after the death of the saint in Bonang, a dispute broke out between Sunan Bonang's Tuban and Madurese disciples. Both wanted their teacher to be interred in Tuban and Madura respectively. To the east of the tomb of Sunan Bonang in Bonang village, there is a ditch that empties into the Java Sea. Local folklore ascribes construction of the ditch named Kali Bonang to Sunan Bonang's Madurese students who were keen that the saint's funeral be performed in Madura. The ditch was made soon after Sunan Bonang’s death to transport the saint's mortal remains to Madura by prahu. But the prahu was stranded in Tuban and the saint was buried there. Another Bonang villager Gus Dayat, who was interviewed by the student, mentioned that on the island of Bawean, there is a grave (supposedly belonging to Sunan Bonang) shaped like a petilasan. In Javanese, petilasan refers to a place that has been inhabited by someone important, or places of legends. The evidence that Sunan Bonang was interred in Tuban can be found from stylistic elements of the tomb architecture at Tuban. The tombstone (nisan) contains a solar (Majapahit surya) motif, characteristic of early Islamic tombstones from Java towards the twilight of the Majapahit empire. The karomah (miracle) of Sunan Bonang was that he died in Bonang, the body was interred in Tuban and shroud was in Bawean. The legends lack credibility. But a close examination of Het Boek van Bonang indicates that Tuban was the probable location of Sunan Bonang's mausoleum. Ziarah (tomb visitation) is undertaken usually on Friday nights. Pilgrims, upon arrival, recite Yasin and Tahlil verses from the al-Quran while observing Dhikr (Islamic meditation). Islamic month of Syawal: pilgrims arrive by prahu. Holy Month of Ramadhan: At the start of Ramadhan, pilgrims undertake ziarah to Bonang village to pay homage to deceased relatives. Lailatul Qadr: The night when the al-Quran was revealed to Prophet Muhammad. Malam Selawe: The 25th night of the Holy Month of Ramadhan. Pilgrims throng the Pasujudan. Birth Anniversary of Sunan Bonang: Dzul Qa’ dah of the Islamic almanac in conjunction with Pahing or Legi Rabo Malam (Wednesday night) of the Javanese almanac. An overview of the challenges faced by tracing the early history of Islam through the prospographies of the Wali Songo: The lives of Wali Songo saints, particularly Sunan Bonang are shrouded in mystery as they did not leave behind written documentary evidence. As George Quinn (2019) noted from his meeting with the keykeeper (juru kunci) of the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Lasem, “He [Sunan Bonang] had erased himself more completely than any other saint. And that is the greatness of his legacy. Like all saints, he left behind signs but he was like a rich man who doesn’t flaunt his wealth. By hiding his history he acquired extra charisma.” At least three or four sites in Java particularly Tuban, Lasem, Bawean and Kediri claim the honor of hosting Sunan Bonang's mausoleum, alluding to his popularity amongst the Javanese (Quinn
2019). But Quinn does not mention Madura as a contender for the location of the mausoleum of Sunan Bonang that Munawaroh's thesis highlighted through an ethnographic study. Apart from George Quinn's overview of the Wali Songo, individual saints are lightly researched. Published Indonesian sources on the Wali Songo, particularly Agus Sunyoto's "Atlas Wali Songo: Buku Pertama yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah" provide a hagiographic account of the lives of these saints. Given the gaps in Sunan Bonang's biography, the contributor was left with no alternative but to consult with undergraduate theses from State Islamic Universities across Indonesia written in Bahasa Indonesia. These sources are invaluable repositories for historians and anthropologists alike to understand the intricacies of Sufi rituals and legends of the Sufi mystics of Java, otherwise inaccessible to the global audience.

Online Sources

Online sources used for understanding this subject:

— Source 1 URL: http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1576531
— Source 1 Description: Kitab Pangeran Bonang, Shelfmark Or. 1928 (KITLV Digital Collection)
— Source 2 URL: https://www.delpher.nl/nl/boeken/view?id=MMKB24:073269000:00001&q=her+boek+van+bonang&coll=boeken&rowid=2
— Source 2 Description: B.J.O. Schrieke, Het Boek van Bonang (Utrecht: P den Boer, 1916).
— Source 3 URL: https://www.google.co.in/books/edition/The_Admonitions_of_Seh_Bari/bU5FBgAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=admonitions+bonang+1969&printsec=frontcover
— Source 1 URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ul6ZiwZ7heQ
— Source 1 Description: Opick: Tombo Ati Official Video (Under Creative Commons License)

Notes: Tombo Ati is a traditional Javanese song, composed by Sunan Bonang. It contains the kernel of the saint's philosophy. The literal translation of Tombo Ati is “remedies for the heart.” Tombo Ati is the Muslim way of gaining spiritual bliss through: (a) tahajjud (night prayer); (b) recitation of verses from the al-Quran; (c) fasting; (d) company of pious people; and, (e) dhikr (a form of Islamic meditation in which prayers are repeatedly chanted to remember God). Dhikr plays a central role in Sufi Islam. Tombo Ati gained interest of Indonesian tobat (metal) artists such as Opick.

Has this place been the focus of excavation (pre-modern, illicit, or scientific):

Answer 'Yes' for each period or type of excavation.
— No

Topographical Context

Is the place associated with a feature in the landscape

— Elevation

  Type of elevation
  — Hill
Does the place involve human-made features besides structure:
Other features might be ground clearing, terracing, other modifications of the local environment.
— Field doesn't know

Is the place situated in an urban or significantly urbanized area:
— Yes

Is there a distinct boundary between the place and the urban fabric:
— Yes
Notes: The Gapura (entrance gate to the tomb) serves as the marker between the place and the urban fabric. The place is situated barely a hundred meters from the alun-alun (town square) of Tuban and right behind the Grand Mosque of Tuban (Masjid Agung Tuban).

Is the place located significantly within the urban fabric:
Is the place centrally located, or at the crossroads of significant pathways?
— Yes
Notes: Sunan Bonang’s tomb at Tuban is not far from the alun alun (town square).

Is the place situated in a rural setting:
— Yes
Notes: The Tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village is situated in Bonang village. The tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban, on the contrary, is situated close to the alun alun (town square) of Tuban city.

Are there settlements in close proximity to the place:
— Yes

Are there routes of travel in close proximity to the place:
— Yes
Notes: Both monuments, the tomb of Sunan Bonang in Bonang village and the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban, are situated on the historic Great Post Road (now known as Jalan Raya Pantura) that was built during the tenure of Governor General of the Dutch Indies Herman Willem Dandels (1808-1811).
Is the place situated far removed from non-religious places of habitation:
— No

**Structures Present**

Are there structures or features present:
Instructions: Answer once for each structure/feature or group that can be differentiated.
— Yes

- A single structure
  — No

- One single feature
  — Other [specify]: The tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village (contested) is situated on a hillock.

- A group of structures:
  — Yes

  Are they part of a single design/construction stage:
  — No
  Notes: Applicable to the Tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban only.

- A group of features:
  — Yes
  Notes: Applicable to the tombs of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village and Tuban respectively.

  Are they part of a single design/construction stage:
  — No
  Notes: This is applicable to the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban. The tomb complex is situated behind the Grand Mosque of Tuban (Masjid Agung Tuban). The complex includes three entrance gates (gapura), pavilion-like structures called pendopo (a central element of Javanese architecture) and the tomb of Sunan Bonang that is covered by a cupola.

- Is it part of a larger place/sanctuary:
  — Yes
  Notes: The tomb is situated right behind the Grand Mosque of Tuban and not far from the alun alun (town square).
Notes: The tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village, Lasem sub-district, is located about ten miles from the district headquarters at Rembang and includes Sunan Bonang’s prostration place or tempat pasujudan and the grave of Putri Campa (mother of Raden Patah, the son of Majapahit ruler Brawijaya), the first Sultan of Demak.

What is the function of the structure/feature or group:
Answer "Yes" once for each distinct function

— Worship

  — Worship:
    — Communal

— Healing
— Social
— Memorial

Is the structure/feature finished:
— Yes

Was the structure/feature intended to last beyond a generation:
— Yes

Was the structure/feature modified through time:
— Yes

Was the structure/feature destroyed:
— Field doesn’t know

Has the structure/feature been reconstructed:
— Yes

In antiquity
— Once

In modernity
— Post-Renaissance
Notes: The tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban was last renovated in 2011.

**Reasons for Creation/Construction/Consecration**

Is the place used for the worship of/communication with non-human supernatural beings:

— Yes

Dedicated to a supernatural being:

— Yes [specify]: Dedicated to Allah. The saint is believed to intercede on behalf of pilgrims.

Dedicated to more than one supernatural being:

— No

Is the place used for the worship of a semi-divine human being:

— No

Is the place used for the worship of non-divine ancestors:

— No

Notes: Veneration is the appropriate word. Bende Becak ritual involves the ritual display of the saint’s heirlooms.


Was the place commissioned/built by an official political entity:

A political entity is a local power structure that leverages a workforce.

— Field doesn't know

Were the Structures built by specific groups of people:

— No

Was the place thought to have originated as the result of divine intervention:

— Yes

Specify

— Other [specify]: Why Sunan Bonang's tomb was located in Tuban. Historical tradition.

Notes: Veth (1912) highlights the reasons why Sunan Bonang was buried in Tuban. According to a local folklore, the Madurese followers of Sunan Bonang wanted to inter the remains of the saint at Ampeldenta (now part of Surabaya). But the saint was “destined” to be buried at Tuban,
Was the place created to mark or commemorate the birthplace of a supernatural or human being:
— No

Was the place created as the result of an event:
— Yes

Specify
— Other [specify]: Death of Sunan Bonang.

Was the creation of the place sponsored by an external financial/material donation:
— Yes

Notes: Applicable to the tomb of Sunan Bonang (contested) at Bonang village, Lasem, Rembang district. During the pre-colonial and colonial era in the Dutch East Indies, the sawah (paddy fields) of Bonang village were perdikan (exempt from paying tax).

Is this sponsor of the same religious group/tradition as the main usage of the place:
— Yes

Was the establishment of the place motivated by:
— Expression of devotion with no expectation of favor in return

Was the place built specifically for housing scriptures/sacred texts:
— No

**Design and Material Remains**

**Overall Structure**

Is the place made up of multiple built structures:
— Yes

Are any of the structures attached to or associated with a landscape feature:
— Yes

Notes: Sunan Bonang’s tomb, and Pasujudan (prostration place) at Bonang village are situated...
on a hillock not far from the Java Sea coast. On the contrary, the mausoleum of Sunan Bonang at Tuban is situated on the coast.

Are any of the structures attached to other structures:
— Yes

Is there a hierarchy among the structures:
— Yes

Is monumental architecture present:
Monumental architecture is defined here as a built structure that surpasses average human proportions and in general is larger and more complex than is necessary to fulfill the structure's utilitarian function(s). Examples of monumental architecture include Mesopotamian Ziggurats, Egyptian Pyramids, Greek and Roman temples, Mesoamerican Pyramids, North American and Aegean burial mounds, etc.
— No

Is the structure/feature made out of natural materials:
Answer [Yes] for each material type
— Yes

   Earth
   — No

   Sand
   — No

   Clay
   — No

   Plaster
   — Yes

   Is this material sourced locally:
   — Field doesn't know

   Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:
   — Field doesn't know
Wood
— Yes

Is this material sourced locally:
— Yes

Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:
— No

Grass
— No

Stone
— Yes

Is this material sourced locally:
— Yes

Is this material lacking in the local natural environment:
— No

Other
— Other [specify]: N/A

Is the structure/feature made out of human-made materials
— Yes [specify]: Vietnamese glazed tiles used in the decoration of the gapura (entrance gate).

Reference: Sakai, Takashi. “Preliminary Study of Vietnamese Decorated Tiles Found in Java, Indonesia (I)”.

Decoration

Is decoration present:
— Yes

Is decoration part of the building (permanent):
— Yes
On the outside:
— Yes

On the inside:
— Field doesn’t know

Is decoration attached to the building, i.e. movable reliefs or tapestries
— Yes

Is the decoration figural:
A figural representation is defined here as one that contains the depiction of discernible human, anthropomorphic, animal, or zoomorphic forms. In general, it differentiates between animate and inanimate beings, as well as between narrative compositions and still life, landscapes, abstraction, etc. Answer [Yes] for each type of figure depicted
— Field doesn’t know

Is the decoration non-figural:
— Yes

Is it geometric/abstract
— Yes

Floral motifs
— Yes

Is it writing/caligraphy
— Yes

Notes: Chronogram (Candra Sangkala) in Pegon script, Javanese language that indicates the probable date when the shrine was renovated (~1687 AD).

Other [Specify]
— Other [specify]: All descriptions relate to the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban unless otherwise indicated.

Notes: Ornamentation of Sunan Bonang’s tomb in Tuban. Padma motif (a distinct Javanese imprint) noted.

Is the decoration hidden or restricted from view:
— Field doesn't know

Are there statues present:
— Yes

Cult statues:
— Yes

Statues of gods/supernatural beings:
— No

Statues of humans:
— No

Other [Specify]
— Other [specify]: Related to the tomb at Tuban.

Notes: Two Shiva Linggas and a Yoni are placed in the pendopo (Javanese-style pavilion) of the tomb complex. Yoni is an abstract representation of the Hindu Goddess Shakti. Lingga veneration was widespread in pre-Islamic Java. The Lingga is an erect pillar of stone, standing in the center of the pedestal with a cleft in it, representing the Yoni (See also Quinn 2019). The Lingga was seen as an assembly point of a multitude of deities and energies in pre-Islamic Java. These included semi-divine monarchs, ancestors, the energy of Java's volcanoes, and the mystically-charged, self-extinguishing ecstasy of sexual union. Lingga worship of pre-Islamic Java was transformed as it flowered into a complex array of speculations that fused Hindu-Buddhist tantra with Islamic Sufism.

Are there reliefs present:
A relief as opposed to sculpture carved on the round is a work of sculpture in which the figures project from a background support, generally a flat surface. Reliefs can be carved out of stone, clay, or a similar material.
— Yes

Reliefs representing the god(s) worshipped at the place:
— No

Reliefs representing mythological narratives:
— No
Reliefs representing human/historical narratives:
— No

Other [Specify]
— Other [specify]: Applicable to Sunan Bonang’s tomb at Tuban.

Notes: The pyramid-shaped roof of the mausoleum slopes down to about 1.5 meters above ground level. Stooping under the eaves, pilgrims find place to sit on the tiled flooring between the eaves and the inner burial chamber (For details see Quinn 2019). The chamber’s dark wooden walls stand on a low brick platform decorated along its base with fretwork-carved stone panels. In the inner burial chamber, the saint lies under a long narrow stone-layered ledger, about half a meter high. At the end of the ledger is a headstone that is respectfully wrapped in white calico.

Are there paintings present:
— No

Are there mosaics present:
— Yes

Mosaics representing the god(s) worshipped at the place:
— No

Mosaics representing mythological narratives:
— No

Mosaics representing human/historical narratives:
— No

Abstract mosaics:
— No

Other [ Specify]
— Other [specify]: Mosaic flooring

Are there inscriptions as part of the decoration:
— Yes

Are the inscriptions ornamental:
Are there distinct features in the places iconography:
— Yes

Are the inscriptions informative/declarative
[e.g. historical narratives, calendars, donor lists etc...]
— Yes

Are the inscription a formal dedication:
— No

Other [Specify]
— Other [specify]: Applicable to the saint's tomb at Tuban

Notes: Geometric designs on the walls enclosing the burial chamber. On the wall, a Candra Sangkala (chronogram) indicating the date and year the cupola was built (1689 AD). This seems to be a later addition. Pintu Gerbang (entrance) has elaborate floral ornamentation on the supporting brick walls. Porcelain plates also used in decoration. Distinct blending of Javanese and Chinese architectural elements. For details see Sunyoto (2017).

Other type of decoration:
— Yes [specify]: Applicable to Tuban

Notes: Distinct Javanese influence on the tomb architecture is evident in the layout of the tomb complex. The tomb is made of three interconnected sections, each connected by Gapura Paduraksa (a type of gateway covered by a towering roof that is tiered). The second section of the tomb complex houses pre-Islamic cultural artifacts such as 2 Shiva Linggas and Yoni sheltered under a pendopo. The third section of the Sunan Bonang tomb complex includes Sunan Bonang's tomb. The tomb building is rectangular-shaped and mostly built of brick, except for the southern wall that is constructed out of board. A mid-Javanese inscription on the Southern wall reads: “Janma Wyahana Kayuning Sawit Jagat.” The declaration can be loosely translated as the year 1611, the year the tomb building was refurbished.

Iconography

Are there distinct features in the places iconography:
— Yes

Eyes (stylized or not)
— No

Supernatural beings (zoomorphic)
— No
Beliefs and Practices

- Supernatural beings (geomorphic)
  - No

- Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic)
  - No

- Supernatural beings (abstract)
  - Yes

- Portrayals of afterlife
  - No

- Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols)
  - Yes
  
  Notes: Applicable to the Grand Mosque of Tuban, that is situated right in front of the tomb of Sunan Bonang. The mosque architecture is arabesque. On the contrary, the tomb building reflects similarities between the Javanese and Chinese architectural styles.

- Humans
  - No

- Supernatural narratives
  - No

- Human narratives
  - No

- Other [Specify]
  - Other [specify]: Applicable to the tombs of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village and Tuban
  
  Notes: The architecture of the tomb complex at Bonang village is minimalist. It consists of an unsheltered tomb without a cupola, Pasujudan (prostration chamber) that contains a footprint of Sunan Bonang. Another building nearby is the tomb of Putri Champa (Champa princess, the mother of Raden Patah who was appointed as the first Sultan of Demak). Both the Pasujudan and the tomb of Putri Champa have tiled pyramid roofs. At Tuban, the grave of Sunan Bonang consists of a headstone. The headstone bears a Majapahit Surya (solar) motif (see also the DRH entry on Sunan Ampel).
Funerary Associations

Is this place a tomb/burial:
— Yes

Is this a place for the worship of the dead:
— No

Is this a place for treatment of the corpse:
— No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:
Co-sacrifices are animal/human sacrifices prompted by the death of the primary occupant of the tomb/burial.
— No

Are grave goods present:
— No

Are formal burials present:
— No

Supernatural Beings

Is a supreme high god is present:
— Yes

Are they anthropomorphic:
— No

Are they sky deity:
— No

Are they chthonic (underworld)
— No

Are they fused with king/kingship role (king = high god)
Does the supreme high god communicate with the living at this place:
— Yes

- In waking, everyday life:
  — Yes

- In dreams:
  — Yes

- In trance possession:
  — Yes

- Through divination practices:
  — Field doesn’t know

- Only through religious specialists:
  — No

Notes: The Juru Kunci or the key-keeper of the tomb intercedes on behalf of the pilgrims.
Only through monarch:
— No

Other
— Other [specify]: Dhikr (a form of Islamic meditation) at Pasujudan or the Prostration Chamber of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village.

Are previously human spirits present:
— No

Do human spirits communicate with the living at this place:
— No

Are nonhuman supernatural beings present:
— Yes

Nonhuman spirits can be seen:
— No

Nonhuman spirits can be physically felt:
— No

Do nonhuman spirits communicate with the living at this place:
— Yes

In waking, everyday life:
— Yes

In dreams:
— Yes

In trance possession:
— Field doesn't know

Through divination practices:
— Field doesn't know
Are mixed human-divine beings present:
— No

Do mixed human-divine beings communicate with the living at this place:
— No

Is the supernatural being/high god present in the form of a cult statue(s):
— No

**Supernatural Interactions**

Is supernatural monitoring present:
— Yes

  - Supernatural monitoring of norm adherence:
    — Yes

  - Supernatural beings care about or expect offerings:
    — Yes
Libations:
   — No

Offerings of food:
   — No

Animal sacrifice:
   — No

Human sacrifice:
   — No

Sacred objects:
   — No

Daily life objects:
   — No

Other:
   — Other [specify]: Offerings of flower, small denominations of Indonesian rupiah. Pilgrims seek a personal favor from the saint(ngalap berkah).

Supernatural beings care about sex:
   — No

Supernatural beings care about or expect proper ritual observance:
   — Yes

Supernatural beings care about or expect performance of rituals:
   — Yes

Supernatural beings care about or expect maintenance of the place:
   — Yes

Supernatural beings care about or expect personal hygiene:
   — Yes
Supernatural beings care about honoring oaths:
  — Yes

Other:
  — Other [specify]: Not applicable.

Do visitors communicate with the gods or supernatural beings:
  — Yes

  Do visitors communicate with gods:
    — Yes

  Do visitors communicate with other supernatural beings:
    — Yes
    Notes: Recitation of opening surah from the al-Quran Al Fatihah, presented as a gift to one’s deceased ancestors. Singing of Salawat songs invoking Allah’s blessings on Prophet Muhammad, and Java’s Wali Songo.

Ritual and Performance

Sacrifices, Offerings, and Maintenance

Are sacrifices performed at this place:
  — No

Are there self-sacrifices present:
  — No

Are material offerings present:
  — Yes

  Are material offerings mandatory:
    — No
    Notes: Customary offerings of flowers and small denominations of cash are customarily offered at the tombs of the saint at Bonang and Tuban respectively for ngalap berkah 9grab a blessing or favor from the saint).

  Are material offerings composed of valuable objects:
Is attendance to worship/sacrifice mandatory:
  - Yes

  By all the community
  - Yes

  By specific individuals
  - Yes [specify]: Juru Kunci or the Key Keeper to the shrine (Bonang village) presides over rituals.

Is maintenance of the place performed:
  - Field doesn’t know

Notes: The shrine at Bonang village is apparently well-maintained by Yayasan Sunan Bonang. But the shrine at Tuban shows some signs of vandalism.

### Pilgrimage and Festivals

Are pilgrimages present:
  - Yes

  How strict is pilgrimage:
  - optional (common)

  Are pilgrimages the main reason for construction/establishment of the place:
  - No
Are pilgrimages to this place associated with significant life events:
- Yes
  - Birth
    - No
  - Transition to adulthood
    - Yes
  - Death
    - Yes
  - Other
    - Other [specify]: Ziarah is undertaken to Pasujudan (Prostration Place) Bonang village for thanksgiving after convalescence from illness.

Does pilgrimage to this place involve following established routes (roads):
- Yes
  - Are these routes maintained together with the place:
    - Yes

Is this place a venue for feasting:
- Yes

Is feasting connected to the worship/sacrifices performed at this place:
- Yes

Notes: Bende Becak commemorates the life and teachings of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village. Festivities are held in conjunction with Idul Adha. A small gong called bende that is stored in Sunan Bonang’s shrine is ceremonially cleaned by the shrine’s keykeeper or juru kunci with perfumed water and is subsequently wrapped in white calico. The cleaning of the bende epitomizes cleansing of the soul. Before the ritual commences, visitors undertake dhikr. The kyai (an expert in Islam) among the Javanese lead the prayers. All rituals associated with the bende becak take place at the house of the juru kunci. Soon after the rituals end, the juru kunci places specially-prepared yellow glutinous rice seasoned with locally-sourced gula (jaggery) in the form of tumpeng (cone) on a banana leaf. The leaf in turn, is held together by split bamboo pieces. Tumpeng rice was particularly favored by Sunan Bonang and the dish represents social solidarity. The split bamboo pieces holding the banana platter together symbolize steadfastness of faith. At Sunan Bonang’s mausoleum, Tuban, specially-prepared porridge (bubur) is served to pilgrims during night coinciding with the Holy Month of Ramadhan when fasting ceases.
Is feasting sponsored by the same entity that built/maintains the place:
  — Yes

Priests
  — No

Notes: Priest is the incorrect word. Juru Kunci is the correct word. Feasting takes place at the house of the juru kunci (the tomb's Key Keeper) at Bonang village in conjunction with the bende becak ceremonies. The feast is sponsored by donations collected by Yayasan Sunan Bonang.

Local elites
  — No

Private contributions
  — Yes

Other
  — Other [specify]: Congregations from Bonang and neighboring villages gather at Pasujudan (Prostration Chamber) on a monthly basis to recite select verses from the al-Quran that coincides with Kliwon Jumat of the Javanese calendar.

  — Other [specify]: On the eve of the Islamic New Year, donation boxes at Pasujudan Bonang are opened and the money is given away in charity: both as cash and in kind (clothing) to orphans. According to a local media source, at least 250 orphans are assisted during the Islamic New Year by Yayasan Sunan Bonang. 6 sub-districts of Rembang including Lasem (where Bonang village is situated) participate in the charity.

Does feasting occur in a specific location within the place:
  — Yes [specify]: At the juru kunci’s residence after the Bende Becak ritual concludes (at Pasujudan Bonang).

Are festivals present:
  — Yes

Frequency of festivals
  — specify: Annual (both at the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village; tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban).

Notes: At the Prostration Chamber, Bonang Village: 1) Ramadhan: 25th night of Ramadhan is observed as Malam Selawe at Pasujudan Bonang. 2) Ramadhan: Lailatul Qadr, the night when al-Quran was revealed to Prophet Muhammad. 3) Syawal: The birthday of Sunan Bonang when pilgrims land on Bonang village by prahu. 4) Idul Adha: The Bende Becak ritual,
followed by a communal feast at the Juru Kunci’s residence.

Do all members of the society participate in the festival(s):
— All members

Are festivals a defining element in the construction/decoration of the place:
— No

On average, how many participants gather at this place:
— number: 20,000

Notes: During the Islamic New Year that falls during the month of Muharram. Applicable to the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban. Data unavailable for Bonang village.

Is feasting part of the festival(s):
— Yes

Notes: Feasting is associated with Idul Adha (conclusion of Bende Becak rituals) at Bonang village. At the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban, porridge is offered to pilgrims during Ramadhan nights when fasting for the day ends.

Is food consumption limited to certain members of the population:
— Elites
— Non-elites
— Religious professionals

### Divination and Healing

Is divination present:
— Field doesn't know

Is healing present/practiced at this place:
— Yes

Incubation
— No

Healing magic
— Yes
Do rituals occur at this place:

Rituals are visibly enacted behaviors by one or more people for the purposes of religious observance.

— Yes

Notes: The availability of fresh water at Sumur Sroemboeng. The well is not far from the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban and is situated right on the Tuban coast. The availability of fresh water at Sumur Srumbug is attributed to the saint's mystical powers. The water is believed to have therapeutic value and is much sought after by pilgrims.

— Yes

Notes: The Bede Becak ritual (on Idul Adha) at the house of the juru kunci in-charge of the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village can be considered as a cleansing ritual. The cleaning of the bede (small gong) with water seasoned with floral essence symbolizes cleansing of the soul of impurities. The bede is then carefully wrapped in a white calico cloth. The water used in cleansing the bede is believed to have medicinal values and is consumed by pilgrims.

— No

Offerings of models of body parts:

— No

Expiation

— No

Other

— Other [specify]: Pilgrims undertake ziarah to the tomb of Bonang village to seek the saint's favor or intercession (Javanese: ngalap berkah) when their children are ill. Alternatively, pilgrims visit the shrine for thanksgiving when a family member convalesces from an illness.


Do large-scale rituals take place:

— Yes

Notes: A large-scale ritual (Bende Becak) takes place annually on the day of Idul Adha at the residence of the Juru Kunci (The Key Keeper) of the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Bonang village.

Do small-scale rituals take place:

— Yes

Notes: Circumcision ceremonies of young boys below the age of twelve, conducted at the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban.
On average how many participants are present in large-scale rituals:
— specify: 20,000 congregate at the shrine of Sunan Bonang on the eve of Islamic New Year at Tuban, according to local media sources.

How often do these rituals take place:
— specify: Yearly.

Are there orthodoxy checks:
— Yes
 Notes: Majelis Ulema Indonesia or the Indonesian Ulema Council.

Are there orthopraxy checks:
— Yes
 Notes: Orthopraxy checks are apparent in Islam. Yaum al-Din or the Day of Judgment.

Are there synchronic practices:
— Yes

Are there intoxicants used during the ritual:
— No

Institutions and Scriptures

**Religious Specialists**

Are religious specialists present/in charge of this place:
Religious specialists are individuals who's primary duties within a population group are not concerned with subsistence or craft production but the maintenance of the religious landscape and culture of the group.
— Yes

Present full time
— Yes

Present part time
— No

Are the religious specialists of specific sex/gender:
Does this place incorporate a living space for religious specialists:
— Yes
Notes: Applicable to the shrine of Sunan Bonang at Bonang Village.

Is this place used for the training of religious specialists:
— Yes

Are there formal institutions for the maintenance of the place:
Institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders
— Yes
Notes: At both places, a trust takes care of maintenance of the shrine.

Bureaucracy

Is there a formal bureaucracy present at this place:
A bureaucracy consists of a hierarchical system of accounting and rule maintenance primarily concerned with material wealth.
— Yes

Is a bureaucracy present permanently:
Does this place control economic resources (land, goods, tools):
— Yes

Is this control the primary supporting income of this place:
— Yes

Does this place lease out land:
— Yes

Notes: This was the case at Bonang village. The shrine was given a land grant during the 16th century. The land grant and tax exemption of the shrine’s sawah (paddy fields) continued well into the early 20th century. Unaffected by Dutch colonialism.

Does this place lease out tools:
— No

Public Works

Does this place serve as a location for services to the community:
— Yes

Public food distribution and/or storage:
— Yes

Place for civic functions (census, elections, others):
— No

Place for the practice of justice (trials, executions, etc.):
— No

Function for water management:
— No
Part of the transportation network:
— Yes

Notes: Both shrines are situated on Jalan Raya Pantura, earlier known as the Great Post Road, a historic road that runs across the north coast of Java (completed ~ 1811).

Other
— Other [specify]: The trust administering the tomb of Sunan Bonang at Tuban provides financial assistance to needy Muslim families who are required to perform circumcision ceremonies of their children below the age of twelve.

Writing/Scriptures

Is non-religious writing stored at this place:
Economic documents, records etc.
— No

Are there scriptures associated with this place:
— No

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