UNDERSTANDING THE WORLDVIEW OF ABANGAN PRACTICE:
AN ASCETIC CASE IN PETILASAN EYANG SRIGATI AND BRAWIJAYA V AND TAPA KUNGKUM FROM BUMI PERTAPAAN ALAS KETONGGO, NGAWI, EAST JAVA

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INTRODUCTION
Scholarly discussion about abangan in the academic sphere always refers to the Clifford Geertz as the first scholar introducing the term.1 The abangan term refers to the Javanese Muslim, tradition was described as a syncretic blend of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements that was predominant among the mass of rural Javanese.2 Furthermore, abangan always linked to “Javanese society a category of people who were defined by their failure – in the eyes of the more pious – to behave as proper Muslim. These were abangan, the nominal or non-practicing Muslim”.3

*Lecturer at Department of Comparative Religions, Ushuluddin, STAIN Kediri. This project was conducted by a field research in alas Ketonggo-Babadan village, Paron district, Ngawi, East Java. The forest wide is around 4864 m2 and it is a part of Lawu Mountain. The distance to the pertapaan (the place to do ascetic practices) is 12 km from the center of Ngawi regency. Alas Ketonggo has around 12 of sacred places there are Punden Krepyak Syech Dumbo, Pelenggahan Agung Brawijaya, Kori Gapit, Watu Dakon, Sendang (source of water) Drajat, Sendang Mitowiji, Sido Bagus cave, Sendang Suro and Tempur River and others. All of sacred places above have been common place to do any ascetic and abangan practices for Javanese people.

Several scholars focusing in the Javanese belief generally conclude that the character of Javanese belief is consistently identical with the blend of syncretism and mysticism. Syncretism and Mysticism actually still emerge to the several practices of Javanese in the present day.4 Roland Mischung also argues that the model of belief of Javanese society is more syncretistic beliefs derived from Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Javanese folk rather than formal religious adherent.5 Similar as Mulder and Mischung, Wessing also states that Javanese people basically always believe about many spirit around them, where the spirits exist in the tree, forest, ocean, earth and other places.6 All of explanations about Javanese understandings above are part of \textit{abangan} character.

The definitions of \textit{abangan} by some scholars; Geertz, Hefner, and Ricklefs are important to be introduced in the first time, because of based on each of the category, the process of investigating, examining, and conducting this research will refer. Furthermore, the behaviors, rituals, way of thinking (\textit{worldview}) and the other practices of ascetic aspect of \textit{tapa kungkum} in alas Ketonggo-Ngawi-Jawa timur will be main object of research.

The main reason of choosing alas Ketonggo being the object of research is an understanding of Javanese people that assume alas Ketonggo is a center of mysticism of Javanese belief (Interview with Ki Among Jati 02 Januari 2016)7. Furthermore a common understanding and myth of Javanese people coming in the place assumes that this forest as the leave of empire of any spirits (\textit{jin}) in Java. The myth draws that the old Javanese belief tells the Island of Java has two center of mysticism place: 1. Alas Purwo-Banyuwangi is assumed as the father of mysticism and 2. Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi is as the mother (Marji, 2 March 2016). Additionally, in the 1974 Gusti Dorojatun8 IX also states that some places in Alas Ketonggo (especially, Punden Krepyak Syech Dumbo and \textit{Petilasan} of Brawijaya V) have strong correlation with Majapahit Empire and Javanese mysticism (Among Jati, 02 March 2016). Because of the background, many of Javanese people visit the place to do rituals and other ascetical practices.

Several backgrounds and reasons above are the main reason why this research is conducted. Additionally, the explanation and information of Javanese practices in Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi based on research and observation is so finite. So, this research hopefully will be a starting project of research contributing to initiating the other research project. This article will answer the questions: How does the world view of \textit{Abangan} asceticism people in Alas Ketonggo take place?, and How do Javanese people practice \textit{Tapa Kungkum} (ascetic practice) in Alas Ketonggo?

This project additionally is conducted by participant observation, interview and phenomenological observing in collecting some notes and findings in the field. Both primer data (interviewing 10 Javanese ascetic pilgrimages and the caretaker of alas Ketonggo-Ngawi) and secondary sources (data from the hand book and story in the native people) will be a standing point in conducting this research. Furthermore analyzing process using some books and theories (Geertz, Ricklef, Wessing, Hefner, Mullder and other scholars) to several data and information lead to examine “why is the ascetic practices can be categorized as a part of \textit{abangan} practices?”

55, available at URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/27868285, p. 84


5 Mischung, 1989, pp. 322-324


7Ki Among Jati is The caretaker of Alas Ketonggo (67 years old). He has been a caretaker of Alas Ketonggo around 25 years. He has stayed a certain place (punden) in the besides of sacred place called as “petilasan Brawijaya V” with some ascetics practices.

8Gusti Dorojatun IX is The Sultan of Yogyakarta Hadiningrat IX (12 April 1912 - 02 oktober 1988)

9Petilasan is a place of doing ascetic practice for the ancestors of Javanese people in the past.
UNDERSTANDING THE TERMS

The character of *abangan* that produced by Geertz, Ricklefs, Koentjaraningrat and Hafner would be the starting point in identifying and analyzing the object this research (courtiers and visitor/pilgrim of Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi). To make clearer about the explanation of the *abangan* characters, this session will quote directly some statements about *abangan* specifically. Geertz explains *abangan* as:

*The abangan religious tradition, made up primarily of the ritual feast called *slametan*, of and extensive and intricate complex of spirit belief, and of whole set of theories and practices of curing, sorcery, and magic, is the first subvariant within the general religious system which I shall present below, and it is associated in a broad and general way with the Javanese village.*

Hefner with referring Geertz definitions explains: *Abangan, or “Javanist” Muslim, tradition was described as a syncretic blend of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements that was predominant among the mass of rural Javanese. Santri tradition was identified as a more orthodox variant of Islam, especially widespread among merchants and wealthier peasants. Finally, priyayi tradition was identified as an elite heritage strongly influenced by the Hindu-Buddhist values of earlier Javanese courts and linked to Java’s traditional gentry and the administrative bureaucracy that replaced it in the modern era.*

In addition, Ricklefs also explains that *abangan* as the term of nominal or non-practicing Muslim*. He also uses Harthoorn category about *abangan* where he explains *Abangan* as people who were profane or secular. The tract depicted Javanese (Muslims) who held communal meals (*slametan*) but did not gain well-being (*slamet*), who got distressed when things went wrong, who could not get along with their neighbors or their families. Hoezoo’s translation reads, ‘and don’t think that this just happens among the profane (*tiang abangan*, actually the reds); even among my friends who are religious (*tiang poetian*, actually the whites) it is so.’ This tract of course recommended Jesus as the cure for such woes. A second reference from that year is in a report by Harthoorn (1857).

Some definitions by scholars above are important to be introduced firstly to understand comprehensively the character of *abangan* itself. Furthermore, besides the definitions of *abangan* character, some findings and data in Geertz book *The Religion of Java* also will be reference in this research.

The next term which is important the article is asceticism. Asceticism is a lifestyle characterized by abstinence from worldly pleasures, often for the purpose of pursuing spiritual goals (Collins, 2000:210). Furthermore, ascetic practices propose in clearing the heart of person receiving a high spiritual phase. Two basic definition of asceticism by Collins and Mulder above will be a basic understanding in identifying asceticism in alas Ketonggo.

The last step of analysis in this research is the process of analyzing and arranging the worldview concept of Javanese *abangan* in understanding their practices and their belief system. Irving Hallowel is a scholar that have concept of *worldview* in identifying belief system of the certain religious community. This worldview theory is important to understand several phenomenon, practices, and way of thinking of *abangan* in Imogiri cemetery. Hallowell introduces a theory about “behavior” and “worldview”. Irving Hallowel explains about the concept of his *world view* using Redvields description. It is:

Redvields says that ‘worldview’ differs from culture, ethos, mode of thought and national character. The members of society have the picture of the properties and characters upon their stage of action. While ‘national character’ refers to the way these people look to the

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12Ricklefs, “The Birth Of The Abangan.,” p. 84.
13Ricklefs, “The Birth Of The Abangan.,” p. 89
outsider looking them. ‘World view’ refers to the way the world look to that people looking out (Irving Hallowel, 1960: 30).\(^{15}\)

The worldview concept above is urgent to understand the relation among practitioners (abangan), rituals (offering, slametan, tapa/meditation and so forth), and the goal of the practices in alas Ketonggo-Ngawi. Abangan people who do ritual and ascetic practices perceive the forest differently from other people. Using Hallowel concept of “world view” will help the analyzing process of the way of thinking of Javanese people in there.

THE SACRED PLACES OF ALAS KETONGGO

Alas Ketonggo is a forest with an area of 4846 m\(^2\), which is located around 12 KM in the south of the Ngawi city-East Java. This forest is located precisely in the village of Babadan, Paron district, Ngawi regency. According to some records and a book guided of alas Srigati written by mbah Marji, in Ketonggo there are more than 12 sacred places. They are: 1. Pesanggrahan Srigati; 2. Sendang Drajad; 3. Pundhen Watu Dhakon; 4. Pundhen Tugu Mas; 5. Alas Legak-Legok; 6. Jambe Tower; 7. Pundhen Siti Hinggil; 8. Sedalem River; 9. Sendang Panguripan; 10. Sendang Mintowiji; 11. Kori Gapit; 12 Tempur River, and guest houses of Soekarno.\(^{16}\) According to the Javanese people, including the caretakers of several sacred places in Alas Ketonggo, visitors, pilgrims and other Javanese people, Alas Ketonggo is assumed as one of the center of sacred place in Java Island.\(^{17}\)

Generally, Javanese people understand that this place of Ketonggo is the kingdom of several spirits and spiritual power. Moreover, according to a visitor, mas Firman say:

> "Alas ketonggo niku seumpami dipersani saking sejarah lan pandangan batin mas nggeh niku pusatipun sedoyo kekiatan mistis tanah Jawi niki. Jenengan perso kan alas Purwo-Banyuwangi? Lha niku pasangane alas Ketonggo mas. Umbapine alas pureo niku diwastani bapak, lha alas Ketonggo-Ngawi meniko ibu mas" \(^{18}\)

Javanese texts above can be translated and concluded as: “while one other forest that is also supposedly sacred in the Java Island is Alas Purwa which is located in Banyuwangi, East Java. Mas Firman said that Alas Purwa-Banyuwangi referred to as the father of mysticism in Javanese believe, while the Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi referred to a mother.

The common story spreading behind Alas Ketonggo history is starting from the ancestor of Javanese people Eyang Srigati (name of person). Eyang Srigati is a great teacher who coming from Indian continent to Java Island and he is understood as the ancestor of Javanese people.\(^{19}\) Furthermore, the Javanese ancestor of Eyang Srigati is also understood as the main ancestor of several kingdoms in Indonesia, including Padjajaran, Kediri, Sriwijaya Majapahit, Mataram and so on.\(^{20}\) In addition, without any clear explanation (by caretakers of several sacred places in Alas Ketonggo, visitor and pilgrim of Alas Ketonggo) they strongly believe that Eyang Srigati finally chose a certain forest in Java becoming the places of practicing ascetic live. This forest is named now as Alas Ketonggo or Alas Srigati.

Another story which so strongly understood by Javanese people visiting Alas Ketonggo is about the last king of Majapahit. He is Prabu Brawijaya V. Based on information from mbah Karto,\(^{21}\) alas Ketonggo is also has strong correlation with Prabu Brawijaya V. This statement also admited by Mbah Marji,

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\(^{16}\)Hand book of alas Ketonggo-Srigati by Mbah Marji.

\(^{17}\)Interview with Mas Slamet as a caretaker of Sendang Drajad in Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi, 29 Okt 2016.

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\(^{18}\)Interview with Mas Firman as visitor of Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi 29 Okt 2016.

\(^{19}\)Interview with Mas Firman 29 Okt 2016.

\(^{20}\)Interview with Sugianto as visitor of Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi 29 Okt 2016.

\(^{21}\)Mbah Karto lives in Alas Ketonggo to do ascetic practice for several months.
Mbah Slamet and Kyai Hamid (some of the senior figures in alas Ketonggo). Mbah Karto said:

"Nak kaitanip kalian sejarahipun alas niki mas nggeh, nak mbooten panggenan ingkang unggul lan linuweh, mboten mungkin prabu agung Brawijoyo V ndadosaken panggenan topo sak bakdonipun Mojopahit ambruk. Prabu Brawijoyo meniko mlayunipun mriki, sepindah dugi wonten umbul jambe, terus topo ten alas meniko lan siram soho nnglepasaken kemewahan busono, gaman, lan sedoyo prabotipun wonten meniko kali tempur. Kranten meniko tiyang percados bilih niki alas niku nyimpen kekiantan mistis ingkang inggil. Lan kali tempur dipercados nyimpen yoni-yoni kejayaan majapahit ingkang dilepas sang prabu ten mriki, milane sak meniko rame damel topo kungkum mas.damel ngalap berkah."  

From the text above it can translated and concluded that Alas Ketonggo is really a forest containing high spiritual power. The proof of this argumentation in Mbah Karto point of view is that the last king of Majapahit Kingdom named Prabu Brawijaya V had chosen the Ketonggo as a location of doing ascetic practices after the collapse of his Kingdom of Majapahit. And then, the king Brawijaya V also released all of his Kingdom attributes in alas Ketonggo, especially in Tempur River and Umbul Jambe. Because of this story and understanding, so very logic if Javanese people also visiting this forest to do ascetic practices in order the effort of getting blessings (berkah).  

Some backgrounds, story and understanding above is a starting point of the discussion in this chapter. Proposing to analyze the ascetic practice of tapa kungkum in Alas Ketonggo and the worldview of Javanese people in there, the next discussion would like to explore both of discussions.

**THE WORLD VIEW OF ABANGAN ASCETICISM PRACTICE IN ALAS KETONGGO**

Asceticism is a lifestyle characterized by abstinence from worldly pleasures, often for the purpose of pursuing spiritual goals. Furthermore, ascetic practices propose in clearing the heart of person receiving a high spiritual phase. In other explanation, Koentjaraningrat explains that Javanese ascetic is a process to hold the human desire in order reaching a high spiritual awareness.

In the Javanese tradition, asceticism is an important concept influencing all of life aspect where is understood as heart of each ritual. Practicing several rituals, ceremony and asceticism in the certain places are a part of religious practice for Javanese people. Additionally, the practices become a media to communicate to the God and some spirits assumed as sacred and great power of influencing of their life.

A basic understanding that the sacred power (pepunden, sing bahurekso and danyang) exist in the Ketonggo forest have become a common belief for the Javanese people around the area. This belief actually is a part of animism and dynamism. This phenomenon is common by the syncretism term where this character is an identity of Javanese religious belief (Mulder, 1980:1). This trust of all creatures is connected (human, nature and spirit) is happening in Alas Ketonggo atmosphere.

Based on the observation, four respondents who practice ascetic live in alas Ketonggo state that their ritual proposes are the process of purring their life and seeking blessing (berkat). Moreover, they believe that berkat from the

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22 Interview with Mbah Karto Sugianto as visitor of Alas Ketonggo-Ngawi 29 Okt 2016.


27 Name of several spirits are familiar in alas Ketonggo. The spirits are assumed by Javanese people practicing ascetic ritual as a great of sacred power in the forest.

God (Gusti Allah) is easier to be obtained if the human take the mediator (lantaran) of some spirits. The some danyang in Alas Ketonggo, such as pepunden srigati, and punden in petilasan Brawijoyo V is assumed as the sacred place having strong connection to the Almighty God. Because of the worldview above, they do ascetic practices in there.

According to Ki Among Jati, Alas Ketonggo actually has two different mystical worlds. The first is a world which is identical with good spiritual power. And the second is the other world that identical with bad spiritual power. This explanation shows to us that the forest has two different sides spiritually. They are alas putih and alas peteng. In detail, Ki Among Jati explains:

“sejatine, alas ketonggo iku anduweni rong alam mas. Siji alas putih, lan sing sijine maneh alas ireng. Alas putih iku yo maksude panggone wong-wong mrene gawe lantaran poro pinisepuh lan pepunden mbiyen sing nate manggon nang alas kene kango nyuwun nang Gusti. Nak alas peteng yo sejatine aku dewe ga reti, kadang maksude wong-wongsing mrene ko umah wes arep jaluk pesugihan lan lio-lio karo makhluk sinjung salah. Lha iku kadang wong-wong iku diplesetne karo dedemit kene.”

The explanation above gives us a clear understanding about the intention of the visitors behind the practices in Imogiri. Ki Among Jati states that himself do not understand about the certain propose of each visitor. Because the intention (niat) is in the deep of the heart of each person. However, two different kinds of practices categorized including to the good spirit or bad spirit is admired by the caretaker of alas Ketonggo.

Another explanation by mas Firman explains that several visitors of alas Ketonggo are complex. We cannot really know about the propose of each visitor. Sometime several santri also do tata kunjung in Tempur River but they do tahlilan and praying to Allah SWT first. In contrary, the other group also do several ritual which so identical with abangan practices (tapa mbisu, tata ngeli, and call some spirits as dan hyang, mbah, sing mbaureka and other spirits to help them). In fact, this group does several orders (sesaji) to several spirits that sometimes I do not understand, mas firman said. This second group is really asking to the spirits, not to the God as the first group of santri. This phenomenon is an illustration that in Alas Ketonggo has different kinds of practices.

After observing for several times, interviewing for several visitors, caretaker, and people who practice some ritual of kunjung and asceticism this research finds a basic phenomenon that actually the worldview of Javanese people in alas Ketonggo two different understanding as Ki Among Jati and Mas Firman’s explanation. Two different worldviews above are influencing each practice of visitors in doing tata kunjung in Alas Ketonggo. We can categorized the first group is part of santri practices, and the second group in part of abangan.

Both of santri and abangan practices actually also have a basic view in looking out the existence of the spirits in Alas Ketonggo. But the difference is that the santri group although believe to the existence some spirits and sacred power in the forest, they practice ritual still asking to the God (Allah Swt.) while the spirits is just assumed as mediator.
contrary, the *abangan* group assume that the spirits in Alas Ketonggo is central of great supernatural power that can help them in give shape to some their intention and hope. So the *abangan* group really believe to the spirits on the forest which can help them.

In the last, this research states that the ascetic practices in Alas Ketonggo cover an understanding (worldview) that all of universes are connected, blend of syncretism and mixing of several beliefs and tradition. The syncreticism practices categorized as *kejawen* which identical with the term of *abangan*. Syncreticism, *kejawen* and *abangan* are so popular in the Javanese tradition, featuring a strong belief both spirits and sacred power and seeking blessing (*berkat*). This syncreticism practices combined by several religious teaching; Islam, Hindu, Buddhism, animism, dynamism and local culture.

**THE ASCETIC PRACTICES AND TAPA KUNGKUM IN ALAS KETONGGO**

This chapter would like to overview the ascetic practices in Alas Ketonggo, especially focusing on the *tapa kungkum* in Tempur river and ascetic practice in Petilasan Prabu Brawijaya V. This research analyzes two ascetic rituals above around two mounts during March-June 2016. Both *tapa kungkum* in Tempur river and and ascetic practice in *petilasan* Brawijaya V are the most common ritual in Alas Ketonggo. Commonly several visitors having a certain propose or will come to the place for doing one of the ritual.

The reason behind taking focus on two objects both *tapa kungkum* in Tempur river and ascetic practice in Petilasan Prabu Brawijaya V is that both of two places between Tempur river and petilasan Brawijaya V are strongly correlated. Mbah Slamet said:

Panggen petilasan lan kali tempur ing alas Ketonggo meniko nggadahi hubungan ingkang raket mas. Contone ngaten, petilasan menika panggenane Prabu Brawijoyo V ngeningaken cipto lan nglampahi lelakon topo sak sampunipun jengkar saking kraton Mojopahit. Ngih ten alas ketonggo meniko panggenane sang rojo nglampahi lelakon batin. Sak lajenge kali tempur meniko panggenipun Prabu Brawijoyo siram lan kungkum soho nglepasake sedoyo kemejanipun krajaan Mojopahit, kados to; rasukan, jimat, pusoko-pusoko lan lia-lianipun. Dadose ten kali tempur srigati meniko katah sing percados nyimpen yoni keagunganipun prabu Brawijoyo V.

Based on the mbah Slamet explanation above can be translated as that both Petilasan Brawijaya V and Tempur River in Alas Ketonggo have a strong correlation. Mbah slamet stated that *petilasan* is a location of Prabu Brawijaya practice ascetic live after leave a Majapahit Kingdom. In this location Brawijaya fucuse in clearing his heart and mind based on ascetic Javanese tradition as *tapa* and meditation or hermit life. Furthermore, Tempur River is the location of Brawijaya V take bathe submerging and release all of his king identity attribute, such as the king’s cloth, heirloom, and others. Based on the understanding above, Javanese people believe that in the area has a sacred power from the great king of Majapahit Prabu Brawijawa V. Furthermore, this section would like to explain about two rituals above.

**THE ASCETIC PRACTICE IN PETILASAN PRABU BRAWIJAYA V**

Ki Among Jati, the caretaker of Petilasan Prabu Brawijaya V and Eyang Srigati, explains that this sacred place is a certain place which become a location of Brawijaya V practice ascetic life before go to Lawu Mountain. The handbook of Alas Srigati told that this Petilasan Prabu Brawijaya V is found by the head village of Babadan, Somo Darmojo in 1963th. This location is a land which growing time by time and the land is hard as a coral.

Furthermore, Ki Among Jati said, in the 1974th
the Javanese lord of Surakarta, Gusti Dorojatun IX stated that this place is a part of the history of Majapahit Kingdom. It is called as Petilasan Brawijaya V or Petilasan Ryang Srigati.\(^\text{41}\)

Based on the observation, in surrounding the petilasan Brawijaya V or petilasan Agung Srigati has some symbolic Javanese things that are identical with Majapahit kingdom, such as crown of king, spear, gong and other heirlooms. In the center of this petilasan is a land which growing time by time and the land is hard as a coral. In the surrounding of the sacred land it is exist some flowers and incenses which binged by some visitor which practice ritual in there.

The ritual process of practice ascetic in this area usually is seeking berkah (blessing) to the several sacred power in the area such as; the spirit of Eyang Srigati and Brabu Brawijaya V. The process of practicing ritual usually guided firstly by the caretaker of this petilasan (Ki Among Jati or Mbah Marji). Ki among Jati will give the visitors a change to enter in the area of petilasan for some moment in doing asking blessing. Furthermore, the visitor can start their ritual or ascetic practice in the locations that they want, because Alas Ketonggo has more than 12 sacred places.

Relating with the practicing of ascetic live in the area of Petilasan Brawijaya V or Eyang Srigati, this research interviewed around 5 people in there. Until the last October 2016, there are 5 people who have practice ascetic live more than one month. According to Mr. X\(^\text{42}\), he has more than two months live in ascetic way in the area. He explains that he has a family problem. And finally, he decided to practice meditation and asking blessing to some spirits and sacred power in the Ketonggo forest in order God gives him a way out and solution to his problem.\(^\text{43}\) In Alas Srigati, he practices so simple live (simple eating, clothing, and so forth) and practice any contemplation and meditation in seeking the blessing.

Another people (this research named him as Mr. Y) also came from center of Java. Mr. Y also has lived in the area of Ketonggo around three months. The propose behind his practice also a belief that in the area has strong sacred power that will lead him to find of his propose (hajat). He told as the way to seek a blessing is meditation more and more especially in the last night. Mr. Y strongly believes that God will guide him and give a guide (wisik)\(^\text{44}\) because of the honor of some sacred spirit (especially spirit of Eyang Srigatai and Brawijaya V) in the area of Ketonggo forest.\(^\text{45}\)

Two examples above are an illustration of ascetic live in the area of petilasan Srigatai and Brawijaya V in the area of alas Ketonggo-Ngawi. Based on the observation, it can be concluded that all of visitors who living in ascetic system in the area because of the basic understanding that alas Ketonggo is not a usual forest, but Ketonggo is sacred forest related with sacred power and spirit. This understanding is a basic character of abangan which referring Geertz term that refers to as a syncretic blend of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements.\(^\text{46}\)

Tapa Kungkum in Tempur River

Tapa kungkum in alas Ketonggo is a spiritual activity as meditation that a part of the body sink in the Tempur river. This ritual is practiced by several visitors of alas Ketonggo including; man, women, young people and old people. The propose of this ritual is seeking blessing and the peace hart.\(^\text{47}\)

The basic understanding of many visitors practicing kungkum in the Tempur River is a belief that this river has sacred power related with the honor of Brabu Brawijaya V.\(^\text{48}\) as the previous explanation, that mbah slamet has told that in the past, Brawijaya also ever practiced kungkum and released all of his king attributes.

\(^\text{41}\)Interview with Ki Among Jati, 23 March 2016.
\(^\text{42}\)Interview with Mr. X in October 2016.
\(^\text{43}\)Interview with Mbah Slamet, June 2016.
\(^\text{44}\)Wisik is Javanese term that the meaning is similar with revelation.
\(^\text{45}\)Interview with Mr. Y in October 2016.
\(^\text{46}\)Geertz, The Religion of Java., p. 5.
\(^\text{47}\)Interview with Mas Firman, October 2016.
\(^\text{48}\)Interview with Mbah Slamet, June 2016.
in the Tempur River of alas Ketonggo. This belief has attracted many visitors to follow the Brawijaya practice in order getting blessing.

_Tapa kungkum (submerged meditation)_ usually is practiced by several visitors in the certain time (mostly at the night of _Kliwon_ Friday, _Legi_ Friday, _Legi_ Tuesday and the _Sura_ months). Before starting the ritual of _kungkum_ firstly the caretaker will explain the rules of practicing the ritual. Sumarji as the _sesepuh_ describes that the rules of _kungkum_ in Alas Ketonggo are: the first is _Bath_ (Bath) male visitor suggested to wearing shorts pant, and for women members in the compulsory wearing _jarit kemben_. However, in the real practice many visitors do not follow this rule. They practice _kungkum_ based on their own rule and ignore the guides of the caretaker. In other word, many people practicing _kungkum_ without the guide from the caretaker or instruction of the _sesepuh_ in alas Ketonggo.

The second role of _kungkum_ is that the visitors who want to practice _kungkum_ should remain about the situation. If in the moment is raining, the process of _kungkum_ is forbidden. This rule is very logic because to prevent an accident of flood in the Tempur River that so danger to the visitor. The third role is for the women who have menstruation is strongly prohibited in following the ritual. About time, generally the _kungkum_ ritual is practiced in the night after _isya_. The fifth is all of experiences after practicing the ritual can be dialoged to the _sesepuh_.

The location of _tempur_ river in alas Ketonggo is a main place in performing the _kungkum_ ritual. _Tempur_ river is the gathering of two different rivers flow into one. According to the Javanese belief, the location of gathering two river flows into one has a deep spiritual meaning. Mbah Slamet said that _tempur river_ has a high mysticism atmosphere (slamet, 04 May 2016). The atmosphere will support the ascetic ritual being more focus. Because of the belief kali _tempur_ of alas Ketonggo becomes a sacred place for practicing ascetic ritual.

**CONCLUSION**

This research has explained the worldview and practices of Javanese _abangan_ in alas Ketonggo-Ngawi. The Javanese _abangan_ (including caretakers, pilgrims, and visitors) however still preserve each ritual and ceremony which being a media of communication and seeking blessing to the god with the mediator of some sacred spirits in the forest area. the ritual both ascetic live in the _petilasan_ Brawijaya V and _tapa kungkum_ in tempur River mostly always linked to the _abangan_ categories such as the spirit of Eyang Srigati, Brawijaya V, Sing Baurekso, blessing and magical power in the Ketonggo forest-Ngawi-East Java).

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