

ZONE OF SACRED SPACE: THE TOMBS OF SUNAN BONANG TUBAN AND PANOPTIC AS CONSCIOUSNESS EDUCATION

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Abstract. The sacred courtyard at the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban is a zone based on geographical location and the level of sanctity within the tomb courtyard, which is divided into three zones. These zones are spatially divided into three parts: the first is the Jaba courtyard, the second is called the Jaba Tengah courtyard, while the third courtyard is referred to as Jeroan. All three courtyards are sacred and possess different levels of sanctity, each marked by a panoptic sign as a surveillance system. The panoptic system indirectly serves as a consciousness education for pilgrims, aiming to protect cultural heritage objects and maintain the sanctity of the tomb area. Through the panoptic system and the signs, pilgrims are encouraged to behave obediently and consciously. This research aims to describe the zones of the sacred courtyard and behavioral education through the panoptic system in the tomb courtyard of Sunan Bonang using a qualitative ethnographic research model. Data is obtained through a combination of historical methods, observation, and interviews, accompanied by Michel Foucault's panoptic theory. The findings reveal three sacred courtyard zones in the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban, resembling the concept of sacred places based on the Tri Loka concept, which states that the world consists of Bhur Loka (lower realm), Bwah Loka (middle realm), and Swa Loka (upper realm). In addition to the panoptic system, these three realms within the zones also provide education to pilgrims visiting the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban.

Keywords: *Consciousness; Sacred Space; Panoptic; Sunan Bonang Tuban*

A. INTRODUCTION

Various types of research on the tomb of Makdum Ibrahim Sunan Bonang Tuban, such as the influence of pilgrimage activities on the public space of the Alun-alun: a case study of the Sunan Bonang cemetery area (Allan & Karmilah, 2019), the mystique of Sunan Bonang (Ulfah, 2016), the manuscript of Suluk Wujil: values transformation of Sufi education Sunan Bonang in Nation Character Building (Mahfudh dkk., 2017), the interpretation of the concept of God from the perspective of Maulana Makdhum Ibrahim in the Bonang primbon and Suluk Wujil (Alfadhilah, 2018), identification of the characteristics of the attractions of Sunan Bonang's tomb tourism based on religious tourism components (Wicaksono & Idajati, 2020), the landscape planning of the Islamic cultural tourism area of Sunan Bonang (Atha'Atun, t.t.), Pilgrimage traditions in

Javanese society: Contestations of piety, religious identity, and commercialism (Mujib, 2016). However, from the various writings of these experts, none have provided a description of the division of the courtyard zones of the tomb of Sunan Bonang and the concept of panoptic in the sacred space of the Sunan Bonang tomb courtyard."

Society holds a moral and religious responsibility and awareness to preserve sacred places such as the tombs of revered figures. These locations are not only historical and cultural sites containing religious values, but also serve as markers of spirituality within a community. Preserving the tombs of revered figures is a form of tribute to individuals who played significant roles in the history of religion and society, reminding us of the cultural and spiritual heritage that needs safeguarding. Moreover, these places are often utilized for worship and pilgrimage, contributing to the sustainability of the cultural and spiritual heritage associated with the tombs, serving as a foundation for the identity of a community. Involving the community in the preservation of these sacred places goes beyond safeguarding physical artifacts; it is about strengthening the spiritual, historical, and communal bonds within a social group. Sacred places are sanctified areas dedicated to God, requiring separation from everyday activities and worldly matters. These locations serve as distinct spaces where individuals of faith behave and conduct themselves differently compared to their presence in ordinary and secular environments (Muhammad, 2013).

There are three distinct spatial zones within the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban. The initial zone corresponds to the first courtyard (Jaba), the second zone to the second courtyard (*Jaba Tengah*), and the third zone to the third courtyard (*Jeroan*). These three zones exhibit similarities with the spatial arrangement concept found in sacred places, guided by four principles: Tri Loka, Dwi Loka, Eka Bhuana, and Sapta Loka. In the case of the Sunan Bonang Tuban tomb, there is a tendency to align with the Tri Loka concept, which posits that the world comprises Bhur Loka (lower realm), Bwah Loka (*middle realm*), and Swah Loka (*upper realm*) (Yanti, 2013).

The three sacred zones in the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban have their respective levels of sanctity. Unconsciously, pilgrims have regarded the first courtyard zone as a profane area (M. Ilham, komunikasi pribadi, 4 Februari 2023). In the second courtyard zone, the community is aware that it is a semi-sacred area, but not entirely considering it as a fully sacred space. Upon entering the third courtyard zone, pilgrims automatically realize that they have entered a sacred area where the tomb enclosure of Sunan Bonang is located."

The focus of this research is to describe the sacred courtyard zones and panopticon as an educational medium for the community or pilgrims present at the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban. The sacred zone at the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban actually begins upon entering the tomb complex and passing through the first gate, which takes the form of a regol gateway (*Dokumen Inventarisasi Lengkap Makam Sunan Bonang Kantor*, 1989). However, due to the influx of pilgrims visiting the tomb of Sunan Bonang, the access to this courtyard zone becomes restricted.

The concept of panopticon, first introduced by Michel Foucault, can be associated with societal awareness in preserving the sanctity of the tombs of revered figures. Panopticon, as an invisible surveillance system, creates a sense of self-awareness and societal discipline. In the context of the tombs of revered figures, the application of the panopticon concept serves as a constant reminder that the actions of the community can be observed, even if the surveillance itself is not always directly visible. With an awareness of potential surveillance, communities tend to be more cautious and considerate in their actions, particularly in terms of preserving the sanctity of the tombs. The panopticon concept can also positively influence the compliance of society with rules and norms governing the respect for sacred places. Sensing the presence of surveillance, the community can become more conscious of the spiritual and religious values embedded in the

tombs of revered figures, fostering collective awareness to safeguard and preserve these sacred values considered essential to their identity and cultural heritage.

B. METHODS

This research employs a qualitative ethnographic research approach, with a primary focus on in-depth investigation into culture and language, incorporating historical methods, observation, and interviews (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Additionally, the study adopts a critical paradigm with the aim of unveiling the distribution of knowledge discourse and fostering the formation of inclusive knowledge. The hope is that every individual or community can have access to knowledge and understand their personal and environmental situations.

Furthermore, the explanation regarding the categorization of sacred zones in this study utilizes the panopticon theory as a strategy to uphold power in the form of spatial sanctity. Originated by Michel Foucault (Foucault, 2002), this theory serves as a means to sustain power and enforce sacred values in a particular location. Foucault developed the concept known as panopticon, which operates with a surveillance function that is not continuous but has a lasting impact. The objective is to create enduring compliance by minimizing the resources utilized (Faiz, 2015).

The research was conducted at the tomb of Sunan Bonang, located on Jl. K.H. Mustain, Kutorejo Village, Tuban District, Tuban Regency. The data utilized in this study encompassed primary data obtained through interviews with informants and secondary data consisting of writings related to the research issue, sourced from books, journals, and other relevant media concerning the tomb of Sunan Bonang. The data collection methods employed to achieve the research objectives included in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and document analysis, following the methodology explained by (Pratiwi dkk., 2018). The interviews were conducted through unstructured dialogues using interview guidelines. A total of 17 informants from various entities, such as visitors, the management of the Mabarro Sunan Bonang Foundation, religious figures, governmental representatives, artists, and cultural experts in Tuban Regency, were selected as interview respondents. Informal observations were conducted to obtain an overview and information related to the research problem, following the approach described by (Creswell, 2016).

The document analysis in this research encompasses the examination of both public and private documents. Various research instruments were employed in this study, including the researcher, interview guidelines, field notes, and recording devices, following the methodology outlined by (Sugiyono, 2010). Data validation was conducted by comparing different data sources, inspecting evidence from various parties such as the management of the Foundation, pilgrims, government officials, community leaders, artists, and cultural experts. This process aimed to ensure the validity of the acquired data. Meanwhile, data analysis was carried out in six stages: data management and preparation, comprehensive data reading, detailed analysis through data coding, implementation of the coding process, presentation of descriptions and themes, and data interpretation (Creswell, 2016).

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The First Courtyard Zone (*Jaba*)

The first courtyard or *Jaba* is the initial courtyard among the three divisions in the tomb of Sunan Bonang. This courtyard is situated very close to the Kutorejo village alley, the first entrance gate of Sunan Bonang's tomb. Although part of the sacred area, this courtyard has a different level of sanctity compared to the second and third courtyards. It is considered sacred due to the presence of cultural heritage objects, such as the *Regol*-shaped Gate I, the western *pendopo paseban*, and the eastern *paseban*, located to the left and right before the entrance to the second courtyard.

At the *Regol*-shaped Gate I, there is a panoptic symbol. The panopticon serves as an effective way to instill obedience in pilgrims who visit the tomb of Sunan Bonang Tuban. Consciously, the panopticon is symbolized by the presence of Gate I in the form of a *Regol* with the gate's dimensions located at the entrance of the first courtyard. The gate is square-shaped, measuring 4.28 meters in length and 3.73 meters in width, with the roof measuring 4.58 meters by 3.94 meters. The walls are 2.97 meters high, constructed from plastered and whitewashed brick, adorned with a relief motif of flower patterns on a *joglo*-style roof framework made of teak wood measuring 16.5 x 10 cm, with a roof covering made of teak shingles measuring 50 cm in length, 29 cm in width, and 2 cm in thickness (Studi Teknis Arkeologis, 2006).

The *Regol*-shaped Gate I compels pilgrims arriving at the tomb of Sunan Bonang to bow upon entering the first courtyard zone, *Jaba*. Regardless of whoever comes and enters the tomb, bowing is mandatory. This gesture serves as a sign that the etiquette and courtesy of entering the sacred zone of the courtyard of Sunan Bonang's tomb must be observed, respecting the revered tomb within.

The first courtyard zone, *Jaba*, is a sacred area with a low level of sanctity. In the concept of sacred places in Bali, it is referred to as *Bhur Loka* (lower realm), where human interactions are still highly prevalent, and transactional relationships and trade activities take place in this courtyard (Yanti, 2013). This area exhibits a high level of tourism-related aspects, with significant economic interests, resulting in a lower level of sanctity compared to the second and third courtyards (Mariati dkk., 2023).

2. The Second Courtyard Zone (*Jaba Tengah*)

This second courtyard follows the first courtyard, known as *Jaba Tengah*, and to reach this courtyard, pilgrims must pass through the boundary of the first *Paduraksa* gate. This courtyard is also referred to as a sacred area with an increasing level of sanctity compared to the first courtyard, *Jaba*. In this courtyard, there are no more transactional buying and selling activities. Instead, it houses cultural heritage objects such as the *Paduraksa* gate and other relics like two *pendapa rante* and artifacts associated with Sunan Bonang. This courtyard provides facilities for pilgrims in preparation to enter the sacred inner courtyard, *Jeroan* (M. Ilham, komunikasi pribadi, 4 Februari 2023).

The second courtyard, *Jaba Tengah*, in the Tri Loka concept falls into the category of *Bwah Loka* (middle realm) (Yanti, 2013). In this area, various facilities are available, including bathrooms and ablution areas, resting places for pilgrims, the office of the Mabarrot Sunan Bonang Foundation, information centers, security posts, and an *Astana* mosque. Compared to the first courtyard, there are more cultural heritage objects in this courtyard. Consequently, the sanctity level of *Jaba Tengah* is higher. In the 1990s, traders in this courtyard were intentionally relocated and facilitated by the Foundation's management to the first courtyard, *Jaba*, to avoid disturbing pilgrims preparing to enter the sacred inner courtyard, *Jeroan* (M. Ilham, komunikasi pribadi, 4 Februari 2023).

The second courtyard, *Jaba Tengah*, features the first *Paduraksa* gate that connects the first courtyard, *Jaba*, to the second courtyard, *Jaba Tengah*. This *Paduraksa* gate resembles ancient structures found in temples, characterized by medallions shaped like animals. However, in this *Paduraksa* gate, the medallion is replaced with calligraphy made of teak wood, inscribed with the names of Allah and Muhammad, located on the lintel of the gate (*Dokumen Inventarisasi Lengkap Makam Sunan Bonang Kantor*, 1989). Besides serving the purpose of spreading the teachings of Islam, these inscriptions theoretically convey meaning to arriving pilgrims and serve as a

panoptic symbol. Pilgrims entering the *Jaba Tengah* courtyard have entered the middle realm of *Bwah Loka* (Yanti, 2013), where they are expected to follow religious guidelines, prepare for purification, perform prayers and other religious acts, engage in charitable activities, practice kindness, observe proper etiquette, and respect fellow pilgrims. These are actions expected from pilgrims in the *Jaba Tengah* courtyard."

The obedience's practiced by pilgrims during their visit to the Sunan Bonang Tomb are the result of the interpretation of deliberately crafted symbols, aiming to perpetuate the power of 'maintaining sanctity' created by humans. These symbols also serve as a means of education, contributing to the preservation of cultural heritage. Educating the wider community through symbols or signs present at the Makdum Ibrahim Sunan Bonang Tomb is an effective way to cultivate awareness in a subtle manner. This aligns with Michel Foucault's concept of panopticism, where a single warning, whether in the form of a sentence or symbols, has continuous and lasting effects (Faiz, 2015).

3. The Third Courtyard Zone (*Jeroan*)

This area is the summit, in the zoning classification referred to as the third courtyard, *Jeroan*. This courtyard serves as the peak of the preceding courtyards and possesses a distinct level of sanctity. It houses cultural heritage items, such as the tomb enclosure of Sunan Bonang. Besides the enclosure, other cultural artifacts include the third *Paduraksa* gate, which resembles the second *Paduraksa* gate but has slightly more complete ceramic plate decorations. Additionally, there is a not-so-high wall situated in the middle of the entrance leading to the tomb enclosure, commonly known as the '*kelir*.' This structure is akin to the '*kelir*' found in the Imogiri tombs in Yogyakarta, or the '*peranan rana*' in general Javanese society (a dwelling located at the rear or back of a house). Generally, such structures serve the purpose of repelling dangers or warding off evil spirits from entering. Therefore, the tomb of Sunan Bonang can be regarded as a building following the structure or layout of traditional old buildings, differing from the structure of typical Islamic tombs in East Java (*Dokumen Inventarisasi Lengkap Makam Sunan Bonang Kantor*, 1989).

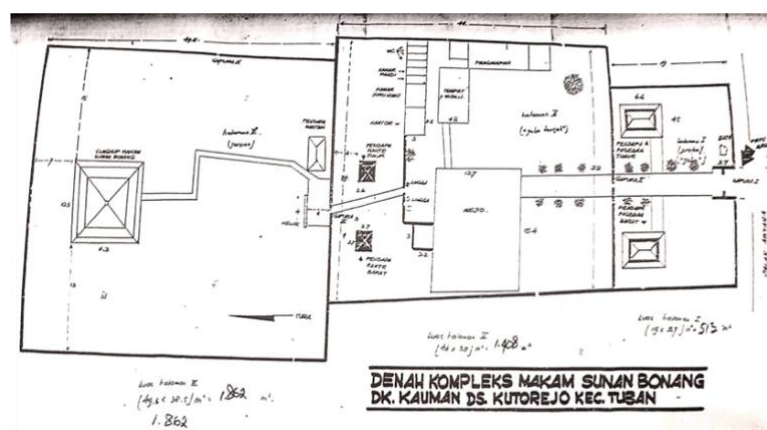


Figure 1 Layout of the Complex of Sunan Bonang Tuban Tomb

Source: (*Dokumen Kantor Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Kabupaten Tuban*, 1989)

The tomb chamber of Sunan Bonang, located in the courtyard of *Jeroan*, is the main structure in the complex of Sunan Bonang's tomb. The tomb chamber takes the form of a *Joglo*

with a square layout measuring 11.00 x 11.00 meters and a height of 6.65 meters. The building consists of the main tomb chamber for the central figure, featuring a veranda with a multi-tiered cone-shaped roof constructed with a tumpeng sari model. The roof is three stories high and made of teak wood, with rafters measuring 8/20 cm, upper and lower beams measuring 18/18 cm, kingposts measuring 18/18 cm, purlins measuring 20/8 cm, and ribs measuring 5/7 cm. The components are assembled with a 30 cm spacing, using 4/2 cm battens spaced 22 cm apart (*Dokumen Inventarisasi Lengkap Makam Sunan Bonang Kantor*, 1989).

The roof is covered with teak wood shingles, each measuring 50 cm in length, 24 cm in width, and 2 cm in thickness. The building's cover is also made of teak wood. The roof structure is supported by four corner pillars (*saka guru*) and four additional front porch pillars, each measuring 18/18 cm, as well as swamp pillars (*saka rawa*) of the same size, placed at each corner of the tomb chamber walls. Additionally, there are 11 pillars and 4 additional pillars for the front porch, each measuring 75/75 cm, made of plastered brick.

In the tomb chamber, there is a small chamber where the tomb of Sunan Bonang is located. The chamber is square-shaped, measuring 4.45 x 5.45 m, with a ceramic floor. It is 0.88 m higher than the porch floor, resembling a '*batur*' (elevated platform), and the chamber floor has undergone three changes. The '*batur*' is constructed from a stack of unsliced wooden beams, adorned with folded shapes at the bottom and top. However, these folds are now plastered and painted white. The eastern, southern, and western sides of the '*batur*' are decorated with lotus flower ornaments distilled with a combination of flower motifs and intertwining vines, while the northern side is unadorned and has been plastered and painted white (*Dokumen Inventarisasi Lengkap Makam Sunan Bonang Kantor*, 1989).

As a panoptic feature in the chamber of Sunan Bonang's tomb, there is a very small entrance door. There is a staircase measuring 1.05 m in length and 1.05 m in width leading to the chamber's door. The sides of the staircase are made of stacked wooden beams (*'balok tras'*), while the steps are made of tiles. The room's walls, 2.2 m in height, are made of teak wood panels. On the southern wall, there is a carving depicting a basic pattern, and a door measuring 1.07 m in width and 1.50 m in height with a butterfly-fold design. Meanwhile, on the lower frame of the eastern side of the entrance door, which has a split rattan shape, there is an inscription in Middle Javanese script that reads, '*Janma Wyahana Kayuning Sawit Jagat*,' meaning

Janma : Every Human Being is Valuable

Wyahana : The essence, the state is valuable as one

Kayuning : The Tree is Valued at six

Sawit Jagat : The tree of life, the beginning of the world is valued at one



Figure 2 Entrance to the burial chamber of Sunan Bonang

Source: (*Dokumen Pribadi Peneliti*, 2022)

The small-sized door is only sufficient for one person to enter and exit the burial chamber of Sunan Bonang. Pilgrims cannot freely enter and exit the chamber; there are unwritten rules conveyed through the form and size of the door. Automatically, when entering the chamber, pilgrims must bow due to its small size, and when leaving, they must walk backward, following the etiquette observed when visiting the home of a knowledgeable person or royal palaces in Java. The door serves as a panoptic symbol intentionally created to perpetuate the sanctity of the burial chamber where Sunan Bonang is interred. Pilgrims cannot casually enter the chamber; those wishing to enter must obtain approval from the caretakers or the Mabarroto Sunan Bonang Foundation administrators. At specific times, pilgrims can enter the chamber, but they must be accompanied by designated attendants responsible for opening the chamber and ensuring the spiritual aspects, as designated by the foundation administrators (M. Lazim, komunikasi pribadi, 6 Februari 2023).

In addition to the burial chamber door serving as a panoptic symbol, this Zone Three, the inner courtyard, is an area where sanctity is meticulously preserved. Unlike the previous courtyards, *Jaba* and *Jaba Tengah*, the level of sanctity in this courtyard is highly apparent, with minimal interaction among pilgrims. Discussions other than expressions of worship to the greatness of Allah, prayers, and supplications for the deceased are scarcely heard. While in the *Jaba* courtyard, pilgrims engage in transactions with each other, in the *Jaba Tengah* courtyard, pilgrims begin preparing themselves, purifying, and performing rituals in designated areas. Upon entering the inner courtyard (*Jeroan*), pilgrims truly find themselves in a space where sanctity is well-maintained, and their relationship is more vertically oriented.

D. CONCLUSION

The sanctity of the zones in the Sunan Bonang Tomb in Tuban, from the *Jaba* courtyard, *Jaba Tengah*, to the inner courtyard (*Jeroan*), forms a unified sacred space. However, in certain cases, the division of zones in the sacred courtyard is necessary as an effort to preserve cultural heritage from the threat of physical damage. In addition to this, there are fundamental reasons why the sacred courtyard is divided and geographically emphasized, starting from the *Jaba* courtyard,

which is significantly different from the *Jaba Tengah* courtyard, and the inner courtyard with signs of building partitions in the form of gates.

The fundamental purpose of dividing the sacred courtyard zones at the Sunan Bonang Tomb in Tuban is an effort to prevent damage to cultural heritage items when there is a surge in pilgrims, especially during the busy Sunan Bonang Tuban haul event when many pilgrims seek entry. Therefore, this strategy is crucial for managing the influx of pilgrims. In addition to this, the positive aspect of using the panoptic strategy as an educational effort is highly effective. Simultaneously, the community becomes aware of the signs present at the Sunan Bonang Tomb in Tuban.

The distinction of the sacred courtyards in the Sunan Bonang Tomb complex in Tuban also reflects many aspects of human life. One of these is the recognition that life has its peaks, and the presence of the panoptic serves as a way in our lives to remain vigilant and educate society to show respect and elevate the position of courtesy to everyone, wherever we may be.

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