



## THE DYNAMICS OF AGENT-STRUCTURE IN RITUAL COMMUNICATION OF THE SACRED GRAVE PILGRIMAGE

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### **Abstract**

#### **Keywords:**

ritual  
communications;  
sacred grave;  
social agent

*This study aims to explore the agent-structure relationship in ritual communication of sacred grave pilgrimage in Dewi Sekardadu at Sidoarjo. The multi-site ethnographic research method compares ritual communications and folklore at all Dewi Sekardadu's sacred graves that spread across four cities involving Sidoarjo, Gresik, Lamongan, and Banyuwangi. The key informants were doorkeepers, grave caretakers, community leaders, pilgrims, and businessmen. The data was collected through direct observation, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Data analysis uses Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, referring to how the dynamic agent-structure is elaborated with the cultural meaning through the study of ritual communication. This finding implicates the development Giddens's structuration theory for studying cultural and ritual communication in fishermen's communities. First, the competent agent in Kepetingan succeeded changing the stigma of Kepetingan from a criminal area to a religious area through developing folklore and Nyadran ritual communication practice and grave pilgrimages. The ruler of the ritual communication arena has significance and dominance in changing the rule of ritual from spiritual practice into Islam. Second, Giddens doesn't assume the existence of clustering of agents in society, so he couldn't predict the way of sociocultural development of the fishermen's community. Third, the Nyadran ritual communication structure became an identity for indigenous fishermen, which created the society structure for the grave pilgrimage in Kepetingan by the urban fishermen from Gresik and Lamongan with the identity of cultural-Islamic ritual communication.*

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<b>Kata kunci:</b> komunikasi ritual; makam keramat; agen sosial	<b>Abstrak</b> Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi relasi agen-struktur dalam komunikasi ritual ziarah makam keramat Dewi Sekardadu di Sidoarjo. Metode penelitian adalah etnografi multi situs, yakni membandingkan komunikasi ritual dan cerita rakyat di semua makam keramat Dewi Sekardadu yang tersebar di 4 kota (Sidoarjo, Gresik, Lamongan, dan Banyuwangi). Informan kunci adalah juru kunci, pengelola makam, tokoh masyarakat, peziarah, dan pebisnis. Pengumpulan data melalui observasi langsung dan partisipan, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi. Analisis data menggunakan teori strukturasi Anthony Giddens tentang dinamika agen-struktur yang dielaborasi dengan pemaknaan budaya melalui kajian komunikasi ritual. Temuan penelitian berimplikasi terhadap pengembangan teori strukturasi Giddens untuk kajian komunikasi budaya dan ritual di masyarakat nelayan. Pertama, agen kompeten di Kepetingan berhasil mengubah stigma Kepetingan dari daerah kriminal menjadi religius melalui pengembangan folklor dan praktik komunikasi ritual <i>Nyadran</i> dan ziarah kubur. Penguasa arena komunikasi ritual memiliki signifikansi dan dominasi untuk mengubah aturan ritual, dari hanya spiritual menjadi islami. Kedua, Giddens tidak mengandaikan adanya klasterisasi agen dalam masyarakat sehingga kurang dapat memprediksi arah perkembangan struktur sosial-budaya masyarakat nelayan. Ketiga, struktur komunikasi ritual <i>Nyadran</i> menjadi identitas bagi nelayan pribumi yang menciptakan struktur masyarakat ziarah kubur di Kepetingan oleh nelayan urban dari Gresik dan Lamongan, dengan identitas komunikasi ritual Islam kultural.
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## INTRODUCTION

### **Background Of The Study**

The sacred grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan, Sidoarjo, has brought out two unique and distinctive community structures: the grave pilgrimage and *Nyadran*. In the Grave Pilgrimage community structure, Dewi Sekardadu is interpreted as the

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

guardian's mother, Sunan Giri, and Syeh Maulana Ishaq's wife. Meanwhile, for the *Nyadran* community, Dewi Sekardadu is seen more as a mother of the guardian because she is also believed to be the manifestation of the sea goddess who brings blessings to the fisherman.

For Javanese people, sacred graves correlated with holy people are identified with spirits that bring blessings, such as the graves of guardians or holy people in the local Islamic perspective who are visited with the hope that prayers by sitting near the grave. This kind of worship was assumed that would be answered more quickly by God (Aini & Hamdi, 2021; Atmojo, 2016; Monika et al, 2022; Noviyanti, 2013; Rohma & Andalas, 2021; Warasati, 2007). Meanwhile the meaning of Dewi Sekardadu as sea goddess is formed from the syncretism of Javanese culture and Islamic religion. Syncretism of culture and religion in fisherman communities occurs following the creation, division, and meaning pattern of culture and religion, for instance, belief in the Goddess Ma Zu in Chinese society. Goddess Ma Zu, in Taoist thought, was originally a fisherman girl, and because of her kindness, purity, and high knowledge, she was appointed as a sea goddess who protects fishermen (Herwiratno, 2007).

In Java, the religion of fisherman communities was acculturated to include the belief in the sea deity, and each region presented its rituals. For example, the Buang Jong ritual in the Sawang tribe or the sea tribe on the Belitung island. The Sawang tribe's inhabitants believe that by tossing their boats and tributes into the sea, they will be safeguarded by the sea deity, prevent catastrophic maritime incidents, and receive blessings from the catch (Saepuloh, 2019). This is in line with the ritual tribute of fisherman communities to other sea goddess figures such as Nyi Roro Kidul along the south coast of Java, Dewi Lanjar on the north coast of Java, and Putri Junjung Buih in South Borneo.

The instances of fisherman community rituals above are identical to the value believed by some fisherman communities in Sidoarjo, which by carrying out the *Nyadran* ritual at the grave of Dewi Sekardadu and sailing tributes in order to get increasing catch in the sea ahead. It is believed that Dewi Sekardadu is a blessing messenger in the sea. Instead, if they did not attend the *Nyadran*, they believed that bad luck would come to them when going to the sea, and they would not catch many fish, mussels and shellfish. Conversely, Dewi Sekardadu is acknowledged by Islam as Wali

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

Songo pilgrims in Indonesia, while other sea goddesses are believed to have caused the myth from local totemism communities.

One of the reasons the ritual of pilgrimage to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu can adapt and develop in the coastal communities of Sidoarjo is the socio-religious status of Dewi Sekardadu and the development of religious tourism of pilgrimage to the grave among Muslims in Java. Dewi Sekardadu is the mother of Sunan Giri and the wife of a famous cleric from Samarkand, Sheikh Maulana Ishaq, a close relative of Raden Rahmat or Sunan Ampel. Apart from that, Dewi Sekardadu is also famous in East Javanese folklore with the story of the miraculous healing performed by Maulana Ishaq when the Blambangan area was hit by an infectious disease outbreak or pandemic (Fuadi, 2021; Kasdi, 2017; Lufaei, 2018; Muttaqin & Fitriansyah, 2022; Pujianto et al., 2022; Sunyoto, 2016).

### ***Rationale Of The Study***

Sidoarjo is a coastal city where people maintain the *Nyadran* tradition and pilgrimage to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu. *Nyadran* rituals and grave pilgrimages are not only religious practices but also reflect the cultural identity of the fishing community in Sidoarjo. This phenomenon is distinctive and unique as a form of syncretism of the Sidoarjo fishing tradition with the arrival of Islam because Dewi Sekardadu is the only goddess or queen of the sea revered by the fishing community in the history of Islam's spread in Java.

### ***Literature Review***

In ritual and cultural communications, ritual reaches across the discrepancies between past, now, and future, reducing any threats of the demise of individual or group identity (Reimers, 1999). Heretofore, the ritual of Grave Pilgrimage and *Nyadran* at Dewi Sekardadu's grave exists due to the active role of social agents in promoting the existence of sacred graves through the routinization of grave pilgrimage rituals. Garfinkel (1967) argues that social structures are always built from within and through the daily activities of their members, who are more knowledgeable and experienced. On the other hand, humans are creators of social structures and causes of social change (Craib, 1992; Giddens, 1986).

Social institutions in Kepetingan were created through folklore and the history of the discovery of Dewi Sekardadu's grave and corpse, which was related to sacred objects, sacred times, and sacred rituals. The sacred object in question is the grave itself, which is sanctified so that no one can enter the place carelessly without the permission of the doorkeeper. Furthermore, the grave of Dewi Sekardadu is also visited by pilgrims at holy times, such as Friday night, Ramadhan month, the day when Muhammad Prophet was born, and various other Islamic holidays. Ritual activities held in Kepetingan involve religious leaders, whom the agents deliberately invite to enliven the series of sacred rituals and attract the interest of pilgrims in getting involved in the rituals.

The use of religious leaders as brand ambassadors for rituals is seen as logical thought on account of Goffman (1982) ritual originating from elements of the past in folklore that related to much serenity to the upper class. They have loyal adherents and followers, so they are able to surpass other participants. The ritual performer communicates symbolically and socially skillfully. A series of significant signals is used to initiate a communication chain and as a tool for the people involved to assess each other. This concept is equal to the structural modality proposed by Anthony Giddens in Structuration theory, in which a modality can control and direct the actions of members of social groups, including the agents themselves. The rules in the structure limit the actions of members of community groups, but the resources owned by the agent provide facilities for their actions (Giddens, 1986).

For this reason, current practice theories of agency in ritual communication seem to offer more significant opportunities to formulate the more subtle ways in which power is acknowledged and distributed, interpretations of meaning are negotiated, and people struggle to make more personally effective meanings through rituals.

In this case, it is clear that the experts or agent controls the actors, it is not only regarding the roles but also where, when, and what ornaments or decorations should be used. For instance, pilgrims must walk respectfully and pass several stairs to get into a king's grave because ancestors are buried in high places (Robbins, 2010).

For Giddens, all social interactions are situationally determined by time and space. It can be understood as a routine that can fade through time and space, however, it can turn on the different time and space. A routine can be found in *The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage* Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

tradition, habit, or custom that needs further explanation (Giddens, 1986). The concern of the structuration theory is the sequence of time and space in social relations; a routine has a primary role in explaining how it happens.

The way to create some authority and weaken others is to actively control the ritual through communication roles legitimized by social structure. The action would raise immediate effects through the live ritual because the participants are bound by commitment when participating in the ritual. Their actions have the same performative effects despite the sincerity and falsity of their appearances (Robbins, 2010).

Rituals can keep a social structure in existence and at once work as the symbol or representation of beliefs accepted by the entire community. Therefore, rituals are sacred rites that are communicative and unite people in communal fellowship (Carey, 2008). In the *Nyadran* ritual, Dewi Sekardadu is described as a sea goddess who brings blessings and protects the Bluru Kidul fishermen, thus making Bluru Kidul fishermen very enthusiastic about joining *Nyadran* ritual in order for their survival in the Kepetingan sea. In accordance with the symbol of the authority established by the Islamic King of Mataram through the sacred cosmo construction of the relationships between the rulers of Mataram, the Merapi mountain, and the South Sea. Sacred cosmo presents the authority of the Javanese king, which appears as a cultural axiom that the Javanese King has defense from the ruler of Merapi Mount and the queen of South Sea so that it means the king could not be easily downed by someone (Margana, et al., 2021).

### ***Novelty Of The Study***

This research is different from various existing studies on sacred sites because it develops a multi-site ethnographic method, which allows for a more comprehensive and in-depth examination of sacred sites. Additionally, this research applies Giddens' structuration theory to traditional societies, potentially expanding the application of this theory beyond analyzing agent-structure relationships in modern society.

### ***Research Gap***

This study bridges research on pilgrimage motives, the reality of pilgrimage, and modifications to pilgrimage rituals at sacred sites. It identifies a gap in theoretical

novelty, specifically in the development of agent-structure relations in reconstructing or strengthening the grave pilgrimage ritual. Additionally, the research explores forms of clustering of social agents in society that are not addressed in Giddens' structuration theory, as Giddens primarily focuses on modern society. The methodological novelty of this research lies in the development of multi-site ethnographic research on Dewi Sekardadu's grave, allowing for the discovery of the meaning and patterns of pilgrimage at each site and pilgrim. This approach also enables the exploration of the various roles of agents in each region, whether as a means of strengthening religious, cultural, social, or economic transmission or perpetuating symbolic power through modifications to sacred sites.

### ***Purposes Of The Study***

This research aims to explore the dynamics of agent-structure relations that occur in the ritual communication of visiting Dewi Sekardadu's grave in the fisherman community Sidoarjo. This research is a new study that combines analysis of ritual communication with structuration theory namely: significance, dominance, and legitimacy of ritual communicators or agents, so that it can change the sociocultural structure in Kepetingan, which was at the beginning known as a criminal area to become a religious area.

### **METHODS**

The type of this research is qualitative with ethnographic methods. This research is in accordance with Turner's opinion that ethnographic studies or rituals should be complemented by participant observation by the theorists so that they understand its meaning (Turner, 2001). However, the direct involvement of researchers in ethnographic research can also be carried out without having to reside at the research location while still prioritizing the depth of data (Emerson et al., 2011; Spradley, 1979; Tsing, 1993). To obtain the cultural meaning of the pilgrimage to Dewi Sekardadu's grave, this research used multi-site ethnography conducted over a period of Five years (from 02 March 2018 to 01 October 2023), *Nyadran* ritual was held at three times, namely before the pandemic, during the pandemic and after the pandemic. There are six graves of Dewi Sekardadu in Indonesia, so it is considered important by the

researcher to explore the distinctive elements of Dewi Sekardadu grave in Kepetingan Sidoarjo with a comparison her grave in other regency in East Java Province like Gebang Sidoarjo regency, Gresik regency, Lamongan regency, Giri Banyuwangi and Watu Dodol Banyuwangi regency.

The informants in this research were determined purposively: those who experienced the *Nyadran* ritual enculturation and the grave pilgrimage to Dewi Sekardadu. The number of them is 51 people, including five grave caretakers, two *Nyadran* caretakers, two grave principals, three community leaders, twenty-three pilgrims from various regions, five *Nyadran* participants, seven local persons who lived in Kepetingan for a long time and four business persons who take advantage of the sacred graves.

Data was obtained through observation of the participants, namely those actively involved in grave pilgrimage activities, Ruwat of village or the ceremony aimed at cleaning the bad luck from human body, Wayang performance, Salvation of village, commemoration of Dewi Sekardadu, *Nyadran* blessing and strengthened by in-depth interview with the key informants and documentations such as documentation during *Nyadran* ritual, grave pilgrimage and historical heritage in Kepetingan which is supported by the historical literature from the VOC era. All data was collected through field notes and diary notes. To avoid biased data, this research carried out hidden in-depth observations and interviews with informants and compared a data source with another before writing it into an ethnographic report. This means that a researcher does not appear like a researcher but is trying to become a member of the community in order to obtain field facts authentically before conducting qualitative data analysis.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***Dewi Sekardadu: Folklore Or Historical Fact?***

In this context, *Nyadran* ritual is not only a spiritual practice but also a reflection of the identity of the fishermen community in Sidoarjo, who since, before the existence of the *Nyadran* tradition, have believed in supernatural power in the sea. There is interaction between individuals in the community who become active agents in the pilgrimage ritual. Meanwhile, in the social structure as norms, religious values



influence the way these rituals are organized, understood, and maintained amidst social and environmental changes that influence traditional practices such as *Nyadran*.

In the government's view, *Nyadran* is a form of tolerance between culture and religion that needs to be built from an early age (Nurhidayati, 2020). Meanwhile, there are pros and cons to religious values. The opinions supporting this tradition state that *Nyadran* is a medium for spreading Islam and cultural control that aligns with civilizational jurisprudence (Hasan et al., 2023). More than that, *Nyadran* is also considered a worship service that strengthens the values of sufism (Ibda, 2018). Meanwhile, the distinction opinions consider that *Nyadran* is a kind of polytheism (shirk) because of the belief that there is a power other than Allah SWT who can reply to the prayers (the grave of Dewi Sekardadu) (Muttaqin & Fitriansyah, 2022).

Before investigating the values of *Nyadran* rituals in Sidoarjo, this research reveals the emergence of the figure of Dewi Sekardadu through the agent-structure relations that occur in the fishermen community in Sidoarjo. The sociocultural structure in Kepetingan Sidoarjo was formed due to the folklore of the discovery of the Dewi Sekardadu grave, which was created by the Bluru Kidul fisherman community after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the head of *Nyadran* Bluru Kidul, the discoverers of Dewi Sekardadu 's grave were seven persons namely Wak Jo Pangkat, Wak Jo Said, Wak Paing, Wak Sabar, Wak Beki, Wak Muldi, and Wak Ikhsan, who were a group of fishermen who also accompanied Head of Projo Village when the Head of Village got prophecy that there was a grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan, which was still uninhabited. The fisherman of Bluru Kidul saw a dune (mound of earth) similar to a grave, which was always intact even though the entire Kepetingan area was inundated with water when sea levels rose inland.

After that, between 1950-1960, Kepetingan was inhabited by immigrants from Gresik and Lamongan regency, who then developed the folklore of finding corpses by Keting fish from the sea to the mainland of Kepetingan, thus changing the initial name of their village from Peketingan or Kepetingan to Ketingan. Kepetingan was originally the army post of Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). It was known as Tambak Bandar by Sidoarjo fisherman community, namely as a gathering place for all croupier or glamping places, black market, fish market, and even prostitution. The

existence of prostitution at the tip of the Sidoarjo coast certainly strengthens the indications of economic conditions that did exist at Kepetingan at that time.

According to VOC records, the shipping routes in Peketingan were known as busy and vulnerable due to frequent robberies of merchant ships. In 1872, the Nederlandsch-Indies government received a report about ship robbery that occurred repeatedly in the same place and year by pirates nicknamed Little Pegon (Stortenbeker & Groeneveldt, 1876). In the newspaper *De Locomotief*, published on 6 August 1894, it was stated that residents around Kepetingan were also involved in several ships plowing, but the pirates that came from around Kepetingan only attacked cargo ships and did not assault the fisherman (Brooshooft, 1894). One of the victims reported to the Nederlandsch-Indies detective office was a merchant ship from Tuban regency carrying five tons of rice to Sidoarjo regency and its surroundings. At the time, seven fully armed pirates confiscated all the properties on the ship (Schleijer, 1880). The news of the robbery in Kepetingan anew became the news headline in Nederlandsch-Indies society. Furthermore, this occurred in 1905 with victims of a ship carrying sugar from Sidoarjo regency to Gresik regency, where all the properties on the ship were taken, including the clothes of all the ship's crew with nothing left (Brooshooft, 1894).

In addition, the Kepetingan River was also used as a smuggling route along with the Porong River (Soer, 1875). Several reports about Kepetingan in the Nederlandsch-Indies newspaper show that Kepetingan was a busy trade route but a dangerous area in VOC records. To the east of Tambak Bandar, it is known as Tambak Beskem or perhaps basecamps because there are many remains of wooden ship straps. Before it was widely known as a religious tourist attraction, Kepetingan initially was known by the name river (Kwala Kepetingan), which in Dutch, Kwala means river and Ketting is a chain, or it can be interpreted as a connecting river, because at the time, it was the main port in Sidoarjo, apart from the port Dadapan at the north (Banjoemas, 1906). VOC used Kepetingan harbor as a route in fish trading and sugar distribution from Suikerfabriek (SF). Boedoeran to Madura, Gresik, Pasuruan, and surrounding areas. This is according to the data in the field that mentioned there are two toponyms of Kepetingan in Indonesia, namely in Sidoarjo and Cilacap, which geographically are all located in coastal areas and are links between large rivers and the sea. The following is

a capture of the Suikerfabriek (SF) distribution flow map. Boedoeran via the Peketingan river:



Figure 1. Maps Of Boedoreran Suikerfabriek (SF) Distribution Through K. Petingan

(Source: Processed By Bureau (1892))

The red box added to the map of VOC in 1892 above shows the existence of a river path with a chain of black lines in the Kwala Peketingan and *Suikerfabriek* Boedoeran streams. By the name of river, Kepetingan, is a long river that flows from Buduran and Sidoarjo city to the sea. Apart from Tambak Bandar and Tambak Beskem, there is an interesting toponym, namely Tambak Penjara. The coastal communities of Sidoarjo know the name of this location as a place where prisoners during the VOC colonial period were employed as fish pond workers. Historical facts about Tambak Bandar have slowly been lost since the existence of Dewi Sekardadu's grave, and now it is only known as a sacred stuff and sacred place with its religious people. To strengthen religious objectification, people use the result of paranormal visions or ask for testimonials from clerics to mobilize pilgrims, such as the following statement:

“Ladies and gentlemen who are blessed by Allah SWT, thank you. This friend, has been around for ten years, so I often came here when Nyai Dewi Sekardadu's grave was stil a hut, when it rained there was a big flood for the congregation, I have been here often for long time and recently I met mr Samadi, every time i take pilgrims I am constantly monitored: Yes, it is God's will. One day

we met and I was told: if you have time, there is a haul here in a month, I will invite you here (KM, 2018).

The informant above is the Wali Songo pilgrimage congregation leader from Wonoayu Sidoarjo, who then often makes the pilgrimage to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu. Apart from that, the informant is one of the leaders of the prospectus pilgrims because he always visits Kepetingan with a group of pilgrims who claim to be a recitation group and love pilgrimage to the Wali grave. Dewi Sekardadu is actually not a member of the Wali Songo. Still, it has a magical folklore story that is believed to have the same honor or *karamah* as the *Wali Songo*.

The shifting stigma of Kepetingan from Bandar to Kepetingan continues to be advanced by the Kepetingan community through creating religious symbols such as developing a Tambourine or Rebbana arts group, appointing a caretaker, and communicating with stakeholders from government elements for the development of religious tourism and grants related to facilities and infrastructure to support public activities. During the particular rituals, tambourine or Rebbana groups had to be brought in from outside Kepetingan, and it was caused by the lack of human resources in Kepetingan. This can be referred to as appointing a caretaker of the grave. Furthermore, choosing a caretaker is considered the lineage with the previous caretaker, or it also can be determined by relating to sacred figures.

According to Geoffroy (2007), a caretaker or Khaddim is an honorable title for a large sacred grave. The caretaker's great dignity is why the position is inherited from generation to generation within the same family. It is natural for the descendants of a guardian to protect the graves of their ancestors for generations. Meanwhile, according to Harjito (2018), the caretaker ideally has the core task of opening the door, managing the pilgrim behavior, leading prayers, organizing rituals, and all the needs such as flowers and ritual offerings. However, this caretaker does not always come from a lineage because there is contesting to control the income of sacred objects, and there have also been auctions for the caretaker position because they can be traded (Chambert-Loir & Guillot, 2007). The case of caretaker determination in Kepetingan can not be applied ideally because almost all of Kepetingan people are immigrants, so there was no lineage with Dewi Sekardadu. In addition, this position is determined by deliberation and consensus

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

without considering whether the new caretaker is a descendant of the previous caretaker. In fact, one of the conditions for being a caretaker in Kepetingan is that they do not work, so income from pilgrims can be used as family income.

Kepetingan is inhabited by immigrants who are dominated by Gresik and Lamongan residents who work as fishermen and several immigrants from other areas who work as firewood collectors and entrepreneurs. At the time, Kepetingan was a busy trade route and a transit point for fishermen from various regions. One piece of archaeological evidence is the existence of Umpak from Trembersi trees; it is located in Tambak Beskem and Kepetingan. Meanwhile, the toponymy of Tambak Beskem, Tambak Bandar, and Tambak Penjara is also known. The story of the Keting fish and Dewi Sekardadu changed the stigmatization of the community in the coastal area of Sidoarjo regency and gave rise to a new structure from criminal to religious and the development into religious tourism. The following are some of the findings of Umpak or building foundations around the Kepetingan:



Figure 2. From Right Side, Tambak Beskem, Tambak Bandar, Dan Tambak Penjara

(Source: Research Documentation)

Umpak was found in the Tambak Beskem is the same as the Umpak was found in the Kepetingan mosque or Tambak Bandar, namely, it is made from the wood of Trembesi tree and is approximately the same size. According to the elders of Kepetingan, the Umpak in Kepetingan was previously referred to as the foundation for the VOC dormitory. However, some of the historical findings of Kepetingan did not become foremost after the grave of Dewi Sekardadu was

discovered because a new-socio cultural structure had been formed and the old structure had never been told to anyone. The community only cares about the historical folklore of the naming of Kepetingan and the discovery of Dewi Sekardadu's corpse by Keting fish, which clearly had an economic impact on society.

In various folklore versions, the story of Dewi Sekardadu is always related to healing cosmological disease (Nilofar, 2016). According to Woodward (2011), in Javanese culture, cosmology and medicine have an obvious relationship. Traditional Javanese cosmology is a homeostatic system where kings, shamans, and powerful figures in society always maintain balance and harmony in the cosmos, which is fundamental of calm, social harmony, prosperity and health.

Javanese cosmology is hierarchically a commandment or dogma, and that hierarchy is partly based on the partition of the cosmos into "terrible" and "sacred" elements for society (Woodward, 2011). This was found in several pilgrims from various regions. For instance, one group of pilgrims who came to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu to carry out Nadzar or fulfill a promise if they obtained the results of the prayer that had been delivered in front of the grave as in the following statement:

"I came here with the family in order to do cone rise or Tumpengan, it is a kind of thanksgiving for my daughter. Her name is Reni, may she and her baby be healthy and the cesarean section were well. That's the purpose, I came here" (SM, 2020).

The group of pilgrims above believe that Dewi Sekardadu can provide help because she is a holy person and has good character in healing both children and grandchildren. The pilgrims are people who came from Kebonsari village, Candi district, Sidoarjo, which is geographically close to the river route to Kepetingan, so they are used to coming on pilgrimage, especially during the month of Ruwah or other sacred days. The relationship between Dewi Sekardadu and health requests was confirmed by the caretaker as well as local residents, and according to Mr. Samadi, who had been a caretaker of the grave for 25 years, often met pilgrims who were looking for prophecies to become physicians or traditional healers. Samadi's opinion is in line with Mariatun, who works as a physician in Kepetingan, that Khodam, or the soul of Dewi Sekardadu has the miraculous power of giving

kanujela to people who come to ask for this ability at Dewi Sekardadu's grave by spending the night alone and helping each other sincerity.

The development of the blessing heal attributed to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu is a new thing. Previously, the grave of Dewi Sekardadu was believed to be the goddess of help and protection for fishermen. Furthermore, there was a dynamic pilgrimage in Kepetingan due to the lack of literacy accompanying legendary folklore. The name Dewi Sekardadu is not clearly found in ancient books, Javanese chronicles, and inscriptions. In some literature, the name of Dewi Sekardadu is always close to the figures of Sunan Giri and Maulana Ishaq, so the pilgrims who come are culturally Muslim communities from various regions in Indonesia.

Niofar, in his book entitled *The Story of Dewi Sekardadu* (2016), supports folklore in Kepetingan, and states that Dewi Sekardadu lived and died in Kepetingan (Nilofar, 2016). Other historical books are similar, but the identity of Dewi Sekardadu is slightly different in the book written by Sungkowati et al. (2011). Apart from the wife of Maulana Ishaq and the mother of Sunan Giri, Dewi Sekardadu is also described as a Muslim preacher around Kepetingan, although this opinion is weak or unpopular because it is different from other literature. Even though it is challenging to prove academically, the ritual at Dewi Sekardadu's grave continues and has even been inaugurated by the government as one of the leading religious tourism commodities in Sidoarjo (Sidoarjo, 2018). Pilgrims and religious tourists continue to visit, and they do believe in the miraculous power of praying in the grave area, so in 2002, the Sidoarjo regency government modified the grave building to make it more beautiful and representative of religious tourism such as the grave of guardians in general. Graves in many cultures have become a distinctive symbol of communication, for instance, the burial of bracteate in various graves in some European countries has become an identity for the person buried and their whole family (Hansen, 2021).

At present, no historical literature has been found that specifically discusses the existence of Dewi Sekardadu. The story of Dewi Sekardadu always begins with the advent of Maulana Ishaq to preach in Blambangan. According to Sunyoto (2016)

in his book entitled "*Atlas Wali Songo*", Maulana Ishaq was sent by his father, *The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage* Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

namely Syaikh Jumadil Kubro, to preach in the Blambangan area, which is now called Banyuwangi. Maulana Ishaq easily entered Java because he had a kinship with Dewi Darawati, the wife of the king of Majapahit at the time.

The history of Sunan Giri in various literature is very close to Majapahit, Sunan Giri's father was a relative of the wife of King Brawijaya V, and his mother was the daughter of the Duke of Blambangan Menak Sembuyu, who was still related to Majapahit, his adoptive father was a former Patih in Blambangan named Ki Samboja or Kodja Maksum, who eventually became harbormaster in Gresik (Ahmad, 2011). His adoptive mother was Nyai Gede Pinatih, the wife of Patih Samboja. Various stories tell that Nyai Gede Pinatih was related to the king's consort and was given the harbormaster position in Gresik with her husband. Another version of the story of Nyai Gede Pinatih follows her husband, who served as Patih in Blambangan for the first time. Her husband in the chronicle Java (Babad Tanah Jawi) is known as Ki Samboja because he comes from the land of Champa, part of Cambodia. After all, the center of this kingdom is in Vietnam. In the chronicle of Java land, Ki Samboja was dismissed by the ruler of Blambangan for some reason and was finally accepted by the king of Majapahit as harbormaster in Gresik. Another version states that the Blambangan authorities dismissed Ki Samboja because he supported Maulana Ishaq's preaching.

Nyai Gede Pinatih, also known as Nyai Ageng Pinatih in various literature, indicates her closeness to Raden Paku's family. Nyai Gede Pinatih, or Shi Daniang, was the daughter of Shi Jin Qing, who, together with warlord Cheng Ho, defeated the pirate Chen Zuyi in Palembang and spread Islam in that region. King Majapahit also mandated Shi Jin Qing to handle religious and administrative matters for Majapahit in Palembang after the collapse of Sriwijaya kingdom (Yuanzhi, 2015). Shi Jin Qing was Muslim, so Islamic civilization advanced in Palembang, as did his eldest daughter, who then became known as Nyai Gede Pinatih and succeeded in spreading Islam in Java and its surroundings (Wain, 2019). After the death of her husband, Nyai Gede Pinatih inherited the trading business and harbormaster that her husband had held. Pinatih succeeded in developing the Majapahit port located in Gresik regency because she had many relations with traders from within and outside the country, especially China (Hasanah, Purnawati, & Maryati, 2020).

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiyah Daud



Pinatih's trade relations succeeded in advancing Gresik at the time (Noor, 2017). After Sunan Giri grew up, Nyi Gede Pinatih asked Sunan Giri to continue his trade because of his strategic position in Gresik as a harbormaster (Widodo et al., 2004). According to de Graaf & Pigeaud (1985), Pinatih comes from the word Patih, which in the past was used as the title of a person in a high position, then Samboja (her husband), if it can be equated with Cambodia so that Nyai Gede Pinatih's husband came from Cambodia. Several other nicknames for Nyai Gede Pinatih are Nyai Ageng Maloka from Malacca, Nyai Salamah, which means outstanding, and Nyai Ageng Tandes (Hasanah et al., 2020).

Historical literature regarding Nyi Gede Pinatih or Sunan Giri's adoptive mother can still be traced and generally provides the same historical facts, namely that she was a patrician from China who finally became harbormaster of Gresik after her husband stepped down from his position as governor in Blambangan and devoted himself to Majapahit. Meanwhile, Dewi Sekardadu is a name in folklore that has various folklore versions, giving rise to multiple opinions in some regions, especially areas which are located Dewi Sekardadu's grave. In historical literature, Sunan Giri or Raden Paku's mother is mentioned as the daughter of the head of state in Blambangan and the wife of Wali Lanang (Maulana Ishaq) (Nijhoff & Gravenhage, 1941). Wali Lanang came to Java from Samarkand as a Muslim scholar and lived in Ampel Denta. After that, he traveled to the east and preached in the Blambangan area. Arriving in Blambangan, Wali Lanang succeeded in curing the son of the head of state Blambangan, who was seriously ill, which none could cure. Wali Lanang was finally married to the daughter of the head of state of Blambangan. His existence in Blambangan was forthwith. In fact, Wali Lanang had to move to Malacca for the reason that the authorities of Blambangan expelled him due to his Islamization being rejected. Wali Lanang went to Malacca when his wife was heavily pregnant. Even Wali Lanang did not know when his child was thrown into the sea by the Blambangan royal courtier because they believed that the child of Wali Lanang brought disaster (Nijhoff & Gravenhage, 1941).

The disappearance history is the convergence between the child of Sunan Giri and Nyai Gede Pinatih. Various sources mentioned that Menak Sembuyu deliberately swept away Nyai Gede Pinatih found Raden Paku while she sailing

from Gresik to Bali in order to trade (Brandes, 1920; Nilofar, 2016; Sungkowati et al., 2011). Raden Paku was taken home to Gresik and adopted as a son by Nyai Gede Pinatih, a widow with no children. At the age of 11, Raden Paku was entrusted by Nyai Gede Pinatih to Raden Rahmat or Sunan Ampel to study religion at Ampel Denta (de Graaf, 1949).

There is another version regarding the discovery of Raden Pakus' child. First, Raden Paku was found by the traders while at sea and given to Nyai Gede Pinatih as an adopted son (Nijhoff & Gravenhage, 1941). Second, a ship captain looked for a baby in the sea on the orders of Nyai Gede Pinatih. Third, the infant was deliberately taken away by Ki Samboja to the Majapahit (Nijhoff & Gravenhage, 1941).

The explanation above shows that various historical records regarding Sunan Giri, Maulana Ishaq and Nyai Gede Pinatih can be traced through various literary sources. However, there are several different points of view in their interpretation. Meanwhile, the history of Dewi Sekardadu only exists in fairy tales and folklore books written in the 21st century, so it is difficult to prove academically.

### ***Relations Of Agent-Structure In Grave Pilgrimage Ritual Communication***

Dewi Sekardadu's grave currently exists in four cities with six locations, namely, two graves took place in Sidoarjo, then one grave in Gresik, two graves in Banyuwangi and one grave in Lamongan. Its grave in Kepetingan Sidoarjo has become a reference for many researchers and literature. Each region has its own narrative to carry out objectification. The story that developed in Sidoarjo was the discovery of the grave or corpse of Dewi Sekardadu on the sea coast of Sidoarjo. This story is adapted from the folklore of the discovery of the Sunan Giri who was thrown into the sea by the Blambangan kingdom, it is similar to the story of prophet Musa AS, while in Gresik the story that was developed was the magical transfer of the grave of Dewi Sekardadu from Watu Dodol to Gresik through asceticism of Sunan Giri because he wanted to get closer to his mother's grave. Then, the story told in Lamongan that Dewi Sekardadu once lived as the founder of an Islamic boarding school in Gondang, Lamongan, at the same time as Mbah Lamong or Surajaya or Ronggo Hadi who was a student of Sunan Giri II, who was ordered to

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

spread Islam and established the duchy of Lamongan. The last, in Giri Banyuwangi, developed the story of the magical transfer of the grave of Dewi Sekardadu from Wati Dodol, which this research revealed that the Watu Dodol site was Maulana Ishaq's relic when he entered Blambangan.

The story above brings out the dynamics of agent-structure relations in every society. The most interesting part of this dynamic occurred in Sidoarjo, namely at the Kepetingan and Gebang graves. The key agent in Kepetingan is not the caretaker but an elder. First, the caretaker is not determined according to the rules of caretaker, so he does not gain legitimacy from the structure due to a lack of understanding of the history of the sacred site. Secondly, most of the Kepetingan community are immigrants, so the families who previously settled in Kepetingan are the most respected. However, the grave's caretaker still enjoys legitimacy from the pilgrims and *Nyadran* participants because the pilgrims have general knowledge that the caretaker is the grave's owner.

Meanwhile, in Gebang, the caretaker is an extension of the grave management and is also not a native Gebang resident. The agents of Kepetingan and Gebang developed myths and mysticism to show their significance to pilgrims. The management of the Gebang grave even carries out significance like the leaderships of Javanese kings in the past by developing myths and mysticism, first by creating a new grave under the pretext of attracting the spirits of their ancestors to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu, and secondly having paranormal colleagues to convince pilgrims to believe with the sacredness of himself, not the sacredness of his grave.

According to Endraswara (2013), the leaders in Java always try to find the significance of the relevance of mythology that develops in society to their individuals or groups. After successfully finding its significance, it will be strengthened with rituals, mystical objects, and binding myths or folklore. For example, the determination of the caretaker in Gebang grave. Based on the caretaker there are no specific criteria in the procedures for selecting the caretaker, but rather, the mystical elements built by the cemetery management are prioritized, such as the following statement:

“Yes there are instructions here, someone asked to come here, yes, come here, Sekardadu's great-grandfather. R: have it ever? Who is

it, sir? Yes, that's not it, I entered the old one, a big wind appeared and wrote the Arabic letters pegon, the name was written, I searched for it. R: Where did you write it? "Yes, in the book, here there is a chairman, there is a deputy, like the chairman, the coffee is stirred and the stone appears, yes if it's done, it's done"(JW, 2023).

From the statement above, the determination of the caretaker of the Gebang grave is slightly different from that of the caretaker of the Kepetingan grave. Although neither is based on standardization of descent and mastery of religious knowledge, the Gebang caretaker is determined magically, not through deliberation and consensus between communities. This supports Endraswara's opinion that there are still Javanese people who use mysticism to become leaders.

Regarding ritual communication, what happened in Kepetingan and Gebang has been communicated communally through a combination of mystical and religious symbols in ritual so that mysticism which is validated by religion, is considered objective by the community. The objectivity of religion is seen in three characteristics. First, it is transmitted across generations because at the first, humans acquire language from the family, so it is natural for religion to be transmitted through language. Second, objective language in religion is supported by reasonable religious ritual practices, interpreted in the same way, which can present the most profound psychological experiences in each individual. Third, religion is mandatory, especially in structures with close kinship ties (Evans-Pritchard, 1965). Despite this, religion is prone to construction, where many religions are regulated by the social structure that controls the adherents of that religion. Figures considered holy and religious dominate this matter, so they have the legitimacy to make rules and decisions even though sometimes they do not make sense.

Carey (2008) mentioned that cultural meaning is a social and historical process that involves the creation, sharing, and meaning of symbols in society. From this opinion, James W. Carey sees ritual communication as the key to creating, maintaining, and changing society (Blue, 2018). Carey's view Correia (2017) is that communication models are dominated by social experiences that ignore collaborations, dialogue, ritual sharing, and community interactions. Society was not only united through communication however it was built by communication so

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

that it required a communicative approach. Humans are not agents of solipsism or only care about themselves; however, they need to be concerned about the existence of other individuals in society so that communication is beneficial to studying and understanding society.

Communities are formed through shared story experiences. People use stories to make meaning of their collective experiences and connect with others with similar stories. Regarding looking after reality, James W. Carey is more supportive of protecting sacred stories and avoiding any question and contestation of the story, as well as sacred protection to obstruct any improvement and transformation of reality (Tucher, 2007).

In line with the research conducted by Jayadi & Rahmawati (2020) in Lombok for describing Ngelukar ritual and Ngilahan Kaoq ritual as public spaces for Hindus and Muslim with a communicative-action approach, which only focuses on building consensus and shared cultural spaces. Nevertheless, the research conducted by Hafil (2016) in Bluto village, where through the Kompolan Sabellesen ritual, the community maintained horizontal communication between residents and strengthened communication relations and social solidarity. It is infrequent for social science academics to reveal ritual communication using a critical theory approach critically.

Throughout the critical approach of structuration theory by Anthony Giddens, this research reveals the purpose of social agents to conquer structures that exist through ritual communication. One of these is carried out by the head of *Nyadran* Bluru Kidul, who also builds significance from myth and mysticism but has received legitimacy from the community because he is the head of *Nyadran* from his lineage. From these facts, it can be concluded that the significance of sacred sites will have great dominance if it is based on the lineage of ritual management. The caretakers in Gebang do not dominate the structure, so they can not become key agents or have dynamics with the structure. The structure will abandon them if they try to carry out sacralization or desacralization. For example, when the management of the Gebang cemetery added two new graves and changed the Istighosah day from Monday night to Wednesday night, the Gebang people abandoned the ritual at

the Sekardadu grave, so the principal had to create a community of pilgrims from the outside of the area to continue the ritual at the grave.

In contrast to the head of the Bluru *Nyadran*, despite changing the sacred day and holding a music party at sea with a sound system, the structure of the Bluru Kidul fishermen community still provides legitimacy due to inherent heredity factors. In ritual communication, what is considered is the communicative goals of the actors in the ritual who meet face to face with their social context and the power that is the goal of the ritual. As a form of practice, ritual is subject to mastery of the arena, but not explanation, which is a problem for anthropologists concerned with questions of meaning. According to Asad (1993), he discovered the existence of “technologies of power” behind culturally distinct constructions, society, and the differential cosmos according to the culture. Asad argues that a powerful organization historically shapes the modern perspective on ritual as a symbolic activity. The head of *Nyadran* Bluru Kidul has mastered the ritual arena because apart from inheriting a position of power from his lineage, the head of *Nyadran* Bluru Kidul has also led the *Nyadran* for more than ten years, so he appears to be very skilled in carrying out rituals starting from providing offering, determining the places of Wingit will be offered, determining the procession of *Nyadran*, adding a sacred impression by wearing black costumes, and establishing communication relations with the leaders of fishermen community, both local fishermen from Bluru Kidul, as well as migrant fishermen from Demak, who are successful fishermen in Bluru Kidul, which is one of the sponsors of the *Nyadran* ritual, so that it becomes a source of support both of material and power.

The findings of this research have theoretical implications that support and complement the shortcomings of Anthony Giddens’s structuration theory about social agents. In the supporting part, this research found that there was the rationalization of actions by agents and routinization formed by agents through structural modalities so that the grave pilgrimage structures were formed in the Kepetingan community and *Nyadran* in the fishermen community. In Kepetingan, children have been taught how to maintain the ritual of Dewi Sekardadu commemoration day by providing instances of the procedures and processions. The agent then strengthens the children by teaching them to recite the holy Qur’an early.

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

They were also invited to take part in the commemoration day. Instead, the committee provided free food for the children to build enthusiasm for participating in the ritual. Then, the teenagers in Kepetingan are taught to praise God and the prophet using a tambourine or Rebbana, and when they grow up, they will become part of promoting religious tourism.

Commemoration Day aims to foster social relations between communities, and it is common with other spiritual rituals that aim to strengthen social relations, such as the Panjang Mulud (Malik & Putri, 2023). The *Nyadran* agency in Bluru Kidul also did Commemoration day, where the head of the *Nyadran* built up the community social relations through inviting the youth Bluru Kidul to leave early in the night to prepare all the things needed by the *Nyadran* participants who would visit Kepetingan at the next day. Besides that, to maintain the social relationship with the Kepetingan community, the head of *Nyadran* also visited the grave caretaker's house. It provided a set of rice cones (*tumpeng*) complete with side dishes to share with Kepetingan society. Then, to keep the significance of the further generations of *Nyadran*, the young people are taught the procedures for the *Nyadran* procession, starting from preparing the offerings, placing the offerings on Wingit places, praying at the grave of Dewi Sekardadu, and looking for shells in the sea.

Agents with comprehensive knowledge and experience always supervise the structural developments. Giddens (1986) mentioned that it is reflexive supervision or action monitoring. This means that actors do not only focus on their activities but also supervise the behavior of other people, social and physical aspects, as well as the social contexts in which the structure is located (Giddens, 1986). This applied while polarizing the agent's institutionalized actions. It can occur if the key actor has the structural modalities Giddens calls significance, dominance, and legitimacy. According to Giddens, the structure of significance or designation is a structure involving meaning, mention, discourse, and symbols, which form a series of dominance and legitimacy (Giddens, 1986). This is referred to Giddens (1979) as the existence of class society, namely a society that knows administration, a significance that Marx never acknowledged. People who recognize the administration are those who have media the dominance in the form of centralized control over

“knowledge” and “information” to explore material resources including nature and sacred sites.

This structural modality occurs in all the graves of Dewi Sekardadu. For instance, the significance of a grave caretaker is that someone is called a grave caretaker when they play a central role as the owner and the key of the grave, who usually has a genetic relationship with the sacred site and inherits the role from generation to generation. Pronouncing caretakers emerging dominance over the pilgrims, for example, having the right to the grave, opening and closing the grave, making pilgrimage regulations, asking for donations in managing the grave, and organizing the ritual procession. This is justified and legitimized by the pilgrims because the caretaker is the owner of the grave who has the authority to make norms or rules regarding sacred sites. However, the caretaker of Kepetingan grave does not have legitimacy from society because the caretaker’s determination process is considered deficient and sacred.

Based on Giddens (1986), the agency does not have the ability to create structure, but at the same time, the structure also imposes limitations. Giddens mentioned that social structure is a modality that can control the actions of society, including change. Giddens’s opinion is in line with the research findings in Kepetingan; however, it is not in accordance with the research findings on the grave of Dewi Sekardadu at Gebang. In 2019, the grave in Gebang was managed by immigrants from Lamongan. While changing the ritual procession, the management also added two new graves. This made the social structure in Gebang tempestuous but the management created a new structure, namely “Istighosa” Noto Ati association, which had members from people outside Gebang and several Gebang communities who could be influenced.

From the phenomena above, this research will include findings that potentially develop Giddens structuration theory because this theory cannot be applied to traditional communities, particularly fishermen communities in Sidoarjo. First, it was discovered that there was a clustering of agents that Giddens had not discussed. This cluster is divided into caretaker clusters, community leaders, and business people. Meanwhile, at Kepetingan, there is a cluster of religious figures and *Nyadran* leaders who also influence the structure of agent relations in

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud



Kepetingan. The religious figures in question are those who act as leaders of pilgrims groups in various regions. They always make scheduled visits to the grave, and if they come often to Kepetingan, they will be invited to collaborate with the Commemoration Day committee to tell the history of Dewi Sekardadu and her relationship with Wali Songo. Then, the head of *Nyadran* was also the agent within his own structure but had a major contribution to the grave at Kepetingan. The first head of Bluru Kidul was a discoverer of the grave of Dewi Sekardadu and the creator of the folklore about the death of Dewi Sekardadu on Kepetingan coast, which then developed a new folklore about the corpse of Dewi Sekardadu which the Keting fish drove.

The initial part of this research revealed the existence of a caretaker cluster, which, in this case, has local and national implications. The caretaker in Kepetingan was able to develop the objectification up to national. Still, the dominance could not reach the local community, the *Nyadran* participants, and the head of Balongdowo and Bluru Kidul villages because they were the people who compiled Dewi Sekardadu's folklore before Kepetingan community existed, particularly the Bluru Kidul fishermen community which popular known as the first inventor of the grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan.

Second, the grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan presents two structures of society of the coastal Sidoarjo. There is a structure within the structure that the agency believes in ritual communication. Two types of pilgrims rituals commonly found in Kepetingan have an inherent sociocultural structure. For indigenous fishermen, the pilgrimage to the grave of Dewi Sekardadu is called *Nyadran*. Both in tradition or ritual, the figure of Dewi Sekardadu is conceived as a sea goddess who has the same ability as other sea goddesses in providing both blessings and disasters. The fisherman community trusts that whoever does not participate in *Nyadran*, it is believed that their fish catch will decrease because *Nyadran* is about thanksgiving and paying tribute to the sea authority. Then, the urban fisherman settled in Kepetingan with the Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) sociocultural. They only carry out grave pilgrimages and clean village rituals by doing *istighosa* to celebrate the commemorative day of Dewi Sekardadu. The Kepetingan people do not participate in *Nyadran* even though they work as fishermen; however, they have

never prohibited the *Nyadran* ritual from being held in their place because the grave existed before Kepetingan became a settlement. In this case, Kepetingan is not a substructure from the fisherman community structure in Sidoarjo because Kepetingan society has its own ritual model except *Nyadran*, even though the site in Kepetingan is the result of the discovery of the Bluru Kidul fisherman community. Geertz (1973) stated that the belief of the fisherman community in oceans is symbolic relations where the sea is not only believed to be a source of livelihood but also has mystical powers as a form of human interaction with the environment. Geertz (1973) added that symbolic human interaction produces cultural meanings that are influenced by religion, social, economic, political, and historical. This cultural meaning takes the form of people's perceptions of certain events in the development of their culture today.

*Nyadran* traditions in Sidoarjo also vary according to the relationships that occur in the agent structure. The fisherman communities of Bluru Kidul and Balongdowo carry out *Nyadran* at the grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan because they trust that their sea goddess settled there. At the same time, for the Gresik Cemandi people, *Nyadran* is celebrated by cutting the rice cone (Tumpeng) in the grave of Dewi Sekardadu at Gebang as a symbol of asking for blessing from the ancestors and performing the procession of offering to the sea. However, the figure of Dewi Sekardadu does not influence the people of Banjar Kemuning village because even though they are in the same river and sea, the people of Banjar Kemuning have their own sea alms tradition, so they do not carry out any rituals at Dewi Sekardadu's grave when running *Nyadran* ritual, because all the procession of offering and scattering of flowers are carried out on the sea.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

### ***Conclusion***

First, this research supports Gidden's idea because social agents in Kepetingan succeeded in changing the stigmatization of criminal areas into religious areas through the development of Dewi Sekardadu spoken story or folklore with religious legitimacy carried out by people who have significance as holy people in ritual communications. Second, this research adds to Giddens' ideas by clustering agents

*The Dynamics Of Agent-Structure In Ritual Communication Of The Sacred Grave Pilgrimage*  
Ferry Adhi Dharma, Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti, Toetik Koesbardiati, Normadiah Daud

and a community structure within other or rulers of ritual communication area with a model of significance and extent of dominance, such as the Kepetingan grave caretaker cluster, which influences the national level, but has no significance at the local level because the appointment of the caretaker is considered less sacred. Then, from the dynamics of agency in ritual communications in Kepetingan, two community structures have emerged, namely the *Nyadran* community structure, which occurs among local fishermen or identical to syncretism of local traditions with spiritualism, and this structure has brought out a second structure, namely the grave pilgrimage community which occurs among urban fishermen who live in Kepetingan from Gresik and Lamongan who are identified with the cultural-Islamic identity, they also live in Kepetingan, so they often interact with the grave pilgrimage ritual or pilgrims from the same culture. This differs from the Bluru Kidul fishermen who need an hour to get into Kepetingan and only carry out *Nyadran* ritual communications during commemorating the holy day of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

### ***Suggestion***

This research generally provides two types of recommendations, the first for academics and the second for the public. For academics, participating in similar research is a manifestation of education for society because many people go on pilgrimages, spending money and time without knowing what they are visiting. Meanwhile, academics, with their research results, can propose legal protection for verified or original sacred sites. Protection and development of sacred sites certainly require the government's role because religious tourism should be alongside halal tourism initiated by the government. Furthermore, if a sacred site is already known to the international community, it will affect the country's reputation if the site being promoted is not original. The most important thing is to build public awareness regarding identifying sites visited with religious motives because they are related to worship and religious activities.

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