
The Transformation of Profane-Sacred Values: A Case Study of Sacred Water at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon

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Abstract

The kliwonan tradition at Jagabayan Mosque is familiar to the surrounding community. This tradition is connected to the sacred water in the mosque well, which is considered sacred by the community. Water, classified as profane, has been transformed into a sacred entity in the community's view. This transformation aligns with Mircea Eliade's theory regarding the transition of the profane to the sacred. Therefore, this research aims to examine the transformation of values from profane to sacred through Eliade's sacred-profane theory. Furthermore, it will explore the implications of these value changes on people's social actions. This research follows a qualitative approach, employing data collection methods such as observation, interviews, and documentation. The primary data source is the kliwonan tradition practiced by the community at Jagabayan Mosque, supplemented by supporting data from relevant references. The collected data will be analyzed using descriptive-analytical methods. The results indicate that the transformation of the water's profane value to sacred is attributed to the well being considered as a source of water by the guardian entity. Consequently, this has led to the establishment of the kliwonan tradition and a distinctive attitude by the community towards the sacred water entity.

Keywords: *kliwonan, tradition, profane and sacred theory*

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Introduction

Tradition is a customary practice passed down from ancestors that is still preserved by the community (Rafiq, 2019: 96). Every Friday, the Kliwonan ritual is performed generation after generation and believed to ward off misfortune for those who believe in it. Those who perform this ritual do so for various purposes including healing, business success, and other goals. Ritual is an activity related to religious ceremonies, births, marriages, and other rituals that have sacred significance to signify specific meanings (Agus, 2006: 95).

In Java, it is known as Kliwonan, which is a syncretism of Javanese culture that interprets the significance of days with Islamic values of Pon, Wage, Pahing, and Kliwon, with Friday being highly regarded as Sayyidul Ayyam (the master of days) (Kholid, 2016: 29). Javanese culture, which incorporates Islamic teachings, has evolved into traditions, one of which is known as Kliwonan. One example of such a tradition is found at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon. Originating from Sunan Gunungjati granting a title to Prince Nalarasa, Jagabayan Mosque possesses uniqueness in its traditions. True to its name, Jagabayan means expelling evil and protecting from danger. Initially, the sacred well was used by the guards during the mosque's construction. One of the saints planted his staff into the ground, and it became an ever-flowing source of water until today. The Kliwonan tradition can be performed every day, but its peak is on Thursday afternoon until night, with the main focus being the water used in the ritual. This social fact is in line with Eliade's concept of the transformation of the profane into the sacred by being anchored to a higher sacred entity.

Mircea Eliade, born in Bucharest, was a historian and philosopher whose passion for solitude and writing began in childhood and continued throughout his career. At the age of 18, Eliade published his one hundredth article, coinciding with his 18th birthday. Throughout his life, he studied under several influential figures, which undoubtedly shaped his thinking. He studied mystical Platonic thought in Renaissance Italy, then under the guidance of Surendranath Dasgupta at the University of Calcutta in India. In India, Eliade claimed that his experiences profoundly influenced him. He discovered three things: first, that one's life path could be altered through sacramental experiences. Second, symbols are the primary key to spiritual life, and third, saints and symbols can be studied and explored on the Indian subcontinent due to its rich religious heritage.

Mircea Eliade was a scholar of religious studies who vehemently criticized reductionist approaches that used anthropological, sociological, and psychological theories to understand the nature of religion. Eliade always distinguished between the sacred and the profane, considering both as two forms of reality. He based his understanding on ancient or primitive societies that lived amidst these two realms. The sacred is a realm of the sacred, while the profane is a secular reality that is not considered sacred or ordinary. In essence, Eliade differentiated between spiritual and material aspects in understanding religious phenomena. According to Eliade, religion itself is not always based on belief in gods but leads to something sacred or holy. The sacred and the profane are essentially religious phenomena experienced by humans in their own reality. German theologian and religious historian Rudolf Otto greatly influenced Eliade's ideas about the sacred and the profane. For Eliade, focusing on the supernatural does not represent religion from a social perspective (Pals, 2018).

Eliade's "The Sacred and The Profane" is a seminal document on understanding human religion and the examination of the quality of life. Mircea Eliade does not define sacred experience as a sociological phenomenon. He demonstrates how real space and time are sacred, both in their concrete manifestations and in their eternal forms. Moving into more spaces and

times, the world of filth also changes. In this book, Eliade uses examples from different cultures to demonstrate how seriously traditional society's cultural systems apply the divine model. Sacred authority governs all life; for example, when establishing a new village, ancient societies did not choose a location arbitrarily. They believed that this place had a hierarchy and could be realized when sacred figures such as God or ancestral spirits visited it. Only in this way could society be structured with a divine hierarchy.

As for the symbols believed by archaic societies, these symbols are based on equivalence or analogy. According to Eliade, according to human civilization, religious symbols, myths, and ceremonies emerge alternately. In normal life and just for you. Then write indecently. However, the profane can become sacred at any time. Objects used as symbols can become sacred when people find and believe in them. For example, water has no value and is no different from other water from a profane perspective, but for them, water can become sacred and become a supernatural reality. Thus, water that was originally not sacred becomes sacred according to individual beliefs. After explaining symbols and myths, Eliade also discusses the comparison between symbols and myths. Is there a level for each symbol? Eliade explains that in his view, some symbols or myths are better than others. The standard Eliade uses is scale and size. Larger, more complex, and more universal symbols are the best because they encompass all that is sacred (Pals, 2018).

Previous studies like those by Hasbullah et al. mention that Pangkalan Kuras has a ritual to ward off misfortune aimed at understanding why this ritual persists in the Pangkalan community. This ritual continues to this day because the community does not yet fully understand Islamic teachings and the strong psychological influence of the natural environment. Additionally, they believe in Lingga Irfa's research on the tradition of bathing in sacred water, as well as influential figures like Aki Tirem Luhur Mulia and Sultan Hasanuddin's meditation place in Banten. Bathing in sacred pools and the purpose of bathing in sacred pools, this research finds out how communities bathe in sacred pools and aims to fulfill the community's desires in life (Lingga, 2021).

In Naeron Aryan's research, regarding the sacredness of Friday night Kliwon, he attempted to understand the sacredness of Friday night from the perspective of the pilgrimage community in Randegan. The results of this research show that Friday nights on Kliwon have their own sacredness; according to them, Friday nights on Kliwon are the right time for prayer, expressing various problems in life, and entering inner silence. When the veil is lifted for those who are hopeful to the Creator, it is believed that the spirits of the deceased will return, so pilgrims take advantage of this to establish a connection with respected individuals (Aryaf, 2018).

Based on the social fact of the community's belief in the sacred value of the sacred water at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon and the implementation of rituals on Friday night Kliwon accompanying it, as well as the academic fact that no specific study on the above research object has been found, especially through Mircea Eliade's sacred and profane theory, this research is positioned to fill this academic void. Therefore, the objectives of this research are first, to understand the transformation of the profane value of sacred water at Jagabayan Mosque in seeking for social activity among society.

This study focuses on the application of Eliade's theory to the sacredness of the profane. It is a qualitative research that emphasizes the search for meaning, understanding of concepts, characteristics, and definitions of phenomena (Sidiq & Choiri, 2019). The research is conducted at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon through data collection methods including

observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation involves visiting the research site. The data collection technique proceeds with interviews aimed at obtaining information from specific individuals as informants to assist in fulfilling the data requirements of this study, followed by documentation which serves as visual data on the research site. Additionally, other supporting data such as books, articles, and other sources are utilized.

An overview of Jagabayan mosque

Tracing the path of Karanggetas Street, the name of Jagabayan Mosque is already familiar to the ears of the community. Entering a small alley less than half a meter wide, there lies a historical site. Jagabayan Mosque is located on Karanggetas Street, Rt 01 Rw 09, in Panjungan Village, Lemahwungkuk Subdistrict, Cirebon City, West Java. It is bordered to the north and south by shops, to the west by Karanggetas Street, and to the east by residential areas. The mosque's surroundings are in a densely populated urban area and are situated right on a busy road. The mosque, named Masjid Jami Jagabayan, is a legacy of the saints and sultans of Cirebon.

Jagabayan Mosque bears witness to the early spread of Islam in Cirebon and is approximately 600 years old. Historically and legendarily, Cirebon is deeply intertwined with Islam. These cannot be separated from one another because Cirebon is a center for the spread of Islam in West Java. Therefore, Cirebon has archaeological remains that strengthen this statement. Broadly speaking, these remnants are divided into two categories: immovable cultural heritage objects and movable objects.

The condition of Jagabayan Mosque is still well-maintained to this day despite being surrounded by shops, and its entrance, a small alley, is actually a point of attraction. Various relics from the past are still preserved in the mosque's caretaker room, including two spears and the authenticity of the pulpit drum and its sheath. Until now, the pulpit drum and the pulpit are still used in Jagabayan Mosque. Up to this point, it has undergone renovations approximately four times, and inside the mosque is known for its "saka empat" feature. Some original wood has been covered due to decay, and the original wood from ancient times to the present is found in the upper part. The original "saka" is a square shape supported by pillars, as seen in other ancient mosques.

Originally, the presence of water in Jagabayan Mosque began with the mosque's construction process, which was initially a guard post built by the saints during that time. Water became the primary source needed to fulfill daily needs and the mosque's construction process. Previously, one of the saints planted his staff, and then water splashed out. According to an interview with the mosque's caretaker, the water has never receded, even during droughts. Before being used as a means of warding off misfortune, the surrounding community near the palace was affected by a disease outbreak. Then Prince Nalarasa tried to cure it with water and prayers at the guard post, which was being converted into a mosque. This well is known as the "sacred well," located to the right of Jagabayan Mosque.

The following is the process of the warding off misfortune "kliwonan" tradition: a) visitors prepare flowers and vegetable oil before exchanging them for water from the sacred well b) stating the purpose of performing the warding off misfortune c) exchanging flowers and vegetable oil, with oil symbolizing the exchange of good and bad d) then reciting a prayer led by the caretaker of Jagabayan Mosque. This procession is relatively brief; some people use water from the sacred well to bathe and wash items or places they desire. Each warding off

misfortune ritual brings a quarter of vegetable oil and flowers as symbols of separating good and bad, recalling the time before electricity when oil was used as fuel to light lamps.

The sacred well at Jagabayan Mosque is believed to be like the Zamzam well, never drying up. Through the intermediary of the well's water, residents believe their hopes will come true, although everything ultimately returns based on the power of Allah SWT. This tradition teaches the community to respect and understand each other's purposes, to protect and assist each other in preserving traditions that have been practiced for a long time. The tradition, believed by the community, remains sacred, and the mosque's caretaker must be passed down from generation to generation.

The perception of the community and the sacred entity behind the sacred well water of Jagabayan mosque

The water from the sacred well possesses physical properties similar to ordinary water used in daily life. However, what sets this water apart is something believed to generate different energies from what we commonly consume daily. The water in the well of Jagabayan Mosque serves as a sacred symbol within the water. Being regarded as holy water, visitors perceive the place differently. The well of Jagabayan Mosque holds sacred value in preserving and safeguarding the sanctity of water, notably by perpetuating long-standing traditions that uphold the community's belief in the history of Jagabayan Mosque, which fosters their faith in the existence of the well.

The phenomenon of the sacred water at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon likely contains magical elements within it. Implicitly, this water is considered sacred and referred to as a holy place. Generally, other religions have places considered sacred according to beliefs. Even some places dedicated to God are separated from everyday activities. These places are sanctified areas where religious adherents behave differently compared to in profane places. According to Eliade's theory, the appearance of saints essentially exists at Jagabayan Mosque, specifically in the sacred well.

The transition of the profane form of water into the sacred, when examined through Eliade's theory, can be outlined as follows: Firstly, the water in the sacred well originally was considered ordinary water and not deemed sacred. However, considering the origin of the water, which began with a saint driving his staff into the ground during the construction of the mosque and causing a spring to emerge, if a saint in Islam possesses the privilege known as "karomah" as a form of distinction, it further strengthens the community's belief in the supernatural elements contained within the water through the history of its emergence. This well is known as the sacred well, located to the south of the mosque. Besides its believed efficacy, the sacred well has become the main water source within the mosque, commonly used for ablution and other purposes.

The first aspect is evident in the interview results with the Mosque's Keeper, as follows:

“Masjid Jami Jagabayan ini merupakan peninggalan para wali dan sultan Cirebon. Masjid ini menjadi saksi awal penyebaran agama Islam di Cirebon dan tertua umurnya yakni sekitar 600 tahun. Masjid Jagabayan, ada sebelum adanya masjid di Cirebon, di sinilah tempat musyawarahnya para Wali Cirebon. Namun, hanya berbentuk pos penjagaan Kerajaan Pakungwati, tepat di depan gerbang Keraton Cirebon. Dari sinilah cikal bakal Masjid Jagabayan terbentuk. Hingga kini, ada hal unik di Masjid Jagabayan ini yaitu pada malam Jumat Kliwon masyarakat dari berbagai daerah datang untuk melakukan doa

bersama dan tawasul. Sumur yang menghasilkan air yang sangat berlimpah ini bermula dari kebutuhan hidup dan membangun Masjid Jagabayan salah satu wali menancapkan tongkat dengan karomahnya tanah tersebut mengeluarkan air yang samapai sekarang tidak pernah surut, walaupun musim kemarau air ini tidak habis bahkan ketika musim penghujan air dari sumur ini penuh bisa diambil cukup dengan gayung saja, saking melimpahnya sumber air tersebut.”

"The Jami Jagabayan Mosque is a legacy of the saints and sultans of Cirebon. This mosque witnessed the early spread of Islam in Cirebon and is around 600 years old. Jagabayan Mosque existed before any mosque in Cirebon; this is where the Wali Cirebon council meetings were held. However, it was only in the form of a Pakungwati Kingdom guard post, right in front of the Cirebon Palace gate. This is where the genesis of Jagabayan Mosque began. To this day, there is a unique aspect of Jagabayan Mosque, where on Thursday nights, people from various regions come to pray together and seek intercession. The well that produces abundant water originated from the needs of life and the construction of Jagabayan Mosque, as one of the saints drove his staff into the ground with his 'karomah', causing water to flow that has never diminished to this day. Even during the dry season, this water does not run out, and even during the rainy season, it can be drawn with just a dipper, so abundant is this water source."

Secondly, the community's experience after performing the kliwonan tradition. The community's belief in the well water, believed to be a means to fulfill wishes or ward off disasters. This tradition has been ingrained in the local community and has spread to various regions. Based on the interview results, the informants agreed that the kliwonan tradition or disaster aversion, culminating on Thursday evenings, influences the hopes expressed during the religious ritual. The community supports that by adding specific prayers to this tradition, it does not deviate from Islamic teachings, believed to involve prayers and Quranic recitations as a guide to life and as a remedy for all ailments. To this day, the community still observes the kliwonan tradition at Jagabayan Mosque. Among the interview results obtained are as follows:

“Selama saya berdagang sering melihat para pengunjung datang untuk meminta doa lewat air sumur keramat yang didoakan. Biasanya saya datang untuk melaksanakan tolak bala ketika sedang sakit, mempunyai kendaraan baru yang minta didoakan untuk keselamatan. Selama ini Alhamdulillah berkat keyakinan dan berserah diri kepada Allah setiap kali berikhtiar dengan meminta doa dan minum air yang sudah didoakan sakit saya menjadi sembuh, dan beberapa hajat saya terkabul. Doa-doa yang dipanjatkan seperti tolak bala pun saya merasakan manfaatnya seperti rezeki yang alhamdulillah dicukupkan untuk kehidupan. Dengan ini saya setuju bahwa air yang didoakan dengan surat al-Qur’an dan doa tolak bala memiliki kekuatan magis untuk penyembuhan, kelapangan rezeki dan lainnya.”¹

"During my business ventures, I often see visitors come to request prayers through the blessed well water. Usually, I come to perform disaster aversion when I am sick or when I have a new vehicle and request prayers for its safety.

¹ Interview with Ibu eti (Masyarakat Sekitar Maasjid Jagabayan) pada 2 Febuari 2023, waktu 16.00 WIB

Alhamdulillah, through faith and submission to Allah, each time I strive by seeking prayers and drinking the blessed water, my sickness is healed, and some of my wishes are granted. The prayers offered in the disaster aversion ritual, such as disaster aversion, I feel the benefits, such as sustenance that is thankfully sufficient for life. Thus, I agree that water prayed upon with Quranic verses and disaster aversion prayers has magical power for healing, abundance in sustenance, and more."

In the interviews above, it is apparent that the sacred well water and the tradition of warding off disasters have been believed from the outset by the informants as elements capable, or at least serving as a bridge, to their hopes and desires. However, subsequently, it appears that this tradition is anchored in a more sacred entity based on the beliefs (i.e., religion) of the practitioners of the disaster aversion ritual. In this case, the informants, as followers of Islam, attribute the sanctity or efficacy of the sacred well water and the disaster aversion tradition to the Quran and religious prayers. Indications that they believe in the sacred well water and the disaster aversion tradition are evident in the following excerpts:

*"Saya sering bolak-balik ke masjid untuk melakukan sholat dan beberapa kali melaksanakan tolak bala ketika ada hajat atau ketika sedang sakit. Saya setuju adanya pembacaan al-Qur'an dalam tolak bala karena yang saya ketahui surat-surat yang dibaca itu, diantaranya al-Fatihah sebagai pembuka dan memiliki banyak fadilah dan al-falaq an-nas sebagai surat penjagaan. Saya yakin dengan surat-surat ini ritual tolak bala semakin terasa khasiatnya. Setau saya doa yang dipanjatkan dalam prosesi tolak bala untuk keselamatan dijauhkan dari kejahatan dan selalu dalam lindungan Allah, doa ini dan al-Qur'an memiliki manfaat yang luar biasa ini salah satu bentuk ikhtiar saya. Seperti saya sendiri ketika ada keluarga yang sakit meminta air yang didoakan dalam tolak bala, Alhamdulillah dengan izin Allah menjadi sembuh."*²

"I often visit the mosque to pray and have performed disaster aversion several times when I had needs or when I was sick. I agree with the recitation of the Quran in disaster aversion because I know the verses recited, including Al-Fatihah as an opener, have many virtues, and Al-Falaq and An-Nas as protective verses. I believe that with these verses, the disaster aversion ritual's efficacy is increasingly felt. As far as I know, the prayers offered in the disaster aversion process for safety are protected from evil and always under Allah's protection. These prayers and the Quran have tremendous benefits; this is one of my efforts. For example, when a family member is sick, I request water prayed upon in disaster aversion, and by Allah's permission, they recover."

*"Sering berkunjung kesini untuk melaksanakan tolak bala, saya percaya karena tradisi ini sudah turun temurun ya, kalau mimpi buruk sampai merasa terganggu saya meminta didoakan dengan tujuan minta keselamatan. Tahapan-tahapan yang dilakukan dalam tolak bala pun sama sekali tidak melenceng dari ajaran agama saya, dan yang saya ketahui ketika membaca al-Qur'an dan doa tolak bala tentunya mampu memberikan efek kepada pelaku tolak bala. Jadi saya setuju dengan adanya pembacaan al-Qur'an dan doa tolak bala sangat berpengaruh terhadap air yang dibacakan dan ketika meminumnya khasiatnya hati terasa tenang"*³

² Interview with Ibu Desi (Masyarakat Sekitar Maasjid Jagabayan) pada 21 Januari 2023

³ Interview with Ibu Musni (Pengunjung Masjid Jagabayan) pada tanggal 2 Febuari 2023

"I often visit here to perform disaster aversion; I believe because this tradition has been passed down for generations. If I have bad dreams and feel disturbed, I request prayers for safety. The stages performed in disaster aversion do not deviate from my religious teachings at all, and as I know, when reciting the Quran and disaster aversion prayers, they can certainly affect the disaster aversion practitioner. So, I agree that the recitation of the Quran and disaster aversion prayers greatly influences the water being recited and when consumed, its benefits make the heart feel calm."

*"Saya dari Tengah Tani berkunjung ke Masjid Jagabayan pada saat mempunyai kendaraan baru, meminta perlindungan, atau mimpi buruk. Setiap pelaksanaan tolak bala selalu di barengi dengan bacaan al-Qur'an. Bacaan al-Qur'an ini hati jadi tenang, keyakinan tentang air sumur keramat sebagai media penolak bala yang didoakan, setelah itu biasanya diminum atau disiramkan pada barang-barang tertentu. Pada saat itu ketika punya motor baru saya datang kesini untuk meminta didoakan agar tidak terjadi hal-hal buruk, Alhamdulillahnya sampai sekarang selalu baik-baik saja. Saya setuju surat dalam al-Qur'an itu sangat berpengaruh pada tradisi tolak bala"*⁴

"I am from Tengah Tani and visit Jagabayan Mosque when I have a new vehicle, seek protection, or have bad dreams. Every disaster aversion is always accompanied by the recitation of the Quran. Reciting the Quran calms the heart, and I believe in the sacred well water as a means of disaster aversion. After that, it is usually drunk or poured on specific items. When I had a new motorcycle, I came here to request prayers to prevent bad things from happening, and Alhamdulillah, everything has been fine until now. I agree that the Quranic verses greatly influence the disaster aversion tradition."

The interviews above further strengthen the belief of the local community in the magical powers contained within the sacred well water. This belief has persisted and spread even beyond the local area. However, it appears that there is an effort to anchor this sanctity in a more absolute and universally true entity. It is widely known that the Quran is the sacred scripture of Islam, its "state" being attributed to Allah as the ruler of the universe. As the Quranic texts are attributed to and believed to be part of the entity ruling the universe, they inherently possess sacredness. In the case of the community's belief in the efficacy of the sacred well water and the disaster aversion tradition, the Quran being the foundation of their ritual practices automatically renders these otherwise mundane objects and activities sacred. However, beyond this anchoring, it must be acknowledged and realized that the sacredness of the sacred well water and the disaster aversion tradition for the community (i.e., the congregants of Jagabayan Mosque) is a factual occurrence.

The implication of sacredness of the well water at Jagabayan mosque

The effect or implication of the sacredness of the well water at Jagabayan Mosque has been evident since the inception of the disaster aversion tradition at the mosque. For example, it is evident in the interview with the Mosque's Keeper as follows:

⁴ Interview with Ibu Maesaroh (Pengunjung Masjid Jagabayan) pada 2 Februari 2023

“Pada waktu itu, masyarakat di sekitar lingkungan keraton terkena musibah penyakit. Lalu, Pangeran Jagabayan, atau dikenal juga dengan nama Pangeran Nararasa yang berasal dari keturunan Keraton Padjadjaran, berdoa di pos itu. Dengan izin Allah doanya dikabulkan. Sejak saat itu, pos ini dijadikan sebuah masjid yang dipercaya dapat menolak bala atau menolak musibah oleh orang-orang di sekitarnya. Di masjid ini juga berlangsung sebuah tradisi, setiap malam Jumat Kliwon selalu dikunjungi banyak jamaah untuk bersilaturahmi dan mengambil air dari sumur yang dikeramatkan.”⁵

"At that time, the community around the palace area was afflicted with a disease epidemic. Then, Prince Jagabayan, also known as Prince Nararasa from the descendants of the Padjadjaran Palace, prayed at that post. With Allah's permission, his prayer was answered. Since then, this post has been converted into a mosque believed to ward off disasters by the people around it. In this mosque, a tradition also takes place, where every Thursday night of Kliwon is visited by many congregants for socializing and to fetch water from the revered well."

Through the testimony of the Mosque's Keeper, it is apparent that visitors fetch water from the revered well and perform special rituals there so that their wishes may come true. Furthermore, since the "efficacy" or "sacredness" exists, special treatment through the implementation of religious rituals continues to be carried out and becomes a distinct tradition. This is evident in the following statement by the Mosque's Keeper:

“Pelaksanaan tolak bala hampir dilakukan setiap hari, semua kembali kepada pengunjung yang datang namun puncaknya pada malam kamis sampai malam jum'at kliwon pengunjung yang datang melebihi hari-hari biasanya. Tujuan pengunjung yang datang selain untuk bersilaturahmi mereka mempunyai hajat atau ingin terhindar dari hal-hal buruk ketika mimpi buruk, sedang sakit atau mempunyai kendaraan baru yang ingin didoakan.”

"The disaster aversion ritual is almost conducted every day, it all depends on the visitors who come, but it peaks from Thursday night to Friday Kliwon night, where the number of visitors exceeds the usual days. The purpose of the visitors, besides socializing, is to fulfill their wishes or to avoid negative occurrences such as nightmares, illness, or when they have a new vehicle that they want to be prayed for."

Another special treatment is also evident when visitors deliberately and specifically desire to bathe with the sacred well water, as seen in the following image:

⁵ Hasil wawancara dengan Muhammad Farhan (Pengurus Masjid) pada tanggal 2 Februari 2023, waktu 15.30 WIB



Furthermore, in the excerpt from the interview presented in the previous subsection, there is also acknowledgment from visitors who use the water for drinking or sprinkling on specific items according to their intentions. The excerpt from the interview is "...belief in the sacred well water as a means of averting disaster through prayer, after which it is usually consumed or sprinkled on certain items."

These special treatments are the result of the sanctification of the well water at Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon. This is evident when Islam, as a belief system that anchors its beliefs in holistic and non-material elements, is clearly seen in this religious practice being anchored in the sacred well water through the tradition of Kliwonan. The special treatment appears stronger when realizing that visitors to the well are not limited only to the Cirebon community but also include many visitors from outside the city.

Conclusion

From the presentation of data and the results of the analysis above, it appears that the transformation of the profane value of the sacred well water into sacred is caused by anchoring the well as a water source to the sacred entity of the saints who originally created it. In addition to the entity of the saints, the sacredness of the sacred well water is also anchored in the Qur'an as a holy book and guidance for the practitioners of the ritual of warding off disasters on the Kliwon Friday night at the Jagabayan Mosque in Cirebon. The implications resulting from this are the creation of the Kliwonan tradition itself and the discovery of a special attitude by the community towards the entity of water considered sacred.

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