

SYMBOLS FOR THE ANCESTORS: A STUDY OF PETILASAN PEWAYANGAN MYTHS IN THE RAHTAWU OF MURIA MOUNTAINS,CENTRAL JAVA

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Abstract

This study examines cultural and religious phenomena of *petilasan pewayangan* myths in the mountain of Rahtawu, Muria, Central Java. *Petilasan* is a sacred site(s) referring to an ancestor(s). This research investigates oral tradition of *pewayangan* myths that are presented in the *petilasan*. It studies symbols of *petilasan* which are believed to contain socio-religious and cultural meanings and values. The Rahtawu villagers believe that Rahtawu myths symbolize 'ancestral world' (*alam leluhur*), the relics of the ancient Javanese culture. For outsiders however, Rahtawu myths are superstitious, irrational, and ridiculous. The aim of this study is to examine religious and cultural meanings and values actively reproduced in activities of the Rahtawu Society.

A. Introduction

This thesis study about the phenomenon of 'shadow puppet' myths in the Rahtawu Mountains. This is interesting to consider 'shadow puppet' myths as an integral part of cultural and religious system of the Javanese. These traditions are enshrined and continue living in various myths and rites of Javanese people. The studies of the experts, Geertz (1960), Mulyono (1975), Anderson (1966), Laksono (1985), Ahimsa-Putra (2001), etc. show that 'shadow puppet' is not only a symbol of the classical civilization of Java, but continue the fabric of meanings and values in the Javanese tradition. These traditions are not only told in the stories, written and oral, but also manifest themselves in the forms of artifacts such as symbols on stones, leather, and even 'sacred sites' so-called *petilasan (cungkup, sanctuary)* as observed in the Mountains of Rahtawu. The aim of this study is to find meaning and value in the context of contemporary Javanese culture.

This phenomenon is theoretically important to investigate not only because of the uniqueness of the *pewayangan* myths that are usually found in texts and performance arts, but also because of the appreciation of symbols that are positioned as a 'sacred monuments' so-called '*petilasan*' (*cungkup*), which are believed to contain certain meanings and values, even taboos for local communities in the village. Owner of myths assume that Rahtawu Mountains symbolize "*alam leluhur*" (ancestral world) which is believed as relics of the ancient Java. But on the other hand, there is also a notion of outsiders who argue that Rahtawu myths are superstitious, irrational, ridiculous, and even labeled bad by some people. In this context, different interpretations and perceptions of the mythical Mount Rahtawu want to be examined.

Departing from the phenomenon above, this study analyze reproduction of meanings given by people living and cising Rahtawu Mountains. This study is limited in the context of Rahtawu Mountains as a system of symbols which was considered useful to reflect and communicate the system of meanings and values in the Rahtawu society. In short, this study emphasizes three main concerns: 1). a description of the cultural and religious communities of Rahtawu 2). interpretations of the *pewayangan* myth in Rahtawu; and 3). meanings given by the Rahtawu society.

B. Theoretical Consideration

As seen from its origin, the *myth* comes from the word '*mythos*' (*muthos*) initially means, "a word spoken by a poet, something that is told or a statement"; while *mythology* (*muthologia*), originally used by Plato, meant, "thenarrative of the story" (Kirk, 1970: 8-9). This term was confused with ancient fairy tales and fables as opposed to logic (*logos*) and *historia*. Eventually it merged back again to *logic* of *mythos* (Eliade, 1963: 1-2), and continued to redefine and reinterpretation of religious and anthropological mythology. Anthropologists define a variety of understanding, for instance, George Cruzer (in Kirk, 1970: 10) defines myth as theory and history of the deity, while Arkoun (1997: 57) defines myth as symbolic expressions of preexisting and universal reality.

The study of myth also shows debated among experts in relation to ritual and religion; as at least visible of the three major trends: i.e. i) myth as an element underlying religious rituals; ii) myth as an element of ritual and religion, this is why myths will not exist without the presence of religious rituals, and iii) the myth and ritual as two entries which complement each other (Doty, 2000; Segal, 2004). It is as confirmed by Levi-Strauss who says: "The Myth and ritual do

not always correspond to each other, but they complete each other in domains already presenting a complementary character" (Levi-Strauss, 1976: 67). In this point of view, the study of myth here is placed in line with the opinion of the latter. In other words, the myth is deployed as an integral part of the rites and the cultural system of the Rahtawu society.

In this study, myth is defined, in accordance with the opinion of Victor Turner (1968), as sacred narrative story about the sacred beings, semi-divine heroes, and the origins of all things through the mediation of the sacred beings. Meanwhile, *petilasan* defined as "objects of the *sacra* or mythic trail of people who are considered as manifestation of the sacred beings as embodied in the Javanese wayang figures. This *petilasan* has been marked in Mount Rahtawu through sacred monuments that can be observed their characteristics. That is why, myths and *petilasan* equally represent the sacred beings, but in terms of its characteristics, the *myth* tend more abstract, while *petilasan* is a product that can be observed from its external forms.

In line with these notions, this study seeks to understand the phenomenon of the myths that exist in Mount Rahtawu as part of the cultural system by using several approaches. *First*, the interpretive approach. This approach treats culture as a system of symbols that serves to communicate the meanings and values. The basic assumption of this approach assumes that myth, like language, art, and ritual, is a significant symbol of the system that are useful as orientation, communication, and self-control that can help people to adapt to the environment (Geertz, 1973: 48). *Second*, *system* symbol, according to Victor Turner, is distinguished between dominant symbols that occupy a central place in the cultural, and instrumental symbols whose meaning can only be observed and considered a symbol through connectedness with other symbols. *Third*, a system of symbol that on the first place not only *univocal*, which has only one meaning, but rather *multivocal*, which one symbol has many meanings (Turner, 1967: 50-51; 1981: 16-17). By using these approaches, the number of symbols at Mount Rahtawu inexplicable existence, good relationship with other symbols and meanings they contain. With reference to some of these approaches, the number of symbols at Mount Rahtawu expected to be explained in its existence, either relates to other symbols or meanings by the Rahtawu society.

The process of this study is conducted by using three methods of collecting data, the study of literature, participant observation, and depth interviews. The three methods are executed according to the nature of the data to be obtained. The empirical data is collected through

participant observation by observing *petilasans* containing properties of myths that are spread in many places in Mount Rahtawu. The more abstract data such as the meaning and value symbols collected in-depth interviews to find the fabric of meaning that lived in the cultural system of Rahtawu society. All data is further enriched by the study of literature that has a direct connection with the study subjects so that there will be reduction process in the course of the study.

The data collected is further processed in a qualitative way through the stages of selection, classification and categorization based on the problem, and then analyzed by seeking the relationship between *system* symbols in *pewayangan* myths. *Sytem* symbol is divided between the dominant symbols and symbols instrumental as defined by Turner. Dominant symbols appear in many different contexts, while its meaning has a strong influence in the overall system of symbols; while instrumental symbol is intended to obtain the goals more specific of each ritual performance. Instrumental symbols can be extracted only through a system of symbols whose meaning is always associated with other symbols (Turner, 1967: 31-32). This method is assumed can help to investigate cultural phenomena of *pewayangan* myths at Rahtawu Mountains.

The data analysis carried out here refer to symbolism theory of Victor Turner that identified three levels of meaning through the three levels of data classification to gain meaning, namely: 1). Exegetical meaning; extracted from observable characteristics based on the explanation of local informants that understanding or symbolic benefits can be identified, 2). Operational meaning; explored by way of interpretation from the experts and laymen accompanied with observations not only on the aspects that is said, but rather included in what is done and what benefits; and 3). Positional meaning, which is obtained through a symbol refers to other symbols in the symbolic system (1967: 50-52). While this study focused on myth, the methodological framework accompanied by stories told orally and in writing that can be carried out simultaneously or separately from the observations involved in a number of activities in the field.

C. Discussion Results

1. The People of Rahtawu Mountains

Slightly different from the results of the study of mountains in Java, such as Hefner (1985), Triyoga (1991), Tashadi, et al. (1995), Sumiarni, et al. (1999), etc.; Mount Rahtawu whose name is often mentioned in

pewayangan stories not only save structures and properties of rituals such as Mapak Tanggal, Bektu Dahyang Gunung, Sedekah Gunung, etc., but also save properties of *pewayangan* myths. These myths are scattered in various places ranging from close to population centers, in the wilds of the forest, to the tops of mountains. These myths internalized by the establishment of 'sacred monuments' so-called *petilasan* that became part of the cultural system of the Rahtawu society. Cultural system is represented by a *system* symbol either to do with lands and their people, livelihoods and economies, kinship and social relationships, as well as the structures of religion and belief.

As seen from the location and geographical pictures, the Village (Mount) Rahtawu as high as 1602 mdpl is part of the Muria Peninsula which is geographically located at the coordinate position $6^{\circ} 25' 00''$ N and $6^{\circ} 27' 22''$ LS and $110^{\circ} 46' 20''$ BT and $110^{\circ} 48' 48''$ BB (Suntoko, et al., 2008). This village was once covered by the mountain ranges Muria surrounded by steep cliffs around him. They were in the middle of the mountain that had been closed off from all directions of the compass. In the south is a village that is now classified Menawan Village Gebog Subdistrict. In the east is a village called Ternadi. In the north is Tempur Village Keling Subdistrict. While on its west side is a forest of Kapok tree (now Coffee) Jepara District.

In this point of view, geographical pictures of Mount Rahtawu has similarities with the stories of *pewayangan purwa* so often associated as a manifestation of "the Land of Shadow Puppets". This is consistent with a *pewayangan* mythscalled Pawukir Rahtawu (Wukir Rahtawu = Mount Rahtawu) as a place surrounded by seven mountain ranges (Saptaarga) in which there are *pertapaan* (asceticism) places from famous figures like Abiyasa, Palasara, Sakri, Sakutrem, Manumayasa, etc. Those mythic figures were believed to exist, and were considered the "ancestors" who live in the Mount Rahtawu, then 'sacred monument called *petilasan-petilasan* was built became a symbol of the cultural system of the Rahtawu society, relating with these sites, rites, and myths embodied in the daily lives of Rahtawu people.

In agriculture, for example, people in the Rahtawu Village that majority are farmers and farm workers, ordinary held rites in a number of *petilasan*, such as rituals Labuhan, Cendolan, Apeman, etc. in attempt to "start planting season" which also intended as a way to *nguri-ngurikabudayan* (preserving culture) as taught by their ancestors. In this sense, *petilasan* became the arena of cultural and religious activities are expected not only to provide "spiritual power" to them in carrying out daily activities, but also related to cultural subsystem cultivated such as livelihood and economy aspects in the Rahtawu society.

Another aspects of *petilasan* also can be seen in other activities which is related to the kinship and community. The kinship is apparent from their perceptions of being which is associated as the existence of "ancestral symbols", so there is a belief that people Rahtawu and Muria peninsula in general is a descendant of the same "ancestors" called Satria Atasangin. This can be seen in the following story.

"(Here the soil is called Atasangin (another version called Natasangin = Upper wind), while there it was called the land of Java. So people here are descendants of the Satria Atasangin, while there was a descendant of Javanese; that was the story according to the *pewayangan* stories).

The story had began with Bambang Kumbayana who was expelled by his Father, because of refusing to arrange marriage. Bambang willing mated with terms as long as his wife was a descendant of the god. Hearing of this incident, Bambang was expelled from the land of Atasangin. He walked to the south. He arrived at Demak and surrounding areas are still a marsh and the ocean. Bambang Kumbayana wanted to cross but he could not. He said: 'Who can I get through the land of Java, if he be my brother, if she be my wife.' Shortly after that came a horse called Wirutama, a goddess who disguised as a woman; brought him to cross to the ground Java. In the middle of "traveling in space", down, down, down, and fell down her *kama* in her womb. Because Bambang is a warrior who had promised to say something, then like any shape, Wirutama became as his wife. But since the original Goddess, the horse immediately transformed into a goddess Wirutama, had a son, his name Ashwatthama.

(Well, since soil of Atasangin here has been coupled with the land of Java, the effects of volcanic eruptions, so became the land of Java).

Based on the description, it is not strange when Rahtawu positioned as part of very old story and is perceived as a relic of ancient Javanese traditions. More than that, "symbolic expressions" in that stories also contains several related meanings: 1). The existence of the trust portion of the population on the slopes Rahtawu and Muria in general that they come from the same lineage, which is illustrated from a separated country of Satria Atasangin; 2) the story describes as well as geographically located in the country Atasangin which is in north of the island of Java that in turn represented a one *petilasan* at Mount Rahtawu; 3) the story also describes a "natural beginning" of life in the Muria Peninsula before the island was finally united with Java

anyway after the volcanic eruption that led to a very large majority people to flock to the eastern part of Java island. In this way, a similar explanation also can be found in the story about the origin of naming Rahtawu.

“If the name of *Rahtawu*, in the beginning, according to what I have heard, is this: in the beginning was related to the birth of Bambang Sakutrem. So the birth of Bambang Sakutrem his blood removed, then it was called *Rahtawu*. The person that was born to bleed, then blood was removed, why not stop. Then, the blood flowed to Jepara. For that reason, Jepara was mostly red soil. That was the beginning of the village *Rahtawu*; followed *petilasans* and *petapaans*. (Suparkam Sudjata, July 1st, 2012).

The description above confirms some previous connection to the story. It can be seen from the previous expression between the ‘lineage’ with ‘blood flowed’ can be interpreted to contain the meaning of the “similarity of the origin” which depicts the confirmation of the kinship that needs to be maintained between them. In such a context, the different meanings of the story also indicates the importance of attention to the unity of community bound by their unified views of the origins and beginnings.

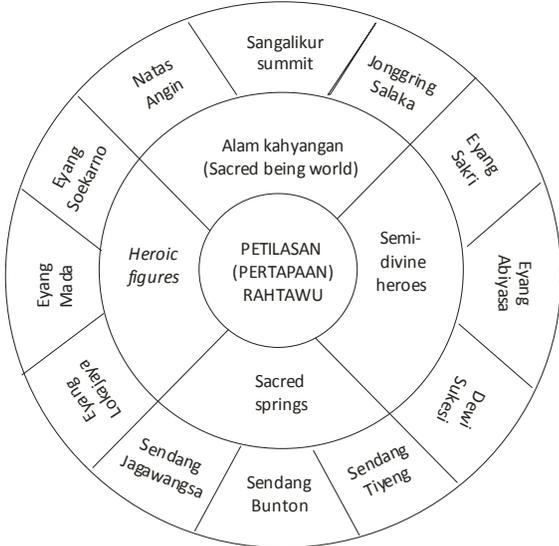
The posed of *petilasan* among Rahtawu society as central activities also can be seen in understanding and interpreting religious and belief system around him. Although today many Rahtawu village marked by diversity in religion and belief such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, as recommended by the state, people in the Rahtawu Village accept them as part of the need to align with state and age. Not just places as ‘formal worship’ such as mosques, monasteries, and churches, *petilasans* in Mount Rahtawu also showed more diverse. Interestingly, the variant itself is not much to ask for the differences in terms of his religious background, but more visible similarities. *Petilasans* are even open to anyone as confirmed by several caretakers (*penglawang*) who says “that all who came should be regarded and honored as the guest of ancestors” (*kabeh sing podo teko mrene meniko minongko tamune leluhur sing kudu dihormati*).

2. Structures and Properties of Pewayangan Myths

Based on descriptions above, *petilasan* can be said to occupy a major place in the cultural system of te Rahtawu society. *Petilasan*, therefore, can be said as “dominant symbol” who had a strong influence in the

cultural and religious Rahtawu communities. The reason is, almost all the people on the slopes of Rahtawu Mountain of the various activities, referring to *petilasan* spread in various places. It is as described by Turner that ‘dominant symbols’ are symbols that occupy a major place in the ritual (a place of greeting) and store specific richness of ritual object (Turner, 1967: 30-31). Various *petilasan*, therefore, having properties of cultural activities of Rahtawu community.

In this regard, many *petilasan* at Mount Rahtawu which amounted to no less than 22 can be summarized through the interpretation stems from the core symbols which will show various points, but overall are summarized in a system of symbols which became the center of the Rahtawu cultural community. It describes a form of wealth from the :dominant symbols” that show “multivocality symbols”, which is a symbol contains many meanings (Turner, 1967: 50). Departing from this understanding, dominant symbols of *pewayangan* myths in Mount Rahtawu can be summarized in the following framework:



From the chart, it can be indicated that *petilasan* as the dominant symbol has a different reference meaning in line with the interpretation given of both scholars and lay man. In this sense, the multiple levels of meaning can be seen from the symbolic interpretation which includes several levels. At the first level, one *petilasan* containing myths and meanings associated with many myths told about god figures in the “alam leluhur” or “alam kadewatan”. It can be associated to the Sang Hyang Tunggal, Sang Hyang Semar, Guru, God Narada, Vishnu, Batara Bayu, etc. that is symbolized occupy or are in the tops of the

mountains. At the second level, one *petilasan* have another meaning associated with *semi divine heroes* (the prototype of shadow puppet figures) are denoted with hermitages built near the tops of mountains which is known inhabited by the gods, some even said to have united with the preexisting realm. At another level is the heroic figures who symbolized by the figures in the Middle Ages and the present existence of a pattern that explains the relationship between *alam leluhur* (ancestral world, both of sacred beings and semi-divine heroes with the contemporary world. While the latter is related to the overall ecosystem that is symbolized by water, wind (air), land, mountains, forests, etc. which revealed the existence of connectedness to one another, the overall functioning of the cosmos.

In spite of the many variants meaning of the dominant symbols that exist, some common thread can be taken as an affirmation of the important contexts shown in Rahtawu cultural system. It can be seen from at least three things to do with the significance of the symbols of ancestral figuratively, ancestral diversity, and social process or sustainability of Muria slopes community.

First, petilasans at Mount Rahtawu perceived as representing “ancestral world” because since sacred beings, semi-divine heroes, and heroic figures as mentioned in the shadow puppet stories usually described as people who lived in the early stages and is still remembered for its existence for people today and the next. It is as confirmed by Sura that says, “Rahtawu is the place our ancestors,” and also Selamat that says, “Rahtawu is place of our ancestors and therefore I am happy to visit here.” More than that facts, all mythic names like mentioned above, even often vocalized by the owner of the myth on they pilgrimage to their ancestor steps. One *petilasan*, therefore, can be interpreted having interconnection with others because *petilasan* stems from the same base, the ancestral realm. In other words, “ancestral world” was perceived at first was One and then became a lot, so that unity was being “symbolic instrument” that drives them to reflect on the origins of its existence.

Second, the ancestor itself differently interpreted in line with the beliefs of the individual figures that necessitates a diversity of interpretations of the presence of the ancestors. This diversity can be seen in the presence of *petilsan pewayangan* myths scattered in many places that actually represent different religious backgrounds. On the one hand, *petilasan* at Mount Rahtawu regarded as a relic, as reflected in the Old Javanese myths of Sang Hyang Wenang, Sang Hyang Wening, and Sang Hyang Tunggal. On the other hand, the semi-divine figures such as Abiyasa, Palasara, Sakri, Sakutrem, Sarwa, etc.

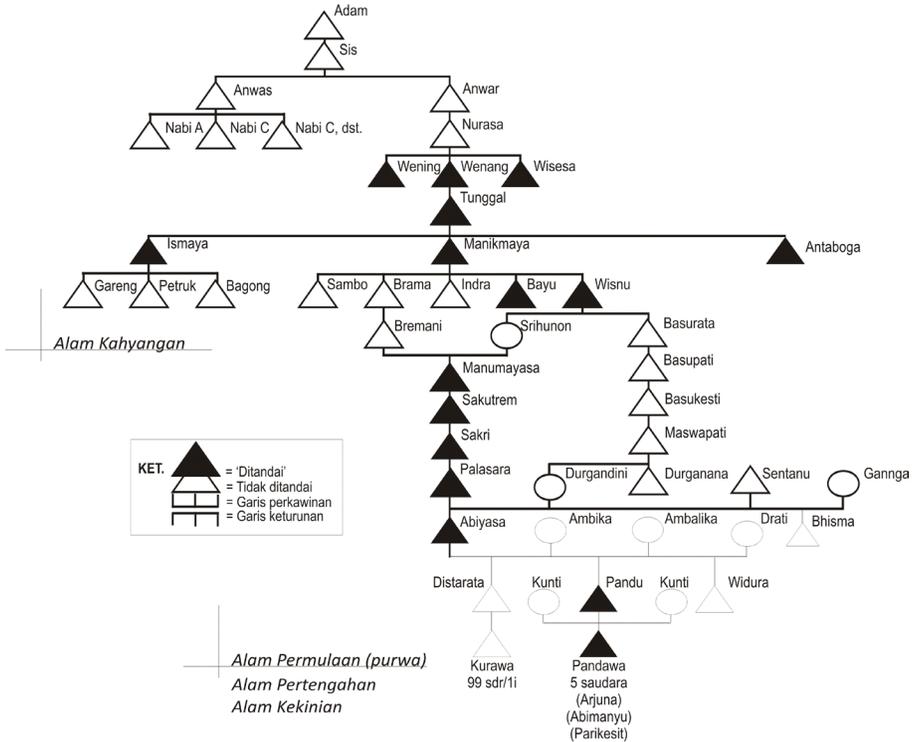
considered as a representation of the Hindu Javanese as contained in the stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana. On the other side, *petilasan* also represent the tradition of Islam as shown in Petilasan Lokajaya, and even Abiyasa, which is positioned as the ancestor of the trustees who propagate the teachings of Islam. Despite this diversity can be seen as “divisive instrument” from the standpoint of modern religions because of the contradiction between the symbol of *petilasan* with others, and yet as confirmed by most people Rahtawu, they are not seen within the confines of a strict religious, but more views in the mythic and symbolic perspective that social unity can be maintained and preserved.

At the next level, significant context is the aspect of unity and continuity of social and cultural systems of the Rahtawu society which is inherited from generation to generation. It is as shown of the whole system of symbols which have interconnecting with one another so that the integration aspect of their relationship is maintained with the ancestors and relationships. In this context, the mythical stories above associated also with the symbols of the total symbols of ecosystem (water, fire, earth, wind (air), etc.) that exist in the universe (called the *jagad gumelar*) and is considered to encapsulate all dimensions of social life in Rahtawu cultural system.

3. The Meaning of Pewayangan Myths

Along with a picture that has been discussed previously regarding the dominant symbol, the other meanings of *petilasan pewayangan* myths can also be seen in the broader context. Related to this, Turner called it a symbol of the instrumental of the whole system can be considered the symbol of the fabric of meaning observed in the dominant symbols. For Turner, this can be considered a symbol instrumental based on intents and purposes (Turner, 1972: 32). In this sense, discussion here trying to decipher the symbols instrumental in multiple reviews of *petilasan* related to genealogy, religious and social meaning of *petilasan pewayangan*.

First, the meaning of kinship. This meaning is often associated with a dominant symbol *petilasan* depicting the genealogical relationship with others. Petilasan Eyang Sakri, for example, is regarded as the ancestor of Abiyasa and Palasara, and so on and so forth. Sudjianto Carito, 60, a puppeteer on the slopes of Muria, asserted that in a broader context, understanding the puppet *petilasan* Mount Rahtawu be considered too “pedigree puppet prototype” which is described in the following lineage.



Based on that structure, each of the symbols show the pattern of the associated aspects of genealogy. In this context, the attention of the kinship meaning can also arrested from previous stories; were related to the creation figuratively (the myth of the birth of deities and semi-divine); avoid the inability to reproduce (myth of Dewi Kunti); avoid disease (myth of Rara Amis); expectations meet your soul mate and have offspring (mythical wanderings in the mountains and forests); relationship that is based on love and not lust (myths of Begawan Sarwa and Dewi Sukesi); loyalty to her husband and family (Madrim and Dewi Kunti myths); and avoid family conflict (mythical descent of Pandudewanata), and so on.

In such a context, genealogy aspect can also be seen in symbolic patterns of connectedness with basic structure of *pewayangan* that essentially tells the story of three core structure i.e. i) the birth that represent the origins of their existence by their ancestors, ii) marriage that are not simply defined as the union between two individuals, but more than that is the union and the sustainability of communities, and iii) mortality is defined as the union itself to the "ancestral worlds" and also the sustainability of the social process that has been lived since the birth.

Through these symbols, motive and visits conducted at Mount Rahtawu are various linked to goals and objectives related to their efforts to continue the kinship structure in order to be lived marriage and good children. This can be compared with the dominant symbol of *mudyi* tree of Victor Turner. According to him, the dominant symbol of *mudyi* tree represent a fruitful and roots, relates to the instrumental symbol which represent the hope of pregnancy and the presence of children (Turner, 1972: 32).

Second, the meaning of religion. The meaning of diversity is strongly associated with efforts to obtain peace and salvation as exemplified by the ancestors. For the people Rahtawu, meaning of religion is as embodied in everyday behavior. The narrative follows an informant would be able to give an overview of the whole system that summarizes the "symbol of diversity" which is shown on Mount Rahtawu.

"Life is a passage, so the course must be followed by passagging (*laku*). This is why I am going on petilasan. Our body itself is moved. Life, just like live deliver the same life-giving. I joined (*lelaku*) like this in order to overcome ourself. Start with ourself, gratitude can spread to our children and grandchildren. That can help that was the soul of ancestors. I was the same with all of you; situation of tomorrow do not know. All, therefore, was undertaken with hopes that tomorrow we can live with the ancestors, the departure of the same ancestors. The point here is looking for enlightenment (*pepadang*) for myself so all offspring survived it all..." (Jumadi, Sura 3rd, 1945)

Based on the description, the religious significance commonly defined as behavior that is essentially searching for enlightenment (*pepadang*) and safety (*keselamatan*) that can be done through various ways. At Mount Rahtawu, in ways that are most visible and into the general characteristics of which are summarized in three main aspects: 1). *Aziarah* (pilgrimage) or visiting to ancestors world because *petilasan* is associated as *sacra* (sacred and noble) in which there are traces of the ancestors who has great merit in their lives; 2). *A Wasilah* or bonding their relationship with the ancestors. This relationship is seen in reciprocity (take and give) not only from their visit to *petilasan*, but can also be observed from the *uborampe* (offerings) dedicated to ancestors as a sign of respect; and 3). *Angalap berkah* (take blessing) as efforts are made of a series of trips (behavior) with their "ancestral world" so that the gift for good will be go given to them. In ways that the system is expected to create good relations and mutually contribute to the "ancestral world" and human nature in order to create harmony

and safety among the many faces he encountered in crossing life.

Third, the social meanings. Social meanings can not be separated from the *system* symbol of *petilasan* that represents the existence of “ancestral world” and “human world”. Ancestors are believed to receive various groups which is also translated in the form of acceptance of different social circles are very diverse. Parties supporting this culture assumes that these myths are cultural products that are passed from generation to generation since the time of ancient Javanese from their ancestors. While outsiders is generally believed that these symptoms are part of the culture of a very old story and need not be followed because it is incompatible with belief systems as learned in schools. At this point, the diverse views that seem not positioned as conflicting with one another, but are aligned in line with the cultural and religious diversity of the communities in Muria Peninsula. In other words, *petilasan* recognized not only as a text dedicated to the socio-religious *tertentu*, but as a social process that is lived through “ancestral world” as a representation of the universe (*jagad gumelar*) is very diverse. In short word, symbols *system* approach showed its effectiveness in understanding cultural diversity in a society.

D. Conclusion

From the discussions above it can be obtained that the *pewayangan* myths of the Mount Rahtawu is inherited and passed on from generation to generation. This tradition is transmitted orally from one generation to another until they merge with the *petilasan*, which are posed as a symbol of ‘sacred monument’. At this point, the main findings of this study are summarized in at least three aspects. First, *petilasan pewayangan* myths similar to the stories depicted in the puppet world both in terms of location and natural conditions, the contents of the story, his figures, as well as positioning of the names puppet with a background story in a story called shadow puppet. Second, *petilasan* representing “ancestral worlds” which has many meaning called multivocality, including kinship, religious, social and community sustainability Muria slopes. Third, there is a contradiction between those who believe in the meaning of the outsiders who do not believe and each addressed according to local wisdom in the process of ongoing social harmony creating the cosmos. As for the most common variation is the emergence of meaning in two different patterns, namely “subjective” and “objective”. The meaning of subjective is the demonstration through cultural and religious behavior that is individual and personal. While objective means shows patterns of cultural diversity that is communal and collective. It means that the

local values do not always vanish in the face of global values, but there is always a dialectic relation in every encounter of each culture and religious phenomenon.

Finally, myths around us have always had double meanings, which can be interpreted as part of polemic and conflict. One of the interpretation of this is that of interpreting and conforming harmoniousness of the cosmos. The other is that of strengthening social bonds of the community through symbols embodied in this sacred monuments. Even, these rational choices are open to reinterpretation, in line with social and cultural changes.[]