

ANCIENT TOMBS, TRACES OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND ETNOPRENEURSHIP: THE CASE OF THE TOMB OF SHEIKH JA'FAR SHIDDIQ CIBIUK GARUT, WEST JAVA

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal archaeological objects and traces of intangible cultural heritage at the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq in Cibiuk Garut. Sheikh Ja'far was a muslim religious leader who spread Islam in the late 17th and early 18th centuries in Garut. The research method used is the descriptive qualitative research method. The technique of collecting data in the field is through observation to determine the existence of objects, situations, contexts, and their meanings. The data obtained for this paper was obtained through research conducted in 2021 at the tomb site complex of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq in the Cibiuk Garut area. Apart from observation, archaeological and historical data were obtained through literature studies and interviews. This study uses an anthropological religion and folklore. The traces of Sheikh Muhammad Ja'far Shiddiq are not only in the form of tombs and mosques but also collective memories of the spread of Islam in Garut and stories about one of the popular intangible cultural heritage in Priangan West Java, namely "sambal cibiuk" (cibiuk chili). The collective memory of the "sambal cibiuk" culinary tradition is attached to the scholarly figure of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq who internalized the sufistic tradition and spread the Syattariyah order. It is told that Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq provided food for the ulama and the ummah with "sambal cibiuk". The tomb of Mbah Wali, as Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq is called, is the main center of pilgrimage tourism in the north Garut region. The tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq has become a spiritual orientation for the culinary practitioners of "sambal cibiuk", which has spread to various regions in Indonesia and abroad. Today "sambal cibiuk" as a "little tradition" can penetrate the modern market (great tradition). The entrepreneurial spirit is driven by the values of local wisdom (etnopreneurship) and Islamic spirituality.

Keywords: ancient tombs, intangible cultural heritage, little tradition, etnopreneurship.

1) INTRODUCTION

Tombs and mosques are the most dominant and important archaeological markers in seeing the development of Islam in a region. As a source of archaeological data, mosques and tombs are the main data source that describes how Islam developed in the areas where it spread. If the mosque is the main symbol of Muslim religiosity, then the tomb is an Islamic feature that is related to the model of traditional sustainability when Islam is widely accepted among the community. In that conditions, acculturation occurs between Islam and elements of local culture that survive (Handoko, 2012: 25-26). According to Hasan Muarif Ambary, the ancient tomb of Islam is one aspect of the religious subsystem in the totality of culture. If studied indepth, it can provide a fairly valid historical significance (Ambary, 103; Husni and Hasanudin, 2011: 113).

From a historical and archaeological perspective, ancient tombs are a tool to reveal several things related to the identity of buried figures, tomb placement patterns, identification of decorative patterns, a chronology of tomb buildings and to be able to know the development of the culture of the supporting community in the past.

One of the interesting archaeological remains to study is the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq which is located at the foot of Mount Haruman Cibiuk District Garut Regency. He was a propagator of Islam in the north Garut region (around Limbangan and Cibiuk) in the 18th century AD Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq or also known as Sunan Haruman or Mbah Wali was born in 1695 and died in 1800.

This study reveals ancient Islamic tombs as archaeological remains and traces of the intangible cultural heritage of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq. Specifically, this study aims to identify and describe the tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq; uncover traces of the intangible cultural heritage left by Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq, and explain the relationship between cultural heritage and local wisdom-based entrepreneurship development.

The study of the inter-relationships between material and intangible culture has still little attention. Material culture studies tend to only describe material aspects, making it difficult to explain the context of the material with the environment and national strategic issues. Research on intangible culture or traditions without the support of material traces will not be complete. This research is interesting at least for two reasons. First, it is rare to write about the tomb complex in the context of the development of tradition. The available studies discuss more aspects of the development of pilgrimage tourism. Second, this research will strengthen the Indonesian narrative about connectedness, openness, pluralism, locality, and sustainability.

As long as the author's knowledge, historical and archaeological studies related to Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq are still little done. One study was conducted by Effie Latifundia (2009, 2016) regarding religious elements in ancient Islamic tombs, including the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq. The author reveals the material and ritual aspects related to the glorification of the character. His writings only explain a very limited part and have not made an explanation, which is more related to the traditions and life of the *alama*.

The role of the *ulama* in the historical framework of Islamic boarding schools in West Java has also been revealed by Ading Kusdiana (2014). Ading mentioned the relationship between Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq Cibiuk and Sheikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan (Tasikmalaya). The author describes the character of the Syattariyah leader, but only a few reviews about Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq.

Ilma Aprilyanti's (2018) editions from the philological side of the manuscript which is thought to have come from the teachings of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq. The author suggests the values of wisdom that are taught in the context of religion and everyday life. Then, Nina Herlina Lubis (2011) describes the tombs of Garut clerics, such as Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq which are located in the hills in the context of the sustainability of pre-Islamic traditions. Furthermore, Bahri et al (2018) wrote the role of Sheikh Jafar Shiddiq in spreading the sufistic religion of Islam in Garut, together with ulama figures, such as *Eyang* Papak and Sheikh Fatah Rahmatullah. Beyond that, the references to Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq are still fragmentary and not deep and are scattered in the form of printed and audio-visual works.

Iim Imadudin (2011) wrote about the development of ethnopreneurship in Garut 1945-2010. The author expresses the ethnopreneurship spirit of the community which is reflected in the economic practice of the Garutan batik, the Sukaregang leather industry, and the Banyuresmi barber. Regarding *sambal cibiuk*, there has been no special discussion.

Another of Iim Imadudin's writings is a paper at the National Seminar on Archeology (2021), which discusses historical traces and sustainable traditions at the tomb site of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq. This paper is more about describing aspects of material culture than looking for an explanation for the emergence of oral stories and the socio-cultural context of the community.

As a part of the writing on the theme of Islamic archeology, apart from revealing the identity of the *ulama* and their tombs, also relates it to a myth that is strongly attached to the existence of *sambal cibiuk* which is the identity of the people of Cibiuk in particular, and Garut in general. In addition, this study tries to give meaning to the developments and changes that occur in the lives of the Cibiuk people in particular, who are near the location of the ancient Islamic tomb.

2) METHODS

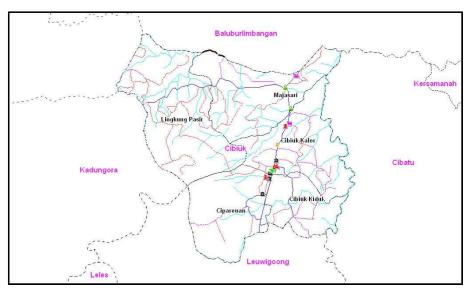
The research method used is the descriptive qualitative research method. Qualitative descriptive research can provide an overview of the object of research, departing from data from field observations (archeological approach) on several observed variables (archeological objects or cultural objects), which will reveal the relationship between variables. Then it is equipped with data from oral history interviews (oral history interviews) and oral traditions (intangible culture) with sources or informants related to the research theme (tomb caretakers, local religious leaders, residents, and the family or descendants of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq). Then combined with archival data sources in the form of ancient manuscripts about ancient tombs and Islamic religious figures (socio-historical approach).

Traces of culture on the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq were carried out through observing cultural, historical variables, as well as residential space and its environment. Data collection techniques in the field through direct observation to the field to determine the existence of objects, the environment (situation), context, and meaning. The source of the data as a writing material was obtained through research conducted in 2021 at the tomb site of Sheikh Muhammad Ja'far Shiddiq and his family, in the Cibiuk Garut area. Data collection was obtained by measuring, depicting, photographing, and describing the object of observation. In addition to direct field observations, archaeological and historical data sources are also obtained through literature studies.

3) RESULTS

The tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq is located in Cilanjung, Cipareuan Village, Cibiuk District, Garut Regency which is about 300 meters from the capital city of Cibiuk District or 21 km from Garut city. Astronomically it is located at 07°04'26,4" South Latitude and 107°57'32,2" East Longitude, with an altitude of 659 meters above sea level. The location of the tomb from the direction of Bandung and Tasikmalaya can be reached via the Nagreg-Balubur Limbangan route. The area of the tomb complex is approximately 5 hectares located in the hills at the foot of Mount Haruman. Placement of tombs in high locations is common for Islamic propagators in the West Java region, such as the tomb of Sunan Godog (Karangpawitan, Garut), Sheikh Abdul Muhyi's Tomb (Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya), Sunan

Cipancar (Limbangan, Garut), and Sheikh Rama Irengan (Kuningan) (Lubis, 2011: 255). Positioning in high places, such as hills and mountains, for holy people shows the continuity of traditions originating from pre-Islamic times (Ambary, 1998: 100).



Map 1. Cibiuk District, Garut (Source: https://www.yumpu.com/id/document/view/38638152/profil-kecamatan-cibiuk)

The tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq is the center of the tomb complexes, consisting of four main tomb complexes, namely the tomb complex of *Eyang* Abdul Jabar to the west of the tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq. To the east is the tomb complex of Nyimas Ayu Siti Fatimah, and at the very end is the tomb complex of Mbah Muhammad Asyim. The four main tomb complexes are each bounded by a bamboo fence. Unlike most of the graves of prominent scholars, the tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq shows simplicity, as can be seen from the condition of the original tomb which was made of piles of stones, did not have a cupola, did not use a valance, and was only surrounded by a low wall barrier. When the last field observation was carried out, the condition of the dining complex changed slightly with the installation of plain green cloth around the tomb complex as a barrier. The installation of the cloth is carried out to protect from visits by pilgrims so that they do not directly enter and set foot on the graves of the tomb.

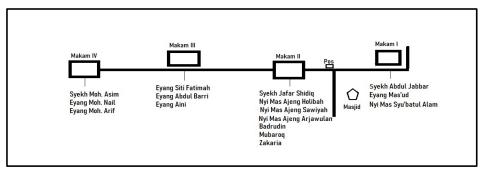


Photo 1. Illustration of the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq Source: Iim Imadudin, 2021

The main tomb visited by visitors is the tomb of Sheikh Jafar Sidik which is surrounded by a bamboo fence and barrier cloth. The tomb of Sheikh Jafar Sidik has a flat andesite stone ridge of irregular shapes and tomb markers made of andesite stone are slightly higher than the *jirat* and are oriented north-south. *Bale bambu* with holes (shaped stilts) with wooden support poles and tin roofs without walls, facing directly to the tomb of Ja'far Shiddiq as a place for pilgrims to worship.



Photo 2. Location of Sheikh Jafar Siddiq's Tomb Complex Source: Iim Imadudin, 2021

In the tomb complex of Sheikh Abdul Jabar, there is the tomb of *Mbah* Mas'ud or Rd. Dipakusumah (grandson-in-law of Sheikh Abdul Jabar), and Nyimas Syu'batul Alam (wife of Mbah Mas'ud). In the tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq there are the tombs of his three wives (Nyimas Ajeng Kalibah, Nyimas Ajeng Sawiyah, and Nyimas Ajeng Arjawulan).

Furthermore, there is the tomb of *Eyang* Badruddin (son of Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq from Nyimas Arjawulan), *Eyang* Mubarok, and *Eyang* Zakaria.

In the tomb complex of Nyimas Ayu Siti Fatimah, there are tombs of *Eyang* Abdul Barri and Nyimas Aini (sister of Nyimas Ayu Siti Fatimah). In the tomb complex of *Mbah* Asyim (grandson-in-law of Nyimas Ayu Siti Fatimah) there are also the tombs of *Mbah* Muhammad Nail and Mbah Muhammad Arif.

The other remains of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq is a mosque located in the Pasantren Tengah Village, Cibiuk Kidul Village, Cibiuk District. Until now, the *Mbah* Wali mosque is still used by Muslims for various religious activities. The mosque building has a distinctive pattern of mosque buildings made by the guardians on the island of Java, namely a conical roof supported by sturdy wooden poles whose connections do not use nails. At the top of the roof of the mosque, there is a carved object made of stone. People call it "pataka". The mosque building is estimated to be more than 460 years old.



Photo 3. Sheikh Jafar Shidiq Old Mosque Source: Iim Imadudin, 2021

The condition of the mosque building has undergone many changes, especially the wall materials, roof coverings, and building supports on the walls. The original building model is a building with a hole or stage, square in shape, measuring 6 m x 6 m, with the mihrab protruding out. The walls are made of bamboo (*bilik*) with wooden frames that have been replaced with new materials. There are several old truss posts interspersed with new truss posts. The original floor of the mosque was made of *palupuh* (a flat board made of bamboo) and has now been replaced with new wooden planks. The original roof covering is in the form of fibers with a *momolo* or *pataka* on the top. Currently, the roof covering has been replaced with clay tiles while maintaining the peak decoration. The interior of the roof space in the middle (peak) has also changed its shape to protrude upwards with installed glass (lighting) around the sides. Then you can see the original four pillars (*soko guru*) that are still being maintained to support the top of the roof. Thus, what remains of the old building is in the form of a square base plan, pillar pillars of the teacher, building framework, and decoration of the top.

The renovation of the mosque and the addition or construction of a new mosque attached to the back of the old building has been carried out twice, in the 1970s, the first and the second without an explanation. The number of worshipers that continues to increase has resulted in the Mbah Wali Mosque experiencing expansion. The old mosque building is continued with the new mosque building with a model that is not a stage or massive foundation, measuring 11 m x 13 m. The position of this new mosque closes the back view (entrance) of the old mosque.

Besides the old mosque building, in the Gunung Haruman village area, artifacts related to the history of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq were also found, namely *batu kuda* (horse stones). The stone in the shape of a horse's head is a megalithic tradition relic of prehistoric times. It is said that the stone horse is the incarnation of Mbah Wali's riding horse when he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, or when he went to preach. Judging from the historical chronology, several artifacts located in the Mount Haruman area show the continuity of the megalithic period, which continued with the classical period (Hindu-Buddhist), and continued into the Islamic period, and is still believed to be a holy place that can bring blessings in the world. life. Based on stories that spread among the local population, the rocking horse likes to be visited by pilgrims for various purposes. One of them is used as a place of penance or *pesugihan* certain people. The truth of the pesugihan story has not been clarified until now.

Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq is a cleric who spread Islam in the north Garut region, especially in Limbangan and Cibiuk. It is estimated that he lived between the end of the 17th century AD and the beginning of the early 18th century AD. Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq's father is Kyai Mas'ud, the great-grandson of Dalem Wirabangsa who is a descendant of Sunan Cipancar. Sunan Cipancar is the grandson of Sunan Rumenggong (Raden Wijayakusumah I), the son of Prabu Liman Senjaya, the son of Prabu Worthusumah, the son of King Siliwangi (Kusdiana, 2014: 112). The mother of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq is Nyimas Ayu Subah, daughter of Kiyai Rd. Ketib, the first preacher in Limbangan who is the son of Kyai Lembang or Sheikh Abdul Jabar. Syekh Ja'far Shiddiq pioneered a special pesantren focusing on one particular skill in religious knowledge (for example, fiqh, nahwu, shorof, falaq), which are now known as *takhassus*. Sheikh Jafar Shiddiq is a very simple scholar. He always said that life on earth is temporary. Therefore, life is filled with good deeds and worship of Allah SWT.

Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq lived at the same time as Sheikh Abdul Muhyi, a propagator of Islam in the Tasikmalaya, and was even known to be good friends with him. The Syattariyah order that was embraced by Sheikh Abdul Muhyi was also developed by Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq (Bahri, 2018: 115). He was also friends with Sheikh Maulana Mansur from Cikaduen Banten. This historical story can be traced to the construction of the great mosque (old mosque) which was built by Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq, and it is said that the workers came from Banten.

The tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq is never empty of pilgrims. Before visiting the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq, pilgrims usually first come to the tomb of Sheikh Abdul Jabar. The peak of the crowd of visitors who make pilgrimages occurs on the 14th of Maulud and the month of Rajab, the number of which reaches thousands of people. These thousands of pilgrims coincide with an event that is considered important, namely the implementation of the *haul* tradition (commemoration of the death of a great cleric) in the tomb complex area. Pilgrims who visit the Cibiuk tomb complex come from various regions such as Cianjur, Sukabumi, Garut, Bandung, even from Madura, Palembang, as well as from Malaysia and Singapore (Latifundia, 2009: 61; 2016: 490). The Garut Regency Government has designated the tomb complex as a pilgrimage tourist attraction, which is classified as a cultural attraction of historical heritage. In addition to visiting the tomb complex and the Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq Mosque, visitors can enjoy culinary tours of *sambal cibiuk* at stalls and restaurants along Cibiuk street.

In addition to traces of material culture in the form of tombs and mosques, there are also traces of intangible (nonmaterial) cultural heritage. In the context of the study of the tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq, there is an interesting oral story related to intangible cultural heritage, namely *sambal cibiuk* (chili sauce). It is said that the chili sauce is the legacy of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq. *Sambal cibiuk* was developed by his daughter, Nyimas Ayu Fatimah. *Sambal cibiuk* was born from his creativity relying on a simple lifestyle that can be seen from the daily food menu. At first, chili cibiuk was served so that local people would want to learn about Islam. Then Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq ordered Nyi Mas Ayu Fatimah to serve a meal with chili sauce to every guest who came. Eating rice with chili sauce is the hallmark of a simple menu that can still be enjoyed together. Simplicity is also seen in serving side dishes and rice, the ingredients of which are obtained from the local environment.

4) DISCUSSION

The tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq is more accurately described as the Mount Haruman Tomb Complex because in addition to the four tomb complexes referred to as the tomb complex of Sheikh Ja'fat Shiddiq from the Islamic period; There is *batu kuda* (stone horse) artifact found that chronologically the history of Indonesian culture entered into pre-historic times. The naming "fragrance (haruman)" of this mountain shows a sacred dimension that shows the glorification of sacred figures.

In the *Babad Limbangan* (Chronicle of Limbangan), it is stated that it was King Layaran Wangi (Prabu Siliwangi) who gave the name "wangi" to the mountain in North Garut. It is said that King Layaran Wangi (Prabu Siliwangi) from the Pakuan Raharja kingdom had a servant named Aki Panyumpit. The King assigned Aki Panyumpit to hunt animals using chopsticks (arrows) and 17 bows. One day Aki Panyumpit was hunting eastward to climb hills and mountains. As of noon, the game had not yet been found. Until he reached the top of the mountain, he smelled the fragrance. He saw something shining on the north bank of the Cipancar river. It turned out that the fragrance and light came from the body of a princess who was taking a bath. He claimed to be named Putri Rambut Kasih, the ruler of the Limbangan area, the son of Sunan Rumenggong. After returning, Aki Panyumpit conveyed his meeting to King Layaran Wangi. King Layaran Wangi named the mountain with "Mount Haruman". Haruman means fragrant (Ridwan, 2017: 16-17).

The folklore in the sacred tombs of Mount Haruman is different from most oral stories in the sacred tombs. Generally, the types of folklore that often exist in sacred tombs are in the form of myths. It contains testimonies such as healing wounds with just one swipe of the hand or prayer water, being able to know the calamity or death that will befall someone, changing a flute into prayer beads, and so on.

In the study of folklore, stories about the origin of *sambal cibiuk* originating from Sheikh Ja'far Shidiq can be categorized as non-verbal folklore. This type of folklore consists of material and non-material. Non-verbal folklore is also known as artifact/material/material folklore. This non-verbal folklore refers to a form of folklore that has a physical form related to real objects that exist in the world. The use, standard forms, characteristics, and rules behind these objects make them part of folklore (Rohmawan, 2019: 28).

The simple image of *sambal cibiuk* can be explained by the values attached to the figure of Sheikh Ja'far. He is known to be friends with Sheikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan who is a teacher of the Syattariyah congregation. Simplicity is one of the values in the pioneer of the Sufi path. That is why Sheikh Ja'far Sidik was nicknamed *Mbah Waro'i*. In the *Al Munawwir Dictionary, wara'* comes from Arabic, namely *wara'a-yara'u-wara'an* which means to keep away from sin, immorality, and doubtful matters. There is also *wari'a 'an kadza* which means to refrain (Munawwir, 1984:1552).



Photo 4. Sambal cibiuk which starts from the story of the guardian Source: Iim Imadudin, 2021

The simplicity of Sheikh Ja'far Sidik can be traced from one of the manuscripts which have been edited by philologists. In Jafar Sidik's manuscript, it is stated how a human being should do good in living his life, including making friends, distributing food, the virtue of deliberation, fighting for ideals, and so on. The manuscript contains the teachings of philosophical Sufism (Aprilyanti, 2018).

Karep nyieun kadaharan-kadaharan eta leuwih hade jadi meunang berkat Nyieun pangkadaharan-kadaharan hade sarta jeung mufakat urang suka ati Lmun papatungan modal henteu hade tangtu akhirna payaya

Regarding the story of *sambal cibiuk* today, there are myths. For example, any kind of *sambal cibiuk* will never make you sick to your stomach, only the Cibiuk people can make the original *sambal cibiuk* ("*sok sanajan bahan sambelna sami, tapi pami sanes urang cibiuk asli mah rasa na moal sami*"), the person who makes it must say certain prayers, and so on. According to information from local traders, the owners of Cibiuk restaurants scattered in various areas often visit the tomb complex, especially the tomb of Nyi Mas Ayu Fatimah, who is believed to have made *sambal cibiuk* for the first time. The goal is that the taste of the chili served is maintained. This myth further strengthens the existence of *sambal cibiuk* as a product of a life journey of a guardian who is transformed into a commercial professional environment.

Sambal cibiuk has become a trademark in several restaurants in big cities such as Bandung and Jakarta. The visits of pilgrims to the tomb site and the sambal cibiuk menu have an economic impact on the people of Cibiuk. Sambal cibiuk covered in the folklore of the sacred tomb of Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq which represents a small tradition (little tradition), can penetrate modern trade which represents a great tradition.

The people of Garut have a high spirit of ethnopreneurship. Ethnopreneurship is defined as a trading activity that describes the character of ethnic groups in appearance, product characteristics, and basic economic values. Conceptually, ethnopreneurship concerns the relationship between ethnic identity and entrepreneurship (Effendi, 2002: 229). As with the *sambal cibiuk* which is attached to the name of the area of origin, an economy based on "one village, one product" has also developed. The creative economy business is passed down from time to time and from generation to generation to remain sustainable. The population has high mobility. They are scattered in various areas in West Java, Jakarta, and even to other provinces (Imadudin, 2011: 457). That's why there were only a small number of *sambal cibiuk* restaurants at first (Haruman, Cikukuk, and Gandasari) now continue to expand to various regions in Indonesia, even to Malaysia.

The story of *sambal cibiuk* which is related to the life of Sheikh Ja'far Siddiq can be a mutually reinforcing attraction. The number of visitors who make pilgrimages increases the economy of the local community, especially with the presence of a *sambal cibiuk* restaurant. In the past, before the arrangement of the pilgrimage facilitation in the dining complex, only a few restaurants were visible, but after the arrangement, many visitors came so that many typical restaurants with their chili sauce were standing. On the other hand, the imagination of *sambal cibiuk* as a collective memory trace from the life of the great ulama can add value to the development of *sambal cibiuk* itself.

Sheikh Ja'far Shiddiq played an important role in the process of Islamization in the Garut region. His tomb was visited by pilgrims with various motivations. Besides the tomb, what remains is a mosque that has undergone changes and leaves only some of its original elements. One of the material cultures that are believed to be the legacy of Sheikh Ja'far is *sambal cibiuk. Sambal cibiuk* is not just a complementary menu for dishes, but also describes the historical journey of the saint who is the socio-economic identity of the people of Cibiuk, Garut, and Priangan in West Java today. From ancient tombs grows intangible cultural heritage that continues to grow in a society that has a high entrepreneurial spirit.

Although this study uses a multidisciplinary approach, it is realized that it still has limitations, especially to understand how such a long myth can be preserved and become an inherent part of the historical journey of the Cibiuk Garut society. In fact, from the local dimension, we can see Indonesian values that show the values of connectedness, openness, pluralism, and sustainability. Understanding Indonesia from a village that continues to experience struggles between maintaining traditions and following developments that are constantly changing.

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Interview

Ai, 50, trader on site, Cilanjung, Cibiuk Garut

H. Encep Ahmad Junaedi, 66, descendants of Syeikh Ja'far Sidik, Cibiuk Kidul

Icang, 49, tomb keeper of Syeikh Jafar Shidiq, Cilanjung, Cibiuk

Sri Redjeki Utami Ningsih, 57, tourisme and culture office of Garut Regency