

Doctoral Dissertation

**The Role of Religious Leaders in Pilgrimage Tourism :
A Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia**

ANINDITA MAYA JULUNGWANGI

Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation
Hiroshima University

March 2020

**The Role of Religious Leaders in Pilgrimage Tourism :
A Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia**

D 163004

ANINDITA MAYA JULUNGWANGI

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation
of Hiroshima University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March 2020

We hereby recommend that the dissertation by Ms. ANINDITA MAYA JULUNGWANGI entitled "The Role of Religious Leaders in Pilgrimage Tourism : A Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia" be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Committee on Final Examination:



SEKI Koki, Professor

Chairperson



KAWANO Noriyuki, Professor

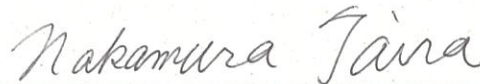


NAKAZORA Moe, Lecturer



FUNCK Carolin Elisabeth Hanna, Professor

Graduate School of Integrated Art and Sciences, Hiroshima University

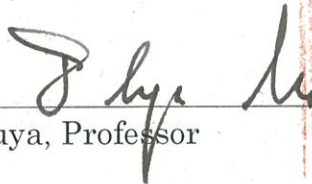


NAKAMURA Taira, Professor

Graduate School of Letters, Hiroshima University

Date: January 27, 2020

Approved:



Baba Takuya, Professor
Dean



Date: February 21, 2020

Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation
Hiroshima University

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to thank Allah SWT who guided me in every part of my life. I would like to show my gratitude to my main advisor, Seki Sensei, for his support and critical comments. My sincere thanks to Funck Sensei, Kawano Sensei, Nakamura Sensei and Nakazora Sensei for all the guidance and suggestions during my exam. To my fellow labmates in room 514, thank you for always supporting me. Also, to the TAOYAKA Program that helped me pursue my study.

Next, I would like to thank for my husband and our beloved two children for the love and support throughout these years. And to my parents, my parent-in-law and also to my brother.

Last but not least, I am thankful to all the members of my family and friends who have always been encouraging me throughout this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. : BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2. : OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	5
1.3. : RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	6
1.4. : LITERATURE REVIEW	6
1.5. : SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	13
1.6. : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
1.7. : METHODOLOGY OF DATA GATHERING.....	16
1.8. : ORGANIZATION AND SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER	17

CHAPTER 2 THE SETTING : OVERVIEW OF JAVANESE MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE

2.1. : THE COMING OF ISLAM.....	18
2.2. : JAVANESE MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE	19
2.3. : THE CONFLICTING VIEWS ON THE JAVANESE MUSLIM PILGRIMAGE	23
2.4. : PILGRIMAGE AND TOURISM IN INDONESIA	24

CHAPTER 3 TRANSITION OF POLITICAL REGIME AS A BACKGROUND OF COMMODIFICATION OF RELIGION

3.1. : ISLAM IN THE NEW ORDER REGIME.....	26
3.2. : ISLAM IN POST-NEW ORDER REGIME	28

CHAPTER 4 PILGRIMAGE IN GUNUNGPRING SACRED GRAVEYARD

4.1. : THE GUNUNGPRING SACRED GRAVEYARD	31
4.2. : THE PILGRIMS.....	38
4.3. : VARIOUS WAYS OF DOING PILGRIMAGE.....	46
4.4. : SUMMARY.....	48

CHAPTER 5 DEVOTION AND COMMODIFICATION : THE CASE OF KIAI SUPARNO AND HIS FOLLOWERS

5.1. : PILGRIMAGE AS AN ACT OF DEVOTION	49
5.2. : A CASE OF PILGRIMAGE BY KIAI SUPARNO AND HIS FOLLOWERS	49
5.3. : CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP	55
5.4. : THE FOLLOWERS OF KIAI SUPARNO.....	57
5.5. : DISCUSSION.....	59

CHAPTER 6 GROWTH OF PILGRIMAGE TOURISM AND ROLE OF KIAI

6.1. : GUNUNGPRING SACRED GRAVEYARD AS TOURISM DESTINATION.....	60
6.2. : THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO ENTRANCE GATES	66
6.3. : THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF PILGRIMAGE TOURISM IN GUNUNGPRING SACRED GRAVEYARD.....	72
6.4. : KIAI AND THE GROWTH OF PILGRIMAGE TOURISM.....	75
6.5. : DISCUSSION.....	78

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION.....80

REFERENCES.....82

APPENDIX A.....86
APPENDIX B.....89

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

As one of the core activities in most of major religions, a pilgrimage could be found easily in any corner of the world. For Islam, doing the *hajj* to Mecca is one of the obligatory practices of the Muslim faith. However, aside from the *hajj*, there are also pilgrimages which are done in the localities. One notable example of such local pilgrimage is the one, conducted among the Javanese Muslim in Indonesia, that leads to the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, the research area of this study. This particular pilgrimage, despite the ongoing debate among many in regard to the syncretic belief in its practices, still endures and attracts numerous visitors until today.

Pilgrimages have the possibility to expand from a mere religious activity and become an impetus for development and tourism, particularly after the fall of the New Order Regime. In this study, it will be shown why the growth of a pilgrimage is essential to the commodification of a religion¹. A pilgrimage can be seen not only as a religious act of devotion; rather, it can also be considered as a practice which could then transform religion into a commodity. Through the resultant commodity, therefore, a pilgrimage is able to generate tangible and intangible benefits to actors involved in the activity.

In this study, the commodification process is discussed with regard to the pilgrimage in the Javanese Muslim society by focusing on the role of the *kiai* or religious leader. *Kiai*, in Javanese Muslim society, refers to a high-ranking position and a well-respected figure. There are two kinds of *kiai* discussed in this writing, the hereditary *kiai* and the acquired *kiai*. The significant influence and competence of the *kiai* in commoditizing a pilgrimage will be expounded on in this study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Reader (1997) describes pilgrimage as, a process and practice whereby people make special journeys to or through sacred locations and engage in acts of worship; and to an institution, that includes and is composed of all the various component parts and elements that surround that process. By „sacred locations,“ we are alluding to any place or setting that has been accorded some religious significance by visitors and/or those who guard over such places such as temples and shrines, as well as features of the geographical landscape, such as mountain peaks, or, indeed, whole ranges of mountains (Reader, 1997: 228).

Focusing on pilgrimages in Islam, this research will examine the richness of pilgrimage activities. In 2015, Paw Research Centre² estimated 24% of the global population identified themselves as Muslims which around 1.8 billion people. Further, it is also reported that Asia-Pacific is home for the largest Muslim population with the biggest number living in Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey and Iran.

¹ In this study, “commodification” and “commoditization” are used interchangeably. The scholars such as Cohen (1988) and Kopytoff (1986) discuss the commoditization of culture, while scholar such as Kitiarsa (2008) deals with commodification of religion.

² See <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/> Retrieved on September 2, 2018.

There are five pillars of Islamic duties: (1) declaring one's faith that Allah SWT is the only Supreme Being and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah SWT; (2) performing five prayers (*shalat*) each day; (3) donating 2.5% of one's income through *zakat* (a charity tax to help those in need); (4) fasting (no eating, drinking, nor intimacy from sunrise to sunset) during the daytime in *Ramadhan*; and (5) going on a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime if it is possible. The hajj is an obligatory pilgrimage for Muslims who have reached puberty and have the physical and material capabilities to do so. The particular date of doing hajj is on the month of Dzulhijjah or the twelfth month of the Islamic lunar year. The Islamic lunar year is shorter than the Gregorian year, which explains why the day of hajj always changes if seen from the Gregorian calendar year. Hajj spans six days from the 8th to 13th of the said month. During this time, pilgrims wear simple white clothes. Specifically, men wear two pieces of unsewn clothes while women wear simple loose clothes.

In Indonesia, after completing hajj, a Muslim receives the title of *haji* (male) and *hajjah* (female) in front of their names. The title of *haji* and *hajjah* have significant meanings as they indicate that the person has completed the final duties of a Muslim. Thus, many possess higher religious ability and well-respected in society after becoming *haji*. Many religious teachers are called *Kiai Haji*, and add the initials K.H. in front of their names. Apart from hajj as the centre of pilgrimage in Islam, Muslims also go on a pilgrimage in their own locality. One of the common types of pilgrimages is one where the pilgrims visit graveyards of local religious figures.

(a) Pilgrimage to Graveyard

Pilgrimages to graveyards have a long history in the Islamic world. Ironically, Mujib (2016) explained that in the initial development of this practice, Prophet Muhammad SAW forbade Muslims to perform pilgrimages to graveyards for the avowed purpose of keeping to the Muslim faith. It was at a time of departure from the pre-Islamic period, called *jahiliyyah*, when people were known to have behaved in ignorance of monotheism, worshipped several idols made by their own hands, and believed in ancient spirits. Hence, there was a well-placed fear that if pilgrimages were allowed, Muslims would have continued to practice their previous beliefs, under the *jahiliyyah* period, mixed with Islamic rules. However, through time, the faith of the Muslims grew stronger and Prophet Muhammad SAW decided to allow the holding of pilgrimages.

Ibnu Taimiyah (1996) stated that, notably, pilgrimages to graveyards were ideally focused on the prayers asking Allah SWT for the forgiveness of the deceased. In line with the *hadith* (a collection of traditions with teachings of the Prophet Muhammad SAW) which states, "When a person dies, all his good deeds cease except for three things: a continuous act of charity (which the deceased did in his lifetime), beneficial knowledge (which the deceased left behind), and a righteous son (children) who prays for him" (Ibnu Taimiyah, 1996: 33).

Nonetheless, it has been common practice among pilgrims to ask favors from the dead because they believe that the people buried in the graveyards (i.e., Islamic figures, heroes, kings) are closer to God. Thus, their prayers will more likely to be granted through an intermediary of spirits whose remains are buried in the graveyard. Mentioned in Ibnu Taimiyah (1996: 39-40), people who agree on this view seen pilgrimage as an effort to be

closer to God. They also cite verses from the Al-Qur'an, one of which is Surah Az Zumar verse 3³:

مَا نَعْبُدُهُمْ إِلَّا لِيُقَرِّبُونَا إِلَى اللَّهِ زُلْفَى

We only worship them “idols” that they make us nearer to Allah.

On the contrary, there are several verses stating that only Allah SWT can grant all prayers, without need of any intermediary. Below are some verses mentioned in Ibnu Taimiyah (1996: 20) highlighting the teaching that there are no intermediaries who can help grant any man's wish except Allah SWT.

Surah As-Sajdah verse 4⁴:

اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ ثُمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ
عَلَى الْعَرْشِ مَا لَكُمْ مِّن دُونِهِ مِن وَلِيٍّ وَلَا شَفِيعٍ أَفَلَا تَتَذَكَّرُونَ



It is Allah who created the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them in six days; then He established Himself above the Throne. You have not besides Him any protector or any intercessor; so will you not be reminded?

Despite the contradiction, pilgrimages which involve local beliefs on the power of dead religious figures exists until today in different Muslim societies around the world. One example is the Muslim pilgrimage in Phuket, Thailand⁵. The pilgrimage activities among Muslims in Thailand are also wrought with contradictions. Some groups agree while others disagree with the practice mostly because of differing standpoints in regard to the power of the dead that seems to contradict with rules in the Al-Qur'an, as explained below by a 50-year old Thai resident.

The largest settlement of Muslim people in Thailand is in Ayutthaya, specifically Tohtakia. In Phuket, most Chinese people believe that at the time the Dutch arrived in Indonesia, some locals fought back and some *wali* (Islamic religious figures who spread Islam in a particular region) evacuated. Some said that they walked under water or flew but no one really knows, and they came to Phuket. If you come to Phuket, you can see some temples look like Chinese temples but the longer you look, they look like old Malayan letter, I can tell you it's the *syekh* (religious leader). When rich people have troubles, they come to the graveyard asking for help from the spirit. But for the new generation like me, it's dangerous, you know. For the people who believe in religion, you

³ Source http://www.islaminquran.com/en-US/surah-39/az-zumar/ayat-3/quran_ayats.aspx Retrieved on January 2, 2020.

⁴ Source : <http://www.alquranenglish.com/quran-surah-as-sajdah-4-qs-32-4-in-arabic-and-english-translation> Retrieved on January 11, 2020.

⁵ This research is a part of the report made for the TAOYAKA internship program (October, 2017) in Phuket Community College, Thailand.

must study your religion. But it's not religion. It's like a spirit or ghost, not religion. (Mr. Somat, personal communication, 2017)

Pilgrimages to graveyards existed in many Muslim groups around the world although the contradictions might not have appeared. Aside from the above case of the Thai Muslim pilgrimage, this research tries to focus on a similar pilgrimage to graveyards done by Javanese Muslims in Indonesia.

(b) Pilgrimage in Javanese Society

Javanese, according to Cochrane (2009) refers to the peoples or members of an ethnicity of Java in Indonesia. This research focuses on pilgrimage traditions among the Javanese Muslim, referring to the Javanese people who believe Islam as their religion. Pilgrimages specifically to the graveyard, locally called as *ziarah*, is a common activity particularly for the Javanese Muslim. There are hundreds of these sites spread all over Java, which attract thousands of visitors. Some graveyards regarded as a sacred place, for example is graveyard of the dead saints. Chambert-Loir & Reid (2002) defined a saint as “an individual who, by birth, by talent, through science or spiritual exercise, is endowed with supernatural powers. These powers were concentrated in his being and are now lying in his grave (or her grave, although female saints are a small minority)” (Chambert-Loir & Reid, 2002: 132). Chambert-Loir & Reid (2002) further mentioned that the saints who had *Islamised* a specific area are the most important.

Further, Quinn (2004) stated that “many pilgrims frequently visit holy places in order to plead for specific personal favours (*ngalap berkah*). They may ask for help with health problems, dire financial circumstances, employment, work promotion, business, study, fertility, personal relationships and harvests”⁶. The reason for people visiting the sacred graveyard lies in the notion of the saints buried there are closer to God than ordinary people, and prayers will be surely granted through the intercession of these spirits.

To begin the discussion, an understanding of the Javanese worldview needs to be addressed. Mulder (1970, cf. Susilo, 2016: 167) states

The Javanese *welthanshauung* (Javanism) is based on the conviction of the essential unity of all existence. This worldview is encompassing more than religion: it views human existence within a cosmological context, making life itself a religious experience. In this view of life it is not possible to separate the religious from non-religious elements; Human existence is inescapably related to supernature and it is senseless to be (sic) sharply distinguishing (sic) between the here and now and the beyond and timeless.

The Javanese assume that overall (sic) existence is (sic) governed by nature and it (sic) has become a moral duty to live harmoniously with the motion and the rule of nature. They should be encouraged to seek self-harmony that govern people regarding their self-conduct, social relations, rules of customs and social solidarity.

The worldview of the Javanese cannot be separated from their belief in spirits and the other world. Spirits are prevalent not only in their myths and legends but also in their daily lives. Cochrane (2009) argued that the notion of asking help to the spirit is undoubtedly true and that they would ask them for help in their daily lives; for instance, for the protection of their crops from damages made by animals.

⁶ See https://iiias.asia/sites/default/files/IIAS_NL35_16.pdf. Retrieved on February 2, 2018.

The Javanese are known for their long history with regard to their pilgrimages to graveyards and their connection with spirits, despite the differences in religion among them. Franz Magnis-Suseno (1984, cf. Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 325) mentioned that “faced with important events of life or in need, the Javanese will perform prayers, and possibly undertake a pilgrimage to a magically potent site.” Such potent site, Tjahjono (2018) explained, are places that are believed to have magical supernatural powers. It could be a graveyard, big rocks, big stone, or places which are believed to be a home of the spirits.

Hence, it can be said that setting on a pilgrimage is a part of life of the Javanese. Usually, they will do a pilgrimage and bring an offering for the spirit known as *sesaji*. They think that in order for the wishes to be granted with the help of the spirit, they would first need to do an offering ritual. This is done through various kinds of offerings such as food, snack, drink, chicken, flower, and the like. For the Javanese, spirits exist in a place separated from the living but they can still see, hear and help in the lives of those whom they have left behind in this world.

Due to the significant role of pilgrimages for the Javanese, it is impossible to count the number of existing pilgrimage sites. However, Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001: 326) tried to categorize the sites into three types. First, there are Javanese-syncretic sites which are those that usually stand at impressive landscapes such as at the peak of Mountain Lawu in Central Java. The Javanese will do a ritual such as meditation (*tapa* in Javanese term) and *ngelmu* or seeking esoteric knowledge. Second, there are those connected to certain religions such as Islam, Catholic, Christian or Hindu. Finally, there are sites that are officially considered Muslim pilgrimage sites but, in reality, are Javanese syncretistic ones. In these sites, many pilgrims perform a ritual which cannot be considered an Islamic pilgrimage ritual.

Although a pilgrimage to a sacred graveyard is a common activity in Indonesia, the activity has not been without problems. For one, the Muslim community is divided when it comes to the legitimacy of such practices. Some people are of the opinion that the kind of activity that involves syncretism of beliefs is not in line with their fundamental thought about normative Islam. Van-Doorn Harder & de Jong (2001) also discussed the ambiguity of pilgrimage to the sacred graveyard, particularly when it comes to the two different largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia: *Muhammadiyah* and *Nadhlatul Ulama*. *Muhammadiyah* declares that going to the graves is equivalent to polytheism and contrary to Islam, which is monotheistic. On the other hand, *Nadhlatul Ulama* encourages Muslims to visit the graves of their deceased teacher.

Despite the contradiction, pilgrimage sites have become tourism destinations. Pilgrimage tourism attracts many people to come 24 hours all year round. The pilgrimage, particularly after the fall of New Order Regime, has been transformed from a mere religious practice into an exchange commodity that can generate benefits to the initiator. Stated otherwise, the growth of pilgrimages have led to the discussion of commodification of religious practices. Thus, in positing Islam as a commodity, it is essential to look into the role of the *kiai* as the religious leader in Javanese Muslim as the main topic for discussion. This research aims to analyse to what extent the *kiai*, as the religious leaders in Javanese Muslim society, play a role in the commodification of religion through the pilgrimage activity.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

This study has two main objectives.

- a. First, it aims to discuss the role of *kiai*, as religious leaders, in the growth of pilgrimages in the Javanese Muslim society in Indonesia. The *kiai* are involved in

many aspects of life in the society, from personal issues to religious matters and even with regard to political decisions. The data gathered from fieldwork would enrich the discussion of the roles of the religious leaders in contemporary Javanese society.

- b. Second, it aims to investigate the commodification of religion through pilgrimages, specifically focusing on the case of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Despite the contradiction, the pilgrimage activity in itself proved sustainable until today. In fact, the pilgrimage activity is potential for the tourism sector. It can be said that the growth of a pilgrimage cannot be separated from the commodification process eventually faced by religious tradition in a modern society. Hence, this research tries to discuss the process of commodification among the Javanese Muslim.

1.3. Research Questions

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives, this study will inquire into the research questions as follows;

- a. To what extent does the *kiai*, as a religious leader, play a role in the growth of the pilgrimage tradition in Javanese Muslim society?
- b. To what extent is religion turned into a commodity through pilgrimage, specifically in the case of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard?

1.4. Literature Review

(a) Pilgrimage Studies

A description of pilgrimage, suggested by Turner (1978), which has gained wide attention among pilgrimage scholars, explains it as a liminal process, a movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly becomes central for the pilgrims. While doing pilgrimage, the participants find a similarity, a sense of togetherness – the *communitas* – with other pilgrims. For example, it can be represented by one's attire while making a pilgrimage as exemplified by the Shikoku pilgrimage in Japan, where the pilgrims wear a specific attire and pass through the designated route of 88 temples. Once they don this attire, which is not commonly used in everyday living, and start their journey, they will have entered the liminal process of pilgrimage; thus, separating themselves from the routine of their daily lives, which is structured by norm and order, and entering uncertainty marked by the anti-structure. Moreover, Turner (1978) also discussed the meaning behind a sacred place which becomes a destination of a pilgrimage journey. A sacred place, he believes, is one "where miracles once happened, are still happening and may happen again" (Turner, 1978: 6).

Researches related to pilgrimage have been done in many different fields, such as in theology, anthropology, economics, tourism, geography and so on. One of the discussion on the study of pilgrimage involves the concept of motivation. As suggested by Stoddard (1997), "by definition, the primary motive for each traveler is religious, but this general category can be subdivided. Primary motives may be (1) to request a favor, (2) to offer thanks, (3) to fulfill a vow, (4) to express penitence, (5) to meet an obligation, and (6) to gain merit and salvation" (Stoddard, 1997: 56). The pilgrims' motivation on doing pilgrimage is the necessary background to any pilgrimage research in order to truly understand the reason that moved them to go on a pilgrimage.

Studies done by Buzinde, Kalavar, Kohli & Manuel-Navarette (2014) further examined a pilgrim's motivation through the case of the Kumbh Mela pilgrimage in India. The Kumbh Mela pilgrimage takes place every 12 years, rotates among various Indian cities, and takes

place within 55 days in January and February. In doing the pilgrimage, the pilgrims pay reverence to the Ganges River under the belief that the river has the power to cleanse sins. There are no particular deities involved in the activity. The study further indicates that there are two types of motivation among pilgrims in the Kumbh Mela pilgrimage. The first is related to spiritual connectivity, which is the indication of the pilgrim's separation from his ordinary life while participating in a spiritual journey focused on his self-renewal. The second motive is the attainment of spiritual knowledge. Participants in the Kumbh Mela pilgrimage are allowed to attend spiritual discourses delivered by a holy man or *sandhus*. By actively participating in these discourses, the participants would have the opportunity to gain spiritual knowledge.

As mentioned earlier, in Turner's work (1978), a pilgrimage provides a sense of *communitas* – a notion of similarities, togetherness and belonging among the pilgrims. At some point, it could lead to identity formation brought about by the pilgrimage. A research done by Askew (2008) focused on identity formation through pilgrimage based on the case of a sacred site in the deep south of Thailand. Many pilgrims, mostly Chinese, who come from Malaysia and Singapore pay a visit to a Chinese shrine in Thailand. They do so out of a shared common belief with the said Chinese community who have maintained close relations with them. Aspects which are familiar to both communities have attracted many people to come to Thailand. Askew (2008) further argued that "the agglomeration of Chinese, Thai, and hybrid shrines/ monuments on Thailand's southern borderland represents a hinterland of diaspora identity of Nanyang Chinese; these sites articulate a space that functions as a haven allowing for a conspicuous affirmation and expression of shared cultural symbols with a freedom not entirely possible in Malaysia and Singapore" (Askew, 2008: 101). Hence, the pilgrimage is not only seen as a journey to the sacred sites but is also a means to reassure their identity as a Nanyang Chinese, a status shared among others and seen as a cultural communion.

As a global phenomenon, pilgrimages attract millions of people every year. Nowadays, owing to easy access to transportation – with various modes available for reaching pilgrimage sites such as by car, bus, train and airplane – the number of pilgrims has increased. For instance, the pilgrimage in Shikoku can now be completed in a shorter time due to the ease of transportation. In traversing their route, the pilgrims need not anymore walk to all the 88 temples; but rather they can easily travel around Shikoku Island by train or bus or by booking a tour via a travel agency to avoid the customarily long travel time and tiring journey. Rinschede (1992) gave an example of how the development of the train system has had an impact on the increasing number of pilgrims and the extension of catchment areas. He cited the Lourdes pilgrimage, where about 30% of pilgrims come by train. Moreover, air travel has also contributed significantly, such as in Mecca where 60% of pilgrims come by plane.

The importance of pilgrimages is reflected in the mobility of pilgrims from all over the world which has affected the population based in or surrounding pilgrimage sites. One example is Lourdes, as mentioned in Rinschede (1992), experienced the increasing population from 4,155 to 18,000 from its beginning in 1858 to 1990. In the case of the Kumbh Mela Pilgrimage in 2013 mentioned in Buzinde, et al. (2014), there were more than 70 million domestic and international pilgrims who visited Allahabad during the pilgrimage period.

The growth of pilgrimage sites is also in line with the improved infrastructure and development of the area. Rinschede (1992) also brought to light the growth in various economic aspects in order to meet the needs of the pilgrims, such as accommodations and restaurants. These kinds of discussions lead to the relation between pilgrimage and tourism. Among the many aspects that would be worthy of research, the distinction between pilgrims and tourists is an essential one. Askew (2008), in his research about Buddhism in Thailand,

made a brief explanation about the blurry boundaries between pilgrims and tourists. He mentioned how this is true in Asian popular religion where combined visits, for instance, to pilgrimage sites and shopping malls, have become a common activity among the people. These visits do not influence the depth of their pilgrimage activities. Moreover, it cannot be denied that many pilgrimage sites were actually promoted as tourist destinations by the local government or tourism-related agency. The main goal is surely to attract as many visitors as possible.

Based on the fact that pilgrimages have become one of the prominent sources for tourism development, questions about the sanctity and authenticity of the pilgrimage activities have naturally been raised. Primarily, it is worth noting how pilgrimage sites are different from other tourism destinations. Most pilgrimage sites open every day, all year round. Pilgrims can come whenever they feel the need to do so. The spiritual journey attracts various kinds of people; from the young to the elderly, from individuals to families. Such heightened opportunity for mobility has brought a unique impact to the development of the site. Facilities for both pilgrims and tourists are now being built in the name of comfort. In this sense, the relation between pilgrimage and tourism has led to questions on the commodification of the religious practices. Would it threaten existing religious practices? On the contrary, should it be appreciated as a continuation of the religious influence in this modern era?

(b) The Studies of *Kiai*

The existence of *kiai* cannot be separated from the discussions on the Indonesian Muslim, particularly the Javanese. Often called and written as *kiai*, *kyai* or *kijaji*. In this research, I used the term *kiai* following the spelling by The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language⁷. The *kiai*, who are prominent religious and traditional leaders within the society, are viewed as crucial in any aspect of everyday life despite the advent of modernization. To begin discussions about *kiai*, it is necessary to look into the definitions summed up by various scholars. It would then become apparent that there is no single definition for it because the title *kiai* does not only refer to a person, but also speaks of a mystic, or sometimes even a magical *keris* or Javanese heirloom. However, for purposes of this study, *kiai* will be discussed as important figures in Javanese society.

The definition of *kiai* by Fauzi (2012), which is closest to the more general point of view, refers to them as “religious scholars who have become teachers and leaders because of their advanced religious knowledge and mystical powers” (Fauzi, 2012: 133). He further argued, “being at the high social status, they have an ample role, especially in the sphere of religious law. They are guardians of moral authority because their guidance and decisions on almost all matters of life such as property, marriage, divorce and inheritance are asked and obeyed by Javanese commoners” (Fauzi, 2012: 133).

Kiai also believed to be a figure of supernatural, magical, and extraordinary power. Geertz (1960) in his famous works on *kiai*, mentioned that “as curer, as provider of magical amulets, as diviner of the future, and even, at times, as sorcerer, the local *kijaji* comes to play a role not strictly Islamic, but one fused with the broader and quite heterodox status of *dukun*, the Javanese folk magician” (Geertz, 1960: 238). *Kiai*, as discussed in this sense, with their Islamic religious knowledge and traditional supernatural power, are believed to be the guardians of society regarding moral to personal decisions and even the future of individuals.

⁷ See <https://kbbi.web.id/kiai> Retrieved on December 15, 2019.

Recent research by Machmudi (2014) also stated that, “a *kiai* is a strong figure and he has the ability to control the truth. In this case, a *kiai* is considered to have total and unquestionable authority. Because of his authority and his ability to dominate religious truth, he manages to attract in large numbers” (Machmudi, 2014: 340). Because of the strong influence, Karim (2009) argued that *kiai* could be seen as an elite in the local level context of Indonesian Muslim.

Fauzi (2012) explains two basic ways to become *kiai* – either be recommended by a former *kiai* to teach in a *pesantren* (an Islamic boarding school); or inherit the position from a former generation. In the latter case, usually, the firstborn son of a *kiai* becomes his hereditary and a younger son is expected to be in some other *pesantren*. In this sense, the kinship system playing an important role in order to inherit the title of *kiai*. However, nowadays, many well-known *kiai*, particularly those who have settled in the village, do not own any *pesantren* nor have blood relations with former *kiai*. Siregar, Setiawan & Setio (2013) stated that the title of *kiai* covers the spiritual dimension; thus, anyone with spiritual ability and is trusted by the people can actually also be called *kiai*.

Although it would seem that the term *kiai* can be discussed akin to a religious leader, there is actually some difference given the various categories of *kiai*. Sukamto (1999, cf. Siregar, et al., 2013: 149), in discussing two types of *kiai* based on their scope of teaching, explains that “there are also cases that a *kiai* only teaches religion from one village to another village, just to deliver the Islamic message to society. As to this type of *kiai*, he is called *Kiai Teko* or *Kendi*. This *kiai* preacher is analogous to a *teko* (teapot) full of water being shared to many people who need to drink the water. On the other hand, the title given to a *kiai* who has a *pesantren* is *Kiai Sumur*”. *Sumur* is an Indonesian term meaning a water well.

Jannah (2015) further argued that various types of *kiai* that existed in society resulted from the different perceptions toward each *kiai* based on the people’s understanding of their religious teaching, the situation and condition of the place where they were raised, and the economy and social political situation. She discussed two types of *kiai*. The first one is *kiai karena keturunan* or the hereditary *kiai* who inherited the title from his blood lineage; and the second one is *kiai karir* or the acquired *kiai* who acquired his position because of his religious knowledge. In this writing, to suit the data gathered from the fieldwork, I used the term hereditary *kiai* and acquired *kiai*.

Two main discussions on existing literature about *kiai* involve the relation between *kiai* and *pesantren* as well as the role played by *kiai* in the political sphere of Indonesia. In addition, in this research, a discussion will be made about the connection between *kiai* and pilgrimage traditions.

Kiai and Pesantren

Pesantren is derived from the word *santri* or student with the prefix “pe” and “an” which literally means an Islamic boarding school. Most of the *pesantren* are owned by *kiai*. *Pesantren* have a long history in Indonesia, particularly in Java. There is no evidence regarding the establishment of the first *pesantren* in Indonesia although Zarkasyi (2015) explained that it may have been founded in 1870 by Muhammad Besari in East Java. Fauzi (2012: 130) argued that, in this period, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 also played a significant role in the development of the *pesantren* since it had shortened the distance between Java and the Middle East. The ideas from the Middle East could then easily spread to Indonesia. Following this argument, he stressed that

This context was a big capital for the construction of the intellectual tradition of Javanese *pesantren* which were established as vehicles for transmitting purified and Sufism Islam as well as understanding of Islam. During this period, students from all over Java were attracted to study in *pesantren* (Fauzi, 2012: 130).

In his writing on the historical background of *pesantren*, Zarkasyi (2015) gave a brief explanation. In the 18th century Dutch colonialization, there were restrictions imposed on the *pesantren*. From 1905 until 1925, there were rules issued on how to be a religious teacher and permission to be one was required from the local government. In 1932, strict laws were established regulating the grant of permission to any religious institution including the *pesantren*. After the independence of Indonesia in 1945, these restrictions were lifted but the *pesantren* continued to face challenges with the establishment of many secular schools in Indonesia. Notwithstanding this scenario, data showed that the number of *pesantren* and *santri* increased. Zarkasyi further stated that the reason behind this development lies in various motives such as “traditional motives, expenditures, and the most important one is the emergence of modern system of pondok or *pesantren*” (Zarkasyi, 2015: 228), which will be explained in the following discussion. Moreover, Siregar, et al. (2013) opined that *pesantren* could be seen as representative of Indonesian culture because the

social role played by *pesantren* will be in line with the future of Indonesian society due to various reasons, which are: (1) the character of *pesantren* contains social fragmentation, capitalization and spirituality erosion; (2) social cohesion is responsibility of religion, therefore *kiai* and their *pesantren* could take a role to build it; and (3) *pesantren* as religious institutions provides social services. Therefore, a *pesantren* could be a good place for those who have problems socially, psychologically as well as physically. *Pesantren* is an institution aiming at various goals; in addition to its traditional role as an Islamic institution, it also provides traditional medicines and offers consultation for daily life problems (Siregar, et al., 2013: 126).

Interestingly, Fauzi argued, that with these kinds of social roles played by *pesantren* and *kiai*, they are able to maintain their position and status within the society. Nowadays, based on the data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs, there are 25,938 *pesantren* in Indonesia with 3,962,700 students, and 82.2% of *pesantren* are located in Java⁸. From that total number, some scholars agree that *pesantren* can be divided into two types: the traditional and modern. The differences between these two types rely heavily on their curriculum and way of teaching. To explain the differences between these two *pesantren*, two different case discussions made under previous research will be presented.

The traditional *pesantren* are highly dependent on *kiai*, as there is no other subject for learning other than religious discussion. Research done by Machmudi (2014) using the case of Pesantren Cidahu in Banten, Indonesia shows the characteristics of traditional *pesantren*. Located in a village named Cidahu, which the *pesantren* is named after, the villagers could easily point out the location of the *pesantren* to the visitors although the Pesantren Cidahu have no nameplate, signboard or any information giving out its exact location. Displaying a nameplate, as discussed, amounts to decreasing the sincerity of the *pesantren* as such kind of self-promotion is not acceptable in the eyes of Pesantren Cidahu. There are some characteristics of traditional *pesantren* discussed in this writing. First, the role of *kiai* is

⁸ See <http://pbsb.ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/> Retrieved on August 25, 2019.

undoubted, ruling in full authority in *pesantren*. *Santri*, the students of *pesantren*, will directly learn about religious knowledge from *kiai*. There are no exact number of years required to graduate, unlike in formal education, and the *santri* will be able to leave the *pesantren* at the time the *kiai* says so. It might take five or even ten years. Second, the curriculum in Pesantren Cidahu still follows that of the traditional religious boarding school. The learning resources come from Al-Qur'an and other classical books such as *kitab kuning* or loose-leaves book printed on yellow paper. The curriculum is highly dependent on the *kiai* as the main resource person. Even after students leave or graduate, they maintain contact with their former *kiai* and even recommend the *pesantren* back in Cidahu to other students. Maintaining relations with his students make the *kiai* an authority figure for such a long period of time. Third, living in a traditional *pesantren* is characterized by living together with other *santri*, in Pesantren Cidahu is called *kobong*, a simple dormitory made of wood and usually occupied by around 10 to 20 people. Living together in this *kobong*, located next to the villagers' houses, make the *santri* part of society and learn to live in fellowship with the local villagers. From this research, it could be clearly seen how the traditional *pesantren* hold on to traditional beliefs, maintain centralized power in the *kiai*, and foster a sense of sincerity and brotherhood in its daily activities.

However, due to the coming of modernization and contemporary changes, *pesantren* and *kiai* needed to adapt. Fauzi (2012: 142), in his research, concluded that there are two ways by which the *kiai* could cope with the changing world. The first would be to modernize the *pesantren* system. The word „modern“ here does not connote the western way of teaching nor imply to change *pesantren* into a more secular school of education. Zarkasyi (2015) in his research about one of the most known modern *pesantren* in Indonesia, the Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Gontor, stated that the term „modern *pesantren*“ refer to different elements. For instance, the curriculum of modern *pesantren* also teaches general sciences alongside teachings in religion. Students learn rational and religious knowledge side-by-side. The students also learn English aside from Arabic. Moreover, the period for studying is pre-determined, unlike in the case of the traditional *pesantren*. The modern *pesantren* also hire teachers and are not solely dependent on the *kiai*. In negotiating modernity, aside from reforming the educational system within the *pesantren*, the *kiai* also needs to be involved in a political party.

***Kiai* in Political Sphere**

A changing and modernizing society cannot be avoided. Hence, *kiai* needs to also be involved in a political party in order to adapt to societal norms. However, it should be noted that, not all *kiai* are involved in political parties. Turmudi (2004, cf. Machmudi, 2014) discussed two types of *kiai* which he described as “*kyai akherat* (hereafter-oriented *kyai*) and *kyai dunia* (world-oriented *kyai*)” (Machmudi, 2014: 342). The *kiai akherat* usually do not get involved in any political activities while the *kiai dunia* choose to participate in politics.

At first, it is interesting to look at the reason behind why *kiai* are involved in the political sphere. It is easy to imagine the influence the *kiai* has not only in his students but also in the wider community. What plays out is a religious emotion, a strong bond, which legitimizes the *kiai*'s influence in society. Faridl (2007: 239) explained further that as a charismatic figure, *kiai* is believed to have extraordinary power to influence society including as regards their political aspirations. Even without any political background, his political opinion would be followed by the people. With his undoubtedly strong hold on power, it is not

surprising that *kiai* is also naturally endorsed in the political sphere. In fact, the fourth President of Indonesia was a *kiai* known as K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid.

Furthermore, the role of *kiai* in the political sphere leads to the next discussion made by Geertz (1960) which is how *kiai* has become a cultural broker within society. The previous role of *kiai*, which is bridging the gap between Javanese traditional cultures and Islamic ways of teaching, had shifted at the time of the establishment of Indonesia. During that period, the government, in their efforts at „making Indonesia,“ needed help to communicate with the peasantry. *Kiai* was eventually perceived as the middleman to do the task of delivering information from the elite to the masses. Undoubtedly, Geertz (1960) argued, this task later on paved the way for *kiai* to be involved in political, not only religious, teaching duties. This discussion is marked as the stepping stone on which other scholars began to study about *kiai*'s involvement in the political sphere of Indonesia.

Further research by Santoso (2010) examined the commoditization of religious practices in Indonesia, focusing on the discussion of political parties. Commoditization is naturally an exchange process, which could be done by any actor including religious leaders. As soon as religious leaders become political actors, they will have gained power in a more diverse area than in religious matters. The penetration of the market, stated by Santoso, made it difficult for modern society to avoid any commoditization in their basic lives, including religion. Religious leaders are naturally looked up to by their followers. People choose their religious leaders, along with their affiliate political party. In return, religious leaders gain some benefit from their political position, which could be tangible or intangible things. Santoso (2010) further argued that it could be seen as a commoditization of religion. Political parties can be seen as a strategy of exchange with the people's voices.

***Kiai* and Pilgrimage Tradition**

As mentioned in previous discussions, the graveyard of *kiai* is one of the main destination for pilgrimages. They are spread all over Java in a countless number of sites. Based on fieldwork observation, there are many pilgrims who came in groups led by a certain *kiai*. Pilgrims get their very basic notions of Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage based on the guidance of their *kiai*. In this regard, the *kiai* could be seen in their classical role as cultural brokers, who are known as specialists in the communication of Islam to the local community.

In this discussion, the relation between *kiai* and pilgrimage focuses on the continued existence of the pilgrimage activity itself. How do *kiai*, as religious leaders, preserve the pilgrimage tradition in Javanese Muslim society? Azhar (2018) discussed the potency of *kiai* in developing tourism in Madura, East Java. He highlighted the power held by *kiai* in Madura, implying how *kiai* could be the agent to improve the livelihood of the society. It is due to the fact that a *kiai* holds a significant role in society, and his words will be obeyed by the people. There is potential for such power to motivate the local people to develop tourism in Madura where *kiai* himself could be the leader guiding the process of this tourism development.

By way of summary, the review of existing literature on the subject shows how the primary role of *kiai* in Indonesia cannot be doubted. *Kiai*, perceived as guardians of society, hold sway in the peoples' private lives, educational and even political aspirations. This position of strength held by *kiai* is unequalled by other figures but exists within a dynamic process and the *kiai* must adapt to the changes of society itself. Aside from his role of educating people, particularly with regard to the religious aspects, the *kiai* has also been actively involved in the political sphere even before the independence of Indonesia. Here, it needs to be pointed out that a myriad of studies have examined how the diverse role of *kiai*

within society had secured his position as a respected religious figure. However, it is argued in this research that the position of strength of *kiai* prevails even beyond this sphere as evidenced by pilgrimages to a *kiai's* graveyard made by pilgrims and/or tourists being guided by present day *kiai*. Yet, there is a dearth of data dealing in the role of *kiai* in the existence of pilgrimage tourism, unlike his classic role in the *pasantren* and political sphere. This is the gap in literature which this research endeavours to fill.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Numerous studies have focused on pilgrimage activities such as the works of Turner (1978), Reader (1987), Hoshino (1997), Formanek (1998), and Collins-Kreiner (2010). However, there is a lack of research examining the growth of pilgrimage activities among Muslim people in local catchment areas. The researcher intends to show the recent phenomenon of pilgrimage to the sacred graveyard in Javanese Muslim society in Indonesia. Many of these pilgrimage sites have been growing rapidly and attracting pilgrims. At the outset, it is pivotal to have an appreciation of the fact that despite long-standing contradictions in practices and beliefs among this group, the pilgrimage among Javanese Muslim has endured until today.

This study focuses on the exchange process observed in the practices of pilgrimage, from which commodification of religion become apparent. The discussion on the role of Islamic religious leaders in the continued existence of pilgrimages still lack the necessary data. As explained earlier, the recent studies on *kiai* have mostly portrayed his role in the *pasantren* and political sphere. However, because he is the main actor in the commodification process, it is essential to make the *kiai* the main point of discussion. Unlike any other religious figures, there are various kinds of *kiai* in the Javanese Muslim domain. Two kinds of *kiai* are particularly discussed in this study: the hereditary *kiai* and the acquired *kiai*. Being charismatic leaders, every *kiai* has his own strategy to sustain his social status and power among his followers. The *kiai's* individual strategy in exchanging religious practices, enhancing his power, and deepening trust among his followers and the community in the context of commodification of religion will be explored in this study. Next section will elaborate specifically the concept of commodification of culture and religion as a analytical framework of this study.

1.6. Theoretical Framework : Commodification of Religious Practices

As defined by Cohen (1988), commoditization is “a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market” (Cohen, 1988: 380). It can be gleaned that the basic premise of commoditization is the exchange value. However, the object of exchange in the commoditization process does not necessarily need to be a physical object. Santoso (2010) mentioned that “it could be an abstract thing such as collective identity, primordial relationship and religious affiliation, and so on” (Santoso, 2010: 102).

Kopytoff (1986), in his study about commoditization, proposed an interesting background of the discussion. He states that commoditization is a dynamic, non-stagnant process such that a certain object of commoditization could in time be changed. Thus, an object may be subject of commoditization for a certain period of time but not necessarily so in

the past nor in the future. This is so because the value or meaning behind the object could have changed.

Further, Cohen (1988: 372) discussed three basic assumptions prevalent in the existing literature on commoditization of culture and tourism. First, he pointed out, as such assumption, the coming of tourism in a community, by commoditizing their practices or cultural tradition, could result in changes to the meaning of the tradition, which eventually could become meaningless. According to such assumption, anyone could commoditize the local culture and, as a result, the local community was prone to be exploited. Second, according to Cohen, such assumption presumes that “commoditization is said to destroy the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations; instead a surrogate, covert „staged authenticity“ emerged” (MacCanell, 1973 cf. Cohen, 1988: 372). He referred to previous discussions regarding the case of some regions that needed to be portrayed as „indigenous“ to attract tourists, and how native inhabitants needed to act as „natives“ to be seen as authentic for tourism consumption. Third, those previous literature assume how such staged authenticity actually thwarted the tourist’s desire for authentic experiences. Hence, according to these three basic assumptions, Cohen summarises, commoditization can be seen as a threat to local traditions by destroying its meaning for the local community as well as to the tourists themselves. Through his study, however, Cohen tried to challenge these assumptions, as explained below.

Cohen (1988) further argued that commoditization could not be seen as a destroying agent for local cultures. A dynamic relation occurs between the local cultures and market orientation. The added meaning in the resulting commoditization could actually be seen as a way to extend the local culture. Thus, he argued that the authenticity of those cultures does not disappear, rather, it remains at their core. He referred to the case of “folk musicians, who play for money to an external audience, may be excited by the opportunity to present their art and proud to display their competence. There is no reason to assume that their music loses all meaning for them, merely because they have been paid for performing it” (Cohen, 1988: 381-382). Cohen also argued that in many cases (referring to the folk arts), commoditization is said to have helped in preserving the local traditions which tended to diminish in presence through time.

This research examined the making of religious practices as a commodity. Religious practices, to a certain degree, could be transformed into a commodity in an exchange system. Prior to discussing the commodification of religious practices, it is worth giving a background of the importance of religion in society. Berger (1967), in his famous argument of the „sacred canopy“, examined how religion could be seen as a sacred cosmos where power beyond humankind resides. Stepping out of this sanctity means humans will enter the profane and chaotic status. With the coming of globalization and capitalism, however, it has become difficult for all aspects in human life to be kept away from commodification, including religion.

It is also relevant to look into the critical issue of making religious practices a commodity and the accompanying risk of a decline in its meaning and authenticity. Performing rituals or traditions, when viewed as being done to make money, deteriorates the practice itself. Greenwood (1977, cf. Cohen, 1988: 381) mentioned that the local people lose their enthusiasm in practising their culture once it has turned into a commodity. In this sense, the commoditization process is also believed to be a form of exploitation of the local people and their traditions.

However, Kitiarsa (2008), in the introduction of the edited volume on religious commodification in Asia, argued that “religious commodifications do not necessarily lead to religious malaise or produce new religious forms and movements that oppose the institutionalized beliefs and practices of religious organizations” (Kitiarsa, 2008: 1). By commoditization of religious practices, Cohen also stated that “what used to be a religiously meaningful ritual for an internal public, may become a culturally significant self-representation before an external public” (Cohen 1988: 382).

Within this process of commoditization, two main actors have appeared: the so-called „buyer and seller“ of religious commodities. Lukens-Bull (2008) further argued that “the buying and selling of commodities incorporate the process of socialization that includes both the buyer and seller. Within this context, religious commodities can be viewed as the process by which the social economic market is being utilized by religious ideology. Further, this process turns piety into a commodity, religions become something which can be bought and sold” (Lukens-Bull, 2008: 227).

In his discussion, Lukens-Bull (2008) used the case of commoditization of Islam in Indonesia which took place during the New Order Regime. Under this regime of President Soeharto, Indonesia faced an era of rapid social change and development. During this time, American culture had been heavily imported into Indonesia with American television shows⁹, films and American chain restaurants having found their way into Indonesian mainstream lifestyle. A couple of cases illustrate this phenomenon. First, the case of the fast food chain McDonald’s depicts how to become more localized in Indonesia, particularly among the Muslims. A good example is the statue of Ronald McDonald built in a meditative position which, according to the company’s official website, represents an act of Javanese Hindu-Buddhism and Sufism. McDonald’s successfully branded themselves as a part of the Indonesian community and culture despite being an American chain restaurant. Second, the case of the religious bumper sticker shows the reinvention of modernity and tradition. Bumper stickers mainly use an image related to the Middle East to confirm one’s identity as a Muslim and highlight the link to the rest of the Muslim world, which pertains to the Middle East. However, bumper stickers are also mainly written in English in order to link to a more global catchment. In exchange for displaying a religious bumper sticker on their vehicle or in front of their houses, people are given the chance to confirm their identity as Muslims. Based on these two cases, religion could be a way of branding, advertising and confirming one’s identity.

This research focuses on the actors behind a commodification process. Specifically, the actors examined in this research are the *kiai* or religious leaders within the society. Previous discussions by Muzakki (2008), in his study on the commoditization of Islam in Indonesia, portrayed how the Islamic preachers known as *da’i* made use of Islamic public sermons and tele-preaching as a kind of symbolic commodity. The increasing number of intellectuals, which started in the 1980s, among the Muslim middle class had led to an increasing demand for university-based preachers. For the preachers, it is a “much easier way of making money” (Muzakki 2008: 216) to capitalize on their religious knowledge and public-speaking skills. University-based *da’i* commoditized Islam as a source of exchange for economic capital and social identity. On the other hand, the audience who are intellectual Muslim middle class support the process to uphold their material needs and social identity as a middle-class society.

It is evident from the preceding literature above, that the citizens of Indonesia have increasingly evaluated religious practices based on the exchange value. In this case, exchange

⁹ These shows include popular dramas such as “Friends”, “Beverly Hills” and so on.

value refers to the fact that religion can be a way for individuals to fulfill certain inherent needs. People increasingly started to think of religion in terms of exchange for a specific need, such as the confirmation of identity as a Muslim, or as a member of middle-class society.

With this as background, in examining the case of the pilgrimage at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, the theory and discussion on commodification on religious practices will be used in two aspects. First, with respect to the exchange value of commodification, it will be worth discussing what kind of exchange process transpired; what the pilgrimage might have to offer to make the practices valuable for exchange in the process of commodification; and what sort of abilities the *kiai* have which allowed them to transform the pilgrimage as a commodity with an exchange value. Secondly, it will be essential to study the impact of commodification to the pilgrimage tradition among the Javanese Muslim society.

1.7. Methodology of Data Gathering

Qualitative research was employed as the main research method. The field research was conducted in a span of three years, divided into three phases: April 2015, June to July 2016, and February to April 2018. The fieldwork was conducted in Gunungpring Village, Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia. All interviews were conducted through the dissemination of written questionnaires and recorded after receiving permission from the interviewees, using Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese local language. This research mainly used the following ethnography methodology.

- 1) Interview. To allow for different perspectives, interviews with informants from different backgrounds were held. The selected informants were local residents of Gunungpring Village, members of the Gunungpring Village Office and the descendants of religious figures.
- 2) Case studies. A certain group of devoted pilgrims in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard were followed to understand their pilgrimage activity. Lead by Kiai Suparno, the researcher followed them during data gathering in 2016 for 3 times. In 2018, the researcher joined their routine pilgrimage for 2 months, approximately 2 times a week and visiting Kiai Suparno's house for further interview. Detailed observations were recorded in field notes during the research.
- 3) Casual conversations. The selected informants are vendors in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard and pilgrims who came in a group, local residents of Gunungpring Village, and members of the Gunungpring Village Office.

In addition, government planning documents from the Gunungpring Village Office were examined to understand the issues regarding the development of the research area. Statistical and historical data provided by Kyai Raden Santri Foundation were also collected to get a systematic background of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

(a) Research Area: Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

As has been mentioned, this study focuses on the particular context of pilgrimage activities among the Javanese Muslims. The selected research area was the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, located in Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia. Laksana (2014), who research on pilgrimages including in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, mentioned his viewpoint regarding the site, "at this point, it is crucial to see the confluence between the court culture and the *pesantren* culture in the pilgrimage tradition in south central Java" (Laksana,

2014: 48). The court culture which Laksana mentioned referred to the genealogy of Kiai Raden Santri (see further in Chapter 4). As the descendant of Yogyakarta Sultanate, his graveyard complex is under the provenance of the sultanate. Kiai Raden Santri also known as the figures who spread Islam, particularly in Central Java (see Chapter 4).

Moreover, Laksana (2014) also mentioned the importance of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard representing *pesantren* culture, particularly because of the figures of Kiai Dalhar. Kiai Dalhar known as the respected *kiai* from Darussalam Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*). The history of Javanese, Islamization and also the *pesantren* culture have been assimilated in the Gunungpring Graveyard, making it an important place for preserving the traditions.

1.8. Organization and Summary of the Chapters

The succeeding chapters are organized and summarized as follows.

Chapter 2 provides the overview of Javanese Muslim pilgrimage as a setting of this study. While pilgrimages can be found in every religion and culture all over the world, this section tries to draw the unique feature of Javanese Muslim pilgrimage. In the case of Javanese Muslim society, there is a tendency of cultural assimilation between the Javanese tradition and Islamic way of doing pilgrimages, which causes pros and cons particularly among the establishment of Islam. Despite variegated opinions for, and against, the practice, the Javanese Muslim pilgrimage exists until today and attracts a good number of visitors. This will be followed by a discussion on the traditional rituals and concepts related to pilgrimage to the graveyard. To close, the chapter ends with a discussion of the prospects of pilgrimage tourism in Indonesia.

Chapter 3 examined the relations between the transition of the political regime of Indonesia and its impact on Islam. Particularly, the transition of the New Order Regime to the Reform Era will be focused as an important structural background of penetrating influence of neoliberal economy which accelerated the commodification process of religion and pilgrimage.

Chapter 4 focuses on the research area, the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia. It gives a description of pilgrimage practices followed by the analysis of the fieldwork data to understand the motivation for doing the pilgrimage. A detailed explanation about the activities and the way of doing the pilgrimage were also provided.

Chapter 5 examined the data gathered from the interview and participant observation with a devoted pilgrims. This is also the beginning of the discussion of commodification process of religious practices by *kiai*.

Chapter 6 deals with the pilgrimage tourism Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. It examines the initial period up to the present and looks into the involvement of different actors in pilgrimage tourism of the research area. A discussion of the impact brought about by the coming of tourism in the surrounding area is made. It will be shown how this impact does not merely relate to a visible impact on the locality but even beyond. The data from fieldwork also reveals the important role of the hereditary *kiai* as a decision maker in managing pilgrimage tourism.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents the significance of the cases for analyzing the commodification process of pilgrimages by *kiai*.

CHAPTER 2

The Setting : Overview of Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage

This chapter provides an initial understanding of Javanese Muslim pilgrimage in Indonesia. Initially, it discusses the coming of Islam to Indonesia. This is followed by a discussion of pilgrimages done within a locality in Indonesia, particularly in Java, which involves assimilation of local tradition. Despite the conflicting views on the pilgrimage to the dead-saints graveyard among the various sectors of Muslim society in Indonesia today, the pilgrimage continues and has potential to develop as a tourism attraction drawing many visitors to the Javanese locality.

2.1. The Coming of Islam

Situated in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is an archipelago consisting of thousands of island. Based on the data published by Statistics Indonesia in 2019¹⁰, total population of Indonesia is 265 million people. The country is composed of 34 provinces and 13,466 islands. Indonesia is a multicultural country aspiring to a life of peace and harmony among its citizens despite their cultural differences. In terms of religion, Islam is the most widespread religion in Indonesia. As the dominant religion in Indonesia, Islam has remained an important reason behind people's way of life as an individual or social being.

As mentioned above, Islam came after Hindu and Buddhism. Varying theories, rather than single theory, proposed by scholars argue on the specific time and ways of the coming of Islam in Indonesia. According to Hafid (2012), there are four main theories. First, several scholars are known for their proposed theories as to the coming of Islam to Indonesia from India. One such scholar is Pijnapel, who argued that there are similarities in Islamic religious practices between Indonesia, Gujarat and Malabar. Although initially, Islam is from Saudi Arabia, he proposes that Islam arrived in Indonesia through India. In line with this, Hurgrounje states that South India initially introduced Islam to Indonesia owing to the trade relations between South India and Indonesia. He also cited the similarities in romance (romance here refers to legendary stories passed by generation to generation) which spread in Achehnes in Indonesia and some parts of South India. Ibnu Batuta's note also claimed that, as proof, there were already Islamic gravestones in Northern Sumatra when he visited that area in 1345 AD. Further, in Rani (2010), another scholar namely Vlekke explained that spice traders from Gujarati are the ones who brought Islam to Indonesia. However, since trading was their main occupation, the traders who first came and began Islam in Indonesia had no further intention to build an Islamic centre whatsoever. They focused on trading and occasionally introduced Islam. Hence, the first areas where Islam was introduced were mainly trading spots such as in Central Java and East Java.

Second, trading was the way of spreading Islam by the Arabians, including in Indonesia. In a Chinese report, the existence of an Arabian settlement in Sriwijaya Kingdom around 674 AD was mentioned. According to Hafid (2012), at around 877 A.D., there was a large Muslim emigration from the Arabian Peninsula to Asia, who then mainly resided in

¹⁰ See "Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 2019" published by Statistics Indonesia in <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/download.html?nrbvfeve=ZGFhYzFiYTE4Y2FIMWU5MDcwNmVINThh&xzmn=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuYnBzLmdvLmlkL3B1YmxpY2F0aW9uLzlwMTkvMDcvMDQvZGFhYzFiYTE4Y2FIMWU5MDcwNmVINThhL3N0YXRpc3Rpay1pbmRvbmVzaWEtMjAxOS5odG1s&twoadfnorfeauf=MjAyMC0wMi0wOSAxOT01NzoyMA%3D%3D> Retrieved on February 7, 2020.

China. However, due to the political instability of the T'ang Dynasty, most of the migrants moved to Southeast Asia, near Malaysia and Indonesia. The coming of Islam from the Arab region is a known fact and is mentioned in some Indonesian chronicles which mainly originated from Sumatra. However, it is difficult to prove the historical validity of the chronicles, which usually contains myth and legends.

Further mentioned in Hafid (2012), an Indonesian scholar namely Husain Djajadiningrat proposed the third argument about the similarities of religious practices between Indonesia and Iran, suggesting the third theory of Persian Muslims on Indonesia. He argued that the introduction of Islam began in the 13th century in Pasai, through trading activities of Sri Lankans who stopped over in Sumatra. One of the similarities is the commemoration of the 1st Muharram.

Another theory mentioned in Hafid (2012) speaks about the coming of Muslim refugees from China into Indonesia, which started from the 9th century. One of the Chinese reports written by Ma Huan, a Chinese diplomat from Emperor Yung Lo, cited that Sumatra has already become an Islamic state at the time he visited in the 14th century. It is also written that there were Chinese Muslim communities who have resettled in Java during the same period.

Based on the four different theories of the coming of Islam to Indonesia, it can be concluded that trading had the biggest impact. Trading from India and Middle East to Southeast Asia and China gave them an opportunity to stop over in Indonesia and introduce Islam. Moreover, the land settlements of Muslim emigrants and the introduction of Islamic scholars also became another source of Islamization in Indonesia.

Before the coming of Islam to Indonesia, Hinduism and Buddhism were already established and known by Indonesians. On the other hand, Indonesians also practice local traditions, which flourished among the peoples. According to Hafid (2012), the history of Islam in Indonesia can be defined as unique. There are many facets to the interactions between Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism and local culture which exists until today. This interaction between religion and local cultures is also referred to as syncretism. Mujib (2016) argued that one of the rituals in Indonesia that can be considered as syncretism is the pilgrimages to graveyards.

2.2. Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage

Upon the coming of Islam to Indonesia, Woodward (cf. Fauzi, 2012: 128) argued that the presence of Islam in Java could be traced from the 14th century in the period of Majapahit court. The first Islamic court, Mataram Islam, was later on established in the 16th century. Fauzi (2012: 129) referring to Ricklefs discussion, further explained that it became a stepping stone in what is so-called „mystic synthesis“ between Islam and Javanese tradition. He explained,

The Mataram court was still imperfectly Islamized while the literary traditions, rituals, and calendar were substantially Hindu-Buddhist in character. Here, a major reconciliation of Javanese royal and Islamic traditions took place.

The reconciliation of both Islamic and Javanese tradition became a dominant mode of religiosity in Java mainly in the nineteenth century (Fauzi, 2012: 129).

In discussing this topic, the research done by Mujib (2016) is significant. One of the approaches used for Islamisation in Java is the process called „Javanisation of Islam“. This approach highlighted the effort to insert Islam into Javanese culture which made Islam easier

to accept among the Javanese. The interaction between Islam and the existing local traditions created the so-called syncretic rituals, including pilgrimages to graveyards. One example pointed out by Mujib (2016) is the changing meaning in pilgrimage to the graveyard rituals after the coming of Islam. Before, pilgrimage used to be an activity to ask for something from the dead saints. However, Islam slowly changed the meaning into praying for the dead saints.

Pilgrimages in Javanese Muslim have a long history, stemming from local traditions and developing after the coming of religion, which in this research is focused on Islam. Fox (2012) mentioned that “individuals in Java visit tombs with their special intentions, often at times of personal crisis, in order to place themselves in relationship to a personage of the past” (Fox, 2012: 160). Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) also stated that “pilgrims visiting graves offer requests and prayers, ask for the deceased’s blessings, or come to fulfill vows. Motivations range from seeking true spiritual experiences, to wishing to honor the dead, to blatantly seeking worldly gains” (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 327).

Further, Chambert-Loir & Reid explained the various ways to make a pilgrimage to the sacred graveyard as commonly done by the Javanese. The first way is as an individual, a pilgrim, who will visit the graveyards by himself or accompanied by his family. Usually, pilgrims come to visit with a specific purpose, bring something with them (for example, water) and come back when the purpose has been achieved. Some individuals will meditate at the graveyard in order to fulfill their spiritual endeavors. Some pilgrims only visit a specific grave, while others would visit a series of graves as well. The second way is the group pilgrimage. This method involves a group visiting several graveyards at the same time, usually following their *kiai* guiding them through the designated graves of pilgrimage tours. The groups could be varied, for instance, the members could be of *pengajian* (the Al-Qur’an recital group) or from the village neighborhood. The third way is by attending festivals where pilgrims usually only visit graveyards when it comes to important commemoration days such as the birth of the Prophet or the *Lailatul Qadr* (the 21st day of the Holy Month of Ramadhan). Finally, the last way is by visiting the grave of a village founder during the annual ceremony. Further, Chambert-Loir & Reid also mentioned that there are many graveyards which were built to honor a village founder. Thus, many sacred graveyards were built to honor their meritorious deed of starting new settlements for the villagers. To conclude, Chambert-Loir & Reid stated that “in Java to this day, the cult of Muslim saints is largely also a cult of ancestors” (Chambert-Loir & Reid, 2002: 140).

Second, Chambert-Loir & Reid tried to discuss about the characteristics of a Javanese Muslim pilgrimage. First, he tried to group several sacred places in the context of the Javanese pilgrimage. Those places are graves found in one village that have become one of the centres of religious life (despite the mosque); those that represent the tutelary spirit (found near sites of natural curiosity such as a big rock or cave); those that relate to historical remains (meaning several graveyards built to replace former sacred places which do not have any relation to Islam); and the graves of the Islamization figures of the island and of important figures who are not related to religious endeavors such as the king, sultans and presidents.

In his third argument, Chambert-Loir & Reid (2002) stated that an assimilation process of pilgrimage in Java among Islam and Hindu-Buddhism, can be seen in the architectural design of some of the prominent mosque across Java. As an example, he cites the architecture of a Demak Mosque which follow the structure of Hindu temples.

Another discussion related to Javanese Muslim pilgrimage is the time of making pilgrimage. Mujib (2016: 210) stated that, in Islam, there is no specific date of making pilgrimage. However, for Javanese Muslim, they believe in special specific dates for doing

pilgrimage. During the fieldwork for this study, it became apparent that the Javanese calendar is still being commonly used by most pilgrims in selecting specific dates for pilgrimages. The Javanese calendar uses the native five-day week called *pasaran*, showing *pon*, *wage*, *kliwon*, *legi*, *pahing*. The Javanese applies the five-day week concept when using the Gregorian calendar's seven-day week. For instance, referring to Monday as Monday *Pahing* (not only Monday) and so on using the Javanese five-day term in sequence repeatedly. A day under the Javanese calendar starts at sunset. Tuesday and Friday *Kliwon* are believed as the sacred days of mysticism, which occurs every 35 days. Tjahjono (2018) mentioned that these two days are revered as the days when the *lelembut* (spirit) came to the world. Jumat *Kliwon* is also recognized as the day when humans can communicate with spirits. Hence, many Javanese go on a pilgrimage on this day. Although meant for a Friday pilgrimage, it can be observed that the pilgrims will in fact pack the pilgrimage sites on a Thursday night, which is explained by the distinct appreciation of Thursday night as being already early Friday under the Javanese calendar.

This discussion about Javanese Muslim pilgrimages concludes on this important point: the Javanese tend to see a pilgrimage, either done individually or in a group, as a spiritual journey. They undergo a pilgrimage in order to be granted their wishes or fulfill their vows. The notion of dead saint as intermediaries is quite significant in Javanese Muslim. The pilgrimage rituals involve an intimacy between the pilgrim's self and the spirit of the other world.

(a) Traditional practices in Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage

As mentioned above, as a syncretic tradition, there are several rituals of pilgrimages in Java that cannot be found in the Islamic way of pilgrimages or in other parts of the world. First, the tradition of *nyekar* or visiting the graves of deceased ancestors as commonly done by the Javanese, which is derived from the word *sekar* or flowers in the Javanese language. They would go to their ancestors' graveyards with a basket of flowers (usually a combination of roses, jasmine and magnolia) and spread them on top of the graves. Magnolia, stated in Tjahjono (2018), believes as a symbol to ward off misfortune. After spreading the flower, they then pray next to the graveyard, reciting a chapter of the Al-Qur'an and requesting Allah SWT to absolve the sins of their ancestors during their lifetime. There are no specific dates for doing *nyekar*. The Javanese way of pilgrimage is shown in their connection with their ancestors and the activity of spreading flowers although they will pray in the Islamic way using a chapter of the Al-Qur'an.

Another tradition is that of *nyadran* or *sadranan*. Usually, the residents of a village will agree on the time and go as a group. It would begin by the cleansing of the graves of the families before the coming of *nyadran*. On the day of *nyadran*, several activities are held like *nyekar* and a community gathering where meals are enjoyed at the graveyard complex. Aside from visiting the ancestors' grave, a pattern of Javanese pilgrimage could be found in their selection of the pilgrimage date. For the Javanese, the specific date of doing *nyadran* is before the coming of the Holy Month of Ramadhan. Meanwhile, they continue chanting Al-Qur'an which is reflective of their Islamic way of pilgrimage.

Furthermore, a tradition related to pilgrimages is *slametan* (sometimes also called as *kenduri*), meaning a communal meal. Laksana (2014) explains that the traditional Javanese of all faiths hold the *slametan* in the face of passage, communal festivities and so forth, in order to secure the blessing of God and his spiritual company of saints and their ancestors, precisely because these figures are an integral part of the

community, on whose blessings the well-being of the community depends (Laksana, 2014: 68).

Slametan is used in many different occasions such as to be granted a blessing to complete a pilgrimage ritual and to commemorate the death of a beloved person, etc. In the village where the researcher lives, *slametan* is usually held while commemorating the death of a beloved person, for instance on their 1000 days of passing. The villagers will gather at the host's house and pray in Islamic way by chanting a Surah of Al-Qur'an. The ritual of *slametan* would not be complete without the presence of a traditional meal made from a rice molded in the shape of a mountain, chicken and a complementary dish.



Figure 1. An example of a complementary dish during *Slametan* or *Kenduri*

Source: <http://keyshasnack.com/galeri> Retrieved on September 30, 2018

The Javanese pilgrimage, through the rituals of *nyekar*, *nyadran* and *slametan*, when viewed with the discussion of Chamber-Loir as backdrop, leads to one main highlight which is the remembrance of the ancestors and the continuity of history. History, as also argued by Laksana (2014), for the Javanese Muslim is seen as a continuity process. History is not to be left only in the past but is a way of remembrance passed on to the next generations.

(b) Traditional Concepts in Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage

Aside from specific pilgrimage activities done by the Javanese, there are also concepts related to a pilgrimage. There is the *sowan* or visitation to the graveyard, which in terms of pilgrimages, the Javanese usually refer to as “*sowan dhateng simbah*”. *Simbah* is a term meaning an elderly, which is also used to denote a respected figure. Laksana (2014) stated that “the Javanese word *sowan* denotes a dutiful visit of a subject to his master; it is an acknowledgement of dependence and duty, and it will result in harmonious relationship between the pilgrims as subject and the saints as masters and protectors” (Laksana, 2014: 81). In this regard, relations between the pilgrims and their masters, continue even after the master has passed away. The saints, who could be their master or respected religious figures, in this sense, are perceived as living. The pilgrims act in a way which would let their deceased masters still see, hear and recognize them. They would greet, mentioned their master’s names in their prayers and even ask for intercession to grant their wishes.

Another concept is the *berkah* or blessing. Doing pilgrimage is often connected to a grant of blessing from the dead saints. The Javanese would commonly say “*ngalap berkah*” or obtain a blessing. A blessing could be described in many forms. It could be turned into an act of pilgrimage which gives a blessing in return, or taking back a thing from the pilgrimage sites, such as water or flower, which is believed may give them some blessing. In this regard, the pilgrims believe that the power of dead saints remain even after they have passed away. Blessings, given from the power of the dead saints to the pilgrims, motivate people to go on a pilgrimage.

2.3. The Conflicting Views on the Javanese Muslim Pilgrimage

Although pilgrimages to a sacred graveyard have a long history and tradition and are practiced by people until today, it cannot be denied that, in the background, this tradition is still seen with contradicting views. A thorough discussion of pilgrimages in Indonesia cannot be had without looking into two influential Islamic groups: *Muhammadiyah* and *Nadhlatul Ulama* or NU. These two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia have differing viewpoints regarding pilgrimages to graveyards.

Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) mentioned that *Muhammadiyah* established in 1912. In terms of pilgrimage activities, Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) explained that “as a reformist Movement, the Muhammadiyah has asked Muslims to stay away from Javanese (and other local) beliefs and practices” (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 329). Further, it is also mentioned that “reformist Muslims condemn every pilgrimage that does not lead to Mecca and teach that going to the graves is equal to polytheism (*shirk*)” (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 347).

On the other hand, *Nadhlatul Ulama* (NU) established in January 31, 1926 and lead by K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari¹¹ has different opinion toward pilgrimage practices. Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) stated that “in NU circles, students of Islam, when confronted with important decisions in their lives, or when preparing to be teachers of Islam themselves, will seek the blessing of their deceased masters” (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 329). Prayers such as Al-Qur’an recitation near the graves are considered as gifts for the dead.

The position of pilgrimage to the sacred graveyards has become a sensitive issue among Muslims in Indonesia. According to Chambert-Loir & Reid (2002),

¹¹ Mentioned in <https://www.nu.or.id/static/6/sejarah-nu> Retrieved on February 11, 2020.

Although the worship of sacred graveyard is a phenomenon of immense importance throughout the country, especially in Java, involving thousands of sites and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, it has been largely ignored by the national media. The Muslim community is divided when it comes to the legitimacy of such practices and it is feared that open discussion could cause social unrest (Chambert-Loir & Reid, 2002: xvii).

2.4. Pilgrimage and Tourism in Indonesia

As a tradition that has existed for a long time, pilgrimage rituals are evidently able to attract from thousands to millions of people annually to a journey that aims to visit sacred graveyards. Despite contradictions on viewpoints regarding pilgrimages, the practice has continued to flourish until the present. Cochrane (2009) stated that

many Javanese will undertake a significant number of pilgrimages during their life, making journeys locally or across Java. The further the destination from home, the more effective the pilgrimage because of the greater effort involved: these movements are significant for infrastructural reasons (Cochrane, 2009: 113).

Even so most of the pilgrims are locals, the scale of domestic tourists in Indonesia could not be dismissed. The Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia stated in the Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2017 (2017: 68), defined domestic tourists as Indonesian citizens who travel within Indonesia's geographical area voluntarily for less than 6 months, which is not for the purposes of studying or working (earning wages), and involves a non-routine type of journey. The Ministry released the data on the number of tourist trips obtained from the Household Survey (Travel Module) conducted under the implementation of the SUSENAS (The Indonesian National Socioeconomic Survey). Data is published by the Statistics Indonesia (known in Indonesia as Badan Pusat Statistik) every three months and processed by the Ministry to calculate the number of domestic tourist trips. The results show an increase of domestic tourist trips from 263,680,000 trips in 2016 to 277,000,000 trips in 2017.

On the other hand, stated in the Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2017 (2017: 40), the Ministry of Tourism using a recommendation from the UNWTO, defines foreign tourists as people who visit a country outside their residence country, encouraged by one or several needs without intending to earn income at the visited place and with the length of a visit at not more than twelve months. The Ministry of Tourism stated in the Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2017 (2017: 45) shows a significant increase in foreign tourists from 12,023,971 in 2016 to 14,039,799 in 2017. Based on the number of tourists visits, it can be said that domestic tourists play an important role. The number of domestic tourist trips is more than 10 times compared with the number of foreign tourists.

The Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Tourism, has developed a strategy beginning in 2016 to maximize the potential of the tourism sector targeting several types of tourism. Stated in the Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2016 by the Ministry of Tourism (2016), the types are geared towards “nature, culture and man-made activities consists of culinary and spa, heritage and religious tourism, tradition and art tourism, city and village tourism, marine tourism, eco-tourism and adventure tourism, tourism detinations and convention tourism, sports tourism and recreation” (Ministry of Tourism, 2016: 41). In fact, under the Government of President Joko Widodo for the period 2014 - 2019, tourism has been established as one of the leading sectors that contribute to the

country's economy. In terms of employment, the Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2017 by the Ministry of Tourism (2017: 2) reported that tourism sector contributed 12 million jobs in 2017.

Pilgrimage Tourism has also become one of the aspects planned for development. Indonesia also has the potential for pilgrimage tours that are spread throughout the region. For example, for Muslims, there is a pilgrimage tour to a sacred graveyard while for Hindus and Buddhists, there are also many artefacts and temples. Based on the online news, The Minister of Tourism at that time, has asked for the involvement of all stakeholders to develop pilgrimage tourist destinations in Indonesia. The focus has been on three sectors; marketing, destination and human resources¹².

Besides providing a sizeable contribution to state revenues, pilgrimage tourism in the small-scale economy has also positively affected the income of the surrounding communities. Around the pilgrimage sites, many shops could be seen that sell souvenirs, most of which are religious materials such as Al-Qur'an, beads and caps. Some shops sell a variety of children's clothing, food and toys. Many shops sell local specialties such as local foods and handicrafts. There are also many food stalls that have opened around the pilgrimage sites and, within the community, many lodgings have sprouted to accommodate a range of visitors from families to tour groups.

One of the more known pilgrimage destinations in Indonesia is the pilgrimage to the graveyards of the nine saints, referred to as *Wali Songo*, who are credited for spreading Islam in the Java Island. Quinn (2004)¹³ showed an increasing number of pilgrims in one of the graves of Wali Songo, the grave of Sunan Bonang in Tuban. In 1996, it attracted an already significant 526,268 visitors but by 2002, the number of visitors had ballooned to reportedly around a million visitors. Under the many packages of pilgrimage tours established by travel agents all over Indonesia, the pilgrimage can be completed by bus within several days. One of the peak season tours will be done before the coming of the holy month of Ramadhan. On these days, many from Sumatra, Kalimantan or Sulawesi come to Java to go on a pilgrimage tour. One of the main reasons is to purify themselves before the holy month.

It cannot be overlooked how the development of transportation and accommodation played an essential role in attracting visitors to the pilgrimage sites. In fact, many pilgrimage sites in rural areas that used to suffer from bad road conditions, poor access and infrastructure in the past years have nowadays becomes much easier to access. Further, Mujib (2016) explained that the commercial factors brought about by pilgrimage tourism has contributed to the growth of this activity. In essence, pilgrimages are not done as mere tradition but also have a potential to develop an area as a tourist attraction, bringing positive economic impact on society.

¹² Referring to the online news in 2015, "Religious Tourism in Indonesia Increases to 165 percent". Republika Online Newspaper <http://en.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/15/11/23/ny9kq3317-religious-tourism-in-indonesia-increases-to-165-percent> Accessed November 24, 2015.

¹³ See https://d7.iiias.asia/sites/default/files/IIAS_NL35_16.pdf Retrieved on February 2, 2018.

CHAPTER 3

Transition of Political Regime as a Background of Commodification of Religion

This chapter seeks to identify the relation between the transition of political regimes of contemporary Indonesia and its impact on the belief and practices of Islam. This chapter particularly focuses on two periods: the New Order Regime and the Reform Era. The New Order Regime under President Soeharto ruled for 32 years from 1966 to 1998, propelled the initialization of Islam as a religion in a top-down manner and, as a result, clearly separated Islam from the efforts of nation's development which exclusively belongs to a secular matter. The fall of this regime, however, brought a new meaning toward the relation of religion and the coming of neoliberal economy.

3.1. Islam and the New Order Regime

By the end of the Old Regime under President Soekarno, the dissatisfaction toward the Central Government had risen. Darmawijaya (2015) pointed out that one of the triggers to this situation was the lax implementation of laws and actions by the government in handling the Communist Party in Indonesia, known as PKI. The continuous protests eventually led to the fall of the Old Regime and marked the beginning of the New Order Regime under President Soeharto.

Rudnyckyj (2010) examined national development under President Soeharto. Known as *Bapak Pembangunan* or Mister Development, his obsession was the modernization of the country. With the help of B.J. Habibie¹⁴, the government brought technological innovations to develop Indonesia. The New Order Regime believed that in order to raise the living standards of the society, imported technology from Europe and America were needed. During this era, the Government made an effort to build state-owned enterprises to strengthen development, such as steel enterprises called Krakatau Steel. The development of roads in order to improve transportation was also a part of this program. Aside from the rapid development, President Soeharto took full control of and maintained power over the society. Any act defined as harmful to his desired status quo could be punished severely. This included curtailment of the freedom of expression by the media which, under threat of facing disbandment, could not report any news against the Government. The political sphere was also heavily controlled by the Government. In order to develop the country, President Soeharto asked the citizens to obey his order in all ways possible.

This obedience toward the New Order Regime must also be carried out by the Muslim community. Darmawijaya (2015) mentioned how, during the regime's transition period, President Soeharto received support from the military and Muslim community. However, as the New Order Regime progressed, the situation developed differently from what was expected by the Muslim community. They started to experience suppression. Darmawijaya (2015) argued that President Soeharto, aware of the extensive power held by Islamic political groups owing to Islam being the most widespread religion in Indonesia, chose to suppress any influence of Islam in politics in order to sustain his own power. The friction peaked between the New Order Regime and Islam during the implementation of *Asas Tunggal Pancasila* as the

¹⁴ B.J. Habibie is a respected politician and engineer in Indonesia. Later on, he replaced President Soeharto following the fall of the New Order Regime.

sole identity of Indonesia, consists of five principles. Darmodiharjo, Dekker, Pringgodigdo, et al. (1970, cf. Rudnyckyj, 2010) mentioned “the five principles are: a belief in one God, a just and civilized humanitarianism, the unity of Indonesia as a territorial unit, democracy guided by wisdom through representative deliberation, and social justice for the whole of the Indonesian people” (Rudnyckyj, 2010: 191). Turmudi (1996) stressed that, following the implementation of *Pancasila* in 1985, every Indonesian should belong to one of five religions. At that time, those five religions were Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Catholicism and Christianity. Later, Confucianism added as one of the six religions in Indonesia. A person’s religion should be stated on his residence card. Being an atheist was strictly prohibited among Indonesian citizens. Thus, the implementation of *Pancasila*, as argued by Rudnyckyj (2010), is seen as authoritarian pluralism. The New Order Regime made an effort to build Indonesia as a plural country without any identification of one specific religion notwithstanding the fact that Islam was the most widespread religion in Indonesia.

Institutionalization of Religion

The implementation of *Pancasila* affected community life on various levels. Darmawijaya (2015) discussed the impact of *Pancasila* in the political sphere. The New Order Regime banned any political party from having religious affiliation, for instance in their ideology or even symbolically. Their ideology should be *Pancasila*. Any symbolism used should not be in the nature of religious symbols, places or practices. At that time, a political party, namely PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* which was known as an Islamic political party) using Ka’ba, the holy site of Islam, as their symbol. Under fear of being disbanded if they went against government rules, the party decided to change their ideology to *Pancasila* and their symbol into a star.

The impact of the implementation of *Pancasila* as *Asas Tunggal* also could be seen in the shift in traditional rituals and practices within the local community. Since Indonesia is home to multiethnicities, it is rich in traditional culture and rituals. However, as explained by Sakai (2002), rituals and traditional cultures were viewed as backward and primitive activities under the implementation of *Pancasila*. Many rituals that existed long before Indonesia was established as a state were forced to change meanings to accommodate the new rules set under the New Order Regime. Every ritual was accommodated in one of five religions, which mainly followed Islamic ways since Islam is the dominant religion in Indonesia.

Further, Sakai (2002) studied a case of rituals of the Gumai in South Sumatra to explain the accommodation of rituals into a mainstream religion. The Gumai’s rituals focus on the remembrance of ancestors. They are of the belief that their ancestors could help them achieve their goals. Hence, they perform various rituals asking for help and blessing from their ancestors. However, these rituals, despite having been passed on through 26 generations, began to adapt to Islamic interpretation. The rituals that used to be performed at an ancestral altar started to be held in a mosque. Moreover, the timing of rituals were adjusted such that they used to be held based on rice planting cycles but have been Islamized into around the date of Eidl Fitr and Eidl Adha (the two most important days for Muslims). Sakai argued that “the legitimacy of a ritual or a sacred site is determined by the state and its representatives” (Sakai, 2002: 116).

Another case from Pemberton (1994) showed the shift in orientation of the ritual *bersih desa*. *Bersih desa* or village cleansing is a ritual which was originally intended by villagers to pay their respects to tutelary spirits for keeping the wellbeing of the community. However, during the New Order Regime, this began to shift. The ritual of *bersih desa*

originally took place at a sacred site believed to be the home of tutelary spirits such as a big tree or graveyards. In the time of President Soeharto's rule, the rituals were moved to cleaning the village administrative office. This is a significant change making the statement that it is the government, represented by the village administrative office, which had the responsibility for the safety and wellbeing of villagers and not the tutelary spirits.

Furthermore, Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) stated that during the New Order regime, monumental places associated with one religion become more prominent and influential. Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) stated how "the so-called New Order (*Orde Baru*) government of President Soeharto avidly promoted interest in human-made monuments such as graves and mausoleums. Grand projects such as the restoration of the Buddhist Borobudur and Hindu Prambanan temples were undertaken to promote local and foreign tourism" (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong 2001: 328).

Since the recognition of religion became an important aspect, it also had a heavy impact on the practice of pilgrimages. As explained in Chapter 2, pilgrimages in Java have already existed even before the coming of mainstream religion. However, since any traditional ritual which is not affiliated with a religion was being viewed as something backward, pilgrimage activities also began to be associated with a religion under the rules of the New Order Regime. Further, Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) also argued that the shifting of traditional cultures into the mainstream religion bears different meaning for the New Order Regime, which used this as a tool of control.

Furthermore, having Indonesians congregate at gravesites to pursue religious goals provided a substitute for political gatherings, practically forbidden at the time. To the New Order Regime, *ziarah* was an outlet for religious energies that could have turned political, thus serving as a tool of control. By definition, *ziarah* is practiced by Muslims open to cultural influences on their faith. Hence, the Orde Baru regime promotion of *ziarah* can also be interpreted as a tool to keep Indonesian Muslims from becoming affiliated with more unwanted interpretations of Islam (Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong, 2001: 328).

3.2. Islam in Post-New Order Regime

Following the Asian monetary crisis in 1998, the authoritarian regime under President Soeharto ended its supremacy. As mentioned, the New Order Regime tended to develop Indonesia by technological interventions while maintaining full control of society. However, the rapid development under the New Order Regime, described in Rudnyckyj (2010), did not only bring a positive impact to society. On the contrary, its negative impact is the widespread *KKN* practices or *korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme* (corruption, collusion and nepotism). One of the reasons for this is, as mentioned by Rudnyckyj (2010), "according to these Indonesians, the turmoil and uncertainty that was a persistent feature of life after the New Order was due to the fact that the state and its subject had embraced material development in contrast to moral development. In a rush to modernization, Indonesian citizens had lost sight of spiritual fulfillment and emotional connection" (Rudnyckyj, 2010: 74). Through this lens, it can be said that the development during the New Order Regime did not touch the morality of the people. Lacking in so-called spirituality, they became prone to involvement in illegal practices.

The fall of the New Order Regime marked the beginning of *Era Reformasi* or Reform Era. Rudnyckyj (2010) mentioned that "*Reformasi* simultaneously refers to political changes in the form of increasing democratic governance, and economic changes in the form of greater transparency, government accountability, free market, and merit-based (rather than patronage-

based) systems of competition, compensation, and promotion” (Rudnycky, 2010: 10). The reform era positioned the citizens to compete transnationally, not only domestically, particularly due to the coming of a neoliberal economy which enhanced political and economic liberalization in Indonesia.

The failure of development under the New Order Regime and the coming of a neoliberal economy, as argued by Rudnycky (2010), became the reason behind the reform of spirituality among Indonesians. A new identity had emerged – a post-*Pancasila* identity – which he called as democratic exclusion, where “citizens are compelled to publicly proclaim pure identities” (Rudnycky, 2010: 190). It is argued that this identity is the way back to spirituality. Democratic exclusion identity allows the citizens to strengthen their own religious identity rather than a national identity, a practice prohibited during the New Order Regime.

After the fall of New Order Regime, citizens regained freedom of expression including to express their religious faith. Enhancing Islamic identity and seeking spiritual support in dealing with the competition in free a market era has become a recent phenomenon. This is in line with the argument made by Rudnycky (2009) stating, “in contemporary Indonesia, Islam is invoked to elicit subjects commensurate with norms of efficiency, productivity, and transparency” (Rudnycky, 2009: 118).

As the discussion above would suggest, it can be argued that the post-Soeharto period of “*Era Reformasi*” had prepared the environment in which the purity and spirituality of Islam were linked to the efficiency and productivity of people in order for them to adjust into the highly competitive neoliberal market economy. Under the new regime of *Reformasi*, Islam spirituality is, paradoxically, re-conceptualized as a resource indispensable to develop human capital of entrepreneur with high added-value in the global market. Such is the structural background of commodification of religion and pilgrimage that the current study deals with.

In this study, pilgrimage is the main focus and is seen as an articulation of Islamic identity and a way to achieve individual goals; such that an individual’s effort is not complete without going on a pilgrimage and asking for help from the spirits. The pilgrimage, which was used as a tool of control during the New Order Regime, had shifted its meaning in the Reform Era. In this research, it is argued that the post *Pancasila* identity, which embraces religious identity rather than national identity, paved the way for the growth of pilgrimages. Further, religious intervention can also be seen as a way to enhancing the competitiveness of Indonesians in a free market era.

Beginning the 1980s, many pilgrimage sites have become associated with a specific religion, mostly under an Islamic interpretation since Islam is the most widespread religion in Indonesia. One of the common pilgrimage sites, as mentioned in Chapter 2, are the graves of the saints which belong to their descendants. Automatically, the descendants of the saints would be in charge of the development of pilgrimage sites under the policy of the New Order Regime. As discussed in Chapter 6, beginning in 1986, the descendants of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard started to initiate the development of the graveyard complex without any government funding. By 2002, they started to receive funds to develop the graveyard and began to build tourist facilities such as shops and parking area. This fact is in line with the discussion on how religion and economic spirits tended to be developed in the Reform Era. The growth of pilgrimage tourism also brought an opportunity to the descendants of religious figures who are involved in the commodification process of religious practices through pilgrimages.

The transition of the political regime in Indonesia is also in line with the discussion of the dynamic role of *kiai*, as the topic of this research. The research done by Karim (2009)

stated that the involvement of *kiai* in politics reflects the dynamic relation between Indonesian politics and the local level context. During the New Order Regime, the implementation of Pancasila also affected political affiliation of Muslim as discussed by Turmudi (1996).

Since the *kiai* is the socio-political interpreter whose informal leadership is deeply embedded in Muslim society, the change at the grassroots level was attributed to a change in the *kiai*'s standpoints in politics. The change really occurred after the *kiai* introduced the concept of free political affiliation for Muslims and accepted the Pancasila, in the place of Islam, as their organisation's ideological base.

As Indonesian *kiai* have secularised politics, the political ethos of Indonesian Muslims, which used to be „Islamic“, has been undermined. The significance of the change in *kiai* politics is the concomitant change in the ethos of Indonesian Muslim society. This change of ethos is marked by the breaking of the formal link between Islam and politics (Turmudi, 1996: 152).

From the discussion above, Islam and politics tend to be separated during the New Order Regime as an effort to suppress Islamic power by the government. When the New Order Regime faced their end, the power of the government under President Soeharto was challenged by the citizens. The coming of Reform Era marked the change of relations between Islam and politics. Karim (2009) discussed that the political liberalization in the Reform Era allowed *kiai* based on the *pasantren* system the opportunity to gain power over the citizens. One of the examples discussed is the establishment of PKB or *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*, a political party lead by Kiai Busyro Karim in 1999. As mentioned by Karim (2009), “the founding of PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, sponsored by NU) was surely a big challenge for Golkar. As the result of 1999 general elections, PKB overtook Golkar's domination in DPRD, and brought some *kyai* into the council” (Karim, 2009: 112)¹⁵.

There is a close connection between the political transition in Indonesia and the increased power held by the *kiai*, particularly regarding their involvement in the political sphere. Karim (2009) in his conclusion stressed this issue by arguing that,

The social significance of the superiority found its way through a social change that enabled the religious elite to be the dominant elite group in rural communities when the power of their royal counterpart declined rapidly. Every political change that took place in modern Indonesia, would also pave the way for this elite group to transform its traditional to legal rational, culminating in the latest political transition that brought members of this elite group to top political jobs at local level (Karim, 2009: 118).

¹⁵ Golkar stands for Golongan Karya, as mentioned in Karim (2009: 112) as the state-sponsored party

CHAPTER 4

Pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

This chapter provides a detailed description of the pilgrimage practiced in the fieldwork site of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. This pilgrimage, rooted in the local history and community, involves the practice of local beliefs, traditions, and rituals. The varying experience and motivation among the pilgrims will be explored through in-depth interviews and participant observations.

4.1. The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is located in Gunungpring Village, Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java Province. Muntilan borders Yogyakarta and Central Java and is located 25 km away from Yogyakarta and 15 km away from the center of Magelang, Central Java. Being located in the border area makes Muntilan a strategic place. Muntilan, known as a multiethnic region, also home to Javanese and Chinese descendants. Until present, many Chinese descendants live in Muntilan and *Klentheng* and Chinese temples can be easily found in the area. Moreover, due to the fact that Borobudur Temple is located near Muntilan, the important role of Muntilan has been cited during the Buddhism period in Java. Muntilan was also one of the important places in the history of Islamization in Java. There are many Islamic boarding schools located in the area, such as the Darussalam Islamic Boarding School.



Figure 2. Map of Central Java (Magelang and Muntilan emphasized with black underlining)

Source: <https://www.kopi-ireng.com/2016/11/peta-jawa-tengah-lengkap-beserta-kabupaten-dan-kota.html>

Retrieved on May 1, 2018

Gunungpring Village, one of the villages in Muntilan, was chosen as the research area for this study. Based on the statistical data given by the Village Office, Gunungpring Village consists of 11 *dusun* (similar to hamlets; smaller than a village) which are Karaharjan, Nepen, Wonosari, Gunungpring, Dukuhan, Santren, Sabrang, Mutihan, Ngasem, Ngadisalam and

Bintaro. The village lies in a lowland area with a total of 217,480 square meters and is typically safe from natural disasters such as flooding, earthquakes or landslides. Based on data from the Village Development Progress in 2015 of Gunungpring Village, the village population comprised 4,662 men and 4,719 women, and a total of 3,563 households with a 161/km² population density. Muslims comprised the largest number with 8,392. There were 227 Catholics, 142 Christians and 30 Buddhists. There are four ethnic groups in Gunungpring Village; 9,055 Javanese, 284 Chinese, 34 Sundanese (an ethnic group from East Java), and 8 Maduranese (an ethnic group from East Java). As to the village labor force, based on the statistical data from Village Office on 2016, peddlers are listed as the most numerous with a total of 2,064 followed by private sectors with a total 1,374 and finally government officers comprising 165. The data confirm that being a peddler is the most prevalent livelihood due to the fact that Gunungpring is located near the Muntilan Market (around 2.2 km). It is surrounded by a few tourist attractions such as the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard and Borobudur Temple (around 10 km). A Gunungpring Village Officer explained that most of the peddlers sell vegetables and fruits in the Muntilan Market and the rest sell souvenirs in tourist attractions.

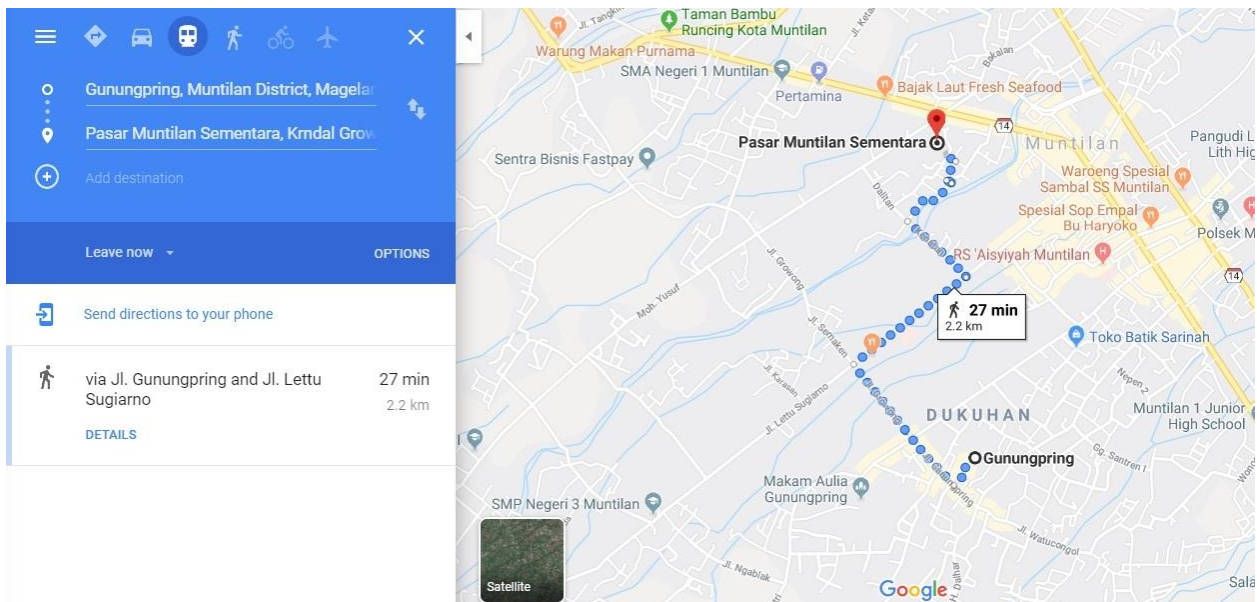


Figure 3. Distance between Gunungpring Village to Muntilan Market Access using Google Map

The Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard complex was built in the hills surrounded by bamboo; hence, the name Gunungpring, which is derived from the Javanese language *gunung* and *pring* meaning a mountain and bamboo. There are two entrance gates to access the graveyard (see Chapter 4). There are twelve graves located in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard complex; namely, the Kiai Raden Santri, Kiai Abdurrohman, K.H. Dalhar, Kiai Krapyak Kamaludin, Kiai Harun, Ny. Harun (the wife of Kiai Harun), Kiai Abdulloh Sajad, Kiai Gus Jogorekso, Nyai. Hj. Suratinah Jogorekso (the wife of Kiai Jogorekso), Kiai Qowaid Abdulloh S., Kiai Kertonjani, Kiai Chusain, and Kiai Krapyak Kamaludin. They are very well-known for having initiated the spread of Islamization in Gunungpring and its surrounding areas. Kiai Raden Santri and K.H. Dalhar are two of the most prominent figures whose remains were buried in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.



Figure 4. The graveyard complex inside the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

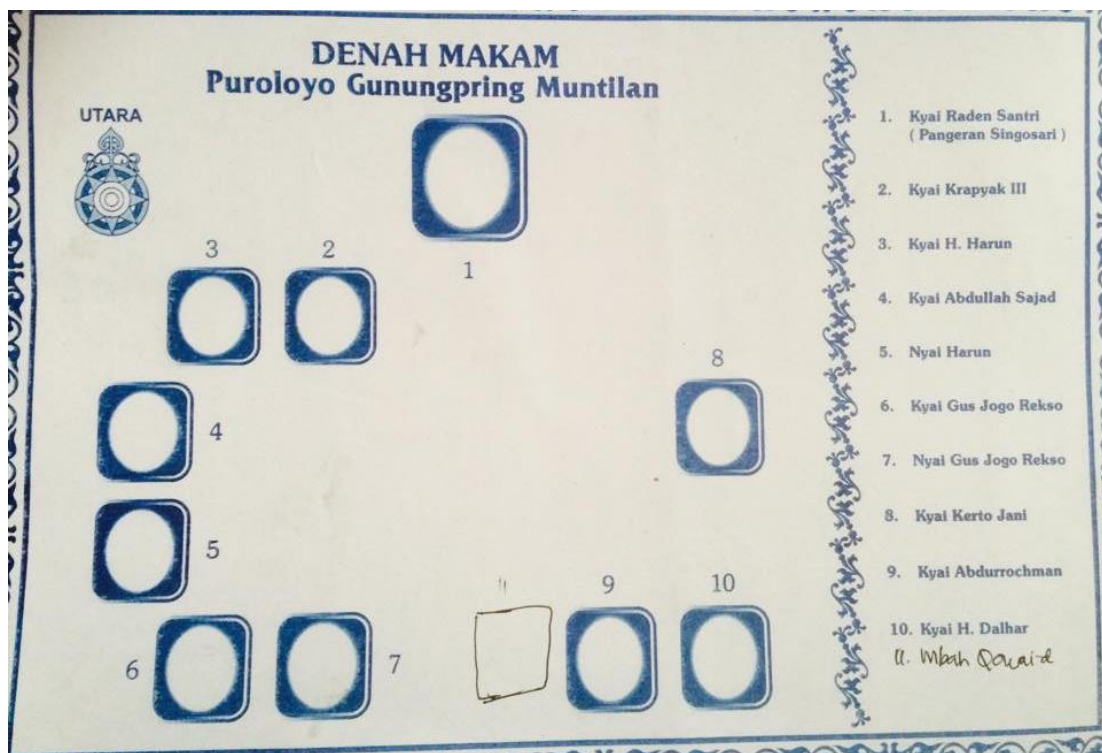


Figure 5. Map of 11 graveyards in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

(a) **The Legendary Kiai Raden Santri**

Kiai Raden Santri could be said as the oldest figures in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Based on the data given by Kyai Raden Santri Foundation, Kiai Raden Santri who holds the title Pangeran Singosari is the third son of Ki Ageng Pemanahan who is the 6th generation descendant of Maha Prabu Brawijaya V, the seventh king of Majapahit kingdom in 1447-1478. Majapahit Kingdom is claimed as one of the biggest empires throughout Southeast Asia, which existed from 1293 to 1500. Majapahit encompassed present-day Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Papua New Guinea, Timor and Southern Thailand. A document put together by Kyai Raden Santri Foundation shows the genealogy of Kiai Raden Santri until the present.

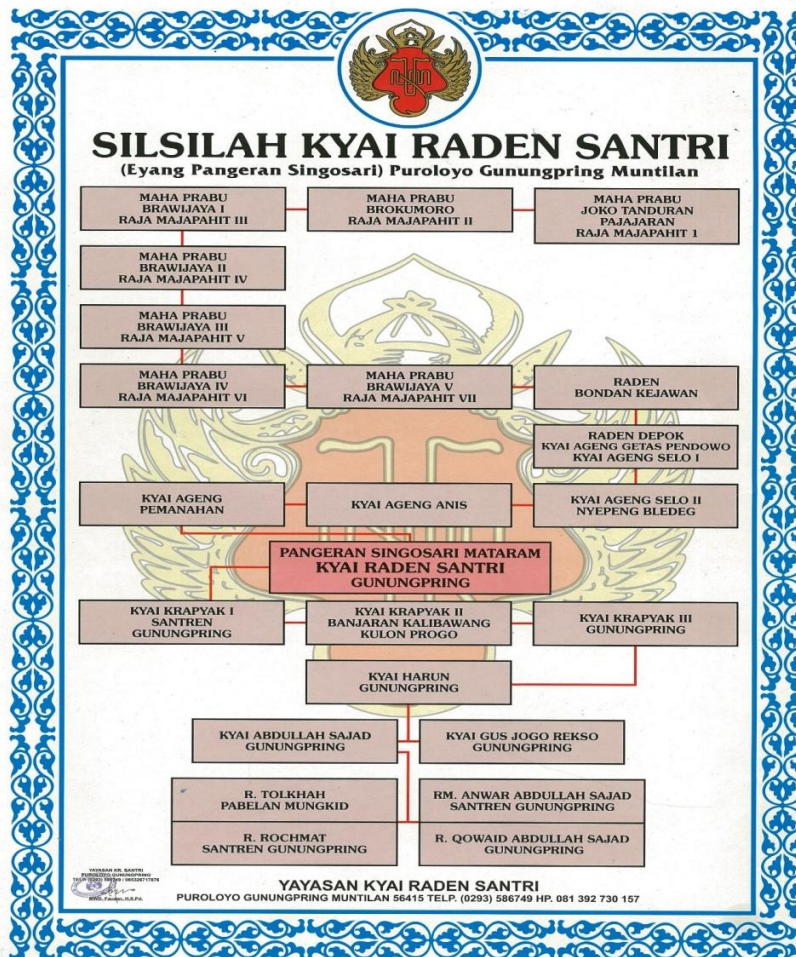


Figure 6. The genealogy of Kiai Raden Santri was traced by the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation.
Source: Kyai Raden Santri Foundation

Later on, his father, also known as Ki Ageng Mataram, established the Islamic Kingdom in Java called Mataram Islam. Panembahan Senapati, the older brother of Kiai Raden Santri, became the hereditary of their father and became the king in Mataram Islam kingdom. Later on, Kiai Ageng Pemanahan and Panembahan Senapati were buried in the same place in Yogyakarta. Their graveyards were located about one and a half hour away when travelling by car from the graves of Kiai Raden Santri. Later on, the Mataram Kingdom

gave rise to two sultanates in Indonesia: Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Hence, there is no doubt that Raden Santri was a descendant of the Yogyakarta Sultanate.

Based on the historical trace done by Robson (1965), that Kiai Raden Santri received the title of Pangeran Singasari in 1588 was mentioned in the *Babad Tanah Djawi* (History of the Java). Mentioned in the record made by the Foundation, in the beginning, Pangeran Singasari (Kiai Raden Santri) took part in helping his brother expand the territory of Mataram Islam kingdom. Because of his success in conquering new territory, he was granted land in the Kedu region (which at present day includes Magelang, Purworejo, Temanggung, Wonosobo and Kebumen). Pangeran Singasari then spread Islam in those regions and became known as Kiai Raden Santri. In spreading Islam, Kiai Raden Santri was known to use Javanese tradition; that is, artistry, so as to be easily understood by society.

In order to collect the legendary stories about Kiai Raden Santri, three written records were utilized. First is the record made by Kyai Raden Santri Foundation¹⁶. There are several written stories about the power beyond humankind of Kiai Raden Santri. One day, Kiai Raden Santri wanted to teach the soldiers to pray. He needed to perform *wudlu* or ablution (way of washing parts of the body using water, typically in preparation for formal prayers). However, as there was no water available, he resorted to prayers, asking God for His providence. After praying, he used a stick to strike the ground, and suddenly water came out. To date, the ground has never stopped emitting water and this spring remains located in the hamlet of present day Kolokendang, Ngawen village, Muntilan subdistrict, Magelang regency. To continue the legend, he then moved to Santren village (which is now included in the Gunungpring village area). He would often seclude himself in a hill overgrown with bamboo near his residence. Finally, the hill grew into settlements known as Gunungpring. Kiai Raden Santri lived in Gunungpring until the day he passed away. Another story that relates to Kiai Raden Santri is about the time he went to a village named Kesaran Village, where he built a *Mushola* (a place for prayers which is smaller than a mosque). The purpose of the *mushola* is to offer prayers to prevent flooding since the location of Kesaran Village is near the Blongkeng river which, in the past, would usually inundate the village whenever the river would overflow. Notably, since the time Kiai Raden Santri built the *mushola* or praying room, flooding ceased in Kesaran Village.

The second record was made by Syapardi (2012). In his writing, he told of the story when one time, Kiai Raden Santri went home from the hill and was welcomed by an overflowing river that caused flooding in the area. Raden Santri commanded the water saying, "Water, stop! I want to cross over." Then, the overflowing water suddenly stopped. The legends telling of possession of supernatural powers were not solely about Kiai Raden Santri. His descendants were also believed to have supernatural powers. One of the famous story is about Kiai Krapyak I (see Figure 6 for genealogy). The story begins with the king of Mataram Kingdom (related to Kiai Raden Santri) asking Kiai Krapyak I to come to the palace. Because of his sincerity to continue spreading Islam like Kiai Raden Santri did, the King gave him a gift, which was a mosque. Legend has it that Kiai Krapyak I brought the mosque and put it in Santren Village using just a handkerchief. This mosque remains in this location until today.

Moreover, another record made by Robson (1965) told of another story about the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri. It was mentioned that there was always a descendant who behaved like a madman. The local residents believe that it was K.H. Gus Jogorekso who could

¹⁶ The record of Kyai Raden Santri Foundation was given by the Head of Foundation to the researcher during the interview on April 1, 2018.

be regarded as a madman although this could not be proved, and perhaps such behaviour of K.H. Gus Jogorekso akin to a madman was caused by his special supernatural knowledge or what is called in Javanese as *ilmu*. Finally, there is also the story of Kiai Krapyak III, whom many people regarded as having blessings and good fortunes. Everytime he would take a walk, the people will follow him. Until present day, the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri play important roles in society, mostly becoming *kiai* or religious figures.

(b) The Story of K.H. Dalhar

The second figure most visited by pilgrims is the graveyard of K.H. Dalhar, also known as *Mbah Dalhar* (*Mbah* refers to respected elderly in the Javanese local language). The recorded story about Mbah Dalhar could be found easily online. One of the sources is the website of *Nadhlatul Ulama*¹⁷. The article briefly explains about the biography of Mbah Dalhar. He was born on January 12, 1870 under the name of Nahrowi. On the genealogy, it can be seen that he is also a descendant of Amangkurat III, the king of Mataram Kingdom. His father, Kiai Abdurrahman, was also buried in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. His great grandfather, Kiai Hasan Tuqo was known to have helped in Pangeran Diponegoro during the War of Java (1825-1830). His grandfather is Kiai Abdurrauf who is also known as one of the warlords of Pangeran Diponegoro. During this period, Kiai Abdurrauf was given the mandate to reside in Magelang Regency, which became an important route between Temanggung and Semarang in Central Java. He lived in Gunungpring Village and, later on, built the Islamic Boarding School known as Darussalam/ Watucongol Islamic Boarding School.



Figure 7. Photo of K.H. Dalhar

Source : <https://www.forummuslim.org/2017/01/profil-mbah-dalhar-watucongol-muntilan.html>.

Retrieved on September 23, 2018

¹⁷ See <http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/66785/kh-dalhar-watucongol-kiai-pejuang-dan-cucu-panglima-perang-jawa> Retrieved on September 20, 2018. This website provide an informations about *Kiai* as a respected religious figures which also contribute for the society. In the page explaining of Kiai Dalhar, he was referred as a figures who also contribute for the independence of Indonesia.

From the same online source above, it is told that K.H. Dalhar is known for his deep religious knowledge. He studied in several Islamic Boarding Schools to deepen his religious knowledge such as in Magelang Regency and Kebumen (Central Java). He also studied in Mecca and lived there for almost 25 years. During his stay in Mecca, he was told to never urinate or defecate while in the Holy Land and so he would always run outside the Holy Land to do so. There are stories about K.H. Dalhar which are still being told until today. During the era of an independent Indonesia, many people came to visit him to ask for his blessing. He would pray and give them bamboo blessed by him, and it was believed that these would give soldiers strength and lift their spirits.

He is known as a teacher of honor for the *kiai* or religious figure. There are many religious figures and Islamic people who came to him to learn about Islam. It is not surprising that Watucongol Islamic Boarding School is also known to raise students with high standards of religious knowledge. Because of his charisma and knowledge, many pilgrims come to visit the graveyard of K.H. Dalhar until today, particularly those from the Islamic Boarding School.

K.H. Dalhar was also believed to be a person who possessed *karomah* or a religious blessing that one can only receive because of his deep religious wisdom or ability. Kiai Suparno, a devoted pilgrim, 40s years old, was able to go on a continuous pilgrimage to K.H. Dalhar's graveyard and shared his thoughts.

A religious figure buried in a sacred graveyard is one who had a very different ability from us during his lifetime. In my understanding, most of them were considered to have taken less food, had sleep deprivation and were „crazy“ for God. As for K.H. Dalhar, he was known to never have had a night sleep for 28 years of his lifetime. He also could pray for 24 hours and only consume a *zam-zam* (water from Mecca) and one piece of date fruit. Because of that – his religious abilities – people come to his graveyard until today. (Kiai Suparno, personal communication, 2018)

Furthermore, based on the interview conducted with several informants, there are different assumptions regarding the relation of K.H. Dalhar and Kiai Raden Santri. The Gunungpring tomb caretaker (*juru kunci*) said that, when traced upward, K.H. Dalhar is of one lineage with Kiai Raden Santri through the Brawijaya V and Mataram Kingdom lineage. On the other hand, a member of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation stated that K.H. Dalhar is a respected figure and teacher of Kiai Harun. Hence, it was to give respect to his teacher which is the reason why Kiai Harun asked K.H. Dalhar to be buried in the Gunungpring complex upon his death. K.H. Dalhar passed away on April 8, 1959.



Figure 8. The graveyard of Kiai Dalhar in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, equipped with a glass window and white curtains

4.2. The Pilgrims

Because of the legends of Kiai Raden Santri and the important figures of Kiai Dalhar, the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is packed with visitors all year round, 24 hours, non-stop. Based on the data gathered from the field, the pilgrims who come to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard are mainly Muslim people. There are also some stories about non-Muslim who coming in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Based on entries in the guest book, which provided by the Foundation during fieldwork on 2016, the pilgrims come from many different provinces in Indonesia. From East Java, they mainly come from Gresik, Kediri, Tulungagung, Blitar, Mojokerto, Surabaya and Jombang. From Central Java, they mainly come from Cirebon, Tasikmalaya, Purwakarta, Bandung, Bogor and Jakarta. Moreover, outside Java Island, the pilgrims come from Lampung, Banjarmasin, Martapura (See Figure 11 for detail of Inodneisan map). In fact, some pilgrims come from as far away as Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Singapore as recorded in the guest book.

No.	Tanggal	Nama Keres Bombongan	Alamat lengkap untuk surat menyurat	Jumlah Peserta & Kendaraan	Tanda-tanda
000	20-11-19	Bpa HADIS BONG	Tela, samiran selo BOYALALI	30	
001	20-11-19	ROHMAD	DUGIT PENGUNJUNG	14	
002	20-11-19	N. Mubradis	Pangpandan	55	
003	20-11-19	Ummi R.	Jejara	50	
004	20-11-19	H. MUDATER	Malang	65	
005	20-11-19	SUTIKNO	Lampung	35	
006	20-11-19	MANGIYO	Banjuwangi	50	
007	20-11-19	Sakban	Kalibepi Tuntang	5	
008	20-11-19	Fahrurroji	Banten	55	
009	20-11-19	TEMPONG	ALGOSARI		
010	20-11-2019	Habib Ma'mun	parten. peraludipah suntian selo	20	
011	20-11-2019	Hamim Subarna	PURBORJO	50	
012	20-11-19	MUSTAKIM	Lampung	60	
013	20-11-19	HASYIM	Solo, Boyodali	20	
014	21-11-19	SUSUKIANDI	Bojonegara	50	
015	21-11-19	S A I F I D I N	MADUKAN	90	
				10	

No.	Tanggal	Nama Keres Bombongan	Alamat lengkap untuk surat menyurat	Jumlah Peserta & Kendaraan	Tanda
016	21-11-19	Bli Solih	Wali, Pongoh Tanjung Campang Bandung	41 40 30	
017	21-11-19	Abas Sutopo	Wali, Pongoh Lampung	50	
018	21-11-19	R. Mulyati	TUBAN SARI	15	
019	21-11-19	Fitron	Antingra	20	
020	21-11-19	Rhendi	Purabaya-Banyuwangi	20	
021	21-11-19	BUNORI FELGOPAJU			
022	21-11-19	KH. WILHARD M. GUNAWAN		57	
023	21-11-19	MUCHYADI	PALANGKARAI	20	
024	21-11-19	HB FARUS	JEMBER	2015	
025	21-11-19	HASAN	Banjonegara	2015	
026	21-11-19	H. AHMAD	SERING BONTON	1515	
027	21-11-19	SUBIRMAN	BOMBANG	4015	
028	21-11-19	ASRI	Bandung	1015	
029	21-11-19	H. BIRI	BURGA	17	
				20	

Figure 9. A guest book is located at the east gate. Visitors write down their name, address, number of vehicles and persons in the group



Figure 10. Map of Indonesia. Gunungpring located in Central Java, Java Island
Source : <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/498562621221737415/> Retrieved on Dec, 1 2019

Table 1 shows the number of visitors in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The data is calculated based on the registered pilgrims in the guest book placed at the west entrance gate. In fact, the number should be bigger than the data presented considering the number of pilgrims who have entered from the east entrance gate where data was not recorded.

Table 1
Number of Visitors at Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

No	Year	Number of Visitors	Bus per-year
1	2005	122,917	2,049
2	2006	123,489	2,058
3	2007	126,960	2,116
4	2008	132,770	2,213
5	2009	234,265	3,904
6	2010	438,932	7,316
7	2011	445,520	7,425
8	2012	568,080	9,468
9	2013	678,800	11,313
10	2014	881,480	14,691
11	2015	740,083	12,333
12	2016	805,892	13,432
13	2017	738,746	12,312

Source: Statistic Data from Kyai Raden Santri Foundation

In the case of pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, several peak seasons come when the graveyard is packed with thousands of visitors. The first is during the time of *sadranan* (referring to the month before the holy Month of Ramadhan, see Chapter 2). Meanwhile, during the Holy Month of Ramadhan, only a few pilgrims come to the graveyard. The second is every Thursday night or *Jumat Kliwon*. The third is during the *haul* (meaning the commemoration day) of Kiai Raden Santri, Kiai Gus Jogorekso and K.H. Dalhar.

(a) Motivations

Motivation among pilgrims is an important factor in discussing pilgrimage in every religion or tradition. To examine the pilgrim’s motivations in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is one of the aims of this research. Based on the interview with the pilgrims, there are three mutual motivations. First, the graveyard is commonly believed as a sacred place for praying instead of praying at home, in a mosque or any other place. The pilgrims also mention the power of the dead *kiai* or the saints in their graves, explaining that this power that they used to possess during their lifetimes could only have remained in their graves. This is why pilgrims should go to these graves in order to be granted their wishes by using the residual power of the dead saints. Stated otherwise, the sacredness of the graveyard gives the pilgrims opportunity to connect to the power which remains at those places. This sense of power comes from the myths, legends and stories about the deceased religious figures which have been told from generation to generation. A 47-year old pilgrim named Harto explained his belief.

Praying in here (Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard), it just feels different. Of course, as a Muslim, we can pray anywhere, for instance in our home, right after we did *shalat* (five times praying). But to be honest, I still choose to come here. When you do a pilgrimage, you know that there is someone who will help you as an intermediary to God. I felt my wish will be much easier to be granted with the help of Kiai Dalhar. It gives me a different feeling than only praying at home or anywhere else. (Harto, personal communication, 2018)

Second, motivations relate to their beliefs in some hierarchy among the deceased religious figures. The spirits of some religious figures are believed to be in a closer position to

Allah SWT compared to others. This is related to the fact of religiosity among the deceased religious figures during their lifetime which, in the pilgrims' opinions, is on a different level from that of ordinary people. Hence, the pilgrims look to them as intermediaries even after they passed away. In their understanding, in the hereafter, the religious figures would automatically get to be in a closer position beside Allah SWT.

I'm still learning to deepen my Islam faith. My purpose is for praying. Everyone has the right to pray based on his faith. We call it *lantaran* (intermediary). For me, praying to Allah SWT takes some distance, but with the help of Mbah Dalhar, our prayers will be more easily granted by Allah SWT. That's what I believe. For example, if we want to meet the President, we can't go just like that to his office. We are only ordinary people. We need to meet his trusted people first, then follow the procedure. (Budi, personal communication, 2015)

Going on a pilgrimage is like exerting extra effort. The saints are the ones who are close to God. So, pray to God with the help of the saints. It's like there's someone helping and supporting you to reach your goals. (Hadi, personal communication, 2015)

I've been here five times. My purpose is to pray for the dead people and ask for their help. The saints are not dead; they just live in another world but we can still ask for their help. It's like they become our intermediary to God. For me, a pilgrimage activity can be seen as a blessing from the dead people to us, the living ones. (Tulus, personal communication, 2015)

Very often pilgrims try to negotiate a „transaction“ or contract (*nadzar*) with a saint, vowing to „repay“ the saint in some way if a wish is granted. One of the common *nadzar* is by slaughtering a cow or goat. The notion of „asking help“ from the saints portray that the pilgrims believe that their success in life could not be separated from supernatural things, and needs help from God, with the spirits as intermediaries. In essence, their effort and hard work would not be complete without asking for support from power beyond their own capabilities.

Ziarah is also seen as a lesser pilgrimage compared to hajj. Pursuing hajj takes a long time for queuing and is expensive. In the case of Indonesia, there are two ways of registering for hajj. First is by registering in Haji Reguler where Muslims are required to process the registration by themselves¹⁸. At first, they should prepare a hajj deposit in a certain bank amounting to around Rp 25,000,000 or approximately ¥193,000. Then, they should go to the Ministry of Religious Affairs to get a registration number and queue until they are able to secure a slot to go to Mecca. Usually, this queue takes up to 12 years. However, for those financially capable, the other option, called ONH Plus, involves registering for hajj with the help of a travel agent. The price varies based on the rates of airlines, facilities and accommodation. Approximately, its cost starts from ¥1,090,000¹⁹. Due to these difficulties, in terms of time and cost, many people opt to perform *ziarah* in their locality. The pilgrim Harto speaks of the benefit of a local pilgrimage.

I know many people who have visited Gunungpring because they believe that the merit in doing pilgrimage here will be as much as doing hajj in Mecca. Most of them also

¹⁸ Refer from <https://www.liputan6.com/citizen6/read/3903993/ini-cara-mendaftar-haji-calon-jemaah-wajib-tahu-agar-lebih-mudah> Retrieved on August 20, 2019.

¹⁹ Refer from <https://www.travelumrohajiku.com/paket-haji-plus.html> Retrieved on October 28, 2019.

combined their visit to other pilgrimage sites. It is difficult to go to Mecca, we should have a lot of money and must queue for a long time. So, many people just go on a pilgrimage to local graveyards to receive merit. (Harto, personal communication, 2018)

Related to the discussion of two Islamic organisations in Indonesia, Laksana (2014) argued that many pilgrims, based on his research on Javanese pilgrimage, thought it irrelevant to identify themselves as either *Nadhlatul Ulama* or *Muhammadiyah* while doing the activity. Instead, the pilgrimage was seen as a tradition rooted in both the local culture and religion. However, during the fieldwork data gathering, a different standpoint emerged under this study. Although for some pilgrims, it was true that they do not relate their pilgrimage to any particular Islamic organization, yet, for others, the discourse on the prohibition of doing pilgrimages of this kind was still material. One of the vendors at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard claimed that, although she had business activities in the graveyard complex, she never dealt in any pilgrimage ritual. She insisted that her husband, as a follower of *Muhammadiyah*, prohibited her from doing such kind of activities.

(b) The Site Selection by Pilgrims

Pilgrimage sites are spread all over Indonesia, where even each village would have their own sacred graveyard, which is usually related to their founder or ancestors. It is also easy to predict that new site of pilgrimage sites could be established upon the death of one prominent figure in their society, such as their president. Hence, through the interviews, the researcher tried to understand the reason behind the pilgrim's decision toward site selection, considering hundreds of thousands of choices of pilgrimage sites all over the country.

First, the pilgrims selected Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard due to their understanding of the Islamisation history in Java. Based on historical stories about Islamisation in Central Java from 16th century, it became apparent that Kiai Raden Santri is a prominent figure who spread Islam. Hence, the pilgrims come to honour Kiai Raden Santri as their initial Islamisation figure. It should be noted that history, in the Javanese sense, is not seen as something which only lies in the past. As argued by Laksana (2014), history is practiced as a memorialization both at personal and communal levels. It is something that ties people –at present as a communion – and is what defines the identity of a community. One of the identities of the Javanese Muslim is reflected in their belief of *ziarah* to the dead saints and their ancestors. Among pilgrims of this type, one of the most known pilgrimage routes which can be traced back to the history of Islamisation in Java is a combined trip to *Wali Songo* (the nine religious figure who spread Islam in Java) and the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. There are many pilgrimage tours offering combined visits to these destinations. Their selection of routes could be varied. One example from Kiai Suparno, a devoted pilgrim, explained the reason behind selecting the sites in a particular order based on the background of the Islamisation history.

Gunungpring and Wali Songo are commonly visited as a pair. In my understanding, it should be done in this way: Wali Songo then Gunungpring. Although many people do it in a different way. Why should Gunungpring be the final route? Because Gunungpring is at a meeting point among the nine figures of Wali Songo. In another dimension, they would gather in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. That is why it should be placed as a final destination. (Personal communication, 2018)

The Java Island

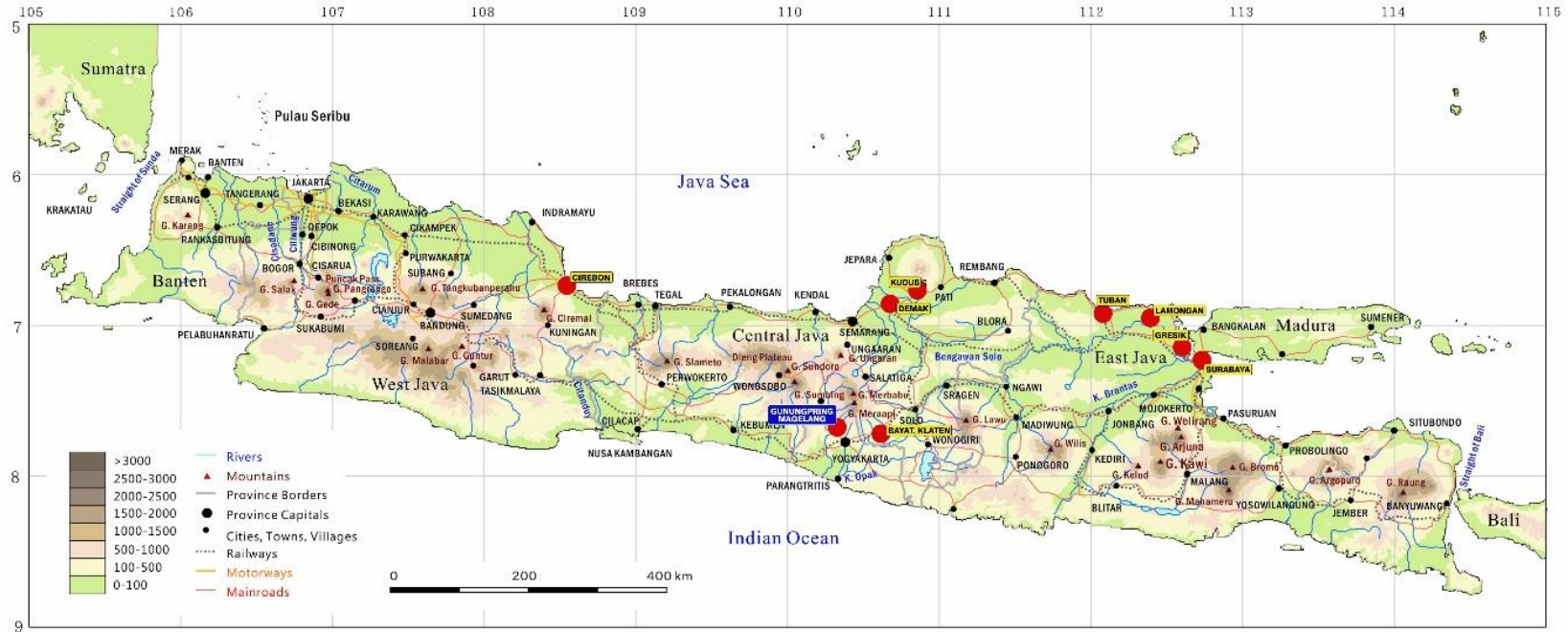


Figure 11. Distance among several sacred graveyard in Java
 Source: Kyai Raden Santri Foundation (as annotated by author)

Notes: Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is located 290 km from Sunan Gunungjatigraveyard in Cirebon, 145 km from the graveyards of Sunan Kudus and Sunan Muria in Kudus, 120 km from Sunan Kalijaga graveyard in Demak, 263 km from Sunan Bonang graveyard in Tuban, 283 km from Sunan Drajat graveyard in Lamongan, 346 km from the graveyards of Sunan Giri and Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, 332 km from Sunan Ampel graveyard in Surabaya and 78 km from Sunan Pandanarang graveyard in Bayat, Klaten.

The pilgrimage package tour also commonly uses the charisma and reputation of a religious leader in society as capital, a selling point to attract potential buyers.

Figure 12. Sample of pilgrimage package advertisement around Java with the figures of Kyai Haji

Source : https://scontent-sea1-1.cdninstagram.com/vp/cdee2294221c49aa7c776a42f980d331/5DCFC7F1/t51.2885-15/e35/p320x320/65959299_128672635049423_7108145564364317906_n.jpg?_nc_ht=scontent-sea1-1.cdninstagram.com&ig_cache_key=MjA5MDk1NzAzMjEwMTcyNTAzMg%3D%3D.2

Retrieved on September 6, 2019

Pilgrimage package tour led by religious leaders also could be found in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. For instance, one of the tours from Banten, Central Java is a pilgrimage tour where the travel agency is owned and led by a respected *Ustadz*²⁰. The tour price is around Rp 800,000 (¥6,000) for 5 nights, including accommodation and transportation. The

²⁰ Ustad, ustaz or ustadz are words referring to a religious teacher. In Indonesia, ustadz do not own *pesantren* unlike Kiai. See <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ustaz> Retrieved on Dec 26, 2019.

travel agency revealed that profit is their main goal and that mainly they could get Rp 5,000,000 to Rp 8,000,000 per tour (¥38,000-60,000).

The reputation of *ustadz* is very important in selling our package. People in Banten would choose a package led by *ustadz* rather than just any other pilgrimage package. It is important to put this detail about *ustadz*'s background in order to attract potential buyers. (Riyan, a tour employee, personal communication, 2019)

A pilgrimage tour led by religious figures have an added value compared to others offering only a pilgrimage tour. This is reflected in the narrative of a tour participant who visited Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard from Boyolali, Central Java (around 150 km distance from Gunungpring). This pilgrimage tour was led by Kiai Amin, who owns a *pesantren* in Boyolali. Around 135 people in 3 buses and 2 mini-vans joined this tour. They needed to pay Rp 100,000 (approximately ¥750) for a one day tour. The participant narrated,

I chose to join the pilgrimage tour led by Kiai Amin because it is better than going by myself. Kiai Amin is a well-respected figure in the area where I live in. I joined this tour because of his reputation. If we joined the package tour, Kiai Amin will lead the prayer and I believe that my petitions will be more easily granted than if I had prayed only by myself. (Wahyudi, personal communication, 2019)

There are also pilgrims who come based on their educational background, meaning those who received an Islamic education. During the fieldwork, I met three different groups of this nature. First is the group from the Islamic Boarding School or *pesantren*. For this type of groups, during or even after their education period, they would come to give honour to the sacred graveyards which have a connection with their schools. In Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, the graveyard of Kiai Dalhar is to become their first destination. Kiai Dalhar, as mentioned before, is known as the teacher to many respected religious figures. One of the pilgrims explained that he came because Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard has a connection with the founder of *Pondok Pesantren Tegalrejo* (Tegalrejo Islamic Boarding School where he received his early education). One of the informants, a student of the Islamic Boarding School from Pemalang, Central Java, also talked about the relation between the education in Islamic Boarding School and the tradition of pilgrimages.

We went on a pilgrimage for 4 days 3 nights, with 300 students on 6 buses. We visited several graveyards of religious figures in Central Java. Before I enrolled in the *Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School), I have already gone on a pilgrimage. However, I just went to several places. But after becoming a student, I gained a deeper understanding about the history of Islamisation in Java and visited the graveyard of the saints. (Personal communication, 2016)

The Islamic Boarding School can be seen as an important agent to teach students about the pilgrimage activity because the latter will continue observing the tradition even after they have graduated from school. This is in line with the argument of Fox (2004, cf. Susilo, 2016: 178) that *pesantren* or Islamic Boarding School has become an institution with an excellent combination of religious teaching, liturgy, worship practices, and mystical Islam and Javanese tradition.

The second group that I met during the fieldwork is those who came from *Madrasah Diniyah*. Stated in Hidayah & Prasetya (2019),

Madrasah Diniyah as part of the Islamic education institute is an integrated part of the national education system which is held on the out-of-school education pathway to meet people's needs regarding Islamic-based education (Hidayah & Prasetya, 2019: 174). The curriculum of learning material in *Madrasah Diniyah* covers the scientific fields of Al-Qur'an, *Hadith*, *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), Morals, Arabic, Arabic grammar (*nahwu, sharaf, i'lal*), Islamic History etc (Hidayah & Prasetya, 2019: 175).

At the time I was doing participant observation, I got curious with a group of children who, at their very young age, looked really focused while doing pilgrimage in the graveyard. Hence, after they finished, I followed them to the parking area. Danding, the 30 year old teacher explained briefly about their group from the *Madrasah Diniyah* and the routine pilgrimage activity which they just did.

Our *Madin* (acronym for *Madrasah Diniyah*) do a routine pilgrimage once in 35 days (the night of Friday *kliwon*). We go to Gunungpring Graveyard and continue to the related tombs: Santren, Dukuhan and Karaharjan. We teach them (the children) how to make a pilgrimage based on what is mentioned in Al-Qur'an and *hadith* (meaning, all the traditions, words and practices by Prophet Muhammad). First, we do *syahadat* (the Islamic creed meaning to testify there is no God except Allah SWT and Prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah SWT), followed by *istighfar* (referring to the word *Astaghfirullah aladzim* meaning, I seek forgiveness from Allah SWT). Then, we pray to the dead person and continue to recite some chapters from Al-Qur'an. After that, we recite *Subhanallah* (meaning, God is perfect) or *Alhamdulillah* (meaning, praised be to Allah SWT) as an example, before ending by praying together. (Danding, personal communication, 2018)

Based on his explanation, it can be concluded that *Madrasah Diniyah* can also be considered as an important institution that teaches young generations about the pilgrimage tradition. They implemented the Islamic way of praying while using the Javanese calendar to select the date of doing their pilgrimage.

The third group is the sixth grade elementary school students accompanied by their homeroom teacher and religion teacher. They mentioned that they came from the Borobudur area, near Gunungpring Village. At that time, it was the season for national examinations for sixth grade students. Hence, they asked the students' parents to bring them on a pilgrimage trip to the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard to pray for successful examination results through the intercession of Kiai Dalhar.

As a dominant Muslim country, religion has become an important aspect of learning from a very young age. As reflected in the discussion among the three groups of students, it can be said that pilgrimages can be implemented under various levels of the education system, from *pesanren*, *Madrasah Diniyah* and also elementary school. In this sense, the pilgrimage has become institutionalized and part of education system.

4.3. Various ways of doing pilgrimage

Pilgrimages, relied on by every culture and religion, seem to have specific characters that make one very distinct from another. This fact makes every pilgrimage unique and closely connected to their local traditions and beliefs. In the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, there are no specific patterns or requirements on how to pray to the saints. Some would recite a whole chapter from the Al-Qur'an while others would choose some parts of the chapter. Some also

combined the prayer with Javanese words while mentioning their wishes. However, one similarity among the pilgrims is that they will sit close to the graveyard and begin to pray based on their own interpretation.

In order to give information about the pilgrimage to visitors, there is a board put up announcing some basic guidelines. Some of the explanations in the board were the pilgrimage to the graveyard is a way to remember death which will occur for every human being, it is also advisable to perform ablution and two *rakaat shalat* (two sets of movement and words while doing praying to Allah SWT) before visiting the sacred graveyard. It is also mentioned that praying at the graveyard should be aimed at benefitting the deceased person, which means asking for the forgiveness of their sins during their lifetime. Pilgrims are not allowed to ask for something from the deceased person. This final point is the most important because, as is the center of controversies regarding pilgrimages in the graveyard, many pilgrims have customarily asked for help from the deceased.



Figure 13. Explanation of required conduct during pilgrimages at the graveyard
Source: Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

The length of time to pray for every pilgrim varies, as some could pray for a couple of hours but some would pray for just a few minutes. The length of stay would also depend on a pilgrim's inclination. Some would stay for a couple of days while others would only stay for a few hours. Since some of the pilgrims choose to stay for a longer time, the management of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard established specific rules regarding this matter. First, the visitors should report their visit to the person-in-charge (referred to as *Juru Kunci* or the caretaker of the tomb). One of the reasons is to count the number of visitors at the graveyard.

Second, if there are visitors intending to stay for up to 3 days, they must give a copy of their residence card. If the stay is for more than 3 days, they must speak in person to the heirs of Kiai Raden Santri regarding their purpose of stay. All the visitors should pay respect to the graveyard area including keeping good hygiene, avoiding sleeping in the graveyard area, and behaving politely.

4.4. Summary

This chapter has tried to create a rich picture of the Javanese Muslim pilgrimages in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The notion of dead saint as intermediaries is quite significant in Javanese Muslim. The graveyard of the saints is believed to be the place where their power remains and is a potent site compared to other places. Most pilgrims in pilgrimage groups, that I met during fieldwork, usually visited several sacred graveyards. Hence, it can be argued that there is some sort of linkage or interdependence within other pilgrimage destinations around the domain of Java. However, this linkage does not have any specific pattern but is dependent on the pilgrim's personal preference and understanding of history.

Further, while pilgrimages in a locality are seen as involving „lesser“ effort in compared to the hajj, it provides a viable alternative to the otherwise protracted wait and limiting costs of pursuing the hajj. Hence, a good number of pilgrims have chosen to perform pilgrimages to sacred graveyards, which are not only affordable but also convenient in terms of the distance involved. It can be considered a sacred journey to gain merit and have their wishes granted in return. The pilgrimage to the sacred graveyards can thus be said to be an intervening activity to the hajj. Unlike the hajj, pilgrimages to the sacred graveyard have no specific rules and each of the pilgrims are free to pray based on their own beliefs. With this reality, the pilgrims to sacred graveyards continue to increase every year.

CHAPTER 5

Devotion and Commodification : The Case of Kiai Suparno and his Followers

This chapter provides a case study of devoted pilgrims in the fieldwork site of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The role of *kiai* in the exchange process of commodification of religious practices through pilgrimage will be discussed based on interviews and observations made during fieldwork.

5.1. Pilgrimage as an Act of Devotion

Devotion is at the core of the practice of pilgrimage. Thus, it is of utmost importance to understand the devotion lying behind the continuing activity of pilgrimage for years. An individual, whether coming from a *pesantren* background or coming based on a historical understanding, may have devoted himself to do pilgrimage through the years. Many of pilgrims continue to visit certain places. Some of the informants who did a devoted pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard narrated their experiences. Rum, a 30 year-old pilgrim stated,

I have come here every Tuesday, since 2010. In my understanding, *ziarah* is like watching television. The spirit of religious figures here could see us from their place but we could not see them. If we did *ziarah* routinely then there must be some connection between us. They will recognize us easily among other pilgrims and help to grant our wishes. (Personal communication, 2018)

Based on the fieldwork observation, it can be argued that there are devoted pilgrims – those who come routinely, on a specific time and occasion. They can be found easily in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Usually, they would have specific dates to perform their pilgrimages. This devoted belief can be said to be one of the reasons behind the sustainability of pilgrimages.

5.2. A Case of Pilgrimage by Kiai Suparno and his followers

To gain a deeper understanding of the pilgrim's act of devotion, the researcher joined the routine pilgrimage by Kiai Suparno and his followers. There are many small groups of pilgrims who are led by *kiai* and do their pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. However, the reason the researcher have particularly selected the group of Kiai Suparno is because of the overt act of devotion reflected in their pilgrimage activities such as always coming from the east gate and staying for a longer time. Kiai Suparno is a 47-year old man who graduated from 11 Islamic Boarding School. His followers believe that he is someone with deep religious knowledge and spiritual ability. Before discussing more about the pilgrimage routine activity, it is helpful to describe Kiai Suparno's life history as told directly by him.

When I was a kid, I wasn't the smart one. I could read only by the fifth grade of elementary school. I was not fluent in reciting Al-Qur'an. And, I was the poorest among my friends. During that time, every Eidl Fitr, kids in my neighbourhood would go to the house of *kiai*. One day, I also went to *kiai*'s house, the one named Kiai Mursyid. There were many people who came. Suddenly, Kiai Mursyid asked which one is Suparno. I didn't notice at all. It must be someone else, I thought, not me. No one answered him.

Then, he asked the people, one by one, including me and he found out that Suparno is my name. After that, he told me to come with him to the kitchen and he gave me rice, in a very big portion and asked me to eat everything. I was scared; he was a *kiai* and the charismatic one. So I tried my best to eat the rice. He really watched me eating. You know, I have a small figure and I was just eleven years old that time, and I felt really sick to finish all the rice. After I finished, he suddenly said that he will accompany me to *mondok* (referring to registering as a student in *pesantren*) by tomorrow. Then in the morning, we went to the *pesantren* together by bus. My father gave me Rp 10,000 (¥76), I used Rp 4,900 (¥37) for bus fare and Kiai Mursyid asked Rp 3,000 (¥23) for his fare home. So I only had Rp 2,000 (¥16) with me, and went without knowing anything about that place. Shortly, I used up all the money. I was so hungry and did not have any money left. There was a stranger who gave me corn because he took pity on me. I ground it and cooked it. Unfortunately, I got jaundiced. At that time, it was a very serious disease. I couldn't do anything and only slept under the *bedug* or large drum in the mosque. Suddenly, before the sun rose, I had a dream which asked me to drink my urine. I woke up and drank my urine right away. At the *dzuhur* time (around noon), I fully recovered, and I could see everything. People asked me how come I could recover so quickly from jaundice. Of course, I kept it a secret (laughing). (Personal communication, March 2, 2018)

Kiai Suparno has been making pilgrimages routinely since his adolescence, but when he became a disciple of Mbah Mad (the son of K.H. Dalhar), he became more confident to do the pilgrimage. He followed Mbah Mad for 19 years until the passing of Mbah Mad in 2010. During the interview, he also revealed the story behind the meeting with Mbah Mad.

I spent my life studying in 11 *pesantren* from Jember, Banyuwangi, Pasuruan, Bangkalan, Banten, Kudus and the last is in Mbah Mad's. Every *pesantren* was owned by a different *kiai* with their own specialties. Maybe one *kiai* specialized in A but the other will teach you B. So, I learned from many *kiai* in different *pesantren*. I will tell you the story of my meeting with Mbah Mad. I asked Kiai Mursyid to accompany me to Mbah Mad's *pesantren*. I came to Mbah Mad and asked his permission to enroll in his *pesantren*. At that time, I explained to him that I did not have any outstanding talent: an average physical posture, an average ability of reciting Al-Qur'an and an average brain. But I have the desire to live a prosperous life (both in the world and in the hereafter), what should I do? Mbah Mad said, go on a pilgrimage. Only that. Of course, I did that. At first, I went on pilgrimages by foot. Then I could buy a bicycle, a motorcycle and now I could afford to buy a car. As years went by, my life could become more stable. From an average young boy to someone who is trusted enough to be asked by another *kiai*, or politician or educator. I only did one thing, I went on a pilgrimage, with a sincere heart. (Kiai Suparno, personal communication, March 2, 2018)

Since then, the pilgrimage has become an important part of Kiai Suparno's daily life. For him, the important thing in a pilgrimage is *istiqomah* or that it has to be done continuously. *Istiqomah* should be considered when choosing the pilgrimage venue. It is likely that when pilgrims come and pray continuously at the same place, it would be known easily by the spirit of dead saint buried there and there will be some preference to assist these pilgrims rather than those who only come once or occasionally. He also acquaints his followers about the pilgrimage activities: why they should do the pilgrimage, who they are going to visit, and

how they will do the activities. The meaning of a pilgrimage, according to Kiai Suparno, lies on the comprehension that the dead are able to become prayer intermediaries to Allah SWT. He narrates certain ways of a proper pilgrimage while emphasizing the point of being courteous to the dead.

Every person has a different way of undertaking a pilgrimage – the way of ordinary people, mid-ordinary people, extraordinary people (referring to their religious abilities). The first is by the ordinary people. Usually they know only of their intention for their pilgrimage. For this type of pilgrims, the ordinary people, a pilgrimage should be intended for *silaturahmi* or to visit, seeking knowledge, looking for a blessing and asking for an intermediary or *tawassul*. My teacher had scolded me: he told me that if you want to go on a pilgrimage, you should do it with deep faith not only as a pilgrim. My teacher told me, when someone intends to do a pilgrimage, definitely the stupid will become clever; if you are sick, you will be healed. I have practiced this and all are interconnected. When you reach the pilgrimage place, pray while speaking of your intention.

Secondly, for mid-ordinary people, other than those four things, the most polite way is that when you are asking for something, then you should give something back in return (called *nadzar*). Because having good knowledge but no politeness – there won't be any benefit to that. This is not known and not taught to many people. As an example, polite would mean, for the extraordinary people, in the sense that if a prayer is answered, slaughtering a cow can be done in return.

Thirdly, an extraordinary pilgrimage is precisely asking for nothing and having no wish at all. The extraordinary people have different rites from the ordinary people; they come to the sacred graveyard to look for God and not to do a pilgrimage. Even without saying their intentions, the extraordinary pilgrims are surely granted with blessings, which could be in terms of material or religious blessings.

Kiai Suparno goes on a pilgrimage everyday, visiting many different graveyards. He is at Gunungpring sacred graveyard every Tuesday and at Santren sacred graveyard (Mbah Mad's graveyard) every Thursday. Every time Kiai Suparno and his followers are at the sacred graveyard of Gunungpring, they never go through the west gate or visit the tourist area. They go through the east gate to enter the graveyard complex and they sit directly in front of the graveyard of K.H. Dalhar. On Sunday morning, Kiai Suparno goes to the graveyard in Turgo hill and on other days he does his pilgrimage at some other site. In selecting the pilgrimage site, he explained, as quoted below, the need for a basic understanding of the history and relation among every religious figure because this understanding plays a role in selecting pilgrimage destinations.

In my understanding, there are rules. Although it is not obligatory – even if you do (the pilgrimage) randomly then it is fine, no problem with that. But if you have an understanding about the history of each pilgrimage site, then it would be better. For example, if you want a pilgrimage in Bangkalan (Madura, East Java), then you should go to Gunungpring first because based on the genealogy, Gunungpring is older than Bangkalan. If you prefer a pilgrimage to Wali Songo (spread all over Java), then you should go to the older site first, Gunung Turgo (Yogyakarta). Here is a story based on my own experience. I wanted to go to the graves of Kiai Giring so I went to Parangtritis first. But I got lost, I could not find the graveyard. The driver was an expert but he could not find it either, so strange. Then my teacher told me that I was supposed to go to the

older graveyard first, following the historical order. Even though it is certainly not sinful if you don't know the rules, it is better if we know the older sites first. (Personal communication, 2018)



Figure 14 . Kiai Suparno and his followers while doing pilgrimage activity

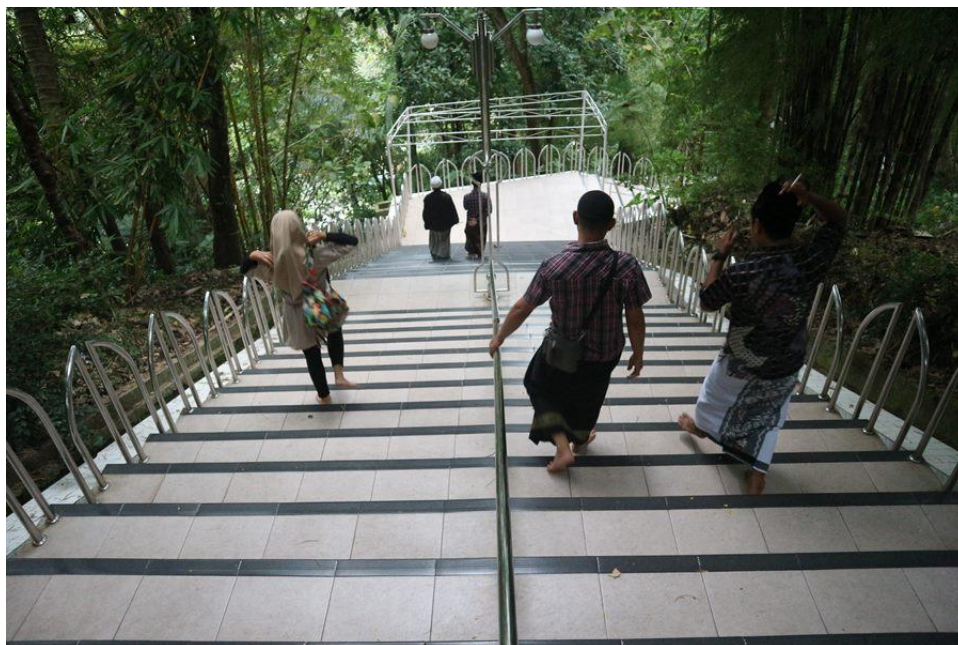


Figure 15. Kiai Suparno and his followers always go through the west gate of Gunungpring Graveyard

His routine activity, in his pilgrimages, involves reciting the Al-Qur'an in one day. Usually he goes to Gunungpring from morning to evening or until he finishes reciting the Al-Qur'an. He allows his followers to join him anytime they are available and need not follow his schedule strictly. He gives instructions for each of them as to what they should pray,

depending on the ability of each person. He comes bringing stacks of books which contain every chapter in the Al-Qur'an. He shares these books to his followers, and in case some are not fluent in reading the Al-Qur'an, they will be asked to recite *Astaghfirullah aladzim* (meaning, I seek forgiveness from Allah SWT), as an example. His method is also reflected in the narration of 47-year old Harto, one of his followers, as quoted below.

He has never told us to do A, B, C like other *kiai* have done. Instead, he will ask us what we can do. That's why he said I can pray in the simplest way. *Kiai* will guide us to pray alone, saying prayers meant for the benefit of Mbah Dalhar. When we are praying, he will know if there is someone sleeping during our prayer time even without looking at us, who are seated behind him. Then, after he finished his recital, he will call us together. We will start our communal prayers, and during that time, you can pray to God about your wishes, of course with the Mbah Dalhar as intermediary. That's why we pray for him first, it is like a gift for him. (Personal communication, 2018)

For a deeper understanding of their way of pilgrimage, I wrote a description during my participant observation with Kiai Suparno and his followers in 2018.

For the first observation, on February 20, 2018, I went to Gunungpring at around 3 PM in the afternoon. On that day, Kiai Suparno has already been at the site from 12 noon. He allowed me to join their prayer activity. On that day, he asked me to do *dhikr* (the remembrance of God) *Astaghfirullah aladzim*, which means I seek forgiveness from Allah SWT, 1000 times in front of Mbah Dalhar's sacred graveyard. When finished, I followed with the group closing prayer. There were 8 men, 6 women and a child during that pilgrimage activity. A few days later, for the second observation on February 27, I joined in the afternoon and I was still assigned to repeat *Astaghfirullah aladzim* (means I seek forgiveness from Allah SWT) 1000 times in front of Mbah Dalhar's sacred graveyard. This time, there were 7 men, 3 women and a child. For the third observation, on March 15, I met Kiai Suparno and his followers in Kiai Krapyak 1 Graveyard located in Santren Hamlet, Gunungpring Village. This graveyard bears a connection to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard because one of the figures in this graveyard is Kiai Ahmad Abdul Haq known as Mbah Mad, the son of K.H. Dalhar. This time, I was again assigned to do *dhikr* for as many times as I can. For the fourth observation, on March 20, I was requested to read 77 times for Surah Al-Fatihah in front of Mbah Dalhar's sacred graveyard. For the fifth, on March 27, I read for 313 times the Al-Fatihah and recited *Astaghfirullah aladzim* as many times as I can. After that, Kiai Suparno instructed me to pray in front of the sacred graveyard of Kiai Krapyak who is believed as a figure commonly requested to grants prayer petitions in connection with wealth/material things. Kiai Suparno asked me to chant 21 times for Al-Fatihah that were sent to Kiai Krapyak. (Author's field notes, February 20, 2018 to March 27, 2018)



Figure 16. Picture taken on February 20th while doing pilgrimage with Kiai Suparno and his followers in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Based on the interviews with Kiai Suparno himself, pilgrimage could be said as an important part in his daily life, as he would undergo pilgrimage in a daily basis. Hence, I tried to confirm to his follower about Kiai Suparno's main occupation, aside from pilgrimage. Surprisingly, according to his followers, the pilgrimage can also be considered to be Kiai Suparno's source of income²¹. Aside from pilgrimage, he did not have any other job. However, as mentioned from his followers, because of his routine pilgrimage, he could afford to own *sawah* (cultivation land). People usually come to him, asking for his help to achieve something. His followers mentioned that Kiai Suparno never refused any wishes. Once, there was a prostitute who came to Kiai Suparno and asked him to pray for her prostitution business. While praying, the follower of Kiai Suparno said that he seemed unwell. When asked why, Kiai Suparno answered that when he prays for something negative, his body would feel ill. Yet, he did not refuse to give help.

Helping people to be granted their wishes can be considered an exchange process observed in the religious practices such as, pilgrimage. For instance, there is the case of a major politician who contacted him and asked him to pray for his successful candidacy. Once elected, he gave Kiai Suparno Rp 75,000,000 or approximately ¥580,000²². Moreover, if he has any followers who do not have time to do any pilgrimage, Kiai Suparno will do the

²¹ The cases presented were narrations from interviews conducted with Kiai Suparno's followers. It should be noted that asking Kiai Suparno directly about anything related to money is considered impolite. For the Javanese, money and marriage are among topics that are avoided from being directly asked any person, especially with regard to older people and respected figures.

²² Throughout this writings, the researcher used currency exchange on October 30, 2019. The currency exchange mentioned 1 yen is equal to Rp130,00.

pilgrimage on their behalf and pray for their petitions. Usually, when their wishes were granted, they would give something in return to him.

Another case mentioned by his follower is one involving an prominent personality in Indonesia (referring to a former Minister), who contacted Kiai Suparno because he was facing a problem with Indonesian law. He asked Kiai Suparno to pray for his problem. Once his petition was fulfilled and he ended up not going to jail because of such problem, he gave Kiai Suparno Rp 75,000,000 or approximately ¥580,000.

There is no guarantee that the petitions will always be granted. Regarding this matter, Kiai Suparno's follower is convinced that if the petition is not granted, then there may still be some unfinished business in that person instead of seeing it as a failed pilgrimage by Kiai Suparno. It could be that person's past sin which has put him in a difficult position today.

5.3. Charismatic Leadership

In order to understand the trust gained by Kiai Suparno among his followers and one's who asked his help, it is helpful to look into charismatic leadership. Siregar, et al. (2013), in his discussion about charismatic leadership of a religious leader, referred to Max Weber's perspective which states,

The leadership that has source from an incredible power is called the charismatic authority. This type of leadership is based on the psychological identification from someone with other people. Identification here means that the emotional aspect will be also involved among people. To the followers, a leader is like a hope for a better life in the future and he is seen as the protector as well as a savior (Siregar, et al., 2013: 147).

Further, the influence of charismatic leadership among followers extends even in personal matters. Tight relations nurtured among followers and charismatic leaders make loyal followers who listen to every word of their leader. Siregar, et al. (2013) also explained that charismatic leadership can be easily found in a homogenous society sharing mutual beliefs, worldview, ways of living and so on.

Charisma is said to be one of the reasons behind people's trust in their *kiai*. Baharuddin (2007, cf. Siregar, et al., 2013) stressed that the *kiai*, being religious leaders within the society, can also be said to be charismatic leaders who have the ability not only to attract but also to affect people. Interestingly, this leadership is believed to exude an extraordinary power, a kind of power that can draw people to believe and see the *kiai* as their savior and life guide. In following the *kiai's* ways, they receive benefits from performing religious traditions, such as the pilgrimage. In the case of Kiai Suparno, his followers trust him and recognize two aspects of his charismatic leadership: his supernatural abilities and possession of both Islamic and Javanese traditional knowledge.

First, Kiai Suparno is believed to possess supernatural abilities often used to help improve the lives of his followers. For instance, he has the ability to predict someone's fate and fortune through a method of calculation using a person's name which is a process that concludes in one single number. To demonstrate this, Kiai Suparno „calculated“ my fortune using my name and arrived at the number 9, a value which relates to being wealthy. This process, he said, is based on Al-Qur'an. On the other hand, the value of one of his follower's name was found to be the number 8, which led Kiai Suparno to suggest that he change his name. Apparently, the number 8 is closely related to the history of the Prophet Moses at the time when the Prophet faced a problem, thus relating to a negative history.

Harto, one of his followers, also told of how Kiai Suparno has the ability to see a past sin in a person's life.

He knew of my past sin without even asking me any questions. He saw the spirit of my unborn baby who always followed me around. My wife had an abortion when she was young. He said, after I completed 11 times *kenduri*, my baby will appear in my wife's dream. It's true. One night my wife dreamt about a very young handsome boy who called her mother and asked her to feed him coconut then played with her. We know, it's our baby. And he is safe now. Because of Pak Kiai, he helped us to deal with our past sin. (Personal communication, 2018)

Second, as mentioned above, aside from doing the pilgrimage activity, Kiai Suparno also does the *slametan* or *kenduri* tradition (see Chapter 2), which means a communal feast done in the hopes of having a wish granted as explained below.

If you asked for something (from Allah SWT), you need to do some rituals or your prayer can't be granted. A ritual is not prohibited in Islam, as long as you know the right one. The Prophet Moses used a ritual even though he was a Prophet. One of the stories told about the Prophet Moses was his meditation for 41 days at the top of the mountain in order to be granted his wishes. Once the revelation came, it said *Manna wa Salwa*, which could be defined as *sego bunder lan ingkung panggang* (meaning rice molded in a round shape and grilled chicken), it is also a form of *sesajen* or offering. Well, in short, I'm trying to say that it also a part of a ritual. (Personal communication, 2018)

As for the Islamic way of pilgrimage, Kiai Suparno always encouraged his followers to read Al-Qur'an as narrated earlier. Thus, this combination of Islamic and Javanese way of pilgrimage has become one of the reasons behind his follower's trust in him. Herdiana said

The reason I believe in him (Kiai Suparno) is because of his knowledge both in Islam and Java. As a Javanese, I could relate to the rituals he suggests and that is the most important thing to me. (Personal communication, 2019)

How is this charismatic leadership transmitted to followers? Weller (2008), in discussing global economies of charisma, pointed out the need for circulation of charisma to keep the trust among the followers and discussed various ways to do so. The first way is by circulating charismatic people, which means that respected personalities will go directly to meet followers. The second way is by circulating objects which relate to the charismatic figures such as bits of saintly clothes. The third way is by broadcast media which gives opportunity for the charismatic leader to appear anywhere and anytime through video, etc. However, since an indirect „existence“ through objects or broadcast media tend to reduce the power of charisma, many groups opt to have direct meetings between the followers and charismatic leaders.

Based on the data gathered, the circulation of charismatic leadership of Kiai Suparno is done in more than one way. First, by an individual consultation with him. Second, by doing a pilgrimage and holding a *kenduri*. Pilgrimage could be done in person or Kiai Suparno will perform a pilgrimage on behalf of his follower. These two strategies are reflected well in the narration among the informants. As narrated by Rita, during her first meeting with Kiai Suparno, she needed to explain her wishes such as for wealth, success, etc. After that, Kiai Suparno would inform the number of *kenduri* and a set of prayer that she needs to do in order for her petitions to be granted. Kiai Suparno will also mention the cost that she needs to

provide for *kenduri* and pilgrimage. After she has paid, Kiai Suparno would inform her about further details. He would then go on the pilgrimage on behalf of her (the „buyer“) to ask for the dead saint’s spirit’s help in granting her wishes. While praying, he will specifically mention the name of the saints, the name of the „buyer“ and her request. Meanwhile, his wife would cook the *kenduri* meals in their home. When Kiai Suparno has finished praying, he will call his wife. *Kenduri* meals could be eaten and shared after the end of pilgrimage rituals.

5.4. The Followers of Kiai Suparno

The followers of Kiai Suparno come from different life backgrounds and have their own motives and wishes. During the data gathering, I was able to gather three stories from his devoted followers.

The first one is Nasir, the son of another *kiai*. His story occurred at the time Kiai Suparno had been assigned by Mbah Mad to teach Islam in a district named Ploso Kuning. In the said district, there was a resident *kiai* who disliked the presence of Kiai Suparno. One of that *kiai*’s son was suffering from paranoia. It was Nasir, and in the end, Kiai Suparno succeeded in alleviating Nasir’s paranoia. Approximately 13 years later, Nasir became a follower of Kiai Suparno. Nasir always goes on routine pilgrimage with his wife and daughter and he teaches his daughter to go on routine pilgrimages under Kiai Suparno’s supervision. At one time, Kiai Suparno asked his daughter to stay at the Gunungpring Graveyard for a few days to pray for her petitions.

Next is Andi, a businessman who has been a follower of Kiai Suparno for 11 years. He knew Kiai Suparno from his father. He seldom gets involved in the pilgrimage activities, but he has expressed how he wants to be well-established financially and requests to be prayed for regularly by Kiai Suparno. He paid for Kiai Suparno’s gasoline during a pilgrimage. In 2018, I had a chance to have dinner with Kiai Suparno and his followers at Gunungpring Graveyard. The meals were sent by Andi. Another follower explained that Andi is always worried about material things and wants to secure a wealthy life which is why he always asks Kiai Suparno to pray for him.

The third follower is Harto, who is an employee suffering from anxiety. Since he had become a follower of Kiai Suparno for 9 years, he has felt more peaceful with his life, as he explains below.

I came here (Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard) because of Kiai Suparno. Before I met him, I went to many different religious figures, but they always asked me to do things like meditation in the middle of the lake late at night. Kiai Suparno never asked me to do anything without any reason; he explained to me why I should do something. The point is we still need to do something to achieve something. Praying is one of our efforts to accomplish something. Pilgrimage gives me a sense of *ayem* (referring to inner peace), something that you can feel inside. He taught me to live my life with a sincere heart (*ikhlas*). (Personal communication, 2018)

Harto often asked for suggestions from Kiai Suparno about personal matters. For instance, when he wanted to move houses, he asked him whether or not it is the right decision. He moved right after Kiai Suparno encouraged him to do so. When asked about the impact of pilgrimages in their daily lives, Harto replied that he faces pressure from other family members regarding the direct impact of the pilgrimage. Many people ask him about his financial situation after following Kiai Suparno for more than a decade. His wealth has not increased significantly; the opposite of what seems to be the expectation of others when a

person commits to this activity. He explained that the blessings from a pilgrimage come not only in material things, rather, it is inner peace and blessings toward his family and, if not to him, perhaps his children or grandchildren. Later on, he contacted me, sharing news of his daughter successfully being accepted in a prominent university in Indonesia. He added that it was because of his nine years of pilgrimage and blessings have come to his children, not necessarily to himself. Harto believes that pilgrimage is an important activity aside from their effort to achieve something.

As reflected in the narratives, Kiai Suparno is revered as a respected religious figure and his followers trust and believe in what he says. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the discussion of normative Islam and traditional Javanese rituals has continued as an on-going debate among Javanese Muslims. It is not surprising that there is still a group of Muslims in Indonesia who negatively perceive the pilgrimage being done by Kiai Suparno and his followers. This is particularly with regard to the combination of pilgrimage and *kenduri*, a practice that is against the Islamic way of asking for blessings from Allah SWT. One of the narratives by his former follower sheds light on this matter.

At that time, around 2013, I had a financial problem. One of my relatives introduced me to Kiai Suparno. He said that Kiai Suparno could help me. I really looked for any help since I felt frustrated that time. Then I decided to ask him for help. He said that the *do'a* (a set of prayers) given by him is the key to *membuka pintu langit* (literally "to open the door of the sky" which, however, for Indonesians mean "heaven"). He also mentioned that I need to go on a pilgrimage and pray specific *do'a* and hold a *kenduren*. It's a bit difficult for me to go on a pilgrimage and pray because I don't have enough time. Then, he said that he can do it on my behalf but I need to pay Rp 2,500,000 (¥19,500), for the rituals (pilgrimage and *kenduren*). I also had a kind of consultation with him. The number of trips and the fees of each ritual depended on him. Later on, I agreed to give him Rp 2,500,000 for the first ritual.

I will explain to you why I decided to stop asking for his help. During one of our meetings, I went on a pilgrimage with his group, accompanied by my brother. We arrived at the pilgrimage site which happened to have a pond. The pond had a lot of fish and clear water. Kiai Suparno mentioned to me that if I swim in that pond for a certain period of time after I had prayed the *do'a* that he gave me, my sins would be erased by Allah SWT. I nodded my head.

My brother also asked him about being wealthy. But since he did not *sholat* routinely (a Muslim should perform *sholat* 5 times a day), my brother wondered if it is possible. Then, Kiai Suparno answered that it is not a big deal, my brother can do a routine 5-day prayer step by step. The most important thing is that he needed to undergo pilgrimage and prayed a certain *do'a* given by him.

Listening to their conversation, I felt like I suddenly „woke up“. Why am I here? On a pilgrimage with Kiai Suparno who has not even asked my brother to perform routine *sholat* first, and yet asking him to go on a routine pilgrimage? *Sholat* is our main duty as a Muslim. He also asked me to swim in the pond to erase my sins. How could it be possible? I think it's not the right thing. And the money that he asked for, I told you, the fact is he will ask a bigger amount if you ask for his help again for something else. He was the one who set the price. He will help to achieve your goals. You only needed to do one thing: pay him.

Realizing that, I told myself that I need to stop before it is too late. Then I left and went home. I performed *sholat* right away and asked forgiveness from Allah SWT.

What I did was wrong. I felt so ashamed toward Allah SWT. After that day, I never contacted him anymore. I performed routine *sholat* as a Muslim. (Rita, personal communication, 2019)

5.5. Discussion

This chapter has focused on Kiai Suparno and his followers. Referring back to the various categories of *kiai* (see Chapter 1, Literature Review), Kiai Suparno can very well be said to be an acquired *kiai*. His title of *kiai* comes from his religious knowledge duly acknowledged by his followers. In his pilgrimage activities, Kiai Suparno combined the Javanese tradition and Islamic ways, such as using *slametan* which is a Javanese tradition while also reciting the Al-Qur'an in front of the graveyard which is the Islamic way of praying. Kiai Suparno also fits the classical role of a *kiai*, as discussed by Geertz (1970), of a cultural broker of Islam and Javanese tradition to the peasantry of Java. Many pilgrims have committed to routine pilgrimages because Kiai Suparno asked and taught them to do so.

The charismatic leadership of Kiai Suparno is characterized by two aspects. First involves his supernatural ability of seeing the past sin of his followers and „calculating“ their fate based on their names using the Al-Qur'an method of numbering. The other pertains to his skill in combining Javanese and Islamic traditions in his pilgrimage activity. The charisma of Kiai Suparno plays an important part in keeping the trust of his followers. Moreover, this same charisma has given him the opportunity to use the pilgrimage in exchange for material benefits. Although his combined rituals could not be fully accepted in terms of normative Islam, as narrated by Rita, he is able to maintain his charisma among the Javanese Muslim and keep a large group of people as his followers.

In the discussion of pilgrimage in Chapter 2, it was described how the Javanese view pilgrimage as an individual spiritual journey. They go through a pilgrimage in order to achieve some petition involving their belief and intimacy with the spirits. However, as reflected in Kiai Suparno's case, the pilgrimage has been transformed into an object of exchange for material benefit. In the cases of his follower Andi, the successful political candidate, the former minister, and Rita's narratives about her experience, it is shown in how Kiai Suparno was able to seize an opportunity to transform the pilgrimage for a valuable exchange. In return for some material value, he will do pilgrimage on behalf of „the buyer“. Under this system, these followers did not need to go on the pilgrimage themselves because Kiai Suparno offered the service of doing the pilgrimage on their behalf. In their eyes, the arrangement held more promise for the success of their petitions because Kiai Suparno himself, a charismatic leader, did the pilgrimage for them.

To conclude, the case of Kiai Suparno clearly reflected the exchange process between *kiai* and his followers using the pilgrimage activity. In exchange for monetary payment, the believer can receive a secular benefit like winning a major election or success in business. Through this case, the pilgrimage can be viewed as an exchange process between material and secular benefits, rather than merely a religious activity.

CHAPTER 6

Growth of Pilgrimage Tourism and Role of *Kiai*

This chapter explains the growth of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard from its initial period until the present day. The role of *kiai* in managing pilgrimage tourism will be discussed based on interviews and observations made during fieldwork.

6.1. Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard as Tourism Destination

Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is known as one of pilgrimage tourism destinations in Muntilan, Magelang, Central Java. It is also mentioned in the official website of Magelang Regency. The number of pilgrims on this site have increased year on year as shown in Chapter 3.



Figure 17. Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard promoted in Magelang Regency official website
Source: <http://pariwisata.magelangkab.go.id/home/detail/makam-raden-santri-gunung-pring-muntilan/224>. Retrieved on September 2, 2019

Aside from devoted pilgrims discussed in Chapter 3, there are many visitors who did both pilgrimage and sightseeing at the same time. In Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, it was observed that there were many pilgrims who had come for the first time or only once a year. Usually, they would do a combined trip to several graveyards and sightseeing tours. Nowadays, there are many pilgrimage tour packages offering these kinds of combined visits. The figure below is a copy of an itinerary found in the complex of the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. It shows the pilgrimage route to Syech Pandanarang in Klaten, Syech Bela Belu and Syech Maulana Maghribi in Yogyakarta and K.H. Dalhar and Kiai Raden Santri ini Magelang. Based on this itinerary, there would also be a visit to Parangtritis beach for recreation. Hence, to a certain extent, it is safe to argue that pilgrimage destination is part of the tourism industry. A combined pilgrimage with recreation to a shopping centre or beach has become a common phenomenon for the pilgrims such as a pilgrimage package tour named *Wali 9 Lengkap* (Complete Visit to the Nine Saints). It combines visits to several sacred

graveyards, including Gunungpring, and to a beach and cave with prices ranging from about Rp 775,000 or ¥6,000 yen for 45 participants in a group.

TAMAN PENDIDIKAN AL-QUR'AN & MADRASAH DINIYAH NAMA: *Su Tomo*
"LAA TANSa"
 PIYANGGANG SUMOWONO SEMARANG *B. ①*

MOBIL : NILA SARI
 Ziarah Waliyullah dengan tujuan ;
 Syech Pandanaran / Sunan Tembayat (Klaten)
 Syech Bela Belu (Yogyakarta)
 Syech Maulana Maghribi (Yogyakarta)
 Mbah Dalhar, Raden Santri, dll. (Gunung Pring, Magelang)

Rekreasi : Pantai Parang Tritis (Yogyakarta)

akan dilaksanakan besok pada :

Hari : Ahad Legi
 Tanggal : 25 Februari 2018 M (10 Jumadil Akhir 1439 H
 Pukul : 06.00 WIB.
 Start Bus : Pertigaan Depan Rumah Bp.Muhrokim
 RT. 01/01 Dusun Piyanggang

NOMOR KURSI				SOPIR	
1	2	3	4		
5	6	7	8		
9	10	11	12		
13	14	15	16		
17	18	19	20		
21	22	23	24		
25	26	27	28		
29	30	31	32		
33	34	35	36		
37	38	39	40		
41	42	43	44		
		45	46		
47	48	49	50	51	52

Figure 18. An example of a pilgrim's itinerary, combining pilgrimage and recreational sites

Wali 9 59 : 400.000/pax
45 : 500.000/pax

Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Drajat, Syekh Maulana Ishaq, Syekh Ibrahim Asmoroqondi, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kali Jaga, Raden Patah, Sunan Gunung Jati

Wali 9 Lengkap 59 : 600.000/pax
45 : 775.000/pax

Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Drajat, Syekh Maulana Ishaq, Syekh Ibrahim Asmoroqondi, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kali Jaga, Raden Patah, Syekh Hasan Musadi, Syekh Hasan Diporo, Sendang Kalimah Toyibah, Wisata Ancol, Pamijahan, Goa Safawardi, Panjalu, Petilasan Syekh Subakhir, Raden Santri (gunung Pring), Syekh Pandan Arang, Habib Anis, Gus Dur

Wali 7 Bali 59 : 850.000/pax
45 : 975.000/pax

Makam Aulia (jatim), Habib Ali bin Umar Batagih - Negara, Makam Syeh Ahmad Chaudus Choirus Sotah (Pangeran mas Sepuh) - Tabanan, Makam Habib Umar bin Maulana Yusuf - Bedugul, Makam Gusti Ayu Made Rai (Raden Ayu Sili Getjah) - Denpasar, Makam Habib Ali bin Abu Bakar Al Idris - Karangasem, Makam Habib Ali bin Zainal Abidin Al Idris - Klungkung, Makam Syeh Raden Kyai Jalil - Karangasem, Makam Maulana Yusuf Al Baghdi Al Maghribi - Karangasem

- "Disar paha jumlah pax di atas silahkan ditanyakan"
 - Meeting Point "Malang Sita"
 - Destinasi dapat disesuaikan dengan permintaan
 - Harga tidak berlaku pada periode liburan, natal, tahun baru dan dapat berubah sewaktu waktu

INDONESIAN TOUR PACKAGE

- Bus Tour
- Jakarta Tour
- Bandung Tour
- Stone & Sun Tour
- Malang-Gali Tour
- Candi Klati & Misaia Retep Tour

Paket Wisata
 Adventure Tour
 Car Rental
 Bus Rental
 Study Tour
 Study Sanding
 Reservasi Tiket Online
 Reservasi Hotel
 Efl Rental

HPS Travel
 Jl. Raya Kembar
 Olok Ajen
 Selorejo Blitar

081333841111
 08564621911
 @hpsotravel
 www.hpsotravel.com

Figure 19. Sample tours combined trip to Wali Songo and Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Source: <https://www.picbon.com/tag/WALI9> Retrieved on November 6, 2018

It could be seen that pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard promoted by various agencies. From local government to travel agencies. It is not surprising that pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard improved rapidly in order to accommodate pilgrims from various parts of Indonesia. The access road to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard has been put in good condition and connected to the district and provincial route. Tourist facilities are also increasing, such as toilets and parking space.

Before pilgrimage tourism started, the early period of the 1970s-1980s, the graveyard was described by an informant as one that is ordinary, seemingly a forest, without anyone caring for it. However, there were some pilgrims who have already been visiting the Gunungpring graveyard on some kind of pilgrimage, mainly asking for some blessing such as wealth. They were aware of the legendary figure of Kiai Raden Santri and the myth regarding his figure. In the next section, it will be examined and presented in three periods of time. The data was gathered through interviews and statistical data from various informants involved in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

(a) First Period of the Pilgrimage Tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Based on the field interviews conducted, the beginning of pilgrimage tourism can be traced back from 1986. During this time, the number of visitors who came to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard had increased compared to those in the 1970s. Related to the discussion in Chapter 3 regarding the adjustment of cultural tradition into institutionalized Islam during the New Order Regime, pilgrimage also influence by the implementation of Pancasila. Van Doorn-Harder & de Jong (2001) explained that since the 1980s, pilgrims have tried to avoid syncretic ritual, focusing more on normative Islam. This is in line with the narrative gathered from fieldwork in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, which explained the shift in rituals of Javanese pilgrimage into a more Islamic way of pilgrimage beginning in 1986.

Before, Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard would only be crowded on Tuesdays and Fridays Kliwon. During that period, the pilgrims would do *sesirih/sirihan* which was mainly a Javanese way of pilgrimage, not the Islamic way like in present day. *Sesirih* refers to a Javanese ritual of burning incense, myrrh and flower while the pilgrims ask for something by the graveyard. The visitors would usually only wear ordinary clothes. There were many people who did *putihan* fasting, and would only eat banana or cooked rice and drink some water. There were no obvious rules, and the pilgrimage depended on the pilgrim's preferred way of doing it. That time, they would scatter so many flowers on the Kiai Raden Santri graveyard that it seemed to cover the graveyard because of the quantity. They generally did rituals in Raden Santri and Kertonjani graveyard. However, after the initial period of pilgrimage tourism started and KH Dalhar graveyard was built, the scheme had changed. Many people started to come, including students of the Islamic Boarding School. The attire of the pilgrims also changed: *hijab* for women and long trousers or *sarong* for men. The Kiai Raden Santri Foundation also put up a notice of pilgrimage rules in the graveyard complex. (A Foundation member, personal communication, 2016)

Usually, the visitors had heard about Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard from relatives or friends; hence, it seemed that the information was spread verbally. Since an increasing number of visitors had occurred, the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri began to realize that Gunungpring graveyard had the potential to be developed as a pilgrimage tourism destination. It can be marked with the creation of an informal group (an informal group referred to the fact

that this group did not legalized under the Indonesian law) which consisted of the local residents of Gunungpring Village. They came from different backgrounds; some were retired civil servants, retired high school teacher and so on. Bambang, 60 years old, a member of the group recalls,

At that time, the *kiai* in the line of Kiai Raden Santri's descent had involved us in the managerial process of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. There was a total of 16 members. The election was based on the acclamation process like the common election in Islamic way. We were selected among other youths in this village because they said that they are looking for persons with strong Islam character, like our Prophet. So, a person must meet the 4 criteria: *Siddiq* (represents *truthfulness* or people who always tell the truth), *Amanah* (represents *trustworthiness*), *Tabligh* (represents *advocacy* which includes the aspect of communication skill and leadership), *Fathonah* (represents *wisdom* and *intelligence* in both emotional and spiritual aspects). I was active in the organization since I was working at school so I felt that it was an honor to be selected as one of the group members. (Bambang, personal communication, 2016)

After receiving the mandate from the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri, the group started to discuss how to develop Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. First, they began to renovate Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. As a start, they cut down the trees so that visitors could easily pass. To encourage visitors to come, the group tried to contact the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) all over Java to come visit Gunungpring. As learned in the interview, they were successful in attracting the students of *pesantren*. Consequently, many other people, not only from *pesantren*, came to visit Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

(b) Second Period of the Pilgrimage Tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

The second period took place around 1990s. During these years, permanent building surrounding the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard has started to built. To finance the construction, the foundation has put *kotak infaq* (free donation box) in every gates and also received help from *Kiai* who has the intention to develop the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard further. However, there was still no funding support from the government. To maximise the potency of pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, the initiative to form a legalised body to managed the graveyard started to begin.

Based on the interview with the descendant of Kiai Raden Santri, at that time, Kiai Gus Jogorekso (also a descendant of Kiai Raden Santri) intended to develop Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard even more. Administratively, the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is located in Gunungpring Village. However, from the genealogical history, Kiai Raden Santri is in the blood lineage of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. Based on the rules of the Yogyakarta Palace, it would have the right and responsibility to take care of their lineage even after death, and this included the graveyard of Kiai Raden Santri. Hence, Kiai Gus Jogorekso went to Yogyakarta Palace to ask for guidance and permission in accordance with the rules dictated by the genealogical history associated with the graveyard. After he was granted the approval, a foundation called Kyai Raden Santri Foundation was registered in December 1992, in order to start making Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard bigger²³.

²³ The establishment of the foundation was based on the notarial deed by Purwanto SH No. 3 year 1992 and registered under Magelang Court no. 38/1992 on December 31, 1992. The data given during fieldwork by the Foundation.

After becoming a legally registered organization, Kyai Raden Santri Foundation became responsible for maintaining, managing and promoting the graveyard complex of Kiai Raden Santri and his descendants. The members of the Foundation, selected by the descendant of Kiai Raden Santri, were doing voluntary work for which they received no remuneration at all. As stated by a member during an interview,

It is our pride to contribute here, for religious purposes. All of us have a steady job so I'm not looking for money here. I believe that by contributing in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, it gives *berkah* (from the Arabic word *baraka*, which could be interpreted as blessing) for me and my family.

Some of the members of the Foundation were recruited as *abdi dalem* (special employees of The Palace of Yogyakarta) in 2010 for taking care of the graveyard. We received a monthly salary of approximately Rp 40,000/ month (approximately ¥310/ month). It is an honor for us to be able to serve the Palace. (Bambang, personal communication, 2016)

Kyai Raden Santri Foundation held an annual five year meeting, where a progress report is presented. One of the topic is about managing pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Graveyard. The last meeting of the foundation was conducted in 2013 where the members of Kyai Raden Santri Foundation for 2013-2018 were appointed²⁴. The obligation of the members of the foundation are to manage the graveyard; collect and manage the funding from internal and external parties and use it for educational, social and religious purposes; hold and manage formal and non-formal education areas and health services that belong to the foundation; publish a religious guidance; hold an activity for the Al-Qur'an recitation or *pengajian*; coordinate with the Muslim community to hold charity and religious activity; and hold an activity under the law of Indonesia and be responsible for its daily activities. The Foundation is also responsible to calculate the number of pilgrims (see Table 1 in Chapter 4).

The foundation's structure consists of the head of the foundation, its secretary, accountant, three members of development and maintenance division, two members of social division, three members of missionary and education division, three members of public relation division, four members of cultural division, two members of security division, and five members of services division.

In the organizational structure of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation, the descendant of Kiai Raden Santri are designated as an advisor. For every big event that the foundation holds, the members would, as a matter of course, seek permission and suggestions from the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri first. It could be said that the descendants hold the most important position, as a decision maker of the Foundation.

(c) Third Period of the Pilgrimage Tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

A pivotal point in this period is the start of the involvement of other actors, mainly the Gunungpring Village Office, and increase participation by the local residents by involving in economic activities within the graveyard complex. The Village Office is where residents process their legal citizenship documents such as the resident card and the birth certificate. The Village Office acts as the representative of the government and has the responsibility to maximize benefits raised by pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard for the local residents. The Village Office staff also attend the annual five year meeting by the

²⁴ During fieldwork in 2016, the member of the foundation gave me the result of the five years annual meeting.

Foundation. Regarding economic activities within the graveyard complex, the Village Office is responsible for the registration process for shop owners, especially those located at the west entrance gate. A rule set by the Village Office requires that only residents can do business at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard to maximize the economic impact for the local residents. Every year, the office maintains a record about the vendors and monitors the origin of every owner.

As was learned during the data gathering, there are several program to improve pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

a. Improvement of Tourist Facilities

Based on the interview, started from 1998, the Village Office begin to involve in pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard by building shops for rent (further discussion in chapter 6.3.). Further in 2012, the central government provided a fund for the first time and the Gunungpring Village Office acted as the intermediary between the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation and the Central Government of Indonesia. This fund was used for the installation of concrete stairs at the west entrance gate.



Figure 20. Stairs built with the funding from Central Government

b. Establishment of BUMDES (*Badan Usaha Milik Desa* or Village Owned Enterprises) Program

During the last fieldwork data gathering in 2018, it came to light that the Gunungpring Village Office started a program called BUMDES (*Badan Usaha Milik Desa* or Village Owned Enterprises), under the Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration. Sudaryana (2016) explained that as stated in

Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution, BUMDES are the pillars of the welfare of the nation, because BUMDES is no other than the business that was founded on a shared commitment to the community, grassroots and the village community, to cooperate

together, work together and join forces to realize the people's economic welfare and prosperity of rural communities (Sudaryana, 2016: 23).

Further, Sudaryana (2016) mentioned that there are several types of businesses allowed for development based on the potential of each village which are "1) services 2) the distribution of nine basic commodities 3) trade in agricultural product 4) a small industry and households" (Sudaryana, 2016: 24). In the process of establishing BUMDES, there should be a meeting with the representatives of the villagers. The village should hold a socialization and form a committee that will manage and be responsible to run BUMDES in their area²⁵. There are almost 35,000 out of 74,000 villages in Indonesia that have already implemented BUMDES²⁶.

One of the heads of the hamlet mentioned, in an interview, that the highest impact, particularly economically, still lies with the residents living near the graveyard complex. Hence, by the establishment of BUMDES, it is hoped that the positive impact of tourism spreads to a larger scope of local residents. As explained by one member in the BUMDES Committee of Gunungpring Village, they have decided to focus on the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard as a pilgrimage tourism destination. The committee started to recruit team members for BUMDES. To be a member, the person must be a resident of Gunungpring Village, a high school graduate, between 20 to 40 years old, mentally and physically healthy, have no criminal record for at least 5 years before registration, and must agree to dedicate themselves to work as BUMDES team members.

6.2. The Establishment of Two Entrance Gates

Conspicuous at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard complex is the existence of two entrance gates, the west gate and east gate. The establishment of those two gates were not borne out of the influence of the growth of pilgrimage tourism sector. As mentioned before, there are two sacred graveyards which are the most frequently visited in the Gunungpring complex; these are the graveyards of Kiai Raden Santri and K.H. Dalhar. Hence, there are two groups of descendants of religious figures involved in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. First are the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri who manage the west entrance gate. Second are the descendants of Kiai Dalhar who maintain the east entrance gate. Today, the descendants of both religious figures hold a respectable position in society. Some of them are known as a *kiai* and own an Islamic Boarding School. Many people visit their residences asking for blessing and guidance.

If there is a special significance, other than for reasons of greater mobility or administration, for having two gates being managed this way is a topic that may need to be explored. This, however, is a limitation of this study. Despite repeated efforts to set a meeting to get this information, I was rejected twice when I tried to meet with the *kiai*, a descendant of K.H. Dalhar, who owns the Darussalam Islamic Boarding School. It became very difficult to inquire from him nor from the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation about the reason behind the establishment of two gates. There had also been no mention of any special agreement that may include this arrangement between the two families of the descendants. Hence, given the

²⁵ Based on online news <http://www.berdesa.com/informasi-lengkap-tentang-bumdes-yang-harus-anda-ketahui/>. Retrieved on October 5, 2018.

²⁶ Based on online news <http://www.berdesa.com/informasi-lengkap-tentang-bumdes-yang-harus-anda-ketahui/>. Retrieved on October 5, 2018.

difficulty of gathering data, which may possibly be of critical or negative information about *kiai*, from these two direct sources, this data gap remains a limitation of this study.

However, I was able to talk with local residents of Gunungpring Village which raised their view of the establishment of two entrance gates. As learned through the interviews, the effort to build the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard was a distinct understanding between the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri and Kiai Dalhar. It appears that the two gates were also constructed in an effort between these actors to avoid any conflict that might occur in the graveyard management. Two local residents, 80-year old Suprihatin and 30-year old Fata, gave their insights on this topic.

With increasing number of visitors, the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri intended to develop religious tourism in the graveyard. But it was not well accepted by the descendants of K.H. Dalhar. So, in response, they built the west gate. (Suprihatin, personal communication, 2018)

From what I know, there is a tendency to disagree between the Foundation and the *pesantren* (referring to the descendants of K.H. Dalhar). The Foundation maintains the west gate but the *pesantren* did not get involved at all. (Deni, personal communication, 2018)

The descendants of Kiai Raden Santri are responsible for managing the west entrance gate, a gate that has 209 rungs which also received support and renovation fund from the government. However, along the stairs, any visitor could easily find beggars, who are mostly elderly. Currently, along the west gate, there are many shops, public toilet and lodging. The parking area is organized and wide enough to accommodate dozens of cars, buses and motorcycles at a time. There are parking attendants who keep watch and issue the tickets for payment of the parking admission fee. There are some facilities built at the west side of the graveyard such as *bangsai* (a place for rest), mosque and a hall built for additional space for pilgrims during the peak season. When entering from the west gate, the visitors are asked to register at the table of the graveyard caretaker (known as *Jurukunci*). Usually, after registering, they will continue to do ablution from the water inside the *guci* or water jar made from clay, which can function as drinking water as well.

Pilgrims who enter through the west gate usually stay for a shorter time compared with pilgrims who enter through the east gate. If the pilgrims come in a group, the leader of the group would lead the prayers. The basic prayers usually are the *tahlil* prayer (pronouncing the word *La Ilaha Illallah*, meaning there is no deity but Allah SWT, repeatedly), a short prayer formula such as *Astaghfirullah aladzim* (meaning, I seek forgiveness from Allah SWT), the recitation of a short chapter in the Al-Qur'an like Surah Al-Ikhlas and additional prayer calling on the name of the dead religious figures. It usually takes about 30-60 minutes to complete the whole prayer structure. Most of those who come through the west gate are pilgrims who only come occasionally, or who are from out of the city and coming to the site as the first stop. Many of them would also visit other graveyards at the same time. Half of the pilgrims admit that they will spend some time at the shops along the way after they finish praying in front of the graveyard.



Figure 21. Pilgrims coming from the west gate



Figure 22. Shops are packed along the stairs at the west entrance gate



Figure 23. Parking area at the west entrance gate

On the other hand, the east entrance gate was built by the descendants of K.H. Dalhar. There are only three available space for shops, which belong to the descendants of Kiai Raden Santri. The parking area is free, without any parking admission fee and no parking area arrangement. There is no registration table at the east gate. Although the parking area is large, the researcher never saw any buses parked there. There is one shop operating at the parking area of the east gate which is run by the student of the nearby Islamic Boarding School. Another shop at the east gate is owned by the descendants of religious figures. The east gate has 222 ceramic rungs. Several facilities were built along the east gate such as a free drinking room, rest room, toilet and ablution space, and a *mushola* (praying room).

Interestingly, in front of the *mushola* at the east gate, there are written warnings put up on walls about fraud attempts. As disclosed during the interviews, there have been reported cases of attempts at fraud against the pilgrims such as by unscrupulous people claiming to possess supernatural powers that can help grant a pilgrim's wishes. Specifically, they tried to manipulate the pilgrims by claiming that they can communicate with K.H. Dalhar or Kiai Gus Jogorekso. Twice, the Foundation also has had to drive out these kinds of people from the graveyard complex. As stated by a member of the Foundation, since the pilgrims came for a favor to ask, they can be easily manipulated.

The pilgrims who come from the east gate commonly stay for a longer time than who come from west gate. One distinction is that they would usually choose a longer time to recite Al-Qur'an and even finish the recitation in a day. Usually, the pilgrims who come from the east gate are the *santri* (students of Islamic Boarding School) or others who have done pilgrimage routinely in Gunungpring. Some informants narrate that the people who pass through this gate are usually not tourists but rather those coming to visit the graves because of religious purposes and not out of sheer curiosity or sightseeing. Based on the interviews, these pilgrims explained that they never had any interest to visit the shops along the west gate and would just directly go back home via the parking area at the east gate. However, it should be

noted that this classification is based only on the observation of the most dominant features during the fieldwork data gathering.



Figure 24. Pilgrims coming from the east gate

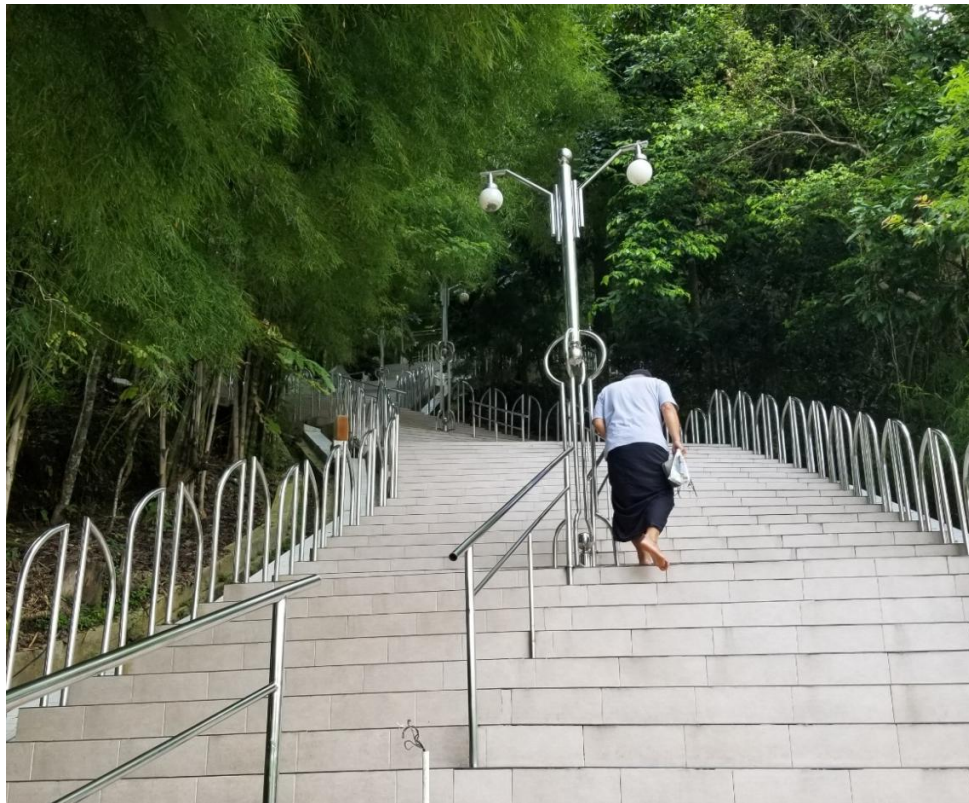


Figure 25. The east entrance gate



Figure 26. Parking space by the east entrance gate



Figure 27. A notice warning pilgrims to “Be careful with people who claim they have supernatural powers” located in front of the prayer room at the east gate

In two entrance gate, there are several *kotak infaq* or free donation box that placed to gathered donations from the pilgrims. The donations used to finance the maintenance of the graveyard complex including its renovation, aside from receiving help from *kiai* from all over Indonesia with the intention of developing the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Based on the fieldwork in 2015, there are 17 donation boxes which are spread all around. Those boxes can be divided into 3 types. Based on the interview with one of the local residents, it became clear that the four white boxes inscribed with *Kotak Amal Makam Mbah Dalhar* or K.H. Dalhar free

donation box, are managed by the descendants of K.H. Dalhar. The funds are used to maintain the east gate such as for electricity and water consumption. The 4 boxes of green color belong to the local government and the rest of the white boxes belong to Kyai Raden Santri Foundation. It is used to develop the graveyard, particularly the west side.



Figure 28. There are three types of free donation boxes in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

6.3. The Economic Impact of Pilgrimage Tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard

Since the establishment of pilgrimage tourism initiated by the descendant of Kiai Raden Santri established in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, there have been increasing numbers of visitors coming every year. Tourism has encouraged people with different backgrounds to know about and be interested in coming to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Hence, this has caused a significant impact on the Gunungpring Village as well, particularly on economic activities such as job creation. Some of the jobs created are parking attendant, vendor, accommodation owner and so on. There are two categories of vendors: permanent and seasonal.

Permanent vendors refer to those who used a permanent shop building along the graveyard complex. There are a number of permanent vendors such as souvenir shops, cafeterias, snack shops, toy shops and so on. Permanent vendors also established a gathering among themselves to facilitate information sharing like the garbage problem. In line with the growth of tourism, the number of shops are also increasing. One of the owners mentioned that she could get a net profit of at least Rp 200,000 or approximately ¥1,550 per day.

The business premises used by permanent vendors are either owned by the vendors themselves or are leased from the village office or other property owners. Different rental fees are applied as determined by the owners. As for the shops rented out by the Village Office, as of fieldwork data in 2016, there are a total of 38 shops; where 8 shops are located inside the graveyard complex and 30 shops are in the parking area. For the 8 shops, the tenants need to pay Rp 200,000 (¥1,500) per month and tenants in the parking area should pay Rp 50,000,000 (¥370,000) for 20 years. The funds for building the shops came from the central government. Recently, in 2018, the Gunungpring Village Office built a wider parking space for buses to avoid traffic congestion during the peak season. There are also three shops which belong to the

descendants of Kiai Raden Santri. One of the shop owner mentioned that they could use the space for free and that it has been acquired from generation to generation.

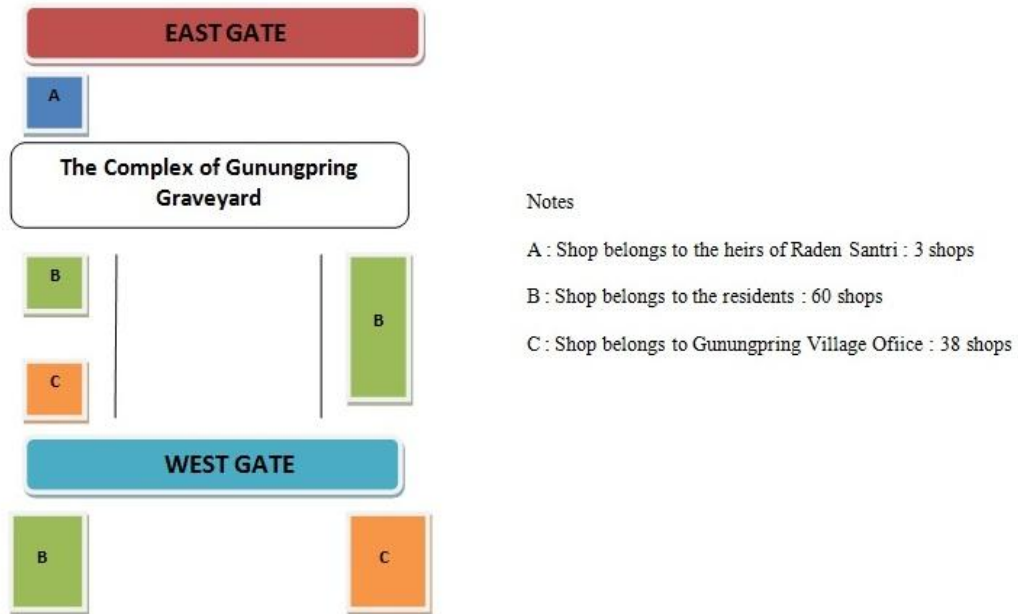


Figure 29. Map of shops in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard
Made by author based on fieldwork in 2016



Figure 30. One of permanent vendors in a concrete building located at the west gate

On the other hand, seasonal vendors refer to the residents who do business in the graveyard complex seasonally and do not own a shop. The number of seasonal vendors fluctuates depending on whether it is peak or non-peak season for tourists. Most of them are farmers so they need to cultivate their land as their main economic activity. During the fieldwork in 2016, based on the data by Gunungpring Village Office, there are approximately 170 farmers listed in the village. During the data gathering, seasonal farmers seen in the parking area of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard were around 15-20 residents. Street food vendors are dominant among the seasonal business activities. The products usually come in small packages using cheap ingredients. They use bicycles, motorcycles and food carts to sell their products and would be located at the parking area. The vendors wear uniform shirts. One of the vendors gave the information that they have established a meeting among themselves and collect an annual fee of Rp 6,000 or approximately ¥46 per-week. Some of the money has been allotted for cleaning costs and the rest is allocated for a picnic at the end of the year.



Figure 31. Seasonal vendors at Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard sell a variety of street food

Although the benefit from economic activities brought positive impact to residents and visitors, there are also many residents who are not able to participate in any economic activity within the graveyard complex or be involved in the foundation. However, since most of the residents do business as merchants at the nearby local market, mostly in Muntilan market which is located 2.2 km from Gunungpring Village (see Figure 3), they do receive some indirect impact owing to the growth of tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Below is the perception of Suratman, a 30-year old local resident, regarding the impact of the graveyard to their businesses.

Although we don't receive any direct benefit from the graveyard, we do get indirect benefits. Most of us work as merchants in the local market, so when the peak season of the pilgrimage comes, our revenue also increases. The vendors here will buy the goods

from us. Also, the most important thing is the religious aspect of the graveyard in our daily lives. There are many activities related to religious matters such as the *khutbah umum* (public sermon from *kiai*) held at the graveyard complex. (Suratman, personal communication, 2016)

Despite the impact in economic activities described above, the presence of vendors at the graveyard complex also provides convenience to the pilgrims. The vendors, both of the permanent and seasonal type, play a significant supporting role for the sustainability of tourism activities by maintain tourism-related activities within the graveyard complex. The visitors to the destinations can easily purchase food or drink while doing their pilgrimage or continuing their sightseeing after praying at the graveyard. This also has an impact on the length of time they decide to stay at the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard²⁷.

Moreover, the younger generation are also enticed to join the pilgrimage because of the presence of these business activities. From the perspective of visitors, the coming of tourism is one possible way to introduce the pilgrimage tradition to the youth and more modern generation. During the fieldwork, I noticed many family who have come accompanied by their children of different ages, from infants to toddlers. While their parents prayed, they would sit next to them quietly or play with other children. They would then go down through the west gate and stop for toys or snacks at the shops. During interviews, parents also acknowledged this positive impact of tourism in pilgrimage destinations such as in the narration of Deni, a pilgrim from Kediri, Central Java.

In order to sustain pilgrimages, we should introduce it to the younger generation. In my opinion, tourism helps us a lot in this matter. We couldn't just take the kids to come here with us, they will be bored easily. First, we should ask them to join us to relax. They would be interested to come because there are a lot of shops here, they can buy food and toys. Then, we can teach them step by step: the history of the place and the religious figures, and why we should go on a pilgrimage. I believe, as time goes by, they will understand and start to do pilgrimages like we do. (Deni, personal communication, 2018)

6.4. *Kiai* and The Growth of Pilgrimage Tourism

In this section, the focus will be on the major role of *kiai* in the growth of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard which is the main thesis of this study. Based on data gathered from the interview with the Foundation, Village Office and also local residents, it could be lead to the main conclusion that *kiai* plays a significant role in pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. The *kiai* in the hereditary line of Kiai Raden Santri can be credited as the pioneer of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard by having established their Foundation and having built the west entrance gate. As descendants of *kiai*, they were also automatically selected as an advisor of the Foundation. As an advisor, they were the one who selected the members of the Foundation.

In order to confirm this, during the fieldwork in March 2018, I decided to visit the *pesantran* owned by the descendant of Kiai Raden Santri, but was initially hesitant knowing

²⁷ Discussion about the economic activities and relation among the actors in pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is published in Journal of International Development and Cooperation under the title "Pilgrimage, Tourism and Community, A Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia". Including some part of Literature Review of Pilgrimage Studies and the introduction of pilgrimage in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

that meeting a *kiai* who owned a *pesantren* would be a difficult task. His name is Kiai Muchlis and he lives next to the Village Office building, in his own *pesantren*. Without any appointment, I went to visit this *pesantren* and it seemed no one was there but then one of the local people approached and assisted me by going inside the *pesantren*. Then, Kiai Muchlis appeared at the front door and asked me to come inside. He welcomed me and allowed me to interview him about the pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

Kiai Muchlis opened his *pesantren* in 2014 called Gunungpring Pesantren, which is located near Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard and has 23 students in total. Every Friday, they do the pilgrimage activities in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard and pass through the west entrance gate. In the beginning, he explained how he became an advisor of Kyai Raden Santri Foundation. The selection which is based on blood lineage is a typical Javanese traditional pattern. One of his main task is selecting the members of the Kyai Raden Santri Foundation.

Before my father passed away, he took me to the graveyard and said, “When I die, you should take over and manage this place by yourself.” Of course, I do receive help from others. However, this is our own responsibility as the descendants. The Foundation helps me manage the graveyard. The member selection process runs in an informal way; as long as they manage the graves properly, I have no problem with that.

The duties of Kiai Muchlis as an advisor is also reflected in the decision-making process. For instance, as an advisor and decision-maker, he agreed to improve the first aid station to care for the health of visitors by providing an ambulance. This is in consideration of the fact that most pilgrims are elderly who are easy to fall ill during the pilgrimage. Sometimes, pilgrims who stay for a long period of time also fall ill. Hence, at the garage of his *pesantren*, there was a parked ambulance which was recently bought to ensure the safety of the pilgrims. Further, he explained that the maintenance of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard relied heavily on the donation from the pilgrims. They have never asked any funding from Yogyakarta Palace or the government.



Figure 32. The researcher had an interview with Kiai Muchlis



Figure 33. An ambulance was bought by the Foundation to ensure the safety of the pilgrims

Clearly reflected in the interview is the fact that the position of *kiai* is usually inherited within the kinship system, as was accordingly discussed in this study's literature review. Kiai Muchlis inherited his father's title as a respected religious figure. Automatically, he also inherited all the benefits associated with the position such as the social status and power that his father used to hold in the society. This power could be kept in various ways but for a *kiai*, a most efficacious way is by owning a *pesantren* and becoming the hereditary to an advisor in the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard.

The power and social status inherited by *kiai* are duly acknowledged by the local people as reflected in interviews conducted in Gunungpring Village. As explained by the local residents, residents in Gunungpring regard the position of *kiai* as special. They ask blessings from them especially as regards crucial matters. For example, without the permission from *kiai* to be the head of the village, then a person should not even consider registering himself for such position. Moreover, the reputation of a *kiai* is far-reaching and, come election time, many candidates from even beyond the village territory come to Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard to ask for the *kiai*'s blessing. In fact, the football field near the graveyard is occasionally used as a helipad to accommodate politicians who come to meet with the *kiai*. Regarding the pivotal role held by the *kiai*, a resident of Gunungpring Village named Tanto summed up the view among the local residents that it is the decisions made by descendants of the religious figures that are believed to be the best way for the growth of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring. They are of the general belief that the decisions made by *kiai*, as respected religious figures, should be obeyed. Since Kiai Muchlis is responsible for the pilgrimage tourism as an advisor and descendant of Kiai Raden Santri, Tanto stressed that the local residents have put their trust in him.

6.5. Discussion

The growth of pilgrimage tourism has brought an enormous impact but was not free from complications along the way. It was ascertained that, in the beginning of tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, different opinions on graveyard management arose between two groups of descendants of religious figures. It is understandable that various concerns would surface because of changes owing to the coming of tourism. However, the establishment of two entrance gates could be seen as a successful effort in addressing these concerns. As shown in previous studies, the differing opinions between groups of descendants toward the establishment of pilgrimage tourism could be found in other cases of sacred graveyards in Java. Some of them, similar to the Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, are also managed by descendants of religious figures. Musadad (2018) in his research about the management of Sunan Kalijaga Sacred Graveyard, a famous pilgrimage destination in Java, discussed this issue. He described how the Sunan Kalijaga Sacred Graveyard is being managed by two groups, the Kasepuhan and Sunan Kalijaga Foundation. It turns out that the foundation was established in response to the dissatisfaction with the work done by Kasepuhan. In his research, he expounded on the involvement of the village office which is responsible for the business activities in the graveyard complex. Pilgrimage tourism in the locality brought a chance for development which also involved other actors such as the local government.

Pilgrimage tourism could be used as a tool for village development as reflected in the initial idea of Village Owned Enterprises. It is hoped that the impact brought about by pilgrimage tourism could be maximized to reach a wider range of local people. One worthy step is improving the facilities and infrastructure with an eye for the safety and well-being of the pilgrims. The characteristic of pilgrimage tourism as a non-stop tourist destination, mostly catering to the elderly, should be taken into consideration. Pilgrimage tourism should also be appreciated as an effective introductory tool to mold the younger generation. It can especially work in getting their attention to visit the pilgrimage sites to start them getting used to the activity.

As the focus of this study, data gathered from fieldwork and the interviews with Kiai Muchlis were of particular importance. Kiai Muchlis could be defined as a hereditary *kiai*, with his inherited title and benefits derived from blood lineage. He became automatically revered as a respected figure within the society. Notwithstanding, he had to take steps to maintain his social status and power.

In analyzing the case of Kiai Muchlis, it is being argued in this study that the exchange process could be seen in the way Kiai Muchlis actively participates in managing Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in order to maintain his existence, power and social status. Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard is now not only seen as just another pilgrimage destination but specifically one where Javanese and Islamic traditions interact, built around the identity of a Javanese Muslim as espoused by the *kiai*. Further, the pilgrimage influenced by the *kiai*'s revered ways is a focal point of tourism and village development, impacting on the local community itself and spurring economic activities for many. As an advisor, Kiai Muchlis is able to maintain his status as the initiator and decision-maker in the growth of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring. He is revered and trusted by the local people for his decisions and acts regarding the pilgrimage which simultaneously help him maintain his social status.

In managing pilgrimage tourism, Kiai Muchlis try to maintain and enhance further his prominence and status as a religious leader in the community. For that purpose, Kiai Muchlis is engaged in the exchange process between the pilgrims with the power of dead saints as an

intermediary. Such exchange is somehow different in nature with that between Kiai Suparno and his followers, in which more direct, tangible and materialistic exchanges had been carried out in informal ways. In the case of Kiai Muchlis, on the other hand, in exchange of the various benefits and services for the pilgrims such as preparing the sturdy stairway and other infrastructure, procurement of ambulance and so on, the pilgrims and local community members bestow and confirm the religious authority and social status to Kiai Muchlis. It is argued that the exchange process, compared to that of Kiai Suparno, involves intangible resources such as authority and status and carried out in a sphere of institutionalized religion of Islam.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

At the outset, this study tried to understand the growth of pilgrimage in Javanese Muslim society, despite the differing standpoints between two Islamic organizations in Indonesia. This study has presented two main reasons behind its continued existence. First, by going on pilgrimages, the pilgrims intend to maintain their tradition which has been rooted from generation to generation. The notion of dead saint as intermediaries is quite significant in Javanese Muslim. Second, the pilgrimage has continued and evolved into a form of tourism that has created a positive impact for the local residents. It can be argued that pilgrimage tourism has significant potentiality in view of its growing number of visitors as well as its significance as a religious practice in Javanese society.

In Chapter 3, the political transformation during the New Order Regime and Reform Era was discussed as the setting to the commodification of religious practices in Indonesia. From the review of literatures, this chapter intends to show the background in which pilgrimage have a bigger opportunity to grow in the Reform Era. It is also aimed to examine how in the process of spiritual reform during the Reform Era, Islam was considered as a resource for individuals to invest in their human capital for the enhancement of their productivity and efficiency. As the focus of discussion, pilgrimage was also seen as a way to achieve individual goals. An individual's effort is not complete without going on a pilgrimage and asking for help from the spirits.

Further, this study has presented the key role played by *kiai* as the charismatic leader amidst the business of the pilgrimage as a religious activity and a commodity. It has been shown how the *kiai* as respected religious leaders in Javanese Muslim society have transformed the pilgrimage in an exchange process, using it not only as a medium for transmitting Islam and Javanese traditions but also for accumulating wealth and sustaining their social status.

The discussion in Chapter 5 presenting the case of Kiai Suparno and his followers clarified how the pilgrimage has ceased to be a mere religious or cultural practice but has transformed into a commodity subject to an exchange process. These current pilgrimage practices emphasize religion as an exchange, which is quite different from the traditional understanding of a so-called religion. As a devotee of a religion, one should not expect anything in return for their unconditional faith. However, the current practice of pilgrimage, particularly in the Reform Era of Indonesia, shows a certain aspect of commodification which puts an emphasis on the exchange value, which become an important aspect when people decide to follow and asked help to the *kiai*. Kiai Suparno's charisma, bolstered by his supernatural abilities and a commanding grasp of combined Islam and traditional Javanese knowledge, made for a unique opportunity to „marketize“ pilgrimage to his followers.

In Chapter 6, focused on the case of Kiai Muchlis, it was made clear how the villagers in Gunungpring Village revered the *kiai* as a respected figure because of his blood lineage with Kiai Raden Santri. Kinship ties have thus become a powerful force in maintaining the running of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard. Under the case of Gunungpring Graveyard, Kiai Muchlis sits as the decision-maker in managing pilgrimage tourism. The pilgrimage has expanded into a source of tourism and tool for village development. Being vested a position as an advisor makes Kiai Muchlis the centre of power distribution within the community. For Kiai Muchlis, managing the pilgrimage tourism can be

an effective strategy to maintain his power and social status within the society. In this sense, the exchange process of the pilgrimage by *kiai* need not always involve something tangible and direct benefit, such as those observed in the case of Kiai Suparno and his followers. Hence, it is argued in this study that *Kiai* can utilize the pilgrimage as an enhancement of his power and status through an institutional way.

To add to the discussion found in the existing literature regarding the role of *kiai* in Javanese Muslim, particularly with regard to the growth of pilgrimage tourism, this research tried to portray the commodification process through pilgrimage itself. In the domain of Javanese Muslim, there are great variety among the *kiai*. This study focused on two kinds of *kiai*: the acquired *kiai* and the hereditary *kiai*. The acquired *kiai* uses his charisma to gain material benefits and is involved in individual exchange. On the other hand, the case in Chapter 6 added the new discussion of the role of the hereditary *kiai*, aside from the existing literature which discuss their role in educational sphere of ruling the *pesantren*. The hereditary *kiai* is also involved in an institutionalized way to manage the growth of pilgrimage tourism. The ability of both types of *kiai* portrays their power in contemporary Javanese Muslim society.

It should be stressed that the *kiai*, in this discussion, did not enhance their status merely through the traditional way of representing themselves as traditional religious leaders and political figures. It is noteworthy that they are also engaged in the acceleration of the exchange of secular benefit and monetary flow, and hastened the decision-making process in managing pilgrimage tourism destination.

Clearly, a pilgrimage in Javanese Muslim society has expanded its meaning from being a mere traditional religious practice into a source of commodity. This raises the question of whether or not the word “expand” in this sense is being used as an expression to argue that the “meaning” of pilgrimages is expanding (as opposed to declining). The commodification process of religious practices prompts a discussion of the impact on the practice itself: does it lead to a decline in its meaning or does it foster the continuation of the practices? Mainly, this study argues that the effect of commodification is not a decline in the meaning behind pilgrimages. The motivation among the Javanese in going on a pilgrimage, despite its commodification, remains the same. The supernatural power and intermediation by the dead saints stay as core components of their religious belief, according to which all the efforts made by the human beings would be incomplete without the help of supernatural powers. Therefore, as the coming of market demand, focused on tourism development, is something that cannot be avoided, it would be better to look into how the commodification of the pilgrimage could benefit its continued existence. In any case, the continuation of pilgrimages as a practice is sustained even if it is being commoditized by *kiai*. In fact, based on the data from the fieldwork, from the standpoint of pilgrims, tourism has also helped introduce the activity to the younger generation.

By way of conclusion, and as reflected in the growth of pilgrimage tourism in Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard, it is certain that pilgrimage tourism is well on its way to further growing for the future. With the increasing prosperity of Indonesia and how its people believe in pilgrimages, many will be able to afford to „pay“ for the activity. Pilgrimage tourism is also likely to become more significant as more tourism agents and policy makers, both in the local and national levels, tend to promote its development.

References

- Askew, M. (2008), Materializing Merit : The Symbolic Economy of Religious Monuments and Tourist-Pilgrimage in Contemporary Thailand. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Pp. 1-12. London : Routledge.
- Azhar, I.N. (2018), Memposisikan Kembali Peran Kiai dan Pesantren dalam Membangun Pariwisata di Madura (Repositioning on the Role of Kiai and Pesantren on the Development of Tourism in Madura), In I.N. Azhar & Surokim (Eds.), *Madura 2020 : Membumikan Madura Menuju Globalisasi (Madura 2020 : Madura toward Globalisation)*, Pp. 144-165. Indonesia : Intelegentsia Media.
- Berger, P.L. (1967), *The Sacred Canopy: Element of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Garden City, NY : Doubleday.
- Buzinde, C., et al. (2014), Emic Understanding of Kumbh Mela Pilgrimage Experiences. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 49: 1-18.
- Chambert-Loir, H. & Reid, A. (2002), Saints and Ancestors: The Cult of Muslim saints in Java. In H. Chambert-Loir & A. Reid (Eds.), *The Potent Dead Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, Pp. 132-140. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.
- Cochrane, J. (2009), Spirits, Nature and Pilgrimage : The “Other” Dimension in Javanese Domestic Tourism. *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion*, 6 (2): 107-119.
- Cohen, E. (1988), Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (3): 371-386.
- Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010), Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (2): 440-456.
- Darmawijaya (2015), Islam dan Kekuasaan Orde Baru: Membaca Kembali Politik De-Islamisasi Soeharto (Islam and New Order Regime: Re-Examine the De-Islamisation Politic During Soeharto). *Sosiologi Reflektif*, 10 (1): 63-83.
- Faridl, M. (2007), Peran Sosial Politik Kiai di Indonesia (The Political and Socil Role of Kiai in Indonesia). *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, Edition 11, Year 6: 238-243.
- Fauzi, M.L. (2012), Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: The Roles of Kiai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 06 (01): 125-144.
- Formannek, S. (1998), Pilgrimage in the Edo Period: Forerunner of Modern Domestic Tourism? The Example of the Pilgrimage to Mount Tateyama. In S. Linhart & S. Fruhstuck (Eds.), *The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure*, Pp. 165-194. Albany : State University of New York Press.
- Fox, J. (2002), Interpreting the Historical Significance of Tombs and Chronicles in Contemporary Java. In H. Chambert-Loir & A. Reid (Eds.), *The Potent Dead Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, Pp. 161-182. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.
- Geertz, C. (1976), Conservative versus Modern: The Ideological Background. *In The Religion of Java*, Pp. 148-161. Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press.
- Geertz, C. (1960), The Javanese Kijaji: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (2): 228-249.
- Hafid, E. (2012), The Early Islam in Indonesia. *JICSA*, 1 (2): 1-10.
- Hidayah, U. & Prasetya, B. (2019), Multicultural Education in Madrasah Diniyah as Prevention of Religious Conservatism. *Jurnal Tarbiyah*, 26 (1): 168-184.

- Hoshino, E. (1997), Pilgrimage and Peregrination: Contextualizing the Saikoku Junrei and the Shikoku Henro. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 24/3-4: 272 – 299.
- Hung, K., et al. (2016), Contesting the Commercialization and Sanctity of Religious Tourism in the Shaolin Monastery, China : Contesting the Commercialization and Sanctity. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 19 (2): 145-159.
- Ibnu Taimiyah, S.I. (1996), *Ziarah Kubur* (A Pilgrimage Activity). (Suranto, Trans.). Indonesia: CV. Pustaka Mantiq.
- Jannah, H. (2015), Kiai, Perubahan Sosial dan Dinamika Politik Kekuasaan (Kiai, Social Changing and The Dynamics of Political Authority). *Journal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan*, 3 (1): 157-175.
- Julungwangi, A.M. (2019), Pilgrimage, Tourism and Community, A Case Study of Gunungpring Sacred Graveyard in Indonesia, *Journal of International Development and Cooperation*, 25 (1): (13-24).
- Karim, A.G. (2009), The Pesantren-based Rulling Elite in Sumenep in the Post-New Order Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesia Islam*, 03 (01): 97-121.
- Kitiarsa, P. (2008), Introduction: Asia's commodified sacred canopies. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Pp. 1-12. London: Routledge.
- Kitiarsa, P. (2008), Buddha Phanit : Thailand's Prosperity Religion and Its Commodifying Tactics. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Pp. 120-143. London: Routledge.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986), The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process. In A. Appadurai (Ed.), *The Social Life of Thing*, Pp. 65-91. UK : Cambridge University Press.
- Laksana, A.B. (2014), Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage Practices. UK : Ashgate.
- Liouw, J.P. (2011), Local Networks, and Transnational Islam in Thailand's Southern Border Province. *Modern Asian Studies*, 45 (6): 1383-1421.
- Lukens-Bull, R. (2008), Commodification of Religion and the „Religification“ of Commodities. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing God*, Pp. 220-234. London: Routledge.
- Machmudi, Y. (2014), Preserving Kiai Authority in Modern Society. *Wacana*, 15 (2): 336-350.
- Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia (2016), The Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.kemenpar.go.id/post/laporan-akuntabilitas-kinerja-kementerian-pariwisata-tahun-2016>
- Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia (2017), The Accountability Report of the Ministry of Tourism's Performance in 2017. Retrieved from <http://www.kemenpar.go.id/post/laporan-akuntabilitas-kementerian-pariwisata-lakip-tahun-2017>
- Mujib, M.M. (2016). Tradisi Ziarah dalam Masyarakat Jawa: Kontestasi Kesalehan, Identitas Keagamaan dan Komersial (Pilgrimage Tradition among Javanese Society: Contestation of Piety, Religious Identity and Commercialism). *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, 14 (2): 205-225.
- Musadad (2018), Usulan Manajemen Pengunjung Situs Makam Sunan Kalijaga, Kelurahan Kadilangu, Kabupaten Demak (Suggestions Toward the Management of Sunan Kalijaga Sacred Graveyard in Kadilangu, Demak). *Bakti Budaya*, 1 (2): 206-215.
- Muzakki, A. (2008), Islam as a Symbolic Commodity. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Pp. 205-219. London: Routledge.
- Nurjaman, A. (2017), Cleavage Agama di Tingkat Lokal, Indonesia : Identifiksasi Partai Tanpa Komitmen Elektoral (Religion Cleavage in Locality, Indonesia : Identification of Party without Electoral Commitment). *Jurnal Sospol*, 3 (2): 43-65.

- Pemberton, J. (1994), Village Cleansing Local Spirits Traces Difference. *In On The Subject of "Java"*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press.
- Pribadi, Y. (2011), Strongmen and Religious Leaders in Java : Their Dynamic Relationship in Search of Power. *Al-Jami'ah*, 49 (1): 159-190.
- Quraish, J. (2017), Commodifications of Islamic Religious Tourism: from Spiritual to Touristic Experiences. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 5 (1): 89-104.
- Rani, M.Z.A (2010), The History of Hinduism and Islam in Indonesia: A Review on Western Perspective. *Makara, Sosial Humaniora*, 14 (1): 51-55.
- Reader, I. (1987), From Asceticism to the Package Tour: The Pilgrim's Progress in Japan. *Religion*, 17/ 2 : 133-148.
- Reader, I. & Swanson, P. (1997), Pilgrimage in the Japanese Religious Tradition. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 24/3-4: 225-270
- Rinschede, G. (1992), Forms of Religious Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 19, 51-67.
- Robson, S. (1965), Kjahi Raden Santri. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 121 (2): 259-264.
- Rudnykyj, D. (2009), Spiritual Economies: Islam and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia. *Cultural Anthropology*, 24 (1): 104-141.
- (2010), *Spiritual Economies*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press.
- Sakai, M. (2002), Modernising Sacred Sites in South Sumatra. In H. Chambert-Loir & A. Reid (Eds.), *The Potent Dead Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, Pp. 103-116. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.
- Santoso, P. (2010), In the Name of Democracy : Commoditization of Religions by Political Party in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 04 (1): 91-108.
- Siregar, et al. (2013), Religious Leader and Charismatic Leadership in Indonesia: The Role of Kyai and Pesantren in Java. *Kawisastra*, 3 (2): 117-226.
- Stoddard, R. (1997), Defining and Classifying Pilgrimage. *Gorgraphy Faculty Publications*, 2: 41-60.
- Sudaryana, B. (2016), The Model of Development Policy Implementation of Village Owned Enterprises in Indonesia. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, Vol. 81: 23-29.
- Susilo, S. (2016), Common Identity Framework of cultural knowledge and practices of Javanese Islam. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 6 (2): 161-184.
- Syapardi, T.D. (2012), Cerita Rakyat Pangeran Singasari Mataram di Desa Gunungpring Kecamatan Muntilan Kabupaten Magelang Jawa Tengah (Suatu Tinjauan Folklor), (Folklore about Singasari Mataram Prince in Gunungpring Village, Magelang, Central Java (A Folklore Discussion), (Bachelor Thesis). Retrieved from Universitas Sebelas Maret Digital Library Database.
- Turmudi, E. (1996), Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java. Australia : ANU E PRESS.
- Tjahjono, P. (2018), Peranan Kejawen dan Islam dalam Praktik Ziarah serta Upacara Labuhan di Parangkusuma, Yogyakarta (The Role of Kejawen and Islam in the Pilgrimage Practices and Labuhan Ceremony in Parangkusuma, Yogyakarta). *Jurnal Teologi dan Pendidikan Kristiani*, 3 (1): 74-91.
- Turner, V. & Turner, E. (1978) Preface, *in Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (xxiii)*. New York : Columbia University Press.

- Van Doorn-Harder, N. & de Jong, K. (2001), The Pilgrimage to Tembayat: Tradition and Revival in Indonesian Islam. *The Muslim World*, Vol. 91: 325-354.
- Weller, R.P. (2008), Asia and The Global Economies of Charisma. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Pp. 15-30. London: Routledge.
- Queen, G. (2004), Local Pilgrimage in Java and Madura: Why is it booming? IAS Newsletter #35
- Zarkasyi, H.F. (2015), Maintaining Pondok Pesantren : Maintaining Tradition in Modern System. *Jurnal Peradaban Islam*, 11 (2): 223-248.

Appendix A

Project Case Study on Tourism Development in Rural Area

To gain a better understanding of tourism development process in a rural area, a one-year research in Mitarai, Osakishimajima was conducted, under the auspices of the Taoyaka Onsite Team Project²⁸, for this study. The town of Mitarai on Osakishimajima Island, one of the four districts that consist Yutakamachi in Kure City, preserves a significant historic townscape that was established back in the 17th century. This new sailing wave gave rise to the establishment of Mitarai as a port town which served the needs of ships docked awaiting favorable sea conditions (e.g., wind and tide). Quickly, Mitarai became one of the ideal places for sailors to stop by. Over time, other forms of transportation took over and the island became no longer a promising place for businesses. Consequently, the population began declining, which continues until now. As of 2016, the population of Mitarai was only 231. More than 48% of the population was over the age of 65 in 2010.

The locals of Mitarai recognize tourism as a critical means to revitalize their community. Mitarai was designated as an important historical heritage site in 1994 and, in the same year, the locals founded an organization called, “Jūdenken o kangaerukai” (重伝建を考える会) or the Steering Committee for Designated Historical Heritage Site, which is more commonly referred to as “Jūdenken”, to discuss the future management of the town. Besides this community organization, there is an ongoing project funded by Central Federation of Societies of Commerce and Industry and the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry which is called the “Museum Koso Jitsugen Project.” The project members include the city and town officials and local business owners. They also invite some guest members from outside of the community. The project was launched in 2016 and the members have been discussing about how to promote tourism in Mitarai, particularly focusing on inbound tourism promotion. Mitarai relies largely on its tourism industry for its economic development as opposed to other districts on the island such as Ōcho which is reliant on its produce of oranges.

Based on the fieldwork survey, it was found that there are potential tourist attractions that exists in Mitarai but a lack of attention to developing them. For example, there is tourism potential in the flower arrangement by *Sakura-bu* or a group of women who arrange local flowers in the residents’ houses to welcome tourists; the shamisen practices performed by the local elderly but not shown to tourists; and the Maze House which can be traced back from the Edo Period. Accordingly, one of the aims of the Onsite Team Project was to give suggestions to the local people for the possibility of establishing tourism activities in Mitarai involving the local community. Moreover, it aimed at soliciting opinions and comments from foreign visitors regarding tourism in Mitarai which relates to activities in the local community. Using the qualitative method, data were collected during the monitoring tour using open-ended questionnaire surveys for the participants and doing interviews with the local people. Those who participated in the monitoring tour among the local people were the representatives of *Sakura-bu*, the shamisen group, the owner of the Maze House as well as the locals who were in charge of food and owner of local accommodation. All the members of the local community who took part in the monitoring tour were interviewed after the activities. The interviews were done in Japanese with the help of an interpreter. As to the foreign participants, ten people, aged 18 and over, were recruited from Hiroshima University through Facebook posts and

²⁸ The research was conducted in October 2016–October 2017 and was funded by the TAOYAKA program as an Onsite Team Project of which the researcher was a member.

flyers posted throughout the university campus in Higashi-hiroshima City. All participants took part in an interview during the tour and filled up the open-ended questionnaire after the monitoring tour, with both data-gathering methods using the English language. Some of the questions in the questionnaire and interview sessions were taken from the Guidebook of Sustainable Tourism published by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), which follows some of baseline indicators related to community participation and tourist satisfaction. To analyze the information, the data were first transcribed from the survey results and interviews; then organized; and finally, a descriptive analysis was conducted by providing a range of responses to every question and identifying familiar data.

Based on the results of the open-ended questionnaire, similar points surfaced regarding the possibility of establishing tourism activities in Mitarai involving more local people participation. First, the results showed that foreigners were more impressed with the activities when they involve the local community. By interacting with the locals, they could understand the story behind every activity; for example, the long history of the Maze House beginning in the Edo Period, the philosophy in playing the *shamisen*, and the flower arrangement activity as a symbol of local identity. Basically, the experience was made more interesting through the participation of the locals compared to only going on sight-seeing without understanding any historical background. Furthermore, the foreigners could feel the atmosphere of local traditions and the spirit to preserve the traditions. Thus, it was a good sign to continue the activity in the long term. Second, it became clear that Mitarai has the potential to be developed and attract more foreigners to come. However, there is still a glaring lack of tourism information in English, which is troublesome for inbound tourists. Similarly, the promotion tools (brochures, pamphlets, signs, information board, etc.) also need to be translated in English to cater to a wider target market to include foreign visitors. Finally, as a small town, Mitarai should make preparations to cater to tourists in the future which would include improving tourism facilities mainly related to basic needs such as restaurants, convenience stores, vending machines and souvenir shops.

On the whole, it is important to involve the local community for the development of sustainable tourism in Mitarai. As borne by interviews, the locals are highly motivated and take pride in continuing local activities owing to the sense of appreciation by foreigners of these activities. Hence, activities that involve the local people are not only beneficial in terms of the economy but also in terms of instilling pride in the community. Equally important to note is the fact that the majority of the locals in Mitarai are elderly. While interacting with tourists brings them happiness, as learned through the interviews, they were concerned about safety and felt insecure with strangers walking around their locality. They also noted how smoking by tourists in public can be a potential problem in the future.

In conclusion, the project case study showed that tourism activities in Mitarai could be established with more participation by the local people and that the benefits can flow to both the tourists and local community. However, it was found that in order to successfully continue local activities (such as the flower arrangement, shamisen performance, and *Tomoda-Tei*) catering to foreign tourists, each activity must have a designated regular schedule and should not be dependent on one person's decision; the activities should be reasonably priced; and an English interpreter should be made available. Foreign visitors also need to receive proper tourism information in English.

This project in Mitarai has helped develop this dissertation writing in various ways. Primarily, it was an exercise for conducting proper fieldwork, in-depth interviews and

observation. The discussion of tourism development in a rural area also casts light on the case in Gunungpring, which is also located in a country side.

Appendix B
List of Informants

Below is the list of informants mentioned in this writing. To protect privacy of the informants, pseudo names were using throughout the writing.

Detail of Informants		
Group	Name	Affiliations
The pilgrims	Hadi	Surabaya
	Ruly	Temanggung
	Budi	Yogyakarta
	Adi	Gunungpring
	Tulus	Kebumen
	Harto	Kulonprogo
	Fadir	Elementary school teacher
	Is	Religion teacher in elementary school
	Kiai Nurhadi	Demak
	Followers of Kiai Nurhadi (4)	Demak
	Rum	Mendut
	Family of 3 members	Borobudur
	Three students	Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, Pemasang
	Adip	Travel driver
	Wahyudi	Boyolali
	Yuwono	Boyolali
	Deni	Kediri
	Riyan	Tour participant
	Wahyudi	Travel employee
	Rita	Former follower of Kiai Suparno
Kiai Suparno	Kiai	
Harto	Follower of Kiai Suparno	
Followers of Kiai Suparno (15)	Pilgrims	
Village officers	Lintang	Village Office workers
	Azis	Village Office workers
	Hendra	Hamlet head
	Nur	Hamlet head
The Foundation	Bambang	The Foundation member
	Paijo	The Foundation member
	Ahmad	The Foundation member
Permanents vendors	Maryatun	Shop owner
	Yati	Shop owner
	Asih	Shop owner
	Sumiah	Shop owner
Seasonal vendors	Jo	Streetfood vendor
	Atun	Streetfood vendor
	Mamat	Streetfood vendor

Gunungpring Residents	Anto	Ngawen Hamlet
	Suratman	Gunungpring Hamlet
	Tanto	Santren Hamlet
	Danding	Teacher of Madin Gunungpring
	Sulis	Karaharjan Hamlet
	Suprihatin	Gunungpring Village
The descendants of Kiai Raden Santri	Muchlis	Advisor of the Foundation