

Flock With God, Ally With Money: Ziarah Wali As Generator of Local Economy

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Abstract

Religion and economy have been influential forces in shaping world throughout history and pilgrimage is the apparent evidence where both forces are working side by side. In Indonesia, ziarah wali has a history of being an economic generator in the areas pilgrims visited. On many cases, the local government took over the site in order to manage it as better tourism site. As the consequences, the pilgrimage sites become more opens to all citizens regardless their cultural or religious background as well as generate the activity around the site into marketplaces. However, many scholars frame the phenomena as devaluating the sacredness of the site and perceive the economic activity around the site is merely mundane practices. Reflecting from those issues, this research examines the economic activities around mausoleum of Sunan Bayat in two ways. First, it demonstrates how the existence of pilgrimage in Tembayat generates the local economy around the site and become village prime source of income. Second, it also scrutinizes how the economic practitioners in Tembayat site regard their economic practice as manifestation of barakah from waliyullah. By doing so, they negotiate with harsh competition among the traders and sustain their economic activity. The findings contribute on the scholarship of Islam and local economy by showing how religious practice generate economic activities and reciprocally how economic activities become the means of religious practice at the same time.

Keyword: Ziarah Wali, Pilgrimage, Religious Economy, Local Economy

Abstrak

Sejarah peradaban umat manusia telah mencatat kuasa agama dan ekonomi dalam mengubah dunia. Ziarah adalah bukti kasat mata bagaimana dua kuasa tersebut bekerja bersama. Di Indonesia, aktivitas ziarah wali seringkali menjadi penggerak ekonomi di sekitar lokasi situs peziarahan tersebut berada. Dalam banyak kasus, pemerintah lokal mengambil alih pengelolaan tempat ziarah dan mengubahnya menjadi situs pariwisata. Sebagai konsekuensi, tempat ziarah pun menjadi lebih terbuka bagi siapapun yang hendak sambang tak peduli agama atau latar belakang budayanya. Selain itu, segala kegiatan di lokasi peziarahan diarahkan agar mampu menambah pundi-pundi desa. Tak heran, banyak akademisi dan peneliti yang membingkai fenomena ini sebagai penurunan kesakralan sebuah tempat suci. Mereka memandang praktik ekonomi yang terjadi di sekitar tempat peziarahan sebagai aktivitas duniawi semata. Berkaca dari isu tersebut, tulisan ini mendedah kegiatan ekonomi seputar peziarahan di sekitar Makam Sunan Bayat dengan dua pisau sekaligus. Pertama, ia menjabarkan keberadaan sebuah tempat peziarahan sebagai penggerak ekonomi lokal dan bahkan menjadi sumber pendapatan utama desa. Kedua, ia juga mengulik bagaimana para pelaku praktik ekonomi di sana memahami transaksi jual belinya sebagai sebuah manifestasi dari keberkahan Sunan Bayat. Yang menarik, melalui pemahaman semacam ini, mereka menjadi mampu bertahan dalam persaingan bisnis yang ketat di sekitar tempat peziarahan. Temuan

dalam penelitian ini berkorespondensi dengan kajian di bidang Islam dan ekonomi lokal dengan cara menunjukkan bagaimana kegiatan agama menjadi penggerak perekonomian satu daerah dan sebaliknya bagaimana sebuah kegiatan ekonomi juga merupakan bagian dari kegiatan bernilai keagamaan.

Kata Kunci: Ziarah Wali, Ziarah, Ekonomi Keagamaan, Ekonomi Lokal

Introduction

This paper examines the economic practices around the local pilgrimage site and takes the tomb Sunan Bayat in Paseban, Klaten as case studies. It demonstrates that the existence of pilgrimage practices generates the economic activity around the site and becomes the prime source of income for the villagers. Along with the raise of religious sector of pilgrimage tourism called ziarah wali as well as the enhancement of infrastructures to pilgrimage site, Tembayat site also become popular as pilgrimage tourism destinations. This situation in turn invites more people to settle business around the site. Along the street, path, and even stairs to the pilgrimage site are filled with small shops selling the pilgrim needs; from religious gimmick (such as prayer beads, flower, or amulets), food and drink, up to unrelated item like second-hand jeans, kitchen knife, and *dangdut* video. The people who live around the site also get the profit by providing the toilet and rest area. In just few years, the quiet sacred site also becomes lively marketplaces. On the other hand, this paper also shows how economic practitioners in Tembayat site regard their economic practices become the means of religious practice. Many people of Paseban who depend their income from pilgrim's visitation believes that the growing tide of economic activity in Tembayat as manifestation of *barakah* (God's blessing) from Sunan Bayat. In turn, this way of thinking shapes on how they perform their economic practices. Hence, religion and economy, from this point of view, are interconnected and supported each other.

The relations between religion or spirituality and economy in modern time have long become subject of scholarship. Weber through *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1902) demonstrated how religious values become significant element in particular economic behavior. Later, Weber's insights ignite another scholarship on the relations between religion and economy which most of them emphasized on the impact of religious value on economy (Woodburn 1985; Novak, 1990, 1996; Miller and Timothy, 2010). Other scholars support Weber's influential work in different path by showing the economic activities as part of religious practice (Maarif, 2014; Redden, 2016). Likely, this research also support's Weber argument about the relation between religion and economy by showing the impact of religious value on economic attitude and behavior. Reciprocally, it also shows how economic activity in pilgrimage practice is inseparable with religious practices.

On the other hand, the commodification of religion as an apparent form of intertwining religion and economy continuously becomes hot issue among the scholars on pilgrimage studies (Cohen, 1992; Vukonić 1996; Olsen 2003). Victor Turner, a pioneer of pilgrimage studies, on his seminal work *The Center Out There: Pilgrim Goal* (1973) already indicated the intrusion of economic aspect toward the pilgrimage practice. Interestingly, Eade and Sallnow on their critical works toward Turner's article, *Contesting the Sacred* (1991, 2000), also highlighted the contestation between the economic and religious motives. Similarly, Peter van der Veer on *Gods on Earth; The Management of Religious Experience and Identity in a North Indian Pilgrimage Centre* (1988) contradict the development of marketplace in pilgrimage with the true nature of pilgrimage. In other words, marketplace and sacred site are put in distinct binary where the later shouldn't be mixed with the former. More recent researches give more positives nuance toward the existence of marketplace and pilgrimage. Reader through his series of works *Pilgrimage in Marketplace* (2015) is one of a few who demonstrated how pilgrimage in modern days is actually operated in and through marketplace.

Meanwhile, Tembayat pilgrimage not only attracts the people for visiting the sacred land of Sunan Bayat but also draws attention of many scholars from various backgrounds (Jamhari, 2000, 2001; van Doorn-Harder and de Jong, 2001; Quinn 2007; Ismail, 2013; Laksana, 2014; Kurniadi, 2016). Most of the discourses revolve around the description of pilgrimage practices in Tembayat and the interpretation of pilgrimage tradition from the pilgrim perspectives. Scrutinizing the narration and the contemporary pilgrimage in Tembayat, van Doorn-Harder and de Jong (2001) framed the pilgrimage in Tembayat as the revival of Islamic tradition within post-Reformation period. This work complements with Jamhari's research on Tembayat (2000, 2001) which explore the dynamic discourse of pilgrim's motivation and practices in Tembayat. Within the discourse of economy, Quinn through his intriguing article, *Throwing Money at Holy Door* (2007) examines the economics issue of pilgrimage practices in Java but mealy mention about Tembayat. More comprehensive work on economic relation and pilgrimage site in Tembayat could be seen on *Ziarah ke Makam Wali: Fenomena Tradisional di Zaman Modern* (2013) by Ismail. Focusing on the meaning of pilgrimage from perspectives of the practitioner and people who lived around the site, Ismail demonstrated how people around Bayat perceive the existence of Sunan Bayat as the source of *barakah* to its surrounding. This paper joins in such scholarly arguments. It supports Ismail's finding on how *barakah* as religious value stimulate the economic growth based on people's point of view. Furthermore, this paper also emphasizes on how this religious value shape their way of doing economic activity and thus regard their economic practices as the means of religious practice.

The Pilgrimage in Tembayat

The name of Tembayat hill is frequently mentioned in important Javanese manuscripts, notably Babad Tanah Jawi, Babad Nitik, and Serat Kandha (Rinkes as mentioned in van Doorn-Harder and de Kees, 2001:332). Located between two center of the heartland of Javanese culture, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, this little hill becomes a vocal point in historical map of Islam dissemination in Java. This is the place where the Islamic proliferation in the core site of Hindu -Buddhist tradition, which is strongly crafted for thousand years since the Old Mataram dynasty, began. Furthermore, the Tembayat hill is also the land where the body of Sunan Bayat, one of the holy saints of Java, was buried.

The holy saint or wali status of Sunan Bayat is quite interesting. Some classic Javanese literatures, such as Babad Tembayat and Babad Demak, noted that Sunan Bayat is part of Wali Sanga (Jamhari,2000:61), the famous group of Islamic proselytizer who has great contribution in spreading Islam in 16th century of Java (van Dijk, 1998:222). Furthermore, some scholars deduced him as the tenth Wali according to the analysis of some classical sources (van Doorn-Harder and de Kees, 2001:332). Some others merely perceive Sunan Bayat as just local wali and apart from the Wali Sanga. Interestingly, the life history of Sunan Bayat not only shrouded by mystery but also has polyphonic stories. The famous legend tells that Sunan Bayat real name is Adipati Pandanarang, the rich governor of Semarang. Briefly, after Sunan Kalijaga, one of the Wali Sanga, spiritually persuades him, the Adipati left his status and wealth in order to become disciple of Kalijaga and to learn Islam. After Pandanarang gained enough knowledge, Kalijaga asked him to spread Islam in Bayat and its surrounding. The other version denotes that Sunan Bayat is not the Adipati Pandanarang himself but his son.

Meanwhile, another popular folklore around the site associates the Sunan Bayat with pseudo-legendary figure of King Brawijaya V, the last king of Hindu-Buddhist empire of Majapahit (Jamhari, 2000:63). The story recounts that in his disguise as local government in Semarang, King Brawijaya V encounter Sunan Kalijaga. After the fierce argument about true spirituality (*ngelmu sejati*), the King acknowledged the Kalijaga's wisdom and decided to become his disciple. Thus, Sunan Kalijaga gave the King a new name: Pandanaran. Shortly, for the rest of his life Pandanaran devoted himself for preaching the Islam around the Tembayat hill, where he got the title Sunan Bayat—derived from the word Tembayat—means the holy man who preach in Bayat. After he passed away, his body is buried in Tembayat hill and his followers bestowed him with the grand mausoleum (van Doorn-Harder and de Kees, 2001:331). This narration befits with the story from juru kunci or custodians and some regular pilgrims. Interestingly, the pilgrim's motivation in performing pilgrimage to Tembayat is not weaken with the unclear historical background and multi-identities of Sunan Bayat. In

fact, it attracts many people from diverse backgrounds to visit the tomb as well as to link their needs and identities.

Though the pilgrims in Tembayat comes from various religious background and tradition, As shown by earlier researches, there are two ways of pilgrimage practices which simultaneously performed in Tembayat, namely Muslim pilgrimage and Javanese pilgrimage, (Jamhari, 2000; van Doorn-harder and de Jonk, 2001; Kurniadi, 2016). These practices continue become apparent phenomena that easily recognized when visiting the site. Though, in recent years both methods of pilgrimage are often mingling each other in diverse ways. Moreover, the increasing numbers of spiritual tourism participants also affect the way people perform the pilgrimage practices as well as perceive the pilgrimage sites.

Tembayat Pilgrimage as Economic Generator of Paseban Village

Based on *sengkalan* or time milestone that inscribed on Gapura Segara Muncar, the first gate, in Tembayat, the tomb was established on 1488 Saka during the reign of Sultan Hadiwijaya of Pajang. Later, as shown in *Babad Nitik*, Sultan Agung of Mataram renovated the tomb in extraordinary fashion to express his gratitude toward Sunan Bayat. He commanded that no horses or regular masons might be involved in the renovation. Thus, he selected 300.000 men based on their spirituality and pious behavior and instructed them to line the street from stone quarry all the way to the grave. Should be noted, rather than standing along the street, they were sitting in sila position and passed the stone by hand. Thus, due to this extraordinary way of construction, many people believed that the mausoleum becomes one of the most beautiful and sacred tomb in Java.

During the New Orde period, Tembayat Tomb have certified as heritage building and served under the Office of Archeology of Central Java. Later, when many people come to Tomb of Tembayat, the government took over the site and renovated many part of the building such as re-built the second gate which has only one gate when it's found and put the entrance ticket right beside it. The government also built the infrastructure around the site in order to pump up the visitation. Gradually the merchant came and built temporary shelter along the stairs, side by side with people's grave that scattered in the foothill, to sell their goods. Later, the building become more permanent and they need to pay annual fee to the village office for retribution. However, van Doorn-Harder and Kees de Jong highlighted this facilities improvement as political distraction in order to weaken the power of political Islam (2001:328). Apart from those controversies, the development of infrastructure and facilities around the site foster more people to visit the tomb of Tembayat.

Meanwhile, along with the raise of middle class, there is high demand from Muslim community to have lighter and non-time consuming pilgrimage practice without losing the sacredness of the site (Doorn-Harder and De Jong, 2001:328). The more convenient site encourages more Muslim to perform the pilgrimage. Thus, this demand raised a new religious service sector called pilgrimage tourism or wisata ziarah. This new kind of pilgrim is different with another typology of pilgrim who seeks the blessing in order to overcome the finance problem. Most of the pilgrimage tourists perform the ziarah to fulfill their spiritual needs in convenient way. In fact, many tourism agencies already offers the pilgrimage practice specially tailored for the middle-class tastes; well organized, comfortable and even luxurious (Quinn, 2007:72).

At the same time, the trends of visiting tomb have been shifted in the last two decade. Many public figures are no longer shame or unease for their local pilgrimage practices. Some of them even inform the media about their upcoming visitation in order to get wide publication. For the last decade, we have abundant photos and articles that show political public figure perform local pilgrimage practices, especially during the election campaign periods. On national scale, Quinn underlined this trend as political motives pilgrimage which has been practiced in order to draw legitimacy both from the voters and the sacred site (Quinn, 2009:198). Furthermore, as Quinn highlighted, the local pilgrimage practices started to get high both in profile and number of practices during the presidency of Gus Dur and Megawati due to their, especially Gus Dur's, frequent visitation to the innumerable tombs of Muslim saint that scattered across Java (Quinn, 2009:185). Meanwhile, even though Van Hoorn-harder and de Jong (2001) do not mention about Gus Dur, they highlighted the raise of pilgrimage practices during the post-New Orde period as the revival in Islamic mysticism in contemporary Indonesia.

This Gus Dur effect, if I may call, also plays significant role in Tembayat. According to Lurah Paseban and juru kunci, Gus Dur had three times visited Tembayat. "If I'm not mistaken, the first one is around 1999 before he became the president, the second is on 2001 after his impeachment, and the last one is on 2008 " said Sarjito, juru kunci. The photos of Gus Dur visitation are put on display in the glass-line wooden board near the fourth-gate and guest office along with other photos which show some important people who ever visit Tembayat, for example Ganjar Pranowo, the current Governor of Central Java. Interestingly, almost all of the stakeholders pointed out that after Gus Dur visitation to Tembayat, the amount of pilgrim raise in significant number. "Just around last ten year the parking lot is filled with many busses. Before, it's rare to see traffic jam in here," said Trianto, parking officer in Tembayat. At peak season, Tembayat parking lot is more like small terminal where many transportation mode come and go. This crowd attracts many peddlers to come

and make the Tembayat parking lot livelier. This change is also felt by the merchants along the stairs. “Alhamdulillah, many visitors come now especially during the holiday or Thursday night. Having Gus Dur visit the site is good omen,” said Marto (55), a merchant near the entrance gate. Since 90’s, he sold the ritual accessories like tasbih (dzikir counter), kopyah (a cap usually for prayer), and also blangkon (traditional Javanese cap). “Yeah, after Gus Dur’s visit, many group from Jawa Timur came. They are very loyal, especially the women,” said Wanto, the sandal keeper. Should be noted, all pilgrims need to take off their shoes and sandals before enter the upper complex. Usually, for pilgrim who comes in group they collect their sandals and put it in the same slot. In order to recognize which bunch of sandals and shoes belong to, the sandal keepers write with chalk in the wooden plat where the sandals have been put. “Now I know the name of many place in East Java, such as Tulungagung, Jombang, Lumajang, Jember, and many more,” he added with laugh.

In fact, if we take a look on the guest book, at least there are one or two groups of pilgrim come from East Java every day in the last five years. “Gus Dur ever came here, so we want to visit the tomb also to follow his footprint. If Gus Dur visit the site, it means the figure whom he visited is the true waliyullah because only wali who knows other wali.” said Imam Mustakim (53), group leader of Pengajian Tombo Ati, Malang. However lots of pilgrims that I interviewed do not know the story of Gus Dur visitation to Tembayat. “I never know that Gus Dur ever came to Tembayat. But if there is story about that then it must be true. Gus Dur like to go pilgrimage to the tomb of waliyullah” said Aliyah (57) from Pandaan, East Java. This answer is quickly affirmed by her fellows group. Moreover, only few people found out that there is Gus Dur picture shown near the fourth gate mostly due to poor display. Likely, most of the people just passing by the sawo kecil (manilkara kauki) trees that once ever donated by Gus Dur. There are three sawo kecil trees that Gus Dur donated in Tembayat; One is planted near the Bangsal Dalem, one before the Bale Kencur – the place where Sultan Hadiwijaya of Pajang, also popularly known as the Gus Dur’s ancestor, took a rest – and the last one is planted outside the main chamber near the tomb of Dampo Awang and Ki Pawilangan. Little by little, the story of Gus Dur’s visit started to tell by the juru kunci to the pilgrim, especially when they come from East Java, in order to attract other visitation as well as to demonstrate the abundant *barakah* of Sunan Bayat site.

This blooming visitation contributes on the increasing number of merchants in pilgrimage site. Within the last decade, the existence of merchants in pilgrimage site becomes common scenery. So does in Tembayat. Along the blooming tide of pilgrims, array of merchants also grow and swarm around the site to provide services for the pilgrims. At first, the services are limited to ritual requisites – such flowers and incense – and simple food stall where the visitor

could take a rest or get some food. The collateral requirements such as parking lot and a place to sleep overnight come next. Later, the services provided in the vicinity of busy pilgrimage sites become so various. The shop and stalls also sell numbers of souvenirs such as prayer beads (tasbih), various model of kopyah (prayer caps), amulets, portrait of the saints, bottle of perfumes, t-shirt with the name of the site printed on it, video disc of Islamic preacher, up to casual Islamic outwear for ladies and every day apparel. Some stalls specially provide local delicacies and other souvenir foods to be taken home by the pilgrims to their family and neighbors. There are also merchants who provide particular services such as ojek motor and masseur.

Interesting to note, even though hardship and suffering is notable element on pilgrimage, the development and upgrading facilities to make pilgrimage more accessible for greater number of people are never stop. During Al. Eko's period that started on 2007, the site of Tembayat has undergone some facilities enhancement in order to make pilgrimage more comfortable. Most notably are refining the back-road that go straight to the end of stairs and placing canopy roof made from galvalum, coated aluminum sheet, along the stairways. The road was built by the people around the site with the cost from village cash. Now, this road becomes ojek route to take the pilgrims who want to take a shortcut to the top of the hill. "Many pilgrims cannot hike hundreds of stairs due to physical condition. So, we offer ojek service to take them to the main tomb faster," said Sunu Wiyasa, the head of Paguyuban Ojek Paseban (Gemeinschaft of Ojek Paseban). Established on 2014, at first this ojek group is initiated by Lurah Paseban in order to open work opportunity for the people of Paseban. Currently, there are 120 people works as ojek driver around the tomb. Likely, the galvalum canopy is also built in the similar ways, except the cost come from visitor's alms on Tembayat site. "When it's rain, the stair is often slippery and it's dangerous. While on summer, the canopy might cover the pilgrims from the heat," Al. Eko explained. Unfortunately, by using galvalum, this additional structure is not coherence with the surroundings that made from stone and wood. Moreover, as heritage site, the change on building façade or appearance is strictly prohibited by laws. "This is the most affordable for us now. The funding from the government is very little. Again, what important is to make the visitor safe and comfortable," said Lurah Paseban.

The effort of site management to attract more people to visit shows how much pilgrimage site is relied on the pilgrim's fund. Not only upgrading the facilities, the site management also initiates series of event through modification and strengthening particular aspect as well as promote it in various medium. The village office of Paseban made large baliho near the main road to Tembayat and also sent press release to mass media. Due to the lack of fertile land to grow crops, Paseban village rely much on visitation to Tembayat site. These attempts

not only show the strong presence of religion in the public space but also the attempt to draw further the capital potential of religious activity.

Revisiting the Economic Practices In Tembayat

At glance, the existence of merchant in the Tembayat is insignificant for the ritual and frequently accused as decreasing the sacredness of the site. As matter of fact, Gapura Segara Muncar where the visitors usually start their ritual in the past is hardly recognized due to its small size and surrounded by the peddlers. However, during my research I found that through their services the merchant play significant role in the continuity of pilgrimage practices by making the pilgrimage more feasible for some pilgrims. For the visitors who practice Javanese manner, the existence of merchant is important. The requisite of the *jawab* ritual such as incense and *kembang telon* (combination of three kinds of flowers) cannot easily be bought in any market, even less in the small portion. Along the street to the stairways, especially in Thursday night and Friday, there are many women who sell the requisite for jawab ritual. They buy the flowers and incense from the market or supplier in large number and resale it in a small package. The package contains incense and *kembang telon* that wrapped with banana leaves. The price for one package is only Rp 5.000. For the visitors who come from faraway place, the package is helpful. They do not need to bring any requisite from home and the flowers bought in Tembayat are fresher. Similarly, by providing services for the pilgrim who can't or don't want to climb hundreds of stairs, ojek motor makes the pilgrimage practice more accessible especially for people with disabilities.

Meanwhile, the merchant who provide souvenirs, which apparently unrelated with the ritual, also have contribution to ensure the success of the ritual. The growing number of ziarah wali tour participants raises new market demand on souvenir from pilgrimage site. Many scholars underlined the other function of souvenirs. Rather than merely a reminder of journey or event, souvenirs become prove that their owners were there (Butler, 1991; Gordon, 1986; Hitchcock, 2000; Love & Kohn, 2001). Interestingly, this function becomes more important in recent decades (Collins-Kreiner and Zins, 2011:12). Though devotion becomes main motivation, leisure and tourism aspect also have strong presence in ziarah wali tour and shopping is one of the most presence activities. Should be noted, having souvenir to be shared with family and neighbor is common tradition in Indonesia and there is suggestion in Islamic tradition to bring souvenir after a journey. Thus, the souvenir shops facilitate them to fulfill both touristic and their devotional need. "Having souvenir shop near the site is good. We don't have to go to downtown just for buying souvenir. Besides, the price is also good. We have more time to pray without worrying much about shopping souvenir," said Aliyah, participant of ziarah wali tour from Pandaan.

Within this circumstance, the merchants who sell souvenir help to ensure that the pilgrims may perform ritual in best condition possible.

As a reminder of journey, there are two kinds of souvenirs that can be taken home from Tembayat. The first one is souvenir as the result of the ritual, for example kantil, blessing water, or food from selamatan ritual. The other one is souvenir that can be purchased as commodity such as outwear, mineral water, local food, and so forth. Similarly, Stewart (1993) distinguished objects which served as reminder of journey into two kinds: souvenir and memento. Souvenir is an object that mass produced and purchasable as the representatives of the site while memento is a personal object that can't be bought and usually related to some rite de passage. However, an object could become both souvenir and mementos after particular events. For example, the mineral water bought in small shop in Bayat might become a memento after it's been used as part of the ritual.

On the other hand, there are also souvenirs that purchased for its sacred quality. Some pilgrim believes that the farmer tools which bought in Tembayat also have sacredness quality (*barakah*) as the result of its proximity with Kanjeng Sunan's site (*kesawaban*). Other pilgrim relates the sacredness of souvenir with the narration or local tradition associated with Sunan Bayat, for example the pottery product. Local people believe that during his life Sunan Bayat invented new technique of making pottery called diagonal rotation (*putaran miring*) and taught the people in Tembayat. Kanjeng Sunan modified the usual rotation technique in order to accommodate the Javanese manner and Islamic norm which consider the women who wide-open her legs (*ngangkang*) while sitting as a taboo. Thus, many people believe that pottery made in Tembayat have more *barakah*. Similarly, a local food called *intip* (dried leftover of cook rice) is also known as Sunan Bayat's favorite. This story is often told by the tour leader to ziarah wali participants though this narration is not well-known in Sunan Bayat's hagiography. Nonetheless, many pilgrims believe that consuming *intip* from the tomb of Bayat have more *barakah* compared to the common *intip* provided in market. Hence, from explanation above, the practice of buying souvenir is also part of the attempt to draw the *barakah* of Sunan Bayat.

In the meantime, examining the merchant around pilgrimage site in Hardwar, India, Lochtefeld (2010) underlined that there is no strong relation between piety or faith and the merchant around the pilgrimage site. In short, he argued that the people whose livelihood relies on pilgrimage do not make them automatically pious. They are simply, "ordinary people who happen to live in a religious economy (Lochtefeld 2010: 108)." Yet, during my research I found different findings. The merchant around Tembayat site perceive their economic activity is also related with the *barakah* of Sunan Bayat though they admitted that their main purpose is making money. For them, the economic growth in

Tembayat as well as their existence as merchant around the tomb is also part of Sunan Bayat's *barakah*. This belief is manifested on the way they do their business. The merchants try to be honest as possible when offering the good or negotiating the price because any fraud can cost them misfortune. "They are the guest of Sunan Bayat. If we take too much fortune from them, Sunan Bayat will be angry. Besides, honest trading is more *barakah*," said Surtini, a seller of Muslim outwear in the stairs of Sunan Bayat.

Interesting to note, even though the competition among the merchant in Tembayat is not as fierce as in other Ziarah Wali destinations, the struggle to draw a penny or little money from the pilgrim is real deal. From the Paseban village data on 2015, there are at least 130 traders that affiliated into three groups based on their location: the upper part (from the stairs up to main complex), outside terminal, and inside terminal. Most of traders provide similar goods, especially Muslim outwear and T-shirt souvenir, and they have same supplier. In addition, many tour agencies put the tomb of Sunan Pandanaran as the last destination for pilgrimage. In result, most of visitor already spent their money on other places and only have limited amount of saving for shopping. Hence, the price war is inevitable though it's not too apparent. The price for t-shirt souvenir in stairs is Rp 25.000, while in terminal it can be purchased for only for Rp 20.000. However, these prices can be reversed on other occasion. When the visitor gets ready to go back to the bus and they want to buy t-shirt for souvenir, the price in outside terminal could be higher than in the stairs. The persistence buyers often said that they got cheaper price somewhere else, and ask the seller to lower the price. Usually this strategy is work, especially at low season. "It's not good actually. The merchants should make agreement to sell their goods in same price. I know that sometimes their profit for an outwear product mostly around Rp 5.000 and even only Rp 2.000. This is not healthy trading," said Al. Eko, Lurah Paseban. However, some merchants perceive this as a common business problem and no need to exaggerate it. Besides, they believe that God already decided that everyone has its own share. "It's ok if we get little fortune, as long as it's *barakah*, (Entuk sitik sing penting barokah)," said Marto, a merchant who selling souvenir near the ticket entrance. Most of the merchant in Tembayat have already set their shop more than a decade and they believe that their way of trading sustains their business since then. In fact, near the ware house of Gapura Bale Kencur, the seventh gate, there is a silver monument made from stone and cement. According to Suropto, juru kunci, this monument was made by group of merchant around the site as a sign of gratitude to Sunan Bayat for giving them permission to set their shop as well as bestowing them with *barakah*.

The development of tourism aspect in Tembayat contributes to the growing number of visitor and merchant who swarm around the site. Yet, rather than decreasing the sacredness of the site, the merchants act as supportive

element, directly or indirectly, for the ritual. Moreover, *barakah* of Sunan Bayat is also overflowed to their economic activity in two ways: the product related with Sunan Bayat's narration and the way they perform their economic activity. The merchants believe that the growing economic activity in Tembayat is also part of Sunan's *barakah*. The illustrations above show how spirituality is not only marketed but also supported by and operated within marketplace.

Conclusion

Economics and religion have been influential forces in shaping world history and, throughout history, pilgrimage is the apparent evidence where both forces are working side by side. In Indonesia particularly, pilgrimage has a history of being an economic generator in the areas pilgrims visited by creating marketplace. However, this also raises the issue of commodification of religion which many considered as devalued the authenticity and sacredness of religious site. Yet, the finding of this research shows that, even though it's problematic, the marketplace makes religion more accessible to the public or, in the case of pilgrimage, it makes the ritual more feasible. Furthermore, within the economic practitioners in Tembayat point of view, the economic growth in Tembayat as well as their existence as merchant around the tomb is also part of Sunan Bayat's *barakah*. This belief becomes religious ethics that manifested on the way they do their business. Hence, though admitted that their main purpose is making money, they also perceive that their economic activity also part of religious practice. In other words, the pilgrimage site also becomes a place where they integrate their work and faiths. These findings give further illustration how religious practice shape, and also is shaped by, the local economy around it.

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