

Contested Authorities in the *Haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya

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Abstract: This study investigates the dynamics of the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya, Mojokerto, East Java which is contested between KH Ismail's family and the cultural figures supported by the local government. Using a qualitative research approach this study found that the *haul* ritual of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya was held in two different versions, that is, Ismail's family carried out their haul ceremony called *jam'ul jawami'*, meanwhile Wulung as a figure of Sentonorejo Village initiated the haul ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in the form of *kirab budaya*. This different ceremonial practice of *haul* leads to theological conflict. The house of Ismail accused Wulung and the administration of Sentonorejo Village of having made an innovation in religious practices (*bid'ah*) in the sense that *kirab budaya* was not taught by Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. Meanwhile, Wulung was convinced that the idea of *kirab budaya* incorporated within the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro intended to preserve the Majapahit culture that is suitable with Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's religious teachings. However, although the contest between two actors of the haul ceremony was inevitable, they were able to meet and share in terms of economic interest.

Keywords: Contested authorities, *haul* ritual, cultural authorities, Sheikh Jumadil Kubro.

Introduction

Visiting the tomb of saints is a very popular devotional practice in Java, for Muslim traditionalists in particular. The tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya, Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java, is considered as one of the most visited saints' tombs in East Java since Abdurrahman Wahid, the former President of Republic Indonesia, went to this place in 2004. Wahid was familiar with the tradition of

pilgrimage to tombs and he was known as a person who had great respect for the saints. However, although on a smaller scale, the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya had already been known as a pilgrimage site at least since the early 1980s.

Actually, there is diversity of views in regard to the exact place where Sheikh Jumadil Kubro buried. There are, at least five places that are believed to be the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro, namely Terbaya, Semarang; Turgo hill close to Yogyakarta; Mantingan Ngawi; Sulawesi; and Tralaya, Trowulan Mojokerto.¹ Nevertheless, the tomb in Tralaya is believed by many to be the authentic tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. Based on my fieldwork in 2018, I found that the 'tomb' on the top of the Turgo hill in Yogyakarta is believed to be the *petilasan* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro by the residents of Turgo. Meanwhile, the tomb in Terbaya Semarang which is located in the middle of the mosque is supposed to be the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. However, there is no hard proof that Sheikh Jumadil Kubro ever delivered his mission in Terbaya. In contrast with what happens in Tralaya, there are proofs supporting the existence of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's tomb. One of the proofs is the tomb of Temenggung Satim Situmoyo, the courtier of the Majapahit Kingdom who helped Sheikh Jumadil Kubro during his serving, which is located beside the Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's tomb in Tralaya. Thus, many believe that the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya is the site as supported by the strongest historical facts and relics.

Tralaya, Trowulan is considered to be the former capital of the Majapahit Kingdom.² It is nearby Pendapa Agung³ which is believed to be the palace of Majapahit Kingdom. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, the Governor of Java in office 1811-1816, who was interested in the history of Java, dubbed Trowulan as *Kebanggaan Pulau Jawa* (the pride of Java).⁴ Besides being the biggest Hindu-Buddha site ever found in Indonesia, according to Ricklefs, Tralaya turned out to be also an

¹ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo* (Depok: Pustaka Iman, 2004).

² Parmono Atmadi, Y. Djarot Purbadi, and Irina Mildawani, "Early Moslem Settlements in Trowulan," in *Early Moslem Settlements in Trowulan* (Yogyakarta, 1998).

³ Pendapa Agung Trowulan Mojokerto was built in 1964 - 1973 by Kodam-V Brawijaya in Nglingsuk Hamlet, Trowulan Village. The building is believed to be location of the former Majapahit Kingdom Hall, the place where Mahapatih Gajah Mada pronounced the famous Palapa Oath.

⁴ Prima Yustana, "Trowulan Kota Terakota," *Jurnal Ornamen* 8, 1 (2016), pp. 1-18.

enormous burial ground of ancient Muslim graves with tombstones inscribed with Indian Saka years. One of these graves has been identified as the last resting place of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro and, as far as I could reconstruct the history of the rituals performed at his tomb, it was Kiai Haji (KH) Ismail who pioneered the commemoration of the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in the beginning of the 1980s.

This article reports on research conducted in 2017 and 2018, focusing on the contest of the *haul* ritual performed on the occasion of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Kedung Maling Village and in the ancient tomb complex Tralaya, Trowulan, Mojokerto, East Java.

***Haul*: Between Religious and Cultural Ritual**

Before investigating the further meaning of *haul*, it is essential to look at a definition of ritual. According to Post:

“Ritual is a more or less repeatable sequence of action units which, take on a symbolic dimension through formalization, stylization, and their situation in place and time. On the one hand, individuals and groups express their ideas and ideals, their mentalities and identities through these rituals, on the other hand, the ritual actions shape, foster, and transform these ideas, mentalities and identities.”⁵

Post’s definition reveals two important aspects of ritual, namely the vertical and horizontal. The horizontal dimension regulates relations between people in performing rituals which include ritual repetition, ritual symbols, and ritual formalization. Post’s definition above also implies that the ritual requires space for the expressions and periods that have been determined. The horizontal dimension in this ritual also implies that humankind performs the ritual physically.

Meanwhile, the vertical aspect that can be understood in the Post’s definition above is that the ritual has a spiritual dimension in which a person who performs the ritual is intended to achieve ideals and identities that are abstract. In the Javanese context, the Post’s definition of the ritual includes *lahir* (inner) and *batin* (outer) aspects.

⁵ Paul Post, "Fields of the Sacred: Reframing Identities of Sacred Places," Paul Post, Arie L. Molendijk, and Justin E.A. Kroesen (eds), *Sacred Places In Modern Western Culture* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), p. 18.

It is important to note that repetition is a dominant feature of ritual found in many scholars' notions such as Turner,⁶ Tambiah⁷, Grimes,⁸ and Bell.⁹ Repetition is also the main feature of religious activity such as *salāt*, fasting, *ṣalāt*, pilgrimage, and others. The repetition indicates that *haul* is deemed as a religious ritual that is unlike non-ritual activities. In this regard, according to Turner, the ritual is considered a repetition activity based on non-empirical belief as a condition of its existence.

However, the *haul* ritual cannot be separated from cultural activity. *Haul* which is conducted to celebrate death is a symbolic act of respect, remembrance, and love to a venerated person. Geertz outlined a culture as a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. Through culture, humankind expresses their symbolic action to communicate and develop their knowledge of religious and ritual activities.

The term *haul* (*haul*) is derived from Arabic meaning year, mighty, or power. *Haul* in this chapter which becomes the main theme means year. Therefore, *haul* in the Islamic tradition refers to a special ritual conducted annually related to death.

In the Javanese culture, *haul* is related to the belief that the spirit of the death is still alive in the grave realm which is the threshold between the world and the hereafter realm.¹⁰ The Javanese society believes that the good spirit of the deceased remains exist around their house. The spirits will visit their descendants and protect them. The good spirit who protects the village is called *dhanyang*. In order to keep in touch with *dhanyang*, the villagers conduct the ritual of cleaning the tomb and presenting the meal (*sesaji*). In this sense, *haul* ritual includes a cultural dimension.

⁶ Victor Turner, "Symbols in Ndembu Ritual," *The Forest of Symbols: Aspect of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 19–47.

⁷ Stanley J. Tambiah, *A Performative Approach to Ritual* (London and Oxford: The British Academy, 1979), p. 119.

⁸ Ronald L. Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ Aspuri, "Pengaruh Tradisi Haul KH. Abdurahman Terhadap Keberagamaan Masyarakat Mranggen Demak" (Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis, IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 2009).

Additionally, according to traditionalist Muslims' belief, the spirit should be prayed by a pilgrimage to the tomb every year of the death (*pendak*). Therefore, the pilgrimage to the tomb tradition coinciding the *haul* moment is usually carried out by Indonesian Muslims, in particular, the traditionalist Muslims who are followers of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) religious organization which is adaptive to the local culture. However, the *haul* ceremony tradition in Indonesia is believed to be brought by the descendant of Hadramaut, Yemen.¹¹

The origin of the *haul* ritual can be traced to the beginning of the history of Islam. As mentioned in the Islamic tradition (*hadith*), the prophet Muhammad did the pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyrs of *Uhud* battle¹² every year. This is the postulate held by traditionalist Muslims in Indonesia to do the *haul* ceremony. However, not every Muslim, in particular, *Salafi* groups agree with this practice and consider this ritual as a heresy.¹³ In this respect, it is difficult to separate the *haul* ritual from part of religious services. Moreover, the *haul* ceremony has been familiar according to tradition for traditionalist Muslims especially those who live on Java. Moreover, Java was successfully Islamized by the nine Islamic missionaries who are famous as *Wali Sanga*.¹⁴ They delivered their mission through a cultural approach. The figures of *Wali Sanga* are the most venerated persons on Java due to their role in Islamic dissemination. As a result, the people in many places on Java often conduct the ritual of *haul* devoted to *Wali Sanga* including the *haul* of Syaikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya, Mojokerto, East Java.

The *haul* ritual usually is done in the yard of the deceased or around it such as a house, mosque, and others. Generally speaking, a

¹¹ Ismail F. Alatas, 'The Upsurge of Memory in the Case of Haul: A Problem of Islamic Historiography in Indonesia', *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 1, 2 (2014), pp. 267-79 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/jiis.2007.1.2.267-279>>.

¹² The battle of *Uhud* was a battle occurred in the early period of Islam in AD 625 between Muslim and the pagan Quraish. This battle located in front of Mount Uhud in the northwest of the Arabian Peninsula. Many Muslims were killed in this battle and they lost. Ta'ibi Ghomari, "Battle of Uhud (625 CE)," *Islam: A Worldwide Encyclopedia (4 Volumes)* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2017), pp. 1591–93..

¹³ Ustadz Abu Ubaidah bin Mukhtar As-Sidawi, *Hukum Perayaan Haul* (Gresik: e-book Ibnu Majah, 2016).

¹⁴ *Wali Sanga* are nine Islamic missionaries who spread Islam on Java. They are Sunan Gresik (Maulana Malik Ibrahim), Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Giri, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Muria, and Sunan Gunung Jati.

haul ceremony is devoted to a venerated person who has big merits during his life. The more influential a person in society, the bigger festival is presented for him. For the famous figure, the festival could last for three days and more. However, there are also those who organize it in a simple way of *haul* that does not take a lot of time with just reading *tablil*¹⁵ and eating dishes afterward.¹⁶ Thus, the *haul* ritual is arranged based on someone's capacity and his role in society. *Haul* is a general ritual that is often found on Java. However, in this section, I focus on the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro which was held by Kiai Haji Ismail and the administration of Sentonorejo Village.

The Rituals of *Haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro

The commemoration of the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro was commenced in the 1980s, pioneered by Kiai Haji (KH)¹⁷ Ismail, a charismatic figure and leader of the Islamic boarding school (*Pondok Pesantren*) Darul Hikmah in Kedung Maling Village.

In the beginning, the commemoration of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's *haul* in Kedung Maling was particularly followed by traditional Muslims living around the Islamic boarding school and the nearby village. The commemoration was conducted in a simple form due to the absence of electricity. The people used to use the *petromak*¹⁸ lamp. The ritual of the *haul* was simply filled with the two main rituals: *tablil* and *manaqib*. *Tablil* is a special supplication ritual offered to the dead. Reciting *tablil* is aimed to 'send a prayer' to the deceased.

¹⁵*Tablil* is a special chant for the deceased person. This prayer is always read in the memoriam of the dead. On Java, the commemoration of the dead is conducted in the first day of the death, seventh day, fortieth day, hundredth day, and one year. The ritual of reading *tablil* ritual is called *tablilan*.

¹⁶ Abdulloh Hanif, "Tradisi Peringatan Haul Dalam Pendekatan Sosiologi Pengetahuan Peter L. Berger," *Dialogia* 13, 1 (2016), pp. 49–58.

¹⁷ KH stands for Kiai Haji. This the highest level of cleric's term in Indonesia, especially on Java. The title of KH is always written in front of the name of a cleric who has religious authority. According to Ilahi, the title of Kiai is a similar meaning with *ulama* in the tradition of Melayu land. For Javanese society, the term Kiai describing the leadership in Islamic boarding school (*Pondok Pesantren*) as well as religious authority to obey. The acknowledging of Kiai Haji only is relevant in the traditionalist Muslims community, whereas in the modernist Muslims community a term *ustadz* as prominent religious figures is more recurrent. See Mohammad Takdir Ilahi, 'Kiai: Figur Elite Pesantren', *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* 12 (2014), pp. 137–48

¹⁸ *Petromak* is a traditional kerosene-fueled lamp that is lit by using matches.

The chants of *tablil* commonly consist of verses of Al-Qurán and good words (*kalimat al-tayyibah*). The leader of the ceremony pronounces the chants and the congregants follow after him. The leader of *tablil* sat in the middle while the congregants sat in a circle. Some verses of Al-Quran read in a *tablil* ritual are Al-Ikhlás, Al-Falaq, Al-Nas, Al-Baqarah 1-5, Al-Baqarah 163, 255, 284-285, and Al-Ahzab 33-56. As for good words such as *salawāt*, *istighfar*, *tablil*, and *tasbīb* are read between those verses. Sometimes the congregants immersed in an ecstasy condition when they chant *lā ilāha illallah*. They began the chant from the slow sound while moving their head until the sound become harder and harder. The vibe of the chant filled the mosque. In the perspective of Bell,¹⁹ the set of those chants of *tablil* are considered as ritual fixity because it is believed to have been taught by the *wali* (saints) since the beginning of their Islamic mission on Java. The chants of the *tablil* never change until today although there is a little is an addition in several communities.

The second ritual of the *haul* is the reading of *manaqib*. *Manaqib* is the plural form of *manqabah* literally meaning ‘virtue’ but generally, a *manaqib* ritual is reading the virtue of a prominent figure in their biography. The regular reading of *manaqib* in this ceremony means to read the life history of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro aiming to remember the goodness of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro during his life his mission to spread Islamic religion on Java. Besides, Sheikh Jumadil Kubro is also deemed as ‘*Punjer Wali Songo*’²⁰ or the ancestor of the nine saints on Java. The reading of the history of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro is important to be a lesson for the young generation to remember his struggle in the Islamic mission. However, many doubt the ritual of reading *manaqib* can give a lesson to the attendees because it is very short. The reader of *manaqib* text only read the family tree of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro indicating he was a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the reading of the *manaqib* text in this commemoration could be considered as a ritual formality²¹ due to a short personal description of the figure and lack of information of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro’s role in Islamic dissemination. It also should explore an important part of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro’s life so that the audience can take lessons.

¹⁹ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*.

²⁰ Muzaamil Mukafi and Ahmad Fauzi Aziz (eds), *Napak Tilas Auliya’: Sejarah Kehidupan Ali Limo Dan Sekitarnya* (Jombang: Pustaka Al-Muhibbin, 2014), pp. 10-15.

²¹ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, p. 92.

The two rituals are held every year in the mid of *Muharram* month based on the Islamic calendar in the *Pondok Pesantren Darul Hikmah*. However, although there is no convincing evidence that Sheikh Jumadil Kubro passed away in the mid of *Muharram* month, the designed *Muharram* month for ritual could be understood due to the perception among Javanese of the sanctity of this month. Ismail as an initiator of the ritual invited the congregation to this event although they attended in a simple Muslim fashion such as *sarung* and cap due to the poverty factor. This commemoration of the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Kedung Maling Village had been lasting several years until Ismail passed away in 1987. The heritage of this local religious leader was being continued by his son, Ibnu Amiruddin who maintained it until his death in 2006.

Three years before Ibnu Amiruddin passed away, the family of this local cleric was no longer involved in the *haul* ceremony due to the interference of the local government (Pemda, *Pemerintah Daerah*) Mojokerto, which is represented by The Department of Tourism, Youth, and Sports (Disparpora, *Dinas Pariwisata, Pemuda, dan Olah Raga*) of Mojokerto in the management of the *haul* ceremony. A quotation of a remark by Ma'ruf, the grandson of Ismail, described the tension between the extended family of Ismail and the local government.

“My father once was angry why the district administration had to be involved in the event of *haul*. If the local government intervened in the ritual, the traditionalism of the ritual will disappear”. Said *Gus* Ma'ruf, the grandson of KH Ismail whom I met him in his house in the complex of Islamic boarding school Darul Hikmah.²²

Ma'ruf emphasized that his extended family resisted the local government policy to manage the Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's affair. According to him, since the local government involved in the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro, the people are no longer free to conduct the ritual *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro as they want. They should ask permission from the local Government to perform rituals such as *slametan*.²³ As a result, to evade the complexity, the residents who still believe the sacredness of traditional *haul* ritual value hold the *slametan*

²² Interview with Ma'ruf, 4 October 2018

²³ *Slametan* is the communal feast on Java. Usually, *slametan* is conducted for many rituals in particular the ritual of the life circle.

in the mosque or *musholla* surrounding their house. The contestation between the local cleric's family and the local government of Mojokerto has emerged in a society marked by the soft resistance of the house of Ismail to local government policy.

Moreover, Ma'ruf accused the local government of simply taking the financial benefit by capitalizing on the event of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. It is undeniable that the holding of *haul* celebration leads to a big capital circulation. Moreover, Ma'ruf stated that the relationship between local government and the residents was like the boss and the servant. Therefore, Ismail's family would not involve at all in the commemoration of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro carried out by the local government. The critical response of Ismail's family on local government policies indicates the dispute due to the reduction of economic unit sources. Obviously, the family's stance confirms the contestation based on economic motives behind the holding of *haul* commemoration.

According to Ma'ruf, the aim of the celebration of *haul* Sheikh Jumadil Kubro for the first time is to do the religious services that could be traced in Islamic history and most Muslims also celebrate this ritual in other places. The second is to pray for Sheikh Jumadil Kubro on his services and the last is to take a good example from the life history of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. Those purposes have prompted the people to attend the celebration of the *haul* ritual of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro every year.

However, the *haul* commemoration also had a big economic and social impact on Ismail's family primarily on the development of their educational institution as a means of promotion.

In this regard, many small traders came to peddle their goods in the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Kedung Maling Village and also *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Hikmah managed the cooperation unit that sold the congregants' needs. The cooperation unit has become the economic source for *Pondok Pesantren*. Moreover, Franklin²⁴ even argued that Kiai has many activities of business supporting the survival of *Pondok Pesantren*. Although there has been criticism that there is no separate finance between the private (Kiai) and institute belonging. In many cases, the property of *Pondok Pesantren* belongs to Kiai and his

²⁴ Nathan John Franklin, "Reproducing Political Islam in Java: The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah Pesantren in the Political Socialisation of the Umat," Ph.D Dissertation, Charles Darwin University (2014).

family although there is a foundation managing the circulation of the finance. Consequently, the life of Kiai and his family are secure from the financial problems. Having *Pondok Pesantren* on Java is a prestigious investment due to its social influence and wealth. By managing both educational institutions and leading annual rituals such as *haul*, the Kiai increasingly asserted his special position in the structure of the Javanese society. This phenomenon also shows the ongoing feudal culture in the *Pesantren* environment.²⁵

Arguably, the economic motive could be seen when the local government took over the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's event. Soon after that, the family of Ismail who had lost the supervisor of the *haul* ritual of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro introduced the *haul* of Kiai Ismail ceremony which is conducted in the mid of *Jumadil Akbir* month based on the Islamic calendar. Even, the haul of Ismail ceremony is carried out within seven days longer than the Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's *haul* in Tralaya. On this occasion, the committee of *haul* which consists of the students of *Pondok Pesantren* closes the main street of Kedung Maling Village. In order to anticipate the abundance of the peddlers, the *haul* committee numbers the street asphalt for the stalls that would be used by peddlers to sell their goods. In this respect, the house of Ismail is aware of how to capitalize on the event for economic benefit. This event also revealed implicitly the reason why Ismail used to conduct the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in his *Pondok Pesantren* and not at the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya.

The 'New' *Haul* Ritual at the Tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro

The new *haul* ritual of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya was performed for the first time in 2003. The initiator of the event was Sri Wulung Jeliteng who is a vital cultural figure of Sentonorejo Village and the 'figure of Majapahit' (a person who has a big concern for the cultural heritage of Majapahit Kingdom as he claimed). The main difference between the 'old' *haul* Sheikh Jumadil Kubro and the 'new' one is the performance of *kirab budaya* (cultural procession) as the main attraction. Triggered by a big concern of the ignorance of the cultural value by the young generation, Wulung planned to present the cultural event in the *haul* ceremony. According to Wulung, incorporating the cultural element with a religious event is to make harmony between

²⁵ Eko Setiawan, "Eksistensi Budaya Patron Klien Dalam Pesantren: Studi Hubungan Antara Kiai Dan Santri," *Ulul Albab* 13, 2 (2012), pp. 137–52.

two ideologies. He viewed many historical sites including the religious or cultural sites that were not preserved and maintained well.

At that time, Wulung delivered his innovative idea to Ghofar, the chief of Sentonorejo Village. Ghofar not only agreed with the idea but also supported it fully with the logistics and finance needed to perform this event. Although some people opposed this idea, in particular the family of Ismail, most residents of Sentonorejo Village eventually stood with the proposal. Finally, in 2004, *kirab budaya* in the framework of the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro was held for the first time and successfully attracted visitors. On the other hand, the success of the *haul* event becomes a boon for Ghofar as the chief of the village. He was re-elected for the second term in office. In this sense, there is a tight relationship between religion and politics reflected in the mutual benefit between the agent and the arena as social capital.²⁶

At the beginning of the event, both Wulung and Ghofar did not intend to carry out the *haul* celebration in the form of *kirab budaya*. They only wanted to carry out the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro by engaging the residents of Sentonorejo Village. However, having gotten a positive response from society, Wulung and Ghofar improved the event to be more interesting by presenting many participants from various backgrounds. Consequently, the residents of Sentonorejo felt that this event has expanded their insight and opened their minds due to interaction with the visitors. Finally, the local government responded in 2006 by giving the financial support and facilities to perform. Both local and village administrators followed up with the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) which is signed together between two administrations. Thus, the cooperation between two institutes in *haul* management has been taking place until now.

Kirab budaya is an event that is performing a joy lively cultural procession followed by the participants bringing a variety of paraphernalia. Performing *kirab budaya* in the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro has automatically made the *haul* the only event accompanied by the cultural element on Java. Generally speaking, the *haul* ceremony of the prominent figure which is held in many places on Java is only filled with religious activities. The *kirab budaya* performed

²⁶ Christopher Baker and Greg Smith, "Spiritual, Religious and Social Capital – Exploring Their Dimensions and Their Relationship with Faith-Based Motivation and Participation in UK Civil Society," *BSA Sociology of Religious Group Conference* (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 1–40.

on the occasion of the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro 2018 was arranged as shown at the table 1.

Table 1. Performance of the *Kirab Budaya* at the *Haul* Ceremony, 2018

No	Kind of Performances
1.	Cucuk lampah (The opening of the way of <i>kirab budaya</i>)
2.	Kaluhuran (The reading of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's lineage)
3.	Setaman (Seven kinds of flowers)
4.	Kendi <i>pitu</i> (The seven jugs)
5.	Wali songo (The nine saints of the Islamic missionaries)
6.	Tumpeng agung (Grand <i>tumpeng</i>)
7.	Tumpeng <i>jajan pasar</i> (<i>Tumpeng</i> of traditional market cakes)
8.	Tumpeng buah dan hasil bumi (<i>Tumpeng</i> of fruits and crops)
9.	Tumpeng <i>songo</i> (The nine <i>tumpeng</i>)
10.	Prajurit putri (The Majapahit female soldiers)
11.	Prajurit putra (The Majapahit male soldiers)
12.	Petani (The peasants)
13.	Ponco warno (The five colours)
14.	Gulo klop (The coconut sugar)
15.	Tumpeng Musholla se-Desa Sentonorejo (The <i>tumpeng</i> presentation from the mosques of Sentonorejo)
16.	Penampilan Taman Pendidikan Al-Qurán-TPQ (The presentation of Al-Qurán Educational Kindergarten).
17.	Perwakilan Karang Taruna (The youth club representative)

The *kirab budaya* procession that was followed by participants covering a distance of 1,3 KM started from Pendapa Agung of Trowulan and ended in front of the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. The peak ritual of the *haul* ceremony was marked by the cutting of *tumpeng agung* by the Deputy Regent of Mojokerto, Mr. Pungkasiadi and continued by scrambling of *gunungan* materials by the spectators. The spectators tried to obtain the material of *gunungan* expecting the blessing of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro because they believed that the blessing is the miracle, which distinguished between the saint and the commoners.²⁷ However, the order of performance at *kirab budaya* on

²⁷ Herman L. Beck, *Fenomenologi Islam Modernis: Kisah Perjumpaan Muhammadiyah dengan Kebhinekaan Perilaku Beragama* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019), pp. 261-285.

the occasion of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's *haul* is resulted from Pak Wulung's idea who claimed as a result of cultural digging from several books and stories of ancestors. In this sense, the performance of *kirab budaya* is not an original ritual inherited from generation to generation but is a constructed ritual based on the figure's wishes.

According to Wulung, the purposes of *kirab budaya* could be summarized into three. Firstly, the event is aimed to preserve the Javanese culture. As a man of culture or a person who has big attention to the Javanese culture, Wulung wants Javanese culture to be maintained, given the lack of youth's desire in cultural interest recently. According to him, the cultural value is abandoned by in particular the millennial generation due to modernization influence. However, incorporating Javanese culture in religious practices has sparked criticism among the Muslim community. The practice leads to accusations of innovation in religious service, but so far, the event is successful enough to accomplish the mission.

Secondly, the cultural event is also expected to strengthen social values. One of the cultural functions is to strengthen a social bond, which is depicted in the communal or individual local cultural activities.²⁸ The cultural event is hoped to unite the variety of communities with various backgrounds without the barrier of SARA (*Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antar Golongan*) or the people classification based on the tribe, religion, race, and origin of the group. It seems to be a tough goal in the mid of plural society in Indonesia. The fact, it is undeniable that the event is mostly attended by the Javanese who are indigenous people. It needs hard work to promote this event to become the festival of all.

Finally, the *kirab budaya* event is expected to boost the economic level of the residents of Sentonorejo. Although many opposed the event at first especially the local cleric because being considered to be syncretism, they agreed with the idea eventually after dialogue among them. Finally, the people consent that the religion and the culture that is symbolized by the performance of *kirab budaya*.

²⁸ Nurmi Nonci, "Lokalitas dan Ikatan Sosial pada Masyarakat Desa Labuku," *Kongres APSSI II dan Konferensi Nasional Sosiologi IV, Manado, 20-23 Mei 2015*.

“The majority of the residents of this village are NU members Sir, so they are nationalist”.²⁹

For Pak Wulung, the *kirab budaya* on the occasion of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro’s *haul* is a symbol of Majapahit culture that he tried to revive but the main goal of the event is to boost the economy of Sentonorejo residents.

“Now the people are feeling the benefit of this event. With this cultural event, the Village becomes crowded due to the people visiting. The tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro becomes religious tourism. As a result, the economy is growing,” said Wulung enthusiastically.

Through this event, it is clear how society operates, violates, and manipulates the norms and values expressed by symbols for their interests.³⁰ Moreover, symbols are usually associated with people’s desires, purposes, goals, and meanings that are formulated explicitly. This fact will enable people to express the meanings of symbols and to further know the thoughts or ideas of the community, especially considering that symbols are guidelines for groups, relationships, norms, and community beliefs.

Consequently, there has an increase of Sentonorejo’s residents economy. It could be seen that almost every house along the roadside to the Sheikh Jumadil Kubro’s tomb starts a business to gain economic share. Part of businesses are daily necessities stores, fruit and vegetables stand, food stalls, fuel selling, refill water unit, barbershop, telephone credit shop, coffee shops, and many more. As the result, the price of land in Sentonorejo Village has jumped sharply. One square meter of land can cost up to two million rupiahs. Those are indications that the economic level of the Sentonorejo Village residents has increased. On the one hand, Pak Wulung is rendered to be successful to elevate the economic level in the Sentonorejo Village. On the other hand, the fame of the event has opened a chance for big companies to build the business units such as Alfamart and Indomart minimarket

²⁹ What Pak Wulung means by a nationalist term in this context is ‘moderate’, that is opposition to radical. Interview with Pak Wulung, 2 October 2018

³⁰ Turner, ‘Symbols in Ndembu Ritual.

web in Sentonorejo village leading to social conflict. This phenomenon also happens in many places in the region of Indonesia.³¹

Now after several years, this cultural event has become the yearly event for residents of Tralaya and so has been an annual agenda of the Tourism Department of Mojokerto District. The attending of the former president of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, to this event has legitimated Tralaya as the pilgrimage and tourism destination. In its development, the commemoration of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's *haul* has succeeded to elaborate the elements of religion and culture. Religious rituals such as *tablil* and *manaqib* are maintained while cultural values are also preserved. The harmony of these two cultural and religious values has been magnetism for pilgrims and tourists to visit Tralaya.

It is inevitable that the blistering criticism has sparked inquiring about the originality of the haul event which incorporates the cultural procession. The *kirab budaya* on the occasion of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's *haul* is thought to be inspired by a similar event in other places like *garebek mawlid* in Yogyakarta presenting *gunungan* as the main paraphernalia. It is understandable because according to Turner's perspective, rituals, religious beliefs, and symbols are essentially related. He expressed this well in another definition that ritual is "a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests."³²

Contemporary Ceremony of *Haul*: Contestation and Intersection

During the research, I came across the fact that the *haul* ritual of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro has been precious property, which is contested between the house of Ismail and the administration of Sentonorejo Village supported by the local government of Mojokerto. After some dispute over the event, they both eventually conducted the respective *haul* ceremony. The house of Ismail carried out *haul* ritual called as *haul jam'ul jawami'* in *Pondok Pesantren Darul Hikmah* in mid of *Jumadil Akhir* month based on Islamic calendar, while the administration of

³¹ Reza Haditya Raharjo, "Analisa Pengaruh Keberadaan Mini Market Modern Terhadap Kelangsungan Usaha Toko Kelontong Di Sekitarnya," Undergraduate Thesis, Universitas Diponegoro Semarang (2015).

³² Victor Turner (ed.), *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 183.

Sentonorejo Village held *haul* ceremony well known as the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro taken place in Tralaya in the mid of *Mubarram* month.

To enliven the *haul* ceremony, both the house of Ismail and the administration of Sentonorejo Village supported by the local government invited the attendees to join the event. In this regard, the house of Ismail invited the congregants of the mosque and *musala* around Mojokerto regency by sending them the invitation letters while the administration of Sentonorejo invited the visitors by using the state facilities to support the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya. In this case, the administration of Sentonorejo Village that is supported by the local government used the state budget to promote the event. They utilized various media as a promotion means like a banner, an official web of The Tourism, Youth, and Sports (Disparpora) department of Mojokerto and Disparpora's social media channel.

The two events either *haul* of *jam'ul jawāmi'* in Kedung Maling or *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya also persuaded 'bazaar' sellers to participate in the events. The contrast is the bazaar in the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya lasted two days while the bazaar in the same event in Kedung Maling Village took place a week. The participation of bazaar sellers has added the attraction of the *haul* event. Their presence in the event plays a pivotal role to succeed the event because they have a community connecting each other. When there is a religious or cultural event, they come to the event together and from their mouths, the information of the event spreads among society. For the bazaar sellers, they do not care the problem happening between the two institutes, the contest between the two haul events is profitable for them due to the more opportunity to trade. However, the event of *haul jam'ul jawāmi'* which is celebrated longer than the same event in Tralaya has sparked accusation of the economical motive behind it. Moreover, there are some sponsors from companies supporting the event. Many questions about the motive of the event but the house of Ismail stand on their position that religion and business are different entities. Both are not against each other. Each has different and complementary tasks and areas. In line with this, McKenna³³ considers that separating religious events and business is merely a myth.

³³ Richard J. McKenna, "Explaining Amoral Decision Making: An External View of a Human Disaster," *Journal of Business Ethics* 15 (1996), pp. 681–94.

In line with this, during the past decades, many individuals have sought to create a connection between their business and their religious identity. In this sense, education has a pivotal role to play in introducing religious traditions into business ethics and other courses. Thereby, it is possible that business endeavors, spirituality and religious commitment can be inextricable parts of a coherent life.

Ismail's family carried out the *haul* ritual based on what Ismail had taught without any additions. As Ma'ruf stated that they wanted to preserve *kesafiyahan* (traditionalism) of the ritual. It means the ritual of haul in *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Hikmah in Kedung Maling Village is claimed to be pure and only practices the religious teaching without mixing with the cultural element. The contents of the *haul* ceremony are propagated by the house of Ismail to lure the congregants to attend the event. As a result, it seems to be a successful propagation to influence the congregants that the *haul* of Ismail is in accordance with Islamic teaching. On the contrary, the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya, which is held in the form of *kirab budaya* according to Ma'ruf is not part of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro's teaching. He added that Sheikh Jumadil Kubro only bequeathed the Islamic knowledge and the way of mission not the cultural event like *kirab budaya* in 2004.

“The event of *kirab budaya* did not exist before. The ritual was only *slametan* and praying. Since the local government has involved the event, they perform the cultural event,” he explained somewhat angrily.

According to Ma'ruf, the aims of the celebration of the *haul* Sheikh Jumadil Kubro as it was initiated by his grandfather are to do the religious services (*'ibādāt*) that could be traced in the Islamic history and most Muslims also celebrate this ritual in the other places. The second is to pray for Sheikh Jumadil Kubro on his services and the last is to take a good example from the life history of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. Therefore, Ismail's family rejected and suggested their congregants not to attend the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya the *haul* ceremony in Tralaya as *kirab budaya* has been considered not suitable with the teachings of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro.

However, Wulung as a figure of Sentonorejo Village views that the religion and the culture element should be balanced in daily life. He emphasized the religion and culture should be in synergy.

“Religion without culture is empty and culture without religion is not sensitive,” he explained.³⁴

In regard with the spirit of preserving cultural heritage, Wulung tried to dig the cultural legacy and presented it in the special event. He argued that the haul ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro was the right event to interpret his idea. The choice of *haul* Sheikh Jumadil Kubro as a media of cultural expression because he viewed that the figure of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro had a relationship with the Majapahit Kingdom. Moreover, Wulung had a big concern for the culture of Java in particular Majapahit culture. Finally, the performance of *kirab budaya* was supported by the local government of Mojokerto and became the annual agenda of The Tourism, youth, and Sports Department of Mojokerto although there was resistance of some people, especially from the house of Ismail.

It is interested to note that the common interest in the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro is both groups try to make the *haul* ceremony more pretentious that is likely to give the economic and political benefit. The house of Ismail at least gains the four benefits of the *haul* event: (1) From the management of the cooperation units providing the needs of congregants; (2) The alms of the attendees which is collected by the committee during a week of the event. It is a common tradition on Java, the religious event is always completed by giving alms by the congregants. The alms is a big financial source potential which is capitalized by the house of Ismail; (3) It has become media of *Pondok Pesantren* promotion. The *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Hikmah will be more familiar with the attendance of many congregants;³⁵ and (4) From the management of the parking lot.

Meanwhile, the administration of Sentonorejo Village and the local government of Mojokerto make the haul of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro to boost the own-resource revenue (PAD, *Pendapatan Asli Daerah*). The presence of the pilgrims and visitors has increased the occupation of the hotels and restaurants around Tralaya. Thus, the contest between the two institutes has given a direct impact on the growing popularity of *Pondok Pesantren* Darul Hikmah in Mojokerto and surrounding, which influences politically and economically the existence of the

³⁴ Interview with Pak Wulung, 4 October 2018.

³⁵ Tafsirotul Muniroh, "Fungsi Haul Jam'ul Jawami' Bagi Ekonomi Masyarakat Kedung Maling Kecamatan Sooko Kabupaten Mojokerto Jawa Timur," Undergraduate Thesis, IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya (2012).

house of Ismail. Meanwhile, the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya has made the village of Sentonorejo a tourism destination together with the other sacred religious sites that had been existed before. Religious activities could be the very motor of the socio-economic life of some societies. In this case, religion reflects a somehow more concrete social reality so that ancestors, for example, are mere symbols of prestige to be manipulated as representations of relative status which must have been established by other means.

In addition, the success of the *haul* ritual also has enhanced the personal branding of the actors engaging in the *haul* ceremony in society including the houses of Ismail, Ghofar, and Wulung. As a religious elite in the social structure, the house of Ismail is taken into account in the local political constellation. The family's influence is seen when the political event is close. Many politicians and legislative candidates come to the Ismail's family who becomes the Kiai of *Pondok Pesantren* to ask '*doá dan restu*' (prayer and blessing) as support. The blessing of the Kiai in the Javanese context is important because it could mean political support. In addition, the political choice of the house of Ismail could directly influence their congregants and could be a vote gather for the political party and politicians who will run for a political position as well. Religion and politics have had an ambivalent history. At times there was a total separation between the two. At times the interrelation caused the two sectors to be indivisible. In cases of inseparability, the hierarchy of the two was interchangeable. Therefore, the relationship between religion and politics should however be understood contextually. Religious considerations have been part of political decisions ever since humans governed themselves. At times political decisions were based on consultations and advice received from the holy via the words of prophets and priests. At times religious leaders would contradict decisions taken by political leaders.

Meanwhile, the *haul* of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in Tralaya also gives economic and political benefits to Ghofar and Wulung. Through the fame of *haul* ceremony, Ghofar enjoyed the second term of his serving as chief of the village of Sentonorejo. Even after not being the chief of the village anymore, Ghofar still shows his political influence by controlling the area around the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro to be established as business units like cafes, motels, and parking lots. He also manages the private security guards to secure the area of his

authority by hiring the freemen under his control contesting with the official security guard of the tomb. This is a portrait of the complex nature of ownership of the sacred sites. The sacred is increasingly dislodged from centralized religious and political institutions and authorities and even the land is claimed to become 'owned' by the individual.³⁶

In addition, Wulung, he positioned himself steadier as a culture figure of Sentonorejo. Wulung has managed *Sanggar Budaya* (cultural studio) which hires out the *ludruk*³⁷ art and *wayang kulit* (shadow puppets) performance. The success of the *haul* ceremony in Tralaya has made Wulung's business of *ludruk* and *wayang kulit* more famous. As a result, many people hire them to perform in traditional events like a wedding party or circumcision event. Besides managing *Sanggar Budaya*, Wulung also has a foundation that cares for drug abuse victims. The fame of the *haul* ceremony which is initiated by Wulung also affected his foundation. Consequently, many government officers have visited Wulung's foundation and given financial support for the institute's development including the former Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Khafifah Indar Parawansa in 2016.

Conclusion

The *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro had been conducted by Ismail from Kedung Maling village before taken over by the local government of Mojokerto. However, since Wulung as a figure of Sentonorejo Village in collaboration with administration Sentonorejo Village and the local government of Mojokerto initiated the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro in the form of *kirab budaya*, the *haul* ritual leads to theological conflict. Ismail's family accused Pak Wulung and the administration of Sentonorejo Village have made religious innovation (*bid'ah*) that is not being taught by Sheikh Jumadil Kubro. Whereas, Pak Wulung was convinced that *kirab budaya* incorporated in the *haul* ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro was a good idea to preserve the Majapahit culture where Sheikh Jumadil

³⁶ Mogomme Masoga and Philip Nel, "Sacred Space And The Ritual of The Anthill: Southern African Reflections," Paul Post, Philip Nel, and Walter van Beek (eds), *Sacred Spaces And Contested Identities* (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2014), pp. 71–86.

³⁷ *Ludruk* is one of the traditional theatricals in East Java. It is a form of traditional performance presented by a troupe of actors (or comedians) on a stage, re-telling the life stories of everyday people and their struggles.

Kubro which was regarded not contradicting with his religious teachings.

Nevertheless, the contest between two actors of the *haul* ceremony did not show the frontal confrontation due to there has been common share of the economic interest. The house of Ismail engendered the event as an economic resource of their Islamic boarding school as well as placed them as political elite in the social structure. On the other hand, Ghofar remained to show his political influence although not being chief of Sentonorejo Village by controlling the area around the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro as business units and Wulung established himself as a cultural figure of Sentonorejo Village and Majapahit as well that also affected to his business and foundation. Thus, the haul ceremony of Sheikh Jumadil Kubro has become a boon for all stakeholders.[]

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