
**REPRODUCING CHARISMA: A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS
PILGRIMAGE TO HASAN GENGGONG'S CEMETERY IN
PAJARAKAN PROBOLINGGO**

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Abstract

The annual death celebration (haul) to religious figure is a key instance of the commodifications of prosperity Islamic mode at institutional level, where strong modern business organizational skills are matched with charismatic leadership. This study implies that successful market mechanism makes haul a consumer commodity attractive to spirituality hungry middle class Muslim community in Probolinggo. It ethnographically observes the intertwining of market and Islam where Muslims community looked to the market as a critical source for experiencing and publicizing a sense of sacred identity. Commodification of religion is deeply embedded in the haul or regularly ziarah (pilgrimage) for every 11 Syawal to Muhammad Hasan, a passed away central figure of kiai in Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong Probolinggo, and it makes a strong presence in the spiritual marketplace through commodifications of Kiai Hasan's amulet and memorabilia, including his photos, tasbeih, jimat, akik, and others. This study also reflects on the possible effect of charisma in undermining the sense of authenticity and authority of charismatic Kiai Hasan among the Muslim community in Probolinggo, and the ways it effects on the construction of spiritual market surrounding his cemetery.

Keywords: *Hasan Genggong, pilgrimage, charisma*

A. INTRODUCTION

Probolinggo is not merely known as coastal area with its stunning natural tourist destinations, such as B-29 Bromo mountain peak (*Puncak B-29 Gunung Bromo B-29*), Madakaripura waterfall (*Air Terjun Madakaripura*), and Hot Water tourism (*Wisata Air Panas*), or cultural artefacts, such as Jabung temple (*Candi Jabung*) and Kedaton temple (*Candi Kedaton*) which are mostly visited by domestic and foreign tourists; the city also has religious tourism, like tombs of ulama (*waliyullah*), tomb of *Al-Mahgfirah Al-Arif Billah* KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong, the second caretaker of Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong located in Karangbong Village, Pajarakan Subdistrict, Probolinggo, East Java. Hasan Genggong's charisma made his tomb as one of regularly destined holy places in Probolinggo. Many people have visited the tomb to make religious recitation (*zikir*), to read *shalawat*, and to wish God's blessing from the charismatic *kyai*.

On Tuesday, August 29th, 2017 at 04:00 p.m., I visited to Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong to directly look at activities of *santri* and visitors of the tomb of Hasan Genggong. The location is not difficult to visit, since it is about 3 miles from the Northern Coast Highway (*Jalan Pantai Utara/Jalan Pantura*) to the southern paved roads. Around the road of tomb is quite crowded; there many local settlements. Also, it is also nearly with a Pajarakan sugar factory built by Dutch 1885. The visitors only pay for IDR 10,000 to go there by traditional pedicab (*becak*), motor pedicab (*becak motor/bentor*), and motorcycle taxi (*ojek*), using public transportation is cheaper only for IDR 5,000.

About 700 meters from entrance of the tomb, there is a Nahdlatul Ulama monument with a banner "Welcome to Santri City Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong" (*Selamat Datang di Kota Santri Pondok Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong*) on the eastside of road, precisely in the north of High School Zainul Hasan. The 10 m² "Nahdlatul Ulama" monument with a big globe in the middle became a gateway to enter the tomb. Along a crowded road towards the tomb, many local people sell food, fruits, herbs, counters, cafes, and also street vendors. Additionally, many traditional stores provide knick-knacks and worship facilities, such as *Al-Qur'an*, *Majemu' Syarif*¹, *Barzanji*², black / white caps, *koko* shirt, T-shirts, robe, turban, sarong, *simak* (*Salvadora persica*), *tasbih*, and perfume.

The high number of every visitors of the tomb affects not only on the location of *pesantren*, but also on the surrounding of the *pesantren*. On the left side of the tomb gate, there is an old father under approximately 60 year-age old selling medium bottled soft drink (*air botol tanggung*) for IDR 2,000, small plastic incenses (*kemenyan*) for IDR 2,000, and the 7x4 cm Hasan Genggong's photos with his son Hasan Saifurrisal³ for IDR 5,000 commonly used for amulet (*azimat*). These products are believed to have supernatural power. For example, the water is believed to cure various diseases, while the incense⁴ is believed to ward off evil spirits and to abolish the black magic, and the

¹ A collection of prayer, dhikr, salawat, and tahlilan.

² A collection of shalawat Prophet which contains many praise and history of life of the Prophet Muhammad.

³ Every descendant of KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong must begin with the name of Hasan such as Hasan Saifurrijal, Hasan Mutawakkil Alallah, Hasan Abdil Barr, Hasan Syaiful Islam, Hasan Ainul Yakin, Hasan Zidni Ilma, Hasan Nailul Ilmi, Hasan Naufal etc. who are the grandchildren of KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong.

⁴ Usually burned every Friday night (adjust needs), just as incense.

walled size photos of Hasan Genggong's are believed to bring fortune and to avoid any catastrophes. People believe that by keeping Hasan Genggong's photos will have good fortune.

Entering the main gate of Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong, the two-and three-wheeler vehicles⁵ must turned off and parked in the left side of the court to the tomb. Every visitor of the tomb must report first to security guard, and they will be given two parking cards, one for the vehicle and the other for the owner. It is free charge parking. Approximately 50 meters to the west, along the streets to location of the tomb, many visitors will meet either local villagers or *santri*. From the pesantren gateway, the tomb is visible although it is still covered by a large drum (*jidor*)⁶ on the right side of Zainul Hasan Mosque. Like in the period of Islamic saints (*wali*), behind the traditional mosques there are almost many tombs, including *Kyai* or King's tombs. Therefore, a combination of tomb and mosque is often called as "mosque of tomb" (*masjid makam*)⁷, usually located around the mosque complex, including Hasan Genggong's mosque.

Hasan Genggong, and other members of his family, his son, and his son-in-law, Kiai Hasan Saifurrizal⁸ and Nyai Khofsah, were buried at that mosque. Because located at the *pesantren* environment, visitors of the tomb are getting more crowded. The parents of *santri* did not only visit to their children at the *pesantren*, but also take a time to pray at the tomb. Hasan Genggong's tomb is directly next to the marble-made-mosque located at the northern side of the mosque upside down four *joglo* teak woods and carved roofs. The entrance of the tomb is also located on north of the mosque. Although some four-sided guardrails are built between the tomb and the courtyard of pilgrims, the tomb can be seen. In the west and north side of the tomb is covered with a white clothes hanging on the teak poles. Also a list of ancestral genealogical names from Hasan Genggong to Prophet is displayed in the north side of the tomb.

This research is aimed to investigate Hasan Genggong's charisma and its impact on giving a certain sacred blessing and on making social welfare. The sacred tomb became not only religious, but also financial site in which many people make it a strategic area of gaining material profits. This research was conducted in Karangbong Village, Pajarakan, Probolinggo, East Java.

⁵ Except the large family of Zainul Hasan Genggong Pesantren and important guests.

⁶ Bedug is actually a traditional musical instrument that has existed since hundreds of years ago. Shaped like a drum. In Indonesia, the drum is usually played as a marker of prayer time has arrived.

⁷ The mosque of the tomb built at the time of the guardian is considered sacred by the public. The blend of the mosque with this tomb is called the "Mosque of the Tomb". "Masjid Makam" which is quite famous to date, such as "Mosque Makam" Banten, "Mosque Makam" Demak, "Mosque Makam" Kudus and "Mosque Makam" Sendangduwur. Even "Sendangduwur Mosque", Imogiri was founded on a hill.

⁸ Every KH descendant. Muhammad Hasan Genggong must begin with the name of Hasan such as Hasan Saifurrijal, Hasan Mutawakkil Alallah, Hasan Abdil Barr, Hasan Syaiful Islam, Hasan Ainul Yakin, Hasan Zidni Ilma, Hasan Nailul Ilmi, Hasan Naufal etc. who are the grandchildren of KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong.

B. DISCUSSION

1. Hasan Genggong: A Brief Story

Ahsan is a child name of Muhammad Hasan. He is a son of Kyai Shamsuddin and Nyai Khadijah on August 23rd, 1843, in Genggong⁹, Sentong, Kraksaan, located 3 miles to the south from central district of Probolinggo, East Java. In Sentong, his parents are mostly known as Kyai Miri and Nyai Miri. They are buried in middle of the village, separated from public tombs. Among Sentong community, Kyai Miri is known as a brick and roof maker. It is still going on until now, followed by some residents of Sentong to sustain their life.

A young Hasan spent much time of studying and fighting against Dutch colonial soldiers. He learned firstly from his parents, then *nyantri* in Pesantren Sukunsari Pohjentrek, Pasuruan, East Java under leadership of Kiai Muhammad Tamim before going to Mecca. In the Holy Land, young Ahsan met his cousin, Kiai Asmawi. Both of them eventually studied together with local ulama and scholars from Indonesia, such as Kiai Nawawi Banten, Kiai Marzuki Mataram, and Kiai Mukri Sunda. Later, the two young men were mostly known as Kiai Hasan Genggong and Kiai Rofi'i Sentong.¹⁰

Coming back from Mecca, Hasan Genggong became son in law of Kiai Zainal Abidin, then married with his daughter, Nyai Ruwaidah, to assist to teaching *santri*. After Kiai Zainal Abidin passed away, he succeeded his position as leader of *pesantren*. In addition to be an educator, he also actively fight for the independence of Indonesia from Dutch colonialism. Many mystical stories illustrate his superiority in the fight against the colonialism. More than 60 years of his leadership in Pesantren Zainul Hasan, many prominent scholars were born under his guidance. They are Kiai As'ad Syamsul Arifin (Pesantren Seletreng, Situbondo), Kiai Hasan Abdul Wafi (Pesantren Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo), and Kiai Husnan (Bondowoso), Kiai Ali Wafa (Pesantren Karang Asem, Malang), Kiai Baihaqi Ilyas (Pesantren Hasaniyah, Jember), Kyai Ali Alatas (Malaysia), and Kyai Mujib Marhum (Singapore).¹¹ He died at 115 years old, on June 1st, 1955.

2. Pilgrimage to Hasan Genggong's Tomb

During pilgrimage, people make travels to seek many things, from seeking God, making a donation in exchange for the protective amulets to display, use, and eat.¹² Pilgrimage to the tomb of guardians can be a union of people with different social

⁹ The word "Genggong" is derived from the name of a flower that grows around the pesantren and the flowers are usually used by locals for manten makeup and circumcision (circumcision).

¹⁰ His grave is not far from the tomb of Kyai Miri / Nyai Miri, located in the burial grounds of the boarding house of Rofiatul Islam, Sentong.

¹¹ Ahmad Fauzi, *Model of Public Relations Management in Personnktif Kyai Social Structure in Pondok Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong Probolinggo*, Dissertation, UIN Malang, 2016.

¹² Pilgrimage activity is the aesthetic presentation of the community to bring blessings from the ancestors. The ceremonial system and various activities in seeking God and the blessing of the tomb are interpreted as something sacred. See Bryan Turner, *New Spiritualities: The Media and Global Religion (da Vinci Code and the Passion of Christ)*, in Pattana Kitiarsa (ed.), *Marketing Gods: Religious Commodification in Asia*, (New York: Routledge and Francis Group), 31; cf. Marc Askew, "Materializing Merit: The Symbolic Economy of Religious Movement and Tourist Pilgrimage in Contemporary Thailand," in Pattana Kitiarsa (ed.), *Marketing Gods: Religious Commodification in Asia*, 92; cf. Geertz, "The Javanes Kyai: Changing Role of A Cultore Broker", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2(31), 1959, 34.

status. A communal togetherness appeared in certain moments when they held religious rituals and ceremonies. The need for sacred symbol as medium of spiritual fulfillment makes holy places of sacred guardians become primary pilgrimage destinations and efforts of appreciation to the local culture. Hasan Genggong's tomb is always crowded by pilgrims, especially on Thursday afternoon till Friday afternoon, from many backgrounds, ranging from farmers, *ulama*, civil servants, and governments, and from every part of Indonesia, especially Java, such as Pasuruan, Malang, Lumajang, Situbondo, Madura, Bali, etc. This phenomenon indicates a fact that a sacred tomb serves as a medium for fulfilling hungry spiritual community's need. The different backgrounds of social, intellectual, and cultural status among pilgrims are blurred, since they united in a sacred destination.

The glorious pilgrimage seems to have a religious meaning, but in fact it is related to profane and superficial things, because the pilgrimage seems like a travel.¹³ Pilgrimage can be perceived as a religious tour in improving the young hungry spiritual persons. Furthermore, Hasan Genggong's tomb has an important role for religious rituals, especially in Probolinggo, since many pilgrims come in and come out from different social hierarchy to wish a sacred blessing (*ngalap berkah*). To provide an authentic feeling of pilgrimage, many local people make use of the tomb to provide common religious facilities by selling many kinds of foods and services. The sacrality of Hasan Genggong's tomb is a result of concentrated communal place of people, so it makes a radiation of spiritual energy. It is the tomb in which spiritual phenomenon becomes a cultural meeting which constructs visitors' identity. The cultural sphere has great contribution on construction of communication system in spiritual realm. It is a reason that pilgrimage tradition finally brought the visitors into part of mystery realm and sacred place on how the identity is interpreted.

The political construction of religious sites ultimately creates ritual practices with complex meanings. One of them is the use of symbolic capitals in order to increase existential desires and ethnic identity.¹⁴ This political construction is easily found in every 11th Shawwal anniversary death celebration (*haul*) organized by the big family of Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong. During that time, the yard of *pesantren* in front of the tomb complex is crowded with pilgrims, sellers, local people, and *santri*, as if it is 'human ocean' (*lautan manusia*). They come with similar intention: to remember many saints they honored. Additionally, the *haul* is also held in several places organized by alumnae and sympathizers of Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong. Their religious expression and affinity to *Al-Maghfurlah Al-Arif Billah* Hasan Genggong encouraged them to make some routine celebration activities.

Pilgrimage is a complementary part of religious activities. For Indonesian Muslims, pilgrimage is an routine activity in their religious life, and especially for

¹³ In the pilgrimage there has been a shift from spiritual values to material values such as religious vestifal exchanges, the provision of stickers, amulets, to religious tourism. See Jean DeBernardi, "Commodifaying Blassing: Celebrating the Double-yang Festival in Penang, Malaysia and Wudang Mountain China," in Pattana Kitiarsa, *Religious Commodification*, 55.

¹⁴ Pilgrimage involves various aspects of ritual acts to create a relationship of harmony between man and God that is sometimes done symbolically or ceremonially. Weller, "Asia and the Global Economies of Charisma", in Pattana Kitiarsa, *Religious Commodification*, 22; cf. Erik Cohen, "Kuan To: the Vegetarian Festival in a Peripheral Southern Thai Shrine," in Pattana Kitiarsa, *Religious Commodification*, 70.

Nahdliyin (members of Nahdlatul Ulama) it is aimed to honor their ancestors by coming to their graves, also paying homage to make salvation (*slametan*) for every three days, seven days, forthly days, a hundred days (*nyatos*), annual (*haul*), until a thousand days (*nyebub*) of death. In addition, people also believe in religious calculation (*primbon*) to determinate good times, good days, and good months before taking some important activities, including a right time for pilgrimage. In the Islamic faith, dead people are in fact still alive in ancestral world and able to see the living activities. It is a reason that pilgrimage to sacred people is believed to have direct impact on the current problems of their life.

The background of pilgrims who visit to Hasan Genggong's tomb is very diverse, ranging from rural to urban, from farmers to clerics, individuals and groups, driving private or public transportation. Having private vehicle makes it easier for people to visit Hasan Genggong's sacred grave. People are willing to be crowded only for recitation of *doa* and *shalawat* to wish a blessing of life.

Although Al-Qur'an and some prayer books are available in the mosque and the tomb, many pilgrims deliberately bring them from their own houses. It is also easily find those who bring the bottled waters to be fulfilled in the tomb. Since their belief in Hasan Genggong's charisma, a bottled mineral water confidently prayed in front of his tomb will provide a blessing useful to cure many illnesses.¹⁵

Additionally, many pilgrims come every midnight to recite Al-Quran, *tablilan*, *shalawatan*, *dzikir*, and to pray with certain goals. Abdullah (55 year age), a visitor from Pegalangan, Maron, Probolinggo, for instance, always has a pilgrimage to the tomb every Monday and Friday nights. His two sons are sent to Pesantren Zainul Hasan, and he always goes to the tomb while visit his sons. As usual, before reciting *doa* or *tablil*, he first read *tawasul*¹⁶ to Prophet.

Abdullah, during my interview with him, repeatedly recognized about Hasan Genggong's charisma, blessing, and priviledges. Since the 12-year-old, he always accompanied his father to visit Hasan Genggong for praying and reciting Al-Quran, and he called him under the name of *Kyai Hasan Sepub*.¹⁷ By having a pilgrimage to Hasan Genggong's grave, he hope all of his wishes will be easily granted by God. There is no special recitation of *dzikir* and *doa*, but only at certain (right) times, midnight (*tengah malam*) till early morning (*shubuh*), he considered as making acceptability of his prayer greater. He stated,

Usually I come to the tomb of *Kyai Hasan Sepub* at midnight. The most often I arrive at 12.00 p.m. until *shubuh* prayer. These hours are *istijabah* (easily to be accepted by God), and the more early night, the more crowded.¹⁸

¹⁵ Interview with one of the pilgrims on 20 July 2017.

¹⁶ *Tawasul* interpreted as a medium (intermediary) who can deliver prayers that are read by pilgrims. The first name mentioned is the prophet Muhammad, next the apostles, prophets, the family of prophets, companions of the prophet, clerics, parents, until the living are considered privileged. It was done so that the prayer read out quickly. Harun Nasution, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1992), 938.

¹⁷ Mention for KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong after death as well to differentiate with KH. Hasan Saifourridzal and the names of his descendants who always begin with the name "Hasan".

¹⁸ Interview with Mr. Abdullah on 9 August 2017.

For most Muslim people, pilgrimage to the *habib, wali, kiai*'s cemeteries is an opportunity to reflection on their struggles for Islam or state, to comparison on oneself with them, and other goals which give a positive effect on developing one's personality. Abdurrahman Wahid, an Islamic-based-intellectual and leader of the largest social organization Nahdlatul Ulama, said, "At least, psychologically, a tradition of pilgrimage can serve as a medium of testing our sincerity to NU¹⁹, to the *Ummah*, and to the struggle. An opportunity to have pilgrimage can be used to reflect ourselves. While facing the graves of our ancestors, of course we are ashamed; it is like a psychological test for check and recheck".²⁰ The high social appreciation on exploration of the meaning of pilgrimage to Hasan Genggong's cemetery has its own uniqueness. By having a bottled mineral water from the wall of the tomb or Hasan Genggong's photo in the wallet, people have more possibilities to make their wishes easily granted. Farid (61-year-old)²¹ visit and pray in front of Hasan Genggong's cemetery for 40 days in order to wish some miracles, such as making *mahabbah*²² avoiding black magic, making a smooth livelihood, etc.²³

3. Hasan Genggong's Charisma

Many Pajarakan people in specific and Probolinggo community in general, believe that posting Hasan Genggong's photo in the wall of their houses is possible to provide a fortune and to reject any disaster. Saniah (43-year-old) told her strange experience on mysterious creatures surrounding his home every night. The next morning, she comes to a *dukun* (shaman) to find out this accident, and the shaman said that it was sorcery; the mysterious creature surrounding her house failed to enter it because inside the house there is a Hasan Genggong's photo. Furthermore, many people have displayed Hasan Genggong's photos not only as an expression of respect for *ulama*, but also for the sake of certain interests, including to avoid black magics. However, it is important to note, putting material objects, such as photo, into the certain places does not mean that there is double logics of belief in God and of belief in photo, but it is only a medium people used to worship, such as cap, *tasbeeh*, and turban, a medium making them closer to God.²⁴

In relation with Hasan Genggong's charisma, I am interested especially in strategies of promoting charisma, because they have to make mass production of charismatic objects, such as artefacts or videos, but this process undermines the sense of authenticity so central to the idea of charisma. If pilgrimage is understood as religious journey in which authenticity has been a primary goal, then the feeling of authenticity will eventually create a kind of 'hospitality'.²⁵ Hasan Genggong's photo, therefore, is a source of making the authentic feeling on the existence of Hasan Genggong, and only

¹⁹ During this time the pilgrimage of the tomb is identical with the teachings of NU although it is not possible in other teachings also demand to make the pilgrimage of the tomb.

²⁰ Abd. Wahid Hasan, *Gus Dur Mengarungi Jagat Spiritual Sang Guru Bangsa*, (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2015), 140.

²¹ Interview with Mr. Farid on 20 July 2017.

²² Loved / loved by many people

²³ Interview with Mr. Farid on 22 July 2017.

²⁴ Interview with Mr. Farid on 22 July 2017.

²⁵ Turner, "New Spiritualities the Media and Global Religion," 33.

by using it, a religious journey to the tomb will make them more closer to Hasan Genggong, as if he is living at home. It is also a reason that mass production of calenders by Pesantren Zainul Hasan always inserts his photographs or paintings into them. Although the calendar is no longer used, people still keep it in different forms, such as cutting it into small photos to be inserted into wallets or displayed in walls of living room, office, , until bathroom.

My ultimate goal is to pray for my son to be a good child and to emulate *Kyai Hasan Sepuh*. Because he (*Kyai Hasan Sepuh*) is Islamic saint (*wali*). The pilgrimage to his cemetery can give you a blessing, so all desires are possible to be met.

Having a highly considered religious position, a *kyai* is certainly believed as having certain charisma to be modeling leader. Everything directly or indirectly related to *kyai* is also no less honorable.²⁶ Saniah, for instance, analogized it like a person who is longing someone. She said that a pilgrimage to the cemetery will provide a greater reward than just doing at home, and it will emotionally be different. She makes an example that someone who has a yearning desire to another person will meet together.

Vising to the cemetery is psychologically greater than praying at home. It is like a person who missed someone. Meeting with the person directly and just sending a letter are two different things with two different feelings.²⁷

A second kind of strategy is to substitute people for the charismatic source, instead of objects. The certain managers, for example, can also reproduce the charisma of their experience of the leader in a small way by offering testimony.²⁸ Hasan Genggong's photo becomes a source of charismatic *Kiai Hasan Sepuh*, a source to get people's attention to express their love for him. The ways they express an affection to Hasan Genggong will encourage them to provide a testimony on Hasan Genggong. What Saniah experienced at that night, when a mysterious creature went around her house, is the best example on how she provides a testimony on Hasan Genggong.

Many people collect Hasan Genggong's photos and display them in the walls of houses, offices, schools, even in cars, wallets, and cabinets. In addition to have an original photograph, people can still collect Hasan Genggong's face paintings. In 2006, a great market Gotong Royong²⁹ in Pajajaran has been flamed; all shops are burned, except only a store with having Hasan Genggong's photo inside it.

Charisma creates its own kinds of centrality, but not with complete independence. It shapes political and economic connections, at the same time as it is shaped by them. It puts itself on the global map that hitherto marked its grid lines in the

²⁶ In addition, most kyais also reinforce the public's impression that some kyais are extraordinary people who have such spiritual gifts as *karamah* (who have virtue and charisma) and can become baraka distributors (mercy or gifts) from God and his followers. See Dhofier, *Pesantren Tradition: Studies on Kyai's View of Life*, (Jakarta: LP3S, 1982), 82.

²⁷ Interview with Mrs. Saniah on 24 July 2017.

²⁸ Turner, "New Spiritualities the Media and Global Religion," 34.

²⁹ The traditional market in Probolinggo

channeled flows of finance and the division into nation states.³⁰ In Islamic belief system, the sacred saint's cemetery presents a map of purity that makes a relationship between visitors and saint, but this connection needs a competition in the business world to force people to look for spiritual ways. They believe that praying in front of saint's cemetery will increase development of their business, and the common trade surrounding the cemetery also indicates how closely connected the link between economic and spiritual realms. In recent years, development of pilgrimage tradition has been remarkable with diverse models, starting from profit and not-profit oriented institutions.

4. Hasan Genggong's Blessing

The condition of certain society and their practices relating to pilgrimage are closely identical to term blessing (*berkah*).³¹ Blessing is perceived as the infusion of something with holiness, spiritual redemption, or divine will. To get blessing, people tend to have belief in sacred objects or places as source of God's favor. Hasan Genggong's cemetery is popularly believed as a source of blessing not only among pilgrims, but also local people. They make use of it as local market in which many kinds of amulet, photo, perfume, cap, turban, etc., are available for sale. It is what they said as blessing. For some local traders, Hasan Genggong's blessing is not merely sacred, invisible, and spiritual, but also profane, visible, and financial one. They take an economic advantage from many pilgrims of the Hasan Genggong's cemetery or visitors of their children in Pesantren Zainul Hasan.

Another blessing that people get from Hasan Genggong's cemetery is a fact that they can provide various goods and services to the visitors, such as selling photographs or paintings of *Al-Maghfurlah Al-Arif Billah* Hasan Genggong. Many people believe that owning and putting saint's photos in the house will give the owner a blessing, because their spirits will always visit and take care it. They are also able to provide any kind of service, such as rickshaws, motorcycles, and other public transport. During period of the annual death celebration (*haul*) to Hasan Genggong and other leaders of Pesantren Zainul Hasan, the annual celebration of year-end (*imtihan*), and the annual regular Islamic ceremony (*balal bi balal*), in addition to the monthly parent's visit to *santri* of the Pesantren and the weekly Friday night, thousands of people from various regions are enthusiastically crowded at the pesantren area to follow these events, while take an opportunity to visit the cemetery.

The pilgrimage, an originally religious tradition in Islamic worldview with long historical roots, especially among Javanese society, has shifted its function into social order a source of life. Hasan Genggong's cemetery had great potential advantages. In addition to revive and enliven Karangbong subdistrict of Probolinggo, it also increase the economic activities surrounding the area. The cultural values of pilgrimage in terms

³⁰ Weller, "Asia and Global Economies of Charisma", 17.

³¹ Mark Woodward, *Islam Jawa Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*, trans. Hairussalim HS, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008), 76. Blessings are not only related to human relationships with God, but almost all social and personal relationships. A blessing makes the culprit believe in things such as longevity, well-established economy, and prestige. Cf. Joy Tong Kooi Chin, "McDonaldization and the Megachurches", in Pattana Kitiarsa, *Religious Commodification in Asia*, 192.

of providing blessing (*ngalap berkah*) turns out to be the wheels of economy activity in which people have made it useful for advancing their livelihood. It means that in addition to criticize a global secular assumption on the decline of religious values in the head of technological development, this fact is also to indicate the ways people tend to be more religious, even more wealthy, among mass production of religious symbols in the sacred religious sites.³²

As we often found the crowded people for praying in the cemetery of nine Islamic saints (*walisongo*), a sacred guardian's tomb, including Hasan Genggong, adds a long chain network through phenomenon of his holiness.³³ In cultural point of view, a pilgrimage to guardian's cemetery is a part of an ancestral heritage under protection of religious respect for guardian's souls. Hasan Genggong, in some aspects, is also considered as a national patriot who had great contribution to a fight against Dutch colonialism. The preservation of his tomb is a way to preserve one of the national/regional heritages in Probolinggo.

The preservation of cultural heritage is related to the phenomenon of cult of sacred tombs along Muria Peninsula which brought a common memory to relationship between the "saints" (*orang suci*) dan "holy places" (*tempat suci*) in space and time. There is no a single holy place in long tradition of rites of the great religions unrelated to historical events of saints, such as apostles and prophets.³⁴ The blessing of the tomb is a complex historical and cultural construction. Even so, its commodification of blessing is also so real. They are reproduced in a particular cultural context and then require a cultural framework to reinforce their symbolic and socio-economic significance. The blessing of this tomb is not only a sacred sacredness, but also a process deliberately created in the channel of market economy or commodification.

Taking pilgrimage and making certain prayers in the grave of guardians or *kyai* in order to ask for blessings is derived from an assumption that they can still give a blessings, so it will be usual to build a porch (*serambi*) around the tomb as place of recitation or praying. It also takes place in Hasan Genggong's cemetery which increase the level of his sacredness from time to time with variety of available facilities there, so many pilgrims easily visit the tomb and have a contribution on development of religious construction of charismatic figures. It is from the Hasan Genggong's cemetery, many groups of *tablilan*, *shalawatan*, and *bataman* are built to make sustainability of the pilgrimage culture and to build common beliefs in the sacred blessing among society.³⁵

³² Tomb of KH. Muhammad Hasan Genggong has become hierofani without knowing the boundaries of space and time or other changes so that it becomes a symbol of glory, blessing, and immortality. Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Gulliot, "Indonesie", in Henri Chambert-Loir and Claude Gulliot (eds), *Le Culte des Saints Dans le Monde Musulman*, (Paris: EFEO, 1995), 237.

³³ *Ibid.*, 238.

³⁴ In practice, in Islam, for example, religious practice has penetrated commodity practices such as display of clothing, stickers, and food labeled *sharia*. Vincent Mosco, *The Political Economy of Communication, Rethinking and Renewal*, (London: London Sage Publication, 1996), 33; cf. Akh. Muzakki, "Islam A Symbolic Commodity, Transmitting and Consuming Islam Through Public Sermons in Indonesia," in *Religious Commodification in Asia*, 215; cf. Ronald Lukens Bull, "Commodification of Religion and The 'Religification' of Commodities: Youth Culture and Religious Identity", in *Religious Commodification in Asia*, 225.

³⁵ Agus Sunyoto added, that the glory and blessings of a guardian are even greater when a wali is already dead than when he was alive. For example Walisongo. In his lifetime, people who come to study, study and "soan" to the Walisongo will not be as many pilgrims coming to his grave. But when they are dead,

5. Consuming the Blessed Charisma

The pilgrimage is a key instance of the commodifications of prosperity Islam at the institutional level, where strong modern business organizational skills are matched with charismatic leadership. It implies that successful financial and organizational managements make pilgrimage a consumer commodity attractive to spirituality-hungry young people in Pajajaran. The necessities of life and economic dimension need a transformation of material environment into a productive environment. Hasan Genggong's cemetery with a high number of visitors has changed the ways people think with to fulfill their needs. The pilgrimage to the sacred cemetery, finally, has been contested and blurred with financial activities in which many local people have used them as place of marketing symbolic objects related or unrelated to the pilgrimage. No wonder that some people make a pilgrimage, not merely for praying in the tomb, but also for seeking a souvenir, a perfume, a sacred photograph.

Commodifying the sacred, including Hasan Genggong's cemetery, does not lead to a critical decline of local people religiosity as argued by secularization theorists.³⁶ Rather, it characterizes the variable ways that relationships between religion and the market are configured. Religious commodifications are complex historical and cultural constructions, notwithstanding their obvious commercial features. They are produced in specific cultural contexts, and thus, require an understanding of cultural frameworks in order to unlock their symbolic and socio-economic significance.

Furthermore, it is almost impossible to understand the relationship between religion and market in Hasan Genggong's cemetery without having a knowledge on the social, political, and economic backgrounds of Pajajaran people. Most of Pajajaran people are getting involved with the largest Indonesian religious organization Nahdlatul Ulama which have concerns with combined traditional-religious activities, such as *dzikir*, *shalawatan*, and *ziarah*. They also lived around Pesantren Zainul Hasan which had a closely genealogical relationship with district heads of Probolinggo, Hasan Aminuddin and Tantri, so the ways people organized the cemetery will get high support from political sphere. Since their livelihood is not merely from agricultural domain, but also trading, it is a reason that they easily make a profit by selling many souvenirs, foods, artefacts, etc., around the cemetery. More crowded people are to visit the cemetery, more organized they are managed, more charismatic Hasan Genggong is. A question still raises up on how Hasan Genggong's cemetery has been contested with commodifying his charismatic leadership in Pajajaran.

Charisma seems to thrive in the economic periphery seems more puzzling. Charismatic central places organize social interaction according to a different logic and a different geography from the economics of trade. Unlike political or economic central places, which are factually similar as one moves up or down the hierarchy, charismatic leadership exists only in one place, and the centre is thus a fundamentally different kind of place from all the branches.³⁷ Furthermore, many charismatic central places, like

even more crowded people visit to express the longing and "blessing" from karamah its. Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Walisongo*, (Bandung: Pustaka Iman, 2016), 223.

³⁶ Kitiarsa, *Religious Commodification*, 1.

³⁷ Weller, "Asia and Global Economies of Charisma," 18.

Hasan Genggong's cemetery, are relatively peripheral both politically and economically. Part of their claim to power, after all, is exactly their reliance on non-political and non-market forces, and physical distance from other forms of power helps make the point. Eventhough Zainul Hasan has a genealogical relationship with district head of Probolinggo, it does not mean that Zainul Hasan leads to his advanced charismatic leadership from the leader of the district; it is advanced mostly by his religious activities during his lifespan, his full-service for people development in Pesantren Zainul Hasan. It means that his charisma is built by politically based peripheral factors. It is also a reason that his cemetery is located in Pesantren, far away from the central city of Probolinggo, and non-market central places.

Circulating the charismatic people can occur through objects, which is much easier than circulating the charismatic people.³⁸ In the case of Hasan Genggong's cemetery, such objects range from the rare and powerful (bits of saintly photographs, *tasbeih*, cap, T-shirt, and the like) to mass-produced trinkets from souvenir stands near the tomb. Followers tend to rank these items by their closeness to the original charisma of the leader. The photographs and paintings have an enormous amount, and pure souvenirs only a bit, because—as explained above—Hasan Genggong's photo have a direct impact on protection of follower's life, either from mysterious or distinct disasters.

However, the ways people differentiate among these objects reveals the inherent problems in this method of commodifying the cemetery for increasing Hasan Genggong's charisma. The reproduction never fully substitutes for the original. Thus the most mass-produced items, the ones with the least unique and personal contact with the leader, have the last value. Charisma does lie in all these objects. It can be reproduced mechanically, but its density and authority seem to dissipate with each reproduction. To make it worse, the very fact of reproduction raises the spectre of authenticity. As items circulate, was a particular photographic print actually held in the presence of Hasan Genggo? Is that really one of the photographs he materialized?

These problems of legitimacy suggest that the circulation of objects may never suffice for such people, even when it plays an important role. It is a reason that pilgrimage to Hasan Genggong's cemetery is regularly held, away to substitute people for the charismatic source (cemetery), instead of object (photograph). The descendants of Pesantren Zainul Hasan can greatly increase the range of pilgrimage, bringing the charismatic top leadership of Zainul Hasan to a much larger group than would otherwise be possible. Furthermore, ordinary followers themselves can also reproduce Hasan Genggong's charisma through involvement with pilgrimage held by Kiai Hasan's descendants. The every 11th Shawal pilgrimage to the cemetery, directly led by his descendants, or the annual celebration death of Hasan Genggong are alternative ways to offer testimony as an emulation of Islamic practices, to make Hasan Genggong more visible.

These techniques help resolve the problem of authenticity in the circulation of objects, but they have still the problem that the charisma is always second-hand. The descendants of Hasan Genggong are not Hasan Genggong, and even the most powerful testimony still provides only a vicarious experience for the listeners. Broadcast

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

media provide another kind of alternative, where Hasan Genggong can be directly present all around the followers. Today, Pesantren Zainul Hasan had various kinds of video documentations on the historical travels of Hasan Genggong even from the second-hand resources, and it is regularly presented in every important religious events, including in *haul*. It completely resolves the problem of authenticity, but its electronic images dilute the power of the original charisma.

C. CONCLUSION

The high social appreciation to the charismatic leadership of Hasan Genggong is used to seek for more than religious and sacred values; it is an opportunity for them to sell the symbolic objects related to him. The bottled mineral water after it was brought during praying in the cemetery or a piece of Hasan Genggong's photograph as amulet are the mass production of sacred objects to help an increasingly advanced top charismatic aura of Hasan Genggong. Coming to his grave for successive 40 days will bring them much miracles, such as making feeling of affection much easier, keeping away from the black magics, bringing a luck, and the like. The place of the cemetery became a small market in which knick-knacks and worship facilities, such as the Qur'an, *Majemu' Sharif*, *Barzanji*, black or white caps (*peci* and *songkok*), *koko* shirts, robe, turban, sarong, siwak root, tasbih, perfume, slaughterhouses, gifts, and *lesehan* stalls are available.

The case of pilgrimage to Hasan Genggong's cemetery is also an example of the many types of interaction between a religion and a globalizing commodity economy. Its combination of non-market economic flows and charisma has encouraged its development of a religious core at the economic periphery. Kiai Hasan Genggong has evolved in a similar direction, and surely we could add to the list. On the other hand, there is much less reason to think that prosperity cults would be attracted to the periphery in quite the same way, since they fully embrace the market. My goal here has been much more modest—simply to suggest a possible typology of forms of interaction between religions and commodity economies, and to explore in more detailed one of these forms in the case of pilgrimage to the sacred cemetery in Probolinggo.

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