

# Sacralizing the Tomb and Spring of Bagus in the Development of Religious Tourism Village

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**Abstract.** This article aims to criticize the development of religious tourism which tends to create economic-oriented goals and neglect the sacredness of both religious sites and rituals. The declaration of religious tourism program in many villages tends to push local people further to take more serious attentions to some religious sites and rituals in order to gain more economic profit without considering other aspects, including the sacredness of those religious sites and rituals. Through the case study of managing Sendang and Makam Bagus in Godean, Sleman, Special District of Yogyakarta, particularly considering on in-depth interviews and participant observations, the results of this research show how the sacredness of religious sites and rituals can be preserved and reproduced along with increasing the numbers of pilgrims. Several efforts in preserving and reproducing the sanctity of religious sites have effectively preserved the sacredness of both sites and rituals from economics-oriented behaviors in developing religious tourism projects across this country.

*Keywords:* religious tourism, commodification, local Islam

## Introduction

Religious tourism has rapidly developed and become an interesting phenomenon to be studied during the last ten years. The emergence of various religious sites across the country, especially within the Java Island, such as the tombs of saints and other religious buildings, has attracted many pilgrims to visit and has become an interesting phenomenon to be studied through various aspects. This rapid growth of religious tourism, with all of its aspects, has various meanings in society. It can be seen as a mark of the rise of new religious expressions in society. It can also be interpreted as an effort to strengthening religious identity within Muslim communities across the country. More frequently, this phenomenon can also be considered within economical perspective, which bring about the prosperity for people surrounding the religious sites (Kitiarsa, 2008). This research focuses on a sociological perspective, which put more attention to the sacralization of certain religious sites and their reproduction to attract more pilgrims to visit. Besides, the sacralization process of these certain religious

sites, such as tombs, often concentrates only on economical aspect without considering the sacredness of the sites. This situation will also be analyzed within the sociological concept of sacred-profane initiated by Durkheim.

Indeed, studies concerning pilgrimage, particularly on visiting sacred sites of saints are not new within the development of social science in Indonesia, especially in relation to the development of tourism. Numbers of researchers, both local and foreign, studied various forms of pilgrimage, especially to Walisongo's tombs, the nine saints, who were believed by most traditional Muslims to be the most influential figures for their success stories in the Islamization process of Java with all the mystical stories of each figures (Mus, 2015; Ruslan & Nugroho, 2007). However, the phenomenon of the emergence of villages that offer various forms of religious tourism in the past few years has a slightly different nuance, especially related to socio-economic aspects that are more influential. This phenomenon is inseparable from the programs launched by the government related to the establishment of tourism villages based on exploration of

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local resources, both natural and cultural resources in each village (Muslim, 2016).

The concept of "tourism villages," which is launched by Indonesian government through the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy as an effort to improve the welfare of people in rural areas has triggered various parties, especially the village governments and local communities, to further explore all local resources that are considered having a high selling value to attract people to visit (Firdaus, 2018; Kemenpar, 2014). Various types of tourist villages began to emerge. Some of them harness the natural beauties, such as beaches, mountains, lakes, and designed parks; while others are selling craft productions, and even utilize religious ceremonies, Javanese rituals, and other various forms of cultural festivals routinely carried out by local communities. In the case of pilgrims, there are a significant growing number of tourists who visit some Islamic sites. Based on data released by Ministry of Tourism in 2014, number of tourists visiting the Walisongo tombs reached 12.2 million and projected to reach 18 million visitors in 2019 (Mus, 2015).

Similarly, at the global level, religious tourism has also increased quite rapidly. Pilgrimage to sacred tombs or sites, especially those carried out by Catholics and Jews, shows an increase of 165 percent over the past five years, as released by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, see: <http://mkt.unwto.org/barometer>). The high number of actors of religious tourism globally had shifted the world tourism paradigm from "sun, sand, and sea" to "serenity, sustainability, and spirituality". This shifting paradigm certainly raises some interesting questions related to the tendency of modern humans who crave for the fulfillment of spiritual needs that have been neglected because of the domination of material aspects in their lives. At least, by strengthening the element of religiosity in travel world, it will open more opportunities for Indonesians who are indeed still deeply attached to religions in various aspects (Kato & Prozano, 2017).

The growing numbers of pilgrims has also occurred in a remote village of Sidoluhur, where the tomb of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka, the prominent figure of Islamization in the west region of Yogyakarta, and Sendang (spring) of Bagusan are located. Since both sites (tomb and spring) were established by the Sleman Regency Tourism Office as

one of the religious tourist destinations in 2012, there has been a significant increase in number of pilgrims. At least, no less than 30 people visit the tomb and spring Bagusan complex every day. The number of visitors will increase sharply when entering two special months in the *Hijriyah* or Javanese calendar which are believed to be a good time to visit the tomb, started at the beginning of the month of *Sha'ban* (J. Ruwah) to *Syawal*. In addition, on certain days, such as Friday night, Tuesday *Pon*, or during the various annual rituals held at the tomb and spring of Bagusan, number of visitors can reach hundreds or even thousands of pilgrims.

This growing number of pilgrims has serious implications for the religious-based tourism model, especially for those that concern with selling elements of sacredness, which have been identical to the aspects of silence and tranquility. Therefore, efforts to reproduce the sacredness of tombs and other religious sites are essentials for ensuring the creation of an atmosphere that supports the preservation of sacredness. Sociological perspectives, which have been dominated by the contestation of ideas of modernity and rationality in various aspects, are often perceived as being opposed to traditionalist ideas (including religious and spiritual phenomena). Such perspective, then, should be adapted to the context of Indonesian society which has a long tradition in reconciling modernity and traditional aspects into one meaningful activity. Indonesian Muslims, since the beginning, are able to bring them together through the creation of various forms of religious expression in the community.

This study shows that various efforts to preserve and maintain the sacredness of religious sites, particularly in the case of the tomb and spring of Bagusan, must be consciously taken and carried out by the managers, traders, and communities in around these religious sites. Interestingly, the involvement of all stakeholders in maintaining the sacredness of the site, through compromising between religious and economic aspects, has also created a mutual understanding among members of local communities who have different religious orientation. The existence of tomb and spring of Bagusan has become an entry-point to instill awareness among members of local community upon the needs to develop religious tourism for local economic development. Therefore, the process of maintaining the sacredness of religious

sites is important to be further explored, especially if it is confronted to the fact that the establishment of religious tourism villages has a serious impact on eroding the sacred nuances of the sites.

## Research Method

This study employs qualitative research, using a descriptive analysis model that emphasizes on the presence of natural settings during the data retrieval process. Three models of data retrieval are used in this study as an effort to ensure the possibility of conducting a triangulation process, namely: observation, interviews, and documentation. The observation process is carried out in a participatory actions (Creswell, 2017; Lune & Berg, 2016), in which researcher are actively engage in all activities conducted by pilgrims, both in the areas of tomb and spring of Bagusan. In general, there are a few obstacles during the process of participatory observations, especially related to the tradition of "kungkum" (soak) in the spring of Bagusan due to the lack of lights. The Kungkum tradition is always conducted at night, especially after 10 pm. The lack of lights in the spring area, which is intentionally designed to create quietness, caused difficulties to observe some pilgrims in detail.

Meanwhile, unstructured interviews (Lune & Berg, 2016) were conducted to dig data on everyday situation of the tomb and spring of Bagusan, including the historical development of both sites. There are 13 informants with various backgrounds, ranging from the management, the guardian, pilgrims, local figures, and merchants around the sites. Seven of these informants are deeply interviewed, especially those who spent their daily activities around the sites. These in-depth interviews helped in explaining the meaning of several symbols presented at the sites, as well as showing during the ritual process of the pilgrims.

The last methods, documentation was employed to answer several questions on how the management of the tomb and spring of Bagusan promoted activities conducted at the sites through printed posters, flyers, leaflets, or even any forms of information related to certain events posted in social media, including photos of activities conducted and posted by pilgrims. Besides, data on population, as well as their education and

social backgrounds, especially in Senuko Hamlet were also collected through official website of Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) of Sleman Regency and some annual reports of the village government of Sidoagung. These data on population helped in mapping some religious groups operated in Sidoagung Village.

To parse the process of sacralization and de-sacralization, this study employ two theories which have been considered as a basis for analysis of the emergence of religious tourism phenomena, especially by Kitiarsa (2008) and an important concept of *sacred-profane* initiated by classical sociologist Emile Durkheim related to the function of religious rites in creating solidarity within communities (Tiryakian, 2009). The reproduction of sacredness becomes an important aspect to be analyzed by Durkheim's perspective because it involves various aspects in realizing program of religious tourism, including the possibility of having a conflict of interest among stakeholders. By considering the elements of sacredness in developing a religious tourism destination, we actually maintaining the continuity of religious tourism because this model of tourism lies on perception of people upon the sacredness of the sites (Daniels, 2009).

## Religious Tourism of the Tomb and Spring of Bagusan

Senuko Hamlet is believed to be the initial central area for the spread of Islam carried out by K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka. The name "Senuko" is believed by the surrounding community to be derived from his name (Khasantuka - Santuka - Senuko), in accordance with the Javanese tongue which is quite difficult to recite few letters of Hijaiyah (Arabic letters). The stickiness of Senuko hamlet's name with the figure K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka is surely related to the existence of his tomb and spring, which is located on the west side of hamlet. The tomb and spring of Bagusan are now often used as the main religious tourist destination in Godean region.

Senuko Hamlet is a home to 1149 people and is divided into 429 household heads (KK) with male population of 586 and 563 women (Sidoagung, 2017). As an area with direct access to capital city of Special District of Yogyakarta, i.e. Godean road, which connects Yogyakarta with Kulon Progo and also as an alternative route to Magelang,

Central Java, Senuko Hamlet becomes an attractive place to the migrants. This can be seen from the presence of a number of new houses, usually between two and four houses, which are built by small developers who have been purchased by residents outside Senuko hamlet.

The social activities of people of Dusun Senuko also run well. The routine agendas of community services consist of cleaning the tomb and spring of Bagusan and the surrounding environment, the gathering of RTs, and night patrols are still going well including a fairly loose tolerance for those who cannot take part in village social activities due to work that cannot be abandoned. This announcement was taken considering that many of the residents of Dusun Senuko work as laborers or other private employees who have varied working hours.

Meanwhile, at the youth level, there are many youth cadets who have a lot of activities, both economically oriented and other activities oriented to preserve community's traditional cultures. *Sinoman* activities, for example, are still running well, although not all young men and women in Senuko Hamlet can always actively participate, especially when those social activities carried out coincide with school time. Some of these activities include: helping residents who have marriage party, burying the death residents, and so forth. Usually, *sinoman* has a vital role in these activities, especially related to providing food for the guests and other things that require human labor assistance.

In addition to social activities, religious activities in Senuko Hamlet also run quite well. With only one mosque in the hamlet, religious activities can be carried out effectively and involved residents across RT and RW. Regular religious study (*pengajian*) for women, men, and public becomes an important agenda held every 35 days (*selapanan*). This *pengajian* often invite speakers from outside Senuko Hamlet. There is also an association formed specifically for youth within the structural organization of the mosque, in which most of youth activities related to religious educations are conducted, including Taman Pendidikan Qur'an (TPQ) where children learn how to read Qur'an and Arabic letters three times a week.

Interestingly, from 429 household in Senuko Hamlet, most of them are affiliated with Muhammadiyah, the largest modern Islamic organization in the country which headquartered in Yogyakarta. There are only

two or three household who have affiliation with traditional Islamic group of Nahdlatul Ulama (Interview with Pak Pardiono, October 21, 2017). More importantly, some influential figures from Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah (Muhammadiyah women's organizations) at Godean Sub district level live in the hamlet. This is also become one of the reasons why the existence of this tomb and spring is interesting to study because based on the basic tenets of Muhammadiyah, those who affiliated with Muhammadiyah have a tendency to stay away from and even reject the existence of a pilgrimage tradition, especially in visiting the tombs of influential figures of Islam as widely practiced by members of traditional Muslims across the country.

Historically speaking, most of Islamic modernist groups in Indonesia, including Muhammadiyah, are established as responses to criticize local Islamic traditions practiced by most Muslims, especially those of NU or Abangan Muslims. In other words, Muhammadiyah is formed to promote purification ideas by eliminating religious practices that are claimed to have no examples and relationship to the practices of Prophet Muhammad and his companions (Peacock, 1978; Woodward, 1996). The rejection, or at least the indifference, has clearly been shown by residents around the tomb and spring of Bagusan to the activities of pilgrims, indicating that the doctrine of purification is still deeply rooted in the heart of Muhammadiyah members. However, there is a positive response shown by most of the residents when some social activities are held in the area of tomb and spring of Bagusan. Most of them are apparently participated in those social activities, including keeping the area clean and save. This, of course, can be used as valuable capital for developing the tomb and spring of Bagusan.

Mr. Pardiono, the chairman of the tomb and spring of Bagusan association, explained that "Although the majority of residents in this hamlet are affiliated with Muhammadiyah, but they have considerable tolerance in relation to number of pilgrims who visit the tomb and spring of Bagusan" (Interview with Pak Pardiono, October 21, 2017). Various social activities, initiated by the village government of Sidoagung, are also often carried out in the complex of tomb and spring of Bagusan, especially in a large area of parking lot to accommodate any social activities conducted by residents of the hamlet. As a result, the existence of tomb and spring of Bagusan can

be used as a means to instill and strengthen the brotherhood among people of Senuko Hamlet.

Since it was proclaimed as a religious tourism area in 2001, which was followed by the restoration of tomb and spring areas and the formation of its association, number of visitors or pilgrims is significantly increased. Various forms of local activities that have nothing to do with pilgrimage rituals, such as bird competitions, skill courses for empowering women, and other social activities, are carried out in the complex of tombs and spring of Bagusan. These phenomena cannot be separated from the process of complex arrangement, which leaves enough space for the implementation of social activities of residents who live around the site. The presence of various social activities has certainly enlivened the tomb and spring of Bagusan area and has important meaning as a unifying symbol of surrounding community which is actually dominated by followers of the largest Islamic modernist organization in the archipelago, Muhammadiyah.

The rise of religious tourism at the tomb and spring of Bagusan still creates controversy among people of Senuko Hamlet, especially after its launch as a tourist destination, as well as the establishment of Bagusan Association responsible for managing the religious tourism area. On certain days, number of pilgrims visiting the tomb and spring of Bagusan can reach hundred people, as stated by Mr. Pardiono, who is familiar with his nickname of "Pak Pe", the head of association and caretaker of the tomb of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka:

"In the beginning, around 2000, there were only one or two pilgrims, and the place was also not well organized. Yesterday, as you saw, there were a lot of buses, even a traffic jam occurred in Demak Ijo [approximately 3 km from the spring area and Bagusan's grave]. They were groups of pilgrims from Watucongol who came with 40 buses" (Interview with Pak Pardiono, October 26, 2017).

Since the restoration was carried out and then followed by the declaration as a religious tourist destination, every day there are always pilgrims who visit the tomb and spring of Bagusan in the morning or at night. Even so, most pilgrims are usually come at Friday Kliwon night and Tuesday Kliwon night, which are believed by most Javanese people to be the best night to perform a pilgrimage

ritual or doing meditation to ask for something special. Meanwhile, in each year, the months of *Suro* and *Ruwah* are also considered as the best months for Javanese to perform a pilgrimage (Purwadi, 2006). Before discussing in more detail about the activities carried out by the pilgrims during their visits to the tomb and spring of Bagusan, it is necessary to know who K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko is, especially regarding his origin, role, and magical power believed by the pilgrims.

### **K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka and His Roles in Spreading Islam**

For most Javanese people, especially those who live in Special District of Yogyakarta, the title of "K.H.R" or Kyai Haji Raden, as embedded in front of the name of Bagus Khasantuka, means a guarantee of his integrity in mastering Islamic knowledge, and at the same time, shows a symbol of his high social status in the community. This title is a combination of the three respected social statuses in society: *Kyai* (religious experts), *Hajj* (already performing the pilgrimage in Mecca) and *Raden* (nobility). As a descendant of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma, king of the third Mataram Sultanate who had great contributions in combining Islam with Javanese cultures, including the use of Javanese calendar systems, it is not surprising that K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka inherited a strong spirit in developing Islamic da'wah, especially in the western part of Yogyakarta where he was eventually passed away and buried (Masduqi, 2011).

From the picture of K.H.R Bagus Khasantuka's genealogy, which was displayed near his tomb (as indicated in figure 1), it was clearly seen that he is the son of Sunan Amangkurat III, the king of Mataram Sultanate in the Surakarta era. During his childhood, K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka was known as Raden Bagus Kemuning. As one of the princes, Raden Bagus Kemuning felt uncomfortable with the life of the palace that filled with internal conflicts, especially between the princes who supported Sunan Pakubuwono I and the princes led by Prince Mangkubumi. These internal conflicts, fueled in part by the support of the Dutch, resulted to the birth of the Giyanti Treaty which divided the Sultanate Mataram into four small kingdoms (Ricklefs, 1998, 2002). Bagus Khasantuka sided with Prince Mangkubumi, who later founded the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. He decided to leave the palace and studied with the kyai in several

Islamic boarding schools and continue with the journey of preaching and spreading Islam in the area now known as Godean District.



Figure 1. Genealogy of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko as a Descendent of King of Mataram

His decision to leave the palace and lived together with common people with a mission to educate them through teaching Islamic knowledge made K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko a respected Muslim scholar. Moreover, his efforts were continued by his descendants by establishing several Islamic boarding schools (I. *pesantren*), including the famous pesantren of Watucongol in Magelang, Central Java. Pesantren of Watucongol was founded by his son, K.H. Abdurrauf, in 1820 AD and reached its golden era during the leadership of his great-grandson of Shaykh Dalhar Watucongol, who died in 1959 M. Therefore, it is not surprising that many groups of pilgrims who visit the tomb of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko come from Magelang area, Central Java, that generally has a strong connection with the existence of pesantren Watucongol, which is currently taken care of by the 4th descendant of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko.

The teachings of Sufism, especially those related to *Tarekat* practices, did play a vital role in the process of spreading Islam in the archipelago, as it was done by Walisongo (Johns, 1961; Sofwan & Wasit, 2004). Besides being more tolerant and accommodative toward local values and traditions, several other advantages in *tarekat* practices include having supernatural powers, the ability to heal any diseases, and other necessary knowledge. The continuous practices of Tarekat teachings in the daily life under a strict guidance from mursyid (tarekat leader) has also a significant contribution to the popularity of Sufism study compared to fiqh (shariah or jurisprudence) until at least the end of the nineteenth century (Johns, 1961; Ricklefs, 2008).

The ability to perform some supernatural powers is the main attractive aspect for Javanese people to learn Tarekat. They were already familiar with such things through the teachings of local beliefs and the influence of Hinduism long time before the presence of Islam in Java (Budhi Santosa, 2010). In this case, K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko is considered a devoted follower of Tarekat and able to perform supernatural powers, especially during the fight against the Dutch colonial. His collaboration with K.H. Nur Iman, the older brother of the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, in spreading Islam and becoming a spiritual advisor for Pangeran Diponegoro (the popular figure who triggered the war of Java) became an adequate proof upon his integrity as a role model for his followers. The recognition of supernatural powers possessed by K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko can also be seen from the various motives of pilgrims to visit the tomb and spring of Bagusan; one of which is to get supernatural powers or other request related to power, such as to win the local elections (Interview with Mr Handoyo, 3 November 2017).

### Sacralization of the Tomb and Spring of Bagusan in the Frame of Religious Tourism Development Program

The process of desacralization will always appear on religious sites that are used as tourist destinations. At least, the demand for financial or economic benefits that are expected to bring improvements to the welfare of the surrounding community is a fundamental goal of the inception of religious tourism concept. The growing numbers of modifying religious rituals to meet the needs of people through the creation of several

ritual packages, or what is known as the commodification of religion, often ignore the important aspect of sacrality embedded to those rituals. The existence of parties that do not have a direct relationship with the implementation of religious rituals, ranging from traders, government officials, or visitors who just want to witness the ritual will certainly affect the value of sacredness. Therefore, the development of religious tourism concept should always pay attention to preserve and maintain the value of sacredness, so that rituals do not become victims or be sacrificed for financial gain.

The development of religious tourism of the tomb and spring of Bagusan can be used as a good example of how sacred values are produced and maintained properly, while the numbers of visitors are constantly increasing. Although the tomb and spring of Bagusan is located in the neighborhood of Senuko hamlet, the majority of population is affiliated with the modern Islamic organization of Muhammadiyah, which in fact does not support the tomb visit tradition. However, by strengthening the collective memory of hamlet residents of the services and role played by K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka in spreading Islam to the surrounding communities made them feel respect for various activities carried out in both sites. Through Javanese tradition of "otak-atik-matuk" or observing the similarities of different words, the name of Hamlet Senuko began to be associated with the name of K.H.R. Khasantuka: "senuko - santuka - khasantuka" at the beginning of the development of the tomb and spring of Bagusan in 2001. Collective feelings of being thankful to K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko have a significant role in allowing the tomb and spring of Bagusan to be restored and proclaimed as the religious tourism destination of Senuko Hamlet.

The instilment of collective awareness for the contributions and services of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka, which eventually became the forerunner of the hamlet, has at least an influential contribution to the growing awareness of respect and tolerance for the people of Senuko hamlet, whose theological majority is basically opposed to various forms of grave/tomb pilgrimage rituals, especially the *kungkum* (soak) tradition which does not exist at the times of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This model of compromise has been expressed quite a lot by researchers, especially when they conduct research related to the Muhammadiyah community in rural

areas (Mulkhan, 2000, 2010).

Although the compromise built in Senuko Hamlet did not necessarily become the legitimacy that all residents supported the development of the tomb and spring of Bagusan as religious tourist destination, but at least it had important significance for the maintenance of the sacredness of the sites. This can be seen from the trust given by residents of Senuko Hamlet to hand over the management of these two religious sites entirely to residents with theological backgrounds who placed the pilgrimage as part of their daily activities, even though they were only two or three families. This trust provides freedom for boards of association to create regulations that ultimately have a contribution to maintain and reproduce sacredness of the sites, which often become the most important aspects for the development of religious tourism.

The stories of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka personality, which are packaged and delivered through various religious activities, such as during the *khaul* ritual or academic activities of various studies that have been carried out, are believed to be the main keys in understanding the reality that K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuka indeed is the right person to be expected to give blessings to pilgrims. In addition, the availability of facilities to constantly reproduce the discourses, that are used to maintain sacredness, is the most important thing to minimize the dominance of economic aspect in the concept of developing religious tourism. Furthermore, efforts to limit the existence of traders or various activities of residents that are not directly related to the *kungkum* and *ziarah* (pilgrimage) rituals, can only be performed in the parking area. Besides, the lighting at the tomb and spring of Bagusan also have a significant impact in creating an atmosphere conducive to conduct certain rituals, especially related to the recitation of specific prayer as being asked by the pilgrims. Serious attention from the manager in balancing the spiritual and economic aspects becomes influential in explaining why the tomb and spring of Bagusan remains flooded by pilgrims without sacrificing the sacred values of the sites.

In addition, the characteristics of Javanese community, as reflected in their values and beliefs which place priority to the harmonization between macro and microcosmos, provide a broad place for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs

which are believed to exist and need to be "addressed" as a form of respect to them. Various calculations related to specific time to do certain activities, for example, even though some modern Islamic groups are accused of being part of the *khurafat* (heresy), are still believed by most Javanese people, especially traditional Muslims and Kejawen. This kind of belief certainly makes it easier for keeping the aspect of sacrality as the most important thing in carrying out religious rituals, as shown in figure 2, where all necessary equipment are provided at the tomb, such as a place for burning incense, certain flowers, and so forth. In fact, in some cases, the willingness to sacrifice financial or economic interests or benefits in order to respect the sacred aspects of a site or religious rituals can still be easily found in the community, including in the management of tomb and spring of Bagus.



Figure 2. The Tomb of K.H.R. Bagus Khasantuko with all the tools for ritual

The development of tourism concepts in various sites and religious rituals is not different, at least in terms of results, with processes that are popular in the academic world as religious commodification. The fundamental question is how to make all aspects of religion becomes a commodity that has high economic values, and at the end, provides economic benefits for people around the sites. The domination of economic aspects in the development of religious tourism concept has to be seriously noted by all concerned parties, so that other aspects, especially the sacredness of religious sites and rituals, are not being sacrificed. In the context of management of tomb and spring of Bagus in Senuko Hamlet, the management is fully aware of the threat of erosion of sites' sacred aspect. Besides, the meaning of sacrality has changed as a consequence of the more rational and practical way of thinking of the community. Other than that, the management face people's demands to be able to provide a real improvement of the

welfare of residents around the tomb and spring of Bagus.

## Conclusion

Various studies related to the development of religious tourism-based villages show a tendency to focus more on efforts to improve community welfare by ignoring the sacred aspects of existing religious sites or rituals. The commodification process occurs in religious practices in some places indicates the emergence of desacralization process, in which economic transactions (as indicated by a high number of visitors) become more important than how to maintain the sacredness of existing sites and religious rituals. Interestingly, there are many religious tourist destinations that deliberately created through the process of sacralization the ancient tombs which are then associated with the place of charismatic figures who spread Islam in the region. The process of reproducing sacredness in religious sites, although in the end is also related to the development of religious tourism concept, but at least it provides an illustration of the importance of building awareness among various parties involved in the process of managing religious sites about the significance of preserving the sacred aspect for the needs of pilgrims.

Various efforts to reproduce sacrality, as carried out by management of the tomb and spring of Bagus, at least giving us awareness that the development of religious tourism concept should be able to go hand in hand with maintaining the sacredness of sites and religious rituals. It is necessary to be done in order to make sure that the sacredness will not being co-opted with economic orientation as it is common in the process of religious commodification. Related to this issue, a recommendation from this research that needs to be conveyed to every management of religious tourism is the need to create a collective awareness of the community to fight against any possible threats to the eradication of sacred sites and religious rituals when they are declared as tourist destinations. Therefore, there is a necessary for the management to create rules intended to protect and preserve the sacredness of religious sites and rituals. The success in maintaining the sacredness of religious tourist spots will certainly guarantee the sustainability of these tourism objects, while also having tangible socio-economic implications through the increasing number



of pilgrims.

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