Introduction:
Muslim Pilgrimage in Bali

This book discusses the new emergence of the saint worshipping tradition in contemporary Indonesia and Muslim pilgrimage to Bali through the lens of the travelling tradition and pilgrimage studies and it partly touches upon the aspect of religious economy. Scholars particularly see travelling traditions through the perspectives of travelling cultures in the Muslim world,[1] the circulation of texts,[2] mobile societies,[3] networks,[4] technologies,[5] and commodities.[6] By extension, this book examines the travelling tradition in the light of translocal mobility of culture and people, and Muslim pilgrimage from the perspectives of multifaceted cultural geographies, boundaries, and encounters. It also looks at how transfer and adaptation, as consequences of the mobility of cultures and agency, stimulate questions of authority and authenticity and the roles of 'religious economy' in cultural relocation.[7] In so doing, the book focuses on the adaptation of saint worshipping deeply rooted in Islamic Java in the dominant Hindu environment of Bali, and its marketplaces, religious products, and entrepreneurs as well as scrutinises the transgression of multifaceted boundaries through religious travel. This book offers a new light on Bali and sees the island as a site of a cultural motion straddling Islam and Hinduism with the complexities of the local figurations, attachments, and belongings of 'Muslim Balinese'. Religious travel, this book argues, allows us to look at cultural traffic in localities, exchanges, commodification, competition and contestation which are framed in translocal sociocultural settings but shaped by local specificities of spatial and cultural identities.

Religious travel is one of the main elements constituting Islam and it is part of the tradition of Muslim mobilities, such as *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *hijrah* (emigration), and *rihlah* (travel for learning purposes).[8] Islam encourages and even obliges certain forms of religious travel and the best known is the *hajj* that takes place every year. The *hajj* is the most important form of religious travel and it is considered one of the pillars of Islam (*'arkan al-'Islam*), along with faith testimony (*shahada*), daily obligatory prayers (*shalat*), almsgiving (*zakat*), and fasting during the month of Ramadan. All Muslims who can afford the journey are obliged to perform *hajj* at least once in their lifetime. Less important

than *hajj* is *umrah,* where Muslim pilgrims travel to Mecca and Medina and pray at various sacred places located in both cities. It is highly recommended (*sunnah mu'akkad*) for Muslims to perform *umrah* should they be able to do so financially and physically. Muslims may perform *umrah* throughout the year, but *hajj* is performed only in the month of *dhul-hijjah,* the last month of the Muslim lunar calendar.

In addition to *hajj* and *umrah,* Islam also recognises the practice of religious travel to sacred sites or *ziarah. Ziarah* means 'to visit' or to venerate a saint through visiting his grave. It is also labelled 'little *hajj*' as it delivers the same religious merit as performing *hajj* or *umrah. Ziarah* to tombs of saints is a phenomenon of immense importance throughout the Muslim world.[9] James Fox observes that "throughout the Islamic world, visits to the tombs of the saints and holy men of Islam are an accepted act of piety. In Java, as well as elsewhere in Indonesia, such visits to holy tombs are a well-established practice."[10] Importantly, *ziarah* to the graves of saints in contemporary Indonesia is one of the vibrant religious traditions showing a close connection to the rising religious market and tourism. It involves thousands of sites and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims.[11] Nevertheless, in Indonesia and elsewhere in the Muslim world, *ziarah* serves as a vital indicator of the differences between traditionalist and reformist Muslims. The reformists uncompromisingly condemn saint veneration and *ziarah* to saints' shrines which are seen as an unlawful ritual even worse than idolatrous acts (*shirk*), in contrast to the traditionalists who encourage Muslims to make pilgrimages to the shrines of Muslim saints.[12]

This book particularly examines *ziarah* to the newly discovered graves of the Wali Pitu (Seven Saints). The Wali Pitu refers to the seven Muslim saints in Bali, namely Habib Umar Bin Maulana Yusuf Al-Maghribi, Habib Ali bin Abu Bakar al-Khamid, Habib Ali bin Zainal Abidin al-Idrus, Habib Ali bin Umar Bafaqih, Shaykh Yusuf al-Baghdi, The Kwan Lie or Shaykh Abdul Qadir Muhammad and Mas Sepuh or Raden Amangkuningrat. Four of the Wali Pitu members bear the honorific '*habib',* an equivalent title of *sayyid* (male descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), whereas the two others have the title '*shaykh*' particularly referring to non-*sayyid* Arab descents, and the title '*raden*' designating noble aristocrat families in Java. The Javanese Kiai Toyyib Zaen Arifin (1925-2001) first coined the Wali Pitu concept in 1992. He discovered the graves of the Wali Pitu in Bali and, together with his Javanese disciples associated in the pseudo-Sufi group Al-Jamali living in Bali, popularised the Wali Pitu worshipping tradition. He was also actively involved in marketing and organising *ziarah* to the Wali Pitu's graves which are scattered around Bali (see figure 2 for the geographical locations of the graves). As a result of his discovery, the graves of

the Wali Pitu have been transformed into lucrative *ziarah* sites, especially for Javanese Muslims who visit Bali for religious tourism (*wisata religi*).

Despite Bali's considerable fame as a celebrated tourist destination, Indonesian Muslims did not entertain the notion of making pilgrimages to Bali until rather recently. Even today, the term 'Wali Pitu' still sounds odd in many Indonesian Muslims' ears because the concept of a saint (*wali*) in Indonesia has for decades been exclusively related to the Wali Sanga, the nine saints in Java. For a long time, making pilgrimages to the tombs of saints (*ziarah wali*) implied Muslim pilgrimage to the graves of these nine saints. In addition, Java is usually associated with the history of Muslim saints in Indonesia, whereas neighbouring Bali is mostly seen as a Hindu island. The island is often called the 'island with a thousand temples' (*pulau seribu pura*) and the 'island of the gods' (*pulau dewata*), and it is home to many famous tourist – rather than *ziarah* – destinations. Thanks to the emergence of the Wali Pitu, Bali is no longer seen solely as a tourist destination but has been transformed into an island where Muslims may make their pilgrimage, which facilitates the spatial expansion of the thriving *wisata religi* business in Java.[13]

Investigating the emergence of the Wali Pitu and Muslim pilgrimages in Bali, the main question in this book is *how was Wali Pitu invented and how is it marketed, experienced and contested?* The discussion on this 'invention' mainly centres on the more detailed questions about the person who invented the Wali Pitu tradition, how he invented it, and what the most essential premises of this tradition are. The term 'marketed' refers in particular to the entanglement of religious tradition and the market. It tries to capture the ways in which the tradition of saint veneration demands religious consumption and how it is intertwined with the emergence of the religious market in contemporary Indonesia. Regarding the notion of 'experience', this book will be looking at the subjective aspects of those involved in the pilgrimage, notably by examining the pilgrims and pilgrimage practices in Bali. Finally, by using the notion of 'contested', this study examines the dynamics of the pilgrimage sites in their sociocultural contexts.

The research problem under investigation is indeed thought-provoking, particularly because of the dearth of studies on Islam in Bali and the almost total absence of studies on saint veneration on the island. Anthropological works exclusively define Bali as a Hindu island in the dominant Muslim country, Indonesia.[14] For a historical study of Islam in Bali, Adrian Vickers's article (1987) is possibly a stepping stone.[15] Complementing Vickers's article are Jean Couteau's two articles on the history and contemporary dynamics of Muslims in Bali,[16] and Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin's article that examines the interaction between Islam

and the indigenous Hindu-Balinese 'Bali Aga' in north Bali.[17] Two ethnographic studies have been made by Fredrick Barth (1993)[18] and Erni Budiwanti (1995)[19] and they cover the Muslim community of the village Pagetapan/Pegayaman in north Bali. Two illuminating articles by Lene Pedersen (2008)[20] and Meike Rieger (2014)[21] examine Muslim and Hindu dynamics in mixed Hindu-Muslim villages in central and east Bali. However, these studies do not take into account the issue of saint veneration on the island.

Studies on saint veneration in Indonesia in general include biographical and philological analyses, such as those written by Rinkes,[22] Schrieke,[23] and Drewes.[24] Only a few scholars, namely James Fox,[25] Tommy Christomy,[26] Nelly van Doorn-Harder, Kees de Jong,[27] Jamhari,[28] and Muhaimin,[29] examined Indonesian Muslim pilgrimages anthropologically. Bagus Laksana's recent anthropological work comparatively discusses Muslim and Catholic pilgrimage in Java,[30] whereas George Quinn's *Bandit Saints of Java* (2019) relates the peculiarity of Java sainthood tradition amid the rising Islamic fundamentalism in contemporary Indonesia.[31] These studies do not touch upon the issue of the pilgrimage market, which features prominently in the works by George Quinn (2008)[32] and Martin Slama (2012).[33] Another characteristic of the aforementioned studies is their predominant focus either on Java's Wali Sanga or other saintly places in Java. The topic of this book offers a specific case study of Muslim saints and pilgrimages on the island of Bali.

My first engagement with the study of Muslim saints in Bali focused on the institutionalisation of Balinese Muslim sainthood in my article entitled "*Inventing Balinese Muslim Sainthood*" (2013).[34] In the article I argued that the Wali Pitu was the saint worshipping tradition of Balinese Muslims. Nevertheless, as I was working on this book and after intensive fieldwork in Bali, I discovered that the argument is deceptive. I am convinced that the Wali Pitu has Javanese rather than Balinese roots, which Martin Slama correctly argued in his *From Wali Songo to Wali Pitu: The Travelling of Islamic Saint Veneration to Bali* (2014). Furthermore, Slama's publication illustrates the travel of saint worshipping from Java to Bali and its correspondence with the rise of religious tourism (*wisata religi*) in Java.[35] These early publications on Muslim saint veneration in Bali however do not touch upon the dynamics of the pilgrimage sites and their sociocultural contexts. Therefore, to fill some of the gaps in scholarly discussions, this book presents Indonesian Muslim saints beyond Java and the pilgrimage to Muslim sacred sites outside Java. It provides a new insight to the travelling tradition of Muslim saint veneration in Java that recently travelled to Bali. Furthermore, in Bali, Islam as a minority religion represents

a kind of 'invisible Islam', a fact that is all but neglected in scholarly debates. On the one hand, this study offers a glimpse into the diversity and dynamics within Muslim communities in Bali and their intra-Muslim and inter-religious relationships. On the other hand, this book also partly tries to disclose the trans-insular dynamic between Java and Bali and demonstrates the intricate relationship that exists between the two islands. This book intends to offer an alternative view to temper the radical contrast often perceived between Islamised Java and Hindu Bali, which for a long time has been one of the orientalist's visions.[36]

Invisible Islam: Exclusion and Inclusion of Muslim Balinese

With the designation as the 'island of the gods' (*pulau dewata*) enriched with 'a thousand temples' (*pulau seribu pura*), Bali becomes an exceptional island as it is like a 'Hindu museum' in the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia. This popular narrative portrays Bali as exclusively Hindu and it has eclipsed the presence of Islam on the island. In academic circles too, 'Muslim Balinese' have received scant attention. However, the presence of Muslims in Bali has been recorded since the reign of the Hindu Javanese kings of Majapahit and prior to the rise of the first Islamic Kingdom in Java, Demak, in 1478.[37] During the reign of Dalem Ketut Ngulesir (1380-1460), forty Javanese Muslim soldiers accompanied the king's return to Bali from his journey to Java. The lore also says that during the time of King Baturenggong (1480-1550), Muslims were sent to the king in an unsuccessful attempt to convert him to Islam.[38] These Muslim missionaries later established a Javanese hamlet (Kampung Jawa) at Lebah in Klungkung and the Muslim community of Saren Jawa in Gelgel where Bali's oldest mosque can still be found.[39] In 1669, the Wajonese-Buginese Muslim leader, Daeng Nahkoda, established the Wajo district (Kampung Wajo) in Jembrana, west Bali.[40] The Muslim community of Pegayaman in north Bali was established in the 17th century by Javanese soldiers from the Kingdom of Buleleng.[41]

The fall of Makassar to the Dutch escalated Muslim Buginese migration in the 17th century[42] and Buginese Muslims established their settlements in many parts of Bali such as in Serangan in south Bali and they founded a Buginese hamlet (Kampung Bugis) in north Bali.[43] In 1740, Balinese Hindu rulers conquered the western part of Lombok that was the home of the Muslim Sasaks who then came under the rule of Hindu kings until the end of the 19th century.[44] Following this conquest, Muslims of Sasak origin were sent to Bali to serve under their Balinese rulers and they established Muslim communities in Bukit Tabuan and

Kecincang, Sindu, Sidemen, Karang Sokong, Telaga Mas, and Nyuling in east Bali. In 1798, the Malay Sharif Abdullah bin Yahya al-Qodry arrived in Loloan which had been significantly inhabited by Muslim Wajonese-Buginese and transformed the village into an important Muslim economic and religious centre in south-west Bali.[45] Around 1832, following a remarkable success in the war against the Kingdom of Mengwi, the Javanese Muslim prince Raden Sastraningrat established the Muslim hamlet of Kepaon (Kampung Kepaon) in Denpasar, south Bali.[46]

The Muslim communities in Bali are notable for their foreign origins. They particularly trace their origin to settlers from Java, the Buginese from South Sulawesi (Makassar), Sasak (Lombok),[47] and Hadrami-Arabs.[48] However, there were also Balinese Muslim converts, particularly among the commoners who do not belong to the three Balinese castes (*triwangsa*).[49] These Muslim communities – both those of foreign origins and Balinese converts – have been living in Bali for centuries. Likewise, there had been intense interaction between these two religious traditions which generated a hybrid Balinese Muslim tradition,[50] which produced such texts as *Krama Sělam*, the 18th century Javanese-Balinese prose treatise on Muslim theology and mysticism, *Tuwan Sméru*, a Javanese-Balinese didactic and speculative poem on Islam, and *Geguritan Nabi Muhammad* and *Ki Kertanah,* two Balinese Islamic stories about the Prophet Muhammad.[51] For Balinese Hindus, their Muslim neighbours – who have long Balinese histories and have assimilated to Balinese identity – are known as Muslim brothers/sisters (*nyama slam*).[52]

Bali was the last region in the Indonesian archipelago to be included under Dutch colonial power. There had been Dutch earlier efforts to control the island, but it did not happen until the early 20th century, particularly after the royal courts of Bali preferred to commit suicide (*puputan*) in 1906-1908 rather than to surrender to colonial powers. Having seen the wave of Islamisation in Java, which the Balinese had apparently resisted, the Dutch refined Balinese culture and turned the island into a 'Hindu museum' amid the Islamised rest of the archipelago. In the 1920s, the Dutch colonial government imposed the so-called *Baliseering* (Balinisation of the Balinese) development project in an effort to preserve Balinese culture, protect it from the wave of Islamisation, and teach the Balinese how to be 'authentic Balinese'.[53] The implementation of this image of Bali – seen and imagined by the colonial government – as authentic and as the last surviving Hindu vestige, replete with temples and religious ceremonies, ultimately resulted in Bali becoming an international tourist destination while the project at the same time was also meant to curb the infiltration of Islam.[54]

In the aftermath of the declaration of Indonesian independence in 1945, the post-colonial government inherited the rules and regulations of its colonial predecessor, particularly in affairs related to tourism. Soon after independence and the nationalisation of Dutch colonial assets, the first Indonesian president, Soekarno, expanded Bali Ngurah Rai Airport to make it accessible to jetliners and he undertook the construction of a luxurious hotel on Sanur Beach financed by Japanese war reparation funds.[55] In the 1950s, central government tourism planning was established and the president was pleased to take his guests to Bali where he had built a presidential palace in the mountains at Tampaksiring in 1957. Nevertheless, the number of Western tourists persistently declined in reaction to the nationalisation of former Dutch enterprises in 1957, the establishment of Guided Democracy (Demokrasi Terpimpin) (1957-1966), and the eruption of Bali's tallest volcano, Gunung Agung, which led to thousands of deaths in 1963.[56]

In the early years of the New Order, the government strove to revive Bali's tourism. In the first phase of the Five-Year Development Plans (Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun/Repelita) (1969-1974), the New Order government targeted to retransform Bali into an international tourist destination.[57] The need to build infrastructure for tourism was supported by manpower imported from the neighbouring islands, particularly from Java, and almost all of the workers were non-Hindu. The promise of employment in the tourism sector also invited migrants from Java and Lombok to come to the island of their own accord. This later influx, particularly of Muslims, contributed significantly to the increasing population in Bali. According to a 1980 government report, Muslims in Bali formed only 4% of the total population (123,629), whereas 93% (2,296,336) of the population was Hindu. The latest report from 2010 suggests a doubling the number of Muslims on the island and shows that Muslims formed just over 13% (520,244) of the total population, whereas Balinese Hindus formed 83.6% (3,247,283).[58] These contemporary Muslim migrants tend to be excluded from the definition of Muslim brothers/sisters of *nyama slam* because they have no roots in Balinese culture and society and are therefore often referred to as Muslim *pendatang* (newcomers).[59]

The rising number of Muslim migrants in Bali formed the backdrop of the current tension between Hindus and Muslims and not exclusively between Hindus and Muslim *pendatang* but also between Hindus and their *nyama slam* fellow islanders. This tension increased in the aftermath of the fall of New Order government in 1998. The Bali bombings of 2002 – and later again in 2005 – exacerbated relations between Hindus and Muslims.[60] Although minor incidents against Muslim migrants in Denpasar did occur, no large-scale violence has been recorded.

However, the bombings crystallised the need for the Balinese to revive their Hindu identity in order to protect it from external invasions. The decentralisation policy of the post-New Order Indonesian government led to a greater regional autonomy and opened 'Pandora's identity box (*kotak Pandora identitas*)'.[61] At present, the Balinese are redefining their regional and cultural identity through the promotion and protection of Balinese Hinduism, Balinese language, and customs (*adat*).[62]

The revival of Hindu identity is mainly echoed by the slogan of *Ajeg Bali* which was coined for the first time in May of 2002 during the launch of BaliTV[63] and it has figured predominantly in Balinese local politics, public debates and the media, especially after the drop in the tourism market as a result of two Bali bombings.[64] *Ajeg Bali* is a Balinese discourse and movement and has several meanings.[65] Balinese anthropologist Degung Santikarma argues that the Balinese term '*ajeg*', which means 'hard, stable, or fixed', has a distinctly macho ring to it and resonates with the military bravery to challenge the economic domination of non-Balinese Indonesians in urban areas.[66] *Ajeg Bali* mainly points to the need for socio-cultural self-defence against external influences and challenges – among others, Islam – by emphasising local knowledge and the central role of customary institutions.[67] It is a cultural revival that fosters a monolithic identity based on Balinese Hindu identity and the Balinese traditional village system (*desa adat/pakraman*) to protect Balineseness (*kebalian*) from external threats.[68] It manifests through 'a culture of fear' and 'the politics of suspicion' to external forces,[69] particularly those forces which Balinese Hindus consider the 'Muslim invasion'.

Despite the fact that *Ajeg Bali* especially targets contemporary Muslim migrants who are portrayed as undesirable and, even worse, as criminals,[70] some observers predict that the negative projection of Muslim/Islam would likely go beyond Muslim newcomers and eventually also target Muslims with a longer history of being *nyama slam*. Javanese migration to Bali is "perceived by the Hindu Balinese as a Javanese (and Muslim) invasion on different levels; moreover, 'Muslim' and 'Islam' became labels under which the Balinese started to subsume co-villagers originating many generations ago from Lombok (and other parts of Indonesia and beyond), and work migrants similarly became subsumed."[71] Therefore, it holds true that there has been a gradually-shifting discourse from being Balinese to exclusively original Hindu Balinese (*asli*), thus excluding Muslims with centuries-long family history of living in the island. The romantic slogan of *nyama slam* seems to have been subdued by *Ajeg Bali*. This is an interesting fact and during my field research I encountered many Hindu Balinese who retained the notion that being Balinese meant being exclusively Hindu.

Nevertheless, it is also misleading to argue that Muslims in Bali are a homogenous minority within the dominant Hindu society. Throughout the book, I avoid using the notion 'Balinese Muslim' and prefer to employ the concept 'Muslim Balinese'. A comparative study of Muslims in Egypt and Bali by Unni Wikan utilises 'Balinese Muslim' to describe Muslims in Bali.[72] The same is also true for Fredrik Barth despite the fact he uses the word Balinese Muslim cautiously. For Barth, "Muslims who consider themselves Balinese generally have an idea of their family origins, whether from Bali-Hindu ancestors or from settlers arriving from Java, Madura, South Sulawesi (Buginese), or Lombok (Sasak)."[73] Ako Mashino on the other hand sees the concept 'Balinese Muslim' as problematic because it reifies Balinese multiculturality and multi-ethnicity. For Mashino, 'Muslim Balinese' is the proper term to refer to people who identify themselves as both Muslim and Balinese, even though for many Hindus who see Balinese as synonymous with being Hindu the term 'Muslim Balinese' is problematic. 'Muslim Balinese' refers to an inter-generational category, such as Balinese ancestors with a long history in Bali. Muslim Balinese is also distinguished from the more recent economic Muslim migrants referred to as 'allochthonous Muslim *pendatang*.'[74] As Mashino argues, Muslim Balinese should be understood as an inter-generational category; between autochthonous *asli* and allochthonous *pendatang* or between Muslims with Balinese ancestors and contemporary migrants. Nevertheless, the notion of Muslim Balinese should also be closely scrutinised because the term has been coined mainly to simplify the plurality of Muslim Balinese who comprise of diverse groups of people who are ethnically as well as spatially fragmented. Muslims in Bali inhabit geographical areas defined by their genealogical and ethnic roots. Thus, to speak about Muslim Balinese is tantamount to talking about varied groupings, roots, diversities, as well as self-subscriptions based upon the notions of religion and ethnicity.

As for self-subscription, the identification of Muslim Balinese is problematic from the viewpoints of the Muslims themselves. Muslims in Loloan for example (discussed in chapter 4) hold the opinion that being Balinese means subscribing to Hinduism, a view that mirrors the exclusive characteristic of the identity. In contrast, Muslims in Candikuning (discussed in chapter 5) tend to identify themselves as autochthonous Muslim Balinese (*Muslim asli Bali*) – and have struggled for it – and see no contradiction between being Balinese and being Muslim. Muslims in Candikuning exemplify the concept Muslim Balinese. Despite the differences in self-subscription, both Muslims in Loloan and those in Candikuning share the same territory with regards to their relationship

with Muslim *pendatang* as they think that Muslim *pendatang* have not completely integrated into their society.[75]

Nevertheless, the distinction between the autochthonous *asli* and the allochthonous *pendatang* should not be approached exclusively from a single primordial category, like ethnicity, because situational categories such as class and economic status also play key roles in the formation of Muslim Balinese identity. In many cases, economic competition has created some distance between autochthonous Muslim Balinese and allochthonous Muslim *pendatang*. In Candikuning, autochthonous Muslim Balinese particularly feel the economic invasion of their allochthonous, in particular Javanese, Muslim brothers. As one of my interlocutors said "many Muslim *pendatang* manage to buy land in the village, whereas indigenous Muslims keep on selling their lands to *pendatang*. Moreover, an autochthonous Muslim is now even renting a house which was previously owned by his grandparents, but now belongs to a Muslim *pendatang*. They have indeed stolen our jobs." Thus, it holds true that primordial and situational categories, essential to comprehend the identity formation and the diversity of Muslims in Bali, have become intertwined and resulted in a mode of inclusion and exclusion between Muslims in contemporary Bali.

Methodological Notes

The analysis of the wide-ranging issues this book addresses warrants the author to use a trans-disciplinary approach, combining history, area studies, and ethnography. As for area studies, this book tries to elucidate the various dynamics from a spatial perspective and to generate arguments from the fields in question,[76] while also allowing flexible definitions of spatial figurations.[77] Historical analysis helps me evaluate the genealogy and the development of a tradition from a diachronic perspective. However, the scarcity of written sources on Muslim saints and on Islam in Bali in general has proven problematic. Therefore, this book relies heavily on data collected during the ethnographic fieldwork.

As this is an ethnographic study, I examine the triad-coordinates of pilgrimage studies as proposed by John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow: place, pilgrim, and text (culture).[78] As for the notion of place, as argued by Jill Dubisch, the study of pilgrimage, by its very nature, violates notions of boundedness.[79] Thus the complexities of pilgrimage studies allow me to use the 'mobile ethnography' and 'multi-sited ethnography' approaches.[80] Andrea Novoa argues that mobile ethnography can be defined as mobile participant-observation with a particular focus on

mobile phenomena.[81] As for multi-sited ethnography, George Marcus and Michael Fischer write that "rather than being situated in one, or perhaps two communities for the entire research period, the fieldworker must be mobile and cover a network of sites."[82]

Fieldworks

I conducted an ethnographic field research from October 2015 to March 2016. This six-month period excludes my initial short field trips (between 1-3 weeks) in 2013 and 2014 in several sites in Java and Bali (see figure 1 and 2; the maps of the cities and villages where I did my field research). I particularly employed the '*follow the people*' and '*follow the stories*'[83] technique when visiting the graves of the Wali Pitu. I was a participant observer during all kinds of pilgrimage (both Hindu and Muslim) events. I also conducted 'ethnographic interviews'[84] with the pilgrims either individually or in groups. As for pilgrims travelling in a group, I tried to follow the experiences of the pilgrims by travelling with them to and from pilgrimage sites and I followed them on their return to their villages in Java, either as a fellow pilgrim or as *wisata religi* guide (*pemandu*). My ethnographic field research also included extensive stays in three villages to study the dynamics of the sites and the people who live in the areas surrounding the graves. In these villages, I carried out my ethnographic interviews in informal settings, like over dinner and in private houses and by attending religious gatherings in the villages. Most important were the night-long ethnographic interviews with pilgrims I met at the graves of the Wali Pitu.

Selection of the sites

While studying the pilgrimage sites and their sociocultural dynamics in the villages where the graves are located, I paid close attention to the classic ethnographic principle of 'boundedness'. I was aware that in a multi-sited ethnographic study, deciding the observation sites might be problematic because it would entail the matter of the selectiveness or incompleteness of my multi-sited study.[85] Importantly, as Clifford Geertz writes, in Bali "there is no 'average' village, a description of which may well stand for the whole".[86] Each village has its own characteristics and stands for a '*negara*' with a large degree of autonomy and plurality.[87] In the same vein, Fredrik Barth also writes "any single village [in Bali] will prove entirely inadequate as a specimen for understanding other communities".[88]

The selection of my field sites was territorially defined as it was based on the villages. It is worth noting that the term 'village' is problematic

because there are two forms of villages in Bali: the customary village (*desa adat/pakraman*) and the official village (*desa dinas*).[89] In this book, the term 'village' refers mainly to the *desa adat* as a cultural and territorial unit. The selection of the villages where I spent a significant amount of time to conduct my field research was a not random selection. It was based on two premises: firstly, the availability of a sacred grave deemed to be the tomb of a Wali Pitu and secondly, the ethnic composition and the religions of the villagers. As a result, my study examines three villages that reflect the general characteristics of a Balinese village and the diversity of Muslim communities in Bali. These villages display the contrasting ethno-cultural and religious characteristics of Balinese villages and at the same time are home to three of the graves of the Wali Pitu, i.e., the grave of Ali Bafaqih in the Muslim village of Loloan in west Bali, the grave of Habib Umar bin Maulana Yusuf al-Maghribi in the mixed Hindu-Muslim village of Candikuning in central Bali, and the grave of Mas Sepuh in the Hindu village of Seseh in south Bali (see figure 2).

Loloan is home to traditionalist Muslims. It is a Buginese Muslim village strongly influenced by Malay culture and so different from the Hindu-Muslim mixed village of Candikuning that shows a fair share of reformist Muslim influence and of Balinese culture. Muslims in Candikuning claim themselves to be 'autochthonous Balinese Muslims (*Muslim asli Bali*)', whereas the Muslims in Loloan strongly differentiate themselves from the Balinese since being Balinese exclusively implies being Hindu. The identity of the indigenous inhabitants of Loloan village suggests that being Loloan (*orang Loloan*), means to be Muslim, to have Buginese ancestors, and to speak the Loloan language (*bahasa Loloan*). Despite the different characteristics, both Muslim communities share the same view regarding the Javanese and Madurese Muslims who live in their villages and whom they consider as outsiders or 'allochthonous Muslims' (*Muslim pendatang*). As for the third field site, in contrast to Candikuning and Loloan, the village of Seseh in south Bali is a Hindu village. The only Islamic element in the village is the tomb of Mas Sepuh, which was transformed into the Hindu temple Pura Keramat Ratu Mas Sakti in 2013.

Positionality and Challenges at the Field

Writing this book was primarily meant to record the emergence of a new tradition, which many Indonesian Muslims would otherwise not recognise and simply forget. Recording the invention of the Wali Pitu is challenging, particularly because I was raised in a religious environment

and trained in a traditional Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) where the cult of *wali* and *ziarah* were important parts of my beliefs and the rituals I performed. Indonesian Muslims growing up with this type of upbringing are often referred to as traditionalists, in contrast to puritan-reformist Muslims. Nevertheless, as I obtained my post-graduate education in the Netherlands for over a year (2007-2009) and got to know Western academic perspectives, some measure of critical distance emerged in my views towards the tradition into which I was born, thus making me a *halfie* that straddled tradition and modernity, so to speak.[90] I am also fully aware that my Western educational background could also be reductive and potentially ignore epistemological complexities at work. Thus, my 'ethnography story' through this book only represents 'partial truths'.[91]

During my field research, I occupied five positionalities simultaneously. I was a Muslim researcher with a Western educational background, a Javanese Muslim, a traditionalist Muslim, a pilgrim (*peziarah*), and – by an unexpected opportunity – a religious tourist guide (*pemandu wisata religi*). These positionalities changed over time and the extent affected my relationship with my interlocutors. On several occasions I conducted my field research as a *wisata religi* tour guide, particularly when the appointed *pemandu* insisted that I replaced them as the *pemandu* of *wisata religi* groups in December 2015. In addition, for most of my Muslim interlocutors, I was simply a Muslim. Although I shared the same religion, my academic background as a student lucky enough to have had a modern academic training in a Western country caused some symbolic distance. I was mostly seen as a successful Muslim who had made some excellent achievements, which made me feel burdened. Often, they showed their admiration for my achievement by inviting me to their houses for private conversations, particularly about how to get scholarships to study abroad. On one occasion, I was invited to deliver a talk about studying abroad and getting a scholarship. In this way, I tried to intensify my communication with my interlocutors.

As a traditionalist Muslim with a high degree of familiarity with the tradition of saint worship, I was able to gain access to key persons in the field, enabling me to deeply connect with the tradition of which I had been part. I came to the graves as a pilgrim and participated in communal activities other pilgrims performed at the graves of the saints. I was familiar with all these Islamic rituals and had memorised the popular litanies (*dhikr*) often recited during Muslim pilgrimages, which benefited me, as the pilgrims trusted me and noticed that I shared the same tradition and was willing to engage intensely. However, to my Muslim interlocutors in Bali, my Javanese identity was more apparent

and therefore I was considered a Muslim outsider (*pendatang*) who was doing research in their villages. There were also Javanese Muslims in the Balinese villages where I conducted my fieldwork, who were seen by the indigenous Muslim villagers as allochthonous. As such, they were not able to integrate fully with the other members of the villages. Although ethnic boundaries were drawn, my active participation in communal activities and my personal visits to villagers' private houses (*silaturahmi*) successfully minimised the symbolic segregation between myself, as a Javanese Muslim researcher, and the hosting Muslim Balinese communities.

My positionality as a Javanese Muslim became apparent when I participated in *wisata religi.* In the eyes of the *wisata religi* pilgrims who were mostly Javanese Muslims, I was a fellow Javanese Muslim and a pilgrim. My commands of Javanese and Madurese created more relaxing and informal situations where we managed to share personal – and sometimes secret – information. When I participated in *wisata religi* as a *pemandu,* the pilgrims naturally saw me as a Javanese Muslim who knew about the Wali Pitu and earned money as a *pemandu.* In any case, my participation as a *pemandu* gave me the opportunity to develop trust with other *pemandu*, especially unlicenced ones (*pemandu liar*) as well as with *wisata religi* organisers and pilgrimage *kiai* (*kiai ziarah*).

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the Hindu village of Seseh was interesting as it affected my positionality as a Muslim researcher. My Hindu interlocutors quickly identified me as Javanese (*nak jawa*) which also implied a Muslim, a positionality that contrasted with their identity as Balinese Hindus. Despite this religious distance, my Hindu interlocutors and I shared the same positionality with regards to the sacred grave of Mas Sepuh in Seseh. To my Hindu interlocutors, I was a Muslim pilgrim who also worshipped their sacred deity (*bathara*), Mas Sepuh, at their Hindu temple, Pura Keramat Ratu Mas Sakti. This offered me an unusual positionality as I was seen as a religious outsider but also as one who shared the same divine deity.

As for the challenges I met during my ethnographic fieldwork, each of the three field sites offered particular obstacles and opportunities which were closely linked to my positionality and with the matter of trust. Since many of my Seseh interlocutors were Hindu, understanding complex Hindu concepts posed a great challenge. To help me conduct my fieldwork at Mas Sepuh's grave in Seseh, I was mostly accompanied by a Balinese Hindu friend who very kindly and patiently explained Hindu and Balinese concepts. Wearing a *tridatu* bracelet[92] and a traditional Balinese ring (*Balinese-akik*) was one of the most helpful strategies to gain the attention of my Hindu interlocutors. There were also

occasions, notably when visiting Hindu temples, where I needed to wear appropriate Balinese traditional outfit (*baju adat*) for the purpose of respect. Moreover, the highlight of my fieldwork at Seseh was an extraordinary experience that involved 'trans-religious travelling', when the Hindu priest (*pemangku*) of Pura Keramat Ratu Mas Sakti suggested that I perform the Hindu rite of *pejati*[93] to obtain Mas Sepuh's 'divine permission' to do research on the temple and to participate in the annual *pujawali* Hindu ritual at the temple.[94] For the *pemangku,* I was the first and the only Muslim who had ever been allowed to participate in the *pujawali* of the temple.

If Seseh required me to use excessive Hindu symbolism, Hindu attributes had to be dismissed when I conducted fieldwork in Loloan. Muslims in the village differentiated themselves from the majority Hindu population by abandoning Balinese symbols and simultaneously by emphasising Islamic ones, such as wearing Muslim *sarung* and cap (*kopyah*). Compared to my field research in Seseh, approaching my interlocutors in Loloan was easier, not because they saw me as a Muslim, but because of my traditionalist Muslim identity, which most Loloan villagers also shared. However, this is not to say that conducting fieldwork in Loloan was without problems. My biggest obstacle was the very fact that the concept of the Wali Pitu and the designation of Ali Bafaqih as the saint of Loloan were contentious issues that manifested themselves in the constant conflict between important family circles in Loloan and other villagers.

Doing field research in the village of Candikuning, with its own societal dynamics, came with yet another challenge, namely the rough access to Habib Umar bin Maulana Yusuf al Maghribi's grave. The grave is located on the top of Mount Tapak and can only be reached after a long steep walk. I had to visit this remote grave in order to spend several days with the pilgrims. Sleeping next to the grave was the only option during my fieldwork in Candikuning because it was the only roofed structure in the area. In addition, there was neither electricity, phone signal, nor a shop selling food supplies. However, I spent most of the time conducting my fieldwork in the village of Candikuning, where the religious dynamics among the villagers were very intriguing. Islamic reformism strongly reverberated through the dominant Muslim *desa adat* officials who opposed traditionalist religious practices and contested the presence of a pilgrimage site in the village. Participating in religious gatherings gave me important insights into the dynamics of intra-Muslim relations and the contestation of the grave as a pilgrimage site in the village.

In general, the most common challenge was my interlocutors' initial reservation about my status, as it was unclear for them whether I was an

insider or an outsider which often led to trust issues. Apart from these challenges I would also like to address the safety issues I faced during my fieldwork as I observed the activities of spiritual wandering (*tirakat*) pilgrims. Their extensive presence at one site could lead to suspicion from the community living nearby, which once translated into arrest either by the locals or security officers. This is what happened following the twin bomb blasts on 14 January 2016 in Jakarta. The Javanese wandering pilgrim Isnain whom I accompanied during his spiritual journey for several days in Bali was arrested by a squad of police officers at Mas Pakel's grave[95] in Karangasem, east Bali. When Isnain was arrested, I learned that I was on the police's wanted list. The police made me report my presence at the police office in Candikuning, which led to the case being closed. Thus, in general during ethnographic field research, researchers have to be prepared to deal with their interlocutors' possible trust issues and misunderstandings. No matter how well prepared researchers are, things outside their control – in my case, national security – may lead to misconceptions that may affect their safety.

Outline of the Book

Comprising of six main chapters (excluding the introduction and the conclusion), this book is divided into two parts, mirroring the two paradoxical elements of the pilgrimage: the mobile and the static sites, which also reflect the methodological approach taken in writing this book that integrates the principles of multi-sited ethnography and the boundedness of classical ethnography. Part 1 (chapter 1, 2, and 3) echoes the former, whereas Part 2 (chapter 4, 5, and 6) mirrors the latter.

Part 1 (Java and Bali in the Invention of the Wali Pitu) deals with the travelling tradition, both in terms of text and people. It looks at the travel of the saint worshipping tradition rooted in Java which recently travelled to the Hindu island of Bali and the pilgrimages of Javanese Muslims to Bali to the graves of the Wali Pitu. Chapter 1 provides a general examination of Muslim saint veneration and pilgrimage in Indonesia. This chapter deals with various local concepts that are essential to comprehend the characteristics of saint worship in Indonesia and it focuses on the Wali Sanga and the contemporary emergence of new sacred sites. Chapter 2 looks at the invention of the Wali Pitu in Bali. It discusses the biography of the inventor of the Wali Pitu, Toyyib Zaen Arifin, and elaborates the four essential elements in the invention of the Wali Pitu: authority, memory-making, canonisation, and branding. Chapter 3 will offer a more concrete discussion of the intertwining

of religion and tourism. It deals with the meaning of *wisata religi,* discloses the pilgrims' journey from Java to Bali and their experiences, and investigates *wisata religi* entrepreneurs.

Part 2 (Questions of Authority and Authenticity) examines the static dimension of pilgrimages while dealing with the local dynamics of three sacred Wali Pitu sites as consequences of the travelling tradition. Since the emergence of the Wali Pitu and Javanese Muslims started to visit Bali for pilgrimage, these three tombs have experienced their own dynamics. These sites mirror three general characteristics of multifaceted cultural and spatial geographies that have been transgressed as a consequence of the travelling tradition and religious travel; they include multiplicity of Muslim Balinese roots and belongings, diversities of Islamic interpretation on saint worshipping tradition, and Islam-Hindu entanglement. There have been adaptation, contestation, and hybridisation of saint worshipping tradition following the transgression of boundaries, which would be discussed in the next three chapters (4, 5, and 6). Each of these chapters present contrasting trajectories of saint worshiping seen from the perspectives of local figurations and sociocultural geographies.

Chapter 4 discusses the dynamics of the grave of Ali Bafaqih as a pilgrimage site in the Muslim village of Loloan, west Bali, home to traditionalist Muslims, and shows an exclusive characteristic of the Loloan people (*orang Loloan*). This chapter investigates symbolic and spatial boundaries of the village and how these two have been transformed into a struggle for a saint reputation and the exclusion of other's religious symbols and how the exclusion is negotiated. Chapter 5 investigates the contested Keramat Gunung and the dynamics of Muslim politics the mixed Hindu-Muslim village of Candikuning, Central Bali, with the dominant reformist Muslims. This chapter focuses on the emergence of Islamic reformism, how it impacted the boundaries-making among the Muslim villagers and their neighbouring Hindu villagers, and the contest for authenticity of pilgrimage site in a vibrant Muslim community that shows strong efforts to institutionalise Islamic reformism as well as religious and ethnic differences through customary (*adat*) institution. Chapter 6 features the grave-turned-Hindu-temple, the grave of Mas Sepuh, in the Hindu village of Seseh in south Bali. It examines the hybridity and transgression of religious boundaries at the pilgrimage site where Muslims and Hindu share the same sacred place. This chapter deals with the hybrid Hindu temple of Pura Ratu Mas Sakti – or the tomb of Mas Sepuh for Muslim pilgrims –, the issue of domination of pilgrimage site in shared sacred place, and the practice of sharing and boundaries-making both among Muslim and Hindu pilgrims and among Muslims with strong syncretic and orthodox pilgrims