

AN EXCURSION TO TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC RITUAL OF JAVANESE IN LANGSIH CAVE

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Abstract: *Langsih cave offers the space for the ritual which fulfills the requirement of Javanese tradition called Pesugihan defining as a supernatural practice and belief in getting rich quick through mysticism and the people should do such a ritual in a sacred place with the particular rule. Through the symbol and ritual experiences, there would find how the people chronologically believe in the sacred ritual that would conducive to the wealth of the ritual. Thus, this paper firstly tries to point out the role of Langsih cave as the site of traditional economic ritual for Javanese culture. The next discussion is examining the existence of pesugihan on how the worldview representation to the ritual. The last is arguing the optional perspective based on Geertzian approach, which it offers interpretative theory of the culture at the semiotic experience due to its explication “construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical” but it still needs an explanation. The paper shows that the traditional economic ritual is surely a practice transcending from the ancestor unconsciously and the culture seems to be blurred because the role of the tough should be more rational, modernized or religious.*

Keywords: religion, culture, ritual, economic, Geertzian.

الملخص: يسورغار Langsih الفراغ لطقوس الذي يؤدي إلي شروط تقليد الجاوية التي تسمى pesugihan . المقصد من pesugihan يعني ممارسة الخارق و التصديق لتكون غنيا بسرعة بوسيلة التصوف, ووجب لكل نفر الطاعة علي الطقوس في أي مكان و بقواعد

معين. بتفهيم الرمز وتجربة الطقوس سيكون هناك طريقة للناس لفهم بشكل طبيعي عن الطقوس المقدسة التي تفضي إلى الثروة الطقوسية. ففي أول هذه المقالة ستظهر إلي دور غار Langsiah كمكان الطقوس الإقتصاد التقليدي لثقافة الجاوية. ومناقشة بعدها يعني البحث عن التمثيل النظرة العالمية علي تلك الشعيرة. والأخر يعني التنازع عن منظور الإختياري بناء علي نهج Geertzian , الذي يعرض عن النظرية التفسيرية بتجربة شبه لأن تفسير «حد التعبير الإجتماعي في سطحهم بغامض» يحتاج ألي التشريح. توضح هذه الورقة أن الطقوس الاقتصادية التقليدية هي الممارسات الفلسفة المتعالية من أسلاف دون وعي و كما لو كانت الثقافة مخفية لأن الدور الذي يجب القيام به هو تصبح أكثر عقلانية أو حديثة أو دينية.

Abstrak: *Gua Langsiah menawarkan ruang untuk ritual yang memenuhi persyaratan tradisi Jawa yang disebut pesugihan yang didefinisikan sebagai praktik supranatural dan kepercayaan untuk menjadi kaya dengan cepat melalui mistisisme dan orang-orang harus mamatuhi ritual di suatu tempat dengan aturan tertentu. Melalui interpretasi simbol dan pengalaman ritual, akan ada cara yang orang secara alami percaya pada ritual sakral yang akan kondusif bagi kekayaan ritual. Maka, makalah ini pertama-tama mencoba menunjukkan peran gua Langsiah sebagai tempat ritual ekonomi tradisional untuk budaya Jawa. Diskusi selanjutnya adalah penelusuran keberadaan representasi pandangan dunia terhadap ritual tersebut. Yang terakhir adalah memperdebatkan perspektif opsional berdasarkan pendekatan Geertzian, yang menawarkan teori interpretatif semi-pengalaman karena penjelasan “membatasi ekspresi sosial di permukaan mereka secara misterius” tetapi masih perlu penjelasan. Makalah ini menunjukkan bahwa ritual ekonomi tradisional tentu saja merupakan praktik transendentalisme dari leluhur secara tidak sadar dan budaya tersebut seolah ditutup-tutupi karena peran yang harus dibuat adalah menjadi lebih rasional, modern ataupun agamis.*

INTRODUCTION

Getting rich quickly through mysticism or religious ritual is like something taboo amongst society, not exceptionally in Indonesia.

The negative assumption of the practice arises from the religious-textually interpretation or modernized view to see the phenomenon. On the other hand, the pilgrimage tourists' motive to get *barakah*¹ and secularly matter by coming to the tomb of *walisongo* or some religious figure is something common in Indonesia. Thus, it is urgently needed to study the perception and how the differentiation of the assumption to see other place of the pilgrimage whether to come to tomb or such sacred place such as cave, mountain and sea.

The Langsih cave, which is located in Gresik, is one of the place affected those assumptions. The practices of pilgrimage such as chanting religious text and spiritual motives can be found here. The locals, visitors and inhabitants assume this place as *pesugihan*, a place which has negative meaning among them but the fact is more about that because it will be found some religious figure tombs and archeological remains of *walisongo*, nine saints of Islam in Java. So it will be interesting to find more about the site negative assumption background and how to reconcile those kinds of phenomena.

Gresik is a town located next to Surabaya, the capital city of the East Java or the second biggest city in Indonesia, having some nicknames including the city of *santri*, city of *wali*, and industrial city. The term *santri* could be initiated with the Geertz's definitions in his book "Religion of Java" which refers to the adherents of the Islamic religion who follow the religious duty and understand the particular rule as a Moslem.² Sometimes, they are classified as the imagined or suitable religious people who can guide the other follower how to be a good Moslem. But in the present days, *Santri* also means those who studies religion in Islamic boarding school/ *pesantren* that are ready to understand and spread the "standardized Islam". In this case, Gresik is well-known city having some *pesantren* which spread around the district.

The city of *wali*/saints is also addressed to this city which is actually has two graves of *walisongo*, the nine saints of the Java who spread Islam around fifteenth and sixteenth century, namely Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Sunan Giri. The other fact that strengthens this nickname is location of the first people who spread the Islam in

¹ *Barakah* means blessing

² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (United States of America: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

Indonesia namely Siti Fatimah binti Maimun who lived in the ninth century. Moreover, *petilasan* of Sunan Kalijaga is also located in this town, and thus strengthen the sense of *wali* in Gresik.

As a supporting district of the Capital city of Surabaya, the industrial region becomes a consequence. The pattern of life with the economical goal fit into the civilian. The fact added with the presence some industrial factory buildings that lead to a capitalistic life and it influences on livelihood of the Gresik people, become an industrial employee to be more realistic and rational.

Therefore, the Langsih cave is also affected by the culture of life, which is started from the religious life to see *santri* as the ideal Muslim which contradicted with the *abangan* who still practice particular Javanese rituals and cultures in a cave, beach, mountain or the source of livelihood as like lake, river or field indeed. The label of the city of saints also influences the Langsih cave popularity. The presence of more religious sites or *axis mundi* as *walisongo* grave or other Islamic places shifted the Langsih Cave assumption as the forbidden site or as a religious place because of its history. Moreover, people who live in modernized, globalized, capitalized, and developed domains that reconstruct the social life to be more rational which makes the belief on mysticism and irrationality decline. Therefore, this paper tries to chronologically explicate how the Langsih cave offers a space for Javanese culture to practice traditional economic ritual. Then as a response to the ritual, the writer explains the world religion view in responding the presence of *pesugihan* ritual. For the last stages, the optional perspective tries to offer by short research in arguing the Geertz idea on interpreting the culture as a bridge to see traditional economic ritual phenomenon.

The uniqueness of the Langsih cave lies on the backgrounds of the visitors who come with the different aims whether to look for wealth or purely religiously matter. Interestingly, the management of the Langsih cave opens the cave and the space around for other various activities and thus alter the view on the site. The change from the cave space for ritual for pilgrimage space and tourist place distinguish it from the other *pesugihan* sites in Indonesia, especially in Java. On the other hand, it alternates practitioners of the ritual around the caves by the situation. Thus, this paper tries to examine

how to see those phenomenons as the alternatives to accommodates the visitors.

LANGSIH CAVE AS A SPACE FOR TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC RITUAL OF JAVANESE CULTURES

The Langsiah cave is located in religious tourism of Surowiti hill in Gresik where there would be find an area not only for religious site but also sacred site as well as the recreational place to enjoy the view of the hill. It can be said as religious site causing there was find *petilasan* Sunan Kalijaga which historically spread the Islamic precept. Javanese is quite familiar with the term *petilasan* which mean paths in the past, a place that was occupied by influential people who has a great service and effect to life around the site. In this Javanese context, a person, who lived and went to a place, had an important role because these were once occupied by the important people in the development of the view that the site is obliged to be respected and safeguarded. The assumption the site has a mysticism power and the place where Sunan Kalijaga revealed his enlightenment. Based on Woodward, Sunan Kalijaga is the mythical Javanese Islamic saint who is believed widely regarded as the patron saint of Javanese mysticism.³ Moreover, Geertz also mentioned about his role of spreading of Islam traditionally and brought new phase of spiritual existence. Sunan Kalijagais also believed as “culture renewers” who brought from the shadow-play world “Hindu times” to the light times “Islamic times”.⁴ Which the fact that RadenTjahid, other names of Sunan Kalijaga, was born for the burgeon environment of Majapahit kingdom. He also fostered the Mataram kingdom with the Islamic pattern and became the symbol of alternation symbol from Hindu-Budhha Majapahit to the Islamic Mataram. For Javanese people, Kalijaga is well-known not because of Muslim but because of his redemption and spirituality, he was willing to leave worldly matter as a prince of Mataram and seeking spirituality from Demak, Djapara, Surabaya, Tuban and also Gresik.⁵ Therefore, here in Gresik, Raden

³ Mark R Woodward, ‘Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta’, *ASSN for Asian Studies Incorporated*, no. 45 (2006): 162.

⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 25.

⁵ Geertz, 27–29.

Sjahid get an enlightenment and doing meditation in this *petilasan* because of Sunan Bonang command to keep a stick.

The meditation was done by Sunan Kalijaga in the Langsuh Cave. However, some people use it as a place to seek and asking prosperity instantly, which in turn distort the true meaning of *petilasan*. This development cannot be separated from the influence of material culture that is increasingly urgent to humans, so that in fact expecting something instantly. Indeed, *petilasan* does not mean for that, but it was a place to be remembered for generation, that in places it never happened important event.

In Javanese mysticism, *petilasan* quite a lot of interpretation which is ever visited by important people contains positive energy for someone who can feel it. The most convenient way is to feel the atmosphere and the coolness of the heart when it is in ruins for a few minutes. Why is positive energy? Usually the important people who have supernatural powers which according believed to still be in the ruins. In addition to the shades do, for people who like to do *tirakat* (particular hard preach such as fasting, praying or *dzikir* with the aims to purify body and soul). *Petilasan* is a suitable location to pick up/absorb positive energy. The place became sacred and the sacred must be protected from things that are distanced from the real meaning. Based on the interview with the visitors named Mohammad Nasir from Cirebon in *petilasan* site, he has practiced seven days fasting before entering Langsuh cave. This practice should be done to purify his mind from the worldly matter because in hungry condition, the people can focus their mind in the transcendental affair and can unify with the nature.

This is important, because it saw the pace of the times today seem to distance themselves from the so-called “mindful”. In Javanese word, it is interpreted in *eling* word or to remember to the self and others. “Eling”, because with every mindful person can find the identity, namely the identity of a religiosity, sacredness and culture that has been over shadowed by a globalized and modernized culture struggle.

In logical minds today, *petilasan* can be understood as a historical place that deserves to be maintained and preserved. Thus, there is an implied meaning of a *petilasan* to be a “tetenger” or markers (signs) that the current generation is not only physical but enjoy the

atmosphere captures the historical significance of the place where the incident occurred. The door keeper said that the site indicates as the history when Sunan Kalijaga spread Islam in the Surowity hill area. Through acknowledging the cemetery of the saint's students and some archeological remain of the place, his service to the Islamic preaching in Java will not be forgotten.

But sometimes, the people who comes to the *petilasan*, actually has different background and aims. Due to this place has the positive energy according to the people who has supernatural power but doing traditional economic ritual/*pesugihan*. The assumption that this *petilasan* specifically in Langsih Cave has the *tuyul* kingdom spread around the visitors like advocate this suitable place to get rich quickly through magic. One of the site visitors said to writers that he can feel the supernatural power inside the cave. This fact strengthens with the presence of some incenses and flowers around the sacred space.

Based on those different background and identity, the various practices also arise around the site. The practice to get wealth and prosperity give us a nuance to explore the practice more deeply. The first practice is by visiting the Raden Bagus tomb near from *petilasan*. The tomb is believed as a rich figure at the past time and brought some wealth stuff from his last kingdom that he was left, Mataram. His wealth is believed still existed surround the tomb but it cannot be explained physically. The mystical wealth can be obtained by chanting *shalawat* or some verse of specific Quran in the Raden Mataram complex. The other version of practice can also be done by doing meditation in 3 days surrounding the site and fasting during this ritual. To find the appropriated situation, it also needs some insane and fragrance which make the ritual more solemn (*khusyu'*), as in religious Islamic ritual.

The other place that is also believed to bring prosperity can be found in the Pelok⁶ cave. The place is not far from Raden Bagus Mataram tomb. The cave is believed the location of some mystical being such as *blorong*⁷ and *jenglot*.⁸ Those mystical being is well-known in Javanese mystical myth which can gather money. Thus, to

⁶ *Pelok* in Javanese is the seed of mango, it is named *pelok* because the shape of the cave is like the mango seed.

⁷ *Blorong* is a mystical snake with the human headed.

⁸ *Jenglot* is a mystical dwarf.

get those beings the people should do such ritual and promise what should be done after their wish had been granted and answered. The visitors of this cave also have particular practice to do when they want to get wealth through this site by meditating and fasting in 3 days or 7 days depending on their meeting with the mystical being or their spiritual teacher. When they meet the mystical being, they should not be scared, otherwise the ritual will fail. If they are success to get it, they should give some live stock foods such a chicken, goat or cow depending on promise and the ability of the visitor for the local inhabitants, as a way of thanksgiving (*syukuran*).⁹

The next place which lies on the top the complex is *petilasan*, and even believed as the other version tomb of Sunan Kalijaga. At this place, there is a tomb which is sacred by the management of the site. Some visitors believe that people who pray surround the tomb can also get wealth. As usual, the visitor who comes to the pilgrimage place, the people reciting Surah Yasin and Tahlil but the prayer (*do'a*) is intended to get prosperity. Interestingly, the practice is one of the various versions of the pilgrimage way in this tomb. The visitors also come with their spiritual teachers to pray here with their version of chanting or even visitors come to reveal *togel*¹⁰ to get a wealth.

The last place is the Langsuh cave which is believed as a place to get wealth. As the other place in this pilgrimage complex, the caves allow multiple practices on getting wealth such meditating in the cave during specific days or doing such ritual in the cave. The water in the cave also is regarded as sacred by some visitors to get wealth and to cure some illness through drinking it. The most well-known about this cave is about the story of *watu kijang*¹¹ which is believed can satisfy some wishes of the visitors who can fully huge this big-long stone. If the visitors cannot huge the stone, their wishes cannot be guaranteed to meet. Before they huge it, there are some rituals as reciting *syahadat*, *istighfar* and *shalawat* seven times. Interestingly, before they enter the cave, they should take off their sandals to respect for its sacredness.

⁹ Syukuran means expression of gratitude to God.

¹⁰ Number of lottery or gambling.

¹¹ *Watu kijang* in Javanese word means the deer stone, it is named because its shape is like the horn of the deer.



The picture 1: The spring water in the Langsih cave which believe can cure some illness and other request of praying



Picture 2: *watu kijang*/deer stone which is regarded as sacred by the locals and visitors as locus of ritual

WORLD RELIGION VIEW IN INTERPRETING TO *PESUGIHAN* RITUAL

The paradigm of world religion which represents the indigenous ritual is so influential which is how this paradigm see *pesugihan* ritual. If we back to the religion definition at the first, religion is often associated with the tradition, scriptural or symbol indeed. Based on W.C Smith,

the terminologies of religion which is recognized institutionally began in the decade of 16s, it called “reification” which defines religionization of abstract phenomenon assuming as characterization of “religion” so rise an example or “prototype” of the religion that can be categorized as religion which refers to use the overt system such as beliefs, practices, values or whatever.¹²

The construction of world religion today could be a product of the first prototype religion term as like Masuzawa’s critics in the paradigm of world religion.¹³ The classification of the religion is often influenced by western scholars that the “other” of those classified religions as a rest.¹⁴ If we analyzed again about the *pesugihan* ritual, there was no far difference with the religious praying in Javanese Islam. Based on the interview to the door keeper of the site, he caught up with the way how he prays to the God using incense and fragrance from the flowers to be calmer, more peaceful, and feeling unity with the nature.

THE IDEA OF THE *SESAT* AND ANIMISM

Several paper have been asserted by anthropologists in arguing the categorization of the Javanese which has different perspective of belief and tradition from each classes of its society as like Geertz how he examines the *abangan*, *santri*, and *priyayi* in the way how they interact with their circle of life or the varieties of Javanese religions that has been affected by diversities of the cultures.¹⁵

The variant of Javanese rituals, contrast in belief, and conflict among categories of religious society in Java has been asserted by Geertz who examined socio-structural consisted by its market, bureaucracy, and or the village which has extended sense.¹⁶ For the example, how *abangan* represents the animistic ritual and aspect, but in other way the majority tries to strengthen the Islamic aspect into

¹² W.C Smith, *The Meaning and the End of the Religion* (United States of America: Mentor books publishing, 1962), 47.

¹³ T. Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

¹⁴ J. L. Cox, ‘The Classification “Primal Religions” as a Non-Empirical Christian Theological Construct’, *Studies in World Christianity* 2, no. 1 (1996).

¹⁵ Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religion an Anthropological Account* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 5.

the peasant element so it will raise a conflict of how the *abangan* and *santri* articulated their belief in a diverse society. The view of Islam, which has ethical prophecy in this way Muhammad as the prophet, rejects much of symbol, simplifies ritual, and proclaims universality has created the “true islam” negotiated in such kind of *slametan*, *wayang* and other syncretism ritual which has contradictive view of Islam in the name of “Javanese Arabs”.¹⁷ The term syncretism has been used by Beatty as a way of cultural reproduction rather than as a settled outcome which represents combination of “systematic interrelation” of various elements of beliefs and rituals.¹⁸

The history of the “Islamization” in reconciliation of Javanese belief have been pointed out by Rickleff who explicated the mystical synthesis of Javanese and Islam as a one way to view how Sufism played a central role in negotiating with an “illusion” and Java’s world.¹⁹ The “mystic synthesis” existed in the 18th-19th century slowly disappeared because of colonial rule, reformist Islam and modernization as a challenge to the existence of mysticism that historically has a big role in reconciliation before *abangan/putihan* and *abangan/santri* distinction were existed.²⁰ Thus, the mysticism is often associated with the Javanese tradition in their daily on how they belief in transcendences, rituals or traditions which still exist in peasant, trading, or ceremony.

Moreover, worldview particularly after Cartesian era influences on the indigenous people and practice representation which is initiated with terminologies of Animism and Euro-centrism. For example, the Tylorian animism has been dominantly used by some scholars to encourage the indigenous culture. As Bird David explained, the problems arise when animism represent indigenous in particular side that can be researchable and prisoned in the term of the way scholar argues.²¹ Consequently, the assumption of the Tylorian animism

¹⁷ Geertz, 123.

¹⁸ Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religion an Anthropological Account*, 3.

¹⁹ M.C. Rickleff, *The Mystic Synthesis of Java: A History of Islamization from Fourteenth Century to the Early Nineteenth Century* (United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 233.

²⁰ Rickleff, 233.

²¹ N. Bird-David and E. Viveiros de Castro, ‘Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology’, *Commentaries. Author’s Reply. Current Anthropology* 40, no. 51 (1999): 67–91.

categorizes indigenous as childish and erroneous world that should change due to the 19th evolutionism perspective, the “primitive” dichotomy here associated with the animism practitioner read as “cognitive underdevelopment” where it has an opposite side of the “modernist”.²²

Thus to escape from those relational epistemologies of Tylorian animism, here Aguilera studied indigenous people on how their concepts of the personhood which has been fall into “universalizing cross-cultural trap”; he tries to make analogy of how the person has a historical-social relationship with their parents and ancestor in psychological construct and hard to separate which has a contradicted view with concept of the salvation as their end of the goal or practically individual self-notion.²³ The strengthening thing is on how to analyze the ritual and archeological remains, the relation among the nonhuman view as a neither extraordinary nor out of the world. So, the perspective of mysticism, sacred and the uncommon culture could be become a usual daily experiences.²⁴

In my opinion, the influences of the Tylorian Animism to the next of indigenous representation can be taken from the concept of “self-modernist” where it was like advocate how to be modern than to be primitive because the assumption of the indigenous practice as a backward past that should be modernized. Therefore, the scholar perspective which takes a line on Tylorian Animism seems to view indigenous ritual and practice as animism, primitive, mystic, uncommon, and backward view indeed. So through personhood concept of indigenous, it can be seen how indigenous people interact with the nature which is conceptualized in one dimension which throws away assumption uncommon as usual in a single universality.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RITUAL INTERPRETATION

Ritual is a religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order especially a characteristic of a particular religion or Church or it can be defined

²² Bird-David and Castro, 868.

²³ M. A. Astor-Aguilera., *The Maya World of Communicating Objects: Quadripartite Crosses, Trees, and Stones* (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 202.

²⁴ Astor-Aguilera., 244.

as a series of actions or type of behavior regularly and invariably followed by someone (Oxford dictionary). Catherine Bell criticizes about the widespread definitions of the ritual embedded by some scholars that would come from psychologist, anthropologist, historian and philosopher making and redefining the categories of the ritual at the cultural dynamics approach. Moreover, in the twentieth century, the notion of the ritual is widely conceptualized not only in the cultural scope but also in the social and religious limitation so that in the historical perspective, the distinguish of the “liturgy” and “magic” view is initiated to the categorized distance around high religion with primitive superstition or in simply said ours against theirs.²⁵ The existence of the ritual is truly negotiated or shifted indeed. The spreading of the worldview perspective, world religion paradigm and religious subjectivity positions ritual into separated place unconsciously. Considering the spectrum of the ritual itself, the notion of cultural ritual is not depended into particular view but it was about total system of the acting, so the ritualization, the way we do rituals appeals from its tradition and formality that can be analyzed from the genre and characteristic seen from the ritual-like appearance.²⁶

Javanese also has its particular ritual initiated in the way how Javanese interacts with the nature and environment around their life due to the culture or tradition descended from its former ritual. *Pesugihan* is one of the traditional economic belief and tradition which has been descended from the Javanese ancestor and categorized as a supernatural practice and belief in getting prosperity quickly through mysticism and the people should do such a ritual in a sacred place with the particular rule that must be followed. Javanese have a “sensitive” word of *pesugihan* that why George Quinn in his research has a difficult information about *tuyul* in society around the site of the ritual of money-spinning because of the folklore spreading of Javanese in owing *tuyul* as a damning moral judgment about the economic order that weighs so crushingly on the poor.²⁷

²⁵ Catherine Bell, ‘Paradigms Behind (and before) the Modern Concept of Religion’, *History and Theory* 45, no. 4 (2006): 27–46.

²⁶ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2009), 92.

²⁷ George Quinn, *An Excursion to the Java Get-Rich-Quick Tree* (Australia: Australian National University Press, 2009), 39.

From those chronological definitions of the ritual, it can be seen that actually the term “ritual” formerly constructed from the culture and formality life. The categorization of the ritual initiated to the universal form and also shaped limitation indeed. The influence of the religious, social and cultural development limits to the ritual appearance as backward and primitive belief although unconsciously ritual-like also appeal within its formal life.

OPTIONAL PERSPECTIVE IN EXAMINING A TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC RITUAL BASED ON GEERTZIAN APPROACH

Geertz on his book *The Interpretation of the Culture* offers the methods to analyze and study culture that is basically a semiotic one. He draws with the position on the animal which trapped in the webs that he has spun so see the culture as an “experimental science” to look for the interpretative meaning. At a simple way, the interpretation is “construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical” but this response of the statement leaving demand of the explanation.²⁸ The idea to acknowledge “religion as a cultural system” is an optional view to analyze Javanese tradition and culture. The composite among Indian, Islamic and indigenous Southeast Asia element packed in the religion of the Java.²⁹ Moreover, Javanese religion is subsequently mystical which is initiated by view that God found by spiritual discipline in the name of *rasa* which includes “feeling” and “meaning”. Javanese Ethics (aesthetics) are affect-centered without being hedonistic. Means here, it from genuine their everyday life, “emotional equanimity, ascertain flatness of affect, a strange inner stillness, is the prized psychological state, the mark of a truly noble character”.³⁰

Based on those definition of culture, it can be simplifying to interpret Javanese culture is that we should not trapped in to specific definition of the culture. Because when we define the culture, it could be rise new interpretation of the culture. With the result of that limited the broad application of the culture. But distinguishing

²⁸ Clifford Geertz, ‘The Interpretation of the Culture: Selected Essay Revised Edition’, *Springer*, 2008, 5.

²⁹ Geertz, 147.

³⁰ Geertz, 136.

between culture and religion is always problematic for scholars. Here, I would take a stance in Geertz's idea about "religion as a cultural system" of which its ritual always happens in everyday life without any consciousness but it particularly has a meaning and feeling because of the spiritual dignity.

In traditional economic ritual case, it could be clear that I would take Robert Bella's idea about religion of human evolution where it initiated how the religion shaped in particular identification of cognition which started from the mimetic, mythical, ethical and also theoretical cognition.³¹ The mimetic and mythical cognition means how human imitate and create a mythical way to recognize the thing around its environment. It can be analyze how the Hindu-Buddha tradition emerged to the Javanese tradition. The story of *pandawa lima* in *wayang* that illustrated from *Mahabharata* myth in India or the culture of "offering" something when praying become a particular recognition of the Indian culture.

The next is about how ethical cognition emerged in Javanese civilization. The distinguishing between right and wrong or the transcendental goal is absolutely about Judeo-Christian-Islam culture. The presence of Islam and Christian missionaries in Indonesia specifically in Java makes a choice to be elected which wrong or right for the transcendental meaning for the Javanese. The Hindu-Buddha pattern is more interact with the nature for the transcendence emerged to the ethical cognition for Javanese civilization. In this case, it can be seen how the traditional economic ritualized by some "offerings" items or specific object in their axis mundi that was rarely find in Abrahamic religion.

The theoretical cognition is the last civilization of this Bella's human evolution in religion. This step is characterized by public and private differentiation in a way of religious or secular matter as well as the triumph of the culture and lack of the ethic. If we back to the *pesugihan* ritual existence, it can be seen how this ritual slowly decrease practiced by the people. Based on the interview with the visitor of the site, he tells that the situation of ten years ago is more excessively to find the *pesugihan* practitioners in the Langsih cave. Yet, the development of the era such as modernization, globalization

³¹ Robert Bella, *Religion in Human Evolution* (United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2013).

and also industrialization, makes the triumph of the culture shifted to the other civilization. In the other fact, the information from the local inhabitant mentioned that most of the visitors come from the outside of the Gresik district. This condition indicates the more religious, modernized, capitalistic and industrialized society, the less interest on the traditional economic ritual practiced in order to rationalization of the civilian thinking. And assumption of the ritual as a primitive, animism, and heretic strengthen the rejection of the practice from the rationalized society. As the writers mentioned above at the first part, the evidences of the Gresik as industrialized and religious society is main role how this site less interested by local civilian instead of Sunan Giri and Maulana Malik Ibrahim site is more crowded than this Sunan Kalijaga *petilasan*. Again, the relative view of pilgrimage place as the secular pilgrimage, religious tourism, secular tourism or religious pilgrimage is important here in examining this tradition of being wealth, spiritual and religious.³²

CONCLUSION

As a concluding remark, the writer tries to explicate that traditional economic ritual is surely a practice transcending from the ancestor unconsciously. It can be seen from the *pesugihan* practiced by the Javanese people containing the sense of the Chinese, Indian Hindu-Buddha and native South East Asia ritualization. The presence of the ethical cognition, Islam and Judeo-Christian view, a bit emerge with these traditions so leaving a “residual culture” that would be mix and combine in a pack of practice. But with presence of the developed society, the culture seems to be blurred because the role of the tough should be more rational can be called as how to be “modernized people” not to be primitive, animistic and irrational matters.

The Geertzian approach is so helpful here to interpret the culture on how the *pesugihan* practice appearance. The existence of some ritual accessories such incense and fragrance is just a mediator of being spiritual and religious in a specific way but excessive interpretation to the ritual makes the practice as negative matter. Being religious has multiple ways including by inserted worldly motive. As some habit

³² Taufiqurrohm, ‘Shifting the Sense of Pilgrimage: Examining Petilasan Sunan Kalijaga in Surowiti Hill Gresik’, in *Knowledge, Art, and Change in Response to Human Crisis*, 2016, 205.

and manner that should be done in pilgrimage place, there would be some version of tradition and practice to see being religious and at the same time being wealth.

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