

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY AND BEGGARS AS IDENTITY MARKER OF COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF SACRED AURA IN PILGRIMAGE AREA

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Abstrak

Pada tahun 1812, pembangunan kubah di atas makam Syekh Muhammad Aryad Al-Banjari di Astambul pada dasarnya merupakan penghargaan kepada ulama tersebut sebagai salah satu pemimpin Muslim yang berpengaruh. Namun, tujuan utama telah berubah sementara jumlah pengunjung telah meningkat. Kegiatan komersial tidak dapat dipisahkan dari orang-orang yang ingin menuai manfaat dan manfaatnya. Keberadaa sejumlah pengemis di desa ini menjadikan situs ziarah ini dikenal sebagai desa dengan banyak pengemis. Artikel ini bermaksud untuk mengidentifikasi keterlibatan sakralitas dalam objek peziarah dan peran kesakralan dalam aktivitas komersial dan pengemis di area makam Syekh Muhammad Aryad, kota Astambul. Kajian ini dilakukan dengan observasi fenomenologis, wawancara dengan jamaah haji dan masyarakat setempat yang menunjukkan objek ziarah religius dan sisi komersialnya untuk membawa manfaat bagi pelestarian situs ziarah agama. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis melihat bahwa pelestarian makam yang disucikan telah menjadi generator ekonomi bagi masyarakat lokal dan pemerintah. Selain itu, perilaku mengemis dari penduduk desa telah meningkatkan identifikasi di antara para peziarah untuk menandai tempat ziarah ini sebagai tempat dengan banyak pengemis.

Kata kunci: Makam, komersial, pengemis, identitas, ziarah

Abstract

In 1812, the building of the dome on the grave of Syekh Muhammad Aryad Al-Banjari in Astambul was essentially a tribute to the cleric as one of the influential Muslim leader. However, the primary purpose has changed while the number of visitors has increased. Hence, commercial activities cannot be separated from the people who want to reap the benefits and merits thereof. Moreover, a number of beggars in this village have made this pilgrimage site is

well known as the village with a lot of beggars. This paper intends to identify the involvement of sacredness into the pilgrim object and the role of sacred with commercial activity and beggars in the grave areas of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad, Astambul city. In this respect, we carried out phenomenological observations, interviews with pilgrims and local people indicating religious pilgrim object and its commercial side to bring about benefits for the religious pilgrimage site preservation. In this study, the author sees that the preservation of sanctified grave has become an economic generator for the local people and government. In addition, the begging behavior from villagers has raised identification among the pilgrims to mark this pilgrimage place as the place with a lot of beggars.

Keywords: *Grave, commercial, beggars, identity marker, pilgrimage.*

Introduction

Religious pilgrimages reflect an actual history as an economic generator for the areas visited as infrastructure evolved to meet the needs of the pilgrims involved in these journeys. This is also true today, where various attractions, religious sites are the main pilgrim attraction that sometimes sustains the entire economy. People see pilgrimage as a remedy for economic recovery in many societies or countries.¹ Religious pilgrims are becoming more and more sophisticated in their travel requests and willing to pay more and more to have the experience they want and to gain the expectation they need.

Regarding to commercial concerns primarily expressed by the selling of certain religious objects and souvenirs, many religious sites adhere to this activity as souvenir shops adjacent to many religious purposes have significant economic value. Fleischer argues that sales of religious souvenirs are worth hundreds of millions of dollars every year. Things are similar in Asia, underlines the fact that almost every place of pilgrimage in Indonesia has local handicrafts where pilgrims are looking for special objects made by hand. Such findings support the hypothesis proposed by Fleischer who argues that economic impact related to religious tourism is higher than in other market segments as pilgrims and other religious travelers are eager buyers of religious souvenirs.² As the economy of religious tourism is so profitable, however,

¹ Antoni Jackowski, *Religious Tourism - Problems with Terminology* (Instytut Geografii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000).

² Aliza Fleischer, "The Tourist behind the Pilgrim in the Holy Land," *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 19 (September 1, 2000): 311–326.

thought that not many pilgrim sites in Indonesia sell religious object, but more iconic objects of national pride and other objects that not related to the religious objects.

In Indonesia, the markup of primary commodities sold budget and economic crisis in 1999 encourages people to derive benefits from ample possibilities, including from the making benefit of clergy's sanctified grave. The historic grave preservation movement of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari in 1812 primarily had built to appreciate the contribution of the cleric who disseminated religious teaching in Kalimantan Selatan. Hitherto, the increasing number of visitors who come to this place has altered the main purpose of preservation into the business providing services and facility for those who wish to gain spiritual merit "*berkah*." Moreover, the revenue from visitors is often vital to the maintenance of its place and communities, the generation of such revenue by methods that can be direct (donation or admission fee) or indirect (from building materials).³

Grave preservation of Islamic cleric encourages us with delineation in establishing and protecting its values. It shows us how we are attracted to it, and why this is worth saving. The special treatment raises values that are beyond the usual or mundane. It leads to the term of sacredness that offers such elements intangible and highly complex.⁴ The distinction of this grave from other graves makes this place so valuable for the religious communities. However, in some cases of pilgrimage, an exploitation of the sacredness to the excessive commercialization may also have a skewing impact. Jackowski and Smith raise an idea that religious tourism might become an important source of income and employment. The similar idea is on the title of article *The Economist* "Pennies from heaven," declaring that religious pilgrimage has evolved the business getting better and has overlapped meaning between the context of business and religion.⁵ Such as the financial cost of pilgrimage could be met in

³ M. Binney and M. Hanna, *Preserving the past; tourism and the economic benefits of conserving historic buildings*, SAVE Britain's Heritage, London, 1978, 73.

⁴ M. Eliade, *The sacred and the profane; the nature of religion*, Harcourt Brace and World, New York, 1981, 256.

⁵ Véronique Cova et al., "The Changing Dichotomy between the Sacred and the Profane: A Historical Analysis of the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrimage," *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 4.

a number ways, sponsor preparation, and pilgrimage might be combined with commercial activity along the route.⁶

In Astambul city, people considered commodities and services implication surrounding the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad as sacred too. Thus, such invaluable commodities or low price commodities may become high valuable in this place. Moreover, beggars have become an identity marker of the villager in this pilgrimage place, people considered beggars as a hereditary behavior of indigene, and it was acquainted as characteristic of people in Kalampayan village. Presumably, it was going on about more than twenty years. Such as, when we intended to visit this pilgrimage place, we always prepared a token coin from our house, because, we had acknowledged the consequences of ample beggars in this religious site.

Beggar as identity marker related to what Du bois says about “double consciousness,” that an identity of individual or communal is rated by “self and other.” Self means he/she who has labeled him/herself identity, but other means that labeling is from the other.⁷ In this case, social constructivism considers identities and societies to be neither fixed nor necessary, but argues that individuals and groups are engaged in a continuous process of identity.⁸ Identification related to social categorization. We divide the social world into groups to construct a meaningful structure for ourselves.⁹ We then internalize these concepts cognitively, thinking and behaving as if they were true intrinsically. That is what Bourdieu means when he talks of the habitus as a way of thinking and doing culturally specific. The habitus becomes assimilated into the unconscious, the incarnated and ingrained beliefs and responses, so that it becomes part of a shared conception of the community and a foundation for social action.

Beggars established by social comparison in negotiation with others. It is only by knowing what a person is not that he creates his own sense of self and belonging.¹⁰ Disparity and familiarity are also key factors in the process of

⁶ Adrian R. Bell and Richard S. Dale, “The Medieval Pilgrimage Business,” *Enterprise & Society* 12, no. 3 (September 16, 2011): 21.

⁷ Nasar Meer, “W. E. B. Du Bois, Double Consciousness and the ‘Spirit’ of Recognition,” *The Sociological Review* 67, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 47–62.

⁸ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47.

⁹ Michael A. Hogg et al., “The Social Identity Perspective,” *Small Group Research* 35 (June 1, 2004).

¹⁰ Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity* (Routledge, 1996).

identification.¹¹ Very often, the boundary is entangled with moral assessments—that disparity is threatening or something worse.

Beggars as an identity marker in Kalampayan may also arise from collective behavior and the number of people who do so. Collective behavior is a phenomenon that involves a number of people who do the same thing.¹² It may also become a “routinization” of people in Kalampayan village, since they shows this behavior oftentimes and frequently.¹³

In this respect, we carried out phenomenological observations, interviews with tourists and local people indicating religious tourist object and its commercial side to bring about benefits for the religious pilgrimage site preservation. This discussion intends to analyze the issues and problems surrounding the implications of commercial activity and beggar’s involvement within the shrine of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari in Astambul city. The first purpose of this study wants to identify the involvement of sacredness into the tourists object. The second purpose, closely connected to the first one, was to determine the role of government with the commercial activity within the shrine of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari in Astambul city. The third is to investigate the narrative of Syekh Muhammad arsyad and beggars as identity marker of community.

Sacred Aura in the Tourist Objects

It was a Friday, when we went to the pilgrimage site of Kalampayan village, Astambul City. In the middle way of the village, the gatekeeper stopped us. The building of the gate was huge with a blue color and inscribed with ‘the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari.’ The gatekeeper asked us to pay money for entering the gate. He gave us a ticket while saying ‘only two thousand rupiah.’ Suddenly, while we were paying, there was a rider of motorcycle crossing over the gate without paying, the rider gave regards to the gatekeeper, and the gatekeeper said that he was one of local people, thus, he was free from paying. After we had paid the money to the gatekeeper, we continued our journey to the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad.

¹¹ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Waveland Press, 1998).

¹² George Ritzer and Jeffrey Stepnisky, *Sociological Theory* (SAGE Publications, 2017), 425.

¹³ Christopher G. A. Bryant and David Jary, *Anthony Giddens: Critical Assessments* (Taylor & Francis, 1997), 311.

On our way, we saw a number beggars standing beside the street along the entrance of village. Nonetheless, the beggars were not many, as we had visited this place in 2011. At that time, the beggars were only from the old men and old women. Since the government banned the villagers been beggars in 2012, however, there was something vanished from this villager behavior where a lot of children, and youth generation involved in begging activity since the inception of the building of the dome.

After we arrived closer to the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad, we parked our motorcycle in the parking area. Nevertheless, as we walked along the route of the sanctified cemetery, a flower seller approached us and offered us a posy flower that was wrapped up in a small branch of banana. We tried to get away from her and continued our journey to the sanctified cemetery.

Later, as we walked to the holy grave, the sandal keeper said, "Please put your sandals here." Hearing this request, we gave our sandals, and then he placed ours on the sandal rack. When we entered the door of the sanctified grave, suddenly, the guardian of the grave stopped us and said, "Please give a gift for the sanctuary, it's just *sukarela*," the term '*sukarela*' was perceived by the visitor as no amount of standard in giving donation, they perceived that by giving the donations in the grave areas, they would get the merit from God. This description has shown us that there was not free payment in this pilgrimage place, although, our intention only want to pray in sanctified grave.

Indeed, the capitalism has urged us 'pay for praying.' Payment for praying was a common in the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad, however, it does not support what Hedi says about the 'resistance space,' where religion will give a bad impression if it is used as capitalization.¹⁴ In contrast, it might support Marxist's account of religion as opium, because giving donation has given happiness delineation for those who wanted to render their money for gaining the reward from God.

Having met several obstacles, we could eventually put ourselves among the pilgrims. We stood aside of the grave and saw many people were reciting prayer and the surah Yasin (the thirty-six surah of the Qur'an). Meanwhile, we heard an old man wearing white clothes and cap; he recited a prayer for pilgrimage in tears. His sound had touched us, and he made us followed his recitation. "*salamullahi ya sadah, min ar-rahman yagsyakum, Ibadallahi ji'nakum, qasadnakum talabnakum, tu'inuna tughitsuna, bibimmatikum wa jadwakum, fa abbuna*

¹⁴ The lecturer of Culture Industry, *Kajian Budaya dan Media*, Gadjah Mada University, 22 November, 2013

wa a'tuna, atayakum hadayakum.....“ Peace is upon you, the most merciful, we worshipped you, we meant to ask you, you have made us miss, your happiness and your interest, they loved us and gave us, your gifts are your gifts”

When we were following this recitation, we could feel togetherness among the people who recited the prayer, although we did not know who they were, where they came from, and what their social status was. The point was that they were just doing what we were doing in this place. It presumably has proved what Turner says about ‘*communitas*,’ where people from different place came into one center that was pilgrimage place, and they could feel relatedness. As Turner points out, the pilgrimage brings together different social strata of people in the form of ‘*communitas*.’ The social structure is condensed and homogenized, which each person sees as equal and friendships.¹⁵ Such was the feeling of being together among us, although we did not recognize each other.

However, when we began asking them to explain about what they could understand from this place of pilgrimage, they gave different opinions and oftentimes contested one another. Such as, when we asked about giving donation to the guardian of the grave, one of them responded, “it is all right, although, we do not believe in sacredness, but helping each other is a good deed.”¹⁶ Another person says, “It is just a trick to gain the profit.”¹⁷ The different perception among the pilgrims has shown that the pilgrimage in sanctified grave has raised a contestation of opinions among the pilgrims. People have a different understanding on what they observe in this pilgrimage place. They compete and give different meaning, as Eade and Sallnow call it as “the arena of contestation.”¹⁸

Having done prayer in sanctified grave, we met a guardian of the grave who was giving prayer to the pilgrims. There were spouse and their son. The mother said to the guardian of the grave, “My son is mischievous and lazy, please, pray for him, thus he can gain enlightenment,” the guardian said, “bring your son came closer, and so, I can give him ‘*tapung tawar*.’¹⁹ After the guardian

¹⁵ Victor Turner, “The Center out There: Pilgrim’s Goal,” *History of Religions* 12 (February 1, 1973): 217.

¹⁶ Interview with M. Amin. Personal interview. Kalampayan, Astambul, February 11, 2013.

¹⁷ Interview with Hasanah. Personal interview. Kalampayan, Astambul, February 11, 2013.

¹⁸ John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (University of Illinois Press, 2000), 14.

¹⁹ The local people who guard the tomb mostly organize a “*tapung tawar*,” it contains of *pandan* leaf, rice, and oil that putted in small bowl. The visitor will take a bow, and then the guardian

had recited the prayer, the guardian touched the son's hair with a *pandan* leaf. Furthermore, the mother said, "Pak Haji, please gives us '*banyu penerang hati*' the water of heart enlightenment. After hearing her request, the guardian opened the cover of mineral water, and recited the prayer. Afterward, he then gave a mark in the bottle. When the ritual had over, the mother gave him the money.

When she moved into another room, we asked her, how much money that we need to pay for *tapung tawar* and water. She answered, "it was '*sukarela*' but in common it ten until twenty thousand rupiah."²⁰ Indeed, her answer made me staggered, it was '*sukarela*' but in fact there is a minimum amount that we should follow. If we estimated that the most expensive price of mineral water in a small bottle was two or three thousand rupiah in Kalimantan Selatan, but in pilgrimage place, after it had been recited with prayer by the guardian, the price would be higher. By asking the water of '*penerang hati*' the mother perceived that her family could gain blessing and virtue of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad.

Giving blessing behavior by mineral water, eggs, and other commodities, actually we could find it for a long time in Astambul city. The guardian said that Syekh Muhammad Arsyad and many Islamic clerics in Kalampayan had done it. Thus, this activity was a hereditary behavior and must be defendable. Hopefully, with this recitation of the Qur'an people get blessing.²¹ Moreover, since the book of Masaru Emoto '*the miracle of water*' published in 2007. People irresistible perception with magical water increased, and their beliefs become more strengthen to the merit of reciting prayer water. They perceived that the water of enlightenment and *tapung tawar* would eradicate the bad behavior and healed the sickness. Indeed, people's belief with the miracle of water had embedded in their perception before the book published.

We moved into another place, we saw many souvenirs, such as ring, bracelet, coconut shell, prayer beads, and many other souvenirs. It shown that such commercialism was common in religious pilgrimage places: Similar pilgrim and commercial transformations have taken place in Lourdes, in

of the tomb will strike the hair of visitor with a *pandan* leaf by reciting *bismillah*, and *shalawat* "*allahumma sholli 'ala Muhammad*" and prayer. The prayer of guardian depends on the visitor request, expectation, and intension.

²⁰ Interview with Mariati. Personal interview. Kalampayan, Astambul, February 11, 2012.

²¹ Interview with the guardian of the grave. Personal interview. Kalampayan, Astambul, February 11, 2013.

Jerusalem, in Knock, Ireland, and at other sites. Jurkovich and Gesler mentioned that tourism has replaced farming as source of income in Medjugorje.²² It was interesting for us, when we saw coconut shells inscribed with '*rajab*,' (an Arabic symbol considered to have a spiritual value). In another side, we saw a set of eggs that was also marked with *rajab*. However, when we asked the guardian how much the price of egg was, he replied, "three thousand rupiahs." We were amazed with his response, because the price was higher than the typical eggs we bought elsewhere. The price of the egg was commonly sold in one thousand and five hundred rupiahs, but it could be sold in three thousand rupiahs at this pilgrimage place. Therefore, the price of good in the place of pilgrimage was higher than in the other place.

The symbol of *rajab* in commodities considered was of sacred value. Such as when we asked one of visitor who bought the coconut shell, she said that the louse of rice would not come if we used this coconut shell for taking the rice. The same things with the eggs, to make them interesting and scared impression, the guardian gave them pink color and Arabic symbol. A grandmother said to her grandson, "please read the prayer '*do'a*' and recite your expectation before you eat the egg." This special treatment of people to the mark egg with pink color might also strengthen the sacred aura within the eggs.

Selling sacredness can make the meaningless things are precious and valuable, but in a tangible perspective, this idea sometimes raise a conflicting attitude. Like when some local people took the soil of the grave Syekh Muhammad Arsyad, and made it as a fetish '*jimat*' in order to sold it to the visitors. They put the soil into a black cloth, and made it like a necklace or a bracelet. Nevertheless, since the locals have always taken the soil of sanctified grave repeatedly, thus, it made the cemetery of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad perforated. Some visitors disagreed because this activity had much corrupted the condition of sanctified.

However, in this case, we observed that it might give a development idea of what Johnston expounds that the sacred awareness and knowledge was restricted to the local people, or what Urry and Larsen said in '*the tourist gaze*' that gazing refers to the 'discursive determination' of socially constructed seeing or scopic regime.²³ We agree that the sacred knowledge is limited and

²² James M. Jurkovich, Wilbert M. Gesler. Medjugorje, "Finding Peace at the Heart of Conflict," *Geographical Review*, 447–469.

²³ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, 2011), 2, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446251904>.

had discursive determination, but in this case the sacred have been constructed for commercial interest. Although, the local people perceived that the soil of sanctified grave had a sacred value, but it was contradictory attitude toward the pilgrim's perspective, since it might corrupt the grave itself.

In another case, the visitors of the grave Syekh Muhammad Arsyad sometimes disappointed with the way of seller treating them. Occasionally, the sellers in this pilgrimage place coerce the visitor to buy their commodities. However, this compelling attitude has made the visitors were unpleasant and keeping away from the seller. The sellers always striven to gain the purchaser, and sometimes they chased them. Moreover, this compelling attitude was coming not only from the seller, but also from the other services and treatment, such as the flower seller and sandal keeper that ought to the visitor to put their sandals into the parking lot. Hence, this way of treating might also produce conflict and between visitors and local people, those give the services. As Nolan says that, the level of commercialization at the sites to accommodate tourism often conflicts with visitor expectations about what is appropriate at a religious place.²⁴

The discussion above had shown that the sacred value of the sanctified was much benefitted by the local people. Hence, a lot of commercial activity involved the sacred aura of the sanctified grave into their commodity. This sacred involvement has shown what Eliade says about *imago mundi* and *axis mundi* where the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad delineates as the center of sacredness and its sacred value incarnates into the other objects surrounding of sanctified grave. Eliade points out that *imago mundi* is a symbol of the earth and is centered on the center of the world, and *axis mundi* appears in the ceremonial house in the shape of a sacred pole.²⁵ Hence, many commodities surrounding the sanctified grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad involved the sacred value of the sanctified grave in order to gain a blessing from God.

Moreover, the sacred aura does not incarnate only to the economic commodities, but also to the services surroundings the sanctified grave. Such as '*tapung tamar*' as we have mentioned before. Another service is '*mandi tamar*,' a bathing service to gain blessing from the God. In bathing services, the

²⁴ Daniel Levi and Sara Kocher, "Understanding Tourism at Heritage Religious Sites," *Focus: Journal of the City and Regional Planning Department* 6 (5 Juni 2009): 18, <https://doi.org/10.15368/focus.2009v6n1.2>.

²⁵ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane; the Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1959), 35.

guardian putted flowers into the water from the river of Kalampayan village. Some of them wrote an Arabic word in the sign of bathing services, such as *Ṣalawat* Nabi that was then raised sacred impression among the visitors. Actually, the water of bathing services in sanctified grave was similar with the river water that used by the local people for bathing in their daily, but because of this water took place near of the grave, and the keepers of services gave flower and Arabic symbol. Thus, people perceive that by taking bath in the pilgrimage place, they would get the blessing from God.

Special Treatment to the Islamic Cleric's Grave

In Astambul city, people perceive that a religious leader treated with a high respect, even though, he has passed away. The special treatment to the religious leader and preservation to his grave has raised a special value for Muslim adherents in Kalampayan. The villagers perceive that an “*ulama*” or Islamic cleric has a close relation with God, then, if they want to get closer with God, so they must to be closer with an Islamic cleric. Muslims in Kalampayan regard that Islamic cleric can be a mediator for them to convey their prayer and approvals from God. Hence, many Muslims come to this place reciting the Qur'an and delivering their prayer in front of the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. However, this special treatment and making this grave as different from other graves has made a sacred value that is different from other graves.²⁶

The narrative of influential Islamic leader has contributed to the way of treating the sanctified grave. Moreover, this narrative has constructed the social setting and people behavior in Kalampayan, such as in the ritual of giving mineral water. In addition, this narrative of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad has much similarities with several narratives in other pilgrimage sites, such as in Mexican national symbol where the local people considered that the virgin of Guadalupe contributes to the formation of social settings in Mexican.²⁷ In Kenya, people regard that the forest of Narok has sacred value because of the narratives in many centuries ago believed a beautiful young Maasai girl got lost in it. In Syria, the mass pilgrimage have allowed for the emergence of a public

²⁶ Ibid., 11.

²⁷ Eric Robert Wolf, “The Virgin of Guadalupe: A Mexican National Symbol,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 71 (January 1, 1958): 37.

sphere structured by the practices involved in the production, marketing, and consumption of religious commodities.²⁸

In Indonesia, there are famous religious leader in Java which are called in Javanese language as '*wali songo*' nine saints, the narrative of the nine saints has also influenced the social and religious behavior in Indonesia, especially in Java. It obvious that the narrative entity has constructed the way of people treats their places and notably to their religious and social settings.

The sacred aura and the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari are able to become an economic generator in Astambul city. The local people much take the benefit from the narrative of this figure. Some of them sell the picture of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad, his poster, and the "*manakib*" history book of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad. Moreover, Syekh Muhammad Arsyad has written a book entitled '*Sabilal Muhtadin: li at-Tafaqub fi ad-Din.*' This book inspired many Muslims in Indonesia and it has been translated in many languages, such as Malay and Javanese. The book tells about three pillars of Islamic teaching, Islamic Jurisprudence, Theology, and Qur'an.

Syekh Muhammad Arsyad was born in Lok Gabang Martapura, on Thursday, 17 March 1710 A.D. or 15 Shafar 1122.²⁹ His familiar name was Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjary although his given name was Muhammad Ja'far.³⁰ His parent's names were Abdullah and Aminah. The narrative told that Allah had given sign to his parent about Muhammad Arsyad virtue during the month of Ramadhan 'the fasting month of Islam. Whereby, his parent got '*Lailatul Qadar*' in the middle night of this month.³¹ (*Lailatul Qadar* literally means 'the night of determination,' the characteristic of *Lailatul Qadar* is seeing a bright light, another narrative says that *lailatul Qadar* is the coming of angel, and the other says it is the coming of prophet). Muslim believes that if they got the *Lailatul Qadar* God will approve their expectations. Therefore, while Muhammad Arsyad's parents were getting the *Lailatul Qadar*, they prayed to gain a good and pious child. This narrative was one of supported ideas why

²⁸ Paulo G. Pinto, "Pilgrimage, Commodities, and Religious Objectification: The Making of Transnational Shiism between Iran and Syria," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (June 4, 2007): 18.

²⁹ Barsihannor, "M. Arsyad Al-Banjari (Pejuang Dan Penyebar Islam Di Kalimantan)," *Jurnal Adabiyah* 10, no. 2 (December 15, 2010): 2.

³⁰ Yusuf Halidi, *Ulama Besar Kalimantan Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari* (Surabaya: al-Ihsan, 1968), 20.

³¹ Abu Daudi, *Maulana Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari* (Martapura: Sullam al-Ulum, 1996), 15.

Muslim people in Astambul city were very respect to the Syekh Muhammad Arsyad's virtue.

However, during Muhammad Arsyad's childhood, there were no formal schools. He just studied in several groups of religious study gathering or '*balaqah*.' Informally, he got his first Islamic education from his family until he was eight years old.³² However, when Sultan Khamidullah '*Sultan Kuning*' visited his house, the sultan was very interested with Muhammad Arsyad capabilities, such as his intelligences in understanding of Islamic teaching, and painting skills. Seeing these capabilities, the sultan adopted him as his son, and gave him a good education. Long after, when he was thirty years old, the sultan prepared him to study abroad.³³ The integration of Muhammad Arsyad into the sultanate family then what supported him as the influential Islamic leader in Astambul city.

Muhammad Arsyad was one of polygamist among Muslims in South Kalimantan, he married four women, the first wife was Bajut, she was pregnant when Muhammad Arsyad went abroad, and he left her approximately for thirty years, even his daughter had already married when he came back to the South Kalimantan. His second wife, was Markida, at that time, Muhammad Arsyad was sixty years old. The third wife, Go Hwat Nio, she was a Chinese women. After married with Muhammad Arsyad, she converted into Islam. His last wife was the queen Aminah binti prince Tho'ha bin Sultan Tahmidillah. Having married the queen Aminah, al-Banjary got a land from Sultan.³⁴ Muhammad Arsyad died on 13 October 1812 A.D. / 16th Syawal 1227 H. Remembering his contribution, the local people always commemorate Muhammad Arsyad's death by performing *hau'lan*.³⁵

The Role of Government into the Commercial Activity

Most scholars realized that along with an increasing in the volume of visitors to pilgrimage place, qualitative changes in the very essence of

³² Halidi, *Ulama Besar Kalimantan Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari*, 6.

³³ Ahmad Basuni, *Jina Yang Besar Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari* (Bandung: Pustaka Galunggung, 1971), 8.

³⁴ Sutrisno Kutoyo & Sri Sutjiansih, *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Selatan* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya, P & K, 1977/1978) 39-40.

³⁵ Daudi, *Maulana Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari*, 247-248. Syawal is the tenth month of the Moslem years. *Hau'lan* is one of the annual Banjarese traditions for someone who has died. Performed by reading Al-Qur'an (the holy book of Islam) and *tablilan* - reading the creed "*la ila ha illallah*": no gods but Allah- together.

pilgrimage. The pilgrimage areas and the inhabitants there used this opportunity to make a profit from economic needs. The scholars see pilgrimage as a good opportunity to put into commercialization, such as commercial organization typical to package tours, a particular way of selling the destinations, restricted engagement of visitors with rituals and the consumerist conduct of visitors.³⁶

In kalampayan village, the role of government has also made a big contribution to the commercial implication in pilgrimage place of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. The government gives the donation to rebuild the dome and the place facilitation for commercial activity surroundings the sanctified grave. The government makes the library and halls for pilgrim and visitor. However, the library does not work, because of the stagnancy of books donation and preservation. The building has constructed with several corridors and halls, it facilitates for commercial activities within the grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad. There are three places for guardian of the grave, two places for bathing services, two places for toilet, a wide land for motor parking areas, and beside of passage ways is prepared for trader and sandal parking areas.

The development of building in pilgrimage place is presumably what has been criticized by Urry, he explains, we need to quest 'the development for whom?' however, in this case, we attempt to explicate what 'development' that Urry means in his book. The facilitations that Urry mentions, such as airports, golf courses, luxury hotels, do not directly give and handle to the local people, but other interests that handle these facilities. However, how about if the donation is directly forward to the local people, such as In Kalampayan village? The government purpose is to preserve the pilgrimage place and back up the trader into a better facility. In this case, we observe that the relation between government and local people has earned mutual benefit. The government wants the pilgrimage place is preserved, and the sanctified grave of influential Islamic cleric in Kalampayan maintained.

People narratives in Kalampayan also support the preservation of Sanctified grave Syekh Muhammad Arsyad. Datuk Kalampayan or Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari is well known as symbol of spreading Islamic teaching in Kalimantan Selatan. The existence of this sanctified grave shows the religiosity of people in Kalimantan Selatan. Thus, the government really

³⁶ Kira n Shinde, "Pilgrimage and the Environment: Challenges in a Pilgrimage Centre," *Current Issues in Tourism* 10, no. 4 (September 1, 2007): 346.

wants to preserve this religious icon of Kalimantan by re-building and giving facilities for local people and pilgrims.

Urry says that the impact from the sites that become a pilgrim destination will incur much indigenous wealth highly unequally distributed and most of the population will gain little benefit.³⁷ We agree with the first notion that unequal distribution of indigenous wealth, it is because not all of indigenous put their role in preserving of the grave syekh Muhammad al-Banjari and gains the benefits therein, but we disagree if much of the local people gain little benefit from the religious site.

In Astambul city, the indigenous has benefitted the sanctified grave as the commercial sources. Moreover, the government in Astambul city helps the indigenous to rebuild the dome of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, and it gives the facilitation of space for traders who sell the souvenirs. This new attitude of viewing areas for conservation was as economic assets, and it serves to emphasize the need for economic strategies and development. Indeed, in regards to the new economic role that given to conservation projects, there is now increased recognition of the need for a business approach in dealing with conservation and heritage.³⁸

It was Famous with a Lot of Beggars

In 2011, when we were involving to become a jurist of “*adzhan*” (Islamic summon to prayer) competition in Astambul village, we asked one of a local child who still in a grade of senior high school. We see that he had a motorcycle that price presumably reached until twenty four million. We said to him, “Wow, what a great motorcycle, who had bought it for you? He replied, “I bought it by myself sir” hearing this answer, our curiosity intrigued us to ask him, how he could buy this an expensive motorcycle. He expounded to us that by begging in one day, he could gain fifty until one hundred thousand rupiah from the visitors that came to sanctified grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad.³⁹

In fact, it was not strange for us to see the phenomenon of many beggars in this village. Since it was became a daily behavior of villagers. However, the beggars did not only stay beside of the street, but they also gave chase to the car or motorcycle of the visitors that come to this place.

³⁷ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 74.

³⁸ Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, “Tourism Development and Cultural Conflict: The Case of ‘Nazareth 2000,’” *Social & Cultural Geography* 8, no. 5 (October 1, 2007): 703.

³⁹ Interview with Rian. Personal interview. Kalampayan, Astambul, August, 14, 2011.

Moreover, the beggars did not want to stop their chasing until the pilgrim gave them money. Even, one of incident was that one of beggars had ever stroked the glass of pilgrim car. It made the pilgrims felt anxiety to come to sanctified grave of Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. Such as when we came to this place at Idul Fitri two years ago, our driver named Yani warned us that if we met a crazy beggar which characteristic was an old man and brought a stick from wood, thence, we had to give him money. This old man did not want to receive "*uang receb*" token coin, thus if we did not give him money or only token coin, he would strike the glass of car and thrown the stone to the car.

From this phenomenon, the government of Kabupaten Banjar, Martapura regency banned the practice of beggar in this village in 2012. The government sent a police of Pamong Praja to arrest the native that practiced begging in this religious site. From This cleansing action, it was about thirty beggars predominantly from old ages and children arrested and gained counseling. However, because of this regulation, hence, when we came to this place on August 13, 2013, the place did not like commonly where an amount of beggars seem like ants arranged beside of the street. Nowadays, it was very quiet from beggars, and just several of them who still keeping their feet as beggar. It seems there was something loses from this place, since the conflict between pilgrim and a beggar. Although, begging is the uniqueness of this place of pilgrimage, yet it is something negative in the view of pilgrims.

Oftentimes, if we intended to visit this pilgrimage place, we always prepared a token coin from our house, because, we had acknowledged the consequences to come to this religious site. The beggars operate in the context of practices and relationships that are already there and what has already been experienced. In this way, identification is a product of social action. Beggars as identity marker of community have encouraged people to know which categories we belong to and act accordingly.

Identity is understood as a specifically collective phenomenon, where begging activity denotes a fundamental and consequential sameness among villagers in Kalampayan village.⁴⁰ This leads to social identification. But where does this category come from? It is formed through social relationships and social structure. Indeed, it shows that the dimensions of our identity are going to be most important throughout our lives.

⁴⁰ Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" 7.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, we can deduce that the sacredness of sanctified grave Syekh Muhammad Arsyad has been benefitted by the local people for commercial activity. Moreover, the sacred auras of sanctified grave are considered has incarnated into the pilgrim objects and services, such as water, egg, coconut shell, bathing services, and tapung tawar services. In addition, the prices of commodities surroundings of sanctified grave are higher than other commodities in other places commonly, and the invaluable commodities or low price commodities may become valuable because of the sacred aura in this place, such as the soil of the grave, water, and coconut shell. Moreover, To make their commodities and services interesting and notably appearing sacred impression, the local people utilize the color, Arabic symbol 'rajah' which are considered have a magic power. Nonetheless, although the local people perceive rajah has sacred, but some of visitors disregard, because of contestation understanding upon the sacred. The visitors see that taking the soil of sanctified grave has perforated and corrupted the grave of syekh Muhammad Arsyad.

The role of government has given a big contribution to the preservation of sanctified grave Syekh Muhammad Arsyad and the development of commercialization surroundings the sanctified grave. The narratives of influential leader have constructed the social and religious settings in Kalimantan Selatan. Syekh Muhammad Arsyad regards as the icon of Islam in Kalimantan Selatan. Thus, preservation of this sanctified grave is very pivotal in order to maintain religious symbol of Kalimantan. The preservation of sanctified grave has become an economic generator for the local people and government. In another case, there was also begging behavior of villagers. This frequent behavior has raised identification among the pilgrim to mark this pilgrimage place as the beggar's village. This begging behavior has been reduced by the government in 2012. Beggars cleansing action in pilgrimage place was supported by the dissatisfaction of visitor with the begging behavior in sacred place.

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