

PILGRIMAGE, TRADITION, AND SOCIAL STATUS: THE RITUAL OF *HAJJ* AS AN IDENTITY FOR MOSLEMS COMMUNITY IN GRESIK

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ABSTRACT

Hajj is a hard worship for the Moslems because it requires three abilities at the same time: physical ability, mental ability, and financial ability. Consequently, not all people are able to perform the hajj. Furthermore, hajj is a very long process of worship and, therefore, has given birth to numerous traditions from the departure until the arrival from the holy land. In line with the phenomena of hajj, especially in the context of Gresik East Java Indonesia, this study strives to explore how the tradition of hajj is performed. By using qualitative method, this research found some important findings. First, there are various traditions conducted by people of Gresik in terms of performing hajj: pamitan haji, sejarah haji, walimatussafar, dulkadiran, nuzulan, khatmil Qur'an, and tasyakuran. These traditions are performed because they are considered important especially for those who will embark on their hajj journey. Second, from the socio-economic perspective, the performance of hajj traditions can result in social discrepancy for the lower middle-class people. The implication is that for the people of Gresik who have only been able to afford the cost of the hajj journey, then the cost of the hajj traditions can be a peculiar morale burden because the cost of the hajj traditions is equal to the personal cost of the hajj journey

Keywords: *Hajj traditions, hajj prayer, sejarah haji, social status, Gresik*

INTRODUCTION

Hajj as a part of Islamic teachings has become an interesting discourse for sociologists, anthropologists, historians, researchers, and religion experts. Since the first coming of Islam into the Archipelago, the tradition of *hajj* has been frequently reviewed from multiple perspectives. Among the Western scholars who have studied the tradition of *hajj* are Snouck Hourgronje, Jacob Vredenberg, Marcel Witlox, Kees Van Dijk, William R. Roff, Victor Turner, and Martin van Bruinissen (Ebadi 2015; Suryana 2013). In addition, the tradition of *hajj* has also been studied by the Indonesian scholars, like Dien Majid who conducted pilgrimage research during the colonial period (Majid 2008).

The Archipelago which is rich with local cultures has certainly influenced the whole procession of the *hajj* tradition at the country. A region which has uniqueness in conducting *hajj* procession is Gresik, a regency in East Java Indonesia. Gresik is considerable site in the history of Islam in Java even in Indonesia. The statement can be traced back from the distribution of the oldest evidence in relation to the presence of Moslems community which was, among them, found in Leran, Gresik, in 1082 AD (Sunjayadi 2016). Gresik itself used to be the first place where Syekh Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Sunan Giri, and their descendants preached Islam. The trail of Islam in Gresik eventually formed numerous traditions that were later spread by Walisongo

and one of them is certain tradition relating to *hajj* performed by the people in Gresik. The tradition of performing *hajj* in Gresik is a long process. It takes place before the departure to the *hajj* journey until the arrival from Mecca and Medina. The people of Gresik display a huge interest in performing *hajj* traditions. In 2017, the number of *hajj* pilgrims were 1,652 people, consisting of 793 male pilgrims and 859 female pilgrims (Kementerian Agama Kabupaten Gresik 2017). Before the departure and after the arrival, some of the *hajj* pilgrims performed a number of rituals such as *sejarah haji*, *walimatussafar*, *dulkadiran*, and *tasyakuran*. The costs for performing these traditions are equal to the cost of affording the *hajj* journey to Mecca and Medina itself.

In some regions in Indonesia, the people conduct certain rituals before going *hajj* to Mecca, such as the tradition of *Tale* in the Regency of Kerinci (Hayatunnufus et al. 2013) and the tradition of *ratiban* in Betawi (Miharja et al. 2019). These two traditions are considered as sacred rituals. Other tradition which is preserved and believed to be a part of Islamic law or sharia is *slamatan* before and after the *hajj*. When a pilgrims about to depart, the departure is accompanied by the recital of *adzan*. On the contrary, when the pilgrim returns, he/she is not allowed to enter the house before giving their blessings to the neighbors. The Zamzam water brought from Mecca should be poured to nearby well so that the well is blessed. When the pilgrims are performing *hajj* rituals in Mecca and Medina for 40 days, their neighbors at home will take daily or weekly turn in visiting the pilgrims' house in order to do certain rituals: *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, *ratiban*, *rawitan*, and *manaqiban*.

The cost of the rituals relating to *hajj* at home is sometimes higher than the cost of the *hajj* itself. Consequently, the pilgrims often suffer from over budget in their *hajj* procession. At the same time, the tradition in Indonesia is sometimes carried away to the *hajj* procession in the holy lands. This certain situation makes other pilgrims outside

Indonesia inconvenience and has impression on their being exclusive. Therefore, Indonesian pilgrims should be aware that conducting tradition relating to *hajj* should not disturb the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession itself.

In order to uncover the meaning of *hajj* tradition, this article adopted the theory of symbolic interaction by Peter L. Berger (Dhavamony 1995). This theory emphasizes that reality behind social affairs should analyze the process of the formation of the affairs itself. Indeed, this theory admits the presence of objective reality with limitation on reality as "the quality that has been related to the phenomena outside the will of an individual" (Berger and Luckmann 2016). According to Berger, there are dialectics between individuals who form a society and the society that shapes the individuals. The process of the dialectics take place through externalization, objectification, and internalizations (Bungin 2008). Thus, the perspective of symbolic interaction is the ones that strive to understand individuals' behaviors from the subjective perspective under investigation (Mulyana 2001).

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several studies reviewing *hajj* rituals, but there have not been any study yet which reviews *hajj* traditions performed by the pilgrims after their arrival especially in Gresik Regency. With regards to the statement, one of the Western scholars mentions that *hajj* ritual is part of religious recreation (Bagnaresi 2011). However, the *hajj* ritual is not merely visiting the holy land but, instead, it is more than sacred ritual which should be performed by visiting Mecca and Medina.

There are certainly several differences on *hajj* journey in the past and present times. For example, fulfilling *hajj* ritual during colonial period is a sequence of challenging activities, both administratively and technically, since in this period Moslem people were under the Dutch colonialization and at the same time the pilgrims

took a long overseas journey by ship (Majid 2008). This situation is completely different from that in 2000s.

Other relevant study shows that after their arrival, pilgrims have additional names. Male pilgrims from Madura will be given *abah/towan* before their original names, while female pilgrims will be given *umik* (Firdaus 2017). These two terms are derived from Arabic words which literally mean “father” and “mother” respectively.

Another study about *hajj* shows that *hajj* is not merely a verbal ritual but also a meaningfully symbolic ritual (Istianah 2016). The meaningfulness of the *hajj* is found in the relation among pilgrims or between the pilgrims and other people who visit and pray for them. On other side, *hajj* also brings about psychological problems for elderly people (Kholilurrohman 2017). On the top of these results, a study by (Ebadi 2015) shows that in addition to fulfilling the sharia and a pillar of Islam, the *hajj* procession also serves as a form of pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad and the *hajj* itself is a religious expression of the Moslems throughout the globe.

Another study also tries to enrich the discussion about *hajj*, such as the research of Irfan Syuhudi which was conducted in Gorontalo. According to the result, there are three levels of *hajj* procession, namely before departure, after departure (after the pilgrim leave home for Mecca and Medina), and after the arrival (Syuhudi 2019). In addition, this study also found that the fulfillment of *hajj* is able to raise pilgrims' social status.

Other studies on *hajj* also have been conducted on different aspects, such as *manasik* (Hidayatulloh 2016) and pilgrims' satisfaction on the services provided by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and *Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Haji* (KBIH, a commercial group giving services and guidance on *hajj*) (Sulaiman 2014; Ishom 2018; Basri 2015; Nidjam 2014; Farida 2014; and Nurhadi 2016).

The aforementioned reviews display strong assertion that *hajj* procession has peculiar uniqueness in practice which can be found in both Indonesia and Mecca. Departing from these reviews, the present study becomes important. It will discuss about rituals and processions relating to *hajj* conducted by people in Gresik. This study is different from the aforementioned studies because the previous studies review the administrative aspects from the service provided by both the Ministry of Religious Affairs and KBIH, while this study emphasizes more on ritual aspects. Therefore, the focus of the study is related to the following problems: (1) how religious traditions and social traditions relating to *hajj* in Gresik are implemented; and (2) what the meanings of each tradition are.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study was conducted in Kebomas, East Java, Indonesia. In conducting the study, the descriptive qualitative method was adopted. The results of the study were expected to grasp the meaning from the thought and the action of the research objects (Strauss et al. 2007). Within the study, the approach that had been selected was religious sociology. According to this approach, religion is viewed as an action (religion in action) and a social fact – something that can be observed is able to influence the behaviors of the society (Sodik 2006). In this regard, religion is also viewed as a system of belief that has manifested into certain social behaviors (Tischler 1990) and, therefore, the approach of religion sociology studies the social aspects of religion (Suprayogo 2003).

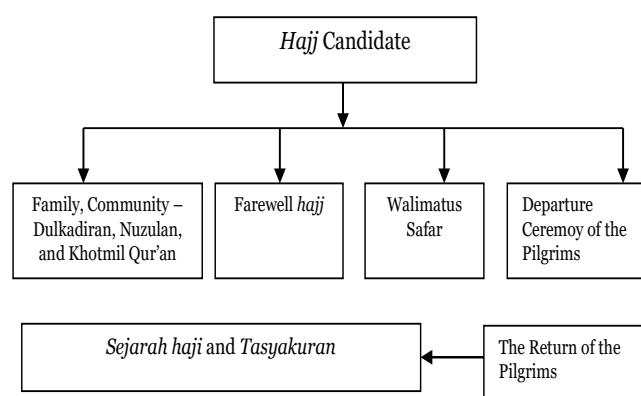
In order to collect the data, four techniques were implemented. They are in-depth interview, observation, documentation, and social facts study. Interviews were implemented for people participating in *hajj* rituals. They were the persons who were going to perform *hajj* to Mecca and Medina, their family members, neighbors who attended the procession, religious leaders

such as *kyai*, *imam*, *haji* (by *haji* here meant a person who had performed the pilgrim to Mecca and Medina), and officials of Ministry of Religious Affairs serving on *haji* affairs. Observation was applied when a person held a ritual relating to *haji*. Because of time limitation, the researchers could observe only on relating-*haji* activities conducted before departure, while information about activities conducted after the departure and after arrival were collected through interview and documentation.

In terms of data analysis, this study applied interactive analysis model which consisted of the following sequence: (1) data reduction; (2) data display; and (3) conclusion verification. The conclusions that had been drawn were tested in terms of truth and validity by means of two methods, namely data triangulation and informant review.

In order to make it easier to understand the plot of the study, figure 1 is presented.

Figure 1. *Haji* Rituals in Gresik



RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The *Haji* Traditions in the Society of Gresik

Gresik is a regency located in the Province of East Java Indonesia. It is well known as *kota santri* (religious city) (Faridatin 2016). This statement can be traced back from several aspects. First, one part of the symbols of the Regency of

Gresik is the dome of a mosque which clearly depicts the worship place for Moslems (Bappeda Kabupaten Gresik 2017). Second, three famous Moslem figures throughout the Archipelago were living in the regency. They are Maulana Malik Ibrahim (Sunan Gresik), Raden Paku (Sunan Giri), and Siti Fatimah binti Maimun. The first two figures were Walisongo¹ members while Siti Fatimah was a merchant who also contributed to the successful preach of Islam throughout the regency (Rafi 2020). Third, there are many Islamic boarding schools, important Islamic educational institutions, in the regency.

Based on the history, Gresik as a *kota santri* is highly associated with the culture of *ngaji* (the qur'anic recital) This situation has been depicted in the history of Gresik from 1896 until 1916 and the situation implies that the people of Gresik were deeply care about religious education. In fact, there is a song in local dialects which says, “*Arek cilik diworok ngaji, sesok gede dadi wong aji, rugi donya dak dadi opo, rugi akherat bakal disikso.*” The meaning of the verse is that the children who have been taught about the Quran will be worthy adults in the future and the loss in the worldly life is better than the loss in the afterlife because the loss in the afterlife will result in the eternal torture. This record in the history of Gresik marks that the tradition of Islamic education in Gresik has been an important matter for the society and has eventually created many Islamic traditions such as *haji* traditions (Zainuddin 2010).

Based on the data from the local government of Gresik, there are 224 Islamic boarding schools with 18,000 students (Bappeda Kabupaten Gresi 2017). As “A City of Moslem Students,” it is not surprising that Moslems become the dominant community in the region. The total number of

¹ Walisongo is a very important picture in the Islamization process of Java, even in Indonesia. Although there is a dispute about Walisongo, but the most popular version says that walisongo is a term referring to nine Moslem saints who preached Islam in Java. Their names are associated with the regions they lived. They were Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Gresik, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, Sunan Drajad, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Kalijaga, and Sunan Muria

Moslem populations in Gresik is 1,286,493 people (99.00%) from total population of Gresik namely 1,303,019 people. Thus, the remaining 1.00% of the population consists of: (1) Christians (11,051 people); (2) Catholicism (3,187 people); (3) Hinduism (2,073 people); (4) Buddhism (2,073 people); and (5) Confucianism (208 people) (Bappeda Kabupaten Gresik 2017).

There are several unique socio-religious traditions which have developed in this regency, such as *Rebo Wekasan* tradition which told about the search for the water springs by Syekh Jamaluddin Malik based on the hints provided by Sunan Giri (Miftach, village documentation, 2008); and the tradition of *Sanggiring* or *Kolak Ayam* in Gumeno Village, Manyar, Gresik. This tradition is related to the beginning of Islamization throughout the regency (Mufarohah and Kasdi 2014). In addition, there is another *hajj* tradition held by the people of Kebomas, Gresik, the tradition held before the departure for and after the arrival from Mecca and Medina. These traditions have existed until now and have even been passed down from one generation to another. The traditions are institutionalized through the habituation by the local people. These traditions can be considered as a treasure which always lives inside the society and it has been also preserved for generations after generations (Yahya 2009). In other words, several actions have been taken toward internalization of the values or the norms through the recurrence that has past references.

The *hajj* traditions refer to the habits that a society has performed before the departure and the arrival from the *hajj* procession in Mecca and Medina. These traditions are known as “*sejarah haji*” (*hajj* history) because the habit of visiting pilgrims before the departure and the arrival from the *hajj* procession. These traditions have been passed down from one generation to another without knowing the first initiator. Different from the history of *Rebo Wekasan* or the tradition of *Kolak Ayam*, these *hajj* traditions do not possess any oral or written resources that might be traced in order to uncover their origin. However, these

traditions are still preserved by the people of Gresik. Then, in order to facilitate the explanation on the *hajj* traditions in Kebomas, Gresik, the traditions are divided into three stages, namely: before the departure for Mecca and Medina; during the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession; and after the arrival from Mecca and Medina. In the first stage, a pilgrim and the surrounding neighbors should fulfill four traditions, namely: *pamitan haji* (asking for permission and saying farewell); *sejarah haji* (*hajj* history) fulfilling the *walimatussafar*; and holding the departure ceremony.

The Traditions before Departure

As having been explained in the previous paragraph, the first tradition which should be fulfilled is *pamitan haji* (asking for permission and saying farewell). This tradition is fulfilled after the definite time of departure has been issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the tradition starts by visiting several people: close relatives; distant relatives; religious leaders; public figures; and neighbors. The objective of the visit is to ask for their blessings so that the departure of the *hajj* candidates to the holy land will be safe and convenient. They also asked for healthy in fulfilling all of the *hajj* pillars, the responsibilities, and the recommended activities in the *hajj* procession. This visit is important because there is a presumption that *hajj* is a great battle that demands physical and mental preparedness since in a battle there are only two possibilities, namely die in the battlefield or return home safely. Therefore, the *hajj* candidates should visit their relatives and their neighbors and also ask for their forgiveness so that the *hajj* candidates will be forgiven and may leave in peace if they are unable to return to the homeland. The ideal time for fulfilling the first tradition is usually at the Eid Mubarak celebration since in Eid Mubarak there is a tradition of visiting and asking for forgiveness from one to another. This occasion can certainly be benefitted by the *hajj* candidates as they are able to say the farewell. In addition to asking for the blessings and the forgiveness from the

relatives and the neighbors, the *hajj* candidates also visit religious leaders in order to be taught about the prayers that should be read during the *hajj* procession.

After asking for the permission and saying farewell, the second tradition which should be fulfilled is the *sejarah haji* (literally means *hajj* history). This tradition refers to the activities of the Gresik people who visit their relatives who will depart for or have just arrived from Mecca and Medina. In fulfilling this tradition, Gresik people usually go in person or with their family members. When they visit with their family members, they usually rent a minibus because of the huge number of the relatives. The arrival of the visitor in *sejarah haji* is usually accompanied by various gifts especially 2-3 kilograms of sugar.

Interestingly, the term "*sejarah haji*" was once questioned by a religious leader because the people who will be visited have not fulfilled *hajj* procession yet, whereas they are treated as if they have fulfilled the *hajj* procession. As a criticism, the term "*sejarah haji*" should be corrected into "*ziarah haji*" (visiting pilgrims) which implies the visit to the *hajj* candidates who will embark to holy land. Indeed, the correction should be asserted since the term history is related to the stories in the past.

According to the theory of Sociology, the practice of "*sejarah haji*" which people of Gresik fulfill can originally be viewed as the fact that the society has developed a bond of social interaction in the form of spiritual sociology (Turner 2013). Based on the theory, the society members who visit one another show the commitment to strengthen their group. In this regard, the social interaction can be performed individually. For instance, a *hajj* candidate visits a *kyai* (a religious leader) and asks for his blessing before the departure for the holy land. In this occasion, the *kyai* may pray that the *hajj* candidate will be safe from the departure until the arrival and also become a knowledgeable *hajj* (*Haji Maburr*).

The term "*sejarah haji*" itself appears because during the visit the pilgrims share

their experiences they have throughout the *hajj* procession. Later, this term is also given to similar activity that should be performed before the *hajj* candidates depart for the holy land. This explains why the "*sejarah haji*" becomes the tradition of people in Kebomas, Gresik. They hold the tradition before going to the holy lands and after. There has not been any exact date on the first time when this tradition was fulfilled, but there is usually an unwritten agreement within the society that the "*sejarah haji*" should be fulfilled about two or three weeks before the departure and two weeks after the arrival.

This situation is different from the departure for Mecca and Medina in the 1970s when the use of the ship had still been dominant. In this era, a *hajj* candidate rose a red and white flag in front of their houses using a high bamboo pole so that the red and white flag could be noticed from a far. Therefore, the red and white flag became the mark that the owner of the house had been ready to welcome the visitors for the "*sejarah haji*" tradition. The statement has been confirmed by a *hajj* named Haji AM through the following statement:

Ayah saya dulu berangkat tahun 72. Masih pakai kapal laut. Ketika sudah ada ketentuan waktu itu pasang bendera. Maksudnya, orang-orang dipersilakan untuk sejarah. Itu dulu ya Mbak ya. saya cerita dulu. Sekarang kan sudah banyak perubahan. Bendera merah putih. satu bambu tinggi ya sehingga dapat dilihat oleh siapapun, dari kejauhan. Sebagai tanda mau berangkat haji. Sekarang sudah tidak ada.

(My father departed for the *hajj* in 1972. At that time, the journey still relied on the ship as the transportation. At that time, there was also a "social agreement" for raising the red and white flag. When the flag was risen, people would notify that my father had been ready to welcome them for "*sejarah haji*". But it was in the past. Now, we have undergone so many changes. Long time ago, we rose the red and white flag so people from afar would notice the preparedness for the *hajj* history tradition but now it does not work like this anymore) (an interview with Haji AM, August 18th, 2017).

After the tradition of “*sejarah haji*” was fulfilled, the third tradition that should be fulfilled is the *walimatussafar*. The term *walimatussafar* is derived from two Arabic words namely *walimah* and *as-safar*. *Walimah* means party, celebration, feast, reception², while *as-safar* means journey; travel, trip³. The *walimatussafar* tradition then refers to a celebration that is held when an individual will embark on a long journey. This tradition can actually be held for any occasion but, specific to the context of the Gresik people, this tradition is only held when an individual will embark on the *hajj* journey. The reason is that the *hajj* is a sacred journey that demands huge cost and, therefore, the treatment of the *hajj* should be different from that of any other journey. The time for fulfilling *walimatussafar* tradition is also different. The people of Gresik usually fulfill this tradition about six months prior to the departure, two weeks prior to the departure, and even several days prior to the departure. In general, the *hajj* candidate fulfills this tradition about one week prior to the departure. The guests invited are usually neighbors, close relatives, and work colleagues. The number of invited guests varied from one *hajj* candidate to another, starting from a dozen people to thousand people. It also depends on the social status of the *hajj* candidates. The higher the social status, the more guest that the *hajj* candidate will invite. In *walimatussafar* tradition, the event that can be held is the Qur’anic recital or *yasinan*.

The final tradition that a *hajj* candidate should fulfil is the departure ceremony. The time for fulfilling this tradition depends on the date when the candidate should come into Sukolilo *Hajj* Dormitory in Surabaya East Java, several days before the departure to the *hajj* procession. The departure ceremony itself can be held in the morning, the afternoon, the evening, and even at night. For performing this ceremony, the *hajj* candidates usually invite *kyai* in order to lead

overall procession within the ceremony. In the ceremony, several relatives and neighbors attend on their own will to give their blessings and say farewell to the *hajj* candidates. As soon as the relatives and the neighbors come into the house, the family members of the *hajj* candidates invite these guests to enjoy the refreshment and the dish served. When the departure ceremony is about to begin, all guests will stand up and pay attention the *kyai*, who have stood in the front door. All attentions will be given to every single word that *kyai* utters in the ceremony.

The sequence of the departure ceremony consists of: opening speech, prayer, *adzan*, *talbiyah*, and *iqamat*. Then, the opening speech usually begins with the greetings, brief *muqaddimah* in Arabic containing the gratitude to Allah SWT and the prayers to His Prophet Muhammad SAW, messages, and prayers.

There are three important things that have usually been delivered in the opening speech. First of all, the *kyai* will ask for forgiveness from all audiences on behalf of the *hajj* candidates for every single mistake that they may have committed and vice versa. If they have some sort of debts (or other responsibilities which are usually called as *hak adami*), the *kyai* suggests the *hajj* candidates settle these matters before departing to the pilgrimage. These debts can be paid by the family members who stay at home. If the debts are impossible to pay, the *kyai* will usually suggest for forgetting these matters. This action should be taken in order that the *hajj* candidates may embark on the *hajj* procession in peace.

In addition, the *kyai* will also ask the candidates to be patient and to adhere to *hajj* requirements and, at the same time, the *hajj* candidates are also asked to leave their family members in sincerity. Next, the *kyai* will ask the willingness of the pilgrims to pray for their family members and the society so that they may leave their neighborhood in peace.

The next message delivered by the *kyai* in the *walimatussafar* tradition is an asking addressed

² <https://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85%D8%A9>

³ <https://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%81%D8%B1>

to all people attending the *walimatussafar* tradition. The family members, the relatives, and the neighbors are invited to pray for the wellbeing of the *hajj* candidates so that the candidates will be able to fulfill all pillars, responsibilities, and *sunnah* of the *hajj* process so that the pilgrims will be the knowledgeable *hajj* (*Haji Mabror*). The sequence of the opening speech ends with the recital of the *surah Al-Fatihah*.

After the opening speech has ended, the opening ceremony proceeds to the prayer. In this ceremony, the prayer is led by the *kyai* in Arabic. The redaction and the sequence in the prayer are usually different from one *kyai* to another but there is a similarity within the prayer, namely *kyai* asks for good things during *hajj* procession. After the prayers have been completely uttered, the ceremony proceeds to *adzan*, *talbiyah*, and *iqamat*. *Adzan* and *iqamat* can be recited by one person or two, depending on the figures who have attended the ceremony. In fact, if there is not anyone who can recite *adzan* and *iqamat*, then the *adzan* and *iqamat* can be recited by the *kyai*. Therefore, the *kyai* becomes the centre of the overall sequence in the departure ceremony. Eventually, when the overall sequence has been fulfilled, the *hajj* candidates greet the guests by clapping their hands, shaking their hands, hugging them, and even simply wave their hands.

In the context of sociology, the procession of the *walimatussafar* tradition strengthens the relationship between the *kyai* and the pilgrims. According to sociological theory, the relationship between *kyai* and pilgrims, family members of the pilgrims, and even the close relatives of the pilgrims will strengthen each other because of mutual interaction among them. The pilgrims who have just arrived from the *hajj* journey usually bring special gifts or souvenirs for the *kyai* and their close relatives. They also bring Zamzam water or Arabian cookies. With regards to the statement, Turner (Turner 2013) states that this kind of tradition serves as an important interpersonal bound that have been preserved for generations.

The Tradition during the Time of Hajj Procession in the Holy Lands

As the pilgrims fulfill the *hajj* procession in the Holy Land, the family members of the pilgrims should fulfill another procession. For the people of Gresik, there are three activities that the family members of the pilgrims should perform during the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession. They are *dulkadiran*, *nuzulan*, and *khatmil Qur'an*. *Dulkadiran* is a ritual of communal feast that has been generally found in Javanese society. This ritual is not only held in relation to the *hajj* procession but also in relation to other events outside the *hajj* (Fadhilah 2016). *Dulkadiran* is indeed a "compulsory" ritual but, along with the turn of the century, there have been changes on the rituals that people of Gresik perform. As a result, *Dulkadiran* does not become a "compulsory" ritual anymore because this ritual has been shifted by other events such as *khatmil Qur'an*, *Nuzulan*, and even *istighasah*. There are variations that the people of Gresik perform with regards to these events.

In *Dulkadiran*, there is a peculiar dish that should be served, namely the "Wungkul Rooster." This dish refers to rooster cooked completely with all its body parts instead of serving it into pieces. In Javanese the way the rooster served is called as "ingkung." After reading *Dulkadiran* prayers is done, the *wungkul* rooster is served to the guests by being cut into pieces. The core reading materials in *Dulkadiran* ritual is life story of Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani, one of the well-known Sufi figures from Jilan, Baghdad. The procession of the *Dulkadiran* ritual begins with reading *surah Al-Fatihah* for 8 times addressed to several parties and reading other Qur'anic *surahs*, namely *Yaasin*, *al-Waqi'ah*, *Al-Syams*, *Al-Dhuha*, *Al-Insyirah*, *Al-Qadr*, *Al-Ikhlash*, *Al-Falaq*, and *An-Naas*. After reading these *surahs*, the ritual proceeds to reading *Al-Asma Al-Husna* and ends with the praise to the Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jaelani (Fadhillah 2016).

In relation to the *hajj* procession, the *Dulkadiran* ritual is held at the night of 9

Dzulhijjah as the pilgrims are prepared to depart to Arafah. The time is selected because the core and the peak of the *hajj* procession is the *wukuf* time in Arafah, a wide desert with high temperature (55°C), much higher than normal temperature in Indonesia. Therefore, the prayers from the family members, the relatives, and the neighbors for the pilgrims are necessary.

In addition to *Dulkadiran*, another activity that the family members of the pilgrims in Gresik should perform is reading Al-Qur'an completely which is known as *khatmil Qur'an* or *nuzulan*. The difference between the two activities is that the *khatmil Qur'an* is performed by four people in order while the *nuzulan* is performed by 30 people altogether at the same time.

The reading of the prayers in rituals of *hajj* procession is actually the prayer that an individual or a group of individual performs under the direction of a *kyai*. In the perspective of Islam, prayer is a request to Allah that has been proposed under the solemn manner. The statement is explained by Allah in QS. Al-Baqarah 186: "I grant the prayer of those who pray to Me, therefore they must adhere to My order and have faith in Me so that they shall always be in the truth" (Departemen Agama RI 2000).

Prayer is the sacred and spiritual essence of the *hajj* procession. In fact, the prayers of the pilgrims who have arrived from the *hajj* procession are believed to be very efficacious by Moslem people. According to Turner (Turner 2013), as part of spirituality, prayer serves to deliver the convenience of a Moslem individual or group of individuals in their worship.

The Traditions after Arrival

As the pilgrims return home, there are two important rituals that people of Gresik should perform, namely *sejarah haji* (*hajj* history) and *tasyakuran* (thanksgiving). As soon as the pilgrims arrive at their home, they will start sharing with their neighbors. The souvenir and gift packages which had been previously prepared

are immediately shared to the surroundings. Afterward, the ritual of "*sejarah haji*" will start again. The neighbors will visit the house of the pilgrims again with sugars and alike as the gift to the pilgrims. The ladies will usually bring tea, sugar, and coffee, while the gentlemen will only accompany their wives. The containers that the ladies fill with the sugar, tea, and coffee will be returned with the gifts that have been prepared by the pilgrims as a token of gratitude. During the visit, the guests of pilgrims are served with *lampatan*. Generally, the *lampatan* is served in the form of snacks such as cookies, peanut, soybean chips, candies, and biscuits. In addition, the Zamzam water and the dates are also served. With regards to the Zamzam water, there are two ways of serving, namely pure Zamzam water; and Zamzam water mixed with plain water. If the Zamzam water is served in small cups, it means that the Zamzam water is pure. On the contrary, if it is fully served in ordinary glasses, then it means that the Zamzam water is already mixed with the plain water. In this occasion, the Zamzam water should be mixed with the plain water so that all guests in the *hajj* history tradition can taste it.

The handover of the *hajj* gifts usually depends on the social status. The illustration on the cost that should be spent by a pilgrim in this tradition can be followed up from the story of one interviewee named Haji MZ. Haji MZ has performed *hajj* for two times. He embarked on the first *hajj* procession with his wife in 2008 and, two years later, he embarked again as the *hajj* official. In the first *hajj*, he completely fulfilled the *hajj* traditions (*walimatussafar*, *dulkadiran* at the night of 9 Dzulhijjah, and *syukuran* or thanksgiving). In each of these traditions, Haji MZ invited about 100 people and, at the same time, he also served the *lampatan* and the main course. Under the calculation that the complete consumption for each person costs IDR 20,000.00, then he should spend around IDR 6,000,000.00 for the first departure. This budget does not include the budget for *lampatan* which was served during the *tradisi haji* before the departure and after the arrival. This budget is

also outside the gift which should be delivered to the relatives and the neighbors.

Furthermore, Haji MZ should provide the gift for the neighbors and the guests who visit him after his arrival from the *hajj* journey. Haji MZ should provide the gifts for three times because he was afraid that the gift would not be sufficient. The gifts he distributed were various, namely sarong, prayer mat, veil, prayer beads, carpet, towel, and alike. He should prepare the gift for 1,000 people because there were at least 600 families living in his region and there were also other guests will visit him prior to the departure. With the calculation that one gift had been equal to IDR 50,000.00, the budget that he had spent for the *hajj* gifts was IDR 50,000,000.00.

“Ada orang-orang tertentu ya saya belikan dari sana, misal Pak Bupati itu ya saya belikan sajadah dari sana. Belum lagi kalau keluarganya banyak. Ya kisaran sama dengan 1 ONH. Rata-rata orang berangkat kan suami istri. Lha kalau saya sarung atlas itu kan 70, padahal saya di kampung itu hampir seluruh, di kampung itu ada 600 keluarga. Belum lagi nanti kalau dari luar. Kalau saya hitung itu banyak. Nah, memang Gresik seperti itu. Biaya lain-lain itu lebih banyak daripada ONHnya. Itu belum nanti, ta-syakuran.”

(There are several people that should be provided with special gifts. For example, I should buy original Arabian prayer mat for the Regent of Gresik. The situation will be more complex when the pilgrims have so many relatives. The total budget for these gifts can be equal to a single *hajj* cost (ONH, *Ongkos Naik Haji*). Usually, the pilgrims who embark to the *hajj* are in couple, husband, and wives. Then, in my case, I bought Atlas whose price is IDR 70,000.00/piece and my relatives are about 600 families in the village. This number does not include the neighbors and the guests here. In brief, the *hajj* tradition can take a lot of money. Like it or not this is Gresik. This explains why the non-*hajj* cost is higher than the *hajj* cost itself. Even this budget has not included cost for thanksgiving ritual) (An interview with Haji MZ on August 15th, 2017).

Haji MZ is one of the officials in the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Gresik. With regards to the needs for the *hajj* tradition, Haji MZ admits

that the cost he should spend is at least equal to 1-time *hajj* cost or ONH. Similar situation is also explained by Haji AR. Haji AR is known as a wealthy person who has conducted *hajj* journey and *umrah* for several times.

Unlike Haji MZ, Mrs. S is one of the pilgrims who did not fulfill any tradition except *yasinan* by inviting ladies in her community. At the same time, she does not plan certain events in her house. The reason is that she does not want to be proud of herself (*riya*). Every day, Mrs. S only runs her small food stall in her house. In this year, she embarks on the *hajj* journey without her husband. Both she and her husband should take turn in performing *hajj* journey because they have to wait for their children to be economically “well-established.” Mrs. S admits she does not have many relatives because she has been staying in Gresik for only six years and she is also less active in her neighborhood due to her activities in running the small food stall.

With the strikingly different situation in comparison to Haji MZ, Mrs. S prepared the gifts to 300 people. The gifts that she has given are various, but most of these gifts are *sarung* and *mukena* she had ordered from Pandaan.

“Saya beli mukena di Pandaan. Lha saya di sini kan tidak banyak keluarga, saya pesen 150. Satu bijinya sekitar 70-an. selain itu saya sediain sarung, sarung cuma paling 2 kodi. Yang untuk haji, sajadah ya sedikit-sedikit saja. Saya oleh-oleh tidak terlalu banyak kok, supaya tidak ‘wah’. Ya saya sediakan 300”

(I bought *mukena* in Pandaan. Since I do not have any relatives in Gresik, I only order 150 pieces of *mukena* and each *mukena* costed me IDR 70,000.00. In addition, I also bought a few *sarongs*, approximately about forty pieces. Then, the gift for the *hajj* traditions is just the prayer mats. I do not spend a lot of budget for the gift. In fact, I only prepare the gift for 300 people) (interview with Mrs. S, August 16th, 2017).

If the general cost of the gift for each person is IDR 50,000.00, then the total cost of the gift should be prepared by Mrs. S is IDR 15,000,000.00. This amount is similar to the

answer that has been provided by Mrs. S in another occasion.

Similar situation is also experienced by Hajjah M who embarked on the pilgrimage in 2016. She spent approximately IDR 43,000,000.00 for the gift only.

“*Saya beli oleh-olehnya ada yang tas, ada rukuh, sajadah, kopyah, dan baju taqwa. Kemudian masih ada yang dibungkus kecil-kecil itu, misalnya kurma dan kacang Arab. Itu saya maketin sendiri. Kalau saya kemarin suami itu, sudah, beli souvenir yang bisa dipakai untuk laki-laki perempuan’. Kalau kerudung kan untuk perempuan saja. Saya beli sajadah itu 750, itu saja masih kurang, saya beli lagi. Harga 50 berapa gitu, karena saya beli banyak saya dikasih harga 43. Itu yang besar. Itu saya beli lagi, 300. Lha suamiku itu kan ceramah ke mana-mana. Jadi saya nggak kenal orangnya ya sudah, saya beri semua. Sama rata, jangan pakai beda. Kecuali kalau keluarga, itu beda. Saya kasih rok, atau apa, yang dari sana.”*

(The gift that I have bought are various, namely bags, *rukuhs*, prayer mats, *kopyah*, and *taqwa* clothes. Then, I also provided small gifts such as dates and Arabian nuts. I wrapped them into small packages. In addition, my husband suggested to buy something appropriate for both men and women. So, I bought prayer mats. As far as I remember, I provided around 750 pieces of prayer mats and I still had to buy some more due to the insufficient number. The price of the prayer mats was around IDR 50,000.00. Because I bought prayer mats in large amount the price was much cheaper, IDR 43,000.00. That was the big one and I should buy 300 more pieces. Since my husband is a *muballigh* (religious preacher) who preached in so many places, I had to distribute the gifts for all Moslems there. However, the gift was different when it came to my relatives. I bought them skirt or any other special gifts) (interview with Mrs Hajjah M, August 22nd, 2017).

Departing from the stories, it can be concluded that the budget for providing the gift has been fantastic and exceeding the *hajj* cost. The budget has not even included the consumption (*lampatan*, dish, blessing, and beverage) for the guests during their visit in the *sejarah haji*. Therefore, it does make sense that the budget outside the *hajj* procession is higher than the budget for the *hajj* procession itself. As a result,

the pilgrims who prepare themselves for the *hajj* journey should spare the budget that is two times bigger than the *hajj* cost paid to the government.

As having been explained, the *sejarah haji* should be fulfilled again after the pilgrims return from the holy lands. There are two objectives that should be met, namely visiting the pilgrims and asking for the blessings from the pilgrims. The reason of meeting the two objectives is that people believe that the pilgrims are still surrounded by the angels for 40 days and, therefore, there is a huge opportunity that the prayers of these pilgrims will be granted by Allah.

After the *sejarah haji* has been fulfilled, the people of Gresik hold *tasyakuran* or thanksgiving. If the *sejarah haji* is held by the neighbors to the pilgrims, *tasyakuran* is held by the pilgrims to the neighbours. Similar to *walimatussafar*, *tasyakuran* is a kind of communal feast or *slametan* that the family members of the pilgrims hold after the pilgrims return. There is not any exact requirement about when the *tasyakuran* is held, but generally this tradition is held several days after the arrival of the pilgrims. In fact, some pilgrims fulfill this tradition altogether with another event, such as the commemoration of the family members who have passed away.

The objective of holding *tasyakuran* tradition is to share the gratitude after the arrival from the holy lands. If the *tasyakuran* tradition is held in a simple manner, then the sequence will be opening prayer, opening speech, and the Quranic recitation from *yasin* and *tahlil*. The number of guests will only be around 100 people, consisting of the close relatives and the surrounding neighbors. However, if the tradition is held in grandeur way then the pilgrims will usually invite a group of Moslem people such as *Ikatan Hajah Muslimat* (IHM). The sequence of the *tasyakuran* tradition that invites the IHM organizations is opening prayer, *shalawat nabi*, *shalawat haji*, *dziba’*, *yasin*, *tahlil*, and concluding prayer. The number of the guests can be higher because, in addition to inviting the IHM organization, the family members of the pilgrims also invite the

neighbors. In sum, the total number of the guests can be approximately 500 people.

Symbolic Meaning of the *Hajj* Traditions

In the context of the review by anthropologists, procession has two aspects, namely the ritual aspects and the ceremonial aspects. According to Winnick, as having been quoted by Nur Syam, 'ritual is a set or series of acts, usually involving religion or magic, with the sequence established by tradition ... they often stem from the daily life ...' (Syam 2005). Indeed, ritual is a set of actions that always involves religion or magic strengthened through traditions. Ritual is not exactly the same as worship because ritual refers to the daily interrelated actions or the repeated time cycle. With regards to the statement, on the contrary Gluckmans defines procession as a set of complex human activities being not always technical or reasonable and involving the decent model of social behaviors in the context of social relationship, while ritual is a more limited but symbolically more complex category of ceremony because it entails in-depth social and psychological matters. Ritual is characterized as referring to the mystical characteristics and objectives (Muhaimin 2001). In line with the statement, the *hajj* departure ceremony can be defined as a ceremony performed in the house of the pilgrims and, therefore, the *hajj* departure tradition is more like *slametan*.⁴ As a result, the *hajj* departure tradition can be considered as being more ceremonial since it is highly associated with Javanese tradition. However, there is not any exact requirement for the fulfillment of the *hajj* departure tradition.

⁴ *Slametan* is a communal activity that has been specially performed by Javanese society in a procession that is usually described by an ethnographer as a ritual party. The name *slametan* is derived from the word *slamet* (Arabic: *salamah*) which means safe, happy, and prosperous. This procession is usually performed when the member of a family has certain intention such as building a house, moving into a new house, holding a wedding party, giving thanks to the Almighty for the pregnancy of the first child, and also planning to embark for the *hajj* procession.

A tradition that has been performed by local people certainly implies special meaning. This meaning sometimes can be found easily, but, in other times, the meanings are hidden behind the symbols that have been used in the tradition. These symbols can be utterances, dishes, tools, actors, venues, place, and even time of procession. All of these aspects display peculiar meaning to the given tradition. Therefore, in the *hajj* tradition performed by the people of Gresik, there are three symbols that have been related to the utterances and the dishes namely, *talbiyah* and *shalawat haji*, *Bungkul* rooster, and Zamzam water. In the first symbol, *talbiyah*⁵ is a verse that has been mostly read in the months during the *hajj* procession (before the departure and after the arrival). In fact, the recital of *talbiyah* often becomes the background of the news about the *hajj* procession. The recital of the verse becomes an important part in the procession of the departure and the arrival for the pilgrims. The recital of the verse is performed by *kyai* and followed by the audience who attend the *hajj* departure ceremony.

In the procession of the *hajj* departure tradition, the *talbiyah* verse is sung while the *shalawat haji* is recited when the pilgrims have returned from Mecca and Medina and hold communal feast or *slametan*. Actually, there is not any exact requirement which states that the *shalawat* is only allowed to be recited in the return of the pilgrims. In fact, the *shalawat* can be recited at any time and there are two versions of the *shalawat*, namely the long version and the short one. The short version of the *shalawat haji* is as follows: "Allahuma shalli 'ala sayyidina Muhammadin tuballighuna biha hajja baitika al-haram wa ziyaarata qabri nabiyyika 'alaihi as-shalaatu wa assalaamu wa buhuugh al-maraam wa a'laa aalihi wa shahbihii wa sallam." The

⁵ "Labbaika Allahumma labbaika. Labbaika laa syariika laka labbaika. Inna al-hamda wa al-ni'mata laka wa al-mulka laa syariika laka." The meaning of the verse is, "I embrace Your calling, Allah. I reply to Your calling and there shall be no ally before You. Indeed, all praise, comfort, and power belong to You and cannot be compared to You."

short version of the *shalawat haji* is usually read in the rituals of *haji* departure tradition and recited through the prayers led by the *kyai*. On the other hand, the long version of the *shalawat haji* is usually recited in group under the direction of an “imam.” The long version of the *shalawat haji* is usually recited in the communal feast of the *haji* or known as *slametan haji*. Because this version is relatively long and in the form of *nadhaman*, it will be better if the long version of the *shalawat haji* is recited together.

The long version of the *shalawat haji* is sung but there is not any standard that has been defined on how the *shalawat haji* should be sung. Therefore, the song that an “imam” of *shalawat haji* sings can be different from one to another. The core of the *shalawat haji* is to ask Allah for the ability during the pilgrimage to Mecca and to the tomb of Muhammad SAW, either in the form of *haji* or *umrah*. This core is specifically apparent in the following Arabic verse: “*zurna Makkah wa ilaa zamzam Muhammad ‘alaihi al-salaam; wa j’alhu hajjan mabruura wa j’alhu dzanban maghfura wa j’alhu ‘umratan maqbuulah.*” This *nadhaman* is not the only redaction of the *shalawat haji*. There are other versions throughout the Archipelago, which can be very similar to the *shawalat haji* in Gresik or completely different. However, there is a single similarity among these *shalawat nabi* namely expecting an opportunity to visit the Holy Land and fulfill the *haji* journey.

In relation to the *haji* traditions, the presence of *wungkul* rooster is significant in the ritual of *dulkadiran*. The dish has significant meaning because of the *tanashuf* with Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani (an interview with HAM, August 18th, 2017). According to the oral tradition, there was a mother who took her child to Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani to be taught about Islam and to become a *salik* under his direction. Syaikh Abdul Qadir accepted the child and asked the child to do the “*mujahadah an-nafsi*” or taking less convenience in eating, drinking, and sleeping. On the contrary, the child was asked to pray (*berdzikir*) more and

more and to worship like pious persons. One day, the mother visited her child and found him in a concerning condition because he only ate cookies. Then, the mother met Syaikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani and found him in a feast. The mother was angry because she could not believe that Syaikh Abdul Qadir enjoyed a very delicious dish (chicken) while her child only ate cookies.

Soon after, Syaikh Abdul Qadir put down his plate and asked the bones of the chicken to stand up. With the blessings of Allah, the bones of the chicken joined one another into a rooster and the rooster crowed. However, the crow of the rooster was not the ordinary one; instead, the crowd was the recital of the following verse: “*laa ilaaha illa Allah, Muhammadur Rasulullah, Syaikh Abdu Qadir waliyyullah.*” Afterward, Syaikh Abdul Qadir said, “If your son can do the same thing then he can eat anything that he likes” (Al-Hakim 1442: 58).

In addition to *bungkul* rooster, the presence of Zamzam water is also important because the water is always served by the pilgrims who have just returned from the *haji* journey. The Zamzam water can be served in small cups or can be packed into small bottles and distributed to the surrounding neighbors. Although the efficacy of the water cannot be perceived immediately, many people believe in the greatness of the water. The Zamzam water can be the cure of any disease. Such belief departs from the prayer that the Prophet Muhammad SAW has taught. The Prophet Muhammad SAW has taught that whenever one will drink the Zamzam water, the prayer that should be uttered is the one that asks for the useful insight, the abundant fortune, and the cure of all diseases. The statement is confirmed by the following informant.

“...Secara kalau ajaib saya tidak pernah dengar yang ekstrim. Tapi kalau ada orang sakit kemudian dimintakan air zam zam itu ya ada. Harapannya ya disembuhkan oleh Allah. Tapi yang secara ajaib, sakit terus sembuh total belum pernah kami mengalami”

(In terms of magical things, I have not heard the extreme ones but I once heard if one suffers from a disease and he asks for the Zamzam water as the cure. He expects that he will be cured by Allah. However, I have not heard nor experienced the totally magical cure by drinking the Zamzam water) (An interview with Haji ARE on August 22nd, 2017).

Hajj Traditions: Between Necessity and Unnecessary

The *hajj* traditions are the ones that have been maintained by the people of Gresik for a long time. Despite the long-time maintenance of these traditions, some people have fulfilled all of the traditions while others have partially fulfilled these traditions or do not fulfill these traditions at all. However, the performers of the *hajj* traditions believe that every single activity within these traditions have high values especially as part of support and contribution for the pilgrims. The reason is that the objective of performing these religious rituals is to ask for the health, the continuity, and the easiness for the pilgrims who are fulfilling their *hajj* procession because there are so many unexpected situations that can happen. For example, there are some pilgrims who are sick before their departure to the *hajj* but they become healthy as they return from the *hajj* procession; on the contrary, there are also pilgrims who are healthy before the departure but they become ill during the *hajj* procession and therefore they are unable to completely fulfill the *hajj* processions. In order to deal with all of these uncertain situations, the pilgrims need the support in the form of the prayers from their family members and their neighbors.

In addition to being considered as the support in the form of the prayer for the pilgrims in the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession, the performers of the *hajj* traditions also consider that this tradition should be fulfilled because the journey to the pilgrimage is like a journey to a battlefield, which can be deadly for the pilgrims. Indeed, the *hajj* traditions are very long and tiring, starting from asking for the blessing and asking forgiveness to the family members or relatives

and the neighbors to serving the guests before and after the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession and eventually praying for the safety and the well-being of the pilgrims in the fulfillment of the *hajj* procession in Mecca and Medina. Despite the long and tiring traditions, these traditions will not be a burden if they are considered as a preparation to the great battlefield (*jihad*) which might result in dead. Therefore, the pilgrims are suggested to ask for the forgiveness from all of their mistakes and free themselves from any debts. If there is any debt that cannot be settled yet, then it will be better if the settlement is postponed until they return from the holy land.

Furthermore, the procession of *adzan* and *iqamat* has become an important ritual prior to the departure of the pilgrims. This procession is also performed when the dead body of a person is put into the grave and embarks from the world into the afterlife (*barzakh*). This is the reason why the pilgrims should ask for the forgiveness from family members, the relatives, and neighbors while they are settling the unfinished business. All of these processions serve as the preparation of the pilgrims for the great battle so that when they pass away in the battlefield, they can leave the world in peace and be purified from all of their sins and their burdens.

On the contrary to the performers of the *hajj* traditions, some people of Gresik have also decided not to perform these traditions. In their opinion, they do not want to take the pride in themselves. In fact, they have chosen to prepare their physics and fitness (an interview with Hajjah S on August 16th, 2017). These people are afraid that they can be tired and therefore unhealthy. Indeed, they admit that holding too many events prior to the departure of the *hajj* can take too much energy and this situation will influence their stamina, whereas the *hajj* procession demands the physical fitness and preparedness. These people are afraid if they are unable to fulfill the *hajj* procession well due to their fatigue.

CONCLUSION

The people of Gresik still maintain the religious traditions that have been well-preserved in the society, especially the ones that have been related to the *hajj* procession. These traditions are namely: (1) saying farewell; (2) asking for blessing and forgiveness; (3) *Hajj* history; (4) *walimatussafar*; (5) *dulkadiran*; (6) *nuzulan*; (7) *khatmil Qur'an*; and (8) *syukuran* or communal feast. These traditions have been preserved well because the people of Gresik believe that every sequence in these traditions contain significant meanings and values. Unfortunately, the fulfillment of these traditions demands huge cost, which can be equal to One-Time *Hajj* Cost (ONH) for one person. However, these traditions can still be partially performed with regards to the available budget.

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