

Amin Tohari - Konstruksi Sakralitas Wali Pitu

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Construction of the Wali Pitu's Sacredness and Veneration in Balinese Hindu Civilization

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Abstract

This article to explain the *Wali Pitu* (seven santhoods) as a new form of veneration dynamics in Indonesia, which was built by the sacredness of Bali as the heart of Hindu civilization. This phenomenon is unique and interesting where the two corpses studied are contradictory but become an actual reality, where seven tombs of Muslim saints were found in Bali as the heart of Hindu civilization. Using a case study, this article describes the sacred construction of the discovery of the seven sainthoods tombs and their cults and their dynamics as a new form of the veneration of saints in Indonesia which differs from the previous veneration in Java which has been deeply rooted for a long time (Wali Songo).

Keywords: Sacred, sainthood, veneration, Balinese Muslim, *hātif*.

Introduction

In Indonesia, the veneration or worship of people who are sacred (wali) is at various historical intersections and is crossing between religious, cultural, and economic domains (Setio, 2019), all three of which involve the community as construction subjects (Lagdaf, 2020). With veneration, cultural heritage protected by religious rituals makes it sacred (Hellman, 2017). The example of worshipping people who are sacred (wali) in Bali shows a different dimension to the worship of wali in Java. The veneration in Bali has transcended religious and ethnic boundaries to the complexity of the relationship between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority, making this phenomenon a trans-local issue. The phenomenon of veneration which is dominated by Java triggers to form of another pattern in other regions in the archipelago, which has mystical powers and is sacred. The Wali Pitu veneration in Bali shows another pattern of sacred dimensions that have so far only been shaped by history and archaeological evidence.

The Muslim saints in Bali are known as Wali Pitu (seven saints). This term refers to the nine Wali Songo in Java from the 15th to 16th centuries. Unlike Wali Songo in Java, Wali Pitu was discovered by a local figure in Sidoarjo with his followers from a small al-Khoiriyah pesantren foundation. It was Toyyib Zaen Arifin who discovered the tombs of seven guardians during his spiritual journey in Bali. This article discusses the discourse on the sacredness of contemporary Balinese Muslim guardians with a focus on the discovery and

forms of veneration based on the cult idea of holiness and sacredness (Stauth & Schielke, 2008). Borrowing the theory of locality in the cult of saints, Trofimova found that the practice of veneration is constructed from a religious communication from religious leaders through their spiritual dream experiences and visions (Trofimova, 2015). The case in Bali involves the concept of the locality of certain sainthood who are given extraordinary powers by God so that they are trusted authoritatively by certain social communities through stories that develop in the community after his death.

The sacredness of Wali Pitu is formed through the sanctity of locality in local communities, which makes the face of 'Indonesian Islam' different from 'Arabic Islam' or 'Middle Eastern Islam' (Al-Bazzaz & Haim, 1954; Sahner, 2021). The construction of the sacredness of Wali Pitu that was formed is allegedly different from the saints in Java, making this article fill a gap where Muslim scholars are more focused on Wali Songo (Fournié, 2019; Handriana dkk., 2019; Kasdi, 2018, 2021). Second, this article identifies the existence of Wali Pitu in most of the Hindu community, making this site even more unique to study, considering that Balinese Muslims are a minority plus the Bali Bombing tragedy in 2002 after these seven guardians were found to have crushed Balinese Muslims.

This article uses a qualitative approach with a case study method, where Wali Pitu is a unique phenomenon as a new alternative to veneration in Indonesia, which was shaped by the sacredness of Bali as the centre of Hindu civilization. The data used in this study is primary data as documentation from the notes of Toyyib Zaen Arifin during an expedition to search for the seven guardian graves. Researchers also used interview techniques for several members of Manaqib al-Jamali, mentors and organisers of religious tours to Wali Pitu, religious tourism congregations of Wali Pitu, and several caretakers of Wali Pitu's tomb. Secondary data as research results published in Brill, Leiden and at SOAS, London. These two kinds of research served as our data reinforcement during preparing this manuscript. After the data was collected, it was analysed by triangulation of sources by confirming the records of the expedition carried out by Toyyib Zaen Arifin and research from Leiden and London, which is currently ongoing research on tracking the Hadrami community in the Bali region.

Islam at the Heart of Balinese Hindu Civilization

The existence of Islam in Bali is seen from the a Muslim community in an Islamic village. In contrast to Islam in Java, the history of Islam in Bali is very difficult to reconstruct because of the lack of scientific sources and archaeological evidence that has been researched intensely. The traditions that developed are only oral sources. The first information on the Hindu kingdom in Majapahit in the mid-13th century. Oral history records that during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, about 40 Muslims from Majapahit, together with Dalem Ketut Nglesi (1380-14-60) founded a Gélgél mosque around 1380. It is not known exactly how Islam developed in Gélgél, but according to Ambary's findings that the grandmother Balinese Muslim ancestors came from Gélgél (Ambary, 1985).

The second oral information from the well-known oral tradition is the Bali Kidung Pemañcah which tells of some Muslims from Mecca who tried to influence Baturenggong, a Balinese king in the 15th century where the presence of these Muslims later formed a Muslim village in Klungkung, Karangasem Bali (Ako & 増野, 2021; Vickers, 1987). Another oral history is that there is a Muslim village called Kampung Wajo which was founded by the Muslim community from Loloan and the construction of the village was permitted by the ruler of Jembrana, namely I Gusti Ngurah Pancoran in 1670 (Hauser-Schäublin, 2004). It is known that the Muslim from Mecca was Syarif Abdullah al-Qadri from Pontianak, who fled the Netherlands and was then stranded in Bali (Slama, 2014).

Once again, because this is an oral tradition, it creates a kind of different version and debate about the origin of Islam in Gélgél, Klungkung, and Loloan. However, Balinese Muslims come from a combination of Balinese-Hindu ancestors with Bugis, Javanese, Madurese, and Sasak in Lombok (Barth, 1998). In addition, Hadrami descendants who call themselves as sayyid is also alleged to be a fusion of Hindu-Balinese with Islam-Arabic because of their marriage to indigenous people who converted to Islam and had children in the Singaraja area (Jacobsen, 2008).

Regarding the history of Balinese Islam mentioned above, there is no oral information that links it to the existence of Wali Pitu. Wali Pitu was independently found in 1992 by a small kyai figure from Sidoarjo who then led him on an expedition to search for the seven guardian graves in Bali which personally had no connection with the figure. Naturally, Wali Pitu was unusual by this figure, which was allegedly different from the discovery of Wali Songo in Java.

Bali is known by the world as a province for the most popular tourist destinations in the international world (Adhika, 2021; Mastika, 2020; Pamungkas, 2020). Its cultural and natural diversity makes many local and foreign tourists flock to Bali (Dunbar-Hall, 2001; McKean, 2011; Picard, 2008). Bali is also popularly known as the “Pulau Dewata” or island of the Gods because the majority of its people are Hindus (Dibia, 1985). Although the majority are Hindus, Bali is known as an area that has high religious tolerance, as evidenced by inter-religious religions living side by side in one area without interreligious conflict (Arjawa, 2021; Pedersen, 2014; Tohari & Raya, 2021).

The existence of Wali Pitu in Bali is unique and contradictory, where the area is predominantly Hindu and automatically the culture and traditions used daily are also Hindu customs. In contrast to Wali Songo, which has formed acculturation of Javanese culture with Islam, Bali has the independence of Hindu culture which remains attached to this day. Wali Pitu’s efforts to promote Islam on the Island of the Gods of Bali are not as easy as Wali Songo. The existence of Islamic villages such as Gelgel Village in Klungkung, Loloan Village in Jembrana, Pegayaman Village in Buleleng, and Kecicang Village in Karangasem is strong evidence that Islam in Bali formed a small community as a religious effort from the remnants of the history of Wali Pitu’s existence.

Discovery and Construction of the Sacred “Wali Pitu” in Bali

The existence of Wali Pitu was controversial because it was considered a dilemma, both in terms of its discovery and the location of its existence. The discovery of the site of the seven sainthoods tombs by some traditionalist groups is considered an identity politics interest that brought the discoverer's fame, while some of them consider the method of finding the seven sites to be under religious corridors. Meanwhile, the existence of the Wali Pitu site is unrepresentative to describe sacred figures who are sacred in an area, as is Trofimova's theory of locality in the cult of saints. Bali is the heart of Hindu civilization where most of the Balinese population is Hindu (83.5% or around 3.3 million people), while Muslims are a minority population which only amounts to 13.3% (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2018).

Wali Pitu is a new tomb site that is sacred by the Muslim community and its sacredness is also recognised by some Hindus around the tomb. Finding Wali Pitu is unique, with a new method in the ancient Islamic tradition called *hātif*, unlike the existence of Wali Songo in Java, which is proven by history and archaeological evidence (Hasyim, 2021). The discovery of the seven sainthoods tombs with this method is very interesting, especially the location in Bali which is far from Islamic civilization, and was nicknamed “the land of the infidels” by terrorists who made Bali a *tanah jihad* or land of jihad during the Bali Bombing tragedy (Milla dkk., 2013). The existence of Wali Pitu was not naturally formed like Wali Songo. Wali Pitu's discovery was carried out by a “search” process that began in 1992. The person who started the expedition to search for the seven guardian graves was Toyyib Zaen Arifin, a “village kiai” from Sidoarjo, East Java. Early on, Arifin knew Bali because he founded a small dhikr association that year named *Manaqib al-Jamali*. This dhikr gathering was initially only attended by a few Arifin followers from Sidoarjo and Gresik, but over time it was attended by hundreds of people from Madura and Bali, so “al-Jamali” was named because it opened brotherhood between Muslims from Java, Madura and Bali through dhikr assemblies.

After Arifin founded *Manaqib al-Jamali*, a big incident happened to him. He gets a kind of magical whisper, which is termed a *hātif*. In the Islamic tradition, *hātif* is a whisper that comes down to someone as a blessing from God as a guide for himself (Fahd, 1971). In contrast to revelation and *ilhām*, *hātif* is received by a chosen person in a conscious state as a soft whispering voice from an unseen and undetectable source. Meanwhile, revelation is a message from God given to a chosen Prophet and Apostle as a guide to be distributed to mankind, such as the book of the Qur'ān results from the revelation given to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH as the seal of the closing of the Prophets (*al-Khatam al-Anbiyā*). *Hātif* and *ilhām* are both instructions from God given to people who are not prophets and apostles, but ordinary people. In contrast to *hātif*, the way of conveying *ilhām* is got through dreams or thought trajectories that accidentally appear in one's mind (MacDonald, 1986; Pelevin, 2021). From this, it can be concluded that *hātif* and *ilhām* are two forms of God's message given to ordinary people, not prophets. But to determine whether a person has received *hātif* or *ilhām* is not a simple matter. Traditionalists regard *hātif* and *ilhām* as sacred messages sent by God

to the elect. Meanwhile, modernists consider both of them to be skeptical beliefs, irrational, and lead to acts of associating partners with God (*syirk*).

Arifin received a *hātif* in which he was ordered by God to search for the seven tombs of saints (*wali*) with different places and characteristics of their profiles. The *hātif* whisper that Arifin received was as *boso jowo* (Javanese language) which he heard almost every night for three days in a row in 1992:

1. “In telata Bali iku kawengku makam pitu piro wali cubo wujudno !...” [meaning: in the land of Bali there are Seven Muslim Sainthoods. Try to find them!]
2. “Ono sawijining pepunden dumunung ono ing telatah susunanging siti sasandingan pamujaan agung kang manggon sak duwuring tirta kang kadarbeni dining suritaning pandito ojo sumelang !...” [meaning: there is a pepunden shrine in a place on a mound above the water beside a Hindu temple guarded by a faithful priest, so don't hesitate!]
3. “Waspadakno pitu iku keparang dadi papat...” [meaning: notice, the seven are divided into four]
4. “Pitu iku keparang dadi papat iku pengerteneane: kapisan wus kaporo nyoto, kapindo istidroj wujud kembar, kaping telu wus lair naning durung wujud, kaping papat liyo bongso” [meaning: the seven sainthoods are divided into four: the first implies that they have existed for a long time, the second is highly respected and twins, the third has been born but has not yet seen his guardianship, and the fourth is from abroad]

The first tomb identified as Wali Pitu is the tomb of Mas Sepuh which is also known as the *Makam Keramat Pantai Seseh*, precisely in Mengwi, Badung Bali. This tomb was discovered by Arifin in 1992 when one member of Manaqib al-Jamali was looking for information to the public about a tomb that was sacred but not widely known by the public. Arifin and members of al-Jamali found two other tombs, namely the tomb of Ratu Ayu Anak Agung Rai or better known as Dewi Khotijah and Sosrodiningrat. However, Arifin told members of the congregation that the two graves were not wali, as he received the *hātif*.

According to the caretaker of the tomb (*jurukunci*), Mas Sepuh was one prince of the Mengwi kingdom in 1711. Mas Sepuh is of Javanese descent from his Muslim father, while his father is from Blambangan who is Hindu. When raised by his mother, Mas Sepuh did not know that his father was a king of Mengwi. After growing up, he was told by his mother to find his father in Bali by riding a *klepu* or a kind of big fish with the head of a lion. Shortly after meeting his father and about to go to Bali, Mas Sepuh was confronted by a group of bad people who wanted to kill him. Mas Sepuh then took out a weapon as a keris and raised it to the sky. Suddenly the *keris* emitted a light that made a group of bad people die and get injured. By the community, this power is believed to be the sanctity of Mas Sepuh which is sacred until now.

The second tomb believed to be Wali Pitu is the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maghribi which was found on information from a prominent *kyai* in Tabanan Bali. Arifin searched for this information with the help of members of al-Jamali and was met with KH. Nur Hadi. The sacredness of this second tomb occurred when the community wanted to build a tomb that

had been damaged by the weather, but the authorities did not allow it, resulting in him falling ill. The community then asked the head of the nature reserve to allow him to build the tomb. After being allowed, he recovered from his illness. This is then believed by the public as a form of the holiness of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maghribi, so his tomb is known as the *Makam Keramat Bedugul*.

The third tomb, which is believed to be Wali Pitu, was found by Arifin based on the *hātif* he received earlier that the tomb of the next wali is in a public cemetery in the Karangasem area. Based on the instructions from the *hātif* that Arifin received, that the tomb is known as a figure who came from Hadhramaut Yemen, named Habib Ali bin Abu Bakr al-Hamid or better known as Habib Ali al-Hamid. Based on the title of *habib*, this third sainthood shows the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH who is believed to have been a respected teacher at the Klungkung palace who taught the Malay language. It is not known exactly when Habib Ali al-Hamid became a Malay teacher, but according to the caretaker of the tomb, it is estimated that during the reign of the Balinese King Dewa Agung Jambe I who was famous for his wisdom (circa 1686-1722). An oral story that mentions the sacredness of Habib Ali al-Hamid is when there was the malice of one prince, who were not happy with the existence of the Habib and intended to make a conspiracy. Seeing this rotten plan, the prince asked his father (the King) to execute Habib Ali al-Hamid, but because of the King's love for Habib Ali al-Hamid, the King secretly ordered Habib Ali al-Hamid to leave the royal palace. However, shortly after arriving in Kusamba, Habib Ali al-Hamid was attacked by an unknown group of people (presumably an order from a prince) and he was killed. On the night of the murder of Habib Ali al-Hamid, suddenly a fire emerged from the Habib's grave and killed the killers. The community then believed that the tomb of Habib Ali al-Hamid was sacred, so his tomb was popularly known as the *Makam Keramat Kusambeh*.

After several years, precisely in 1995, Arifin again carried out an expedition to find the tomb of the sainthood who were believed to be the Fourth and Fifth sainthood. His meeting with Ghufron gave information that there was a tomb of a figure named Habib Ali Zainal Abidin al-Idrus. It turned out that Habib Ali's son al-Idrus was still there, then Arifin invited the al-Jamali congregation to meet his son, Habib Muhdor. It was through Habib Muhdor that Arifin got information on the tomb of Habib Ali al-Idrus. However, there is another unnamed tomb beside the tomb of Habib Ali al-Idrus which is estimated to be over 400 years older. Besides the tomb, there is a strange thing where the bricks surrounding the tomb are believed to have magical powers that can protect the tomb from damage caused by the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963. Arifin and Habib Muhdor then sought information on who was in the tomb, including by spiritual. After that, it was known that the tomb was a sainthood of Iraqi descent named Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdadi. Since then, the tomb of Habib Ali al-Idrus and the tomb of Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdadi are known as the Twin Sacred Tombs, because these two tombs are interconnected. After that, it was identified that Habib Ali al-Idrus was a tomb keeper (*pandito*) Maulana Yusuf al-Baghdadi who faithfully guarded, according to *hātif* information received by Arifin.

The sixth tomb, which is ¹ believed to be one of the Wali Pitu is based on the *hātif* received by Arifin, which shows a tomb in Buleleng. This time Arifin was accompanied by Habib Muhdor and Habib Muhammad on a sixth tomb search expedition. Arifin and his entourage found the tomb of a sainthood in a Chinese cemetery. The tomb is known as Kwan Lie or Sykeh Abdul Qodir Muhammad. According to a circulating story, Kwan Lie was one of three bodyguards assigned by Hong Zi, an emperor in the Ming Dynasty (1470-1505) to accompany his daughter Ong Tien on a trip to Java to ² meet Sunan Gunung Djati, because Ong Tien fell in love with the king. Sunan and he married in 1481. Four years later, Ong Tien died and was buried next to Sunan Gunung Djati's grave.

Back to Kwan Lie, he was a disciple of Sunan Gunung Djati. When Ong Tien became Sunan's wife, Kwan Lie converted to Islam and helped spread Islam with Sunan Gunung Djati. It is not known for certain why Kwan Lie's tomb is in Buleleng, and reached the land of Bali. Lack of oral history information leads to the obfuscation of this point. However, Arifin reiterated based on the accepted spiritual and *hātif* that Kwan Lie is the Sixth Sainthood.

The last tomb identified as the ² seventh wali is the tomb of a Hadhrami descendant who holds the title *habib*. However, unlike the other six sainthood, this seventh sainthood has not died or, in the sense of *qobla al-wujud* (before his appearance) has been known by Arifin through the *hātif* he received. Based on information from Arifin, that the last guardian's tombs is in the Loloan Jembrana area, and Arifin and the al-Jamali congregation must wait for the sainthood's death. Arifin said that the seventh ¹ sainthood would be known after his death. Sure enough, on March 29, 1999, a habib named Habib Ali bin Abu Bakar Bafaqih or better known as Habib Ali Bafaqih, died. Unlike the previous saints who were sacred through supernatural events or events beyond reason, Habib Ali Bafaqih was known for his high religious knowledge so that the determination of the holiness of the Seventh Sainthood was based on the breadth of his religious knowledge.

With the discovery of the seven tombs of the Wali Pitu in Bali, finally Arifin and the Al-Jamali congregation have completed God's command for an expedition to find the seven holy people who have been unknown to the public and whose guardianship is doubtful. The construction of sacredness formed by the seven saints is different according to the life experience of the saint and the special gift from God. However, from this it can be concluded that the Wali Pitu discovery expedition was carried out using the *hātif* method where this method is not found in the cult of the Wali Songo tomb in Java.

Dynamics of the Veneration of Saints in Indonesia

The worship of people who are holy in Islam is part of the phenomenon of visiting the grave or called a pilgrimage. However, the term pilgrimage is also not always identified with a *ziarah*. Chambert-Loir termed it as the practice of paying homage to parents and people who are sacred and have a certain sacredness (Chambert-Loir, 2002), which brings *barokah* or some kind of blessing (Alatas, 2021; Von Denffer, 1976). In the case in Indonesia, pilgrimages visit

not only tombs but have certain rituals such as prayers asking for fortune and position when visiting a tomb. Prayers that are read during pilgrimage rituals also transform, in the past pilgrims only said prayers for themselves, now prayer rituals are equipped with *hadiwan* or prayers that are said to God through the intermediary of the saint's sacredness, *manaqib* or reading poems about the sainthood's biography, and *haul* or anniversaries. This ritual method is the same as for holy people abroad such as pilgrimages to Sheikh Abdul al-Qadir al-Jailani with his strong Sufi order, and the rituals are practised in Indonesia and are always crowded with visitors who want to get blessings (Bruinessen, 2000; Millie & Syihabuddin, 2005).

The phenomenon of veneration that is celebrated in Indonesia is influenced by the form of local culture that forms a new spirit of spiritualism where the wali pilgrimage is considered being the legitimacy of the Sufism of a person or a certain group (Millie, 2009). The peak of veneration in Java is occupied by Wali Songo (Fox, 2001), where their graves and archaeological remains are decorated with local ornaments that combine the art of local Hindu, Chinese and Arabic architects (Anggraeni Dyah & Zein, 2020). The appearance of art architects the sainthood tomb's persuades the public to sanctify the site which can bring blessings. The phenomenon of sainthood pilgrimage in Indonesia is always associated with blessing by consecrating tomb sites, for those who believe they will receive blessings, for those who do not and commit crimes during pilgrimages can wreak havoc (Fox, 1991; Jamhari, 2001).

Pilgrims consider the guardian to be a person who displays a firm believer who has an example to guide mankind. Besides that, their pedigree status from noble circles illustrates how respected they are. In other publications, some mention that their royal lineage came from Arabia and China, thus forming the so-called 'Sino-Javanese Muslims' (Qurtuby, 2009). Currently, there are certain groups who consider the lineage of the saints and their ancestors to be from Hadhramaut, Yemen who migrated to Indonesia in large numbers until the 19th century (Berg, 1886). They claim that the noble group who became the ruler of the archipelago, including the Wali Songo, were descendants of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, what they called *sayyid* (Berg, 1886).

Despite the debate over the lineage claims of the Wali Songo, the practice of veneration has increased during *haul* and *maulid* celebrations in recent decades (As'ad, 2020; Christomy, 2003). This phenomenon then brings new commodities, so what Fox found shows active mobility of a more collective practice of veneration. When we were compiling this research, we met with Kyai Nasron Hakim, a mentor and organiser of a religious tour to Wali Songo who said:

"Now it is common for the society or residents in a village to make a wali pilgrimage by renting one or more buses. They use personal money for transportation and all necessities during the pilgrimage. The more people who join the pilgrimage, the cheaper the cost. Usually, one bus is filled with 50-60 people. When the news spreads that a wali pilgrimage will be held, people flocked to invite their children, wives, and relatives. The society considers the wali's pilgrimage to bring blessings as fortune and safety" (Interview with Kyai Nasron Hakim, July 17, 2019).

Fox said that this kind of tour is usually organised by people belonging to the largest Islamic mass organisation in Indonesia, namely Nahdlatul 'Ulama' (NU), where this mass organisation has many followers, especially in East Java, which makes the practice of veneration more entrenched and in demand by the public (Fox, 2002). Statistical data from the East Java Provincial Government mentions that from 1998 (after the New Order regime collapsed) until 2005, it increased from 500,000 people to approximately 4,000,000 people who took religious tours to the tomb of Wali Songo (Quinn, 2004). The New Order era opened "fresh air" for traditionalists, which gave rise to another wave of veneration as a pilgrimage revival in Indonesia. Seeing this movement, the administrators of the guardian's gravesites renovated the building and the grave area to make it easier for pilgrims. The renovation of tombs that are sacred is a sign that veneration is rising (Taragan, 2004). Doorn-Harder & Jong see the phenomenon of the revival of veneration as an effort to divert politics to strengthen the regime by getting ideological support from the traditionalists (Doorn-Harder & Jong, 2006).

The increasing popularity of venerating was then picked up by the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Tourism, which highlighted the development of religious tourism as a new form of tourism that was officially introduced to the public (Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Keparawisataan, 2006). This project examines sites that are sacred and worthy of pilgrimage in 6 provinces in Indonesia, including the accessibility of transportation and infrastructure. Directly, this project invites the business potential for the surrounding community and strengthens local products that promote the unique traditions and culture of each wali who comes to spread the religion of Islam (Aldyan, 2020; Fournié, 2019).

The practice of veneration in Indonesia has undergone a transformation, from the form of worshipping saints with the motives of sacredness and spirituality, currently developing into an economic motive where the concept of sacredness has become a new commodity at the intersection between religion and materialism. Quinn commented: "The practice of veneration in a wali's pilgrimage site should be free from the word money, but in reality veneration is a transactional-supernatural practice that continues to grow" (Quinn, 2008). Thus, veneration is a transformative religious expression, starting from sacredness to entering the niches of promising economic commodities.

Conclusion

In the Islamic world, sacredness is an important religious tradition as a tribute to religious figures who are sacred who have their links to God and the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. The saints are not only sacred but also respected because they are chosen humans with esoteric powers as blessings. The discovery of Wali Pitu is a new form of holiness where veneration in Indonesia is constructed by the sacredness of Bali as the heart of Hindu civilization. This phenomenon is very contradictory and unique to become an actual reality where seven tombs of Muslim saints were found in Bali as the heart of Hindu civilization. The discovery process involves a transcendental narrative of spirituality, tracing the lineage

of Wali Songo, elite nobles as descendants of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, and the construction of sacredness attached to each Balinese Muslim guardian. *Hâtif* as a new discovery method accepted by Toyyib Zaen Arifin plays a key role in the construction of new sacredness as the only discovery of holy people in Bali. The dimension of sacredness is formed to create a new form of the veneration of saints in Indonesia, which differs from the previous veneration in Java, which has been deeply rooted for a long time (Wali Songo).

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