

Commodification of the *Nyangku* Traditional Ceremony in Panjalu of West Java

Lina Mustakimah

West Java Province Community and Village Empowerment Service, Bandung, Indonesia
Linamustakimah09@gmail.com

Yeni Huriani

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia
Yenihuriani@uinsgd.com

Ilim Abdul Halim

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia
ilimhalim@uinsgd.ac.id

Suggested Citation:

Mustakimah, Lina; Huriani, Yeni; Halim, Ilim Abdul. (2024). Commodification of the *Nyangku* Traditional Ceremony in Panjalu of West Java. *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas*, Volume 4, Number 2: 139-150. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15575/jis.v4i2.34486>

Article's History:

Received April 2024; Revised September 2024; Accepted September 2024.
2024. journal.uinsgd.ac.id ©. All rights reserved.

Abstract:

This research discusses the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony which has changed when viewed from a sociological perspective, namely the change in use value in the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony to exchange value which is called religious commodification, and this research will also explore the causes of this change using a sociology of religion approach. Types of research in this research is field research by collecting data based on the results of observations and interviews as well as documentation studies. This research concludes that the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony experienced religious commodification with the change from the use value of the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony to the exchange value as before *Nyangku* was the form of rituals of the Panjalu community, the cement of solidarity, social identity and efforts to care for the Panjalu ancestral heritage, become exchange values that have profit value in the form of promotions, sales of *Nyangku* symbols, as well as facilities that use tariffs provided for *Nyangku*. Then, the cause of the change from use value to exchange value at the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony occurred due to the existence of a charismatic figure who influenced the Panjalu community, the influence of religion, which provided a new perspective, and the Panjalu community's changing view of values.

Keywords: cultural activity; exchange value; social identity; sociology of religion; supporting community.

INTRODUCTION

Religions use a variety of strategies to commodify ceremonies, transforming spiritual rites into economic goods and services. Many religious symbols, such as Buddhist charms and amulets in Thailand and Japan, are mass-produced and sold as merchandise. These items are frequently imbued with spiritual significance, but they are also advertised as products that can bring good fortune or protection (Coleman, 2022; Rinallo et al., 2023; Zheng, 2023). The tourism industry commercializes pilgrimage rites, particularly those associated

with hallowed destinations such as the Holy Land. This technique includes advertising and packaging religious experiences in order to attract visitors, effectively transforming spiritual practices into a profitable business (Bostan & Yousofi, 2023; Thelen & Kim, 2023). Local communities turn their religious traditions into tourism attractions. For example, the haul custom in Surakarta, Indonesia, is promoted as a cultural event to attract tourists. This involves promoting the custom through media such as commercials and event calendars, transforming its cultural qualities into marketing values (Setiawan, 2016).

Ceremonies have rules and procedures that have not changed from generation to generation until now, which have become traditions and part of people's lives inherited from their ancestors (Rahmi, 2021). Ceremonies as cultural activities will continue to be carried out by the supporting community because they are considered still relevant in their lives (Rahman & Anwar, 2022). Cultural activities are a series of dynamic, continuous and repetitive activities in order to maintain and preserve that culture. Ceremonies are also not just routines but are manifestations of human religious beliefs and attitudes and are aimed at a mystical power (Koentjaraningrat., 1974; Wasehudin et al., 2021). Ceremonial practices have been held from generation to generation with the aim of preserving, maintaining and even introducing this culture to the current and next generations (Krisnawan et al., 2022; Wasehudin et al., 2024).

Some ceremonies changed when viewed sociologically, namely the change from use value to market value or exchange value that occurs in Nyangku traditional ceremonies. Nyangku is the legacy of the ancestors of Panjalu that has been carried out from generation to generation from the end of the 7th century until now from Prabu Sanghyang Borosngora, who contributed to spreading Islam in Panjalu. Nyangku, as a dynamic cultural phenomenon, experiences development and change, which is influenced by various things both due to internal and external dynamics. At that time, Borosngora used Nyangku accompanied by a musical instrument in an effort to preach Islam to attract the masses. Nyangku is a purification procession of the heirlooms of Sanghyang Borosngora, the kings of Panjalu and the previous regents of Panjalu and their successors that are stored in Bumi Alit (Nur et al., 2018).

The commodification agenda is one of the survival strategies for ceremonial activities to remain relevant to modern society, including the Nyangku traditional ceremony in Panjalu Village. Commodification means the process of changing the use value of a good or service into exchange value (Annafis, 2022). Greg Fealy defines commodification as an object or thing being changed from having no exchange value to having market value and can be traded for profit. Meanwhile, commodification of religion is the commercialization of religion by packaging it in such a way that it changes faith, or symbols, behavior, rituals in religion are converted into commodities that can be bought and sold for profit (Fatonah Dewi, 2021).

The Nyangku traditional ceremony is packaged in such a way as to attract the interest of visitors who come by, including impressive entertainment events, there are attractive ornaments or decorations but still displaying the identity of the Nyangku ceremony; the committee also makes promotional efforts so that the Nyangku traditional ceremony is better known to many people. so the implementation of the Nyangku traditional ceremony in Panjalu is different from the implementation of ceremonies in other places where many visitors visit. A large number of visitors are utilized with various economic activities to gain profits, so visitors come for not only religious motivations but also non-religious ones. Places related to Nyangku have become cultural and religious tourism commodities. Like Bumi Alit and Situ Panjalu which are burial places for Panjalu descendants. According to the Regent's Decree in 2020, Panjalu Village stipulated the determination of village/sub-district tourism development in Ciamis Regency with number 12. The orientation of the implementation of the Nyangku ceremony follows market tastes which are oriented towards material needs to gain benefits for the Panjalu community which has implications for a shift from the use value of the ceremony custom becomes an entertainment and cultural tourism arena that suits market tastes.

Based on the results of the author's study and research, several previous studies were found related to the commodification of traditional ceremonial activities which experienced a shift from sacred to profane so that they were considered to obscure the noble and untouchable mission of religion. On the other hand, there were those who thought that this change was actually seen as a positive thing. to see religion as a lifestyle that is closer to society in an inclusive manner.

In this modern era, the threat of commodification of ceremonial traditions is difficult to avoid. Like what happened in the Tengger traditional ceremony in the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park tourist area, East Java, written by Rahmi Febriani and Edi Dwiriyanto in 2021 in their journal entitled Tengger Traditional Ceremonies on the Verge of Commodification: Caring for Traditions from the Threat of Desacralization. They use qualitative research methods with an anthropological approach. Data was obtained by

researchers going directly to the field and conducting unstructured and open interviews with several informants in accordance with research needs. In his research, it was revealed that along with the development of the times, the process of commodification of traditional ceremonial traditions cannot be avoided, including the Tengger traditional ceremony, although the threat that will be faced is the profanation of sacred traditions as a result of commodification carried out by tourism actors, therefore optimal efforts can be made. This is done to ensure that the need for commodification and maintaining the sacredness of tradition is to continue to separate the sacred from the profane with mutual coordination and synergy between tourism stakeholders and traditional stakeholders so that these two things continue to go hand in hand (Febriani & Riyanto, 2021).

Research journal conducted by Elin Marlina et al. in 2021 in Wonosobo and Banjarnegara districts, right in Dieng Kulon and Dieng Wetan, with the title Commodification of the Gembel Hair Shaving Ritual: from Sacred to Profane. The research aims to determine the shift in the implementation of the *gembel* shaving ritual, which is usually carried out by the community to be carried out by the Dieng Culture Festival (DCF) tourism manager. In order to achieve this, Elin Marlina et al. (Marlina et al., 2021) used ethnographic qualitative research methods by collecting data using interview and observation techniques. In the results of the research, it was concluded that the implementation of the Gembel hair-shaving ritual carried out by the DCF management had not changed. However, the aim of implementing the hair-shaving ritual based on the aim of commodification was marked by a delay in the implementation time because it had to be carried out *en masse* as part of the Dieng tourism agenda. On the one hand, this is done as an effort to preserve the *gembel* hair-shaving ritual so that more and more people are interested in it, but on the other hand, it can result in the fading of the sacredness of the *gembel* hair-shaving ritual.

The phenomenon of commodification also occurs in traditional ceremonies; for example, the Tabot ritual in Bengkulu is part of a tourism promotion event written by Dwi Aji Budiman in a journal entitled Tabot, Sacredness in Tourism Commodification. He uses the analytical description method. Researchers suggest that the implementation of the Tabot ritual accompanied by a festival marks the transfer of popular culture in society. This is one of the cultural guidance and development agendas by the government which is able to promote the region and boost the regional economy without forgetting the characteristics and identity of the Tabot ritual (Aji Budiman, 2019).

Based on the above analysis, it is possible that the commodification process of the Nyangku traditional ceremony will also occur, and this process is also likely to shift the sacredness of the Nyangku traditional ceremony to make it marketable. With the hope that more and more people will visit for tourism to enjoy ritual performances and motivation for recreation of the historical heritage of Panjalu's ancestors to increase the buying and selling process for economic actors in the Panjalu community.

METHOD

The approach used in this research is the sociology of religion approach. namely, an approach that focuses on the behavior of religious individuals, which is influenced by social processes with qualitative methods – analytical based on the object of study regarding the commodification of the Nyangku traditional ceremony in Panjalu Village. In this research, sources of information describing written and unwritten material consist of primary material sources and secondary data sources (Mustari & Rahman, 2012). Meanwhile, data collection techniques use observation techniques to go directly to the field with an emphasis on interest in an object that includes all the five senses to obtain data directly. In its implementation, the researcher uses in-depth interview techniques that are open and unstructured, which focus on the depth of information to see and hear views, opinions, information or facts from participants and informants; the authors also collected data in the form of recordings and videos in photographing commodification activities in Nyangku traditional ceremonies (Silverman, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of the Panjalu Village Area

History of Panjalu Village

Historically, Panjalu Village was part of the Panjalu kingdom area, which was located on the slopes of Mount Syawal, about 7 km to the south of Panjalu Village. Hindu influence was still very strong in the era of the Panjalu kingdom with the center of government in Karantenan. The Panjalu Kingdom can be divided into

five kingdom periods, namely the Karahayuan era, the Wiwitan era, the Islamic kingdom era in the 7th century, finally the Panjalu Kingdom was formed due to the marriage of two kingdoms, namely the Soko Galuh (Mount Bitung) Kingdom and the Karantenan Kingdom of Mount Syawal. In the 7th, the Islamic kingdom in Panjalu was moved to Nusa Gede by Prabu Sanghyang Borosngora (Borosngora, 2017).

The founder of the Panjalu Kingdom is Prabu Batara Tisnajati. In the beginning, the Kingdom of Panjalu or what is called Karantenan is more like a hermitage or a college where religious knowledge is taught. After the death of Prabu Batara Tisnajati, several figures who once ruled the kingdom of Panjalu are known, including: Batara Raya, Karimun Putih, Marangga Sakti, and Prabu Rangga Gumilang (Borosngora, 2017).

The throne of the Panjalu kingdom was passed on to his son, Sanghyang Prabu Borosngora, because he was considered more worthy to lead the kingdom. It was during this time that the Panjalu kingdom was first led by an Islamic king, and the capital of the Panjalu kingdom was moved from Dayeuh Luhur to Situ Lengkong Panjalu. At this time, Islamic teachings were the guidelines for the lives of the Panjalu people and became the foundation of the kingdom. Along with the historical journey of Panjalu which finally became part of the Ciamis Regency area, the position of royal government became the village government part of Panjalu District, Ciamis Regency, West Java Province. Ciamis Regency was founded on June 12, 1642, so the Panjalu village government automatically emerged when the government status changed to village. Apart from that, on February 25 1983, Panjalu Village was divided into two villages, namely Panjalu Village as the main village and Bahara Village as the expansion village to this day. (Borosngora, 2017)

Geographical Conditions of Panjalu Village

Panjalu Village is located in Panjalu District. Geographically, Panjalu Village is located at 7° 7' 49.56" S, 108° 16' 21.26" E. The distance to the District capital is around 1 km, while to Ciamis Regency it is 34 km, to Bandung, the capital of West Java Province, which is 100 km. This area is classified as a mountainous area because it is located at the foot of Mount Sawal. (Shofiah, 2022). Panjalu Village borders Hujung Tiwu Village, Bahara Village to the north, borders Mandalare Village and Kertamandala Village to the south, borders Maparah Village and Ciomas Village to the east and borders Banjarangsana Village and Payungsari Village to the west. The area of Panjalu Village is 906.91 Ha. The area is divided into several parts based on its use, namely the area of land used for rice fields 110.34 Ha, the area of dry category land 677.66 Ha, the area of plantation land 7.50 Ha, the area used for public facilities 85.52 Ha, the area of land used for into 18.00 Ha of forest, the total area used is 899.01 Ha. Tourism potential in Panjalu Lake Village (water tourism, forest tourism, ancient sites and others around 73.50 Ha, cultural heritage 0.15 Ha, historical sites and museums 0.75 Ha (Panjalu Village Profile).

The population of Panjalu Village in 2023 will be around 12,646 people, with a composition of 6,481 men, 6,165 women, with a total of 3,903 heads of families. The age of the Panjalu community is dominated by teenagers and adults, meaning that the Panjalu community is filled with productive generations, besides that the population of the Panjalu community is the largest contributor to the overall population of Ciamis Regency. The education level of the people of Panjalu is still at the level of junior high school graduates, followed by high school graduates, which means that the education level in Panjlau is not that high, however, many have graduated (Panjalu Village Profile). Life in Panjalu is dominated by small and medium traders, followed by farmers, livestock breeders and individual entrepreneurs. In terms of trade, the Panjalu people in Bandung are known as traders of scrap metal and building materials.

Implementation of Nyangku Traditional Ceremony

Nyangku is a series of traditional ritual processions to purify the heirlooms of Prabu Sanghyang Borosngora and the kings, regents and ancestors of Panjalu that are stored in Bumi Alit (Borosngora, 2017). The term Nyangku comes from the Arabic language "yanko" means to clean, then adapted with the pronunciation of the Sundanese people to become Nyangku. In Sundanese acronym Nyangku illuminates the behavior (improving behavior) This traditional nyangku ceremony is held on Monday or Thursday in the last week of the month of Rabiul Awal which coincides with the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad (Fauziyah, 2017).

In its implementation, Nyangku involves several parties such as Panjalu elders, the Borosngora Foundation as traditional stakeholders and coordinates the ceremony. Several parties involved in the Nyangku traditional ceremony, key holder, community leaders and the village government to the Ciamis

district and provincial governments also support the smooth running of the ceremony. Nyangku custom. Approaching the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. The Nyangku traditional ceremony began with preparations carried out by the Borosngora Foundation with the gathering of all Panjalu descendants to discuss Nyangku preparations, after which it was coordinated with the Village Government and a Nyangku committee was formed. The ingredients provided in the Nyangku traditional ceremony include brown rice which must be peeled by hand, not pounded as usual. This red rice will later be used to make tumpeng as an offering. The descendants of Panjalu also husked red grain starting from 1 Rabiul Awal (Maulud) until one day before the implementation of Nyangku (Fauziyah, 2017). Apart from that, all Panjalu descendants make a pilgrimage to the graves of their ancestors in Nusalarang Situ Lengkong. The first stage in the Nyangku ceremony is taking water by Kuncen Bumi Alit who will assign a committee to take holy water which will be used in purifying heirloom objects. The holy water comes from nine springs, namely the Situ Lengkong water source, the Kapunduhan water source (Prabu Rahyang Kuning's grave), the Karangtenan Mount Sawal water source, the Kubang Kelong water source, the Mount Bitung water source, the Bongbang Kancana water source, the Pasanggarahan water source, Cipanjalu water source, Ciomas water source. Other ingredients needed for offerings use tubers and seven types of offerings including: tumpeng red rice, tumpeng yellow rice, grilled chicken, fish from Situ Lengkong, Moringa leaf vegetables, free-range chicken eggs, and tubers. Furthermore, seven types of drinks are also provided, namely; bitter coffee, sweet coffee, water, tea water, rose water, sweetened water and banana salad (Masduki, 2014).

Visitor Characteristics

The individuals who come do not all have a goal as a religious obligation, but only as a social obligation as a social cohesion as part of society. This was expressed by Pandu Cakradinata in an interview with the author, according to him, people come for various purposes; such as cultural tourism, curiosity about Nyangku traditional ceremonies and quite a few who want to receive blessings.

The fruit of motivation is an action or behavior that we can observe with the naked eye, clothing is a reflection of a person's personality and motivation in attending an event. From the results of the researcher's observations, many visitors who come to the Nyangku traditional ceremony wear clothes that are usually used every day, because if the Nyangku ceremony is considered sacred then the visitors who come will wear attributes that are appropriate to where the clothes should be worn, the analogy is if we pay attention to For the event we are going to take part in, we will adjust the clothes we will wear, for example wearing black clothes when making pilgrimages, using more formal batik cloth when attending invitations and so on, researchers do not see this in the Nyangku traditional ceremony. Even the chairman of the Nyangku committee did not completely wear Sundanese royal clothing which was the official attire for the implementation of Nyangku, the clothing used was elaborated with modern things such as footwear using shoes, and subordinates using batik cloth which had been modified into more practical batik trousers.

The situation of the Nyangku traditional ceremony is not very sacred, the people who come do not really appreciate the nyangku process. People are recording more using gadgets, and traders are also entering the ceremonial arena. The square is surrounded by traders and night market activities which fill almost part of the square. Many spectators who came to the nyangku traditional ceremony watched and watched with non-religious principles regarding it as an ordinary spectacle. The results of interviews with spectators who came from outside Panjalu showed that he had no specific purpose in coming to Panjalu; he came as a cultural enthusiast and watched the implementation of the Nyangku traditional ceremony, which he had previously heard about by word of mouth. Not only that, he also had time to enjoy culinary delights and shopping in the area around Panjalu Square.

Value of Use in Nyangku Traditional Ceremony

Nyangku as a Ritual Form of the Community

The Nyangku traditional ceremony as a form of ritual has many uses. As a means to connect the community with something sacred, namely heirloom objects left by Borosngora, a means to celebrate important events in the lives of the Panjalu people. In fact, the Nyangku ritual is also used to strengthen social ties and reduce tension in the Panjalu community, which has various interests and opinions. This is relevant to the narrative that a religious community must carry out ceremonies based on the beliefs of their

religious system which then become a reference for norms and primary institutions that are difficult to change in community life whose existence is supported by awareness regarding honor, self-esteem and identity of the supporting community and passed down from generation to generation (habitual action) and contains transcendental values (Marsja-Liisa Swantz, 1970). The function of the ritual is as a form of Panjalu people's belief in the truth of the story of Prabu Sanghyang Borosngora in the hope of receiving blessings from the ritual performed. The implementation of the ritual is an effort to avoid events of grief, disaster and fear of uncertainty that could threaten society at any time.

Nyangku as Panjalu Community Identity

The Nyangku traditional ceremony has become a social identity for the Panjalu people. We can find feelings of belonging and encouragement to carry out traditional ceremonies in the lives of the Panjalu people. Migrants from outside the city deliberately return home to celebrate the Nyangku traditional ceremony. Nyangku is also a gathering place for the Panjalu people who have migrated outside Panjalu who deliberately come to stay in touch and meet face to face during the traditional nyangku ceremony. It could even be said that the nyangku traditional ceremony is "Eid" Panjalu community.

We can find Nyangku as the identity of the Panjalu people in their lives, which cannot be separated from Nyangku values, which contain Sundanese and Islamic values. Like the people of Panjalu, they tightly adhere to the will of their Panjalu ancestors which has become the norm and value system in Panjalu. Among the papagon or mandates from King Sanghyang Borosngora which are based on Islamic values are; "Eat because it's halal, wear it because it's holy, say the right thing" means eating halal food, having a personality and behaving based on a pure and clean heart, saying and acting based on the truth. "uriwah, urinyah, matanya, baganya" means to behave creatively, be innovative, work hard, don't be stupid, men and women should respect each other and help each other. Wangsit Prabu Sanghyang Borosngora which is one of his teachings held by the Panjalu community (Yayasan Borosngora, 2017).

In everyday life, Panjalu identity is manifested in the form of wearing a typical Sundanese bandana, "iket," on the head depicting the Panjalu tiger (*maung*) and the shape of a cleaver, which was a weapon during the Sundanese kingdom. In terms of architecture, we can also find ornaments related to the history of Panjalu, the boundaries of Panjalu Village, borders Hujung Tiwu Village, Bahara Village to the north, borders Mandalare Village and Kertamandala Village to the south, borders Maparah Village and Ciomas Village to the east and borders Banjarangsana Village and Payungsari Village to the west. The Maung Panjalu statue is built in Panjalu Square. Historically, Maung Panjalu was the incarnation of the children of the Padjajaran king who were born at the foot of Mount Sawal Ciamis, named Bongbanglarang and Bongbang Kencana who disobeyed the prohibition not to play around in Cipangbuangan and then turned into tigers.

The people of Panjalu believe that the Islamic teachings preached in Panjalu were received directly from the holy land of Mecca, without intermediaries, with the evidence of Ali Bin Abi Talib, a friend of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who gave a sword to Prabu Borongora to become the first Muslim king in Panjalu (Jannah, 2015. Pg. 4). This belief is manifested in the architectural form of Panjalu square in the form of the Zulfiqar sword given by Ali bin Abi Talib which is kept in Bumi Alit and the admonitions from Prabu Borosngora which is used as iconic memories of the Panjalu Village government.

Engage in Fostering Panjalu Community Solidarity

The Nyangku traditional ceremony has a social function in the sense that it can strengthen the sense of solidarity and social welfare of the local community. The community works together to help each other to hold the Nyangku traditional ceremony and provides economic benefits to the large number of visitors who come to the Nyangku event. The participation of the Panjalu community in the implementation of Nyangku becomes a medium to offer various interests because the Nyangku traditional ceremony is a forum for strengthening bonds or fraternal relations between groups in Panjalu and as a means of resolving conflicts, and the Nyangku traditional ceremony is a means of building relationships with Almighty God.

The Nyangku traditional ceremony has also fostered a culture of community mutual cooperation in realizing the ceremonial ritual; quite a few people provide both moral and material support in preparing materials, facilities and comfort for the Nyangku traditional ceremony ritual (Krisnawan et al., 2022). According to Cakradinata, the obstacle to holding the Nyangku traditional ceremony ritual is the lack of funds, but this can be overcome by the large number of residents who donate.

Caring for the Heritage of Panjalu Ancestors

The performance of the Nyangku traditional ceremony is passed down from generation to generation with a good model of cultural values inheritance; this can be seen in the Panjalu community to now still maintains and preserves its tradition from generation to generation without changing the slightest of the rules in the context of the Nyangku traditional ceremony. For example, Cakradinata said that the use of lime could be changed to use other, more modern materials, and it would be easier to remove stains on heirloom objects. According to him, it is not just a cleaning function, but there is a philosophy and necessity to maintain ancestral heritage in its original form. and what it is. Then the implementation time has never changed, namely in the month of Rabiul Awal which coincides with the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW on Monday or Friday in the last week, the offerings and equipment used in the traditional nyangku ceremony are still maintained to this day. The inheritance and cultural values of the Panjalu people are also carried out through the advice and wills of Prabu Borosngora to the next generation. During the evening before the Nyangku ceremony at Bumi Alit, the history and wills of Prabu Borosngora were explained and the emphasis on Borosngora's will is like eating because it is halal, wearing it because it is holy, saying the right thing" means eating halal food, having a personality and behaving based on a pure and clean heart, saying and acting based on the truth. "*Uriwah, urinyah, matanya, baganya*" means that you must behave creatively, be innovative, work hard, do not be stupid; men and women must respect and help each other. Obedience to words and advice gives rise to values such as harmony with God, harmony with other humans, obedience and respect for elders, maintaining morality, dressing and behaving politely. and maintaining social ethics. Meanwhile, obedience to Islamic teachings gives rise to instrumental values: the spirit of friendship, simplicity, cooperation, harmony with nature, social values, and always being grateful to God.

The process of inheriting cultural values is institutionally played out by the family, government and society. Likewise, the inheritance of the Nyangku traditional ceremony is carried out by the government and internalized by the families of the Panjalu community. In the family environment, the instilling of the Panjalu values and a sense of ownership in the Nyangku ceremony is internalized in the form of awareness of burial and socio-cultural values in daily life. Not only in the family, but at school, students in the Panjalu area are required to take part in the Nyangku traditional ceremony; all levels of education in Panjalu are closed and are required to attend the ceremony arena.

Exchange Rate at Nyangku Traditional Ceremony in Panjalu Village

Commodification in the Form of Promotion

The commodification agenda is one of the strategies for local culture, including the Nyangku traditional ceremony in Panjalu Village, so that it remains existing and relevant today, commodification is the most promising strategy with significant results. So there is a process of changing the use value of Nyangku traditional ceremonies to exchange value, which is called commodification; in other words, commercialization in the realm of religion or belief by changing the faith and symbols of Nyangku into a commodity that can be bought and sold. In modern economics, the exchange rate barometer, has three distinct elements, namely, wages, profits and land rental costs. This means that the barometer of the exchange value of a commodity depends on the balance between wages, profits and land rent which gives rise to the natural price of a commodity. So, the exchange value of a commodity is the same as the price of the commodity itself (Smith, 1998).

The Nyangku traditional ceremony as a ritual tradition has an exchange value with the addition of events that attract the market so that people flock to the Nyangku traditional ceremony. The opening of the Nyangku traditional ceremony was accompanied by entertainment events involving the people of Panjalu and its surroundings, such as karate performances, local martial arts, debus, *gembyung*, and also musical performances and other entertainment. According to Pandu Cakradinata, the existence of this entertainment event is a form of community participation in enlivening the nyangku traditional ceremony. In addition, the Nyangku traditional ceremony is enlivened by the presence of a night market in the arena where heirlooms are purified and a vendor stand. The activity of commodifying Nyangku traditional ceremonies certainly requires costs, so the prices for the interesting Nyangku traditional ceremonies arise which require quite large costs.

Installing a logo for sponsors has quite a large price tag. Several sponsor logo packages are available to be displayed during the Nyangku traditional ceremony, namely the brooch package with a total cost of Rp. 40,000,000, silver package of Rp. 50,000,000. From the description of the promotional packages offered above, we can calculate with the assumption that all packages filled by sponsors from the bronze and silver packages are worth IDR. 90,000,000.00.

Nyangku traditional ceremony is important to be promoted as a regional and national asset. The form of promotion that is done is a form of business to disseminate information and attract the public's interest in the implementation of Nyangku traditional ceremonies in Panjalu Village. The implementation of the Nyangku ceremony becomes a commodity that has an exchange value for the people who come to Panjalu Village, so that the sacred Nyangku products are juxtaposed with something profane in order to attract the people to come with various purposes.

The Nyangku traditional ceremony was promoted through a banner designed in such a way as to include the entire series of ceremonial activities, and written with the term Panjalu Cultural Festival. The banner designs created are not only made in the form of billboards, which are distributed around Panjalu, but through social media that has a wider reach, such as WhatsApp from group to group, via social media Instagram.

In addition to offering a promotional package, the Nyangku traditional ceremony committee also offers a stand for businesses to sell in the Nyangku area, considering that many visitors from various cities will attend Nyangku, so the Nyangku traditional ceremony event has enough promising sales value while the traders to trade during It's going on. The Nyangku committee made pamphlets that were distributed in the Tasikmalaya area to attract business people to trade in the Nyangku area. The committee provides 72 trading stands in the Alun-alun area and outside the Alun-alun, with a registration fee of Rp. 1,800,000 for 1 month with a land size of 3m x 3m, and outside the square as much as Rp. 900,000.

Commodification in Symbol Form

The Nyangku traditional ceremony and everything related to the history of Panjalu has become a hot commodity on the market. Many Panjalu residents sell their goods in the area around the Situ Lengkong grave and Panjalu square. One of them is a picture of Maung Panjalu which is attached to the clothes and *iket* used by men. Then Panjalu's writings and Situ Lengkong's pictures became commodities that were produced to gain profits from the selling value. Not only in the form of clothing, but in the form of food such as shrimp paste, it is labeled Situ Lengkong Panjalu. According to traders in Situ Panjalu, the most popular clothes bought by buyers are clothes with pictures of Maung Panjalu. As stated by Greg Fealy, commodification occurs by changing religious symbols into commodities that can be bought and sold for profit (Fealy, 2008).

Commodification in the form of facilities

Nusalarang or Nusa Gede is a religious tourist attraction which is the tomb of Borosngora's descendants as a king who helped spread the teachings of Islam in Panjalu. It is considered as the tomb of a saint and equivalent to "guardian", people come there to make a pilgrimage, pray and pray for blessings. In the Nyangku traditional ceremony, Nusa Gede is one of the places visited in the Nyangku series.

During the Nyangku traditional ceremony, about 20,000 visitors come, while outside the Nyangku ceremony, there are about 1,000 visitors who come in one day on the weekend and about 500 visitors on weekdays and in certain months in the Sundanese month called *rewah*, *mulud*, *rajab*. Apart from the entrance ticket, parking tickets for visiting visitors' vehicles in the form of motorbikes, private cars and buses are subject to a parking fee of IDR. 2000 for motorbikes, and Rp. 5000 for cars while buses are Rp. 10,000 rupiah.

Access to the location is provided by motorbike taxis and *odong-odong* for visitors because private vehicles can only enter the parking area. If you use a motorbike taxi, you will be charged Rp. 5000 one way, while the *odong-odong* fare is IDR 50,000 for a group package one way. Then to cross Situ Lengkong to Nusa Gede, a boat is provided. Visitors are charged a fee of Rp. 10,000 rupiah.

Facilities such as *odong-odong* and boats are made in such a way to attract visitors. Don't miss the Panjalu writing symbol in the *odong-odong* design. Meanwhile, for crossing by boat, visitors are treated to the Situ Lengkong nature reserve, visitors can also request an additional trip around Situ Lengkong. Apart from the facilities for which ticket prices have been determined, places related to Nyangku, such as Bumi

Alit and the Prabu Hariang Kencana Tomb located in Nusa Gede, have charity boxes kept along the road leading to the entrance; these charity boxes are not mandatory for visitors to enter. gave a certain amount of money; according to Pandu Cakradinata, the proceeds from the charity box were used for the caretaker operations and compensation for orphans.

Causes of Changes in the Value of Customary Ceremonies

Charismatic Figure

Gus Dur's presence as the 4th president of the Republic of Indonesia and the grandson of the founder of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, namely Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, whose influence is quite large for Muslims in Indonesia, has significantly changed the way people view Nyangku. Initially, some people considered Nyangku to be an idolatrous ritual that was not in accordance with Islamic teachings. After Gus Dur gave his view that Nyangku was not at odds with Islamic teachings because, according to him, religion and culture could be juxtaposed into a new culture resulting from the acculturation of local religion and culture.

Figures descended from Panjalu who were members of the Borosngora Foundation became key figures or figures who moved Nyangku to change in a direction that suited their interests. There is something called prismatic in the type of political elite, namely a political system that acts as the country's political elite, and has supportive relationships with various parties, for example informal people who have social influence in government - political or socio-cultural elites. And non-elite society. This results in the closure of important roles in the nation and society occupied by those closest to them. This was done as an effort to create unity in society by involving informal communities. The power of the Borosngora Foundation as the ability to influence society, and power as effective action in collective action. This family is the heir to various cultural and religious developments in Panjalu Village. The families who are members of the Borosngora Foundation have greater influence in managing the Nyangku traditional cultural heritage.

Religion

Religion is one of the factors in social change itself. In this case, religious denominations can on the one hand oppose change and on the other hand be a driver of change. In the Nyangku traditional ceremony, according to the chairman of the Panjalu Village MUI, over the last two years, the religious element has dominated the Nyangku traditional ceremony so that the ritual element has begun to decrease, even if it still exists, the purpose has been changed or even the elements have been removed, such as the existence of offerings and equipment and the time is still carried out according to grip Nyangku, however, is only intended as a complement to maintaining the Nyangku heritage, as a dish for visiting guests, Nyangku time is also emphasized as a celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. Including nine springs which are used in the purification of heirloom objects which are usually believed to have sacred contents for the people who come. So, during the Nyangku ceremony, the water was deliberately splashed, and it became a fight for the visitors who came. When the religious element dominated, driven by the Panjalu Village MUI, this was removed in the Nyangku series because it was considered close to idolatry and believed in powers beyond the power of God.

The meaning and essence of the Nyangku traditional ceremony is directed as a means of purifying oneself from everything that Islam prohibits. The Nyangku Cultural Tradition also commemorates the birthday of the Great Prophet Muhammad SAW, as well as a form of strengthening the spirit of friendship and unity between the people of Panjalu Village. According to Islamic teachings, this further strengthens the ties of brotherhood between fellow Muslims and the people who live in the Panjalu area and are attached to the Nyangku ceremony tradition.

A Changing View of Values

The sacred function of the Nyangku traditional ceremony refers to aspects of obedience to worship, the search for enlightenment, the purification of the soul, and sacrifice or salvation. Today it changed to a profane function, in line with emerging problems such as poverty. Culture is actively commercialized to develop the tourism industry (Qomaruzzaman & Rahman, 2020). Commodification is a process where goods and services that were previously subject to non-market social rules are changed into goods and services that are subject to market rules. In the cultural field, commodification can be interpreted as an activity of making something economically valuable so that it can be bought and sold, thus changing the elements of

that culture. This commodification occurs through the concept of pseudo-traditional art, the development of traditional art by imitating its original form in the hope that the spirit of this tradition is not lost. This view became a driving factor that was quickly accepted by society as a result of society's contact with other cultures.

The implementation of Nyangku, which is oriented towards meeting economic needs, forms a consumerist society that is oriented towards market interests and shifts the spiritual value system. This consumerist tendency is the cause of the strengthening influence of capitalization (Harshman, 2018). From the large number of visitors who come, there is interaction and a process of exchanging information, so there are developments and dynamics that result in changes in the orientation of the implementation of nyangku in Panjalu. Nyangku is no longer just considered a ritual; nyangku has become a cultural event produced by traditional stakeholders and organized by the Borosngora Foundation, which is promoted through tourism advertising, thereby attracting the masses to attend and perform Nyangku traditional ceremony, which has implications for the economic opportunities utilized by the Panjalu community and its surroundings.

Local cultures, including traditional clothes, festivals, and folk arts, are modified to be sold as tourism commodities. This can lead to the loss of original meanings as these practices are presented and produced solely for tourist consumption (Suntikul, 2013). The commodification of religious ceremonies often provides economic benefits to local communities. However, it also raises concerns about the loss of cultural and spiritual meanings as these practices are transformed into commodities (Husa, 2015). The process of commodification changes the values and meanings associated with religious ceremonies. This can lead to a situation where the spiritual significance of these practices is overshadowed by their economic value, potentially altering the way people perceive and engage with their religious traditions (Coleman, 2022). The commodification of religious ceremonies involves transforming spiritual practices into marketable goods and services through mass production, tourism marketing, cultural modification, and economic exploitation. This process can both benefit local communities economically and erode the original meanings and spiritual significance of these ceremonies.

CONCLUSION

Researchers conclude that the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony shows the commodification of religion. This is proven by the existence of use value and exchange value as well as a change from use value to exchange value during the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony. The value of usefulness in the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony has an important meaning in the life of the Panjalu community, as the value of usefulness in the life of the Panjalu community is a principle. The values of the *Nyangku* traditional ceremony are a ritual, an identity, a symbol of solidarity, and a heritage.

The implementation of *Nyangku*, which is oriented towards meeting economic needs, forms a consumerist society that is oriented towards market interests and shifts the spiritual value system. This consumerist tendency is the cause of the strengthening influence of capitalization. *Nyangku* is no longer just considered a ritual; *nyangku* has become an event culture produced by traditional stakeholders organized by the Borosngora Foundation, which is promoted through tourism advertising, thereby attracting the masses to attend and consume performance *Nyangku* traditional ceremony, which has implications for the economic opportunities utilized by the Panjalu community and its surroundings.

REFERENCES

- Aji Budiman, D. (2019). Tabot, Sakralitas Dalam Komodifikasi Pariwisata. *Jurnal Kananga*, 3(2), 1–10.
- Annafis, L. Al. (2022). *Komodifikasi agama islam pada iklan madu hni di instagram*. IAIN Palangka Raya.
- Borosngora, Y. (2017). *Sejarah Panjalu*. Yayasan Borosngora.
- Bostan, Z., & Yousofi, A. (2023). Reflection on the signs of commodification of the sacred (With the emphasis on pilgrimage). *Ferdowsi University of Mashhad Journal of Social Sciences*.
- Coleman, S. (2022). Ritual, rationality and intersections between economy and religion. In *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology* (pp. 204–215). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Fatonah Dewi. (2021). *Komodifikasi Agama Terhadap Al-Qur'an sebagai Objek Wisata Religi (Studi Kasus di*

- Bait Al-Qur'an Al-Akbar di Kecamatan Gandus Palembang*. UIN Sunan Kalijaga.
- Fauziah, S. (2017). Tradisi Sunat Perempuan di Banten dan Implikasinya terhadap Gender, seksualitas dan kesehatan reproduksi. *Tsaqofah; Jurnal Agama Dan Budaya*, 15, 135–182.
- Fealy, G. (2008). *Consuming Islam : Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Febriani, R., & Riyanto, E. D. (2021). Upacara Adat Tengger di Ambang Komodifikasi: Merawat Tradisi dari Ancaman Desakralisasi. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 23(2), 148. <https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v23.n2.p148-156.2021>
- Harshman, J. (2018). Developing global citizenship through critical media literacy in the social studies. *Journal of Social Studies Research*, 42(2), 107–117. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssr.2017.05.001>
- Husa, L. (2015). The commodification of handicrafts in Southeast Asia—A social and economic historical analysis. *SDU Research Journal Humanities and Social Sciences*, 11(January-December), 87–98.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1974). *Kebudayaan, mentalitet dan pembangunan*. Gramedia.
- Krisnawan, M., Dipraja, D. M., Pramanca, N. H., Alamsyah, H., Shavika, S., & Crinata, R. (2022). Ritual Sakral Penyucian Benda Pusaka, Nyangku. *Cinema Tology*, 2(1), 112–121.
- Marlina, E., Ghufroni, M., Wulandari, L., & Fatimah, N. (2021). Komodifikasi Ritual Cukur Rambut Gembel: dari Sakral ke Profan. *SOLIDARITY*, 10, 1–9.
- Marsja-Liisa Swantz. (1970). *Ritual and Symbol; in Transational Zaramo Society*. CWK Gleerup, Lund.
- Masduki, A. (2014). Tempat-Tempat Keramat di Kecamatan Panjalu Kabupaten Ciamis. *Patanjala*, 6.
- Mustari, M., & Rahman, M. T. (2012). *Pengantar Metode Penelitian*. Laksbang Pressindo.
- Nur, M., Abdullah, A., Rivaldy, R., & Putra, S. (2018). *Nyangku : Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Sosial Melalui Ritual Upacara Adat Desa Panjalu Ciamis Jawa Barat. I*. <https://doi.org/10.29408/se.v2i1.991>
- Qomaruzzaman, B., & Rahman, M. T. (2020). The Meaning of Place and the Edu-Tourist Experience in Wot Batu Bandung, Indonesia. *Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism*, 10(8), 1839–1851. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14505/ljemt.10.8\(40\).14](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14505/ljemt.10.8(40).14)
- Rahman, M. T., & Anwar, R. K. (2022). The Development Potential for Local Communities of Religious Tourists Visiting Sacred Graves. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, 10(2), 7.
- Rahmi, F. (2021). Upacara Adat Tengger di Ambang Komodifikasi: Merawat Tradisi dari Ancaman Desakralisasi. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 02(December), 148–156.
- Rinallo, D., Santana, J., Arnould, E. J., Thompson, C. J., Crockett, D., & Weinberger, M. (2023). Religion, spirituality and consumption. *Consumer Culture Theory. 2nd Edition*. London, UK: Sage, 132–153.
- Setiawan, M. F. (2016). Commodification of religious tradition (critical study on tourism of Islamic tradition haul at Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta). *Proceeding of International Conference on Communication, Culture and Media Studies (CCCMS)*.
- Shofiah, A. N. (2022). Culture in the Frame of Multicultural Religiosity Acculturating of Islamic Values in The Nyangku Panjalu Ciamis Tradition. *Culture in the France of Multicultural Religiosity*.
- Silverman, D. (2015). *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. Sage Publications.
- Smith, A. (1998). *An Inquiry Into The Nature And Causes Of The Wealth Of Nations*. The Electric Book. Cambridge Drive.
- Suntikul, W. (2013). Commodification of intangible cultural heritage in Asia. In *Asian Heritage Management* (pp. 236–252). Routledge.
- Thelen, T., & Kim, S. (2023). Understanding fan tourists at a non-commodified fan pilgrimage site: an application of fan capital theory. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 26(1), 12–17.
- Wasehudin, W., Anshori, I., Rahman, M. T., Syafe'i, I., & Kesuma, G. C. (2021). A creativity education model for coastal communities Amid the Covid-19 pandemic. *Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism*, 12(3), 729–741.

Wasehudin, W., Rahim, R. A. A., Masitoh, I., Rahman, M. T., & Syafe'i, I. (2024). Instilling Religious Character Values in Nadran Tradition for Fisherman Communities in Banten, Indonesia. *Al-Tadzkiyyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 15(1), 115–137.

Yayasan Borosngora. (2017). *Sejarah Panjalu*. Yayasan Borosngora.

Zheng, S. (2023). The heritagisation of rituals: commodification and transmission. A case study of Nianli Festival in Zhanjiang, China. *Études Mongoles et Sibériennes, Centrasiatiques et Tibétaines*, 54.



© 2024 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>).