Selling Sacredness: 
Representation of Sedekah Gunung Ritual in Lencoh Village, Boyolali in New Media

(Menjual Kesakralan: Representasi Ritual Sedekah Gunung di Desa Lencoh, Boyolali dalam Media Baru)

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Abstrak

Kata kunci: Desa Lencoh, komodifikasi, pariwisata alternatif, representasi, ritual Sedekah Gunung
Abstract

Sedekah Gunung Ritual is a selametan ceremony which becomes a tradition of the people in Lencoh village, Selo, Boyolali region. This ritual is done as an expression of gratitude and requests to be kept away from danger especially since the eruption of Mount Merapi. Sacred rituals become a tourist attraction or experience commodification. This process requires media space so that the message, information, and knowledge that is constructed can be accepted by the audience. There are three issues discussed. (1) What is the form of the ritual Sedekah Gunung representation? (2) How is the ritual charity representation function? (3) What is the meaning of ritual charity mountain representation? The method used is interpretative qualitative data analysis with observation and interview data collection methods. Research shows that the form of ritual representation of ritual Sedekah Gunung is presented in various articles, news, and videos in new media spaces. Its function is the promotion of alternative tourism in Selo region especially Lencoh village, inviting tourists, and increasing economy-income from the tourism sector. Its meaning is the construction of knowledge disseminated as an attraction in the context of alternative tourism to attract local and foreign tourists. A shift in ritual values from sacred to commodities.

Keywords: alternative tourism, commodification, Lencoh Village, representation, ritual Sedekah Gunung

INTRODUCTION

Rituals are often interpreted as one of the most important religious practices. Koentjaraningrat (1985: 85) interpreted the ritual as a process in a ceremony performed by religious people characterized by the components of time, place, tools, and perpetrators of the ceremony. According to Schweizer, Klemm, and Schweizer (1993), the ritual is the conceptions of a general obedience from existence that is inherent in the standard form of behavior. This means that ritual is a sacred act by man based on a belief system to show his religiosity and submission to the creator of the universe or God. One of the rituals in Javanese society is the ritual Sedekah Gunung in Lencoh Village, Selo, Boyolali.

Lencoh village is a village located in Selo Sub-district, Boyolali. Lencoh village has an agrarian culture. Therefore, the ritual built is part of an agrarian Javanese culture. Ritual Sedekah Gunung is a salvation ceremony (selametan) to express gratitude and refuse reinforcements. Mountain alms ritual is a ceremonial tradition that took place since the period of Kasunanan Surakarta which was held every 1 Sira or 1 Muharam. Ritual is a means to maintain natural harmony and preserve cultural wealth. Therefore, the ritual has the potential to be developed as a cultural tourism attraction in Boyolali District. Initially, before this ritual was held, presented the Merapi mountain slope art which was performed by some young people in the area, but sometimes the art was neglected. Basically, the series of rituals do not change, therefore this research is very necessary to know what kind of ritual procession of charity mountain. That is, the ritual undergoes a process of commodification. The production of ritual meaning is commercialized for the benefit of tourism.

Commodification requires media space to disseminate knowledge to the audience. Media is a space for interaction without having to meet physically. Knowledge of the meaning of ritual Sedekah Gunung is disseminated through the media space as a way of promotion. Through various texts and media, meanings are collected and played, especially modern mass media as a means of communication with complex technologies that spread meaning to various cultures on various scales quickly (Hall, 1997: 4). Thus, the media becomes a tool to communicate the meaning of ritual Sedekah Gunung that have been constructed for the benefit of tourism. Therefore, the media has a function to represent the ritual Sedekah Gunung as a tourist attraction in Boyolali Regency.

This commodity creates problems because it contains constructive, not original, imagery. The ritual also undergoes a transformation. The exchange rate began to dominate when rituals were imaged through the media for the benefit of tourism. Therefore, there are some problems that will be discussed in this article. First, what is the form of ritual Sedekah Gunung representation as cultural tourism of Boyolali regency? Second, how is the charity's
METHOD
Qualitative data analysis methods are used in accordance with the Cultural Study paradigm. Library studies and purposive interviews are used for data collection. The main data analyzed were obtained from tourism promotion media such as desalencoh.blogspot.com site, www.boyolali.go.id, www.youtube.com (Boyolali district account). In addition, data are also obtained from news sites that report about the ritual Sedekah Gunung such as www.eventso.com, www.antaranews.com, republika.co.id, kompas.com, www.timlo.net, and tribunnews.com. News raised in online mass media is also a means of tourism promotion. Therefore, this data is highly relevant. Data were also obtained from interviews as confirmation of media information. Interviews are conducted with community leaders, communities, tourists and the government.

The main theory used is representation. According to Hall (1997) representation is a process of secondary importance that after all things are formed and the meaning is composed, can enter the field. Representation is understood as the entrance to the very constitution of objects and therefore culture is conceptualized as a primary or constitutive process (Sulistyorini, Sudardi, Warto, & Wijaya, 2017). Language becomes an arena of representation to work. Therefore, representation is a production process and a space for exchanging meaning through language, symbols, and culture. This theory is used to examine the ritual Sedekah Gunung as an alternative tourist attraction promoted through the media.

In addition, this paper also uses the commodification theory. According to Mosco (2009), commodification is "a process of converting something of value to use into marketable products of value for what they can exchange." Hence, the value to undergo transformation becomes a sign value. The ritual Sedekah Gunung become tourist attractions so sacred rituals turn into commodities. Rituals are packed in media so that they attract potential visitors. To overcome the constraints of geographical space with various kinds of media (mass media and communication technology) a spatial process is needed. That means, spatialization becomes the process and space of knowledge transfer to the viewer, the process and space to convey the ritual Sedekah Gunung to the viewers. To form a social relationship that is organized in social class, gender, and race, structuration is needed as a process. Mosco sees the structure as a process and focuses on analyzing the social processes that influence it.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Nature in Lencoh Village Community Life
Lencoh village is located at the foot of Mount Merapi, a volcanic mountain most active in Java. The village is also bordered by Mount Merbabu in the north. The village is flanked by two mountains, on the south bordering Mount Merapi on the East side, and on the north by Mount Merbabu. Volcanic activity often occurs. In a few years, the volcanic activity of Mount Merapi is categorized as dangerous. Although dangerous, volcanic activity actually gives blessings to the community. The land of Lencoh village is very fertile to be planted with various food plants. Therefore, the natural conditions pervade the life of the community. People's lives depend on nature. Based on the monograph data of Lencoh village, the majority of rural people are livelihoods as farmers. The Lencoh village community is an agrarian society. Therefore, people live by maintaining natural harmony like other agrarian cultures in Java. An agrarian society that depends on nature always gives birth to various kinds of myths. Myths as a knowledge discourse are built to preserve nature.

The myth according to the view of Levi-Strauss structuralism is a fictional story born from the human imagination that comes from everyday life (Ahimsa-Putra, 2006: 78-79). It is a product of human imagination and reasoning derived from fictional energy. Meanwhile, according to Barthes (2015: 151-152), myth is a type of speech that expresses and communicates a message as a signification. According to him, everything can be a myth if served by a discourse. Therefore, myth is part of the discourse system. As a discourse system, the myth is built to convey a
knowledge. Because everyday life influences the formation of myths, the natural conditions are very influential on the myths believed by the villagers of Lencoh.

In this case, one of the myths that developed in the Lencoh village community was the myth of Mbah Petruk. According to the story, Mbah Petruk did tripe bas e or open fields (kebonan). The forest that is opened is buffalo or kebo. Therefore, the head of the buffalo becomes the main offering in the ritual Sedekah Gunung. The head of the buffalo is slaughtered and then covered with white mori cloth. The head of the buffalo is accompanied by a variety of uba rampe consisting of rice cone, klobot cigarettes, palawija, roasted jadah, gomok, acungacung, bothok sempuro, banana, kanthil flower, eggs, thousands of rupiah, and some other offerings (Gumilang, 2014; Solopos.com, October 13, 2015).

The peak of the ritual is a ceremony pendhem endhas kebo (buried buffalo head) on the slopes of Mount Merapi. The purpose of this ritual is to obtain the safety and protection of all kinds of dangers and disasters to the Creator of the universe. This ritual is held every 1 Sura or 1 Muharram. People believe that this ritual can keep them away from disaster (Paiman, 2017, Interview on April 12). This belief is a symbol constructed in the Javanese religious system. Fashri (2014) states, the power to shape, protect, and change reality is possessed by symbols. Symbols contain energy that can affect a person’s consciousness and unconsciousness.

Thus, the ritual Sedekah Gunung is part of a symbol system that is built in response to natural, environmental and social conditions. Hence, the myth of Mbah Petruk became a system of knowledge maintained by Lencoh villagers as a marker of natural harmony. Through myth, society can be friends with nature because all human life must depend on nature.

Ritual of Sedekah Gunung as Preservation of Tradition

Media is an intermediary or channel to communicate a knowledge and information. Media is an intermediary between communicator and receiver. In the context of globalization, high-tech media become intermediaries that communicate knowledge and information such as the internet and mass communication media. In fact, the development of the times raises the terms old media and new media. If old media is interpreted as a communication technology that developed several decades ago, then the new media is interpreted as the sophistication of new information and communication technology delivery systems that have been computerized and digitalized in a network (Sullivan, 2016: 605-606; Kellner, 1995: 16). In the context of this research, media becomes a means to communicate knowledge of mountain alms rituals to the audience.

Antaranews.com, October 12, 2015, opened its article with a narrative, "the ceremony, which has been going on for a long time since our ancestors, this event is an attempt to preserve the customs of the cultural arts typical of the Merapi slopes from the past until now." The narrative shows that the rituals that are represented are a custom, typical cultural arts of the Merapi slopes that have existed since the days of ancestors. Then, Republika.co.id, October 13, 2015, reported: "the night of 1 Suro Community Boyolali Holds the ritual Sedekah Gunung". In the article, Republika built a narrative that Sedekah Gunung giving was a tradition that was held from generation to generation since the days of ancestors. The author of the article illustrates that ritual activity is an attempt to ngari uri (preserve) customs. The alignment reported by metrojateng.com, October 14, 2015, wrote, "The Head of the Disbudpar Boyolali, Mulyono Santosu, said the tradition is a local wisdom that needs to be preserved so as not to become extinct." Sedekah Gunung as local wisdom is also reported by www.beritasatu.com, October 25, 2014. The ritual as a tradition was written by Timlo.net, November 5, 2013.

The author describes Sedekah Gunung ritual as a tradition that is believed to be an attempt to ask for protection from all the diseases and natural disasters of Mount Merapi. The author of the article quoted the statement of Boyolali District Court Chief Muh Arif, "this tradition is the wisdom of the local community, must be encouraged." In addition, Tribunnews.com, 8 December 2010 reported that the Sedekah Gunung ritual was carried
out independently because of a tradition. The author communicates that the funds needed to hold this ritual come from the community although there is usually assistance from the government. Therefore, the author of the article wants to describe the importance of rituals for the community as a tradition, whether there is or is not a grant from the government.

Likewise, the official website of the Central Java Provincial Government in www.jatengprov.go.id illustrates that Sedekah Gunung is a tradition of people living on the slopes of Mount Merapi. The news writer also quoted Boyolali's Deputy Regent's statement at the time, M. Saki Hidayat, who said that ritual activity was a form of cultural and tradition preservation. Somewhat different from Republika and jatengprov, kompas.com, 8 December 2010 began the article by describing traditional art performances at the beginning of the article discussing the ritual Sedekah Gunung procession that has become a tradition every year. In www.nu.or.id, 8 November 2013, the ritual Sedekah Gunung was represented as "how to care for nature wrapped in tradition". This article represents Sedekah Gunung as a knowledge of the way people protect nature that is wrapped in tradition. Meanwhile, merdeka.com and kapanlagi.com, December 2, 2010, illustrate that the purpose of the implementation of mountain alms ritual is to plead for salvation and to reject the plague.

According to the authors, the history of rituals was held in connection with the smallpox outbreak that once hit Selo in 1946. The author quotes a community leader named Dwijo or KRT Soekamto Negoro about coping with disease outbreaks with a ritual of concern while walking around the village naked for 40 night. The next narration, the authors illustrate that after the outbreak of the disease, the community held selametan tangible Sedekah Gunung as an expression of gratitude for being kept away from a disease outbreak. The narrative of the origin of this ritual is different from some other good news articles stating that this ritual has existed since the ancestors, as well as articles which state that this ritual began in the Kasunanan Surakarta.

The article that wrote that the mountain alms ritual began with the Paku Buwana VI period, including www.nu.or.id, 8 November 2013; www.beritasatu.com, 25 Oktober 2014; metrojateng.com, 14 Oktober 2015; www.timlo.net, 5 November 2014; desalencoh.blogspot.com, 18 Maret 2015. The article that wrote that this ritual began in the Paku Buwana IX period was www.kompas.com, December 8, 2010. This difference was made possible based on interviews with community leaders to re-examine articles communicated by several media. Interviews indicate that the origin of this ritual is an estimate (Paiman, 2017, Interview on April 12). In other words, no one knows for sure when this ritual began to take place.

Based on articles published by the mass media through new media space, the main point that is to be disseminated is the representation of the mountain alms ritual as the preservation of customs, traditions, and culture owned by the Lencoh village community and the Selo District community in general. This knowledge continues to be produced and disseminated every year. Behind the design of knowledge certainly contains the motivation of action. This means that the forms of knowledge about ritual Sedekah Gunung represented in the media space contain the motivation of action is to sell the sacredness in an alternate tourism dressing.

**Selling Sacredness in Alternative Tourism Councils**

According to Undang-undang No.10 Tahun 2009 about tourism, it is a variety of tourism activities and supported by various facilities and services provided by the community, businessmen, the Government, and the Regional Government. There are various types of tourism which one of them is cultural tourism (cultural tourism). According to Damardjati Hospital (1989: 19), cultural tourism is a movement or tourism activity that is supported by tangible tourism objects, the results of local cultural arts, including customs, religious ceremonies, community living arrangements, historical heritage, art results, crafts · people's crafts and so on. Cultural attractions offer both dreams and pleasures for both experience and uniqueness because of their intangible and diverse nature. There is an assumption that the development of cultural tourism contributes positively to the development of infrastructure, accommodation, services, transportation, and accessibility to the natural environment and the social environment of human culture (Nurdiyansah, 2014). In addition, cultural tourism is part of alternative tourism.
Alternative tourism is an alternative to the less favored type of tourism, which is mass tourism (Butler 1990). The concept of alternative tourism is rooted in two contemplative ideological results. First is the counter-culture of modern mass consumerism. Second is the impact of the modern industrial world on the third world society (Cohen, 1987). Alternative tourism can be defined as a journey that is motivated by the search for authenticity and the establishment of inter-community relations that differ from the background, ethnicity, and culture of tourists as components that support each other (Dearden & Harron 1994). The concept of alternative tourism can be found in the tourism of Boyolali Regency that maximizes the potential of nature and culture. In this case, it is a ritual Sedekah Gunung.

*Sedekah Gunung* ritual representation in the media space serves as an alternative tourism promotion tool to boost the number of tourists visiting Boyolali. www.eventsolo.com tells about the ritual *Sedekah Gunung* as "Boyolali cultural event" (Boyolali cultural agenda). As an event promotion site in the Solo Raya area, www.agendasolo.com informs that the mountain alms ritual is "a tradition of people living at the foot of Mount Merapi". The function of this site is clear to invite tourists from the internet literacy because this site is quite popular among millennial generations.

The village site Lencoh.blogspot.com, which is managed by the village government and the community, also represents the local wisdom contained in the ritual. Articles that represent packed ritual *Sedekah Gunung* to attract tourists. The site also contains cultural riches like traditional folk art. In addition, the site also promotes tourist objects such as New Selo, Joglo Mandala Tours or Joglo Merapi I (Desa-Lencoh, April 24, 2015). This site has a function as an alternative media promotion media of Lencoh village, Selo, Boyolali.

Coverage on www.antaranews.com, republika.co.id, kompas.com, and tribunnews.com, metrojateng.com, and other media not only contains information but as a way to promote rituals as a tourist attraction. This is in line with the aim of the Boyolali Culture and Tourism Office, which is to bring in many tourists. Therefore, in several articles, it was represented that there was a part in the procession which was a package, for example, packaging performance art. The art of packaging in the context of tourism is very important for the consumption of tourists as one of the tourist attractions (Son, 2012). As represented in kompas.com, December 8, 2010, the ritual procession begins with performances of *jaran kepang* and dance *soreng*.

On different occasions, rituals represented by the media were enlivened by soldier dances and *ireng* (black) masks (www.beritasatu.com, 25 October 2014; antaranews.com, 25 October 2014). The types of art represented by the media are only a small part. According to Putri, Faida, Fandeli, & Purwanto (2017), there are various types of art that Lencoh Village has, including dance, drama, sound art, and other packaging arts. Here, art becomes a supporting attraction to entertain tourists so they can enjoy the whole series of ritual *Sedekah Gunung* procession.

A youtube.com account named Boyolali District uploaded a video about the ritual *Sedekah Gunung* procession. The video, which lasts 1 minute 33 seconds, briefly describes the implementation of ritual tradition as an attempt to inspire Juri culture by sampling interviews to the Lencoh Village Chief, Sumardi. The video also shows the ranks of the Boyolali District government who are supporting the implementation of this tradition. It also appears that the ritual procession has undergone packaging so it is interesting to witness.
Figure 1. Ritual Process Alms Mount in Video "Alms Mount Merapi"

Figure 2. One of the scenes in the video "Sedekah Gunung Merapi" shows the attendants carrying torches and wearing traditional Javanese costumes packed.

Figure 3. ritual Sedekah Gunung procession that is packaged attractively.
In addition, the media also described the tourists who enjoyed the tour. In nu.or.id, November 8, 2013, this impression is represented through a narrative about one of the visitors who want to ngalap (take) blessing while enjoying a holiday on the slopes of Merapi. Not to forget the news writer quoted the results of an interview with one of the visitors, "in addition to the blessing of asking for salvation from the Almighty, as well as traveling, while on vacation." The media also illustrates the enthusiasm of the community to witness the ritual procession. The media also illustrates the enthusiasm of the community to witness the ritual procession. Media such as republika.co.id, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, metrojateng.com, and timlo.net reported that visitors who witnessed the ritual procession reached thousands of people, even reaching four thousand people. Narratives about community enthusiasm framed by the media ignite the audience's curiosity. The hope is that viewers who receive knowledge in the media space will be interested in visiting and vacationing in the Selo region, Boyolali. In other words, news coverage in the media space is used as an alternative means of promoting tourism.

The promotion was also carried out through articles about rituals published in the official website of the Boyolali Regency Government, namely www.boyolali.go.id. In the final sentence written,


At the event attended by Deputy Regent Boyolali Said Hidayat, SH, ranks of Boykopali District Forkopinda, Boyolali District Head, Lencoh Village Chief, as well as several invited guests and the surrounding community, in his remarks Vice Regent expressed that the ritual Sedekah Gunung by planting buffalo heads is a tradition that must conserve, and with the existence of sedekah Bumi (earth) is expected to attract tourists, both local tourists and foreign tourists (www.boyolali.go.id, 3 October 2016).

The statement reinforces that the representation of the ritual Sedekah Gunung as local wisdom, preservation of customs, culture, and traditions in the media space contains certain intentions and objectives, namely tourism promotion. Then, the sacred ritual is "sold" in alternative tourism. In other words, there is a shift in meaning revealed from the mountain alms ritual repetition in the media space. Ritual sacredness is seen as a commodity in the tourism industry although in alternative tourism wrappings that are claimed to be friendly with nature, customs, traditions, culture and social community. Something profane starts to dominate. This reality is what is called the commodification of Sedekah Gunung.

Mosco (in Ibrahim and Akhmad, 2009) says that commodification is the process of transforming goods and services including communication into commodities. The government has been packing rituals as a tourist attraction since the 2000s. The government combines natural tourism and cultural tourism for tourist attraction. Other tourist attractions are also integrated like the slopes of Mount Merapi (Solopos, 13 October 2015). New Selo and Oemah Bamboo tours are also built which add to the tourist attraction in Lencoh Village. Other facilities were also built. For example the construction of Joglo Mandala Wisata or Joglo Merapi I, a natural tourism facility in Selo which was built in 2002 (Rachmawati, Pitana, & Warto, 2017). This tourist attraction was built to support the main attraction in Selo. The facility consists of an open theater, a closed theater, a playground, and a pendhapa / joglo. This area is one of the centers of cultural activity. There is also a Merapi Vulcano Theater in this area to watch documentary films (Desa-Lencoh, 24 April 2015). Visitors' interest proves that culture, nature and adventure tours are favorites in the millennial era. This reality is parallel with the opinion of Ruzic and Demonja (2015) which states that “adventure spirit is more evident in modern tourists as well as greater demand for holidays that
are full of outdoor activities, cultural and recreational contents. It was noted that most of the tourists avoiding destinations with the impaired environment.”

Thus, the meaning of the representation of ritual Sedekah Gunung in the media space is a construct of knowledge about the Sedekah Gunung ritual as a spectacle, entertainment, and relief. There is a shift in values in rituals, the use values manifested in sacredness are the exchange rates manifested in rituals as commodities, and the value of signs manifested in rituals as tourist attractions. This means that ritual sacred values are sold in the interest of tourism. As Giddens (2010: 9) said, the goal is related to potential actions and motives that contain all plans or programs, work that underlies the habit.

CONCLUSION
Ritual Sedekah Gunung is a tradition that is owned by the Lencoh Village community, Selo, Boyolali. This ritual is part of an agrarian culture. This ritual aims to express gratitude and reject reinforcements (tolak bala). The Lencoh villagers believe that this ritual can save them from danger. The ritual becomes a warning to always maintain the harmony of nature. Ritual is a cultural wealth that has the potential to be developed as a tourist attraction. This reality is represented by various media in the media room.

Forms of representation are manifested in narratives built by the media that rituals are local wisdom, customs, traditions and culture of the Selo community and the Lencoh village community in particular. The function of a representation of ritual Sedekah Gunung is as a means of promoting alternative tourism in the Selo region, especially in the village of Lencoh, inviting tourists, and increasing the income-economy of the local community and Boyolali Regency government. The meaning of the ritual representation of mountain alms in the media space is the design of knowledge about local wisdom, customs, traditions, and culture that are disseminated as attractions in the context of alternative tourism to the audience. Sacred rituals are sold in alternative tourism bandages so that the makings shift into a spectacle, entertainment, and fatigue.

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